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Exiles From Spain's Civil War: Case Studies of Two Literary Figures

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EXILES FROM SPAIN'S CIVIL WAR:
CASE STUDIES OF TWO LITERARY FIGURES

by
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Bachelor of Arts, University of Madrid, 1981

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
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1989
This Thesis submitted by Olga Colbert in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.

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This Thesis meets the standards for appearance and conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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Department History

Degree Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The Spanish civil war and the political regime that resulted from it deprived Spain of the presence and immediate inspiration of a large group of remarkably creative individuals. Some of the best minds of a literary generation left their country to protest the political situation and to continue to be true to their inner voices. Besides numerous personal and professional adjustments, these people were faced with a tremendous sense of uprooting that inevitably accompanies the experience of exile.

Only a minority among those exiles settled in the United States, due to isolationist policies and to stringent immigration legislation. Those who did settle in the United States were brought primarily by the efforts of American private individuals and by American universities.

Juan Ramón Jiménez and Pedro Salinas left Spain during the Spanish civil war—never to return. Their writings represent some of the best poetry of their generation. This thesis will analyze the works of Jiménez and Salinas from a thematic, not formal point of view, to search for their individual visions of the world, what critic Carlos Bousoño calls the "primary intuition" of an author. The study will also try to demonstrate, whenever possible, what elements
in the poets' "weltanschauungs" are manifestations of the general moods or philosophies of the period. For instance, in what ways the feeling of insecurity so characteristic of the period that generated the upsurge of Existentialism increased the profound existential crisis provoked by the personal experience of exile. The years of their exile were prolific for both Juan Ramón Jiménez and Pedro Salinas, but they were affected by the existential realities of exile that permeated their works and correspondence. Never political writers, their best social contributions were their transmission of the Spanish language and literary tradition, as well as the timeless value of their works.

A discussion of the stipulations of the United States immigration laws as well as a detailed study of the United States government's policies towards the question of the Spanish refugees have also been included.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Spanish civil war, which raged from 1936 to 1939, was one of the most dramatic international events of the interwar period. But the causes that motivated it had profound internal sources. The war of 1936-1939 was not simply a military conflict; it was rather compounded of a series of political, social, religious, and ideological conflicts of enormous complexity.

Throughout its history Spain had accumulated a conglomeration of unsolved problems that became particularly significant in the nineteenth century. Among them were the devastating effects of the War of Independence against Napoleonic France, as well as the rigid social structures inherited from the past. In addition to the two civil wars between liberals and conservative-clericals, the rise of nationalist sentiments in Catalonia and the Basque Country revealed considerable divisions in Spanish society. The intellectuals' increasing opposition to the "status quo," along with the growing importance of radical working-class organizations, and the loss of the last overseas colonies resulted in widespread unrest. The insufficient response of Spain's economy to industrialization and the ineptitude of
its ruling class complete the picture.

Consequently, by the start of the twentieth century, Spanish society had accumulated a considerable amount of tension. This tension, however, did not necessarily have to be released by a civil war; certain special circumstances brought about this conflict. One of them was the singularity of the Second Republic of 1931, an extremely ambitious regime that tried to solve through democratic means all the problems and deficiencies accumulated in the previous century. It attempted social reform through land redistribution, real political democracy, cultural reforms, checks on the Church's role in education, self-government for Basques and Catalonians, and modernization of the economy.

In the elections of 1936, the Popular Front, a coalition of Center and Left political forces, won a victory over the Rightist party. The Popular Front found itself in difficulty, however, when a military uprising that drew its strength from the army, the Church, and the wealthier agricultural and industrial interests divided the country in 1936.

An attempt by the western democracies to isolate the war by international agreement soon proved a farce as German and Italian arms and men poured into Spain to support the Insurgents or Nationalists, led by General Francisco Franco. The Republic, the legally constituted government, received some Soviet and Mexican aid and also the support of international brigades formed in various countries (the United
States, Canada, Poland, and Italy). According to Gabriel Jackson the civil war in Spain affected emotionally a whole generation of Americans and Englishmen more deeply than any other international event in their lives, including World War II.¹

The passion aroused by the Spanish civil war derives from the fact that it was seen as the confrontation of the key ideologies of the time: fascism, communism, and democracy.

Because of the indifference of Great Britain, France, and the United States, the legally elected Republican government, much weakened by internal dissension, was finally overwhelmed by the Nationalist forces. Franco took over leadership of the country and maintained a personal authoritarian regime until his death in 1975.

Persecution and reprisals were common during the war. Franco's Nationalists were most responsible for the persecution of intellectuals. The assassination of the poet Federico García Lorca by Nationalist sympathizers is a well-known case that shook the world of that time. According to Ian Gibson's comprehensive research on Lorca's case, his well-known liberal sympathies and his openly expressed contempt for the reactionary middle class in Granada put him in a delicate position from the beginning of the military uprising. In Gibson's words, "In Granada in August 1936, a

¹Gabriel Jackson, La República española y la guerra civil (Barcelona: Crítica, 1985), 17.
person with Lorca's reputation and friends could not expect to escape death." 2

Consequently, Gibson believes, the Civil Governor of Granada gave the order for Lorca's death after consulting with his immediate superior, General Queipo de Llano. Following Queipo's suggestion to "give him coffee, plenty of coffee," as Queipo euphemistically referred to ordering executions, the Civil Governor did as he was told and the next morning Lorca was dead. 3

Lorca's case was by no means unique. Another well-known poet, Miguel Hernandez, died unattended and deprived of medical care in the Alicante jail. Many others had to see for their lives, such as the great poet Antonio Machado, who died shortly after his arrival in France. Many tried to start over in distant lands; Juan Ramón Jiménez and Federico Salinas are just two of them.

The Nationalists' insistence on unconditional surrender deprived the defeated of humane treatment at the conclusion of the war. Franco never gave assurances against the use of reprisals, and he made ample use of them. The regime persecuted its political enemies until its very end in

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3 Ibid., 152. Based on the recollections of one of the members of the Civil Governor's clique, Germán Fernández Ramos.
The object of this thesis is to study the biographies and works of two well-known Spanish intellectuals who came to the United States as a result of the civil war of 1936-1939. The cases of poets Juan Ramón Jiménez and Pedro Salinas have been analyzed in the context of the refugee problem in the 1930s.

The fact that it was necessary to possess certain accomplishments and be recommended by a committee in order to be allowed to emigrate to one of the American republics, including the United States, lies behind our selection of intellectuals for this study. Most of the Spanish refugees who left Spain at the end of the war remained in France; only a privileged minority was able to relocate overseas, and intellectuals constituted that minority's most visible part.

I chose those two intellectuals instead of others because of their undeniable literary accomplishments and because they spent most of their years of exile in the United States. To have included all the Spanish intellectuals who found refuge in the United States would have exceeded the limits of this study, because they did not constitute an organized group, politically or otherwise, in spite of the friendship ties among them. Spanish traditional

4Gabriel Jackson estimated the total of executions by the Nationalists between 1936 and 1944 to be between 150,000 and 200,000; the political executions by the Republicans during the war years amounted to 20,000 according to the same source. Jackson, L' República y la guerra civil, 14.
individualism was deeply rooted in the educated class.

The methodology chosen to analyze the literary works of the two poets who constitute the basis for this study owes a great deal to one of the most insightful critics of Spanish literature of our time, Carlos Bousoño. Bousoño considers the work of art independent from the artist. The psychological traits or feelings transmitted by a work of art are not necessarily those experienced by the author; this is clear, for instance, in the case of a male writer who creates a female character. The author, however, must either have disguised his own experiences or grasped intuitively the psychology of the character he created. But people perceive something or somebody by intuition only from within themselves, drawing from personal experiences. This is why the personality of the author is so important in understanding the work of art.  

Bousoño created his own terminology to describe these processes. By "intimate self" he refers to the person's personality and temperament; the "social self" consists of education, friendship, experiences, and social background. It is the interweaving of these two elements that produces each person's particular vision of the world. According to Bousoño, a writer's vision of the world will determine his style and the content of his work.  

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6 Ibid., 26.
This thesis will analyze the works of Juan Ramón Jiménez and Pedro Salinas to search for their individual "weltanschauungs," or conceptions of the world—what Bousono calls the "primary intuition" of an author—which are then developed in other related themes. The search for recurrent themes is necessary in order to understand the authors' main preoccupations. Therefore, this study contains some analysis of literary work, but from a thematic, not formal, point of view. We feel that a formal literary analysis is not necessary for the purpose of this historical study.

At the same time, still according to Bousono, a personal vision of the world is just one of the possible variations to the cosmovision of the period. My study will try to demonstrate whenever possible what elements in the poets' visions of the world are manifestations of the general moods or philosophies of the period. For instance, in what ways did the feeling of insecurity so characteristic of the period that generated the upsurge of Existentialism increase the profound existential crisis provoked by the personal experience of exile?7

A discussion of the stipulations of the United States immigration laws as well as a detailed study of the United States government's policies towards the Spanish refugees have also been included.

7Ibid., 30.
CHAPTER II
SOCIOLOGY OF EXILE

Alicja Iwanska, a Polish sociologist who has inter-viewed a number of political exiles, among them Spaniards, has noted that political exiles have a special nature:

Largely invisible to sociologists, administrators and even to the U.N. High Commission on Refugees, they continue to build their social and political institutions, to lobby for their causes among potential allies, and to continue their attempts to influence the populations of their home countries. 8

According to Iwanska, there are two organizational alternatives often used by political refugees—a traditional form, such as a government in exile, an historical political party, or union in exile; and a more modern organization, such as a new party emerging in exile and expressing its views in editorials or magazines. 9

Spanish political exiles from the civil war were most active in Mexico and France. A Spanish Republican government in exile was created, and it maintained its headquarters in Mexico until it was moved to Paris in 1946. After the first free elections in Spain since the civil war, in June 1977, the Republican government in exile was dissolved.


9 Ibid., 53.
That the United States was on the periphery of the centers of political decision-making of the Spanish diaspora most likely contributed to the Spanish exiles' lack of organization in the United States. I suspect, however, that the intense individualism of those intellectuals further compounded that circumstance. Ramón Sender, the great novelist and long-time resident of the United States until his return to Spain after Franco's death, once wrote "pertenezco a un partido que tiene un solo militante: yo. Así y todo discrepo y lo traiciono muchas veces cada día." (I belong to a party that has one member only: myself. Even so, I disagree with it and betray it many times every day.)

Furthermore, the tradition of individualism is deeply rooted in Spanish history and character; Spaniards are not as inclined as Americans to join clubs and organizations.

A group of Spanish exiles in New York, however, founded an organization called "Confederated Spanish Societies" devoted to bringing back a democratic and republican regime to Spain. This organization published a periodical, España Libre, financed by subscriptions of members and sympathizers. Published weekly at first, España Libre was frequently in a state of financial uncertainty; it was later reduced to two issues per month and finally to one issue.

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10 Ramón Sender, Toque de queda (Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1985), 9. Except where noted otherwise, all translations from Spanish to English in this thesis are those of the author.
every four months.\textsuperscript{11}

Finally, as Iwanska noted, in contrast to what happens in Europe, "exiles are culturally rather invisible in such nations of immigrants as the United States and Canada."\textsuperscript{12}

Trying to keep their own identity intact was the greatest challenge faced by the exiles included in the present study, since there is a major existential conflict inherent in maintaining one's existence away from one's homeland, language, and heritage for a prolonged period of time. In this respect the experience of exile enhanced a feeling that is deeply rooted in the perception of human life proper of the twentieth century, a perception which came to be expressed in philosophical terms by the Existentialists.

This century's protests against the dehumanization of man is heard in the philosophies of Karl Jaspers, Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Gabriel Marcel, and others. "Quite frequently, however," according to Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, "it is the poet who has given the most profound expression to the despair of man's existence." \textsuperscript{13}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{11}Publication of \textit{España Libre} started during the Spanish civil war and it continued until the end of 1976. In one of the last issues the editors referred to the bankruptcy that threatened the periodical and indicated that \textit{España Libre} "was about to perish." \textit{España Libre}, July-October 1976, 1.

\textsuperscript{12}Iwanska, "Modern Exiles: Spanish, Polish, American," 60.

Juan Ramón Jiménez, in the "Poetic Diary" included in the book Guerra en España expressed this feeling in tragic terms:

Soy en América, tan hermosa, un cuerpo bastante libre, un alma en pena, un ausente.

(I am in America, so beautiful, a body free enough, a soul in purgatory, an absentee.)

And later,

Porque "desterrado"... no soy nadie, estoy másmuerto que muerto, estoy perdido.

(Because I am displaced, ... I am nobody, I am more dead than the dead, I am lost.)

This existential state is what R. D. Laing calls "ontological insecurity," that is, insecurity of the being. Ruitenbeek, in his introduction to Psychoanalysis and Existential Philosophy, explained this concept as follows:

If a person has a strong sense of his identity, of the permanence of things, and of an integral self-hood, he will be secure. As soon as man experiences non-being, however, he is at once beset by the anxieties and insecurities which accompany the state of non-being.

In the state of "ontological insecurity," the individual may literally feel more unreal than real, "more dead

\[14\] Juan Ramón Jiménez, Guerra en España (Barcelona: Seix Baral, 1985), 47-48. The English version does not capture the extraordinary strength and poetic quality of the Spanish original.


\[16\] Ruitenbeek, Psychoanalysis and Existential Philosophy, xi.
than alive," according to Laing.\textsuperscript{17}

The peculiar situation of an exiled individual who is also a writer is described by poet Pedro Salinas with remarkable insight:

El destierro, en extranjería, es per se una situación humana; cuando el desterrado es escritor, se origina una nueva situación especializada: el desterrado en cuanto escritor, de la cual sale otro nuevo efecto humano . . . porque se sufre, en mi caso, de dos males: destierro de España, y distancia, alejamiento de los centros culturales de habla española.

(Exile in a strange land is, per se, a human condition; when the exile is a writer, a new specialized situation is created: the exile as a writer, from which a new human effect emerges . . . because, in my case, I suffer from two ills: exile from Spain, and distance, estrangement from the cultural centers where Spanish is spoken.)\textsuperscript{18}

In the fourth and fifth chapters of this study we analyze in more detail whatever existential preoccupations have permeated the literary creations of Jiménez and Salinas, but most refugees express themselves in terms similar to those of Juan Ramón Jiménez in their private correspondences. Américo Castro, a noteworthy historian, wrote the following in a letter to Pedro Salinas:

Se me perdió mi sombra y no volveré a encontrarla. Cuando uno ha leído esas cosas de la emigración, . . . resultaba hasta pintoresco, como para adornar una exposición de cátedra. Caramba, pero cuando se vive de veras una ruina tal, y ve uno segarse todos los lazos que le amarraban al vivir, es peor que morirse.

(I have lost my shadow and I'll never find it again. When one has read those things about emigration, . . .

\textsuperscript{17}Laing, \textit{Divided Self}, 43.

\textsuperscript{18}Guillermo de la Torre, "Pedro Salinas en mi recuerdo y en sus cartas," \textit{Buenos Aires Literaria}, no. 13 (October 1953): 94.
it seemed almost picturesque, good to enliven a college lecture. But, gracious!, when one lives through such a ruin, and sees cut the ties that fastened you to life, it is worse than death). 19

In the same letter, Castro admitted that he had contracted a "chronic melancholy" from which he would never free himself. The same kind of melancholy afflicted Salinas at the end of his life, according to friend and critic Dámaso Alonso. Referring to a conversation between the two of them in New York on the occasion of the premier of Salinas's play La fuente del arcángel, Dámaso Alonso recalled how Salinas at one point was not listening: "En estos años fuera de España -lo he notado- el ángel desvalido e queda a veces absorpto, inhibido de lo inmediato que le odea: sí, se le nublan los ojos. Imagino qué es lo que pasa or detrás de ellos." (In these years away from Spain—I have noticed—this helpless angel sometimes becomes absorbed in thought; inhibited from what immediately surrounds him: es, his eyes cloud over. I imagine what is passing through him.) Dámaso mentioned little things that suddenly, so far way, became poignant reminders of the fatherland: rumors, lights, memories of clear skies, or even those Christmas weets, marzipans, that the two had expectantly hunted all over Manhattan only to discover that they were inedible and made in New Jersey. As an act of faith, Salinas ate them nyway, even though they had become only "a symbol of a

symbol."^{20}

Finally, one of the most painful realities of an exile is the realization that, as years pass by, a situation originally perceived as temporary becomes permanent, and the fatherland, which has been so consciously kept alive as an inner reality, continues to exist somewhere. It still occupies land, it has people, it is changing, it is a reality—but one is not part of it. The sense of not belonging becomes overwhelming; this is the ultimate uprooting, when one does not belong to the country in which he lives, nor to the country from which he came. In a letter to Pedro Salinas about a recent trip to Spain, Amado Alonso, well-known philologist, eloquently expressed such feelings:

Amigo Pedro, son 25.000.000 de hombres y mujeres, es el suelo que tú y yo hemos pisado, son sus ciudades y sus pueblos, sus montañas y sus costumbres, el encierro de San Fermín y las terrazas de los cafés de Madrid, los toros y la pelota, la cochambre y el arranque, es la España de siempre. Ay, Pedro, es nuestra España que sigue allá, allá.

(Pedro, my friend, they are 25,000,000 men and women, the soil that you and I have walked on, its cities and villages, its mountains and customs, the running of the bulls in San Fermín, the cafes in Madrid, the bull-fights, the handball, the dirt and the impetuousness, it is Spain as it has always been. Oh, Pedro, it's our Spain that continues to be there, there.)^{21}

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CHAPTER III
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT POLICIES
TOWARDS REFUGEES IN THE 1930s AND 1940s:
THE SPANISH CASE

In the 1930s the world was in the midst of a profound crisis. Numerous unsolved problems dating back to World War I created a great deal of social and political instability. This restlessness bred fear and a desire for change that was expressed to some extent in the surge of fascism.

The most assertive authoritarian regimes (Germany, Italy, and Japan) displayed forceful expansionist attempts during the 1930s. In 1936 a series of alarming acts of aggression took place: Hitler repudiated the Locarno agreements and reoccupied the Rhineland; Germany and Japan, later joined by Italy, signed the Anti-Comintern Pact to oppose communism; Mussolini and Hitler signed the Rome-Berlin Axis soon after the outbreak of the Spanish civil war; and Mussolini's troops completed the defeat of Ethiopia.

The events of the following years were no more reassuring. In 1937 Japan launched a full-scale invasion of China. In 1938 German forces moved into Austria and made the Anschluss, the union of the two countries, a reality. And in
Munich, that same year, France and Britain agreed to Hitler's request to annex Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland to Germany.

While these events were occurring, Western democracies adhered to policies of appeasement and pacifism regardless of the consequences. The heavy human and material losses caused by World War I just a few years before acted as a powerful deterrent to becoming involved in checking aggression.22

The decisions of the Roosevelt administration regarding the Spanish civil war were taken in the midst of this uncertain international situation. The reluctance of the stronger European democracies, France and Britain, to support the legitimate Republican government in Spain reinforced the strong mood of isolationism in the Congress of the United States between 1935 and 1937.

On January 8, 1937, the United States placed an embargo on the shipment of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to either side in the Spanish civil war. And, on May 1, 1937, as the old Neutrality Law of 1935 was about to expire, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the new act, primarily designed to isolate the United States from any future war. Besides placing an embargo on arms shipments, this law banned loans to belligerents and prohibited travel on belli-

22 One out of every two French males who were between the ages of twenty and thirty-two in 1914 was killed during the war. Jack J. Roth, World War I: A Turning Point in Modern History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 5.
gerent ships when a war—including a civil war—threatened national security.

According to Robert Dallek, however, Roosevelt had considerable leeway to do what he pleased, and he could have chosen to follow conventional practice and permit arms exports to the Republican government in Spain. But, Dellek remarked, "To Roosevelt the issue was not saving the Spanish Republic or preventing a fascist take-over in Spain, but aligning himself with what proved to be the egregiously shortsighted Anglo-French policy of preventing a European war."  

But other considerations also had some influence on Roosevelt's decisions. The need to pay attention to domestic programs during the Depression ruled out bold initiatives in foreign affairs. At the same time, the weight of the Catholic vote made the concession of help to the anti-clerical Republican government in Spain, also known as the Loyalists, politically risky.  

Because most Catholic-Americans supported Franco, open assistance to the Loyalists would have meant alienating those Catholic voters who were vital to Roosevelt's domestic

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24 In the 1936 presidential election, the Gallup poll estimated that over 70 percent of all American Catholics supported Roosevelt. Leo V. Kanawada, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Diplomacy and American Catholics, Italians and Jews (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 52.
programs and to the proper functioning of the Democrats' political machine.25

Finally, as regards the refugee question, for the Roosevelt administration to have admitted Loyalist refugees could have been interpreted as extending favorable treatment to one of the sides in a civil war, even though the refugees were the supporters of a legal government.

Eventually, the Roosevelt administration was forced by the political circumstances in Europe to give some consideration to the refugee problem in general. Although no legislation was enacted to accommodate the surge of refugees leaving Spain during or immediately after the civil war, a conference was held in France in July 1938 to facilitate the exodus from Germany, which included Austria at the time. The Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees at Evian, France, created at the initiative of President Roosevelt, was committed to facilitating the emigration of those persecuted in Nazi Germany, and it was in charge of approaching the governments of participating countries to develop opportunities for permanent settlement.26

Nevertheless, in the period between 1933 and 1944, popularly considered the time of heaviest refugee immigration, the United States received the smallest influx of newcomers of any decade since the 1820s. The low numbers

25Ibid., 136.

26Documents on American Foreign Relations, January 1938-June 1939 (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1939), 443.
were explained by the economic depression, the war, and the strict enforcement of restrictive immigration laws. In fact, during the four years 1932 to 1935, the number of departures from the United States exceeded the number of arrivals.27

The Immigration Act of 1924 had provided for a quota system favoring northern and western European groups, and by the beginning of the thirties the national origins quota system was fully operational. The law's failure to distinguish between immigrants and refugees in determining quotas effectively limited the entry of Jewish refugees. The total number of refugees admitted into the United States between 1933 and 1944 was under 250,000.28

Approximately 400,000 refugees left Spain when the Republican government collapsed in February 1939. According to a survey conducted by a team of investigators under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees in the 1950s, those 400,000 included approximately 200,000 soldiers, 170,000 women and children, and 10,000 wounded. The same report indicated that several thousands of the refugees emigrated to Latin America, particularly to Mexico, and tens of thousands of others went back to Spain in the months immediately following the end of the civil war.29


In 1953 there were between 125,000 and 180,000 Spanish refugees still living in France, about 19,000 in North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) and an indeterminate number in America. Mexican sources estimated that there were more than 28,000 living in Mexico alone.\(^{30}\)

Researchers are unable to determine how many Spanish refugees entered the United States during those years, because the immigration records of the time do not include the category of "refugee." Therefore our figures represent Spaniards who entered the country with "immigrant" and "non-immigrant" status. In the years 1937 to 1944, between 2,826 and 4,198 "immigrants" entered the United States from Spain, and between 14,199 and 19,759 Spaniards were admitted with "non-immigrant" status.\(^{31}\)

After the United States adopted the Immigration Act of 1924, anyone entering the country either permanently or temporarily had to fall into one of three categories: as a "quota immigrant," that is, within the numerical allowance of his country of origin; as a "non-quota immigrant," outside the numerical limitations of the law; or as a student or "non-immigrant" who indicated that he did not intend to remain permanently in the United States.\(^{32}\)

Spain's annual quota in the years under study was 252

\(^{30}\)Ibid., 29.

\(^{31}\)Figures represent minimum and maximum estimates. Davie, Refugees in America, 23-25. See Appendix for categories included as "non-immigrants."

\(^{32}\)Vernant, The Refugee in the Post-War World, 479.
and were usually used in its entirety. The "non-quota" immigration visas issued in the key year of 1939 totalled 138, which included 72 relatives of American citizens, 29 returning aliens, 30 clergymen and professors, and 7 students. In 1938 the "non-quota" visas totalled 251, including 23 ministers and professors.33

Government officials and their families were considered "non-immigrants." Such was the case of Juan Ramón Jiménez, who held an honorary governmental commission when he arrived in the United States. This fact explains why there is only one entry for him in the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (he was issued a diplomatic passport), while there are numerous applications and deportation notices for Pedro Salinas.34

The surge of political refugees in the 1930s made it necessary eventually to devise a legal definition for the term "refugee." In a preliminary report of the 1953 survey already mentioned, the conditions that a person had to meet in order to be legally considered a refugee were as follows:

First, a person can be considered a refugee only if, whether of his own free will or not, he has left the territory of the state in which he formerly resided either as the result of political events in that state, or for other political reasons.


34U.S., Department of State. Visa/Passports Applications (811.111/130) in Record Group 59, National Archives. Washington, D.C.
Secondly, the political events which are the cause of the refugee's leaving his country must be accompanied by persecution or the threat of persecution either against himself or—in our opinion—against some section of the population to which he regards himself as belonging.

There is no doubt that many Spaniards were persecuted in Franco's Spain for purely political reasons. Political prisoners were held until the very end of the existence of the regime, which ended with the death of the dictator in 1975.

For political reasons Juan Ramón Jiménez left Spain during the war. He chose not to return, even though the government on three occasions offered him posts, one of which was a seat in the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language. His position was clear. Asked on one occasion why he did not return to Spain, he replied: "Because I like to live in freedom."  

The poet reaffirmed this position on other occasions. The author Antonio Sanchez Barbudo recalled a private meeting with Jiménez in which the poet expressed his desire not to return to Spain so as to deny giving the government the opportunity to make political propaganda out of his return.  

Pedro Salinas's case differs slightly from that of

36 Jiménez, Guerra en España, 283.
Jiménez. Although he left Spain in 1936 to fulfill a prior academic commitment, it was for political reasons that he decided to stay away from his fatherland. Consequently, in both cases, it was these men's refusal to return to Spain for political, not personal, reasons that qualified them as "refugees."

Both also met the second requirement demanded by the United Nations experts. Juan Ramón Jiménez and Pedro Salinas were intellectuals, a group that suffered persecution throughout the war (the assassination of the poet Federico García Lorca is one well-known example) and after the war.

Carlos E. Mesa, in an article published in Colomójia in 1983, argued that Juan Ramón Jiménez was not a genuine exile, and he denied that the poet had any sympathy with or attachment to the Loyalist government. ⁳⁸

Mesa is not correct. Juan Ramón left Spain with a diplomatic passport, holding an honorary cultural commission granted by the Loyalist government. Furthermore, shortly after his arrival in the United States, he contacted several democratic circles, such as the American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. A note written by him was read at a meeting organized in defense of Spanish democracy at Mecca Temple in New York on September 18, 1936. In it he referred to the struggle of the Spanish people who supported the "legal and democratic" Republic against the Nationalists.

Finally, the poet made an appeal for "sympathy and justice, that is, moral support for the Spanish government." 39

There are few United States government documents concerning what we will call "the Spanish refugee problem." The standard reply that was given by diplomats and members of the administration to all those institutions or individuals who tried to get the American government involved in the matter could be summarized as follows:

a) From the beginning of the conflict the policy of this government has been strict non-intervention in the Spanish conflict.

b) The United States has refused asylum both in bassies and in consulates to sympathizers of either side.

c) This policy has been successful in protecting American interests, which is the government's primary concern.

The previous three points were extracted from a memorandum of a conversation submitted to the Department of State by Pierrepont Moffat, Chief of the Department of State Division of European Affairs, in March 1939, but they appear in almost identical form in several other documents.40

In spite of other attempts to accommodate political refugees from other European countries during the 1940s, the United States government barely dealt with the Spanish


refugee problem, and the immigration quota was maintained at the very low figure of 252 in both 1938 and 1939.41

During the last year of the Spanish civil war and the months that followed its conclusion, numerous petitions were submitted to the President and the Department of State on behalf of Spaniards who would face persecution and possible death at the hands of Franco's government. These requests came both from American citizens and from Spaniards. The actions requested from the American government ranged from granting asylum to political refugees in American embassies and consular facilities, to sharing the cost of transportation to other American nations such as Mexico, and even settlement of refugees on United States soil. Most of these pleas fell on deaf ears.

On the Spanish side, Fernando de los Ríos, Ambassador to the United States, contacted the Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, on March 27, 1936, to request the use of American warships in the Mediterranean to take refugees from Loyalist territory to the safety of a French port. These people, according to De los Ríos, "were trying to flee from Spain in order to save their lives."42 His meeting on March 28 with President Roosevelt to discuss the Spanish refugee problem achieved as little as the rest of his


approaches to other governmental officials.\textsuperscript{43}

Constancia de la Mora, an enthusiastic upper-class lady with good contacts but no formal diplomatic training, had been sent by the Loyalist government as a cultural attaché to the American government. She met with a Mr. Duggan, Chief of the Division of the American Republics, in March 1939 to discuss means of assisting Loyalist refugees from Spain. Upon the readiness of the Mexican government to accept 50,000 Spanish refugees, de la Mora requested a contribution by the American government towards defraying part of the cost of transportation. The French and British governments were apparently willing to help. She was informed that the United States government was unable to make a cash contribution. The use of American vessels was not discussed at that particular meeting.\textsuperscript{44}

A few American individuals took an interest in the plight of the Spanish refugees. Hamilton Fish Armstrong spoke to Pierrepont Moffat about the United States government aiding the Spanish refugees "not only for humanitarian reasons, but because the President's Advisory Committee was being severely criticized because it was helping only Jews or Catholics." He strongly recommended helping with the transportation of the forty to fifty thousand Spanish

\textsuperscript{43}New York Times, 29 March 1939, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{44}U.S., Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1939, vol. 2. Washington, 1956, 791.
refugees accepted by the Mexican government. 45

Because it has been established that the American government did not aid in bringing Spanish intellectuals to the United States, what persons or institutions were responsible for getting them here? American universities had an important role by recruiting and hiring many. There are numerous examples in the Salinas Papers of universities hiring Spanish scholars to teach in their language departments. Some of these intellectuals were already residing in the United States, while others were brought from Spain, such as philologist Dámaso Alonso who went to Harvard. And others spent a few years in Latin American countries, such as Mexico and Argentina, before eventually being hired by American universities. A few Spanish intellectuals, including Juan Ramón Jiménez, organized a subscription in 1939 targeted at Spaniards and Latin Americans living in the United States to aid Spanish writers, artists, and professors seeking gainful employment in the United States.

Senior scholars such as Américo Castro played an informal role in advising colleges on the selection process. Professional accomplishments were primarily considered, but personal contacts also proved important. Américo Castro was repeatedly approached in this respect, a were all the

leading hispanists at one time or another, including Salinas himself.

In a letter to Américo Castro, Salinas suggested that he do everything possible to secure Dámaso Alonso a position at Harvard, writing that "to see him as a professor in Harvard would make me very happy, and it would be very beneficial to the Spanish studies." 46

The professional future of the philosopher Ferrater Mora was discreetly discussed in a letter from Castro to Salinas. Apparently Ferrater had given an excellent lecture at Princeton, but Castro judged it too philosophical and inadequate for the audience. He suggested that Salinas lobby on Ferrater's behalf at Bryn Mawr. 47

In a subsequent letter, in 1951, Ferrater notified Salinas of his appointment as professor of both Spanish and philosophy at Bryn Mawr. He thanked the latter for helping him to get hired by that college. 48

There are numerous examples of similar situations. Sometimes a certain professor was reported to be so desperate that he would be willing to work "for the food"; others, older professors, experienced difficulties getting employment because of their age. Amado Alonso, upon returning from


a trip to Spain in the 1940s, stated that the majority of all professors with whom he had talked expressed the wish to emigrate to the United States. 49

The Spanish intellectuals exiled in the United States formed a small but select group of individuals who, in most cases at least, knew one another before the war. There were several close friendships among them. Logically, in a foreign country with a strange culture, personal ties developed or continued to grow, even though no political grouping resulted from it. It is to the credit of these individuals and to the institutions that employed them that first-class writers and scholars were considered for these positions. Those high standards resulted in the hiring people as qualified as Pedro Salinas, Jorge Guillén, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Dámaso Alonso, Juan Marichal, Francisco I I a, and José Ferrater Mora, some of the best of their generations in their fields.

Not all American universities, however, were sympathetic to the cause of the Spanish Loyalists. St. Louis University, a Catholic school in St. Louis, Missouri, dismissed one of its professors, a Dr. Fleisher, in connection with his sponsorship of a pro-Loyalist talk in 1939. 50

Other organizations, active in providing aid for the


Spanish refugees, brought small numbers of intellectuals to the United States. The Exiled Writers Committee brought a dozen or so writers to this country, including Spaniards, before merging with the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee in 1942.51

Besides the number of quota and nonquota immigrants, lax immigration restrictions towards Mexican citizens may indirectly have allowed Spanish refugees to enter the United States. As Lois E. Smith commented in her work about Spanish exiles in Mexico, Spaniards could become Mexican citizens rather easily, which in effect "practically nullified United States immigration restrictions, since a naturalized alien could easily enter the United States on a Mexican passport."52

In fact, emergency legislation enacted in 1940 facilitated dramatically the entry procedures for aliens of certain nationalities, such as those from Mexico, Canada, and Newfoundland.53

There were also a few cases of illegal entries. For instance, the New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company was fined for smuggling nine Spanish refugees into the


52Lois Elwyn Smith, Mexico and the Spanish Republicans (Berkeley: University of California, 1955), 268.

53U.S. Department of State. Documents on American Foreign Relations. July 1940-June 1941 (Boston: W.P.F., 1941), 595. (Section 30 of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 and of Executive Order No. 8430 of June 5, 1940.)
United States in 1939.\textsuperscript{54}

For the most part, however, it was the commitment of American educational institutions and private citizens that allowed most of the Spanish intellectuals who settled in the United States to overcome the obstacles posed by the immigration laws and the unconcern of government officials.

\textsuperscript{54}New York Times, 23 May 1939, p. 6.
During the 1920s, Spain produced the most brilliant and cohesive poetic generation it had ever had. When reflecting on the causes of it, Carlos Bousoño, a leading Spanish literary critic, provided an intelligent as well as sensible explanation.

It is widely accepted among critics that literature evolves parallel to society. Bousoño distinguishes three elements existing in "words" as elements of language: "concept," referring to ideas; "sensorial halo," appealing to the senses; and "affective halo," appealing to feelings.55

One or two of those elements in an unequal combination would predominate in each literary period. The twentieth century, with its abundance of irrational elements, would be primarily affective, secondarily sensorial, and minimally conceptual. Spain, with its slight exposure to the spirit of rationalism in the eighteenth century and the late arrival of romanticism, together with the profound sense of crisis brought about by the experience of 1898, would be particu-

55Bousoño, La poesía de Vicente Aleixandre, 161.
larly predisposed to irrationalism in the twentieth century. It is only logical that the periods artistically more fruitful would be, in Bousoño's words, "those in which the sign of the century and that of the generation would coincide . . . which is what took place in Spain with the poetry of the period between the two world wars."56

Jiménez stands by himself between the Generation of 1898 and that of the young poets of the so-called "Generation of 1927," of which Pedro Salinas is one of the leading members.

Juan Ramón Jiménez was born on December 23, 1881, in Nájiver, a small town in lower Andalusia, close to the port of Palos, on the Atlantic coast. His middle-class family provided him with a secure as well as loving childhood. Though his interests were artistic, to please his father he went to Seville to study law. At the same time he painted in order to develop some of his artistic talent. A failing grade in a history examination cut short his juridical career, and the young Juan Ramón dedicated himself to the pursuit of his poetic vocation.

The sudden death of his father in his sleep marked the impressionable young poet, who imagined himself becoming a victim of the same fate. Death became an obsession that followed him the rest of his life. Seeking rest for his nerves he spent a year in a French sanatorium. In this retreat Jiménez became acquainted with the work of the great

56Ibid.
French symbolist poets, particularly Baudelaire and Verlaine.

Homesick, Juan Ramón, as his admirers respectfully referred to him, returned to Spain and spent a short time in the Castilian countryside, where he completed his recovery. It was there that he became acquainted with Antonio Machado, then a young poet. Jiménez divided his time between writing poetry and directing a prestigious literary magazine: Heíos, Arias tristes, Jardines lejanos, and Pastorales were the main production of those years.

Jiménez settled in Madrid in 1902, and with the exception of a few stays in Moguer, his hometown, he lived there until the beginning of the civil war in 1936.

In 1914 Jiménez published Platero y yo, the moving elegy to a humble donkey. Written in beautiful poetic prose, this book is an ode to the simple incidents of living. His next major work, Diario de un poeta recién casado, published in 1916 was the celebration of adulthood and love.

Jiménez had made the acquaintance of his bride, Zenobia Lamprubí Aymar, when he returned to Madrid in 1912. Before meeting her, the poet had had a few romantic episodes with fragile, ethereal women. These somewhat literary romances, half invented, half real, were very different from his relationship with the practical and gay Zenobia. After a period of hesitation and doubt, Zenobia agreed to be courted by Juan Ramón. Together, they collaborated in the translation of the Hindu poet Rabindranath Tagore, the first of
many projects they worked on together.

Toward the end of 1915, Zenobia left Spain for New York, where she had family ties. Juan Ramón was not long in following her. They were married in New York in March 1916.

Returning to Madrid, Jiménez spent the years from 1916 to 1936 in ceaseless creativity and critical revision of his early poetry. He also collaborated in the fine and short-lived literary magazines which he published at that time: Indice, Ley, and Sí.

The civil war interrupted the normal course of his life, as it did that of many others. In the first weeks of the struggle he established, with his wife, a small refuge for children. Later, the Republican government named him honorary cultural attaché to the United States, and he and his wife left Spain in September 1936, never to return.

An offer to lecture in Puerto Rico and Cuba took the couple to the Caribbean. Jiménez's most politically active years were those of the civil war, which he spent mostly in Cuba. During his stay in Cuba (1936-1939), according to Angel Crespo, he became the "conscience of the Spain loyal to the Republic."57

He actively collaborated with the Republican government and its representatives in America through public declarations, press interviews, and the promotion of cultural events. For instance, he participated in a memorial to the Cuban poet Pablo de la Torriente who had died in the

57Jiménez, Guerra en España, 140.
Republican trenches as a volunteer, as well as in a public act in memory of Federico García Lorca, who had been assassinated by the Spanish rebels.  

Jiménez showed a great deal of insight when evaluating the political situation. In a note to Professor Frank Manuel of Harvard, Secretary of the Friends of Spanish Democracy Committee, to be read in New York, he asserted that the victory of Spanish democracy in the civil war would be a victory not only for Spain but for the world. A victory that could prevent, by its example, another world war.

With the exception of the stays in South America and Puerto Rico, Jiménez lived with his wife in the United States between January 1939 and March 1951, the longest period of his exile.

Jiménez arrived in New York in January 1939 and a few months later went to Coral Gables, Florida. In 1940 he delivered in the American Hispanic Institute in Miami the lectures "Poesía y literatura," "Aristocracia y democracia," and "Ramón del Valle-Inclán." Between 1940 and 1941 he suffered from nervous depression and was hospitalized twice. He recovered and continued his literary undertakings, lecturing in summer courses at the University of Miami and participating in literary discussions at Duke University in North Carolina.

In November 1942 Jiménez moved with his wife to

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58Ibid.

59Ibid., 171.
Washington, D.C., to participate in a series of broadcasts organized by the Office of the Coordinator of American Affairs, but Jiménez's refusal to submit his writings to prior censorship put an end to the project. Those speeches are included in a book entitled _Alerta_, published in Salamanca in 1983.60

In 1944 Zenobia was hired by the University of Maryland where Juan Ramón taught occasional courses; this motivated the couple to move to Riverdale. Life without hearing "español atmosférico" (atmospheric Spanish) was very hard for the poet, however, who once wrote:

¡No oir el español al pueblo de España; al hombre, a la mujer, al niño; ese español que es el rumor de mi sangre, la razón de mi vida! ¿Qué es mi vida sin rumor español eterno e interno?

(Not to hear the Spanish of the people of Spain: the man, the woman the child; that Spanish that is the murmur of my blood, the reason of my life! What's my life without Spanish rumors inside and outside?)61

Consequently, Jiménez gladly accepted an invitation to give a series of lectures in Argentina in 1948. During his journey, at sea, Juan Ramón started to write a set of poems called _Animal de fondo_, which would be extended into a longer work, _Dios deseado y deseante_.

Juan Ramón was enthusiastically welcomed by the public; the days spent in South America were happy ones in the life of the poet. He recalled later that when he heard a group of

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60Juan Ramón Jiménez, _Alerta_ (Salamanca: Studia Philologica Salmantina, 1983)

61Jiménez, _Guerra en España_, 64.
admirers call out his name he felt reborn. He claimed that he felt Spanish again and suddenly he realized it was because of the language: "Esa noche hablé español otra vez con todo mi cuerpo y con toda mi alma." (That night I spoke Spanish again with my whole body, with my soul.)

"Límite del progreso," "Aristocracia e intemperie," "El trabajo gustoso," "La razón heroica." and "El siglo modernista" are the titles of lectures read in Argentina. In Uruguay, Juan Ramón read "Poesía abierta y poesía cerrada." Back in Argentina, he gave a public reading of Animal de fondo and signed an agreement to have it published in Buenos Aires.

Juan Ramón and Zenobia spent the years between 1951 and 1953 in Puerto Rico. On this Caribean island Juan Ramón selected most of the materials for Guerra en España, his collection of notes and documents about the Spanish civil war.

One cannot emphasize enough the importance of being where Spanish was spoken to these men who lived mostly from and for words. Not only did they strongly identify language with culture, feeling somehow "less exiled" in a Spanish-speaking land, their media as artists consisted primarily of words. It is not difficult to imagine the pain and helplessness felt by one of the best Spanish poets of all time when he had to resort, forced by circumstances, to using a dictionary with which to check his own Spanish:

62Ibid., 284.
Con mi mujer hablo siempre español, claro está, pero ya nos corregimos uno a otro, y hasta consultamos el diccionario.

(I always speak Spanish with my wife, of course, but now we correct each other, and we even consult the dictionary.)

Jiménez and his wife developed close emotional ties with the land and the people of Puerto Rico. In 1955 the university provided the couple with the room called "Sala Zenobia-Juan Ramón," to which the poet donated in October 1957 his books, furniture, paintings, and other objects. They are displayed on the campus at Río Piedras in the same arrangement they had in the poet's home in Madrid before the war.

World-wide recognition came to Juan Ramón Jiménez in 1956. On October 25 he was honored with the Nobel Prize for Literature. His wife, Zenobia, died three days later. The poet never recovered from this loss and died in Puerto Rico on May 26, 1958. His and Zenobia's remains were later transferred to Moguer, the poet's birthplace.

Juan Ramón Jiménez, who chronologically belongs to the second generation of the twentieth century, stands by himself due to a number of peculiarities in his artistic talent. A man of exceptional sensibility, Jiménez was able to isolate himself from mundane preoccupations during most of his life—thanks to the solicitude of his wife, Zenobia—and to dedicate himself body and soul to the creation of poetry. The conjunction of two factors, his sensitiveness

63Ibid., 64.
and his egocentric personality, made possible for Juan Ramón Jiménez the creation of the most impressive body of poetry of his generation.

Jiménez's individuality as a poet does not signify a lack of connection with the Spanish literary tradition. The love for Spain and the pessimistic outlook appropriate to the "Generation of 1898" influenced Jiménez greatly, particularly in his melancholic first poems. He never abandoned his deep love for Spain; it became more and more identified with the language as Jiménez sank deeper into the reality of exile:

Lengua madre, lengua única, lengua humana y divina, lengua española, ¡todo, toda para mí!

(Mother tongue, only tongue, human and divine language, Spanish language, all, everything to me!)\(^64\)

This is one of numerous desperate outcries in Guerra en España of the poet fighting the loss of national as well as personal identity.

Jiménez was, however, particularly indebted to Modernism, the literary movement that succeeded the "Generation of 1898." Modernism was the Hispanic manifestation of the crisis in world value that took place in the early years of the present century. It started in America as a reaction against rationalism and positivism. Its highly individualistic approach to literature expressed itself in the search for art for art's sake. The combined use of musicality, luxury, and elegance resulted in a cosmopolitan poetry that

\(^{64}\text{Ibid., 65.}\)
appealed greatly to the senses. This cosmopolitanism and the fact that this poetry was directed towards a minority of the population are connected, from an historical point of view, with the development of capitalism and international trade in Latin America. It was the growth of capitalism that enabled the local bourgeoisie to enjoy a high standard of living, manifested by imported luxury goods, and it also stimulated the development of cultural ties with European nations, particularly France.  

Juan Ramón Jiménez met the most outstanding Modernist poet, the Nicaraguan Rubén Darío, in Madrid when the latter was already an acknowledged poet in the Spanish-speaking literary world. His influence on Jiménez's poetry is very obvious, particularly in Jiménez's early poems.

Jiménez's poetic evolution consists of three periods. The first one extends from the beginning of the century to 1915 and is characterized by a sad, melancholic mood; the importance of musicality; and the use of an impressionistic technique. This period is called at times "melancholic impressionism," because the poet attempts to capture brief, fleeting impressions produced by objects or situations, more than the external reality of the object itself. Dark, dull colors, fog, dreams, anything that is indeterminate captures the poet's imagination, and he used those elements just as

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the impressionistic artists used them in their paintings to convey an impression of evanescence, of something ephemeral and fugitive, of "state" rather than "being," of transience rather than permanence.

The poems of these years are refined and sensitive. Sensorial elements, indispensable to the impressionistic technique, blend effortlessly with symbolism, also present in these poems and manifested by the ample use of suggestion and delicate feelings. Most of the effort, however, is concentrated on the form in these early poems, and, unlike Jiménez's later poems, they lack essential human and philosophical preoccupations.

The Modernist influence is particularly clear in the poems written before 1905, such as Arias tristes (1903) and Jardines lejanos (1904).

These verses from Arias tristes are a good example with which to illustrate the characteristics summarized above:

Mi alma es hermana del cielo
gris y de las hojas secas;
sol enfermo del otoño,
¡mátame con tu tristeza!

Los árboles del jardín
están cargados de niebla:
mi corazón busca en ellos
esa novia que no encuentra;

en el suelo frío y húmedo
me esperan las hojas secas:
¡si mi alma fuera una hoja
y se perdiera entre ellas!

El sol ha mandado un rayo
de oro viejo a la arboleda,
un rayo flotante, dulce
luz para las cosas muertas.
¡Qué ternura tiene el pobre
sol para las hojas secas!
Una tristeza infinita
vaga por todas las sendas,

lenta, antigua sinfinia
de músicas y de esencias,
algo que dora el jardín
de ensueños de primavera.

Y esa luz de ensueño y oro
que muere en las hojas secas
alumbra en mi corazón
no sé qué vagas t - stezas.

(My soul is kin .  the gray
sky and the withered leaves.
Inward-turning autumn sun,
do not touch me with your grief.

- The trees in the garden are
heavily laden with mist.
My heart divines among them
the lover it cannot find;
and in the wet ground dry leaves
open withered hands to me.
If only my soul could be
a leaf lost among these leaves!

The sun has sent down a ray
of strange gold to the trees,
a floating sunbeam, a soft
light for the secret things.

- What tenderness in the last
sunlight for the dying leaves!
An endless harmony strays
slowly along the paths,
an eternal symphony
of music and fragrances
that goldens the garden with
a more divine spring.

And that light of mist and cold,
passing through the withered leaves,
creates in my heart a rainbow
of vague, hidden loneliness.)

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Elejías puras (1908), La soledad sonora (1908), and Laberinto (1911) completed the first period of Jiménez's poetry.

With the publication of Diario de un poeta recién casado in 1917, the second period in Juan Ramón Jiménez's poetry opened with a more original poetry that abandoned all anecdote, color, or musicality as central elements, as they were part of the Modernist concept of poetry.

Jiménez achieved what he called "poesía pura" (pure poetry) through the elimination of all unnecessary elements in a poem, retaining only what was essential. In his search for the "right word," the poet would redo all the poems, "purifying" them of all elements that detracted from the concept. His obsession with accuracy in expression gave the expected results, producing a mature poetry in which the language was adequately adapted to express the profound philosophical preoccupations contained in the poems.

Diario de un poeta recién casado was written between January and July 1916, during a journey between Spain and the United States undertaken by the poet on the occasion of his impending wedding to Zenobia in New York. The book is in the form of a diary and includes the poet's daily impressions as he completed his journey. On a symbolic level, the Diario is, in the poet's own words, "a discovery of the sea,
the sky and love."^67

The Diario is a hermetic book, full of dense symbolism, whose meaning is uncertain unless considered as a whole. Michael Predmore used the symbols in specific poems to illuminate the meaning of more obscure ones. He was able in this manner to decipher the deeper meaning of the work, in a form that is consistent with Jiménez's intentions. According to Predmore's research, the key to the Diario is found in an existential conflict: "the constant struggle between the child's attachment to the familiar limits of his early existence (childish fear to abandon the nest) and his impulse towards love, maturity, and independence." The author's fear of leaving his childhood haven is excessive, and, according to Predmore, hinders the fulfillment of his adult love for a woman. The arduous spiritual search presented by the journey (the sea has been symbolically associated with "life" throughout literature) is finally rewarded by the acceptance of adulthood and the fulfillment of love.^68

There is another dimension to the Diario. Juan Ramón included in it observations about American society as he saw it. The fashionable and literary "milieu" he encountered impressed him unfavorably, and he showed a great deal of contempt for it in this work.


^68Ibid., 25.
His *Segunda antología poética* of 1922 is a collection of earlier poems entirely revised under the new discovery of his "pure poetry." "Intelijencia," the poem from Jiménez's second period chosen to illustrate this concept, is a good example of his preoccupation with precision and clarity in the expression of ideas. The predominance of nouns over adjectives in contrast to his earlier poems should also be noted:

> ¡Intelijencia, dame 
> el nombre exacto de las cosas! 
> . . . Que mi palabra sea 
> la cosa misma, 
> creada por mi alma nuevamente. 
> Que por mí vayan todos 
> los que no las conocen, a las cosas; 
> que por mí vayan todos 
> los que ya las olvidan, a las cosas; 
> que por mí vayan todos 
> los mismos que las aman, a las cosas . . .
> ¡Intelijencia, dame 
> el nombre exacto, y tuyo, 
> y suyo, y mío, de las cosas.69

(Intelligence, give me 
the exact name of things! 
. . . Let my word be 
the thing itself, 
recreated by my soul. 
That through me 
all who don't know them, get to things; 
that through me, 
all who forget them, get to things; 
that through me, 
all those who love them, get to things . . .
Intelligence, give me 
the exact name, and yours, 
and theirs, and mine, of things!)70

It was very important for Jiménez to find the appro-

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70Our literal translation of the poem.
appropriate word to describe a feeling, a state of mind, or a common object. He, as well as many other poets, came to realize that, for a writer, finding the exact term to express something is equivalent, almost literally, to the creation of the object itself. This concept has clear roots in the Old Testament, when creation was accompanied by the Creator's naming each individual object. It is naturally consistent with Jiménez's perfectionist temperament. In a literary self-portrait, the author remarked: "For every page I revise, I create twenty more every day." His constant corrections and rearrangements of poems make a bibliographical maze out of his production.

The third period in Jiménez's poetry does not mark a radical departure from the principles of his second period, but rather an increase in his religious and philosophical concerns. The pursuit of beauty has become identified with the pursuit of God. The change is not as dramatic as it may seem, because Jiménez had always thought of the creation of poetry as being a profound spiritual act.

This period coincides chronologically with the poet's years of exile, 1936 to 1958. It was a time of introspection and nostalgia; nostalgia for everything left behind, even the sounds of Madrid:

De pronto, en el fondo del laberinto de ruidos enormes, medios y menudos, oigo el timbre de la puerta interior de nuestra casa de Madrid. ¿Una carta, Luisa, un libro?
En medio de este desmedido vivir y morir ruidoso, el recuerdo se expresa también, naturalmente, con ruidos lejanos y tenues. Entre los ascensores sin descanso, las puertas sin encaje, los remaches en se-
rie, las sirenas enlazadas, oigo el suave ascensor, la sirena nocturna, el remache poniente de Madrid.
Todo en forma de reserva, casi de reliquia, quizás de muerte.

(Suddenly, from the depths of the labyrinth of loud, medium and imperceptible noises, I can hear the front door bell of our home in Madrid. A letter, Luisa, a book?)

In the midst of this living without measure and loud death, memory expresses itself, naturally, through distant and tenuous sounds. Among the restless elevators, the unfitting doors, the mass-produced clinching, the interconnected alarms, I hear the smooth elevator, the night siren, the sunset of Madrid.
All with a quality of reticence, almost like a relic, maybe like death.)

Inspired by the isolation of exile, Juan Ramón Jiménez produced poems of great introspection and spirituality. Animal de fondo, published in 1949, is the best manifestation of his religious poetry. This poetry goes beyond traditional religion, it has a clear mystical tone. Mysticism is deeply rooted in the Spanish literary tradition; it transmits a feeling of happiness, of plenitude, achieved after a profound search of the soul that results in an ecstatic merging of the soul with the universe, with God.

The poem "Todas las nubes arden" displays, as well as the rest of the poems in Animal de fondo, the rhetoric proper to traditional mystical literature:

Todas las nubes arden
porque yo te he encontrado,
dios deseante y deseado;
antorchas altas cardenas
(granas, azules, rojas, amarillas)
en alto grito de rumor de luz.

71 Jiménez, Guerra en España, 32.
Del redondo horizonte vienen todas
en congregación fuljida,
a abrazarse con vueltas de esperanza
a mi fé respondida.

(Mar despierto, con dios
en redonda conciencia
que me habla y me canta,
que me confía y me asegura;
por tí yo paso en pie
alerta, en mí afirmado,
conforme con que mi viaje
es al hombre seguido, que me espera
en puerto de llegada permanente,
de encuentro repetido.)

Todas las nubes que existieron,
que existen y que existirán,
me rodean con signos de evidencia;
ellas son para mí
la afirmación alzada de este hondo
fondo de aire en que yo vivo;
el subir verdadero del subir,
el subir del hallazgo en lo alto profundo.

(All the clouds are burning
because I have found you,
longing and longed-for god;
tall purple torches
(scarlet, blue, red, yellow)
in shrill clamor of the voice of light.
From the round horizon they all come
in shining congregation,
to cling with a return of hope
to my justified faith.

(Desert sea, with god
in full consciousness
that speaks and sings to me,
that makes me confident, assured;
through you I walk along
alert, self-possessed,
content that my wayfaring
is toward the man pursues, who waits for me
at the port of permanent arrival,
of repeated encounters.)

All the clouds that were,
that are and that will be,
surround me with signs of evidence;
they are for me
the affirmation lifted from this deep
depth of air in which I live;
the true ascent of the ascent,  
the ascent of the discovery in the deep height.)

Although Jiménez wrote mostly poetry, he produced some prose works of extraordinary quality. We have already referred to his best-known prose work, _El modernismo_. The circumstances of exile and his subsequent incorporation into the academic world directed his interest toward literary criticism. _El modernismo. Notas de un curso_ is the result of a series of lectures he gave at the University of Puerto Rico. Jiménez's literary criticism was impressionistic and sketchy, and it lacked the intellectual rigor of Salinas's criticism. Jiménez was, however, very much a part of the literature he was reviewing. Modernism had had a strong influence on his early poems, therefore his criticism reveals interesting insights into the Modernist writers and the literary movement itself.

_Guerra en España_, published after the author's death, provides excellent insights into Jiménez's thoughts about exile. This book is divided into two sections: the first is a poetic diary (it includes both prose and verse); the second contains a variety of historical documents about the Spanish civil war collected through the years by Jiménez.

The diary reflects Juan Ramón's impressions and thoughts about the dehumanization of modern society. He frequently uses New York as a symbol of modern, monstrous

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72Jiménez, _Three Hundred Poems_, 207.
progress. This was a city he knew (he had been married there in 1916), and consequently he was able to appreciate the changes operating in it:

Hace veinte años, Nueva York aún tenía cuerpo y alma visibles. Hoy es toda máquina. (Twenty years ago, New York still had a visible flesh and soul. Today it is all machine.)

This reference to New York is continued in the second part of the book, where Jiménez calls it "Babel of progressist melancholy," "disproportionate machine" of "dirty senses" where men live sad, sterile lives.

Guerra en España is a priceless source of materials on Juan Ramón's intimate feelings about exile. The loss of identity the poet experienced was tremendous, and these pages contain many examples of a feeling of nothingness, of tremendous uprooting. He refers to his life in exile as "an intermediate state between life and death."

As was that of Pedro Salinas, Juan Ramón Jiménez's well-being was closely connected to the Spanish language. Being surrounded by Spanish sounds and peoples was of great importance for a man as preoccupied with language as Jiménez was. He insisted that he could determine which year exiles left Spain by listening to them speak:

Y todos los españoles, aquí, ahora, tienen su español detenido en años diferentes; uno, por ejemplo, en el de 1917; otros, en el 20, en el 28, en el 35. Y yo sé, por sus palabras de aquél año, que yo aislé en España, el año en que vinieron.

... ¡Qué concurso de extrañezas! Todos hablamos un

73 Jiménez, Guerra en España, 30.
74 Ibid., 127.
español diferente o creemos hablarlo. O lo creo yo, en todo caso.

(And all the Spaniards, here, now, have their Spanish frozen in different years; one, for example, speaks 1917 Spanish; others, 1920, 1928, 1935. And I know, by their words from those years, which I isolated in Spain, the year in which they came.

. . . What a gathering of strangeness! We all speak a different Spanish, or believe so. At least, I believe so.)

In Guerra en España he remarked about how unbearable it was for him not to hear Spanish being spoken. It must be realized that this man had dedicated his entire life to poetry, that is, to poetry in Spanish. The absence of the language in his environment deprived him of an important source of inspiration:

Como no oigo español atmosférico, no quiero hablar inglés.

(Because I can't hear atmospheric Spanish, I don't want to speak English.)

Juan Ramón came to realize that it was the absence of the language more than the strangeness of the land that caused his tremendous nostalgia:

No hay más diferencia entre este paisaje y el de España en general que entre el paisaje de Andalucía y el de Cataluña o el de Galicia y Aragón. . . No, lo que nos une y nos separa en la vida no es la arboleda ni la arquitectura. Es sólo la lengua.

(The landscape (of the United States) is not any more different from that of Spain than the land of Andalusia is from that of Catalonia, for example. . . . Therefore, what unites or separates us is not the architecture, nor the trees, but the language.)

75Ibid., 61.
76Ibid., 64.
77Ibid., 33.
Juan Ramón Jiménez was, without doubt, the most complete Spanish poet of his generation. He was well suited, as he stated in his literary "self-portrait," to the creation of poetry. He had intelligence, sensibility, and dedication. And, as we may deduce from his remarks, he possessed an egocentric personality that enabled him whenever necessary to isolate himself from any reality that was not poetic creation.

Jiménez had a sense of mission, stronger than that of any other Spanish poet of his time. And, he once said: "Yo tengo escondido en mi casa, por su gusto y el mío, a la poesía, y nuestras relaciones son las de los apasionados." (I have poetry, at her and my will, locked up in my house, and our relationship is a passionate one). 78

His consciousness of mission inclined him to be satisfied only with perfection. This explains his repeated rewriting of his poems and his rearranging of them in different anthologies. His attitude did not change with age; after becoming a recognized poet he wrote:

Después de cuarenta años de fervorosa pasión lírica . . . sigo seguro, como a los 45, a los 35, a los 25, a los 15 años de no haber logrado nada a mi gusto en idea, sentimiento ni palabra.

(After forty years of fervent passion for poetry . . . I remain certain, like at 45, at 35, at 25 or at 15, of not having created anything that satisfies me in idea,

78 Carmen Marrero, Oyendo a Pedro Salinas (San Juan: Editorial Cordillera, 1973), 234.
Poetry, Woman, and God were the main objects of his thoughts and poems. Love inspired some of his best poems, like those in Diario de un poeta recien casado, which Jiménez considered his best work. The search for God that permeated his later poems revealed profound philosophical concerns.

Jiménez never wrote political poetry, as so many did in the 1930s, especially during the Spanish civil war, and he was severely criticized by other poets for not doing so. He despised those who did, particularly Pablo Neruda. In Guerra en España, Juan Ramón wrote, "A poet must never accommodate his poetry to the circumstances, now, for example, to those of the war." 80

Nevertheless, in spite of living a sheltered life both in Spain and in the United States, the poet's isolation was broken in Puerto Rico and Cuba at the request of his admirers and also at his own initiative to guide the steps of the young poets. His participation in the creation of literary magazines before the war and his encouragement of the youth were his most significant social endeavors.

79 Ibid., 184.
80 Ibid., 33.
CHAPTER V
PEDRO SALINAS

When Pedro Salinas arrived in the United States in 1936, hired by Wellesley College in Massachusetts, he was already an accomplished poet, an experienced educator, and a successful organizer—a cosmopolitan and educated man.

At forty-four, Salinas possessed personal as well as professional maturity as a writer. As his intellectual baggage, Salinas brought with him a solid education, degrees in Law and Philosophy, exposure to the French and British cultures, teaching experience gained in two professorships in Seville and Madrid, organizational experience, translation skills, and some of the most beautiful poetry written in Spain by a man of his generation. With him also came his beloved wife, two children, memories, Spanish traditions, and the Spanish language.

Pedro Salinas was born in Madrid on November 27, 1892. His childhood and youth were spent at the capital of Spain, where he completed secondary studies and pursued college degrees in Law and Philosophy.

The publication of his first poems in 1913 was followed by a period of six or seven years during which he
devoted his time to academic work and during which he published no new poems. Angel del Río, in a study of Salinas, attributed the maturity of his first major works to this delay and to the consequent experience gained as a teacher, traveller, and critic.81

Between 1914 and 1917 Pedro Salinas taught Spanish literature at the Sorbonne. During his stay in Paris he married Margarita Bonmatí in 1915. A home in France was then exchanged for one in Andalusia when Salinas became a professor at the University of Seville, a position he held between 1918 and 1928. Salinas divided his time between Seville and Madrid, and he also lectured at Cambridge University as a visiting professor.

After 1928 Salinas settled in Madrid, where he directed the courses for foreign students in the Centro de estudios Históricos between 1928-1930 and founded the review Índice Literario. He combined academic work at the University of Madrid (1931-1936) with the directorate of the International University of Santander, which he helped establish in 1933.

In 1936, "the fatal date," as Jorge Guillén called it, there began the tragic interruption, which for many Spaniards was the definitive one of death. The interruptions of many careers, which were either destroyed or transformed." Salinas's long years of exile began with his

arrival in the United States in 1936.  

As Guillén remarked, however, Salinas's career was not frustrated; his years in America were his most productive ones. From 1936 to 1940 he taught literature at Wellesley College. He then became a member of the faculty of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, where he remained until the end of his life in 1951.

Salinas spent the years 1943 to 1946 in Puerto Rico, on leave of absence from Johns Hopkins. These, said Salinas, were the happiest years spent away from his homeland.

Salinas traveled throughout Latin America (Santo Domingo, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, and Perú), and the experience proved revealing to him. He believed that a Spaniard did not fully know Spain until he had discovered Latin America. He experienced keenly a feeling of brotherhood based on sharing the same language and was moved to learn that people were familiar with his works:

Lo de Bogotá es inimaginable. Nos conocen, hijo mío, nos conocen, nos han leído y nos admiran. Los literatos jóvenes y mayores me han acompañado a todas partes. Han salido yo no sé cuántos artículos y ensayos sobre mi poesía. En fin, chico, del anónimo de Baltimore a la gloria bogotana.

(What went on in Bogotá is incredible. They know us, my friend; they know us, they have read our works, and they admire us. Both young and older writers have accompanied me everywhere. I don't know how many articles and essays about my poetry have been published. At last, from

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anonymity in Baltimore to glory in Bogotá.\textsuperscript{83}

In another letter written during his stay in South America, this one to Guillermo de la Torre, Salinas eloquently expressed the feelings of an exiled writer:

\textit{Vivimos en un mundo de incógnito, en cuanto escritores. Y apenas se sale, y se penetra en el mundo lingüístico hispano se retorna al medio normal de nuestra actividad literaria.}

(We live in the world incognito as writers. And as soon as one travels and enters the Hispanic linguistic world, one returns to the natural environment of our literary activity.)\textsuperscript{84}

Salinas's commitment to education was remarkable. He also taught ten summers at the Spanish Summer School at Middlebury College in Vermont. Pedro Salinas died in 1951 in Boston and was buried in Puerto Rico, by the sea that he immortalized in his poems.

Pedro Salinas's vast output of poetry can also be divided into three periods. The first one includes his first three books: \textit{Seguro Azar} (1928), \textit{Presagios} (1929), and \textit{Fábula y signo} (1931). His main poetic theme appears in these, his first major works—the conflict between reality and appearances. In \textit{Reality and the Poet in Spanish Poetry}, a collection of lectures given at Johns Hopkins University in 1937, Salinas expressed these ideas with great clarity:

\textsuperscript{83}Letter from Pedro Salinas to Jorge Guillén, Lima, September 14, 1947. Salinas Papers.

\textsuperscript{84}Guillermo de la Torre, "Pedro Salinas en mi recuerdo y en sus cartas," \textit{Buenos Aires Literaria}, no. 13 (October 1953): 93.
What I intend to consider here is a problem which I think should be the first to be examined in connection with every poet: the relation between his poetic world and the real world, the contact between external reality and his own inner, spiritual reality.  

And, he further explained in the same book:

Poetry always operates on reality. The poet places himself before reality like a human body before light, in order to create something else, a shadow. The shadow is the result of the interposition of a body between light and some other substance. The poet adds shadows to the world, bright and luminous shadows, like new lights.

This interpretation has clear references to Plato's theory of Ideas, or doctrine of Forms, based on the concept that knowledge is "recollection." Salinas's fascination for this theory is also apparent in a letter he wrote to Margarita Bonmatí, his bride-to-be. The poet elaborated on some comments Margarita had made in a previous letter where she had described how the shadows from the garden were reflected on her bedroom drapes, allowing her to know "everything the trees do" without actually seeing them.

Salinas explained to her how the observation reminded him of Plato's theory of Ideas and he offered to discuss Plato's theory with her if she was not familiar with it.

Seguro azar contains poems dedicated to such conveniences of modern life as the movie camera or the automobile. These vacuous subjects reveal the influence of Ultraísmo and

85 Salinas, Reality and the Poet in Spanish Poetry, 3.
86 Ibid., 5.
the sense of optimism about material progress that swept over the western world in the 1920s. As an example one can cite the following lines from Navacerrada, abril. It starts like a love poem:

Sólos los dos. ¡Qué bien aquí, en el puerto, altos!

(We two alone, how good here high on the mountain pass!)

But, in the last stanza, the deception is unveiled, and the reader realizes that the poem is dedicated to an automobile:

Alma mía en la tuya mecánica; mi fuerza, bien medida, la tuya, justa: doce caballos.

(My soul in yours mechanical, my strength well measured, yours exact, twelve horse-power.)

La voz a tí debi¿a, published in 1933, and Razón de Amor, in 1936, complete Salinas's second period. These are Salinas's best poems and they brought him profound public admiration as well as the recognition of the critics.

Some critics, such as Pedro Cernuda and Leo Spitzer, have charged that Salinas's love poems are "metaphysical speculations of the poet himself," in which the beloved becomes a "purely abstract concept." Without making the

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88 Ultraísmo was a movement in Spanish and Latin-American poetry after World War I, characterized by a tendency to use free verse, complicated metrical innovations, and daring imagery and symbolism.

89 Pedro Salinas, Lost Angel and Other Poems. Translated by E. Janor Turnbull (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), 71-72.
mistake of identifying the poet with his creation, it is obvious to anyone who reads Salinas's private correspondence that he indeed lived through a very intense love experience with Margarita Bonmatí, the woman who became his wife of thirty-six years, until his death in 1951. A few lines from one of Salinas's letters to Margarita will suffice to illustrate this point:

Entre tú y yo, Margarita, todo ha sido claro, diáfano, verdadero. Te aseguro que si repasásemos uno por uno los días que nos hemos querido, no habría que olvidar o callar ninguno de ellos: todos han sido dignos de nosotros.

(Between you and me, Margarita, everything has been clear, transparent, true. I assure you that if we went over every day in which we have loved each other, one by one, we wouldn't have to forget or silence any of them: they have all been worthy of us.)

Salinas's correspondence reveals a man of great personal dignity. He was very effective when communicating complex emotions; his poetry therefore benefited from his ability to write about something as if he were the first person ever to experience it. These qualities make his love poetry very appealing even though the reader is constantly faced with apparent contradictions and intellectual word games. In these qualities, the so-called "conceptism" in Salinas's poems, Luis Cernuda sees a manifestation of the fact that love would be in Salinas's poetry "another game, and, if not a game, a façade, the desire of appearing as

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human as anyone."  

Complex ideas expressed with few words and the extensive use of paradox are characteristic of Salinas's poetry, as Leo Spitzer demonstrated in his work *El conceptismo interior de Pedro Salinas*. This poetry requires careful reading at times because a concept frequently expresses two thoughts. Spitzer stated that there is a double dualism in Salinas's love poetry: the two persons in the lovers (the poet and the loved one) and the two "persons" in the poet (intellect versus feelings and emotions). This conceptismo, however, is not sufficient grounds on which to criticize Salinas's poetry as lacking genuine emotion. To most critics, Salinas's work represents the best love poetry written in Spain by a poet of his generation.  

*La voz a ti debida* is a long poetic monologue divided into seventy poems. Salinas demonstrated a remarkable concentration on the theme, which is the uncertainty of the man in love about the reality of the loved one, about the urge to capture the true self—the essence—of the woman he loves. Paradoxes help to express the eternal doubt, the individual's attempt to break the limits of his own self, and the impossibility of really knowing another soul, even in the context of love. Two stanzas from *La voz* illustrate  

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this point:

Sí, por detrás de las gentes
me busco.
No en tu nombre, si lo dicen,
no en tu imagen, si la pintan.
Detrás, detrás, más allá.

Por detrás de ti me busco.
No en tu espejo, no en tu letra,
ni en tu alma.
Detrás, más allá.

(Yes, back of all other people
I seek you.
Not in your name, if they speak it,
not in your likeness, if they paint it.
Back, further back, back of all.

Back of yourself I seek you.
Not in your mirror, nor in your writing,
neither in your soul.
Back, back of all.)

These two stanzas also illustrate Salinas's use of negative images or expressions in his love poetry.

Salinas concentrated on only a few themes in his poetry, but he was a master at expressing them. At the same time, in spite of having an extensive vocabulary (Ferrater Mora calls it "dense and rich"), he saw early the convenience of creating certain symbols, such as "sombra," "voz," "claridades," and "azar." These symbols appear in his first poems, and they acquire a more precise and complex meaning as his work developed. That the same key terms and the ideas they conceal appear also in his prose works indicates that a profound sense of consistency permeated all

of Salinas's works.24

The poems written in exile constitute Salinas's third period. In 1936 Salinas left Spain to teach Spanish literature at Wellesley College during the academic year of 1936-1937, honoring an agreement arranged the previous year. He never returned to his homeland. Like so many intellectuals, he was forced by the circumstances of the war and of Franco's regime to continue living away from his homeland in order to remain true to his ideas. Salinas's most important poetic works written in exile are Error de cálculo (1938), El contemplado (1946), Todo más claro (1947), and Confianza (published in 1954, three years after his death). There is also an anthology, Poesía junta, published in 1942.

El Contemplado was published in Mexico in 1946. The subject of these poems is the sea surrounding Puerto Rico, where Salinas lived between 1943 and 1945 while on leave of absence from Johns Hopkins University. According to his daughter, Solita, these were the happiest three years of Salinas's exile. He made new friends, practiced "friendship in Spanish," as he termed it, lectured at the university, and traveled throughout Santo Domingo and Cuba. Those were extremely productive years for Salinas.95

In a letter written in Puerto Rico to poet Jorge Guillén, Salinas included interesting notes about his


95 Pedro Salinas, Narrativa Completa (Barcelona: Barral Editores, 1976), 451.
composing of *El Contemplado*. He explained how he wrote every morning on his balcony by the sea for at least an hour. By the time this letter was written, on April 1, 1944, he had already completed thirteen poems. Considering this "a fatal number," the poet decided either to eliminate a poem or, more likely, to add an extra one. The final edition of *El Contemplado* has, indeed, fourteen poems.\(^6\)

The future of humanity and of the modern world became a major concern in Salinas's poems included in the book *Todo más claro*, written between 1937 and 1947. He became increasingly worried about the pre-eminence of technology in contemporary society and its possible catastrophic consequences. As a result of this new attitude, the author entitled a poem about poetry "Lo inútil." Poetry is loved because it is not practical, because it is unpredictable, because it is not, in a technological society, "necessary." At the same time, the poet needs it as a refuge from materialism. Poetry for Salinas made life complete.

The last poem in the book, entitled "Cero," was inspired by the massive bombing of cities and civilian populations during the second world war. Salinas did not criticize individual governments or nations for the bombings so much as he lamented the indiscriminate destruction caused

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\(^6\) Letter from Salinas to Jorge Guillén, San Juan, April 1, 1944. Salinas Papers. Jorge Guillén was another member of the so-called "Generation of 1927" as well as Salinas's close friend.
by modern warfare.\textsuperscript{97} The poem has an enormous strength and it reveals a remarkable insight, considering that it was written a year before the first use of the atom bomb in warfare:

\begin{quote}
Cayó ciega. La soltó, la soltaron, a seis mil metros de altura, a las cuatro.

\ldots

Él hizo su obligación: lo que desde veinte esferas instrumentos ordenaban, exactamente: soltarla al momento justo.

Al principio Nada. no vió casi nada. Una mancha, creciendo despacio, blanca, más blanca, ya cándida.

(It fell blindly. It was loosed, they discharged it, at six thousand metres of height, at four o'clock.

\ldots

He did his duty: exactly that which from twenty dials instruments were commanding, to discharge it at the precise moment.

At first he saw almost nothing. A spot growing slowly white, more white, now snowy.)\textsuperscript{98}
\end{quote}

Confianza, published in 1954, three years after Pedro Salinas's death, is a return to his basically optimistic outlook on life, without however forgetting the existence of ominous possibilities for the future of humanity. Reading

\textsuperscript{97}Juan Marichal, Tres voces de Pedro Salinas (Madrid: Taller de Ediciones Josefina Betancor, 1976), 77.

Confianza after Todo más claro one still senses a certain, subtle, disenchantment experienced by the poet, but expressed with more sobriety in Confianza.

For instance, there is a certain existential preoccupation with the "imminent danger" that threatens the fragile stability of a trembling raindrop on a leaf in "La gota." Weight and gravity are "something lethal that oppresses" the helpless leaf in its fierce struggle between life and death. It is difficult not to see this conflict as the cosmic struggle for survival in which mankind's future is at stake. In the poem, it is necessary for the survival of the fragile leaf that the whole universe cooperate and "if nothing, nothing happens," the leaf will be saved and its life preserved for centuries to come.99

The general tone of the poems included in Confianza, however, is that of hope and joy in life's permanent basic values: love, innocence, and, of course, poetry. The poem that gives the title to the book, "Confidence," is a hymn to the permanence of poetry. While there is a world, there will be poetry.

During his exile in the United States, Salinas pursued other literary genres besides poetry; he dedicated a considerable amount of energy and enthusiasm to writing plays. But before discussing Salinas's plays, it is neces-

sary to examine briefly the state of Spanish theater in exile.

Ricardo Domenech, in his study of the plays written outside of Spain for the theater, affirmed that when the civil war started the theater in Spain was undergoing a profound movement of renewal that had begun around 1914. Miguel de Unamuno's original dramas, Valle Inclán's farces called "esperpentos," and Lorca's tragedies are excellent examples of the quality achieved before the war.¹⁰⁰

The war disrupted the natural progress of these developments, with the result that the best Spanish theater works after the civil war were written outside of Spain. Rafael Alberti, another poet of Salinas's generation, is the playwright who, according to Domenech, continued Spain's best tradition. Max Aub wrote several major plays (San Juan, El rapto de Europa, Morir por cerrar los ojos, No), inspired by concrete political realities such as the problem of the Jewish refugees and refugees from fascism in general, the indifference of the western democracies to their plight, and the onset of the cold war.

Salinas was among the poets who also wrote dramas. He published a collection of one-act plays in 1952 entitled Teatro, which contains three works: La cabeza de Medusa, La estratosfera, and La isla del tesoro. He also wrote many plays that have not been published.

The reason why Salinas, already an acclaimed poet, attempted a new genre can be explained, according to Edith Helman, as a result of his need "to express directly his dramatic concept of life." Salinas's play writing might also reflect a strongly felt nostalgia for the spoken language that he missed so much during his exile.101

This personal mood also coincided with the general trend of the postwar world which shifted towards "conceptual-affective" tendencies, according to Carlos Bousoño, and tended to produce "realist" literary works such as novels and plays.102

The general public did not have access to Salinas's plays, because they were performed in college and experimental theaters, rather than in commercial houses. Here again, however, as in his other works, Salinas displayed enormous inventiveness as well as an inspired poetic language. He presented a great variety of subjects, and his themes coincide dramatically with those of his short stories, which is the reason why a detailed analysis of the plots and subjects of the plays is not repeated here. Salinas, a man deeply respectful of the Spanish literary tradition, was much influenced by the great playwrights Miguel de Cervantes and Miguel de Unamuno. To the first one

101 Edith Helman, "Verdad y fantasía en el teatro de Salinas," Buenos Aires Literaria, no. 13 (October 1953): 76.

102 Carlos Bousoño, "La novela española de la postguerra," Revista Nacional de Cultura (Caracas) 19 (1957): 162.
he owed modern-day characters inspired by Quixote; his debt to Unamuno comes in the form of the highly existential tone of his plays. It should also be noted that, besides the "poet-characters," who are usually males, Salinas demonstrated a profound knowledge of the female soul and he sketched excellent portraits of women.

Salinas's preoccupation with political issues found its way into his plays as well. The action of Los santos takes place in the church basement of a small Castilian town during the Spanish civil war, where a heterogeneous group of people awaits execution because they have been accused of being "reds" or "red collaborationists." They share their last hours with a group of religious statues that the loyalists had stored in the basement for reasons of safety and also for the purpose of cataloguing them. Those who are about to die have not committed any crime; they are joined by a Loyalist soldier who had been left behind to catalogue the statues.103

In the conclusion, when the prisoners are called to face their deaths, the statues of the saints (extracted from Catholic iconography) begin to move and, animated by an incomprehensible life, each takes the place of one of the accused: Mary takes the place of the suffering mother who had attacked the cold-blooded assassins of her son; Mary Magdalene takes the place of the young prostitute; and

Joseph becomes the humble carpenter whose only crime was to refuse to build a scaffold.\textsuperscript{104}

With great economy of means and the use of few symbolic characters, Salinas makes an eloquent plea for justice, while at the same time making effective political statements. The religious question had been one of the most bitter controversies in the Spanish civil war. The Republican or Loyalist government had to respond repeatedly to accusations of being atheistic and anticlerical as well as to more grave accusations of having persecuted priests and of having pillaged artistic treasures from churches and monasteries. In a situation in which most of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Spain (in a largely Catholic country) sided with the Nationalists, Salinas portrays the rebels as being disrespectful of human life. He has them execute the images of the "saints" they apparently venerated, images which represent the exact human prototypes of the real people they originally intended to put to death.

This shocking irony is the main theme of \textit{Los santos}, but the play is full of interesting references, such as the comment by the Nationalist soldiers that the Loyalists were gathering the statues in the basement in order to burn them. Actually, the pressure was so great on the Loyalist government to protect churches and their contents during the war that tours of the zones they controlled were arranged in order that independent international institutions and

\textsuperscript{104}Ibid., 290.
individuals could assess the situation for themselves before deciding whether or not to grant aid to the government.

Finally, Los santos reveals with a great deal of emotion the senselessness of war. In a passionate statement the mother character exclaimed:

Por nada, hija... me lo mataron por nada (al hijo)... a ti te matarán por nada... a todos nos matan por nada.

(For nothing, my dear... they killed him (her son) for nothing... they'll kill you for nothing... they kill all of us for nothing.)

Pedro Salinas's fictional works are not of the same high quality as his poetry, but they are very revealing of his vision of the world. For this reason they are included in the present study.

Behind the characters in Salinas's only novel, La bomba increible, and his several short stories one senses the hand of the poet intentionally shaping his characters and their circumstances to prove a point. This makes his characters seem somehow artificial, as intellectual constructions lacking free will. Opinions on the quality of Salinas's fiction vary, but most critics do not hesitate to judge it as being inferior to his poetry.

The most admired quality in these works, indeed in any of Salinas's work, is the beauty and density of the language, which is profoundly poetic, and the originality of the situations, which are intriguin to say the least.

105 Ibid., 284.
Shortcomings appear in his handling of the technical elements. José Marra-López, in a study about Spanish fiction in exile, asserted that Salinas's fiction is elaborated with an excess of intellectualism.\textsuperscript{106}

Salinas used fiction to express his opinions on themes usually taken from the context of his poetry. His essays show concerns connected with his exile, such as his preoccupation with the Spanish language. He referred to those who were exiled in a non-Spanish speaking country as being "twice exiled":

Usted, amigo mío, como vive en una magna ciudad de lengua española no se da cuenta de que los que residi mos en país de lengua extraña somos dos veces des terrados.

(You, my friend, because you live in a distinguished Spanish-speaking city, do not realize that those of us who reside in a country where people speak a foreign language are twice exiled.)\textsuperscript{107}

His fiction definitely handles some of the concerns of an exiled person. According to the poet's daughter, Solita, Salinas's short stories ought to be understood "in the broader context of Salinas's dramatic works," as an elaboration in prose of similar themes and preoccupations.\textsuperscript{108}

Salinas's fiction presented moral dilemmas. Among them were an obsession with fate, chance, and coincidence:

\textsuperscript{106}José Marra-López, Narrativa española fuera de España (Madrid: Guadarrama, 1963), 484.

\textsuperscript{107}Guillermo de la Torre, "Pedro Salinas en mi recuerdo y en sus cartas," Buenos Aires Literaria, no. 13 (October 1953): 93.

\textsuperscript{108}Salinas, Narrativa Completa, 8.
reflections on middle-class values and vices; a preoccupation with the deterioration of human communication, as well as with an excessive technicalization in contemporary society; and, finally, a few insights into exile. Another interesting element of most of his stories is the "poet characters" who embody all noble virtues.

Salinas presented a most poignant moral dilemma in the short story entitled *Los inocentes*, in which the main character is forced to make an almost impossible choice. While in a restaurant he received a note from a suicide he had never met. The man explained in the note why he had decided to take his own life—to avoid hurting two innocents he loved, his wife and her best friend, with whom he had fallen in love. The character entrusted with this confession was faced with the dilemma of betraying this trust or allowing another probably innocent man to be accused of running the suicide over with his car. The main character eventually decided not to interfere with this "fate."

This story's theme connects the reader with one of Salinas's most consistent reflections—that of the influence of fate, chance, and coincidence in human life.

Salinas's *El desayuno* presents a rather unusual plot: three widows met punctually every morning for breakfast at an eastern college, but they were unaware that their husbands had all died from very similar twists of fate—they had indirectly caused their husbands' deaths.

Mr. Turner, who read books constantly in order to keep
the customers of the bookstore where he worked informed, actually disliked reading and was totally immune to the beauty, the eroticism, or the profound thoughts contained in those books. While riding in a crowded bus during rush hour at his wife's insistence, Turner was killed by an anthology of English poetry he had previously reviewed when the book slipped from the hands of a college student. A corner of the book hit Mr. Turner between the eyes and broke his glasses. Glass fragments penetrated his cornea and he died two days later from meningitis.

Mr. Robson, who loved circuses, was killed when a trapeze artist fell on him shortly after he had exchanged seats with his wife. For Mr. Libby, the third of the husbands, a romantic rendezvous with his wife turned into a fatal encounter when the hotel where the meeting was to take place burned down in a fire the night before the scheduled tryst. Libby was there one night early because he had misread the date of his wife's arrival in her handwritten letter. (Salinas also makes an ironic point on the "human error" in communication, because Mrs. Libby usually typed her correspondence.)

The same line of thought is followed in *La gloria y la niebla*. An aspiring writer died when, in a heavy fog, he tried to climb the pedestal of a monument to Poe in a park, only to discover, too late, that the city had been able to afford only the base of the monument. The young man, an exile who wished to become a writer, is driven to his
untimely death by a series of circumstances: a fiancée too eager to see him achieve success, an unusually thick fog that swept over the park, the city's lack of funds, and a false step. This short story is an extraordinary example of unfulfilled possibilities: the couple's future together (they were going to be married the following day) as well as the exile's future as a writer. The remarkable symbolism of this piece is very much attuned to the unfulfilled possibilities that the experience of exile meant for those involved.

All these stories contain examples of the interference of coincidence in people's lives. Salinas was fascinated by coincidence and saw its artistic potential. He was aware of the use of chance in classic literature. In El autor novel, one of the characters, Eusebio, recalls that chance is the spark that provokes catastrophe in ancient Greek dramas and that there is no tragedy without the intervention of coincidence and fate. In the same piece, readers find Salinas's most pointed statement about considerations of fate in the words of a female character, Aurelia:

Es estupenda la casualidad. Yo no la miro como tú, que crees siempre que tiene su propósito oculto. Así, la matas. Porque si lo casual es deliberado, ya no hay tal casualidad. Eres fatalista. Para mí la casualidad es la poesía de lo real.

(Chance is wonderful. I don't see it as you do, who believes it always has a hidden purpose. That way, you kill it. Because if what is coincidental is deliberated, there is no coincidence involved. You are a fatalist. To me chance is the poetry of reality.)

109Salinas, Narrativa completa, 228.
Later on the same character suggested the creation of a collection of coincidences, an anthology of situations extracted, not from books, but from real life.\textsuperscript{110}

The plot itself of \textit{El autor} novel is a reflection on fate and free will. A college professor, who is also a writer, is approached by a strange individual, an amateur writer seeking advice. The plot of the story that the aspiring writer is elaborating matches exactly the course of the professor's life and his most profound preoccupations. As the apprentice writer produces new chapters, the professor's life changes to follow the narrative, to the point that apparently the story is determining the direction of his life. When this threatens to ruin his future happiness, the spell is broken by Aurelia's love. Love defeats fatality and reinstates human freedom.

Salinas's fascination with fate and chance can be interpreted as the influence of the irrational and subjectivist currents of thought that had been particularly strong in Europe in the period immediately before and after the first world war.

In literature irrationalism had resulted in an avant-garde movement heavily indebted to Filippo Marinetti's Futurism and to Dadaism. This movement saw art as a mere game; the artists rejected realism, logic, and reason—all of which they perceived as forms of intellectual slavery. They sought the spontaneous outburst of ideas, without the

\textsuperscript{110}Ibid.
rational control imposed by the mind. With the practice of automatic creation in order to allow unconscious sources to surface, chance played the ultimate role in artistic creation. In Spain these currents spawned a literary movement called Ultraísmo in 1912. The movement combined Futurism's appreciation of modern technology with a strong irrational component extracted from Dadaism, such as the importance of the subconscious in the artistic process.

Salinas owes to Ultraísmo some of the themes of his early poems; it is sufficient for the sake of this contention to remember the titles of his first two books of poems: Presagios (1923) and Seguro Azar (1929). And, ultimately, the phenomenon described above is part of a broader one—the pre-eminence of irrationalism as a central element in twentieth-century thought, and, therefore, in twentieth-century art.

The dehumanization of modern society concerned Pedro Salinas greatly. Technology amused and intrigued him, but at the same time he felt a growing uneasiness about the way its excessive use interfered with human communication, making it poorer, more mechanical, more rushed, and less profound. His essays are gems in the defense of human values, and such a commitment for quality interaction between human beings could not escape his fiction writings.

In El desayuno there is a tremendous irony in Salinas's description of the reading habits of the "professional book reviewer," Mr. Turner—his emphasis on quantity versus
quality, the fact that nothing he read permeated his soul, the way he erased from his memory any but new releases—all show Salinas’s contempt for a society of superficial readers.\footnote{Pedro Salinas, El desnudo impecable y otras narraciones (Mexico: Tezontle, 1951), 34.} In the same story Salinas presented a degraded human meeting in those daily breakfasts in which the three "friends" never talk, never leave together, and never meet each other's eyes over the table.

In \textit{El autor} novel Salinas's main character regrets having refused a favor to someone over the telephone and realizes that he would not have acted his way had he been speaking to the person face to face:

\begin{quote}
No, hablar, lo que se dice hablar, sólo se puede con una persona entera y verdadera, tal y como Dios la ha hecho y no como el hombre la deshace.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
(No, speaking, really speaking can only be done with a whole person, as God made it, and not as man breaks it into pieces.)\footnote{Salinas, Narrativa Completa, 214.}
\end{quote}

Furthermore, Salinas's criticism of the pre-eminence of technology in contemporary society is the main theme of \textit{La bomba increible}, the only novel Salinas completed.\footnote{When Pedro Salinas unexpectedly died, he was writing a novel based on the Spanish civil war. His daughter Solita, editor of \textit{Narrativa Completa}, a collection of Salinas's fiction, judged the state of the novel as being too sketchy and incomplete for publication. This novel, therefore, has never been published. Salinas, \textit{Narrativa completa}, 8.} In \textit{La bomba} he expressed a legitimate concern over the questions raised by science and technology, especially in a post-nuclear era. The action takes place in a technical state
where science dictates the principles of the laws of the society. A mysterious bomb explodes in the Peace Museum (an institution devoted to collecting the devices that have made "peace" possible throughout the centuries, that is, weapons) and the effects of the explosion gradually spread throughout the entire nation. The pink and red bubbles generated by the unusual bomb render useless anything mechanical in their path, while trees, flowers, and buildings remain unaffected. The sound produced by the bubbles bursting is a humanlike moan that drives human beings insane. The fatal effects of the bomb are counteracted by a compassionate young woman who is willing to embrace all the human suffering condensed in the deadly device, which seemed to contain the grief of all human affliction. Here again mechanics are overcome with love.

La bomba increíble raises interesting philosophical questions. José Ferrater Mora, a noted Spanish philosopher, in a letter to Salinas criticized the poet's apparent depiction of science as the source of all evils. He admitted, however, that the most profound question raised by Salinas's fable was "the fact that technology creates something more than machines that can be used, it also creates certain possibilities that introduce order or confusion, life or death, and even though man has created them, he is unable to dominate them."

114Letter from José Ferrater Mora to Salinas, May 20, 1951. Salinas Papers. Ferrater Mora is the author of a well-known Diccionario de Filosofía as well as of numerous essays
Besides being a sensitive and sympathetic human being, Pedro Salinas has been described by critics and acquaintances as a bourgeois, a good example of a person possessing middle-class values and attitudes. In his works Salinas portrays with sharp vision some of the virtues and faults of his class. With unmatched eloquence, he describes in *La gloria y la niebla* how bourgeois existence is made out of innumerable small services and attentions paid to others.

Bourgeois hypocrisy is masterfully portrayed in one of Salinas's best short stories, the one that gives title to the collection, *El desnudo impecable*. This story presents a moral contrast. A naive and modest young Spanish girl who goes to New York becomes involuntarily involved in a pornographic scheme without any awareness on her part. On the other extreme, a respectable middle-class widow owes her fortune to the ownership of a number of music-halls, all of which enjoy questionable reputations. This woman, who in the story represents the rigid morality of the establishment (her black dress is buttoned all the way up to her chin), has acquired her fortune by exploiting people's lowest passions. With the use of extreme circumstances and contrasts, Salinas shows where immorality, linked in bourgeois mentality to nudity, really lies.

Salinas best treated the problems of prejudice and class exclusiveness in his story entitled *La gloria y la*
niebla. Two American upper middle-class female students met a young Spanish refugee, an aspiring poet, who was working as a tourist guide in Mexico. Salinas skillfully described the sheltered existence of the two young women and their psychological reactions to class and racial differences. One of the two girls was attracted to the young Spaniard from the beginning, yet she forced herself not to get emotionally involved with him. She is portrayed as feeling a secret pride for "having responded to the mandates of a race, a class, a profession."

Finally, Salinas's fiction clearly shows some of an exiled person's deepest concerns. The emergency created by the explosion of the strange bomb in *La bomba increíble* gives Salinas an opportunity to deal with some of the issues accompanying the resettlement of large contingents of the population. It is almost impossible not to think about the Spanish civil war when Salinas describes the actions taken by the government of the fictional nation, the E.T.C. (Technical Scientific State), to evacuate the entire state's population:

No era fácil colocar así como así a cuarenta millones de personas. Ciertas naciones, y de las más pudientes, se mostraron tacañas y reacias; otras, de las que poco se aguardaba, lo brindaron todo.

(It wasn't easy to relocate forty million people. Certain nations, some of the most solvent ones, proved stingy and reluctant; others, from which little was expected, gave everything they had.)

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116 Ibid., 406.
These clear references to the policies of the United States and Mexico are not his only comments.\textsuperscript{117} A less political, but more existential concern is likewise expressed—the pain experienced by those forced to leave their homeland. Salinas refers to the pain as "conocido, viejo sufrir, la pena de arrancarse de su tierra" (a well-known, old suffering: the grief of being uprooted from their land.)\textsuperscript{118}

In addition to his poems, fiction, and plays, Salinas also wrote essays and literary criticism. He did not produce a type of prose work that became very popular between 1931 and 1939, that is, testimonial or political prose. Others did, however, for example Rafael Alberti wrote \textit{Mi última visita al Museo del Prado} and \textit{Una historia de Ibiza}, Luis Cernuda wrote \textit{Homenaje}, and Miguel Hernandez wrote \textit{Hombres de la primera brigada de choque}.

Refusing to write testimonial or political prose when it was popular to do so, Salinas wrote essays and literary criticism. Juan Marichal—who knew the poet well—wrote that "the solitude of exile shortened the inner distance between the man and his literary production." According to Marichal,

\textsuperscript{117} Mexico contributed to the Loyalist cause during the Spanish civil war by lending the use of boats for transportation purposes. It also aided the Loyalists by admitting a large number of refugees into the country. Mexico's sympathetic attitude and moral support contrasted sharply with the indifference of other democracies, among them the United States. The policies of the United States government towards the Loyalist government during the Spanish civil war have been discussed in Chapter III.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 394.
Salinas as a human being found a suitable vehicle of expression in the essay form. His educated, cosmopolitan, and sociable nature made him a good conversation partner. This side of his personality, his social or surface personality, can be best appreciated in his essays.\textsuperscript{119}

The essays Salinas wrote in the 1940s are closely linked to the circumstances of his residence in the United States, that is, his exile, according to Marichal. For instance, the essay \textit{Aprecio y defensa del lenguaje}, later included in a collection of essays entitled \textit{El defensor}, was first read at graduation ceremonies at the University of Puerto Rico in 1944. It revealed Salinas's distress with the adverse conditions that threatened the survival of the Spanish language in that island.\textsuperscript{120}

In the essay Salinas reflected on the importance of language to maintain an individual as well as a social identity. Language, Salinas pointed out, "is the first and I would say the last means human beings have to take possession of reality, to comprehend the world."\textsuperscript{121}

Salinas saw language as the most effective instrument for insuring the existence of a social group. When travel-

\textsuperscript{119}Marichal, \textit{Tres Voces de Pedro Salinas}, 73. Marichal has prepared several publications of Salinas's works and he has also written interesting essays on the author. He is married to Solita, Salinas's daughter.

\textsuperscript{120}Ibid., 74.

\textsuperscript{121}Pedro Salinas, \textit{Aprecio y defensa del lenguaje} (San Juan: Editorial Universitaria Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1948), 11.
ling through Spanish-speaking countries, he had experienced what it meant to share the same language, "the strange fraternity created by the fact of calling the same things by the same names since childhood." 122

In reflecting on the connection between language and national feeling, Salinas could not ignore the special position of Puerto Rico as a "language frontier" where English and Spanish met. He recognized how one's intellectual life was enriched by his having knowledge of more than one language—Salinas himself was fluent in Spanish, French, and English. He noted with alarm, however, the increasing profusion of unnecessary barbarisms in the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico—literal translations of an English concept where the Spanish language already had an adequate equivalent word or expression. His proposed solution to this problem, as well as to most of society's problems, lay in education, because it is the responsibility of the native speakers of a language to preserve it in its best (not necessarily static) form for future generations. 123

Other themes that Salinas included in *El defensor*, such as the importance of an oral popular tradition and the special quality of being able to practice "friendship in Spanish," as he called it, respond to the poet's awareness of the rediscovery of one's deepest roots when in touch with

122 Ibid., 21.
123 Ibid., 49-55.
one's own language and cultural traditions. Salinas's most prolific years of exile, from 1941 to 1951, were those in which he was surrounded by Spanish sounds. From 1942 to 1946 he was in Puerto Rico, but when he returned to Johns Hopkins in Baltimore in 1946 he continued to write as if he were still conversing with his good friends in the island. With beautiful language Salinas made sound cases for the defense of humane forms of interaction between people. He wrote moving passages on the value of epistolary correspondence as well as on the importance of reading.

Also while in exile Salinas produced his best literary criticism. He was one of several "poet-critics" of his generation (Luis Cernuda, Jorge Guillén, and Dámaso Alonso were others), but his rigorous and sensitive approach earned him general recognition as one of the best. Among his best works are Jorge Manrique o tradición y originalidad (1940), La poesía de Rubén Darío (1948), and Reality and the Poet in Spanish Poetry (1940).

Pedro Salinas combined a strong poetic vocation with a strong commitment to education. His greatest accomplishments as a poet are represented by the love poetry written before the civil war (La voz a tí debida and Razón de amor). But

_124_ Pedro Salinas, El defensor (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional, 1948), 225.

Salinas also produced excellent poetry while in exile, such as *El Contemplado*, *Cero*, and *Confianza*, and his best literary criticism was produced during those years as well.

Salinas was a remarkable critic, scholarly and insightful, as he demonstrated in a series of works, for instance, the studies on Jorge Manrique and Rubén Darío. Salinas had been a successful educator in Spain, and he soon became firmly incorporated into the academic world in the United States.

Salinas's essays are an excellent means by which to understand his view of society, particularly the importance of language, his fear for the dehumanization of modern life, and the importance of education to solve these challenges.

An enthusiast of language and the possibilities of literary creation, Salinas explored a variety of genres at the end of his life. His fiction and dramas provide readers with an exceptional window (Salinas was very fond of windows) into the man and his philosophical concerns.\(^\text{126}\)

\[^{126}\text{In a letter to Jorge Guillén, his long-time friend, Salinas made a comment on the windows of the Instituto de Coopération Intellectuelle:}\]

"Tampoco estaban mal las ventanas: daban al Palais Royal. (Ya sabes lo importantes que son en mi vida las ventanas. Tan importantes como en la literatura de Azorín.)"

"The windows were not bad: they faced the Royal Palace. (You know how important are windows in my life. As important as in Azorín's literature.)"

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

The Spanish civil war and the political regime that resulted from it deprived Spain of the presence and immediate inspiration of a large group of remarkably creative individuals. Some of the best minds of a literary generation left their country to protest the political situation and to continue to be true to their inner voices.

It is impossible to determine exactly what the cultural milieu of the country would have been like had these men stayed in their native land. However, the generations of the 1940s, 1950s, and the 1960s educated in the Spanish universities were denied the experiences, the creativity, and, in some cases, the works of these intellectual exiles.

The experience of exile affected those involved in a variety of ways that seem to be rather universal. For example, all exiles had to make numerous personal and professional adjustments. Finding a haven where life could be continued as it had been in their homelands was no easy task for the majority of the refugees, including those belonging to the small but privileged minority of intellectuals on which this study focusses. Achieving the status of
an immigrant in the United States was also difficult. Frequently, the refugees had to leave the country in order to reapply for residence, a procedure that placed a heavy burden on their finances.127

Leaving the United States to meet professional commitments or to travel brought with it the unwelcome uneasiness of having to deal with immigration officials at both ends of the journey, an experience that could be nightmarish at times.128

Salinas's professional adjustments were not so difficult, because he had been trained as a college professor in the literary field. Other intellectuals, however, were forced to adjust their field of expertise to the needs of the host country. Most of the writers as well as historians, philosophers, and others were accommodated in the language departments of American universities where they taught

127Américo Castro, as well as those who entered the United States as visitors, had to leave the country in order to apply for residence as "nonquota" immigrants. Letter from Castro to Salinas, Madison, June 16, 1938. Salinas Papers.

128The philosopher Ferrater Mora left the United States, for a trip to Cuba. Enormous difficulties on being admitted to this Caribbean republic were followed by his falling into a bureaucratic black hole upon his return to the United States. According to immigration officials, he had lost his status as a teacher because for the previous two years he had been engaged in scientific research made possible by a Guggenheim Scholarship, which, ironically, was granted only to teachers. The case was eventually resolved in his favor because, according to a document, he was still on the faculty of the University of Chile. Letter from Ferrater to Salinas, La Habana, June 23, 1949. Salinas Papers.
Spanish language and literature. The change was very radical for Juan Ramón Jiménez, because he was not an educator by training. That most of these men were middle aged by the time their exiles began also increased for them the difficulty of adjusting to new circumstances.

Being submerged in an English-speaking culture, exiles also encountered extreme difficulties in publishing their works. Ferrater Mora, with his usual wit, observed that "no nos publican, pero al menos no nos editan" (they don't publish us, but at least they don't edit us), appreciating the freedom that he and his colleagues were able to retain, even if it came paired with silence and anonymity.¹²⁹

Exiles' testimonies about the difficulties of publishing their works are numerous. Pedro Salinas wrote:

. . . A algunos poetas españoles desterrados—yo uno de ellos—se nos hace imposible encontrar no ya posibilidad de buenas ediciones, sino simplemente editar. . . Se explica, en parte, por vivir en país de lengua extranjera.

(. . . Some Spanish exiled writers—I among them—find it impossible to come upon, not only the possibility of quality publication for our works, but simply to publish anything . . . This can be explained, in part, by the fact that we live in a country where a different language is spoken.)¹³⁰

In a letter to Pedro Salinas (about a book he was writing at the time) Amado Alonso referred to both the political and the economic difficulties that exiles en-

¹²⁹Letter from Ferrater Mora to Salinas, Bryn Mawr, July 8, 1951. Salinas Papers.

countered when they tried to publish their works:

... Tampoco sé cómo se podría publicar. En Harvard costaría 15,000 dólares; en México no se podría leer de mal impreso. En España está Franco. En la Argentina, Perón. Escribimos para la posteridad.

(... I don't know how it could be published. In Harvard it would cost $15,000. If published in Mexico, the quality would be so poor, that no one would be able to read it. Franco is in Spain. Perón in Argentina. We're writing for posterity.)

But the most poignant reality that faced exiles was, without any doubt, the sense of having been uprooted. The loss of identity was tremendous and it caused severe existential conflicts within them. Not only were these exiles deprived of their homeland, those who settled in the United States were deprived of their "community of language" as well—they considered themselves "twice exiled" to use Salinas's expression. Furthermore, "al problema de la separación de su comunidad lingüística, el escritor agrega el de ignorar su público virtual y las resonancias comunicantes del texto." (to the problem of being apart from his own language community, the writer adds that of being ignored by his potential public and thus being deprived of the feedback from the impact of his text.)

The admission of refugees also had an impact on the recipient country. Due to the political nature of the


emigration of the 1930s, for example that provoked by fascist repression, this was an emigration of elites rather than of a broad strata of the population. For this reason it had a social and cultural influence beyond the mere numbers involved. The majority of these refugees came from Germany; the influx of refugees from Spain was numerically insignificant. Those coming from Spain, therefore, did not cause any major changes in the composition of the American population nor did their presence influence American politics. They did, however, make significant intellectual and academic contributions. They triggered a revival of Hispanic studies in the major universities in the United States and they continued to produce superb literature which we and future generations will treasure.
APPENDIX

Non-quota immigrants include the following:

2. Returning alien residents after a temporary visit abroad.
3. Aliens born in other American countries, their wives and unmarried children under 18.
4. Ministers and professors, their wives and unmarried children under 18.
5. Students at least 15 years of age.
6. Women who lost United States citizenship because of marriage to an alien prior to 22 September 1922. Since that date, women citizens do not lose citizenship by marriage to an alien.
7. United States citizens who lost citizenship through foreign military service after 13 January 1944 and who are returning to the United States to regain citizenship.

Non-immigrants include:

1. Government officials, their families and employees.
2. Temporary visitors for business or pleasure.
3. Aliens in transit.
4. Lawfully admitted aliens who travel from one part of the United States to another through foreign contiguous territory.
5. Alien seamen and airmen.
7. Members of official and international organizations, their families and employees.

Students are admissible (under Sec. 2 of the Act) for their periods of study only.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{133}Vernant, The Refugee in the Post-War World, 479.
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