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“¡NO PASARÁN!” THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR’S IMPACT ON TAMPA’S LATIN COMMUNITY, 1936-1939
by Ana M. Varela-Lago

“Wherever two or more Spaniards gather the conversation soon turns to ‘la revolución.’” Having made the rounds along “Bolita Boulevard” to probe Ybor City’s reaction to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, the Tampa Tribune’s “Scoop McGoop” concluded that “to our Latin citizens it is the ONE center of attraction – the main topic of conversation that makes them forget the heat, the daily domino ‘partido,’ their troubles, and ‘Cuba.’” It would remain so for the next three years. But the war in Spain soon became more than a topic of conversation for the 30,000 members of Tampa’s Latin community (the term includes Cuban, Spanish, and Italian immigrants and their descendants).

The close-knit immigrant colony resided in Ybor City and West Tampa, the cigarmaking communities founded in the last decades of the nineteenth century when political unrest over Cuba’s independence prompted many cigar manufacturers to relocate in the United States. Immigrant life centered around the activities of the several mutual aid societies which provided instruction, recreation, and health services to their members. Spaniards usually belonged to the Centro Español or the Centro Asturiano, Italians to L’Unione Italiana, white Cubans to the Círculo Cubano, and Afro-Cubans to La Unión Martí-Maceo. While these clubs helped preserve the cultural heritage of the different ethnic groups, the labor culture of the cigar industry acted as a unifying force within Tampa’s immigrant community, and Ybor City’s Labor Temple was a meeting place for all Latin workers, regardless of their particular ethnic identity.

As immigrants confronted the onset of the Great Depression in the United States, they also kept abreast of developments in their countries of origin. While Italians and Cubans in Tampa looked to their countries with dismay, the 1930s seemed to offer a promising outlook for Spaniards. At a time when Cuba and Italy experienced the rule of right-wing dictators, Spain went in the opposite direction. In January 1930, the seven-year dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera came to an end. A year later, municipal elections brought about the advent of the Republic and the fall of the Bourbon monarchy. When the Republic was finally proclaimed on April 14, 1931, Spaniards in Tampa were ecstatic. “Frenzied ‘Vivas!’ for the new republic were heard from Madrid to Main street, West Tampa,” declared the Tampa Daily Times.

In the days that followed, the Spanish community set about to remove from Tampa all signs of the monarchy, including the local consul. The Spanish mutual aid societies promptly took down the portraits of King Alfonso XIII from their salons and, in simple but emotional ceremonies, hoisted the Republican flag outside their clubhouses. The local Frente Unico de Acción Republicana, the party of then Prime Minister Manuel Azaña, organized a signature campaign complaining of the treatment Spanish immigrants had received from Consul Andrés Iglesias and requesting that the new government expel him from the diplomatic corps. Iglesias left Tampa a month later, but his stormy relationship with the Tampa Spanish community would resume during the Spanish Civil War, when he organized local support for General Francisco Franco.
The Spanish immigrants in Tampa held high expectations for the new regime. Many among the 5,000 native Spaniards living in Tampa in 1930 hoped that the Republic would address the conditions that had forced most of them to emigrate. The majority of the Spanish immigrants in Tampa came from the rural villages of the northern regions of Asturias and Galicia where peasants lived under miserable conditions brought about by overpopulation, heavy taxation, and a feudal system of land tenure. Asturians and Galicians had left their hamlets by the thousands “to make America” and help their families in distress in the homeland.

Many very young emigrants left Spain to avoid the draft. Most peasant families could not afford to buy their sons out of military conscription. According to one historian, in Asturias “avoidance of military service was a factor which contributed to very high rates of emigration.” Galicia had the highest desertion rates in the country. So many of the Spanish immigrants in Tampa had evaded military service that the Spanish consul fought to have an amnesty decree originally drafted for deserters living in Latin America and the Philippines extended to the United States. Six months after the decree went into effect, the consul requested “from 800 to 1,000” application forms to meet the anticipated demand of Spanish immigrants hoping to benefit from the amnesty.⁵

The army and the Catholic Church were the two institutions the Spanish emigrants most despised. “Each working Spaniard carries upon his shoulders a priest and a soldier,” read an
article in El Astur, the official organ of the Centro Asturiano in Tampa, referring to the heavy taxes imposed on the working class to maintain these institutions. The discontent of the Tampa Spanish cigarworkers with the policies of the Spanish government had a long history. In the 1890s, when Cubans took up arms against Spain in the war of independence, Spanish anarchists in Tampa openly supported the cause of *Cuba Libre*. In 1901, as part of a protest against the killing of workers by the police during general strikes in Spain, Tampa cigarworkers wished that the Spanish workers “might soon shake off the tyranny of the rulers, the priests, and the bourgeois.”

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

The Centro Español of West Tampa in about 1914.

Photograph courtesy of Tampa-Hillsborough County Public Library System.
News of the proclamation of the Republic in 1931 brought jubilation among Tampa Spaniards, but the transition to a republican system in Spain did not proceed as smoothly as they had hoped. The profound economic, social, and political problems affecting the country tested the new regime. In the first two years, a left-republican administration adopted several major pieces of legislation, including the separation of church and state, agrarian reform, and autonomy for Catalonia. These far-reaching initiatives alienated more conservative elements within Spanish society. At the same time, peasants and workers, experiencing the hardship brought about by the worldwide economic depression, and discontented with the slow pace of reform, turned to communism and anarchism.

The divisions within the left led to the overwhelming victory of the right in the parliamentary elections of November 1933. The so-called two ‘Black Years’ of 1934-1935 saw the dismantling of most legislation approved by the first parliament. This, in turn, provoked the reaction of the workers, and Asturian coal miners rose against the government in October 1934. The miners’ rising was ruthlessly suppressed by General Francisco Franco leading a force of Moorish troops and foreign legionaries. “One may regard it as the first battle of the Civil War,” according to historian Gerald Brenan.  

The Centro Asturiano in Ybor City still houses the offices of the 95-year-old society. Photograph courtesy of USF Special Collections.
Tampa’s Asturian community eagerly awaited news from Spain. Information from the wire services, reported in Ybor City’s Spanish-language newspaper La Gaceta, sometimes included lists of victims, where readers might find the names of relatives, friends, or former neighbors. La Gaceta also published letters received by its readers with eyewitness accounts of the revolution. Soon, Tampa Latins began to collect funds to aid the orphan children of the miners killed in the repression. This was as much a political statement as a humanitarian act, for it countered the rightist government’s calls to the citizens to support the orphans of the soldiers who died in the revolt.9

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

On July 12, 1936, José Castillo, a lieutenant of the Republican Assault Guards, was assassinated by members of the Falange, the extreme right-wing party. The following day, José Calvo Sotelo, the leader of the right-wing monarchists, was murdered in revenge. Four days later General Francisco Franco led a military uprising against the Spanish Republic from Morocco. On July 18, 1936, the rebellion spread throughout Spain. General Franco had expected to capture the capital in a swift campaign, but a quick victory was prevented by the overwhelming popular mobilization in support of the Republic. The result was a civil war which lasted almost three years and claimed nearly half a million lives.

In his study of the Spanish Civil War, historian Hugh Thomas maintains that “it was inevitable ...that the war which began in 1936 should become a European crisis.” Despite the Spaniards’ subsequent accusations of foreign intervention “the European powers became entangled in the war at the Spaniards’ request.” As early as July 19, the Spanish prime minister turned to the French government for arms and planes to quench the military rebellion. At the same time, General Franco requested military aid from Hitler and Mussolini, particularly planes to transport the military force in Morocco to the peninsula. Stalin, though obviously not interested in a rebel victory, was not too eager to support the Republic. According to Thomas, “he would not permit the republic to lose, even though he would not necessarily help it to win.” Fearing that the conflict in Spain would provoke a European war, France and Great Britain tried to contain the war within Spanish borders by establishing a non-intervention committee and enforcing an arms embargo on both sides. However, this policy was a failure, and foreign assistance continued unabated. Germany and Italy sided with the rebel forces of General Franco, and Russia provided the main support for the Republican loyalists.10

The United States, in an isolationist mood, tightened its own neutrality law and created a policy of “non-interference” in the internal affairs of Spain. This started a course of action that many historians have considered “the gravest error of American foreign policy during the Roosevelt Administration.”11
In America, defenders of democracy in Spain began to organize to defeat the military rebels. On July 23, 1936, the Ateneo Socialista of Havana offered men and arms to the Republican government in Spain. In Chicago, a Comité pro Libertades de España was organized and it published manifestos denouncing the uprising, while in New York the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union made its first donation of $5,000 to labor unions in Spain which supported the Republic. Similar responses followed in Tampa, where the Latin community drew upon its tradition of mutualism and unionism to support their working-class brothers and sisters in their fight against fascism in Spain.12

A week after General Franco’s uprising, Victoriano Manteiga, the editor of La Gaceta, declared that “if it were possible to go to Spain in a few hours, hundreds of Tampans would take up arms in defense of the Popular Front.” On July 28, La Gaceta reported that up to 150 Tampans had offered themselves as volunteers to fight for the Republic in Spain. On August 5, Consul Pablo de Ubarri telegraphed the Spanish Ministry of State for instructions regarding the Tampa volunteers. The following day he was directed to thank the volunteers but to decline their offer. The Tampa Tribune applauded the response of the Spanish government to the “soldiers of fortune...who visualized themselves in hand-to-hand combat with women soldiers of the Spanish rebels.” But the Tampa volunteers proved unwilling to follow the Tribune’s advice and “fight their battles in the imagination over coffee cups and domino tables.”13

Of the 40,000 volunteers who joined the International Brigades to defend the Spanish Republic, close to 3,000 were Americans, serving in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. At least two
dozen came from Tampa, and more than a third of the Tampa volunteers were Cubans, who became members of the Antonio Guiteras company. The company left New York on January 5, 1937, and a month later they were fighting Franco’s army in the Jarama valley to defend Madrid. The Lincoln Brigade, then some 450 strong, was almost wiped out in this battle: 120 men were killed, and 175 wounded. Details of the debacle arrived in Tampa through letters from the convalescing volunteers. These were duly published in La Gaceta, a pattern that would persist during the war. As the conflict progressed, several volunteers wrote more detailed chronicles, and one of them, José García Granell, became La Gaceta’s war correspondent. In Spain, the Tampa volunteers took every opportunity to publicize the actions of the Tampa Latin community in support of the Republic. A number of Spanish newspapers ran articles commending Tampa’s commitment to a Republican victory.14

The Spanish Civil War galvanized Tampa’s immigrant community. The first mass meeting in support of the Spanish Republic took place at the Labor Temple in Ybor City on August 3, 1936. Two days later, Tampa Latins organized the Comité de Defensa del Frente Popular Español (Committee for the Defense of the Spanish Popular Front). This group brought together leaders of the Latin (Cuban, Italian, and Spanish) mutual aid societies, labor unions, Socialist and Communist organizations, and Protestant churches to support the Republic against the military uprising led by General Franco and assisted by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Defining itself as “humanitarian, democratic and antifascist,” the committee’s stated goal was “to gather funds to be used in Spain to support those who fight and suffer for the cause of the Republic and democracy.”15
As a first step towards this end, the committee decided to start a weekly collection among the cigar factories and commercial establishments of Ybor City and West Tampa. The Ybor City Chamber of Commerce readily lent its support to the collection, but the cigar manufacturers clashed with the committee on this issue. Citing the United States neutrality law, the board of directors of the Cigar Manufacturers’ Association resolved not to allow “any collection of funds for the purpose of continuing the strife in Spain.” The committee responded promptly by sending a telegram to the State Department inquiring whether the collection would violate the United States neutrality policy. The committee took issue not only with the manufacturers’ interpretation of the neutrality law, but also with their interpretation of the purpose of the collections. “The collection is to defend liberty . . . not to continue civil wars,” explained _La Gaceta_’s editor, who emphasized that “the fascists started the war and the government is defending itself.” Victoriano Manteiga then posed the question: “Does the Board of Directors want the government to give itself to the fascists, when it was freely elected by the people?”

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

To the Spanish community fell the role of organizing support for the Republic. The Centro Español responded to the challenge by donating the proceeds of their annual September Festival, totaling $800, to the Spanish Red Cross. The Centro made a point of explaining that the donation did not have a “sectarian political character,” a response to those within the community who had reminded the Centro's leaders that the society’s by-laws prohibited it from engaging in political activities.
The initially cautious attitude on the part of the Spanish societies to side openly with the Republic changed radically as the war wore on and the civilian casualties mounted. Particularly after the bombing of Guernica, in April 1937, a movement developed within the Tampa Spanish community against “neutrality.” “The Loyal Knights of America [the Spanish Lodge] declared themselves antifascists and supporters of the loyal government since the beginning,” La Gaceta reminded its readers; “it is now time for the other Spanish societies to take the same decision, so that they cannot be called neutrals when Spain defends its existence against a foreign invasion.” In May 1937, both the Centro Español and the Centro Asturiano declared their unconditional support of the lawful Spanish government, condemned the military rebellion, and defined the war in Spain not as a civil war but as a “war of national independence” against the forces of “international fascism.”

On May 1, 1937, a new Neutrality Act established the procedures regulating the delivery of humanitarian aid to war-torn countries. The Tampa committee set about to comply with the new law by changing its name from the Committee for the Defense of the Spanish Popular Front to the Democratic Popular Committee to Aid Spain. While the funds of the “old” committee reached the Republican government through the Spanish ambassador in Washington, the “new” committee dispatched its funds directly to the Spanish Red Cross. To avoid any appearance of
illegality, the committee broke all official links with the Spanish consulate in Tampa. While the Popular Committee worked closely with other relief organizations, particularly the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, it remained staunchly independent.20

Throughout its existence, the Tampa committee maintained a remarkable degree of unity and efficiency. This won it praise from the Spanish Red Cross, which presented the committee with a gold medal for its services. “You have the best organization in the whole country,” declared General Santiago Philemore, the General Inspector of the Spanish Red Cross, when he visited Tampa in 1938, “because it includes all ideas and tendencies and has just one goal: to aid those who suffer and to help win the war.”21

Spanish Republican leaders who visited Tampa as part of their speaking tours to garner support for the Republic in the United States also wrote favorably about the work of the Popular Committee. Marcelino Domingo, a former Republican minister and president of the Republican Left Party, referred to Tampa in glowing terms as the “altar of Spain,” while Republican Army Commissar García Maroto announced that “Tampa’s rearguard” should be called “America’s vanguard,” a phrase that Manteiga promptly added to the Popular Committee’s column in *La Gaceta*. Even members of Franco’s diplomatic corps conceded that “the reds in Tampa [had been] after the residents in New York . . . the ones who most contributed in the United States to the antinationalist campaign that was so harmful for us there.”22

Not only Spaniards but also Cubans, Italians, and sympathetic Anglo-Americans helped the cause of Republican Spain. Most mutual aid societies and labor unions sent delegates to the Popular Committee. These organizations contributed cash and, equally important, they offered their leaders’ time and organizational skills, as well as their buildings and theaters for meetings, lectures, and other cultural and political events. The Italian Antifascist Group was particularly active in denouncing Mussolini’s intervention in Spain, and together with the Popular Committee, organized lectures in Tampa by a number of prominent Italian antifascists.23

Individuals as well as institutions rendered services for free to support the committee’s work. At committee-sponsored picnics, bakeries offered free bread, restaurants contributed rice and chicken, and musicians played gratis. When the committee organized a drive to send cigars to the Loyalist soldiers, several cigar factories donated the tobacco, cigarmakers worked Sundays for free to make the cigars, and women sewed up to 20,000 tobacco pouches.24

The committee organized all kinds of events to collect funds for Loyalist Spain. Picnics on April 14 (the date of the proclamation of the Republic) and July 19 (celebrating the popular response against the military uprising) drew crowds of thousands. The proceeds from theater tickets, films, bowling, soccer, and baseball games, filled the committee’s coffers. Waiters at coffee shops and restaurants donated the tips earned at banquets honoring the Republic. Every Saturday, committee volunteers visited the cigar factories and commercial establishments to collect weekly donations from people whose names appeared in *La Gaceta*. Through nickel-and-dime contributions the committee sent to Spain an average of $5,000 a month. It also shipped badly needed food, clothing, and medical supplies.
Every campaign organized by the Spanish Red Cross met with an overwhelming response of the Tampa Latin population. When the Red Cross asked for a shipment of canned milk and dried vegetables in December 1937, the committee immediately sent thirty tons of beans and a thousand cans of milk. A month later, the committee shipped close to $7,000 worth of medicines. In June 1937, in what La Gaceta dubbed “the greatest romería [picnic] ever in the history of Tampa,” more than 5,000 people attended a picnic to collect funds to purchase an ambulance for the Spanish Red Cross. The event raised more than $9,000, allowing the committee to purchase not one, but four ambulances; as well as the X-Ray equipment for a mobile hospital sent to Spain by the Medical Bureau of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.25

The activities of the Tampa rearguard were well known in Republican Spain. “You cannot imagine how [well] they treat us here in Catalonia...and the way people talk about Tampa,” wrote an Asturian refugee from Barcelona to her brother in Tampa. The fall of Asturias and the subsequent flow of refugees put more strain on the already overcrowded facilities on the Republican side and on the Tampa Committee, as thousands of Asturian refugees looked to the Asturian clubs in America for support. The “House of Asturias in Valencia,” asked for help from Tampa, and so did the Centro Asturiano in Catalonia. “It is heartbreaking to inspect the shelters,” wrote the president of the Asturian delegation in Bordeaux, France, to the Centro Asturiano in
Tampa; “I fear for the elderly....The children, lacking milk and medicines, die daily. So far, we have buried more than two hundred.” In response to these calls for help, the Popular Committee organized a “Week for Asturian refugees in Catalonia.” All collections that week, a total of twenty-eight boxes of clothing and $4,000 in cash, were sent to them.26

Although men held the leadership positions in the Popular Committee – as in most of the associations that sent delegates to the committee – women and children played a prominent role in its success. A few weeks after the establishment of the Tampa Committee, women set up their own “Ladies’ Committee,” modeled after the Women’s Auxiliaries of the mutual aid societies. But it was the bombing of civilians which prompted the women to take a more active role. Following the bombing of the Basque town of Guernica by Hitler’s Condor Legion in April 1937, a group of female cigarworkers proposed that the Popular Committee organize a demonstration to protest the killing of noncombatants. Led by these women, more than 5,000 demonstrators marched from the Labor Temple in Ybor City to City Hall, where leaders of the Popular Committee presented Tampa’s mayor with a document protesting the “ruthless killing of women and children by Franco’s forces.” In September 1937, Tampa Latin women organized the Antifascist Women’s Committee, which became the Women’s Auxiliary of the Popular Committee.27

Latin women also spearheaded campaigns to collect clothing and milk for Spanish children. After a day’s work, the more than one thousand women of the Popular Committee, old and young, met in groups to sew and mend clothing. They “formed almost a family,” wrote a witness to these reunions, “with each piece made...goes all the devotion, all the love, that only mothers can give.” In just the month of November 1937, the Women’s Committee sent 6,000 pounds of clothing to Spain. By the end of the war, more than twenty tons of clothing and several thousand cans of milk had been sent to war-torn Spain.28

In another effort, Latin women also exercised their activism through their role as consumers. They led the boycott campaigns against products from Germany, Italy, Japan and the areas of Spain held by Franco. Andalusian olive oil and the coveted Christmas turron (nougat) were two of the articles absent from many a Tampa Latin household. Latin housewives also boycotted stores that did not contribute to the Popular Committee. (Those that did displayed a sticker from the committee signaling them as contributors.) The boycott extended beyond the household and into the entertainment arena. Theaters that showed films which Tampa Latins perceived as biased against the Republic were boycotted and forced to change their programs. The same happened with films whose actors were believed to be Franco supporters. By the same token, Tampa Latins heavily patronized films that supported the cause of Republican Spain.29

As mothers, women also played a fundamental role in educating the children, the future citizens, about the values of democracy. As one woman wrote, there was no better reward for the women of the Popular Committee than having their children ask them, as they shopped, “did you check whether it was made by the bad guys?” Latin mothers also removed their children from Catholic schools to protest the Catholic Church’s support of Franco.30

In addition, the women of the Popular Committee engaged in more traditional political activities. They joined women and men throughout the country in an intensive campaign to lobby
the White House, the State Department, and Congress to change the United States’ policies towards Republican Spain. They sent telegrams and wrote letters asking for the lifting of the arms embargo and the repeal of the neutrality law, and they joined delegates from Tampa who went to Washington to present their requests to the President and legislators.31

Young Latins and children also contributed to the committee. Members of the Juventud Democrática Antifascista de West Tampa (West Tampa Antifascist Democratic Youth) collected old paper, sold it to businesses, and donated the proceeds to the Popular Committee. Children from the Lead Club gathered tin foil wrappers from cigarette and chewing gum packets. These were then melted and sold as fishing sinkers; the proceeds bought canned milk for the children of Spain.32

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

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

A week after Franco’s uprising, a *Tampa Tribune* columnist informed his readers that “Spanish revolutions are not new; they have them every now and again.” The *Tribune* cartoonist depicted the revolution in Spain as “Just an Old Spanish Custom,” as old – and as violent – as bullfighting. The link between the war and the bullfight became even more explicit in the letters of some *Tribune* readers. One argued that “with mob passions lashed to applaud with jubilant acclaim cruel death in the bull ring, it’s only a step to the unleashing of individual killing fever, curbed by law.” Another reader put it even more bluntly when he stated that “the people of Spain should be happy in the rivers of blood now streaking their cities and fair mountain sides, for blood-red fresh gore is what they traditionally love.” The *Tribune* editorial pages at the
beginning of the war carried tongue-in-cheek remarks about the Spanish character. ("Why can’t the Spanish be calm like the Danish?" read one of them.)

Americans’ traditional perception of the Tampa Latin community as a focus of radicalism probably shaped their views that Latins supported communism in Spain. The association of the Republic with communism did not help the Popular Committee’s cause in a city where twice in 1936 the presidential candidate of the Communist Party had been prevented from speaking.

Whatever their opinions on the war in Spain, Americans tended to perceive it as a foreign conflict, and they expected their Latin neighbors to do the same. The Latins’ overwhelming support of Republican Spain raised doubts in the minds of many Americans about the immigrants’ loyalty towards the United States. Latins befuddled their American neighbors, in the midst of the depression, by collecting for Loyalist Spain “the biggest amount ever heard of in Tampa,” according to a Tribune reader. Another reader criticized them for sending more money to Spain “than the whole city can raise in a Community Chest campaign,” while their own needy were allegedly draining the funds of local charities. “Shouldn’t our Spanish friends be taught that their first loyalty should be to their home town and country, the place where they make their living?” asked the writer. A “Tampa Latin” replied, reminding Americans of the institutions

Women of Tampa’s Democratic Popular Committee to Aid Spain in front of Ybor City’s Labor Temple with General Santiago Philemore, General Inspector of the Spanish Red Cross, and his wife Olga, in August 1938.

Photograph courtesy of Segundo A. Carreño.
Latins had built in Tampa and of their support of all charitable organizations, and asked, in turn, “if, as a peace and liberty-loving people, at a time when the land of their fathers is being invaded by war-mad dictators, they rally and make sacrifices for its support, are they to be censored?”  

Tampa Latins did not consider themselves un-American; to the contrary, they saw their support for the Republic as a demonstration of Americanism. The Popular Committee firmly stated that “the people of Tampa and the whole trade union movement of the country will support the

The first Tampa Tribune cartoon on the Spanish Civil War depicted the conflict in a bullfighting ring as “Just an Old Spanish Custom.”

Photograph from the Tampa Tribune, July 21, 1936.
struggle of the Spanish people for defense of the Republic, because it stands for democracy.” Tampa Latins reflected the observation of historian Allen Guttmann that American support for the Spanish Republic “was not – for the most part – the result of a movement toward radicalism, [but] one more manifestation of the liberal tradition in America.” As a “Loyalist” reader put it in praising the role of the American volunteers in Spain: “the same echoes that resounded from Bunker Hill during the American Revolution are now heard in the Spanish Pyrenees.”

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

One of the first efforts to bring together Latins and Americans was an event that took place in Plant Park on October 30, 1936. Organizers publicized the event in the local press encouraging readers to “hear the true facts about the fascist insurrection against the legally elected democratic government in Spain.” Victoriano Manteiga shared the stage with Professor Royal W. France of Rollins College, the Reverend Walter Metcalf of Tampa’s First Congregational Church, and Jose Martinez, a labor union leader and president of the Popular Committee. The event drew more than a thousand people, according to La Gaceta, which dubbed the meeting a “sound success.” However, it did not receive any mention in Tampa's English-language press, which prompted Manteiga’s stern criticism. “They are not interested in knowing the truth about what happens in Spain,” Manteiga said of the Tampa editors, “but if there would have been news unfavorable to the Republican Government, they would have found space for it in their newspapers.”

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

In January 1938 the Popular Committee sponsored the visit of George G. Pershing, field secretary of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. Two thousand people gathered at the Municipal Auditorium to hear Pershing and watch the film “Heart of Spain,” a documentary on the war made by the Medical Bureau. At the end of the event, the Tribune reported, “names . . . were taken for the purpose of forming a committee to ‘promote understanding between the Spanish and English speaking people in Tampa.’” This led to the establishment of a local chapter of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy two weeks later. The Reverend A. J. Phillips, superintendent of the Latin Methodist Missions of
Florida, was elected chairman, and Professor G. G. Becknell, of the University of Tampa, vice-chairman. The American Friends worked closely with the Popular Committee but focused their efforts on the American population. Their first public event brought a Spanish delegation of writer Ramón J. Sender, social worker Carmen Meana and journalist Oscar Preteicelle to a packed Municipal Auditorium. They collected close to $800 to buy an ambulance for the Medical Bureau and passed a resolution urging President Roosevelt to lift the arms embargo against Republican Spain.40

Reverend Phillips joined the Popular Committee and the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce in answering “the slanderous statements of a small and unimportant Tampa weekly,” the Evening News. A few weeks earlier, this rabid anticommunist newspaper had run a series of articles headlined “REDS MENACE YBOR CHURCH,” and “RED TERROR GRIPS YBOR CITY,” in which it accused the Popular Committee of threatening a priest and forcing businessmen to contribute against their will. The committee responded to these charges in a full-page “Appeal to American Public Opinion,” published in both the Tribune and the Times. The Popular Committee explained its origin and purpose, and denounced the Evening News for “incit[ing] the American people to acts of violence against the Latin colony.” “The name of Tampa is revered . . . in Republican Spain,” this emotional statement continued, emphasizing that, “the word Tampa stands for justice and humanity in all the trenches, hospitals and homes of Loyalist Spain.”41

For his part, Rev. Phillips addressed the “Saxon Americans who, instead of being proud of the democratic and unselfishness of these Latins, undertake to besmirch our fellow citizens by attributing their efforts to communism.” He pointed out that many American doctors, the “most matter-of-fact men” among American professionals, had gone to help the Spanish Republic, and asked: “Why not join forces with our Latins? Why the apathy of Americans in Tampa?” In spite of Rev. Phillips’s best efforts, support for the Spanish Republic remained concentrated within Tampa’s immigrant community.42

Local Latins were often critical of the coverage of the Spanish Civil War in the Tampa press. As early as September 1936, the Times ran an editorial responding to criticism from the Spanish community that the newspaper was biased in its reporting of the conflict in Spain. “The daily dispatches concerning the Spanish war news which appear in the Times come entirely from the Associated Press and are published without change in any way,” explained the editor, assuring readers that “only the facts . . . are transmitted over the AP direct wires to the newspapers served.” A year later, the Times again addressed members of the Spanish community who had
expressed their “criticism and charges of prejudice because the news dispatches too frequently, in their opinion, recounted the advances of the insurgents.” The paper’s editor repeated that “the news dispatches are written in Spain by reliable correspondents – not in Tampa.”

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

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

The first public event organized by the Tampa chapter of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy took place in April 1938, the seventh anniversary of the proclamation of the Spanish Republic.

Photograph from the *Tampa Tribune*, April 14, 1938.
The Spanish community in Tampa relied on another important source of information: the first-hand accounts of family and friends. In the summer of 1936, a number of Tampa Spaniards were in Spain visiting relatives or living there in retirement after spending most of their working life in America. The war forced many to return to Tampa. Their first-hand testimony became one of the most valuable sources of information regarding the situation in Spain, together with letters from relatives still there. These letters were regularly published in La Gaceta.

One of the first eyewitness accounts to appear in the Spanish-language newspaper was that of Emilio Viñas. He had lived in Tampa for several years and in 1934 returned to his native Galicia to retire. Galicia was one of the first regions to fall to Franco’s forces. Upon his return to Tampa, Viñas told of his experiences as the repression mounted. “On the road . . . one morning, I saw close to forty corpses of leftists who had been shot . . . .Two of them were still moving. . . . After that, I could not sleep, and I decided to return to the United States.” Although Viñas did not belong to any political party, he was at risk because he was a Mason. “I am a Mason, and I burned a travel notebook of masonry fearing for my life, because the houses were searched daily.” He saved his life thanks to the good offices of the United States vice consul in Vigo.45

Reports came from other parts of Spain as well. Enrique Rodríguez, a baker in Tampa, was visiting his native Barcelona in the summer of 1936, when the war broke out. He joined the militia, but when it became known that he had family in the United States, the militia helped him leave the country. Francisco Martínez, a naturalized American born in Asturias, had to pay a fine of 7,000 Spanish pesetas to be able to return to the United States. “The roads have become cemeteries,” he said upon his return, because “those who do not think like them [the falangists] pay with their lives.” Mariano Paniello left Palma de Mallorca fearing for his life after receiving threats for being a Mason. These and many similar accounts, coming from people known and trusted in Tampa, did much to strengthen local support the Republic already enjoyed.46

Some of these witnesses, like Mariano Paniello, went on to speak publicly at events organized by the Popular Committee. He helped to organize an antifascist committee in Detroit and returned to Spain to fight. The letters of the volunteers from Tampa who fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade also helped to keep the Republican fervor alive. When the Republic finally fell in March 1939, these letters were replaced by those of the thousands of Loyalists in French refugee camps who wrote for help.47

From the beginning of the war in Spain, there had been members of the Tampa Spanish community who opposed the Republic, but organized support for Franco did not begin until the summer of 1938. Before then, reports circulated that a group of “fascists” celebrated Franco’s military victories with dinners at a restaurant in neighboring St. Petersburg. There were also rumors that a Franco supporter returning to Spain carried a “blacklist” of Tampa Loyalists. La Gaceta voiced these rumors and warned that any reprisals against relatives in Spain would be met with appropriate response in Tampa.

The first reports of a “meeting of fascists” in Tampa appeared in La Gaceta in May 1938. The paper did not provide the names of those in attendance, but mentioned their professions. The group, estimated at no more than a dozen people, included a cigar manufacturer, a salesman, a
bookkeeper, a printer, and an ex-consul. They had met at the home of Andrés Iglesias, the ex-consul whose earlier conflicts with the Spanish community had led to his transfer in 1931.¹⁴⁸

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

During his first term as consul in Tampa, Andrés Iglesias had met Mildred Taliaferro, the daughter of a prominent Tampa family. They were married in Paris in 1925. Their only daughter was born in Perpignan in 1933, while he was consul there. As consul in Perpignan, he had sided with Franco from the beginning of the war, although he was being paid by the Republican government. His pro-Franco activities provoked his dismissal in November 1936. Among other
things, he had denied passports to those who wanted to volunteer to fight for the Republic in Spain. He kept working for Franco in France until April 1937, when, with no funds and no clear job prospects, he returned to Tampa to rejoin his family. In Tampa, he proposed to work for Franco under the orders of Juan F. de Cárdenas, the unofficial representative of the Franco government in the United States.49

To avoid calling attention to their activities, the Spanish Nationalists followed the Germans’ suggestion not to use the name “shirts” in their organizations. Instead, their clubs in the United States usually bore “neutral” names like Renovación Española (Spanish Renewal) in San Francisco, or the names of historic Spanish figures, associated with Spain’s glorious past, a major theme in Franco’s crusade. In Boston and New York the clubs were named Isabel and Fernando, honoring the Catholic kings. In Tampa, the Nationalist Club was named after the Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto.50

Iglesias’s job proved a hard one. In April 1938, he wrote to one of Franco’s ministers, acknowledging that his activities in Tampa did not meet with much success: “I have not been able to attract the majority of the Spanish element, made up mostly of cigarworkers who have always professed extremist ideas, but I have been able to bring together Spanish sympathizers with whom I work to convince the other healthy element within the Spanish colony.”51 Among the “Spanish sympathizers” Iglesias included the Arango family. Francisco Arango, Sr., the owner of Arango & Arango Cigar Co., was a Franco supporter. His son, Francisco Arango, Jr., was, according to Iglesias, “the person who has worked the most in favor of the cause,” and he often wrote for nationalist newspapers. His column, “carta de Tampa” (letter from Tampa), written under a pseudonym, appeared regularly in Cara al Sol, the Falangist paper published in New York. He also circulated Nationalist propaganda in Tampa and organized collections of clothing and cash for Franco’s Auxilio Social. Another member of the family, Manuel Arango, the foreman of the Arango cigar factory, became a protagonist in the most tragic episode involving the Spanish Civil War among Tampa Spaniards. He had often quarrreled bitterly with his neighbor, a Republican supporter, about the situation in Spain. After one such an argument, his neighbor, Jose Alvarez, shot and killed Manuel Arango and then killed himself - two more casualties of the Spanish Civil War.52

Not all cigar manufacturers necessarily sided with Franco. Manuel Corral, the head of Corral, Wodiska & Co., and his wife, were among “the worst reds,” according to Iglesias. A brother of Manuel Corral, who had been a manufacturer in Tampa before retiring to his native Asturias in 1920, had been forced to leave Spain and take refuge in France, fearing for his life. Joaquin Corral, a socialist, had been the mayor of the town of Arriondas since 1931, when the Republic had been proclaimed. Iglesias also disapproved of the conduct of Manuel Corral’s son-in-law, Celestino Vega, Jr., “one of those who has made the most propaganda in favor of the reds among the Americans and the Chamber of Commerce.”53

The Catholic priests that ministered the Latin immigrant community looked at Franco with sympathetic eyes. In Ybor City, which Victoriano Manteiga described as an “antifascist, but not antireligious community,” relations between the Catholic Church and Republican supporters went smoothly until August 7,1938. On that day, Father John J. Hosey of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Ybor City and Father Wright of West Tampa used their Sunday sermons to praise
General Franco and ask for donations to help civilian victims in Nationalist Spain. The sermons caused a stir among the Latin community in Tampa, and the following day scores of people complained to La Gaceta about the priests’ “injecting” the matter of Spain into their services.\(^\text{54}\)

The next day, La Gaceta sent a reporter to interview the priests, who stood by their actions. Manteiga claimed that Father Hosey was misinformed and took it upon himself to “educate” him and other Catholic priests on the reality of the situation in Spain. He invited Father Hosey to a public debate on the matter. Father Hosey declined the invitation, but he used the pages of La Gaceta to explain his position. The collection, he said, had been organized by the Bishop of St. Augustine and was meant to help all victims of the war. He claimed that he was “neither a fascist, nor a politician,” but he concurred with Franco that the conflict in Spain was a war against communism and that Spain was fighting the battle “to save an entire civilization.”\(^\text{55}\)

Manteiga responded by mentioning a number of Catholic priests who had sided with the Republic and again tried to educate Father Hosey on what he considered to be the truth of the situation in Spain. But, aside from Father Hosey’s private views on the war, what had particularly outraged Manteiga – and apparently most of the Latin community – was the priest’s lack of respect for the feelings of his parishioners. Latins responded swiftly, removing their children from local Catholic schools and boycotting the Catholic Church. As Manteiga reminded Father Hosey: “In this land of freedom, the citizens have their own mind, and they do not go to church looking for political or social orientations.”\(^\text{56}\)

Franco’s victory, and the recognition of his government by the United States, made the lives of Nationalist supporters in Tampa a little bit easier. In 1939, the Hernando de Soto Club opened its offices, but far from the Latin communities, in downtown Tampa. Nevertheless, its membership rolls remained low, and letters to the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Spain revealed members’ frustration at the weak position they held against the overwhelming Republican majority within Tampa’s Spanish community. A year after Franco’s victory, the president of the club wrote to the Spanish ambassador in Washington about the “sad spectacle” of the Spanish mutual aid societies’ refusal to recognize the new regime or hoist the new Spanish flag in their clubhouses. He pleaded with the ambassador to reopen the Tampa consulate, which had been closed down by the Republic for lack of funds, and establish an official representation that would heal the divisions within the Spanish colony.\(^\text{57}\)

In June 1941, following Iglesias’s recommendation, Francisco Arango, Jr., was named honorary vice consul, but he resigned six months later, when the United States entered World War II. Although he claimed that time constraints prevented him from carrying out his duties, private consular reports pointed to Arango’s fears that his post could cause him personal as well as commercial damage, “a fear inspired by the attitude of nearly the whole of the .Spanish ...colony of that district, openly hostile to our cause and emboldened now with the entrance of this country in the world war and its tight collaboration with Russia.” The offices of the consular representation in Tampa were eventually closed on December 31, 1941.\(^\text{58}\)

Franco’s victory changed the way Tampa Spaniards related to their native country. In 1931 Spaniards had proudly hoisted the Republican flag, alongside the American flag, at the clubhouses of the mutual aid societies. In 1939, unwilling to recognize Franco’s forceful seizure
of power, Tampa Spaniards voted that the official flag of their societies would be that of the United States of America. Soon thereafter, in anticipation of Franco’s naming of a new consul, a general assembly at the Centro Español voted unanimously to remove from the society’s bylaws the articles that gave honors to the Spanish representative in Tampa. From then on, the United States became their only country.  

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

In Tampa, as in the rest of America, the remnants of the organizations that had supported Loyalist Spain turned to alleviate the plight of the Spanish refugees. The Democratic Popular Committee to Aid Spain became the Popular Committee to Aid Spanish Refugees and, later, a branch of the Junta de Cultura Española, an organization headquartered in Mexico which provided assistance to the Spanish refugees. In 1942, Tampa Spaniards welcomed Galician agrarian leader and Republican exile Basilio Alvarez. His poor health confined him to a room at the Centro Español Hospital where he died the following year. Covered with the Spanish Republican flag, he was buried in the cemetery of the Centro Español where his gravestone reads: “From the friends of an illustrious Spaniard who fought for his country and for mankind.” The Tampa committee collected more than $50,000 to aid Spanish refugees and continued operations until 1970, when many of its founding members, as well as the thriving Latin community which had supported it, had all but disappeared.  

As Franco lay dying on November 20, 1975, eighty-year-old Jose Martinez, the president of the Popular Committee in the 1930s, had reservations about the democratic future of Spain. He
angrily reflected on what Franco had done to his country: “It was a free country changed to a slave state.” In 1976, forty years after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, democracy was finally reestablished in Spain.62

This article has been excerpted from Ana M. Varela-Lago, “‘La Retaguardia de Tampa:’ The Response of the Tampa Latin Immigrant Community to the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939” (M.A. Thesis, University of South Florida, 1996).
Tombstone of Spanish Republican exile Basilio Alvarez in the cemetery of Tampa’s Centro Español. The inscription reads: “From the friends of an illustrious Spaniard who fought for his country and for mankind.”

Photograph by James P. D’Emilio.
1 The Tampa Morning Tribune (hereafter TMT), July 30, 1936.


3 The Tampa Daily Times (hereafter TDT), April 15, 1931.

4 TMT, April 15, 1931; La Gaceta, May 4, 10, 19, 1931.

5 Adrian Shubert, A Social History of Modern Spain (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 174-75; J. Meruendano to Ministro de Estado, April 22, October 1, 1926, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (hereafter MAE), Madrid, Archivo Histórico, Correspondencia Consular, Tampa, legajo 2074.


7 For Manuel Pardinas’s links to Tampa anarchists, see Constant Leroy [pseud.], Los secretos del anarquismo (Mexico: Librería Renacimiento, 1913), 17-29. Following the execution of Ferrer, anarchists in Tampa organized the “Institución Francisco Ferrer,” and tried to establish a Escuela Moderna (Modern School) modelled on those Ferrer had founded in Spain. Institución Francisco Ferrer, Boletín Oficial, March 26, 1910; April 8, September 9, 1911, microfilmed copy in University of South Florida Library “El Internacional . . . Assorted Manifestos and Other Newspapers.” (quote from La Gaceta, October 25, 1925.


9 La Gaceta, November 3, 14, 21, 1934.


12 La Gaceta, July 23, 28; August 3, 1936.

13 La Gaceta, July 23 (quote), 28, 1936; Pablo de Ubarri to Ministro de Estado. August 5, 1936; Ministro de Estado to Pablo de Ubarri, August 6, 1936, MAE, Archivo de Barcelona, caja RE. 156, carpeta 12; TMT, August 16, 1936.


15 La Gaceta, August 6, 1936.

16 TMT, August 14, 1936; TDT, August 14, 1936; La Gaceta, August 13, 1936.
17 Andrés Iglesias to Juan G. de Molina, May 17, 1941, Archivo General de la Administración (Alcalá de Henares), Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Embajada en Washington (hereafter AGA-MAE-EW), caja 8896.

18 La Gaceta, August 8, 1936.

19 Ibid., May 3, 6, 11, 1937. Centro Asturiano de la Habana, Delegación de Tampa, Juntas Generales 1933-1953, May 10, 1937, Centro Asturiano Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library.

20 Ibid., May 4, 1937; TMT, May 12, 1937.

21 Ibid., July 25, 1938.


23 La Gaceta, October 12, 14, 16, 1936; May 14, 1937; December 5-8, 1938.

24 Ibid., November 15, 1938; TMT, August 5, 1938; TDT December 21, 1938.

25 Ibid., June 14, August 31, 1937; TMT, April 30, September 26, 1937.

26 Ibid., December 13, 1937, February 26, 1938; David Alonso Fresno to Centro Asturiano de la Habana in Tampa, February 10, 1938, Centro Asturiano Papers, Special Collections, University of South Florida Library.

27 Ibid., April 30, September 16, 1937; TDT, May 7, 1937; TMT, May 7, 1937.

28 El Internacional, April 1, 1938.

29 La Gaceta, October 2, 1936; May 16, 1938. Among the films more popular with Tampa Latins were: “España en Llamas,” “Frente Popular,” “Last Train From Madrid,” “The Spanish Earth,” and “Blockade.”

30 El Internacional, January 28, 1938.

31 TMT, January 4, March 5, 1939; TDT, January 7, 1939.

32 La Gaceta, November 11, December 6, 1937; February 23, 1938; TMT, July 29, 1990.

33 TMT, September 6, 1938.

34 Tobacco Leaf, July 25, 1936 (first quote); TMT, July 24, 1936 (second quote); December 13, 1936 (third quote); August 14, 1936 (fourth quote); August 14, 1936 (fifth quote).


36 TMT, August 8, 1938 (first quote); January 19, 1938 (second quote); January 23, 1938 (third quote).


38 La Gaceta, October 28, 31, 1936.

39 TMT, November 25, 1936; TDT, November 25, 1936; Isabel de Palencia, I Must Have Liberty (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1940), 255-57. Shortly after the meeting; Rev. Nance used the press to defend himself against charges of radicalism, TMT, December 17, 1936; TDT, December 16, 1936.
40 *TMT*, January 25, April 14, 16, 1938; *TDT*, April 15, 1938.

41 *TDT*, September 28, 1938.

42 Ibid.

43 *TDT*, September 5, 1936, June 23, 1937.

44 *La Gaceta*, February 2, 1938.

45 Ibid., October 8, 1936.

46 Ibid., October 10, 1936, January 2, 18, 1937.

47 Ibid., February 8, March 30, April 6, 14, 28, June 5, 1937.

48 Ibid., May 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 1938.

49 MAE, Sección Personal, legajo 469, expediente 33764.


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

52 Juan F. de Cárdenas to Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores (Burgos), March 7, 1939, MAE, Sección Personal, legajo 469, expediente 33764; José M. de Garay to Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores, July 22, 1940, MAE, Sección Personal, legajo 361, expediente 24.991; *TMT*, February 7, 1939; *TDT*, February 7, 1939.


54 *La Gaceta*, August 9, 1938.

55 Ibid., August 12, 1938.


59 Centro Asturiano de la Habana, Delegación de Tampa *Juntas Generales 1933-1953*, May 20, 1939, Centro Asturiano Papers, University of South Florida Library, Special Collections; *La Gaceta*, May 20, 1939.

60 *La Gaceta*, November 22, 1937 (first and second quote); *TMT*, December 9, 1941 (third quote).
61 *La Gaceta*, March 9, 1942; November 15, 1943; *TMT*, November 17, 1943.