

Unexpected transfer: the Spanish republican exile in Venezuela, 1938-1958. Outlines to his definition as a category for the urban history starting from the insertion of two exiled architects.

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Summary:

Considering that exiles have marked the 20th century, and that they will undoubtedly keep doing so in the present one, it is assumed that these processes have forced large groups of people to leave their countries, avoiding the institutional repression imposed by the winners of gruesome wars and coups d'état. These processes have made of exile an unavoidable category in the "history of the present time", which in turn means that as a category or concrete object of historic investigation, it must be inserted in at least two national histories: that of the expelling country, and that of the receiving country.

When we use the concept of "urban history", which is a tributary of the history of disciplines and institutions, and in turn of the social history of science and technology, an analysis of exile in terms of the transfer of knowledge by exiled professionals requires delving into their professional expertise and experiences, into the model of their discipline, into the public and private platforms of their actions, into their ideologies and political positions, and into their geographical roots, as well as an evaluation of the level of development of the disciplines and institutions of the countries involved.

The examples selected to validate this theoretical-methodological proposal -the particular objective of this paper- are related to the activity of architects Rafael Bergamín and Fernando Salvador who were exiled in Venezuela. This transfer, far from the glitter of great personalities, is found in two particularly interesting areas for the social history of the urban and territorial construction of Venezuela during the first half of the 20th century. In his private activity of teaching and divulgation, Rafael Bergamín, combines the construction of neighborhoods for the booming civilian and military middle class with the discourse on urbanism and urban planning in the academic, professional and journalistic arena. On the other hand, Fernando Salvador became part of the public administration as a sanitary architect, to confirm the social responsibility of the state and of the professionals at its service -in his case refined by liberal republicanism- at a time when physical planning and models (regulating plan and neighborhood unit) led an increase of state intervention in Venezuela, up to the level of having municipal typologies for projects in popular housing, education and health, necessary to provide Venezuelan cities with these public services.

Presentation

A few years ago, researching in the Historical Archives of Miraflores (AHM)¹ for a project on the modernization of Caracas during the political transition of 1936, a letter from the Minister of the Venezuelan legation in France came to my hands, warning President López Contreras of the risk of the "red scum sprouting the seed of its fateful ideas" in the country (AHM, Serie D 53 C 15). The republican exile was about to become an object of historic investigation attached to the line of research that I was developing on the social history of the urban and territorial construction of Venezuela. It confirmed the significant role played by the European immigration between 1936 and 1958, in which the Spanish exiles and immigrants stood out, qualitatively and quantitatively. Part of this contingent joined the construction industry, fully trained professionally, still modest in its entrepreneurial organization, and fundamentally dependent on State initiatives. It was a time when public works and private urbanizations –urban soil and buildings- were in expansion, particularly

in Caracas. So in a first stage, the republican exile in Venezuela as a social and political fabric, and construction as the specific activity for labor insertion, were formalized as research topics, followed by an analysis of the contribution of exiles in the areas of education and health (Martín Frechilla, 1996a, 1998a, 1998b, 2002; Marqués Sureda y Martín Frechilla, 2000, 2001, 2002).

To face, or to avoid, the unavoidable mistakes in the lists of professionals and their respective curricula in each receiving country², these research projects tried to foster a choral view of the 1939 republican exile to Venezuela. However, the historiographic posture of distancing ourselves from concrete characters quickly went to pieces, and without biographies in some cases, like this one, we have articulated personal contributions to the processes and circumstances of the country's history.

Exile and immigration: general history in two cushions

In historiographic terms, exile has been a category in the history of Spain, not only during the 20th century, but also in previous ones. Political fluctuations, so frequent in the Spanish society, made people leave the country for more or less long periods, forced to find personal safety in other lands due to their ideas. Intellectuals, military men, religious men, politicians, trade unionists, workers leaders, teachers... have experienced exile throughout the contemporary history of Spain. However, when centuries ago an illiterate peasant from the Basque country left the Spanish military service to avoid fighting a war that was not his, politics and ideologies joined the economy as reasons to go to America. It was already difficult to establish the boundaries of both reasons.

So, since 1936 up to the end of the fifties, as a direct or indirect consequence, political or economical, of the Spanish Civil War a constant and growing contingent of Spaniards from different regions and different education levels was forced to leave their country. After the exiles of the end of the Civil War came that of those who stayed and had to endure jail, repression, professional depuration, or simple necessity, and this was the step from politics to economics, who then faced the need to leave. An unprecedented exile in the history of Spain, because of the number of affected people, and because of its duration and geographical dispersion. The multiple reasons behind the natural desire to survive are part of the history of the banishing country. However, the history of expatriation or of immigration is, at least, a history in two cushions that is passed on to the history of the country that receives them.

During the great migratory currents of the 19th century, Venezuela, as opposed to Chile, Brazil or Argentina, could not attract an important number of them. This pending subject for a country with a scarce population and an almost inexistent colonization of most of its territory began to be seriously studied with the death of Juan Vicente Gómez in December 1935, after 27 years of authoritarianism. From then on, the country opened up for Europeans, not only Spaniards, displaced for political or economic reasons from their countries due to wars and post-wars. Venezuela received an important part of this contingent of Europeans quantitatively and qualitatively, with different levels of training, which was a determining factor for the social, economic, and physical structure of the nation.

And that, in despite the important political ruptures between 1936 and 1958 resumed: The successive governments up to the coup on January 23, 1958, were: General Eleazar López Contreras was appointed president of the republic by the National Congress for the 1936-1943 period – it was reduced to five years with the approval of a new Constitution; his successor was the minister of Defense, General Isaías Medina Angarita for the 1941-1945 period; in October 1945, a group of military men, with the support of the Acción Democrática party –with a social democratic tendency- gave a coup d'état. The

Revolutionary Government Junta–1945-1948- called to elections in 1947. Rómulo Gallegos, from the Acción Democrática party, was elected and assumed the presidency in February 1948; on November 24, the same military of the coup of October 1945 overthrew Gallegos. First came a Military Junta, and then a Government Junta –after the assassination of the president- and finally in 1952, Lieutenant Coronel Marcos Pérez Jiménez by himself –he had been a member of the two previous Juntas-.

Misgivings gave way to aperture. The agreement between the Venezuelan government and the Basque country in exile in 1939, the refugees selected by the Immigration Missions in Italy, France, and the German occupied territories, sent by Venezuela to Europe between 1947 and 1948, the illegal arrival of Canarians between 1948 and 1951, and the massive immigration of Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians during the fifties, were the high points of a process of great consequences for the country. (Martin Frechilla, 1997a, 1997b).

In this group, Spanish immigrants stand out due to the role they played in the different areas of the social and economic life of Venezuela. The first were physicians, educators, professionals in liberal arts, writers, journalists, qualified laborers, businessmen; the second, the Canarian and Galician immigrants, were mostly farm workers and went to agriculture (a few), services and construction. Galicians particularly, had no problem in becoming the qualified laborers that the construction sector required for public and private initiatives. There was money to buy, money to build, money to hire. Far from the wide Mexican opening to Spanish republican exiles, Venezuela first limited the essay to Basque nationalists, due to ideological misgivings, and progressively expanded the entry, regional and political, particularly during the European post-war years in the times of the Revolutionary Government Junta 1945-1948, which recognized the reconstituted Government of the Spanish Republic in exile. From the Canary Islands and then from Galicia, the economic immigration in Venezuela, which in 1946 was 6.7 % of the total Spanish immigration to Latin America, increased to 15.08 % in 1950, up to a maximum of 52.5 % in 1957. In 1946 only 300 Spanish immigrants arrived in Venezuela; in 1951 there were 10.000, in 1954 more than 20.000; to reach in 1957, the maximum number of 30.000 (Ministry of Labor, 1946-1948; 1949-1957)³. The Spanish colony, which in 1936 represented 12 % of the total resident foreigners in Venezuela, reached 31 % in 1958. Those were the good times of the Spanish immigration. Since then, the economic repercussions of the political adjustments that started in 1958 in Venezuela, together with the new possibilities that the European job market started to offer drastically interrupted the direction of this migratory flow⁴.

But the history of Spanish immigration in Venezuela, and of the republican exile as part of it, is also a tributary of the history of science and technology, as we face a particular collective of exiles linked to it by discipline: engineers, architects, mathematicians, or physicians. To calibrate their performance, together with the inevitable tensions of the insertion in the public or private sector, one must dig into the Spain before 1936, as well as into the professional and institutional context of those receiving it. It is true that the flight of republican intellectuals was enormous and that the cultural loss that it represented for Spain became the intellectual wealth of the receiving country. But it is also true that, just as the Spanish situation in all fields of knowledge was not homogeneous and parallel to the European universe before the Civil War, in 1936 Latin American countries did not show an homogeneous outlook in its economic, social, scientific, and cultural development, nor in the density of its institutions. These matters, essential for the proper creation of exile as a category we will only present here to show the necessary web of issues that historical investigation requires when it is posed in these terms.

The national scenario

In December 1935, president General Juan Vicente Gómez died after 27 years of authoritarianism in Venezuela that left behind, besides repression, the foundations of a national state, integrated administratively and spatially. The country was economically solvent thanks to the violent irruption of fiscal income from oil production since the mid twenties, but it was ill prepared to face the social needs of the population regarding education, health and housing.

In February 1936, General Eleazar López Contreras, the new President of the Republic, and former Minister of War and Navy, to appease the anti-Gómez opposition and develop its own policy of transition, proposed a government program that was confirmed in 1938 with a public works plan. In both documents, hygiene and social assistance as the infrastructure, as well as the corresponding sanitary buildings, occupied a good portion of the intentions of the new regime. In order to move forward in its definition, it was necessary to hire physicians, engineers and architects outside the country. In the complex political and social situation of those years, this matrix of action had continuity, and was renewed by the impetus of the modernizing project, by budget increases, and by a European scenario that was politically and militarily favorable to select and attract exiles and immigrants. So, even though the Spanish Civil War was not over, the new Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MSAS) started to hire the first Spanish exiles for the fields of public health: the physicians José María Bengoa and Santiago Ruesta; then, José Sahagun Torres, José Sánchez Covisa, José Pardo Gayoso, and many more (Martín Frechilla, 2002; Guerra 2003). But it was also necessary to hire specialists in health buildings.

In mid 1937, the Venezuelan legation in Paris, made a job offer to the architect Secundino Zuazo Ugalde (1887-1970), with a wide and recognized experience, to come to Venezuela. However, for some reasons -political and family related- the offer was transferred to architect Rafael Bergamín (1891-1970)⁵, also exiled in Paris. He arrived in Venezuela in February of 1938, although there is no information that he formalized his contract with the public administration⁶.

Even in a political environment like the one Venezuela had in 1936, mired with internal issues, the Spanish Civil War divided opinions, affections and ideological commitments to one or other side. Just like Venezuelan communists had difficulties in inserting themselves into the legal framework of the social struggles of the times, since they were explicitly banned by the new constitution approved in July 1936, it was not easy for the Spanish Republic to open its way as a democracy. It had to face the propaganda favoring the forces of General Franco spread by the press, which was conservative for the most part, still in the margins of the political transition that was occurring in the country. But as the war advanced, defining possibilities, clearing up external supports, and displaying a conveniently manipulated non-intervention, and the internal political tensions of the republican government darkened the perspectives, there were defections and new appointments in the Spanish diplomatic delegation itself⁷.

In September 1938, architect Fernando Salvador was appointed Business Representative of the Spanish Republic in Caracas. He had the difficult task of being the last diplomat of that government to be credited in Venezuela, and had to face the indecision of the Venezuelan foreign affairs office that, not yet acknowledging the one from Burgos, would first show indifference and then hostility towards the republican. The behavior of the Venezuelan foreign affairs office included withholding mail and returning bank drafts intended for the operation of the republican representation, to the fluid presence of several individuals in Caracas acting as propagandists and diligent representatives of General Franco.

When the new Business Representative of the Spanish Republic, Fernando Salvador, described in 1938 to his government the difficulties he was having to be recognized as

such, informed about the situation and behavior of the Venezuelan Ministry of Foreign Affairs he said: this government wants to “let time go by without changing, for or against, the indifference towards the Spanish Republic”, and uses this indecision, this exercise in neutrality, to distance itself from fascism and communism, giving no advantage to either party. The official representative of the Spanish Republic and the envoy of the partisans are treated like particular gentlemen, says Fernando Salvador. The republican diplomat didn’t know that at the time he wrote this report, on September 18, 1938, an agreement had been signed a month before in Burgos, to establish “economic relations between Venezuela and the territory occupied by the Spanish Nationalist Government” (AGMRE, Dirección de Política Exterior (DPI) España exp. 436)

By the end of the civil war, Rafael Bergamín was about to revalidate his architecture degree in Caracas (July 10, 1939) and Fernando Salvador (1896-1972)⁸, was not a diplomat anymore, and started working as a sanitary architect in the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, until his retirement in 1960.

Rafael Bergamín: the different fronts of an active transplant

A brochure edited in 1953 by “Velutini y Bergamín C. A.” to commemorate 15 years of activities, summarizes the number of constructions they finished: 58 houses-quintas, 70 buildings for apartments, offices and businesses, 12 industrial buildings, 12 cinemas, 8 banks, as well as 3 neighborhoods and other works. Although not all of these works were designed by Rafael Bergamín since his arrival to this country, his professional activity was a determining factor in introducing new types of buildings in Caracas: apartment buildings with commercial areas in the ground floor, which included the concierges office as the entity in charge of the maintenance and control of the semi-private and semi-public areas; movie houses blended with other uses, like hotels, offices, and commercial areas; corporate headquarters of the banking sector in the downtown area of the capital. These buildings marked the renewal of the real estate heritage of the capital and its modernization, recorded in the first urban planning regulation approved in 1941 – Guiding Plan for Streets and Avenues - as the only legally sanctioned part of the Monumental Plan of Caracas, created in 1939 by the French urbanists Jacques Lambert and Maurice Rotival and the Venezuelan professionals from the Urbanism Department created in 1938, at the municipal level.

So Bergamín arrived with some of the beauxartian transplants already in place, but also with the first hesitations towards the irrelevance of an urban renewal plan in a time when the city required a regulated and controlled growth. However, from the point of view of architectural projects, neither corporate headquarters, nor office or apartment buildings, hotels or cinemas were part of Bergamín’s works during his professional life prior to his exile (Navas San-Millan y Ormazabal Hernaiz, 1990) so the transplants were rooted more in his experience and in the building offers demanded by the urban centers of those years.

Bergamín did have experience in urbanization and housing projects. Some examples are the El Viso and Residencia colonies in Madrid. Here we clearly see the elements of his ideas for urban projects nourished on the one hand by his formation as a forestry engineer –landscaping with trees in the streets- and on the other by the adjustment of the continuous housing typology, of German roots, for the medium cadres of the armed forces. In Caracas, the first of these elements became evident in his discourse, since he could record his idearium in one neighborhood outside Caracas. Regarding housing, the catalog of house-quinta (a denomination for a single family home with one or two floors, isolated or with a garage and front porch) covered the different modalities. However, the housing projects - constructions for sale- in lands that grouped several continuous lots, in many cases reproduced the typology tested in *El Viso*.

In September 1938, Bergamín was a newcomer to the country and started publishing a series of articles in the newspaper *El Universal* on the problems of modern urbanism related to the construction of Caracas. These articles sparked the interest on the social and economic pertinence of these topics:

Preparing the media is fundamental in this type of transformations and the propaganda and the defense of urban ideas is essential and requires the cooperation of everybody, even of those elements that at first believe they are being harmed. These are the ones we need to convince first. The change, far from harming them, will give them great benefits in the long run. (...)

Without these laws [forced expropriation, regulation of urban development] there is no urbanism, there cannot be a plan to widen or to reform an old city, where old interests are like shells stuck to rocks in the shore. It could be argued that owners cannot be harmed by partially or totally limiting their right to build where and how they want to in their property. This concept of property is outdated and archaic. It is easy to make the most stubborn of owners understand that what today seems a limitation of his right to benefit the collective and the city, will also benefit him in the long run. (Bergamín, 1959: 15 and 21).

These ideas were in vogue, because in that same moment, the tensions between the Municipal Council –in the hands of the opposition- and the Governor of the Federal District, had to do with a suit on the constitutionality of urban planning, which attempted against the property of the urban soil and the legality of expropriation for public uses. In one of his articles, “Parceling”, Bergamín uses a block –a square of about 100 by 100 meters inherited from the Laws of the Indies-, to present a group of stages for renewal. In the last one, after widening the streets, he proposes an area with trees occupying 70% of the block and two 12-story buildings aligned orthogonally, with only 30% of plants in the middle. In the articles, the references include a house around a tree by Le Corbusier in 1925, and a quote by Walter Gropius as an authority that favors a rational construction of 12 stories and a compromise between city and countryside.

In 1944, Bergamín also took his thesis on modern urbanism to the lectures on Urbanism in the newly created Department of Architecture at the School of Engineering of the Universidad Central de Venezuela. In 1945, together with a group of Venezuelan architects–Heriberto González Méndez, Gustavo Wallis, Carlos Raúl Villanueva, Cipriano Domínguez, Luis Chataing, Hector García Maldonado, Rómulo Henríquez, Leopoldo Martínez Olavarría ...- he founded the Venezuelan Association of Architects. He developed an intense professional activity, gave conferences, was speaker in Engineering Congresses, and participated in ad-hoc commissions created by the Association of Engineers to study and reform municipal ordinances, for the problems of professional activities, public transportation, or the green areas and the arborization of the city.

Fernando Salvador: social responsibility and planning as transplant

In February 1939, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MSAS) hired Fernando Salvador. In order to carry out the program to build the health facilities included in the wider plan of public works, it was necessary to have a division of sanitary architecture to produce the projects. Fernando Salvador was the project creator of the Anti-tuberculosis Sanatoriums of Maracaibo, Valencia and Cumaná; of the Social Security Central and General Hospitals and of the Maternities in six more cities, as well as Rural Medical Services for more than 60 towns.

The Memoir of the MSAS for 1941 already included new types of building projects: A model for a small maternity, dispensaries for small towns, and a hospital with 100 beds. In the next years, the Memoirs, besides including reports enumerating the works constructed in the country using the Division's projects designed by Fernando Salvador, have other preliminary plans: "Standard" Hospitals types A, B and C or type 1-F, B and B-1 Sanatoriums, which indicate a systematic adaptation, through typologies, to the many requirements of sanitary buildings and to the range of populations, adjusted to the standards that the National Urbanism Commission started to establish since 1946 –it was created that same year- in the regulatory plans for the main cities of the country, in coordination with the Inter Ministerial Commission for Public Works and Health and Social Welfare Works (MSAS, 1947: 168).

Fernando Salvador also worked on "the problem of popular housing". The issue first appeared in the Memoir of 1940, with a text warning about the situation of the slums of Caracas, which have become populated with *ranchos* whose living conditions could not be worse". (MSAS, 1940: 178). In the Memoir of the following year, the topic is repeated in a paragraph entitled *Inexpensive houses*, confirming the fact that Fernando Salvador is remembering Spain's first Law on Inexpensive Housing of 1911. The text says: "We have made models for simple houses to provide adequate plans for those requesting them at no cost, as long as they don't have resources," and includes examples of plans for a house for 4 people and another one for 6. (MSAS, 1941: 109)

At the 12th Pan-American Health Conference, held in Caracas in January 1947⁹, Fernando Salvador gave a presentation in which he uniquely systematized the difficulties to create an "architectural-sanitary awareness, and to try to study a type that is appropriate for the Venezuelan environment" within the restrictions imposed by several official organizations that "plan and construct sanitary buildings". To the experience Fernando Salvador has on projects, backed by a solid technical formation, we must add an idearium based on the determination to consolidate a discourse on the necessary and complex relation between architecture and health, to define the appropriate type of buildings for the Venezuelan environment, and finally, to defend the State's responsibility in the planning, projecting and constructing of sanitary engineering and architecture, training the necessary architects in the ministry itself. In 1946, when the synchrony between his idearium and the government's social democratic discourse was at its peak, he wrote:

It is not possible to improvise in sanitary architecture. It is easy to copy examples from abroad, but these are usually not convenient for a country that may have different customs, eating habits, type of staff, climate, material and labor force, and even different diseases. The task of reconciling the classical techniques of other countries with another environment is not easy. And it is essential to move carefully in a nation that has not tested its own methods, and where it is unknown whether these procedures are going to have good or bad results (...)

We must think, above all, of very simple buildings, where the distances are very short and where a small staff, which is difficult to find, provides the services. It is not possible to think about the luxurious and complicated units found in foreign books which work fine in countries with a different economy (...) Sometimes an expensive hospital can be planned, making the work of the planner and of the organization that requested it stand out (Salvador, 1946: 8 and 12).

His own political roots, aided by the Pan-American character of the Conference in which he gave his presentation, and the national euphoria with social democracy, gave Fernando

Salvador the opportunity to tackle more political issues. For example, he criticizes the selection of machines or furniture using catalogs brought by representatives of foreign establishments. He insists that a hospital, besides being practical, efficient, comfortable and beautiful, must also be inexpensive so that “more sick people can be cared for”. He states that its construction must be made with direct administration, so that the public sector is not tied to “contractual clauses” or to the “natural desire for profit”. Salvador even wants to have laborers – workers, masters, engineers- that put aside the dominating “commercial spirit”. Finally, he criticizes the difficulties found in the work of the Division, particularly due to:

The lack of a national integral plan for the construction of sanitary buildings. It is always the case that a sanitary building is planned for places where its existence is not convenient, or where the intended character or size is not appropriate. A simple political convenience, or even better, a noble and disinterested but mistaken initiative, create small hospitals in all parts of the Nation, which are absurd and difficult to sustain, and are not finished or cannot be maintained due to a lack of resources, economic and personal. (Salvador, 1946: 12).

These words define the presence of a discourse that is fully integrated with the needs of the new professional practice of Fernando Salvador amongst us. In this time it was being created and when the utopian planning discourse was being established as the technical solution for the social problems nourished by modernity who as change the look in the direction of the United States of America. In 1946, Lambert and Rotival come back to Venezuela -this last with a professional carrier in USA- to contribute at the definition of the recently created Comisión Nacional de Urbanismo (CNU). However, at this moment the French urbanism has lost importance in the presence of the American city planning (Martín Frechilla, 1996b). With Francis Violich as adviser of the CNU became to Venezuela the urban planning, the social survey, the urban legislation. In this new scenario the projection of grow of population and the building necessities of housing, health and education confirm the relevancy of Fernando Salvador's work in the Venezuelan public administration.

There are other works and ideas from both transplants, which feed the history of construction in Venezuela, its disciplines and its institutions. The contributions of the Spanish republican exile were significant besides heterogeneous and divers. The special national juncture to this insertion almost contribute to the change of the direction of the modern signs presents in the physic and social buildings of the country between 1938 y 1958.

NOTES

¹ Miraflores is the name of the Palace that is the headquarters of the Presidency of the Republic of Venezuela.

² I am referring both to the professions linked to construction -architecture and engineering- as well as to sections or books about exile in Venezuela (Abellan, 1978; Naharro-Calderón, 1991; Giral, 1994; Sanz, 1995; Barona, 2003; Guerra 2003)

³ Since 1954, Venezuela definitely moved Argentina from the first place as the destination of the Spanish immigration to Latin America.

⁴ Between 1957 and 1959 the number of Spanish emigrants to Venezuela decreased by almost 50%.

⁵ Forestry engineer (1917) and architect (1918) The civil war surprises him in charge of the works of the Campus of the Madrid University. He is exiled in France in the end of 1937. When he arrives in Caracas, he founds in 1938, together with the young venezuelan engineers Rafael E. Velutini and José María Manrique a

company of projects and construction, and soon thereafter, José María Manrique separates from it. He stayed in Venezuela between 1938 and 1958. He returned to Spain and died in Madrid.

⁶ According to the information services from both sides, Zuazo commented as a reason to decline the offer, on the one hand the imminent republican victory, and on the other, its inevitable failure. (AGMAEE, caja RE 49 carp. 47 y leg. R 832 exp. 6) A family problem made him finally cross the border through Irún, was detained and spent some time expatriated in the Cañari Islands. The information to the transfer of the contract, was supplied by the daughters of Rafael Bergamín to the author during an interview done in Madrid in 1993. The Secundino Zuazo memories confirm the offer of the Venezuela General Consul in Paris to project a urban plan to Caracas. (Zuazo Ugalde 2003: 351-352 y 355-356). Zuazo not comment about the contract finally agree to the Henri Prost's bureau, with Jacques Lambert and Maurice Rovival as directs responsible, not comment either of Rafael Bergamin.

⁷ Mr. Oteiza, Plenipotentiary Minister from Spain, was released from its functions when the Civil War broke. Since then, Martínez Pozueta acted unofficially as Business Representative; he was the chancellor of the embassy aspiring for an appointment from the Republican Government. But in November 1937 Mr. Daniel Carrera Díez was sent as Second Secretary, a position in which he was to be Business Representative a.i. Ever since his arrival, he faced the internal opposition of Consul Ramiro Fernández-Pintado who also aspired to be Representative. (AGMAEE leg. R 2571 exp. 24)

⁸ Architect (1922). Specialized in sanitary architecture, he developed a political activity around Manuel Azaña and his party, Acción Republicana. In 1936, he was appointed member of the Junta for the Seizure and Protection of the Artistic Heritage, created at the beginning of the civil war. In the beginning of 1938, he was appointed First Secretary of the Embassy of the Spanish Republic in Cuba. He arrived in Caracas on September 1938, as Business Representative of the Spanish Republic. He died in Caracas. This information was supplied in Caracas by Miguel Salvador, son of Fernando Salvador, in September 1997. (Martín Frechilla, 1998b, 2001)

⁹ We must remember that after the coup of October 18, 1945, the Revolutionary Government Junta recognized the Government of the Spanish Republic in Exile (Martín Frechilla, 1997a)

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