BUILDING LA CASA DE ESPAÑA:
THE SPANISH INTELLECTUAL EXPERIENCE IN MEXICO CITY, 1938-1941

by

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ABSTRACT

BREANNA DAVID. Building La Casa de España: The Spanish Intellectual Experience in Mexico City, 1938-1941. (Under the direction of DR. JÜRGEN BUCHENAU)

Opened in Mexico in August 1938, La Casa de España (The House of Spain) provided Spanish intellectuals displaced by the Spanish Civil War with a location to continue their studies. Although intended to be temporary, the following years saw La Casa gain permanence in Mexican higher education as it grew in membership and educational significance. Today, its successor, El Colegio de México (est. 1940), remains a permanent fixture of higher education and intellectual interaction.

To understand Mexico's provision of aid to Spanish intellectuals, this thesis examines early 20th-century Spanish immigration to Mexico and the development of La Casa de España from 1938 to 1941. Immigration laws between 1926 and 1936 gave preferential treatment to Spaniards for their capacity to easily assimilate into Mexican society based on their ability to maintain a mestizo demographic identity. Spanish intellectuals represented an even more favorable population as they contributed both the educational knowledge and professional experience desired. In the eyes of the Mexican government, Spanish intellectuals could not only culturally advance Mexico but provide aid to a nation rebuilding its intellectual population.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEMFRA	Archivo de la Embajada de México en Francia
AGN, LC	Archivo General de la Nación, Fondo Presidentes, Lázaro Cárdenas
AHCM	Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de México
AHGE	Archivo Histórico Genaro Estrada
CDMH	Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

INTRODUCTION

The Spanish Civil War began in July of 1936 with a military coup against the loyalist, Republican-elected government. Left-leaning, anti-fascist Republican forces, and anti-communist, right-leaning Nationalist forces – led by General Francisco Franco – fought in three years of conflict. Franco's victory in 1939 legitimized the eradication of opposing forces. Intending to eliminate those who supported the political left, their militias, and the Second Republic, Francisco Franco and the Nationalists set out on an approximately ten-year-long repression of Spanish Freemasons, Liberals, Socialists, intellectuals, and ethnic nationalists (Basque, Catalan, and Galician). Deemed to be intellectuals, education professionals throughout Spain became the target of systematic political repression as part of the *limpieza social*, or social cleansing. As part of this cleansing, the Franco government classified prosecuted individuals as *inculpado*, *indultado*, or *depurado*.[1] Some Spaniards who received exile as part of their sentence arrived in Mexico under the protection of President Lázaro Cárdenas and the Mexican flag.

Mexico experienced several periods of Spanish immigration since its independence in 1821 with many arriving to participate in agricultural activities and urban trade. Immigration of Spanish exiles and refugees began in 1937 with the arrival of over 450 children of Spanish Republicans, known as "Los Niños de Morelia." Starting in 1938, the next wave of refugees included intellectuals who arrived to participate in La Casa de España. In coordination with the efforts of Daniel Cosío Villegas, a Mexican economist and historian, and Alfonso Reyes Ochoa, Lázaro Cárdenas created the cultural institution of La Casa de España (The House of Spain)

[1] Respectively translated as charged, pardoned, and purged.

through a presidential decree in August of 1938. This institution worked to preserve Spanish culture and bring together Spanish intellectuals, artists, and scientists after the fall of the Second Spanish Republic.[2] Few scholars have studied Spanish Civil War intellectual exiles as a topic independent of the broader exile community, and those who have done so have not assigned it a significant role within their studies.

My research concentrates on Spanish intellectuals in Mexico City from 1938 to 1941, covering the creation of La Casa de España in 1938 and La Casa's transition to El Colegio de México in late 1940.[3] While Patricia Fagen and Sebastiaan Faber have studied Spanish Civil War immigrants, my research provides an analysis of the exiled Spanish intellectual community and explores the pathways available to these intellectuals which influenced Mexican intellectual history. Based on the foundations laid by Fagen and specifically, her argument that Mexico City replaced Madrid as the hub of Spanish intellectual life, this study examines the impact of the assimilation of Spanish intellectuals into Mexican society and intellectual interactions fostered by La Casa de España and El Colegio de México. Furthermore, I demonstrate how Mexico's transatlantic humanitarian gesture changed throughout the period ranging from La Casa de España's foundation through its transition to a more public institution of higher education.

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[2] The Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed in April 1931 with the goal to modernize Spain following the Great Depression. After the approval of the 1931 Constitution, a government under Manuel Azaña led the nation until the success of the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (CEDA) in the 1933 elections. The Nationalist victory in April 1939 officially dissolved the Second Republic; however, foundations for its demise were laid with the July 1936 coup d'état led by Franco and the subsequent assassinations of several leading Republican government officials.

[3] Intellectuals are defined as who participated in advanced-level academia and contributed by shaping and studying discourse on a particular topic. This definition builds on that provided by Roderic Camp, which defines intellectuals as individuals dedicated to exercising their intelligence. Roderic A. Camp, *Intellectuals and the State in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985), 39.

To analyze the topics above, one must answer the question of why the Mexican government pushed for the immigration of intellectuals and academics, rather than accepting anyone who was attempting to flee the newly established Franco regime. Was this tied to the presence of a common language alone, as Fagen articulates, or were there other factors influencing the Mexican government's decision? A related question asks what happened to those intellectuals who were able to integrate themselves into Mexican society leading up to or because of La Casa's transition.

Inaugurated in December 1934, Lázaro Cárdenas became Mexico's 51st president. By the 1936 outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Cárdenas had carried out an agrarian reform program that redistributed lands to peasants and extended the services provided by government banks to aid the peasants' abilities to borrow money. In addition to enacting agrarian reform, Cárdenas pushed for an educational program based on the foundations of "socialist education" articulated by the previous administration under President Abelardo Rodríguez. This platform sought to integrate the culturally diverse Mexican population while also serving as an economic plan that "draws away equally from the superannuated tenet of classical liberalism and from the norms of the communist experiment being made in Soviet Russia."[4] Cárdenas outlined that the Ministry of Education should: "teach that the socialistic way of living, in its moral aspect, present the means of attaining true individual liberty, and in its economic aspect, implies a system which will put an end to exploitation..."[5]

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[4] "Statement by Cárdenas in Villahermosa, Tabasco State," March 28, 1934, in Friedrich E. Schuler, *Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican Foreign Relations in the Age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934-1940* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 22.

[5] William Cameron Townsend, *Lázaro Cárdenas: Mexican Democrat* (Ann Arbor, MI: George Wahr Publishing Company, 1952), 75-82.

In addition to enacting agricultural and educational reforms in Mexico, Cárdenas committed Mexico to foster the growth of a liberal Spain. Since the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, the sympathies of the Mexican government lay with the Spanish Republicans and the legally constituted Spanish political regime that they supported. Cárdenas's support stemmed from the fear that a fascist victory in Spain would have negative repercussions in Mexico. Dedicated to the Republican cause and the right of the Republic to arm itself, Cárdenas shipped arms and munitions to Madrid to combat the efforts of the Nationalists.[6] Such shipments, which began in September of 1936 with 20,000 Mauser rifles and 20 million bullets via the *Magellan,* continued through the early months of 1937. Two more shipments brought the total number of arms provided to Spain to 27,000 Mauser rifles, 13,000 hand grenades, 30 million bullets, 165 Mendoza machine guns, 100 Mendoza rifles, 7 artillery batteries, 3 Lockheed aircraft, 24 cannons, and 15,000 shells.[7] While Cárdenas implemented more conservative policies following the 1937 economic crisis in Mexico that impacted the size and frequency of aid shipments, he still maintained loyalty to the Spanish Republican cause until Francisco Franco severed diplomatic ties with the nation in 1939. Despite this breakdown of relations, thousands of Spanish refugees sought asylum in Mexico at the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War.

In Mexican collective memory, Mexico has long served as a haven for exiles and refugees from all nations. In her book, *Unwelcome Refugees: Mexico and the Jewish Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945*, Daniela Gleizer challenges such a perspective, claiming that Mexico's

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[6] Clara E. Lida, Jose Antonio Matesanz, and Beatriz Moran Gortari, *La Casa de España en México* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1988), 36.
[7] Mario Ojeda Revah, *Mexico and the Spanish Civil War: Political Repercussions for the Republican Cause* (Chicago, IL: Sussex Academic Press, 2016), 107, 114.

policies of asylum were selective in hopes of maintaining demographic homogeneity. Gleizer argues that Mexico's asylum policy was subject to diplomatic malleability and political intransigence, thus making it selective and placed at the discretion of those in control of the nation. While Mexico welcomed refugees displaced by the Spanish Civil War and those exiled by Franco, the nation maintained a closed-door perspective on the immigration of Jewish individuals fleeing Nazism during the same time frame. Jews, historically placed on the list of "other" and thought to be unable to assimilate easily into Mexican society by the Mexican government, faced immigration limits and quotas while fleeing the Nazi Holocaust. Although some Jewish refugees from Nazism did manage to enter Mexico, the Spaniards fleeing Franco had no restrictions.[8] As Gleizer points out, towards the end of 1938, it became clear that the Mexican government's definition of the term 'political refugees' was not inclusive of individuals fleeing Nazi persecution.[9]

As previously stated, few scholars have studied Spanish Civil War intellectual exiles and their academic contributions as a topic independent of understanding the broader Spanish exile community in Mexico. In particular, there is little analysis of the impact that these Spanish scholars in exile had on intellectual history in Mexico City apart from the scholarship completed by Patricia Fagen and Sebastiaan Faber. Fagen's 1973 monograph, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico* concentrates on Spanish intellectuals and professionals – rather than looking at the broader unit of Spanish Republicans. Sourced through interviews with Spanish

[8] Daniela Gleizer, *Unwelcome Exiles: Mexico and the Jewish Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945*, trans. Susann Thomae (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 63.
[9] Sandra García de Fez, "La cohesión nacional a través de la prensa escolar de los colegios del exilio español en la Ciudad de México (1939-1960)," *Historia de la Educación* 36, no. 0 (February 10, 2017): pp. 103-121, 106; Gleizer, *Unwelcome Exiles: Mexico and the Jewish Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945*, 88.

exiles, Fagen's research articulates the unique cultural identity of Spaniards in Mexico and determines their lasting impact on Mexico and its citizens. Along with addressing the institutional structure that allowed this population to flourish, Fagen also explores how the presence of a shared language helped the Spaniards, serving to both cushion and foster the assimilation and integration of Spanish exiles into Mexican society. While she addresses how these factors played a role in aiding the cultural transition of exiles, Fagen's work does not articulate the favorability of the Spaniards as immigrants, nor does she discuss how this population contributes to intellectual development in Mexico.[10]

Sebastiaan Faber's work, *Exile and Cultural Hegemony: Spanish Intellectuals in Mexico, 1939-1975* (2002) focuses on La Casa de España and the exiled Spanish intellectuals. Faber explores the developments of both Mexican and Spanish politics between the early 1930s and the 1970s and investigates the schools of thought that influenced the confluence of exile discourse and the conservative, anti-communist ideology of Franquismo.[11] Additionally, Faber's research uncovers how Spanish intellectual exiles became increasingly dependent on an executive office in Mexico that was growing more conservative following the Cárdenas sexenio. Faber's work thus attempts to understand Spanish exile culture, but he, like Fagen, does not discuss if and how their experience of exile impacted the social roles of these Spaniards during exile and their impact on post-revolutionary Mexico.[12]

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[10] Patricia Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1973).
[11] The totalitarian regime in Spain under Francisco Franco.
[12] Sebastiaan Faber, *Exile and Cultural Hegemony: Spanish Intellectuals in Mexico, 1939-1975* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002).

In addition to Fagen's and Faber's works, three topics dominate the historiography of exiles of the Spanish Civil War. The first attempts to explain the operations and broader impacts of the war on Spain. In doing so, scholars whose works fall into this group concentrate on the events of the war, as well as the motivations and beliefs of each of the combatant sides. This category encompasses general scholarship on the war that articulates how Franco and the Nationalist wing served as push factors for emigration out of Spain for those, including intellectuals, who did not support the establishment of the new regime. Two examples of scholars who contribute to this category are Paul Preston and Antony Beevor.

Paul Preston's *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* focuses on the events of the Spanish Civil War. Preston discusses how the violence perpetrated by Franco acted as both an extension of political policy and a means of liquidating the enemy through extra-judicial murder, military trials, torture, imprisonment, and exile.[13] Preston, while concentrating on the Spanish Civil War, does not attempt to compare the events in Spain with the Holocaust perpetrated under Nazi Germany. Throughout his book, Preston draws parallels between Francisco Franco, Adolf Hitler, Josef Stalin, and the resonances of systematic murder committed in each case under the regimes headed by each leader. In doing so, Preston's book makes evident that Franco repeatedly demonstrated throughout the war that he "was more concerned with a total purge of all conquered territory than with a quick victory."[14]

[13] Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain* (London: Harper Press, 2013), 428.
[14] Ibid., xii, 314.

Antony Beevor's *The Spanish Civil War* stands on the line between discussing the events of the Spanish Civil War and the underlying factors of emigration and immigration. Beevor's book focuses on the military movements and campaigns of the Spanish Civil War in what he articulates as "three basic forces of conflict: right against left, centralist against regionalist, and authoritarian against libertarian."[15] In addition to shedding light on the actions of the military, Beevor highlights a handful of social changes that occurred following Franco's rise to power. Most interestingly, Beevor notes that the education system in Spain underwent a dramatic shift. While the Spanish Second Republic promoted secular, compulsory education, Franco returned complete control of the education system to the Catholic Church. The Church instituted a ban on mixed-gender classrooms and instruction in regional languages, such as Basque.[16] Beevor also discusses how the Franco government either assassinated or exiled an estimated fifty percent of Spanish educators and intellectuals because of their suspected political sympathies. According to Beevor, the targeting of intellectuals based on their supposed political affiliations influenced emigration out of Spain and the creation of institutions that protected these groups from being the target of their own government.

Turning from the broader spectrum of the first category, the second avenue of research discusses Mexico's foreign policy and perspective of immigration surrounding the Spanish Civil War. Scholarship concentrates on how the Mexican government encouraged, handled, and responded to matters of immigration - both Spanish and other nationalities. This Includes the work of scholars, like Daniela Gleizer and Friedrich Schuler, whose writings are

[15] Antony Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War* (London: Cassell and Company, 1999), 8.
[16] Ibid., 385.

helpful in articulating the background and context of the immigration of refugees and exiles to Mexico.

While Gleizer's work examines immigration and foreign policy in Mexico as it relates to Jewish refugees seeking sanctuary from Nazi Germany, Schuler's monograph details the administrative reestablishment of the post-revolutionary Mexican state. Utilizing a foreign policy perspective, Schuler examines the interaction of the Mexican government with France, Great Britain, Nazi Germany, Spain, and the United States. According to Schuler, the state bureaucracy, namely Cardenismo, shaped the international and domestic policies of Mexico. Schuler demonstrates that Mexico was becoming more conservative following the 1937 economic crisis in hopes of defending the nation and its foreign policy was beginning to pit countries like Great Britain and the United States against one another. To some, this conservative turn represented an attempt to mediate the calls from domestic right-wing opposition to reduce the chance of a Spanish Civil War-like situation occurring in Mexico, which would likely involve foreign intervention. Schuler articulates that Cárdenas, while implementing more conservative policies, still utilized the office of the president "to pursue [the] very personal initiative" of fostering the rescue of Spanish refugees in France.[17] Moreover, Cárdenas worked to influence the immigration of Spaniards with the development of the Casa de España and the development of a 'socialist education.'

The final category important in existing historical research on this topic involves scholarship on the development of La Casa de España. This group of scholarship involves the

[17] Schuler, *Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican Foreign Relations in the Age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934-1940*, 193.

written experiences of those involved with the institution at both the time of its creation and today. This covers the development of the institution from the perspective of the government, as well as how La Casa fostered the connection between the exiled intellectuals and the society receiving them. This includes scholarship by Clara Lida and Martí Soler, each of whom details the history of La Casa de España.

Clara Lida's works discuss the institutional history of La Casa de España, while Martí Soler's book details La Casa de España from 1938 to 1946. Referring to the institution as the "House of Exodus," Soler discusses the creation of La Casa de España and its development as an institution. Intended to serve as an economic support system for exiles who had a goal of remaining in academia, La Casa transitioned into being a standing academic institution with the switch to El Colegio de México. Soler demonstrates that the institution was not only experiencing changes because of the outcome of the Spanish Civil War and the inability of those involved to return to Spain but changes in the government of Mexico that impacted the original objectives of La Casa. *La Casa del Éxodo* consists of grouped primary sources, such as letters, used by the author to demonstrate the experience of La Casa and its evolution over time. Through these groupings and explanations of each stage of history, Soler's work provides readers with a list of individuals involved with La Casa de España and El Colegio de México during the time frame from 1938 to 1946.

This project contributes to the last two of these fields by analyzing how immigration to participate in La Casa and El Colegio impacted the development of intellectual history in Mexico City. Chapter 1 examines the development of immigration laws and quotas set by Mexico in the early 20th century. Changes in laws provide insight into government advocacy and policies that

contributed to the movement of Spanish immigrants, including exiles and refugees, across the Atlantic. Daniela Gleizer's scholarship on Jewish migration to Mexico and Pablo Yankelevich's work on immigration and the integration of émigrés into Mexican society is used in supplement to the examination of the immigration laws of 1926 through 1940, 1930s government circulars, and *Diario Oficial* published quotas.

While this thesis concentrates on the migration of Spanish intellectuals, this population remains a part of the broader community of Spanish emigrants. However, emphasis is given to Spanish immigrants and the apparent exceptionalism experienced by Spanish intellectuals. Chapter 2 breaks down the creation of La Casa de España in late-1938 through its first year of existence in 1939. Combined with immigration laws, La Casa aided the migration for Spanish intellectuals. Letters and telegrams between President Cárdenas, Alfonso Reyes, and government officials retrieved from the Archivo General de la Nacion help to determine the organization of travel for invitees. Correspondence between government officials and invitees retrieved from the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores and Archivo de la Embajada de México en Francia help to determine how the Mexican government's transatlantic humanitarian gesture to house members of the Spanish academic and intellectual community changed through these two years and the impact it had on the institution.

Finally, an epilogue details La Casa de España's transition to El Colegio in October 1940 and the factors that contributed to the transformation, including the decreased likelihood of members returning to Spain at the end of the Spanish Civil War. Utilizing Edward Said's claim that intellectuals as exiles often occupied a peripheral role in their receiving society and memoirs written by participating scholars of El Colegio, I examine individual experiences of assimilation

experienced by Spanish intellectuals into Mexican society. Meanwhile, correspondence between scholars and members of the institution's Board of Governors demonstrate how intellectual development changed between La Casa de España and El Colegio de México.

CHAPTER 1: INS AND OUTS: IMMIGRATION AND POLICIES IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY MEXICO

By the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas was in the second year of his presidential term. While his sexenio saw domestic policies encompassing the enactment of land reform and distribution and the closing of the gap between the church and the state, Cárdenas's foreign policy maintained Mexican loyalty to the Spanish Republican cause, including expressing solidarity with the socialist government of the Republic.[18] Mexico refused to sign the August 1936 International Non-Intervention Committee which agreed to not escalate the war in Spain. Signatories of this agreement, including Britain, France, Germany, and twenty-seven other countries, pressed for a plan to control war materials imported to the Spanish Republic. Such an arrangement would leave Spain in international isolation and subject to a de facto economic embargo, driving immediate support for Franco and the Nationalists.

It was impossible to stop the importation of war materiel to Spain, nor was it possible to prevent foreign intervention in the Civil War. Many signatories ignored the Non-Intervention Agreement and sought to influence the outcome of the war. Some nations, such as Germany and Italy, broke the agreement in its infancy, providing arms to the Nationalists during the beginning of the war. Then current German ambassador to the United Kingdom, Joachim von Ribbentrop spoke to the prevalence of intervention, stating: "It would have been better to call this the Intervention Committee, for the whole activity of its members consisted in explaining or concealing the participation of their countries in Spain."[19]

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[18] The Spanish Republicans supported the Spanish Second Republic and were against Franco's Nationalist faction. Often referred to as "Reds," this faction had a left-leaning ideology and included communist and anarchist political parties.

[19] H Joe J. Heydecker, *The Nuremberg Trial: a History of Nazi Germany as Revealed through the Testimony at Nuremberg,* 1st ed. (Cleveland, OH: World Pub. Co., 1962), 174.

As a result of the nation's rejection to sign the agreement, Mexico became the first state to offer public, official support to the Spanish Republicans while other nations denied their involvement. In addition to supplying the Spanish Republic with munitions and monetary aid made through the Spanish ambassador, President Cárdenas opened Mexico to several waves of Spanish immigrants and refugees, providing them with asylum. Mexico was one of the first countries to accept political refugees from Spain. Mexican immigration laws and procedures established during the early-1930s expressed preferential treatment to immigrating Spaniards, who helped to maintain Mexican mestizaje. This favored status continued during the time of the Spanish Civil War and even during the international turmoil and refugee crisis that emerged during World War II.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Mexican government made an increasing attempt to regulate immigration into the nation through more restrictive guidelines. Leading up to the Ley de Migración de 1926, the government did not deny the power of immigrants' contributions to the progress of Mexico. That said, the legislature emphasizes the essential nature to select and exclude immigrants based on factors including morality, character, the respectability of profession, and education and suspends immigration in the event immigrants come to alter the economic situation of Mexico. Chapter I, Article 29 provides additional restrictions on immigration, refusing entrance to those who have become a 'burden to society' as a result of being a student, hunchbacked, old, lame, or "otherwise crippled." Restrictions also fell on women under age twenty-five attempting to immigrate without being under the authority of a

family member of legal age;[20] males of legal age who are illiterate; prostitutes; drug addicts; and anarchists.[21]

Only desiring those who could contribute to the nation's economic and intellectual productivity, Mexican immigration laws during the 1930s further built upon their predecessor(s). The Ley de Migración de 1930 sought to enact additional reforms and prohibitions on the immigration of "undesirable races" to the nation.[22] Chapter X, Article 60 emphasizes that "Individual or collective immigration of healthy foreigners, trained for work, of good behavior and belonging to races that, due to their conditions, are easily assimilable to our environment, is considered of public benefit."[23] In their attempt to define characteristics that denoted a population's undesirability, the government voiced justification to discourage several groups from immigrating. An October 1933 confidential government circular (no. 250) distributed to agents of the Department of Migration articulates which races the government deemed to be "easily assimilable." Included in this circular was the exclusion of "black, yellow, Malay and Hindu races" for their ethnicities, as well as gypsies for their bad habits. Also discouraged in the release were Arabs, Czechoslovakians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Palestinians, Poles, Siro-Lebanese, and Turks, among a list of others, on the grounds of the "kind of activities to which they dedicate themselves" in reference to their association with street trading. The circular continues, calling for the cancellation of visas issued to Soviet citizens and foreign ecclesiastics for political reasons at the time and the limitation of work visas issued to foreign doctors and professors.[24]

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[20] Regarding the legal age (or age of majority), per Article 34 of the 1917 Constitution, citizenship is 18 if married and holding employment, 21 if unmarried.
[21] "Ley de Migración de 1926" in *Compilación histórica de la legislación migratoria en México: 1909-1996* (México, D.F.: Secretaría de Gobernación, 1996), 32-33.
[22] Pablo Yankelevich, *¿Deseables o inconvenientes? Las fronteras de la extranjería en el México posrevolucionario* (México, D.F.: Bonilla Artigas Editores, 2011), 23.
[23] "Ley de Migración de 1930" in *Compilación histórica de la legislación migratoria en México: 1909-1996* (México, D.F.: Secretaría de Gobernación, 1996), 66.
[24] Yankelevich, *¿Deseables o inconvenientes?*, 43-44.

The Mexican government also discouraged Jewish immigration. Like the October 1933 circular that described the unfavorable characteristics of Eastern Europeans, Middle Easterners, and Asians, an April 1934 confidential circular (no. 157) calls for the restriction of Jewish immigration due to their "psychological and moral characteristics."[25] Similar to the government's reason for discouraging the immigration of other ethnicities, the Mexican government sought to restrict Jewish immigration because of their economic activities. Such an undesirable characteristic meant they were unable to immigrate as salesmen, business representatives, students, etcetera thought to rival the emerging middle class gaining corporative representation in the state.[26] Secretary of the Interior Eduardo Vasconcelos sought to identify Jews attempting to immigrate based on their race, subrace, and religion, believing them to be from different nationalities and maintain diverse physical characteristics.[27] The government considered the Jewish people to be an invading population "fatally manifested in [their] propensity to be displaced" through 1938. Those who did manage to immigrate to Mexico came to settle in cities, where rumors spread that they "[laughed] to themselves at [Mexican] candid, traditional hospitality.'"[28]

Confidential circulars from the early 1930s reveal various impediments the Mexican government put in place to prevent and restrict international immigration. Building upon these documents and guiding immigration measures, the subsequent Ley General de Población de 1936 articulated restrictions for over thirty different ethnic groups and established several different boundaries for immigrants upon their arrival in Mexico.[29] Restrictions came in the form

[25] "Ibid., 43-44.
[26] Daniela Gleizer, *Unwelcome Exiles: Mexico and the Jewish Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945*, 45.
[27] Friedrich Katz, "Mexico, Gilberto Bosques and the Refugees," *The Americas* 57, no. 1 (July 2000): pp. 1-12, 2.
[28] "Primero, Los Españoles," *Excélsior*, 4 April 1938.
[29] "Ley General de Población," *Diario Oficial*, num. 52, tomo XCVII, sec. 2, 29 August 1936, p.1.

of annual allotments and quotas based on an immigrant's nation of origin. A November 1937 agreement published in the *Diario Oficial* establishes the tables permitting the admission of foreign immigrants the following year. Under these guidelines immigration from Spain and North America would be unrestricted, while only allowing for up to five thousand immigrants from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland. Arrivals from the remaining countries were capped at one hundred immigrants.[30]

Boundaries for migrants who did enter Mexico appear within Articles 31 and 32 of the 1936 law. The former prevented foreigners from exercising professions in Mexico, while the latter blocked foreigners from participating in industrial and commercial activities. Providing job security for Mexican citizens at a time when the Great Depression had ravaged employment on a global scale, Article 33 offered protection for the employment of nationals and provided for the systematic exercises of intellectual or artistic activities of foreigners. Although the nation wanted to attract 'civilized' immigrants in the hopes of replenishing the workforce that they lost to emigration to the United States, it continued to be mindful of the populations it allowed to enter the nation and their impact on the workforce.[31]

The 1936 law also put forth two regulations that facilitated a framework for receiving Spanish Republicans in Mexico. The first, Article 7, section II, articulates the power of the

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[30] Also permitted in unlimited numbers were immigrants from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. "Acuerdo por el cual se fijan las tablas diferenciales que regirán la admisión de extranjeros, en calidad de inmigrantes durante el año de 1938," *Diario Oficial*, num. 17, tomo CV, 19 November 1937, p. 1 and 2.

[31] Mexico, over the course of the twentieth-century, has become a country of net emigration. From 1910 to 1930, 8 percent of Mexico's population was living in the United States; during this time, political elites believed emigration to be a threat to building the state. While the 1939 Law of Nationality and Naturalization amendments allowed Mexican emigrants to return to the country and reclaim their nationality, it also provided Spaniards living in Mexico a shorter residency requirement to gain naturalization. Fitzgerald, David. "Nationality and Migration in Modern Mexico." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 1 (January 2005): 171–91.

Ministry of the Interior to promote the entry of "foreigners of the nationality, race, sex, age, marital status, occupation, education, and ideology that it considers appropriate, in the number and temporality that is necessary."[32] This article also provided for the expulsion of foreigners deemed undesirable by the government. While meant to be applied to an individual, this provision was first approached in Article 33 of the Constitution which gives the government the power to expel "all foreigners whose stay it determines to be inconvenient."[33]

Article 56 guarantees a second provision in the 1936 Ley General de Población, promising asylum to those escaping political persecution.[34] While this held for the stateless Spanish Republicans seeking refuge from Franco's Spain, it did not hold for the stateless Jewish refugees requesting entry upon the outbreak of World War II. While some governments were willing to provide protection to Jewish refugees, many no longer possessed official passports. Thus, Jewish refugees needed to obtain emergency passports to be able to ensure their travel, which complicated the emigration process – especially from a country that saw them as inferior beings and not citizens. Not to mention many could not provide viable proof to receive such documentation.[35] In essence, the Spanish Republicans appeared to be an exception created on the behalf of the Mexican government because of the monetary and armament support that Cárdenas provided to the Spanish Republic.

An article published by *El Excélsior* in April 1938 details the comments of Secretary of the Interior, Ignacio García Téllez on Mexico's immigration policies. To combat the nation's

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[32] "Ley General de Población," *Diario Oficial*, p.1, 2, and 5.
[33] *Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, 1917.
[34] Pablo Yankelevich, "Migración, mestizaje y xenofobia en México (1910-1950)," *Anuario de Historia de América Latina* 54 (2017): pp. 129-156, 151.
[35] In the 1920s, Europe began programs to resettle immigration. Those who participated had to get papers, but they stripped them of their passports - see Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Nazi Germany's promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws further redefined citizenship, stripping Jewish and other citizens of their citizenship - making them unable to vote and stateless, which impacted their ability to obtain a passport or a visa to leave Germany.

perception of xenophobia, García Téllez commented that "Mexico [had] no racial prejudice." However, the Secretary almost immediately backtracked on the statement claiming that the only exception to the immigration criteria were those who were "of the greatest benefit to our nationality, but ethnically and economically." The article continued to articulate García Téllez's statement that the government preferred "the immigration of foreigners who contribute to the progress of the country, with their capital, technical knowledge and professional experience in economic development."[36] Using the Secretary's words, the author claims that the Mexican government preferred the Spaniards over the French, Germans, Italians, and the Jewish because they were more likely to assimilate into society.

The anti-immigrant mindset was not restricted to legal promulgations in the 1920s and 1930s. Over three decades earlier, the local and federal governments placed restrictions on prospective immigrants. An example of a population facing discrimination at the state and national level were the Chinese. Before the turn of the 20th century in the state of Sonora, citizens and political figures accused Chinese immigrants of displacing Mexican washerwomen, shoemakers, seamstresses, and cooks, among other professions, as they moved towards small-scale enterprises.[37] In August 1931, state legislation banned Chinese immigration and expel Chinese residents living in the state.

Such policies paralleled ideas presented at the national level twenty-five years earlier in the Partido Liberal Mexicano's 1906 program. In addition to requiring immigrants to renounce their status, the program called for a prohibition of Chinese immigration, claiming that Mexico

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[36] "México no tiene ningún prejuício racial…" "…la inmigración de extranjeros que contribuy[e]n al progreso del país, con su capital, conocimientos técnicos y experiencia profesional en el desarrollo económico de la República." "Primero, Los Españoles," *Excélsior*, 4 April 1938.

[37] Moisés González Navarro, *Los extranjeros en México y los mexicanos en el extranjero: 1821-1970*, vol. 3 (México, D.F.: Colegio de México, 1994), 87.

does not and would not benefit from their continued arrival. This measure served to protect the jobs of Mexican workers from a population that was beginning to monopolize certain retail enterprises and the rest of the nation's population from disease-transmitting immigrants.[38] Gradually, the nation experienced a shift from seeing the Chinese as economic competition to them being racially and culturally inferior.[39] Among those speaking against the Chinese at this time was Alfonso Reyes. The future organizer of La Casa de España called those who wished to attract Oriental populations to Mexico "snobs" reliant upon vague generalizations of visual facial characteristics.[40] Campaigns against the Chinese and other immigrant groups, such as the Jewish, continued in the 1930s and beyond with political and intellectual movements renouncing their contributions to the economy of Mexico.[41]

Largely unrestricted by the immigration provisions laid out by the Ley de General Población de 1936 and discussed with preference in the 1938 conversations of migration policies are the Spanish – both as general immigrants and as refugees. Although Mexico maintained a closed-door policy on the immigration of Jewish individuals fleeing Nazism during the same time frame, it welcomed refugees displaced by the Spanish Civil War and those exiled as persecution under Franco. One main distinction noted by Daniela Gleizer draws on the observation that the Mexican government considered the Jewish population fleeing Hitler to be immigrants at this time, not refugees. A distinction which resulted in their subjection to laws and resolutions that restricted immigration.

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[38] Raymond B. Craib III. "Chinese Immigrants in Porfirian Mexico: A Preliminary Study of Settlement, Economic Activity and Anti-Chinese Sentiment." (1996), 12, 21.
[39] Philip A. Dennis, "The Anti-Chinese Campaigns in Sonora, Mexico," *Ethnohistory* 26, no. 1 (1979): pp. 65-80, 72.
[40] Navarro, *Los extranjeros en México y los mexicanos en el extranjero: 1821-1970,* 87-8, 98; Alfonso Reyes, *La inmigración en Francia (1927)* (México, D.F.: Imprenta Barrié, 1947).
[41] The actions of organized, anti-immigrant movements (such as the Gold Shirts) should be noted, as attacks on Jewish and Chinese immigrants and their property occurred during this time.

After the 1938 Évian Conference, Mexico designated the Jewish as political exiles. However, the Mexican government did not provide guidelines on how to handle Jewish pleas for asylum until they were labelled as "racial refugees" the following year. In which case, Jewish racial refugees were not subject to the same immigration guidelines as political refugees. While Mexico allowed approximately 2,000 Jewish refugees to enter between 1933 and 1945, the nation accepted over 20,000 Spanish refugees between 1939 and 1942 alone. [42] In Mexico, Spaniards are long considered by members of the government and some of the general population to be the most suitable people to coexist and merge into a homogeneous "crisol etnográfico."[43] From this comes the notion that Spaniards integrated without difficulty into Mexican society. Other populations thought to be unable to assimilate included the Germans, French, and Italians, who remained "just as German, as French, or Italian as the day… they set foot on the soil of Mexico for the first time."[44]

Maintaining Mestizo Mexico

The government expressed concern regarding the protection of Mexico's mixed identity and the continuation of the proliferation of the long-held feeling of *mestizophilia*. Rooted in ideas of Mexican independence and serving as a method to aid in the legitimization of political power because of the tension between Spanish culture and indigenous culture, mestizophilia modernized into ideas and practices that shaped a set of policies that came to structure perspectives of Mexican nationalism and cultural identity.[45] During the early decades of the

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[42] Daniela Gleizer, *Unwelcome Exiles: Mexico and the Jewish Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945*, 88-89.
[43] "Los Refugiados Españoles" *El Excélsior*, 10 June 1939.
[44] "…el europeo de Italia, de Francia o de Alemania sigue siendo tan alemán, tan francés o italiano como el día en que, muchos años antes, pisó por primera vez el suelo de México." "Primero, Los Españoles," *El Excélsior*, 4 April 1938.
[45] Olivia Gall, "Mexican Long-Living *Mestizophilia* versus a Democracy Open to Diversity," *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 8, no. 3 (2013): pp. 280-303, 281.

twentieth century up to the Great Depression, Mexico was both a sender and receiver of immigrants – a flow that influenced the variety of governmental responses to immigration. Excluding those believed to be too alien to assimilate and being selective of the immigrant population bearing human capital, the Mexican government expressed a knowledge that the more restrictions they placed on immigrant and foreign presence in the nation, the more likely it would be that the Revolutionary ideals of social justice and freedom come to fruition. As such, Mexico enacted immigration policies and preferences to accept specific nationalities seeking asylum and refuge implying the assurance of an element of racial purity to maintain mestizaje.

Writing produced by prominent Mexican intellectuals, like Andrés Molina Enríquez's *Los grandes problemas nacionales* and José Vasconcelos's *La raza cósmica,* emphasized aspects of Mexican exceptionality and set to establish a paradigm when it comes to interacting with foreigners under the premise of a national disintegration in the period leading up to the Mexican Revolution. The ideas presented by Vasconcelos both redirected and redefined Mexico's mestizophilia, articulating a community based on cultural nationalism to advance the cultural morale of a depressed Mexican race. Likewise, Vasconcelos's argument also articulates that the Iberian people possessed some of the necessary cultural and racial features that could facilitate a new era of humanity – what he calls the "cosmic race." While the nation began to experience more emigration than immigration, it continued to express a desire to regulate immigration in post-revolutionary Mexico. Such action insured against an invasion by "unwelcome foreigners" who threatened the "ethnic consciousness" of the nation.[46] Spanish immigration came to be

[46] Yankelevich, "Migración, mestizaje y xenofobia en México (1910-1950)," 134, 139.

supported by the Mexican government as the Spaniards immigration provided Mexico with the "blood that can enliven the exhausted trunk of [their] race."[47]

Another factor that needed to be present was the willingness of an immigrant group to join the mestizaje, a component of the formation of the Mexican identity. This likely contributed to some of the government's expressed preference for Spanish Republicans, many of whom integrated into their receiving society rather than remain within a liminal state where they neither assimilated into the nation that received them nor detached from the nation of origin.[48] Yet, even in the time of immigration restrictions that applied to other nationals, those from Spain faced minimal constraints. This was due to Mexico's realization that they maintained an "Iberian cultural ancestry," which contributed to the idea Spaniards could be easily assimilated into Mexican society.[49]

As Spain and Mexico share a common official language and linguistic similarities, immigrants and exiles did not have to experience a phenomenon that scholar José Ignacio Cruz Orozco identifies as "expatriación lingüística."[50] Unlike their experience in other European countries and other immigrants to Mexico, Spanish exiles did not have to learn a new language to gain access to the workforce in the same positions that they held before. The presence of a shared language "is to coexistence what the sun is to human life,"[51] as such, it was able to facilitate a seamless integration of Spanish intellectuals into Mexican culture and society. Additionally, this lack of expatriación lingüística later allowed for the more imminent chance of employment in education for Spanish intellectuals participating in La Casa de España once it

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[47] *El inmigrante Español* (México, D.F.: Población, 1942), 108 in Navarro, *Los extranjeros en México y los mexicanos en el extranjero: 1821-1970*, 173.
[48] Edward W. Said, "Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals," *Grand Street*, no. 47 (1993): pp. 112-124, 114.
[49] Yankelevich, "Migración, mestizaje y xenofobia en México (1910-1950)," 151.
[50] José Ignacio Cruz, "El Instituto Luis Vives Colegio Español de México," *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 50, no. 193 (1992): pp. 527-543, 530.
[51] "Primero, Los Españoles," *Excélsior*, 4 April 1938.

became clear that a return to a Republican Spain was not possible because of the persistence of Franco's Falangist regime even after the defeat of Mussolini and Hitler in World War II.

Scholars have connected anti-Semitism and racism in Mexican society with the preservation of the mestizaje identity to the favoritism of Spaniards in Mexico as a more accepted immigrant population. Much like its restrictions outlining populations of acceptable immigrants, Mexico's asylum policies were also selective in hopes of maintaining a form of demographic homogeneity. Mexico's policy featured both diplomatic malleability and political intransigence, thus making it selective and placed at the discretion of those in control of the nation. While the nation denied entrance to Jews seeking political asylum and refuge, it never denied the requests for the same conditions from Spanish exiles. Immigrants to Mexico often had to prove that they would be able to easily assimilate into life in Mexico while being able to uphold mestizaje in the nation. This is further articulated through Mexico's allowance of an unlimited number of Spanish immigrants while claiming that Jewish immigration fostered the spread of an undesirable population that brought undesirable psychological and moral characteristics.[52] Jewish refugees, in the eyes of the Secretaries of the Interior and other Mexican lawmakers, were not going to maintain the same cultural and racial familiarities that the Spaniards could bring as Mexico attempted to make "the mestizo the icon of national identity."[53]Along with maintaining mestizaje, ne other factor that the Spanish Republicans, particularly intellectual exiles, could offer to Mexico was intellectual and cultural advancement.[54]

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[52] Friedrich Katz, "Mexico, Gilberto Bosques and the Refugees," 2.
[53] Yankelevich, "Mexico for the Mexicans: Immigration, National Sovereignty and the Promotion of Mestizaje," 413.
[54] Gisela Argote, "The Jewish Migration to Mexico during Nazi Germany," *Pathways: A Journal of Humanistic and Social Inquiry* 1, no. 13 (February 2021), 2.

Spanish Immigration to Mexico

The first group of Spanish immigrants and refugees to Mexico came in June 1937, almost a year after the start of the civil war. This group consisted of 456 Spanish Republican minors between the ages of five and twelve and approximately thirty Spanish teachers evacuated at the request of the Comité Iberoamericano de Ayuda al Pueblo Español (CIAPE).[55] Those evacuated were to remain in Mexico for the duration of the war. The outcome of the Spanish Civil War and outbreak of World War II resigned these children to permanent residence in Mexico. In the broad spectrum, Mexico was one of many countries to protect Spanish children from the violence of war. Spanish Republican children were also sent by their parents via the CIAPE to other nations, including Belgium, Denmark, England, and France. Those who arrived in Mexico received placement in dormitory housing in the city of Morelia, Michoacán, earning them their name, "Los Niños de Morelia." Here, the state assumed care for the children and offered them an education at La Escuela Industrial España-México in the hopes that, upon their return to Spain, they would be defenders of an ideal Spanish homeland. To the Mexican Republic, the nearly five-hundred children were to serve as symbols of Mexico's commitment to the care and acceptance of Spanish refugees.[56]

Beginning two and a half years after the arrival of Los Niños, the third period of immigrants consisted of more traditional refugees who were seeking protection from a violent Spain approaching the end of the civil war. Motivating this exodus was Francisco Franco's February 1939 promulgation of La Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas (Law of Political

[55] Created under the auspices of President Cárdenas, this organization would later become the Comité de Ayuda a los Niños del Pueblo Español.

[56] Juan Manuel Fernández Soria, "La asistencia a la infancia en la Guerra Civil," *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria* 6 (1987): pp. 83-128; José Ignacio Cruz, "Los maestros españoles de los 'niños de Morelia' nuevas aportaciones," *Revista de Indias* 63, no. 228 (2003): pp. 519-540, 519-521; and INAH, "Fondo Niños de Morelia. Colección Testimonios Orales."

Responsibilities). Enacted two months before the end of the Spanish Civil War, the law retroactively declared those who supported the Republican efforts since October 1934 and before 18 July 1936 guilty of committing a crime against the state by supporting the so-called illegitimate Spanish Second Republic. The law also targeted individuals who opposed Franco's Nationalist Movement through the perpetuation of the "Red subversion," be it having a membership to a political party in the Popular Front coalition, or an association allied with it after the elections of 16 February 1936.

Mexico, a state which continued to not recognize Francisco Franco's regime, announced the official offer of asylum to Spaniards on 31 March 1939.[57] In the early months of 1939, the Mexican ambassador to Spain, Adalberto Tejeda, moved the Mexican consulate to Perpignan, France. From the new location, the consulate continued operating unofficially using the help of Spanish immigrants who fled. The Republican defeat in Spain, international recognition of Franco as the official leader, and Franco's promulgation of the Law of Political Responsibilities drove further immigration and imposed exile. This group of immigrants provided Mexico with the largest group of Spanish exiles.

On 1 April 1939, the last Spanish Republican forces surrendered, and Francisco Franco declared victory via a radio speech. Republicans and their supporters almost immediately fled north into France, though the leaders of the French Third Republic encouraged those unable to find familial or financial connections to return to Spain. Refugees who attempted to return under this direction were turned over to Franco's authorities at the border, then sent for "political purification" as outlined by the Law of Political Responsibilities. Those convicted of treason

[57] "Oficialmente Anúnciase Que México Dará Asilo a Republicanos Españoles," *El Excélsior*, March 31, 1939.

under this law suffered the "absolute loss of their rights" and the total loss of property.[58] Most faced sentences that imposed limitations on residential liberties, including banishment and exile, as well as a total economic loss through the seizure of assets and forced reparation payments.

Forced reparations and money seized totaled over 1,550,000 pesetas (today, 189,861 pesos) in Catalonia alone. The Tribunal of Political Responsibilities fined musician Pau Casals one million pesetas, while two members of the Macía family were forced to pay a combined total of 550,000 pesetas (67,370 pesos today). Per the Law of Political Responsibilities, fines imposed on guilty individuals ranged from approximately 100 pesetas to total seizure of assets. Article 9.2 requires the imposition of a "total loss of assets" and banishment on those given a verdict with the proposition of the loss of nationality. Meanwhile, Article 13 applies a variety of terms for economic sanctions dependent on the gravity of the ruling – with payment periods ranging from a minimum of six months and one day to a maximum of fifteen years. These payments, under law, would not stop in the event of the death of the accused; instead, the remaining family must pay the rest of the reparations. However, if the government seized partial assets, then the economic penalty is not to exceed four years.[59]

With the Franco regime further pressing for their persecution, many Spanish refugees who found themselves having, or accused of having, left-leaning political sympathies and anti-Franco perspectives fled north to France. In all, over 500,000 refugees entered France. Once crossing the border, some were able to secure their way to the larger cities of Toulouse and Paris. However, many refugees found themselves in crowded internment camps in the communes of Bram, Le Boulou, Perpignan, Saint-Cyprien, and Argelès-sur-Mer.[60] The French government

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[58] Spanish State, *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*, Boletín Oficial del Estado, No. 44. Burgos, Spain: February 1939, 825.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Antony Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War*, 394; Lida, et. al., *La Casa de España en México*, 104.

established these camps throughout the nation intending to temporarily confine the massive amounts of Spanish Republicans who began entering France through the northeastern Spanish region of Catalonia.[61] Refugees in internment camps lived in poor conditions: the government often packed 150 people or more into each of the three-story barracks. Countless numbers of these buildings were poorly constructed and, as such, provided those inside with little protection against the elements. Many detainees died within the camps while others were unfortunately sent back to Spain.[62] Those extradited to Spain faced two fates: some encountered conviction under the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas which resulted in political purification at the Miranda de Ebro concentration camp or their exile from Spain, while the Franco government executed others as enemies of the state.[63]

While intellectual immigration to Mexico remained steady throughout the late-1930s, World War II prevented the movement and passage of refugees out of France. The emergence of Vichy France in July 1940 halted the transport of all Spanish refugees to Mexico for a handful of months. Under the leadership of Marshall Philippe Pétain, France became a collaborator with Nazi Germany, which resulted in stricter migratory policies that required approval from the command in Germany. Almost 60,000 Spanish Republicans liberated from internment camps joined the war effort in support of France before the nation's fall to the Nazis, with nearly 10,000 soldiers imprisoned and later deported to German concentration camps. Soldiers and civilians alike, the Spanish Republicans, marked with blue triangles to signify their designation as stateless emigrants, were treated as slave labor. These deportations resulted in more pressing conditions driving Spanish immigration, as these individuals came to find themselves with few

[61] Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*, 479.
[62] Clara E. Lida, *Inmigración y exilio: Reflexiones sobre el caso Español* (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores en coedición con El Colegio de México, 1997), 108.
[63] Katz, "Mexico, Gilberto Bosques and the Refugees," 5.

other possible destinations. Despite the impediment, President Cárdenas continued to demonstrate Mexico's commitment to the Spanish Republican refugees in France. In a July 1940 letter sent to his Minister Plenipotentiary in France, Luis Ignacio Rodríguez Taboada, President Cárdenas declared:

> As a matter of urgency, you must express to the French government that Mexico is ready to host all Spanish refugees of both sexes residing in France. Please say that this government is taking appropriate measures to implement this resolution in the least possible time. If the French government accepts our idea in principle, you will state that from the moment of its acceptance all Spanish refugees will remain under the protection of the Mexican flag.[64]

Between early 1939 and 1942, approximately 25,000 Spanish refugees came to Mexico via commissioned voyages from French ports using the *Flandre*, *Ipanema*, *Mexique*, *Nayassa*, and *Sinaia*.[65] Once Mexico severed diplomatic ties with Franco's Spain, the Mexican consul in Marseille issued visas to Spanish refugees. As a result, Spanish Republican exiles and refugees were able to gain asylum in Mexico seemingly without limitations.[66] One of the most prominent individuals in fostering this relationship between Mexico and the Spaniards and the distribution of these documents was Gilberto Bosques Saldívar. Following the German occupation of Paris, Bosques directed employees of the Mexican consulate to distribute visas to anyone wanting to flee to Mexico.[67] Some of these Spanish refugees arriving onboard government-commissioned ships integrated into Mexican society by becoming farmers and ranchers in small Mexican agrarian villages, technicians, and entrepreneurs.

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[64] Lázaro Cárdenas to Luis Ignacio Rodríguez Taboada, AGN, LC, c. 1073, exp. 577/17.
[65] Nations of origin for these ships are unclear. However, it is noted by Manuel Serra, a Catalonian exile, that the *Mexique* was named for the country providing sanctuary for the Republican exiles. The *Flandre* first arrived in May 1939, with the *Sinaia* and the *Ipanema* arriving the following month. Francie Cate-Arries, *Spanish Culture behind Barbed-Wire: Memory and Representation of the French Concentration Camps, 1939-1945* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2004), 220-222.
[66] "Oficialmente Anúnciase que México Dará Asilo a Republicanos Españoles," *El Universal*, March 1939.
[67] Daniela Salzman Gleizer, "Gilberto Bosques y el consulado de México en Marsella (1940-1942). La burocracia en tiempos de guerra," *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea de México* 49 (2015): pp. 54-76.

Unlike those who came before and after, the second group of immigrants from Spain consisted of intellectuals. Many of these scholars arrived at the beginning of 1938 to participate in La Casa de España, a cultural institution founded to give refuge to Spanish Republican intellectual exiles. Like the conditions provided to Los Niños, this arrangement for the academics was intended to be temporary until their return to Spain was possible. Yet, arriving in Mexico two years after the promulgation of discriminatory immigration policies, the Spanish intellectuals happened to align with a population that was well-desired by the Mexican government. One that could offer intellectual and cultural advancement to Mexico.[68]

[68] Argote, "The Jewish Migration to Mexico during Nazi Germany," 2.

CHAPTER 2: LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS: FROM "HOUSES OF CULTURE" TO A "HOUSE OF SPAIN"

Beginning in late-1936, Daniel Cosío Villegas[69] received his posting as *chargé d'affaires* at the Mexican Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal. Educated in England, France, and the United States, Cosío Villegas forged a career that ranged from diplomat to economist to academic – a range that would result in his absorption by and integration into the institutional and intellectual vacuum created by the Mexican Revolution. One year into his post in Portugal, Cosío Villegas received word of the experience of Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, the Spanish Ambassador to Portugal, about the experience of Spanish intellectuals during the Spanish Civil War.

Cosío Villegas recalls in his memoir that archives, laboratories, libraries, and universities closed in Spain around the outbreak of the war. With the main locations of research unavailable to academics, the Spanish Republican government established "Houses of Culture" where Spanish intellectuals could continue their work in Spain under relative security. However, these locations were often devoid of books and students.[70] The former Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters and Rector of the Complutense University of Madrid, Sánchez Albornoz was one of the first Spanish intellectuals who appealed for the establishment of a partnership to foster a cultural and artistic exchange upon the outbreak of the war. While he previously appealed to Portugal for the "Casa de Cervantes" to help facilitate such an agreement, the original plan devised by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz failed when Portugal voiced its support to

[69] Cosío Villegas would later become president of El Colegio de México from 1958 to 1963. Cosío Villegas was also founded of the Fondo de Cultura Económica publishing group in 1934, which would come to financially support La Casa de España.
[70] Enrique Krauze, *Daniel Cosío Villegas: Una biografía intelectual* (México, D.F.: Joaquín Moritz, 1980), 94-5.

Franco. To add further insult to injury, Sánchez Albornoz and the rest of his legation in Portugal were removed from the Embassy.[71]

As a result of these conditions and the failed attempt of Sánchez Albornoz, Cosío Villegas pleaded to the Mexican government in September 1936 to establish an institute to provide a haven in which Spaniards could continue their paused work. Such action was the first mention of Mexico providing sanctuary to intellectuals facing the Spanish Civil War. Cosío Villegas intended for the National University to provide protection to Spanish Republican intellectuals, as their presence would benefit Mexico.[72] Leading up to the initial approval to proceed, Cosío Villegas crafted a list of invitees composed of the "most eminent" of Spanish intellectuals from a variety of subjects. Included in the curated list were Fernando de los Ríos (politician, writer), Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (historian), Enrique Díez Canedo (art critic, writer), Luis de Zulueta, (pedagogue, writer), Gregorio Marañón (historian, writer), and Teófilo Hernando (doctor).[73]

Of the six invitees first listed by Cosío Villegas, four held ambassadorial posts on behalf of the government of the Second Spanish Republic.[74] Such a fact demonstrates the existence of a favorable relationship between those who organized La Casa de España and those they invited, as diplomats were often loyal to the Second Spanish Republic. Approval from President Lázaro Cárdenas came in December 1936 and Cosío Villegas, by his own admission, spent the next

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[71] Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Memorias* (México, D.F.: J. Mortiz, 1986), 164-169.
[72] Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México,* 25.
[73] The 1938 newspaper article announces the arrival of José Gaos (Rector of Uni. of Central Madrid, philosophy professor): Ramon Menéndez Pidal, Tomás Navarro Tómas, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Dámaso Alonso, and José Fernández Montesinos (all of the Centro de Estudios Históricos de Madrid); Joaquín Xirau (Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at Uni. de Barcelona), Dr. Pío del Río Ortega (Madrid), Drs. Gonzalo Lafora and Teófilo Hernando (Faculty of Medicine of Madrid); Enrique Diez Canedo and Juan de la Encina (críticos del arte), and Adolfo Salazar and Jesús Bal y Gay (musicologists). *Excélsior,* 20 August 1938.
[74] Fernando de los Ríos, Ambassador in Washington; Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Ambassador in Portugal; Enrique Díez Canedo, Ambassador in Argentina; Luis de Zulueta, Ambassador to the Vatican.

seven months further clarifying his plan and redrafting his initial list of invitees for a second and third time.[75] At this time, the not-yet-established La Casa de España needed to compete with other universities, such as Harvard and Columbia, to entice intellectual refugees to Mexico.[76]

In August of 1938, almost two years after its initial approval, Cárdenas officially established La Casa de España by presidential decree.[77] The issued degree aligned with the original plea made by Cosío Villegas, allowing a selected group of Spanish teachers and intellectuals to come to Mexico. Here, they would be able to continue their interrupted research and be free to voice their support for the Spanish Republican cause currently under siege by the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. Also included in the government's provision was the offer of asylum for intellectuals facing political condemnation and persecution by the Francoist government for their perceived sympathy for and association with left-leaning and left-of-center political parties. Early on, the government dismissed many teachers and school administrators from their posts. In some instances, several intellectuals faced extra-judicial execution by firing squad as enemies of the state because of their political affiliations. Such targeted action later became more prominent during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. Thus, La Casa de España intended to enable prominent Spanish intellectuals to continue their research in Mexico. They could work here until they could find posts – such as teaching and researching positions – within Mexican universities.

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[75] Cosío Villegas, *Memorias*, 169.
[76] Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 39.
[77] *Boletín* del Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicida, 20 de agosto de 1938., and Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 43.

Along with the announcement of the formation of La Casa de España, a telegram between the Ministry of Finance and Eduardo Hay reveals that a Board of Governors[78] appointed by President Cárdenas would manage the institution. Members of this Board consisted of Eduardo Villaseñor, Undersecretary of Finance, who represented the Federal Government, and Messrs. Dr. Enrique Arreguín, the President of the National Council for Higher Education and Scientific Research, and Dr. Gustavo Baz, Rector of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM).[79] In Villaseñor's temporary absence, Cosío Villegas would represent the Federal Government while also serving in his role as the Board's secretary.[80]

Funding for La Casa came from the Secretary of Education of the Mexican government, the Banco Nacional de México, the Fondo de Cultura Económica, and UNAM. According to Cosío Villegas, President Cárdenas ordered that La Casa de España never receive a subsidy that was less than 200,000 pesos per year.[81] With this support, La Casa sponsored lectures, courses, and conferences by Spanish intellectuals who had emigrated to Mexico to take part. Likewise, universities throughout Mexico also paid these individuals to present classes or lecture series at their institutions. While La Casa de España provided a name under which intellectuals could continue their interrupted scholarship, the institution lacked a permanent building where its

[78] The phrasing "…dirigidos aquí por un patronato" ("directed here by a Board of Trustees") appears in a telegram between Eduardo Hay and Leobardo Ruiz on 2 August 1938, detailing the information he received in a 27 July 1938 letter from the Ministry of Finance. While, like a Board of Trustees, those appointed to serve in this position had other careers and provided advice for La Casa, they also directly governed while representing the interests of the institutions/departments that they represented.

[79] Eduardo Hay to Leobardo Ruiz, 25 August 1938, AEMFRA LEG. 324. EXP. 17; and Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, 29-30.

[80] Villaseñor's whereabouts during this time are currently unknown. All individuals named as members of the Board of Trustees had previous experience teaching at the university level throughout Mexico, many of whom were previously employed at UNAM. Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 99.

[81] Clara Lida notes a discrepancy of 100,000 pesos appears the number reported by Cosío Villegas in his biography, in which he claims the subsidy was 300,000 pesos, and that later disclosed to Cosío Villegas to Enrique Krauze in 1978 in number by 100,000 pesos. Though this subsidy appears to have reached 350,000 pesos by the time El Colegio de México was established in 1940. In Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 46; Krauze, *Daniel Cosío Villegas: Una biografía intelectual*, 98.

members could work – its two offices on Calle Madero No. 32 were the only buildings associated with the organization. As a result, these intellectuals found themselves placed at a handful of universities throughout Mexico where they could perform their work scattered among Mexican academics, not in a central location in Mexico City. These locations included but were not limited to, academic programs at the University of Michoacán and the University of Guadalajara.

Upon its establishment in 1938, the Board of La Casa agreed that four distinct categories would divide the actions of participants: Resident, Honorary, Special, and Intern. Each of these groups defined the capacity in which members worked within the institution. Researchers and scholars invited in the role of "Resident Members" were both employed and regularly remunerated by the La Casa. Hired as "full-time intellectuals," Resident Members faced the most restrictions as their contracts required them to be fully dedicated to the institution.[82] As a result:

> Due to their status as Resident Members, they do not acquire the power to freely exercise any profession within Mexican territory since this would have to be the subject of a special procedure already established by our laws. The Resident Member who opts for this extreme, will previously renounce his status as such, dispensing with the fixed remuneration that La Casa receives and the sum that, where appropriate, would correspond to him for a possible return trip.[83]

Participants designated as "Honorary Members" comprised a second category. These intellectuals were not permanently linked to La Casa, instead, they were only paid for the work that they performed in conjunction with the institutions. Following up, "Special Members" were

[82] By the end of its second year, Krauze reports that La Casa had 28 Resident Members and 11 Special Members. Enrique Krauze, *Daniel Cosío Villegas: Una biografía intelectual*, 99.

[83] "Por su condición de Miembros Residentes, estos no adquieren la facultad de ejercer libremente ninguna profesión dentro del territorio mexicano pues ello tendría que ser objeto de un procedimiento especial establecido ya por nuestras leyes. El Miembro Residente que optara por este extremo, renunciará previamente a su calidad de tal, prescindiendo de la remuneración fija que de La Casa recibe y de la suma que, en su caso, le correspondería para un posible viaje de regreso." Alfonso Reyes to José Gaos, 13 October 1939, in José Gaos, Alberto Enríquez Perea, and Alfonso Reyes, *Itinerarios filosóficos: correspondencia José Gaos - Alfonso Reyes, 1939-1959; y textos de José Gaos sobre Alfonso Reyes, 1942-1968* (Colegio de México, 1999), 52.

employed by other academic institutions and, as such, were not entirely beholden to research with La Casa. Oftentimes employed to perform specific work, Special Members served La Casa for a variable amount of time. The final category consisted of "Interns" or transitory members who on occasion assisted the institution without being members.[84]

When drafting a more thorough list of desired invitees,[85] those in charge of La Casa had to balance several factors. The most prominent of such is how beneficial a potential invitee could be to La Casa. To determine a scholar's benefit to the institution, leaders weighed the "moral and human qualities" of possible participants with their merits and potential for scholarly production.[86] The latter encompassed the participant's likelihood to contribute to intellectual communities within Mexico. Additionally, La Casa's leaders needed to balance assurance to the Mexican public that the intellectuals who received invitations to participate in the institution were not political agents but representatives of Spanish culture. In its early years, La Casa de España served as a channel to attract, place, and aid participants. Overall, the institution's efficiency lay within its ability to distribute Spanish academic talent throughout Mexico.

Letters and telegrams exchanged between Eduardo Hay and Leobardo Ruiz,[87] who coordinated invites for La Casa, as well as those to desired participants, reveal information about the institution's design. Scholars received an invitation for a one-year term and were to receive

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[84] Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 124.
[85] Later added to this list were Drs. Pío del Río Hortega and Joaquín Xirau, who each arrived in Mexico in late-1938.
[86] *El Nacional*, September 23, 1938
[87] Eduardo Hay served as Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Relations from 1935 to 1940; Leobardo Ruiz served as the *charge d'affaires* to the Mexican embassy in Paris from 1937 to 1938 and then as a counselor to the Mexican Embassy in Paris through 1938. Both individuals maintained regular contact as they discussed invitations for participation in La Casa and travel plans for individuals who accepted the offer. This connection can be seen in numerous letters in AEMFRA LEG. 324. EXP. 17.

remuneration through a stipend to cover their living expenses during their time in Mexico.[88] Although participants received placements at universities throughout Mexico, these institutions were not the ones to determine and provide the salaries of La Casa's members. The Board of Governors set the value of the stipend prior to reaching out to the invitee and included the number in the official invitation to desired participants. In most cases, the monthly stipend received by members was 600.00 pesos, regardless of the university where they received a placement.[89] However, there are rare instances where the monthly remuneration payments offered to individuals were as high as 1,000.00 pesos.[90]

Invitees openly recognized the Mexican government's demonstration of the nation's dedication to human solidarity in the face of the Spanish Civil War and its outcome. In a 1938 letter sent to Ambassador Tejeda, Spanish philologist Tomás Navarro Tomás commended the efforts of Mexico to protect Spaniards from the "abuses and violence that the ambitions and brutal methods of fascism are spreading throughout the world."[91] While Navarro Tomás wrote in praise of Mexico's offer of protection, he did not seek refuge in Mexico when he left Spain in early 1939. Instead, Navarro Tomás and his family would spend exile in the United States, where he accepted an appointment to Columbia University as a member of the Department of Romance Languages.

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[88] In reference to a letter sent by the Secretary of the Treasury regarding the contracts for Spanish intellectuals, which claims that the Ministry of Finance will cover the patronage and budget of the "Centro Español de Estudios." The Centro was an institution that was composed of early arriving Spaniards. Hay to Ruiz, 2 August 1938, AEMFRA LEG. 324. EXP. 17

[89] The estimated cost of living for a family of four in Mexico in 1941 amounted to 550 pesos per month. Fritz Pohle, *Das mexikanische Exil: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politisch-kulturellen Emigration aus Deutschland (1937-1946)* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1986), 64.

[90] Eduardo Hay to Leobardo Ruiz, 2 August 1938, AGN, LC, c.1073, exp. 577/17. Daniel Cosío Villegas to Hernando, 9 September 1938; Cosío Villegas to Sánchez Albornoz, 9 September 1938, AEMFRA, LEG. 324. EXP. 17. The stipend of 600.00 pesos is supported by Cosío Villegas in *Memorias*, 180.

[91] "…atropellos y violencias que las ambiciones y métodos brutales del fascismo están sembrando por el mundo." Eduardo Hay to Daniel Cosío Villegas, quoting a transcription of Tejada's transcription of Tomás, 19 October 1938. Transcription in Martí Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2015).

Members of La Casa sent President Cárdenas a letter in January 1939, thanking him for allowing the creation of La Casa de España. The participants also express their gratitude for the welcome they received upon their arrival in Mexico, which provided them with peace of mind after their experience of turmoil in Spain. The signatories of this letter provided insight into the membership of the institution which included Jesús Bal y Gay, Isaac Costero, Enrique Diez Canedo, Juan de la Encina,[92] León Felipe Camino, José Gaos, Gonzalo R. Lafora, Agustín Millares Cario, José Moreno Villa, and Luis Recaséns Siches.[93]

Although Mexican writer and former diplomat Alfonso Reyes spent time shaping the institution in coordination with Cosío Villegas, the first public mention of Reyes's involvement in La Casa de España came in early February 1939. The formal announcement of Reyes's appointment as President of La Casa and the Board of Governors came on 12 March 1939.[94] Those in charge of the institution and early participants articulated that Reyes's time abroad created a connection between his experience and that of the intellectuals who later arrived in Mexico from Spain.[95] After his father's death in 1913, Reyes received a post in Paris as a diplomatic service member. He remained in Paris until the German invasion of France in 1914, which forced him to relocate to Madrid. For the next six years of his life, Reyes remained in Madrid, where he worked as a literary critic, translator, and writer before his reinstatement into the diplomatic service in 1920. Until 1924, Reyes held the position of second secretary of the Mexican Embassy in Spain before his placement changed to Paris. Upon his return to Mexico

[92] Juan da la Encina was the pseudonym of Ricardo Gutiérrez Abascal. Due to its prevalence in the literature, Gutiérrez Abascal will be referred to throughout by his alias.
[93] Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 80-81. *Excélsior*, 20 January 1939; *Excelsior*, February 1, 1939; *El Nacional*, February 2, 1939.
[94] "Agreement to the C. Licenciado Alfonso Reyes," through which Lázaro Cárdenas appoints him president of the board of governors, March 12, 1939, Rollo: "Casa de España", Exp.: AG-74, AHCM.
[95] Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 91.

from diplomatic service in 1938, Reyes became involved with La Casa with his experience as an intellectual in Spain helping to elevate him to the institution's presidency.

Franco's promulgation of the Law of Political Responsibilities in early 1939 provided further motivation for the migration of Spanish intellectuals. The fall of Spain to the Francoist army further drove half a million Spanish refugees into France. Some invited intellectuals were in internment camps in France, interspersed with other refugees and former Republican soldiers. Communication with potential invitees in these conditions was near impossible – as such, the leaders of La Casa lost track of intellectuals they invited but had not yet received a decision from.[96] With this northern flight came increased pleas from professionals asking to join La Casa. Cosío Villegas and Reyes now had to respond to these requests while balancing creating their list of desired participants and tracking their locations. At times, professionals asking to join the institution could not gain Resident Membership based on either their lack of credentials or the evaluation of their benefit to the institution. Cosío Villegas and Reyes, while rejecting some of the requests to join, did offer these individuals aid in obtaining a visa. Due to the help offered when it came to obtaining travel documents, the actions of Cosío Villegas and Reyes helped to regularize the migration of Spanish Republicans.[97]

Most active in the invitation process were Cosío Villegas and Reyes. Participation in La Casa de España was selective and ostensibly biased at the time of its establishment. As demonstrated by Cosío Villegas's initial list of invitees, the preliminary invitees were often former mentors and colleagues of the academics at the helm of La Casa de España.[98] The appointment of Alfonso Reyes also supports the presence of favoritism when it came to devising

[96] *El Nacional*, 17 March 1939.
[97] Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 109
[98] Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, 203.

lists of desired participants. Though he had not lived in Spain for almost two decades, Reyes maintained extensive connections with the Spanish intellectuals with whom he had previously worked. Like his experience abroad provided an heir of relatability with the Spaniards, Reyes's connections helped to contribute to fraternity within La Casa upon the arrival of early participants.[99] Those who were fortunate enough to receive an invitation found themselves attending the institution in the name of President Cárdenas, both in his role as the creator of the institute and the leader of the Republic. While some intellectuals received invitations because of their relationship with Cosío Villegas and Reyes, others came at the request of Spaniards who were already in Mexico, such as José Moreno Villa. A June 1939 telegram sent by President Cárdenas to Reyes revealed that, in rare instances, some intellectuals received invitations at the request of President Cárdenas himself. [100]

The main point of contact for the issue of invitations and travel papers to those throughout France was the Mexican Embassy in Paris. Here, Leobardo Ruiz and other representatives of the Mexican government worked to arrange travel for individuals held in internment camps along the Franco-Spanish border. The Mexican Embassy began issuing invitations to prominent Spanish intellectuals who agreed to participate in La Casa. Some invitees managed to bypass internment in the camps scattered throughout France or found a way out of the camps, making their way to cities such as Toulouse and Paris.

Individual invitations issued to intended participants also revealed the Mexican government's provision of transportation both to and from Mexico. Such an arrangement applied to the invitee as well as to any immediate family members who traveled with them. Spanish

[99] Javier Garciadiego, *Autores, editoriales, instituciones y libros: estudios de historia intelectual* (Ciudad de México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2015), 271.
[100] Lázaro Cárdenas to Alfonso Reyes, June 1939, AGN, LC, c.1073, exp. 577/17.

philosopher José Gaos[101] was one of the first members of La Casa de España to arrive in Mexico from Spain. Upon his arrival, Gaos claimed that he anticipated remaining in Mexico for approximately one year, during which he expected the publication of at least one book detailing his courses at the University of Madrid.[102] Gaos then traveled to El Colegio de San Nicolás in Morelia, where he undertook the first step of his announced agenda to present courses on philosophy. In his *Itinerarios Filosóficos*, Gaos details his correspondence with Alfonso Reyes upon receiving an offer to renew his membership in La Casa at the end of 1939 and specifies another condition participants must adhere by:

> The Resident Members may not accept any permanent commitment that distracts them from the activities that La Casa has requested and contracted with them, and that puts such activities at the service, permanent or transitory, of other social, educational, scientific, medical, and industrial centers, whether private or official, outside those in which La Casa itself links and resides.[103]

Thus, per the conditions outlined in the 1939 invitation, members of La Casa could not seek employment in any profession they desired in Mexico. If members were to provide any service outside of the institution, they would need to have at least one year of continuous work in La Casa and seek approval from the Board of Governors. Without this prior approval, invitees were to only work in the profession in which they were invited. Accepting another commitment outside of La Casa that distracted them from their obligations to the institution in any manner would result in the cancellation of their invitation and financial support. If a participant had their

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[101] Before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, José Gaos held a position as a philosophy professor at the University of Zaragoza and later at the University of Madrid. It was from his position at the University of Central Madrid that Gaos would face exile to Mexico in 1938, where he would arrive as a participant of La Casa de España to teach at UNAM.

[102] *Excelsior*, 25 August 1938.

[103] "Los Miembros Residentes no podrán aceptar ningún compromiso permanente que los distraiga de las actividades que La Casa ha solicitado y contratado con ellos, y que ponga tales actividades al servicio, permanente o transitorio, de otros centros sociales, educativos, científicos, médicos e industriales, sean privados o oficiales, fuera de aquellos en que La Casa misma vincule y radique…" Alfonso Reyes to José Gaos, 13 October 1939, in Gaos, et. al., *Itinerarios Filosóficos: correspondencia José Gaos - Alfonso Reyes, 1939-1959; y textos de José Gaos sobre Alfonso Reyes, 1942-1968,* 52.

application rescinded for work outside of La Casa, they would automatically forfeit the remaining balance of their remuneration. The participant would only receive enough money to fund their and their party's return to Spain. Nonetheless, the conditions of working outside La Casa would not include the ability of participants to publish books, translations, or articles in newspapers and magazines throughout Mexico.

In addition to requiring a written response affirming or denying their participation in La Casa, those who accepted the offer had to submit a work program to the Board of Governors for approval. The provided program had three main requirements including: two annual courses or four one-semester long courses, one extended course of twenty to thirty lessons to be taught at a provincial university, and two courses of five conferences at five provincial universities throughout Mexico. For some participants, the members of the Board altered the requirements for the respondent's proposed program. In the case of Dr. Manuel Martinez Pedroso, La Casa required him as an Honorary Member to provide either one annual course or a two-semester long course for the Faculty of Law at UNAM as well as a second yearly course or two-semester long course for the School of Economics at UNAM. These came in conjunction with the need of providing an extended course and five conferences.[104]

At its establishment, La Casa invited participants from all fields and subjects. But shortly after its creation and under the direction of Alfonso Reyes, La Casa de España began to give preferential treatment to intellectuals whose focus was on the humanities and social sciences. Driven by issues of job competition that arose in late 1939 and resistance from the Union of

[104] A similar structure is outlined in Adolfo Salazar's letter to Daniel Cosío Villegas in November of 1938, in which he is responding to Villegas's invitation. In Salazar's letter, he also reveals that there is a staff shortage at the Mexican embassy in Washington D.C., which is hindering his ability to travel as he is currently holding an interim position in the embassy until someone can fill the position. Thirdly, the same information appears in a letter between Gonzalo Lafora and Alfonso Reyes in November of 1939, in which Lafora articulates his courses and lesson plans. Alfonso Reyes to Manuel Pedroso, 26 October 1939, in Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*.

Medical Surgeons of the Federal District that opposed Spanish doctors practicing in the main cities, the leaders of the institutions decided to invite fewer participants who focused on the natural and physical sciences and medicine.[105] Correspondence between Alfonso Reyes and President Cárdenas revealed misgivings about Spanish intellectuals having entered medical practice in Mexico. La Casa de España had intended for doctors, regardless of their medical specialty, to teach and hold strictly provisional roles.[106] They were not to be in active practice. The 1939 panic was sparked when, in addition to charging their patients high fees for service, members of La Casa began practicing medicine outside of the institution, thus reducing the number of available jobs for Mexican professionals. To remedy the situation, Reyes recommended that intellectuals with medical certifications who chose to operate outside of La Casa would have two options: cease to practice medicine and continue their work with La Casa or renounce their participation in the institution and recertify themselves to practice in Mexico. Recertifying their medical licenses would result in the termination of their membership in La Casa. Thus, they would no longer be able to receive remuneration.[107]

Dr. Gonzalo Lafora, a neuropsychologist, would later become the subject of correspondence between President Cárdenas and Alfonso Reyes in November of 1939. Lafora, whose medical specialty was not widely practiced in Mexico at this time, began to practice his profession outside of the required guidelines. Such a practice did not hold up to his promised commitment as a Resident Member of La Casa.[108] In the outside practice of his profession, Lafora's actions had a negative impact on Mexican professionals studying and working in

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[105] Garciadiego, *Autores, editoriales, instituciones y libros: estudios de historia intelectual*, 286; José Miranda, "La Casa de España," *Historia Mexicana* 18, no. 1 (1968): pp. 1-10, 2-3.; Navarro, *Los extranjeros en México y los mexicanos en el extranjero: 1821-1970*, 164.
[106] Cosío Villegas, *Memorias*, 177.
[107] Alfonso Reyes to Lázaro Cárdenas, 10 November 1939, AGN, LC, c.1073, exp. 577/17.
[108] Lida, et. al, *La Casa de España en México*, 63.

neurology because he was unnecessarily occupying a position that a Mexican professional in the same specialty could fill. Cárdenas reports that if Dr. Lafora is to continue such a practice, he would need to revalidate his degree and obtain a license in Mexico. In doing this, Lafora would no longer receive remuneration from La Casa as obtaining these documents would be a breach of his contract.[109] Ultimately, Reyes dismissed Lafora's participation in La Casa, resulting in the termination of his membership. Though no longer associated with La Casa, Lafora continued to work in neurology and neuropsychiatry in Mexico until returning to Spain in 1947.

While some participants left the institution, others chose to remain. In December of 1939, Dr. Martínez Pedroso – who taught at the University of Seville as a professor of political law, was a friend of Alfonso Reyes from his time in Madrid and served as the plenipotentiary minister of Spain in Warsaw – would renew his contract with La Casa for an additional year. During his life in Spain, Pedroso was active in the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), running in the 1936 and 1938 elections and winning a seat in the Cortes in the latter before the outbreak of the civil war forced him to flee to Marseille for a year. Because of his political affiliation, Pedroso faced exile in 1939, arriving in Mexico via Veracruz using a diplomatic passport before continuing to Mexico City as a member of La Casa. Serving as a professor in the Faculty of Law at UNAM teaching seminars on Public Law and Public International Law, Pedroso maintained a relationship with La Casa's successor through 1945 when the Spanish Republican government in exile appointed him the Ambassador to Venezuela.[110] While Pedroso remained in Mexico as a political asylee until his death, both the Court of Political Responsibilities and the Special Court for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism in Tetuán – the former capital of Spanish

[109] Alfonso Reyes to Lázaro Cárdenas, 9 November 1939, AGN, LC, c.1073, exp. 577/17.
[110] Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*, 85-6. AGN, LC, c. 1073, exp. 577/17.

Morocco – opened a case against him in 1940 for being an "active militant of the Socialist Party" and an inciter of "revolutionary activities" on and off University campuses.[111] Pedroso would be sought after by the Repression of Freemasonry Tribunal until 1960, two years after his death, which demanded a reparation payment of one million pesetas for his traitorous actions towards the Spanish homeland.

Attempts by the Franco government to extort expropriations and fines reached across the Atlantic. Analyzing the repressive climate in Spain after the declaration of the 1939 Law of Political Responsibilities, participants of La Casa de España, much like Spanish Republicans interned in France, found themselves unable or unwilling to return to Spain. In May 1939, Javier Garciadiego notes that La Casa consisted of twenty resident members. This number increased to forty participants by August of the same year and only continued to grow over the coming years.[112] Increasing requests made by Spanish intellectuals in search of asylum in Mexico spurred La Casa de España to change its purposes and goals, a fact recognized by the institution's leadership. Scholars participating in La Casa who chose not to return to Spain at the end of the civil war yet wishing to remain in academia faced two options. They could renounce their resident membership in La Casa and become faculty at the university where they received their placements upon arriving in Mexico or they could endure the transition from La Casa de España to El Colegio de México.

[111] Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica (CDMH), ARMERO,2,16,6; and CDMH, TERMC-MASONERÍA,16871

[112] Javier Garciadiego served as President of El Colegio de México from 2005 to 2010. Garciadiego, *Autores, editoriales, instituciones y libros: estudios de historia intelectual*, 276-7.

EPILOGUE: SET IN STONE: EL COLEGIO DE MÉXICO AND INTELLECTUALS

Following a meeting of the Board of Governors in September 1940, El Colegio de México would emerge the next month in response to the decision to transform the institution into a permanent fixture of higher education. Although most of the initial participants remained involved with the institution upon its transition, El Colegio de México began incorporating Mexican intellectuals into its faculty. Now established in a permanent building in Mexico City, the institution continued to provide a gathering place for academic refugees.[113] In line with this transformation, El Colegio de México became a location to incorporate academics and researchers from Mexico, Spain, and other nations, allowing these scholars to work independently or in coordination with prominent Mexican intellectuals.[114] With the transition to El Colegio and the integration of scholars of other nationalities, the institution ceased to be a political project associated with the mind of Lázaro Cárdenas. As such, the institution became, in the words of the Constitutive Act, "Mexicanized and universalized."[115]

The contributors to the institution's funding remained unchanged despite the transition, aligning with those called upon by Cosío Villegas and Cárdenas to support La Casa in 1939. The federal government would continue to provide the largest portion of El Colegio's annual budget, supplemented by contributions from UNAM, El Fondo de Cultura Económica, and El Banco Nacional de México. Most of the funding granted to La Casa de España came from the Secretary of Education. Post-transition and beginning in 1941, the Ministry of Finance would set El Colegio's budget by ensuring a recurring yearly contribution of no less than 350,000 pesos. An additional 35,000 pesos would be an annual contribution by UNAM with the National Mortgage

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[113] Fagen, *Exiles and Citizenss: Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, 63.
[114] Garciadiego, *Autores, editoriales, instituciones y libros: estudios de historia intelectual*, 280.
[115] El Colegio de México. "Acta Constitutiva de El Colegio de México." *Historia Mexicana* 25, no. 4 (1976): 655–62.

Bank as part of the Fondo de Cultura Económica granting El Colegio a further 5,000 pesos per year. El Banco Nacional would continue its financial support to El Colegio; however, the bank's Board of Directors would determine its annual contribution to the institution.[116]

Although the bodies funding El Colegio remained the same, the Board of Governors changed with the declaration of El Colegio. Rather than one body leading the institution at all levels as seen in La Casa, the Constitutive Act announced that a newly developed Assembly of Founding Partners and a Governing Board would share leadership. The Assembly of Founding Partners provided El Colegio with financial and special regulatory oversight. Per Chapter 2 of the Act, the Assembly's main jobs involved reviewing the previous year's expenditure and approving the institution's budget for the coming year. Meanwhile, the Governing Board managed the day-to-day business of El Colegio. This included tasks such as hiring faculty and staff and asking for and receiving donations. Individuals appointed to this Board held their positions for a five-year tenure, with the potential for reelection for another term. Established by the Constitutive Act and not by reelection, the first Board consisted of members of La Casa's Board of Governors.[117]

Article 1 of the Act outlines five purposes for El Colegio: sponsor the work of Mexican teachers and students; support scholarship in libraries, universities, scientific centers, and archives; hire foreign teachers to provide service; produce publications; and facilitate national and foreign academic collaboration. El Colegio de México, like its predecessor, provided Spanish intellectuals with connections to Mexican institutions of higher education and research

[116] El Colegio de México. "Acta Constitutiva de El Colegio de México." *Historia Mexicana* 25, no. 4 (1976): 655–62.
[117] Alfonso Reyes, President; Daniel Cosío Villegas, Secretary; Eduardo Villaseñor, Gustavo Baz, and Enrique Arreguín; Gonzalo Robles, representing the Bank of Mexico.

through guest lectures and conferences at universities throughout Mexico.[118] The work of these intellectuals reverberated through Mexican scientific facilities, universities, and cultural and economic life.[119] Participants of El Colegio gave lectures, not just in the fields of medicine – despite the field's earlier reduced support by La Casa – and literature, but on economics, philosophy, sociology, and theatre, among other subjects. However, soon after the declaration of El Colegio, Alfonso Reyes, continuing his tenure as President of the institution, liquidated the responsibilities of participating Spaniards. Upon the completion of the transformation to El Colegio in January 1941, members received one of two decisions on the behalf of the Board of Governors. The Board removed some Spanish intellectuals from the posting designated to them by La Casa de España and brought them to a dedicated space in Mexico City, where they became faculty at El Colegio de México. Other Spanish scholars received word of their detachment from commitments to both La Casa and El Colegio altogether.

While participating Spanish intellectuals were recalled from their original positions throughout Mexican higher education, El Colegio de México continued to sponsor research work by Mexican students and professors and hire intellectuals to work in the nation's educational system. In addition to training intellectuals in libraries and archives and editing an academic press that collected the works of scholars.[120] Although La Casa de España allowed its participants to publish with the presses of other universities, El Colegio de México's press continued to supplement the connections between Mexican higher education, the professors it employed, and Spanish intellectuals. Works published through the El Colegio included academic papers and texts, as well as scholarship regarding the development of La Casa de España and El

[118] Lida, et. al., *La Casa de España en México*, 131-2. List of workshops and conferences provided in the text.
[119] Garciadiego, *Autores, editoriales, instituciones y libros: estudios de historia intelectual*, 285.
[120] Lida, et. al., *La Casa de España en México*, 136.

Colegio de México. By the end of 1940, El Colegio began publishing books and articles by both Spanish and Mexican authors, including but not limited to: Juan de la Encina and León Felipe Camino in literature, and Antonio Caso in physics.[121] José Medina Echavarría, Adolfo Salazar, José Giral, and José Gaos were among those who published in 1940, with Medina Echavarría, Salazar, Gaos, José Miquel y Verges, and El Colegio's president Alfonso Reyes publishing in 1941. Publications through this outlet also included scholarship on how these institutions sought to foster a connection between exiled Spanish intellectuals and the society that received them.

Examining the publications written by Spanish exiles, one can also see the application of Edward Said's framework that intellectual exiles often remained on the periphery of the society that received them. Upon the creation of La Casa de España, participants anticipated an eventual return to Spain and the defeat of Francisco Franco. La Casa de España was initially intended to be a temporary haven for these intellectuals, an institution where intellectuals could work unhindered and unrestricted while the civil war in Spain raged. Many of those exiled believed that their situation would be short-lived and that they would be able to return to Spain at the end of the war. The transition to El Colegio de México signified a turn in their fate and the postponement of their future homecoming for an unknown period. As a result of this uncertainty, some participants, while collaborating with Mexican intellectuals, continued to hold to their Spanish identity during their time in the institution. This unwillingness to separate from their Spanishness in the wake of a potential return to Spain supports Said's argument that intellectuals who faced exile often remained on the periphery of society.

[121] Published works included: Juan de la Encina's *El mundo histórico y poetic de Goya* (La Casa de España, 1939), León Felipe Camino's *El payaso de las bofetadas y el pescador de caña* (La Casa, 1938, with an illustrated version printed by El Colegio, 2013) and *El gran responsible* (La Casa, 1940), and Antonio Caso's *Meyerson y la física moderna* (La Casa de España, 1939)

In contrast, a smaller group of participants of La Casa de España, such as Joaquín Xirau Palau, expressed "that it would not be easy for them to feel like foreigners in a country that fights for the noble cause."[122] In other words, they did not feel as though they were foreigners in Mexico, as the nation voiced its support of the targeted and now fallen Republican Government that these intellectuals supported. Xirau arrived in Mexico as a member of La Casa de España in August 1939, after escaping Barcelona in January of the same year and travelling north to France and then on to Britain. A philosopher who served as the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the University of Barcelona, Xirau would earn an Honorary Professorship at the University of Morelia and become a professor of ancient and modern philosophy at UNAM beginning in 1940. During his time in Mexico, Xirau taught classes in contemporary thought and the philosophy of education, gave university lectures on Western thought and public lectures on "The Man and the Machine" and "From Humanism to Dehumanization." Xirau also had two books in the works during 1940, *The Function of Love in the Orientation of Human Life* and *Ontological Aspect of the Doctrine of Values*.[123] A co-founder of El Instituto Luis Vives, Xirau would not return to Spain after his exile and was to remain in Mexico until his death in 1946. Other individuals supported the strides Mexico made in becoming a location where intellectuals could build their lives because Spain was never to recover from the loss of values brought about by the Nationalist cause during the Spanish Civil War.[124]

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[122] "El destino ha vinculado tan estrechamente nuestras vidas que no sería fácil para mí sentirme extranjero en ese país admirable que lucha por lo más noble…" Joaquín Xirau to Alfonso Reyes, 16 June 1938 in Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*,24-25.
[123] Martí Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*, 253-261.
[124] Barnés, while invited and having accepted attendance to La Casa, would die in May 1940 upon his arrival in Veracruz. "¡Qué valores está perdiendo nuestra pobre España muchos de los cuales no recuperará jamás!" Domingo Barnés Salinas to Alfonso Reyes, 22 December 1939, in Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*, 292-296.

At least twenty-four scholars were removed from their responsibilities as members of the former La Casa and brought to the newly established El Colegio in Mexico City because of the transition. By 1941, seventeen Spanish intellectuals were full-time members of El Colegio, including Jesús Bal y Gay, Ignacio Bolívar, Pedro Carrasco, Rosendo Carrasco Formiguera, Juan de la Encina, Enrique Díez Canedo, José Gaos, Ramón Iglesia, Antonio Madinaveitia, José Medina Echavarría, Agustín Millares Cario, José Moreno Villa, Jaime Pi-Suñer, Luis Recaséns Siches, Juan Roura Parella, Adolfo Salazar and Joaquín Xirau. Some of these scholars also accounted for the original members of La Casa initially invited to participate upon its establishment in 1938.[125]

Jesús Bal y Gay arrived in Mexico in 1938 after having been unable to return to Spain following his three-year term at the University of Cambridge as both Lecturer of Spanish and a professor of the history of music. Offered a 600.00-peso stipend by La Casa de España, Bal y Gay would contribute to Mexican musical culture through critical writings in newspapers such as *Excelsior* and *El Universal*.[126] Becoming a member of El Colegio after the institution's transition, Bal y Gay would offer courses ranging from polyphony and polyphonic forms and musical stylographics. He would also give lectures on topics including "Spanish in Mexican Popular Music," and concerts encompassing 16th-century Spanish carols and Romances. Bal y Gay also developed a relationship with Igor Stravinsky, though not in Mexico, which would result in the partnership opening one of the first private art galleries in Mexico.

Enrique Díez Canedo, a former diplomat of the Second Spanish Republic in Uruguay from 1933 to 1934 and Argentina from 1936 to 1937, arrived in Mexico onboard the *Statendam*

[125] Lida, et. al., *La Casa de España en México*, 175-6.
[126] Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*, 29.

(via New York) in October 1938 accompanied by Gonzalo Lafora and Juan de la Encina.[127] A poet, critic, and translator (mainly in French and English, but in some Catalan and German), Díez Canedo was one of the first members invited to participate in La Casa de España. Exiled from Spain and invited to La Casa with a promised stipend of 600.00 pesos, the institution renewed Díez Canedo's contract for the 1939-1940 academic year. In this time, Díez Canedo would publish *El teatro y sus enemigos* (1939) and *El desterrado* (1940). By 1941, Díez Canedo was one of the full-time Spanish intellectual members of El Colegio – along with fellow critic Juan de la Encina. In 1942, El Colegio offered Díez Canedo 450.00 pesos for his work between 1 March and 31 December 1942.[128] A collaborative partnership between Díez Canedo and El Colegio would continue until the intellectual's death on 6 June 1944, though his son would publish several editions of his work posthumously through the 1960s.

José Medina Echavarría was a sociology professor from Madrid and the former President of the Court of Opposition of the Chairs of the Institute of Psychology, Logic, and Ethics. Formerly part of the Spanish Embassy in Warsaw, Poland, Echavarría left his post to accept a position in La Casa de España in 1938. Placed by La Casa at the National University, Echavarría focused on German sociological theory. Echavarría's position as a collaborator would transition with the institution and he would become one of the seventeen original invitees who became faculty in El Colegio de México. Echavarría remained with the institution until 1946, teaching courses on general sociology, Max Weber, and the sociological bases of law. Between 1939 and 1941, Echavarría had three publications in which he attempts to outline the materials sociologists engage with and how data analysis impacts their contributions to other fields of social science:

[127] Leobardo Ruiz to Eduardo Hay, 20 September 1938, AEMFRA LEG. 324. EXP. 17,
[128] Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*, 112.

La cátedra de Sociología, *Panorama de la sociología contemporánea*, and *Sociología: Teoría y técnica*.

As demonstrated by the ongoing commitments of participating intellectuals, El Colegio de México continued to be a cauldron for intellectual communication and provide invaluable refuge for those seeking refuge from a new Spain, a concept La Casa de España began to foster nearly two years earlier. Initial ideas and projects between Spanish intellectuals and their collaborations with their Mexican counterparts gave rise to a well-established higher education system and future teachers.[129] Upon the emergence of El Colegio de México, Spanish academics were permanently hired to lead regular courses and degree programs at Mexican educational institutions. Some of La Casa and El Colegio's participants became employed at universities and the three emerging *colegios* (schools) created to ensure Spanish-style education to refugee children: El Instituto Luis Vives, La Academia Hispano-Mexicana, and El Colegio de Madrid. While other schools dedicated to the cause of educating Spanish children appeared across Mexico around this general time, the schools that emerged in Mexico City, which housed the highest population of Spanish Civil War refugees, were more prominent.[130]

In Mexico City, these three institutions offered an education at a modest cost and helped to preserve the Spanish identity among refugee children brought by their parents. When they arrived in Mexico, Spanish Republicans brought their own education policies focused on modern culture in a unified school system.[131] These policies modified the system of training teachers and

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[129] Soler, *La Casa del Éxodo: los exiliados y su obra en La Casa de España y El Colegio de México*, 119.
[130] Other schools were established in Tampico, Córdoba, Veracruz, and Texcoco and were predominantly secondary schools. Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, 85.
[131] The education system created by the Spanish Second Republic promoted gender integrated education with cultural exchange between national and international teachers and students and scientific specializations. Under Franco, these policies would be reversed: schools would be segregated, the government exercised strict ideological control, and Catholic religion became compulsory. Consuelo Flecha Garcia, "Education in Spain: Close-up of Its History in the 20th Century," *Analytical Reports in International Education* 1, no. 4 (October 2011): pp. 17-42, 23, 25.

the hiring process while preventing the Catholic Church from influencing the public education system.[132] The programs brought by the Spanish Republicans to Mexico were like the education policies articulated during the early days of the Cardenismo, which attempted to push for an end to religious influence in public education.

El Instituto Luis Vives, the first of the three established colegios, opened its doors in August 1939, sixty days after the official end of the Spanish Civil War. Founded in coordination with the Service of Evacuation of the Spanish Refugees (SERE),[133] Luis Vives sought to give educational continuity to the children of Spanish exiles – much like La Casa had intended to provide research continuity for intellectuals. El Instituto Luis Vives, while providing education to exiled children, worked to teach about and preserve the dignity of the Spanish Republican cause. As it was the first of the three colegios, the intention of Luis Vives was to temporarily serve as a primary school – as many Spanish Republican parents believed that their exile would shortly end and that they would be able to return to Spain with their children. Intended to serve only as a stepping stone, Luis Vives acted as a safeguard to provide these children with a Spanish education so students would be able to integrate back into school in Spain.[134]

Established less than one year after the opening of El Instituto Luis Vives, a second *colegio* known as La Academia Hispano-Mexicana opened in early 1940. Also supported by the SERE, La Academia served as a secondary school for Republican children. While the goal of El Instituto Luis Vives was to preserve Spanish educational practices until its students could return to Spain, La Academia Hispano-Mexicana sought to further integrate itself into the Mexican

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[132] Pope Pius XI's *Dilectissima Nobis* dissented to the Second Spanish Republic's turn from religious education.
[133] The Service of Evacuation of the Spanish Refugees (*Servicio de Evacuación de Refugiados Españoles*, SERE) was created in Paris, France in March of 1939 and was tied to Juan Negrín, the leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party who had been in the position of Prime Minister of Spain from 1937 until the end of the Civil War in 1939. The SERE was organized by the exiled Spanish government, to help transport Republican exiles. Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War*, 396.
[134] José Ignacio Cruz, "El Instituto Luis Vives Colegio Español de México," 534.

education system. By 1941, La Academia expanded its offered grade range to include kindergarten and primary education students. It is with the inclusion of these grades that La Academia increased its enrollment to include Mexican students in addition to the children of Spanish exiles. At the end of the institution's second full year of operation following its expansion to incorporate primary grades, Spanish students became the minority student population.[135]

The third *colegio* in Mexico City was El Colegio Madrid, which opened in 1941 with the support of the Committee of Aid to Republican Spaniards (JARE).[136] In addition to offering seats for approximately nine hundred primary school students, El Colegio Madrid went one step further from the other schools. Unlike the other schools created to serve the education of Spanish students, El Colegio Madrid covered the health expenses for those enrolled and provided them with meals. Like La Academia Hispano-Mexicana, El Colegio Madrid allowed Mexican students to enroll; however, these students, unlike at La Academia, constituted the minority of the attending population.[137]

Similar to how participants of La Casa de España believed they would be able to return to Spain following the end of the civil war, the three colegios in Mexico City were assumed to be temporary. However, by the end of 1939 and certainly, by 1941 as shown by the establishment of El Colegio Madrid it became clear that there would be no imminent return to Spain for those who had left. In addition to providing Spanish refugee students with a secular, liberal Spanish

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[135] Girona i Albuixec Albert and María Fernanda Mancebo, *El exilio valenciano en América: obra y memoria* (Valencia, Spain: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert; University de Válencia, 1995), 100.
[136] The Committee of Aid to Spanish Refugees (Junta de Auxilio a los Refugiadios Españoles, JARE) was established by another wing of the exiled Spanish government under Indalecio Prieto, member of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and the Minister of National Defense (1937-1938). The JARE, which was set up by anarchists, liberals, and socialists, served as a counterpart to the Negrín's communist-dominated SERE. Beevor, *The Spanish Civil War*, 396.
[137] García de Fez, "La cohesión nacional a través de la prensa escolar de los colegios del exilio español en la Ciudad de México (1939-1960)," 110.

education, these *colegios* also provided Spanish teachers with jobs where they would not need to compete with Mexican educators for employment. Although they predominantly employed Spanish teachers for most subjects, there were three standards for the colegios to gain accreditation in Mexico. The Mexican government required Mexican-born instructors to teach classes in Mexican history and civics; the schools needed to have a set percentage of teachers who identified as Mexican nationals; and the schools must follow standardized Mexican textbooks. Although the three colegios of Mexico City had followed the first and third rules, the second standard was not strictly followed until 1940, when many Spanish-born teachers accepted Mexican citizenship.[138]

By the late-1940s, Cosío Villegas voiced his disillusionment at Mexico's development. In addition, he articulated his support for a return to the objectives established by the Mexican Revolution three decades earlier: democracy, social justice, economic restructuring, and defense of the nation. Cosío Villegas felt that these goals "had been exhausted" and the nation should return to these targets or risk losing its identity because of increasing outside influence.[139] At the same time that Cosío Villegas served as one of the board members for El Colegio de México, he continued to advocate for the protection of national interests from outsiders at a time of growing awareness of the influence of the Spanish immigrants on Mexican academic and intellectual circles.[140]

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[138] Fagen, *Exiles and Citizens: Spanish Republicans in Mexico*, 85-88.
This acceptance of citizenship did not just apply to Spanish-born teachers but to all exiles. Upon their initial arrival, many refused to accept citizenship – which was being offered by the Mexican government for Spanish exiles – and retain their Spanish passports for a return upon the defeat of Franco. By becoming Mexican citizens, Spanish exiles and migrants no longer faced administrative barriers to find employment. Blanca Sánchez-Alonso and Carlos Santiago-Caballero, "Spain's Loss of Human Capital after the Civil War: Spanish Refugees in Mexico," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 52, no. 4 (2022): pp. 537-564, 536-7.
[139] Daniel Cosío Villegas, *American Extremes* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1964), 3 and 27.
[140] Daniel Cosío Villegas, Francisco Javier Garciadiego Dantán, and Charles Adams Hale, *Llamadas* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2001), 34-36.

Challenging collective memory, Mexico did not welcome all refugees, nor did it accept all immigrants. The Mexican government sought to protect the nation's mixed-identity thought the promulgation of restrictive immigration policies, as demonstrated by the government circulars and migration laws. While other nationalities faced restrictions when they attempted to migrate or were banned from the country altogether, Spanish immigrants faced limited regulations. The Mexican government supported the Spaniards as, unlike other nationalities, they could easily assimilate to Mexican society and maintained mestizaje. Spanish intellectuals received additional preference as they promoted intellectual and cultural advancement through research, courses, and public lectures.

La Casa de España, an institution founded on the transatlantic gesture of helping Spanish Republican intellectuals continue their work, left lasting influence on intellectual development in Mexico. The first invitees arrived as part of a curated list by the Board of Governors and represented the most distinguished intellectuals in Spain across a variety of specialties. Selected for their potential for scholarly production and their academic merits, early participants arrived as representatives of Spanish culture and contributors to a growing Mexican intellectual community. The institute in the time leading up to its transition became more selective towards its invitees and participants, reducing its support for medical sciences and providing encouragement to academics in the humanities and social sciences.

Upon its transition to El Colegio de México in 1940, the institution grew to have a greater impact on intellectual development than intended by its founders two years before. When a return to Spain became unlikely for intellectuals, El Colegio and its press continued to act as a cauldron for scholarly interaction from its new, centralized location in Mexico City. Today, El Colegio de Mexico's press continues to be one of the key publishers in the humanities and social

sciences. Publishing between eight and ninety books each year, El Colegio helped to supplement the combined total of 1,250 books and 1,600 translations written by Spanish intellectuals and printed by academic presses in Mexico by the 1940s.[141] The doors of the institution itself remain open, not just to Mexican intellectuals, but to other scholars worldwide.

[141] Navarro, *Los extranjeros en México y los mexicanos en el extranjero: 1821-1970*, 174.

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