

# “Transatlantic Trenches” in Spanish Civil War Journalism

Félix Martí Ibáñez and the Exile Newspaper *España Libre* (Free Spain, New York City 1939–1977)

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*New York, cette immense Barcelona*

—Jules Romain

During the Spanish Civil War, Félix Martí Ibáñez (Cartagena 1911–New York City 1972) was known as the “barricades doctor” for his intense activity among the anarchist militias.<sup>1</sup> In 1937 he served in the Catalanian government representing the Spanish anarchist union Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) as general director of public health and social services in Catalonia. Two years later, he was appointed undersecretary of public health in Spain and was named director of wartime health education in Catalonia. When Barcelona fell to the armies of Francisco Franco, Martí Ibáñez trudged through the Pyrenees into France and immigrated to the United States. During his exile, the doctor reinvented his medical and writing career, which had been truncated by the war and later by Francisco Franco’s dictatorship. Martí Ibáñez became a well-known editor and essayist on the medical humanities and a prolific fiction writer.<sup>2</sup> From the United States, Martí Ibáñez financially and politically protected his extended family in Francoist Spain.

In the last decade, academic publications have successfully contested the stereotypical representation of anarchist transnational networks, politics, and culture as inconsequential, terrorist, irrational, or primitive. Instead, anarchism is being studied in all its complexity as thought, text, culture, and global network.<sup>3</sup> In stark contrast to the minimal attention in academic research, the story of Spanish anarchists in the United States is one of a vibrant culture. Certainly, creative writing became a major site of formation of anarchist identity for Spanish Civil War exiles such as Martí Ibáñez. This article recovers some of the previously unexplored author's opinion columns and short stories in *España Libre* from the archive and analyzes their aesthetics.<sup>4</sup> While Francisco Franco's dictatorship and Cold War politics have limited the study of anarchist exiles in the United States, Martí Ibáñez's journalism in *España Libre* enlarges and offers nuance to our understanding of anarchist literature in the context of the Spanish Civil War and its exile.

First, the article reviews several of his opinion columns in *España Libre* in the 1940s. In them, the author searches for an exile voice and reflects on the qualities of postrevolutionary literature. His early exile journalism marks his personal transformation from anarcho-public intellectual and doctor in revolutionary Spain to prolific fiction author, successful medical editor, and professor of medicine at New York University. Before his exile, Martí Ibáñez's novels, *Yo, rebelde* (I, Rebel, 1936) and *Aventura* (Adventure, 1938) captured the people's heroic response to the political upheaval and to the civil war itself.<sup>5</sup> The author's first short stories written in exile and published in the context of his opinion journalism in the exile newspaper *España Libre* (Free Spain, New York City 1939–77), "Presagio de Berchtesgaden" (Premonition in Berchtesgaden, 1940) and "Episodio en Londres" (Episode in London, 1940), show the transition to an introspective and anti-authoritarian subjectivity.<sup>6</sup> The daring "rebel" and "adventure" in the titles of the novels become meditative "premonition" and "episode," already prompting such an aesthetic shift. Therefore, this section shows how his participation in a transnational antifascist culture in exile stimulated a thought process that envisioned his fictional creation as able to enlarge consciousness with characters that interconnect.

Finally, the article examines in detail the literary characteristics of "Presagio" and "Episodio" through characters that reflect on the ever-present possibilities of life resulting from their relationships. In this regard, the two short stories articulate a hopeful delivery, analogous to Jesse Cohn's concept of "resistance culture" that examines anarchist aesthetic expressions that have been an instrument of survival and struggle against "all forms of domination and hierarchy."<sup>7</sup> Cohn characterizes Martí Ibáñez's later fiction in *All the Wonders We Seek: Thirteen Tales of Surprise and Prodigy* (1963) as utopian and fantastic and situates the anthology in a tradition of anarchist migrant and outcast narratives.<sup>8</sup> Martí Ibáñez's short stories also recreated antifascist culture, which I explore with Jennifer Lynde Barker's concept of "radical projection." Barker perceives radical projection as a strand of postmodernism that "embraces dialectical inquiry and heterogeneous reality."<sup>9</sup> In *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film*, Barker traces a compelling genealogy for an alternate postmodernism developed in relation to antifascism in her study of films during World War II and the Cold War. Cohn's anarchist and Barker's antifascist theoretical approaches will help me explain how Martí Ibáñez's aesthetic style changes with his exile experience.

The exile newspaper in which his journalism was published, *España Libre*, reveals the migrant transnational networks as well as the Spanish Civil War exile print culture that facilitated Martí Ibáñez's adaptation to the host country. *España Libre's* editors and authors represented the realities of proletarian immigrant life with an anarchist and antifascist aesthetic and practice, which I refer to as "resilience aesthetics." The term captures the heterogeneity and complexity of Spanish Civil War exile literature in the United States. The term "resilience" echoes both the collective resistance to fascism and the revival of Spanish workers' culture and aesthetics in the long exile. In *Philosophy and Literature in Times of Crisis*, Michael Mack coins a related concept, "ethics of resilience," to describe literature's potential to contest the status quo and conceptualize new perspectives about multiple aspects of human life by valuing its diversity. According to Mack, the turn to an affective understanding of life "may constitute a resilient re-discovery of non-homogenic versions of the arts and sciences."<sup>10</sup> The resilience rendition of *España Libre* resists

homogenous representation through its documentation, satire, and affective dialectics, all aimed at rediscovery of the world, especially in the works of Martí Ibáñez.

The term “resilience aesthetics” echoes Cohn’s “anarchist resistance culture” and Barker’s “radical projection.”<sup>11</sup> In *Underground Passages*, Cohn examines anarchist aesthetic expressions that have been an instrument of visionary survival and revolution because they have created a culture of adaptation and possibility.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, resilience aesthetics account for the revival of workers’ political involvement and cultural production in exile beyond mere resistance to fascism. While Barker’s radical projection describes antifascist expressions that resist fascism “without any confidence that it will be effective, resistance *quand meme* . . . out of a principle of solidarity with victims, as a deliberate affront,”<sup>13</sup> resilience aesthetics incorporates the documentation of Spanish workers’ history, their humorous creativity, and the ability to project alternatives that *España Libre* delivered, and in particular Martí Ibáñez’s works. The concept of resilience aesthetics becomes a useful tool in describing the introspective emotion and dialectical possibilities present in “Presagio” and “Episodio.”

### Félix Martí Ibáñez’s Exile in the United States

The Spanish Civil War brought an exodus of exiles to the United States, exiles who, like Martí Ibáñez, relied on previous networks built by earlier migrants to facilitate transitions to the host country.<sup>14</sup> In 1938, the anarchist organization Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista (SIA, International Antifascist Solidarity) invited Martí Ibáñez, the anarcho-public intellectual, to tour the United States and seek support for the Second Spanish Republic. While on tour, in 1938, Martí Ibáñez published two articles in *Cultura Proletaria* (New York), one of the main U.S. Spanish-language anarchist newspapers, and encouraged readers to cooperate with other antifascists:

Ya es sabido que al mismo lado en que nos hallamos nosotros de esa barricada se encontrarán también los tibios, los vacilantes, los débiles, las formas ultraconservadoras del liberalismo. No nos importe convivir con ellos.

[It is known that in our same barricade there are the unenthusiastic, the hesitant, the weak, and the ultraconservative forms of liberalism. We should not be bothered to live with them.]<sup>15</sup>

For the author, lack of cooperation destroys a tradition of honest anarchist work: “el polvo de la acción no mancha, sino que es un glorioso emblema para la idea que fue a la palestra de combate” (dust from action does not get us dirty, [for] it is a glorious symbol of the anarchist ideal that has been our political arena).<sup>16</sup> In the historical context of fascism encroaching in Spain, the author tells the anarchist readers of *Cultura Proletaria* that action must be directed toward collaboration with antifascists.

Also, Martí Ibáñez reminds his readers of the power of print journalism as a tool of antifascism, particularly in its capacity to disseminate ideas through essays and fiction to like-minded thinkers. In that respect, the author notes that revolutions are accomplished on various fronts: “Las Revoluciones se preparan y se consolidan en las Bibliotecas y mediante la polémica teórica. Se conquistan en la calle y mediante la lucha y el trabajo infatigable de los revolucionarios” (Revolutions are prepared and consolidated in libraries with theoretical argumentation. They are conquered in the streets by the indefatigable fight and work of revolutionaries).<sup>17</sup> The coverage of his tour in the United States and these articles published in *Cultura Proletaria* attest to the public anarcho-intellectual figure that Martí Ibáñez was for the readers of the newspaper.

*España Libre* also covered the news of his tour, as well as his participation in several fund-raising events staged by Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas (Confederation of Hispanic Societies). Despite the irregular frequency of the publication (weekly to monthly) and its modest circulation (1,300 to 4,000 copies), *España Libre* was read in the United States, Latin America, and Europe, and 500 copies were regularly smuggled into Spain.<sup>18</sup> To support their endeavors, editors regularly asked Martí Ibáñez for contributions. For the continued publication of Martí Ibáñez’s journalism, readers congratulated two of the most beloved and dedicated editors of the newspaper, anarchist José Castilla Morales and anarcho-syndicalist Jesús González Malo.<sup>19</sup> Both editors were exiles

themselves. Castilla Morales had escaped the Spanish draft and then fled from Cuba escaping persecution because of his editorial work for anarchist-oriented labor newspapers *El Sembrador*, *El Progreso*, and *Tierra*. González Malo had left Spain after fighting as a militia leader in Santander during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>20</sup> Both editors were strategic anarchists and explained *España Libre*'s support for the Spanish Republican government-in-exile in its fight to restore democracy in Spain. After the Spanish Civil War, *España Libre* claimed that Spanish workers were better served collaborating with progressive democratic parties than with Communists.<sup>21</sup>

However, editorials also clarified that the membership first and foremost subscribed to the principles dictated by the Spanish anarchist union, CNT, and the socialist union Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT). The tenets of these national unions were largely discussed during the 38 years of *España Libre* circulation. Nonetheless, the consensus resided in making the working class an active political actor without the tutelage of parties or governments in the fight for the restoration of democracy in Spain.<sup>22</sup> Castilla Morales's and González Malo's strategic editorial stance shows the imperatives of exile in the United States and world politics that had made Franco an American ally in the fight against communism. Editors were well aware that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Immigration Services, and the Spanish diplomacy closely read *España Libre*.<sup>23</sup> Despite such editorial hardships, *España Libre* provided four decades of solidarity and print culture to exiles and political prisoners as well as the underground resistance in Spain.<sup>24</sup> When democratic elections were held in Spain in 1977, the Confederadas no longer circulated its transnational newspaper that had testified to the political role of workers and demystified fascist ideologies during the long dictatorship.

Certainly, Martí Ibáñez benefited from the Confederadas as an inclusive milieu that supported narrative journalism as a tool of anarchist and antifascist culture.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, professional contacts also facilitated his exile in the United States. During his tour, Martí Ibáñez visited Henry E. Sigerist, professor of history of medicine at Johns Hopkins University. The doctors had met at the International Congress of History of Medicine in Toledo, Spain, in 1935. After the fall of Barcelona, Martí Ibáñez

returned to live in the United States, where Sigerist helped him get a job as a medical consultant for pharmaceutical laboratories. Although his first job in the United States was the initial step toward a successful career as a medical editor, adaptation to the American context proved difficult those first years. As a young man in Spain, he was known as the son of the well-known pedagogue Félix Martí Alpera, and later he became an admired doctor himself. In revolutionary Spain, Martí Ibáñez had disseminated science and medicine regularly in anarchist publications and had represented the CNT in the collectivization of public health and in the modernization of its practices.<sup>26</sup> The first decade in the United States, the 1940s, was marked by personal and family difficulties.<sup>27</sup> On a personal level, he felt angered to see his medical, political, and journalistic ambitions truncated by the Francisco Franco revolt. Letters to his mother show that Martí Ibáñez felt pressure, even in exile, to live up to the high societal expectations placed upon him, and he also felt frustrated to be working as a medical consultant.

In a letter to his first wife, María Martí Ibáñez, he confesses that his marriage was doomed because he feels frustrated in exile. He summarizes his life in the United States as reduced to going back and forth to work. Life in the United States seems unreal to him: "me siento viviendo en falso."<sup>28</sup> He is gradually abandoning his dreams, "paulatinamente abandono ilusiones."<sup>29</sup> His life in the United States is comfortable but confining: "muy agradable pero esterilizador."<sup>30</sup> He has no passport and feels trapped: "estoy sin pasaporte, encerrado en esta jaula grande."<sup>31</sup> Work is muzzling his soul and taming his emotions. With contempt, he feels as if he is drowning in a sea of fools:

gentes estúpidas, no tiene ideal ninguno, solo dinero, por el cheque hay que amordazar el alma, domesticar emociones, pierdo mi facultad de pensar y escribir, me hundo en un pozo, me aburgueso, el romanticismo de la acción se va al diablo, ya soy el Sr. Smith y no puedo recoger material para futuras novelas, me voy ahogando.

[fools at work have no ideals and only seem to care about money, for the paycheck one has to muzzle the soul, tame the emotions, I am losing my ability to think and write, I am falling into this well, I am adopting middle-

class ways, the romanticism of action is going to hell, I am already Mr. Smith and cannot find inspiration for future novels, I am drowning.]"<sup>32</sup>

Communication with his extended family in Spain was painfully limited because of Spanish rampant censorship. In a letter written on 19 August 1946, Josefina Ibáñez Sánchez, Martí Ibáñez's mother, tries to console her son six months after his father's death. She acknowledges that she is not writing down the name of her husband to avoid interception of the letter by the regime's censors.<sup>33</sup> Martí Ibáñez was often depressed by such cautious and occasional communication.<sup>34</sup> In October 1949, Martí Ibáñez traveled to Europe and saw his mother and other relatives in Nice, France, but he was unable to return to Spain. The meeting was held in secrecy to avoid any dictatorial retaliation against his loved ones once they were back in Spain.<sup>35</sup> In those years of deprivation and exile, Martí Ibáñez's fiction and medical publishing would become acts of individual assertion and literary rearticulation of his anarchist ideals and of transatlantic resistance to fascism.

Not until the 1950s was Martí Ibáñez able to start materializing his dreams with the founding of MD Publications Incorporated, with the mission to bring the humanities to doctors and doctors' offices. Hernán Poza Juncal, MD Spanish board editor, notes in a letter to J. Millán Otero in Barcelona that Martí Ibáñez is "a true son of his parents . . . possessing absolute faith in his own destiny and steadfast resolve to uphold the honor of his family name."<sup>36</sup> The 1950s was, in fact, a decade of prosperity for Martí Ibáñez. Martí Ibáñez and Henry Welch, founders of MD Publications Incorporated, launched the *MD Medical Newsmagazines* in 1957. With four editions, *MD of Canada*, *MD en Español*, *MD Pacific*, and *MD Australia*, it became one of the most celebrated cultural magazines for doctors during this period.<sup>37</sup>

Martí Ibáñez's editorial career suffered a setback when the science editor of *Saturday Review*, John Lear, broached the subject of conflict of interest because Dr. Welch, chief regulator for drug manufacturers, was a member of the editorial board of two antibiotics journals under MD Publications, *Antibiotics and Chemotherapy* and *Antibiotic Medicine and Clinical Therapy*.<sup>38</sup> In response to the accusation that Welch used his government position to influence the acceptance of certain antibiotics

with the publishing of *MD*, Martí Ibáñez wrote a passionate reply in *Antibiotics and Chemotherapy* to assert that his “two great loves” were medical history and medical journalism.<sup>39</sup> His response centers on what his editorial management entails: “My greatest satisfaction derives from conceiving and developing new ideas and imaginative writing.”<sup>40</sup> Martí Ibáñez believes that medicine and literature are entwined; literature sharpens one’s mind and powers of observation. His dignified reply continues, “All of this I shall answer in the only way I know how, in the same way and with the same dignity I answered the greatest crisis in my life, when, as a result of the Spanish Civil War, I lost my native country, my home, my father, my medical practice, all worldly possessions, and, for eleven long years, even all personal contact with my mother—I will answer by working harder and better than ever before, always at the service of the medical profession.” Also, he adds that doctors, as healers of the human mind and body, are, in fact, actors of world peace.<sup>41</sup> According to Martí Ibáñez’s response, both literature and medicine enrich the well-being of humanity.

Scholars continue to ponder Martí Ibáñez’s transformation from leader of the Spanish Revolution to successful editor in the United States.<sup>42</sup> The examination of his first decade in exile and the response to his career setback provides insights into the responsibility he felt toward the well-being of his family, toward the legacy of his family name, and toward the Spanish Revolution, knowing that all was censored in Francoist historiography, as were his own achievements during the Spanish Civil War. Martí Ibáñez’s talent to lead for societal change adapted to the limitations of Cold War times. He possibly realized that his success in New York could surpass Francoist censorship and *MD* Magazines could internationally reestablish his family name and bring attention to his work. Finally, his public recognition possibly acted as a political shield against any wrongdoings to his family in Spain.

### **“Transatlantic Trenches”: The Press, Modern Science, Introspection, and Dialectics**

After his arrival to the United States in 1939, Martí Ibáñez edited two issues of *Ariel* (Los Angeles, September–October 1939), a magazine about

the Spanish Civil War and its exiles commissioned by the anarchist organization SIA.<sup>43</sup> José Vicente Martí and Antonio Rey see Martí Ibáñez's editorship of *Ariel* as the key to understanding his transformation into a medical editor in the United States, since he published articles about medicine there.<sup>44</sup> Following Martí and Rey, I see Martí Ibáñez's 1940s opinion columns in *España Libre* as testament to his developing interest in fiction as an aesthetic transatlantic trench. The author contributed at least 100 opinion columns and short stories to the newspaper in the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>45</sup>

In one of his early *España Libre* columns, "Sinfonías del español anónimo" (Symphonies of the Anonymous Spaniard), Martí Ibáñez uses the metaphor "transatlantic trenches" to define the antifascist resistance from the Americas. The press, modern science, and introspection constitute the fronts to fight for people's freedom.<sup>46</sup> Such media was not new to Martí Ibáñez. Since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, literary and scientific journalism of high quality was part of the print culture of the country.<sup>47</sup> Thinkers who wrote for the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (Free Educational Institution, 1876–1936) continued this essayistic tradition, educating workers who would read their articles at athenaeums and cultural organizations. Educated by such intellectuals, Martí Ibáñez himself gained popularity in anarchist circles for his essays on eugenics, sexuality, psychoanalysis, and the history of medicine found in anarchist magazines.<sup>48</sup> Early on Martí Ibáñez learned to appreciate the political importance of disseminating culture and science. Science was popularized as the modern key that would free Spanish people from the social and political limitations of Catholic monarchic rule.

In the column "Hombres de Fe" (Men of Good Will), Martí Ibáñez reaffirms his belief in the press as an instrument of revolution:

Nosotros los españoles que hemos construido la Revolución Española, y no en teoría, sino en la práctica, y desde todos sus ángulos—laboratorios, despachos, trincheras, tribunas, periódicos, libros, parapetos.

[We Spaniards have made the Spanish revolution, not theoretically, but in practice, and in every possible medium—laboratories, offices, trenches, platforms, newspapers, books, barricades.]<sup>49</sup>

Not surprisingly, Martí Ibáñez dedicated a column to paying tribute to Andrés Rodríguez Barbeito, Jacinto Toryho, and Antonio de la Villa, anarchist and socialist journalists in exile.<sup>50</sup> In 1964, he funded the annual Martí Ibáñez Scholarship (\$1,500) for Columbia University students of journalism.<sup>51</sup>

In his column entitled “La voz de la soledad” (The Voice of Solitude), published in April 1940, Martí Ibáñez elaborates on the quintessential theme of exile literature: solitude.<sup>52</sup> However, Martí Ibáñez does not recreate the nostalgia of the land or the isolation of being uprooted, as is customary of the genre. Instead, he argues that the profound loneliness that exiles feel is, in fact, a vital opportunity for introspection, which permits them to work on individual goals: “antes de hacer grande un pueblo, hagamos grandes los hombres que han de liberarlo” (before making a nation great, we need first to make great the people who will liberate it).<sup>53</sup> Martí Ibáñez here proposes introspection for personal growth and to rediscover the world after the revolutionary failure of the Spanish Civil War. He follows his own advice with the writing of his *España Libre* opinion columns “Cuaderno de bitácora” (Blog, or Notes). Such a title allows for a certain haphazard quality of the texts that contrast with readers’ expectations of a carefully crafted argument. Moreover, “Cuaderno de bitácora” also means a “captain’s log,” in which heading, speed, maneuvers, and other data of navigation are noted. The heading reveals his reflective process about the fictional approach that would play a part in his “transatlantic trenches.”

### From Antifascist Myths to Dialectics

In *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film*, Barker differentiates two antifascist aesthetic approaches: one that challenges fascist mythmaking with antifascist myths and another that does so with satire and self-interrogating realism.<sup>54</sup> Over time, Martí Ibáñez adjusted his antifascist approach in similar ways to those summarized by Barker. As expected in an exile newspaper, his early columns discussed the Spanish Civil War events, the Second World War, the Second Spanish Republic, and the homeland. For example, his column published on 19 July 1940 shares a series of *estampas* (vignettes) about the Spanish Civil War from his novel

*Aventura* (Adventure, 1938).<sup>55</sup> The novel builds up solidarity between actual fighters against fascism and diasporic readers by appealing to their senses of vision, smell, touch, and hearing: “desgrana la ametralladora” (the machine-gun threshes its deadly grain), “rodilla en tierra” (knee to the ground), “hombro contra hombro” (shoulder to shoulder), “fusiles que calientan las manos” (rifles hot in one’s hands), “puños prietos” (clenched fists), and “pechos al viento” (chest to the wind).<sup>56</sup> The recurrence of these phrases reminds the reader of the firing sounds in the battlefield. By awakening the readers’ senses through the content and form of his prose, the author makes readers feel the struggle for freedom in the battlefield. In the excerpted scene, the physical and psychological descriptions of a militiaman and a militiawoman continue to emotionally engage readers when the couple die in combat: “valor en el pecho, dignidad en la frente” (courage in the chest, dignity in the forehead). Then, the author converts readers’ engagement with the protagonists into an unchanging, irreducible, and heroic emotion by imagining them forever united in a “trágica boda de sangre” (tragic, bloody wedding).<sup>57</sup> The author mythicizes their deaths by transforming them into an eternal symbol that will continue to underscore for readers the archetype of common people fighting against fascism.

Although the messy and mythical Spanish Civil War preoccupies the author at his arrival in the United States, soon his columns in *España Libre* turn introspective in nature. As Barker notes, “The realities of repressive politics make the aims of documentation and realistic representation a requirement, but one that is best served by the utilization of dialectical inquiry and modernist and postmodernist strategies in order to avoid simply creating another oppressive master narrative.”<sup>58</sup> After the Spanish Revolution, Martí Ibáñez turned to the capacity of literature to generate empathy and critical analysis, both qualities invaluable in questioning fascism and generating possibilities. In *Philosophy and Literature in Times of Crisis*, Michael Mack argues that literary theory has mainly focused on the capacity of literature to disrupt the status quo. By altering patterns of perception and engaging our imagination and emotions, literature goes beyond the subversion of the status quo—it articulates alternatives.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Martí Ibáñez perceived imaginative writing as a matrix for fostering new ideas that would counteract fascist and totalitarian rule. His

*España Libre* opinion columns show the author’s search for the dialectical nature of literature.

### Dialectical Fiction

In his column “El centenario olvidado” (The Forgotten Centenary), Martí Ibáñez explores literature as the realm within which to recreate foreseeing frames of mind.<sup>60</sup> The author evokes the figure of Émile Zola, an author often reprinted in anarchist newspapers, to continue his discussion about the revolutionary appeal of fiction.<sup>61</sup> Martí Ibáñez recalls that young Zola was advised not to pursue a career as a writer because he was poor; however, Zola continued writing. For Martí Ibáñez, Zola exemplifies how art saves both readers and writers from adverse circumstances. In this light, literature foretells of a world of freedom and equality. Such a prefigurative quality, one that devises new ideas and projects possibilities, is one characteristic of anarchist articulation, according to Cohn.<sup>62</sup> Beyond the aesthetic comfort it provides, fiction helps readers to critically assess their reality and their possibilities. Plots and characters tap into our cognitive and emotive skills in similar ways to what reality would do, allowing for a thinking and emotional virtual playground. As is visible in his columns and as I will show by looking at two of his short stories, Martí Ibáñez perceives creative writing as a medium to generate liberating ideas for both readers and writers.

The author also explores the dialectical quality of literature as a source of emancipatory power in his column “Los hombres de buena voluntad” (Men of Good Will). Martí Ibáñez cites Jules Romains as an example of a fiction writer who “hace el esfuerzo de retratar literariamente un mundo” (makes the effort to literarily photograph the world) and in doing so “muestra la belleza oculta de la vida” (show its hidden beauty).<sup>63</sup> Martí Ibáñez argues that the reader enjoys beauty through the eyes of others because literature has the power to provide the reader with multiple perceptions of reality. In his opinion columns, Martí Ibáñez argues for the revolutionary force of literature because it encourages a dialectical understanding of reality.

Both anarchist and antifascist literature share the dialectical quality that Martí Ibáñez is searching in literature. Anarchist literature is known

for disarticulating representation thorough a “dialectic of identification and disidentification.”<sup>64</sup> As Sandra Jeppersen argues, “anarchist literature has as its task a radical break with conventional perceptions . . . extending the limits of the possible.”<sup>65</sup> Therefore, the dialectical principle for anarchist writers such as Martí Ibáñez is not about representing reality but about enlarging perceptions of reality with dialectical consciousness. Moreover, exile literature brings about contradictory forces and often opposing circumstances.<sup>66</sup> While a binary logic privileges one opposition over the other, dialectical thinking “penetrates into the processual identity of the opposites.”<sup>67</sup> Instead of absolutes, dialectical literature delivers transitory, ironic, two-directional juxtapositions. For this reason Cohn chooses the symbol of an underground tunnel to describe anarchist culture. It is produced in movement, in physical and metaphysical migrations.<sup>68</sup>

The combination of exile, antifascist, and anarchist influences in resilience aesthetics articulates characters and plots in contradictory, fragmentary, localized, and contingent conditions. Resilience aesthetics interrogate representation while engaging with new affective possibilities and, subsequently, undermine subjugating myths of unity, power, and perfection. In the aforementioned *España Libre* columns, Martí Ibáñez argues that rather than succumbing to nostalgia, the wistful affection for the past, Spaniards should learn in exile to revisit the world dialectically.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the author brands the resilience rhetoric pervasive throughout *España Libre*.

### “Presagio de Berchtesgaden”

“Presagio de Berchtesgaden” (Premonition in Berchtesgaden) stretches over three submissions published in February 1940.<sup>70</sup> It tells the story of Hitler’s premonition during his retreat in Berchtesgaden. The setting was of significance to the Spanish Civil War exile readership because Hitler held a meeting with Francisco Franco’s brother-in-law, Ramón Serrano Suñer, in Berchtesgaden on 18 November 1940. Operation Felix was the codename for a proposed German seizure of Gibraltar during World War II. At Hendaye, France, Franco and Hitler signed a memorandum of understanding that marked the unsuccessful negotiation, neither side getting what it wanted.<sup>71</sup>

“Presagio” starts with a description of Hitler’s residence, Berghof, and the views of the Bavarian Alps. Hitler is given the agenda items for the day by a secretary, and while glancing over reports and signing them, he notices one in particular. Adolfo Walter, a young Jewish author who fought in the Spanish Civil War, has been detained for being a dangerous socialist and carrying forbidden books, among them those of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The prisoner is waiting outside his office with official Gestapo reporters “para dar cierta publicidad a la entrevista” (to publish the interrogation).<sup>72</sup> Hitler looks at the young boy and notices his own reflection in the prisoner’s eyes: “En las pupilas de su enemigo cree verse el tirano reflejado” (In the pupils of his enemy, the tyrant is reduced to his own reflection).<sup>73</sup> After Hitler reads the indictment aloud, he asks the prisoner to confess. The young boy tells Hitler that he has fought for his Germany, the country of Goethe, Schiller, and Beethoven. Only piety and culture can make Germany great. Hitler asks his guard to take the prisoner away and kill him. The boy replies that people’s desire for freedom will not be stopped.

Up to this point, “Presagio” echoes the heroic dignity of *Aventura*, in which common people perform valiant deeds against all odds. However, the story now takes a turn into introspection and dialectical understanding of reality. After the encounter, Hitler keeps remembering the incident. Secretly he asks to keep the prisoner alive because he is afraid that the boy has given him the evil eye. Hitler feels unnerved and looks out of the window to empty his mind. He spots an eagle rising in flight up the valley: “Batiendo las alas lentamente asciende en los aires un águila majestuosa. ¡Aquello es él, es Alemania, es su Imperio!” (Slowly flapping its wings, a majestic eagle rises into the air. That is him, it is Germany, it is his Empire!).<sup>74</sup> However, the bird is shot down: “Un batir agónico del ave negra en barrena, con sus heridas o su mal, hasta desaparecer entre los picachos” (The agonizing wing-beats of the eagle tumbling wounded, until it vanishes among the peaks).<sup>75</sup> Hitler sees the sight as an omen of his downfall.

This short story counteracts fascist ideology by forcing Hitler to experience reality from the prisoner’s perspective. Hitler’s remembrance of his own angered face as a mere reflection in the prisoner’s eyes and the prisoner’s impassionate words have affected him. The inconsistencies

between Hitler's inner thoughts and actions undermine the pretended perfection of fascist power and humanize the leader. Hitler experiences the story through the mirrored perspective of himself. As readers, we experience the story through Hitler's feelings. Emotion is a result of relating to others, and it opens new possibilities of affectively and experimentally understanding reality, even when the receiver does not welcome the experience or the perspective. The double perspectives and the lack of narrative resolution render a more complex appreciation of reality. The dialectical display of perspectives enhances the questioning of established paradigms, which in turn results in the possibility of understanding, empathy, and solidarity. Such dialectical arrangement is a rhetoric tool against the mob mystique of totalizing or fascist forces.

"Presagio" is about self-awareness through the collective, a principle shared by Spanish anarchist thinkers with whom Martí Ibáñez was familiar, such as Ricardo Mella. For Mella, humans as social beings find their true potential in collective interaction with others.<sup>76</sup> In Martí Ibáñez's novel *Yo, rebelde*, the protagonist argues in favor of the potential of collectivity for the individual: "La grandeza suprema del individuo se alcanza en la colectividad" (The supreme greatness of the individual is achieved in collectivity).<sup>77</sup> Although Martí Ibáñez avoids referring to anarchism specifically, Cohn notes that Martí Ibáñez's later fiction written in the United States connotes the libertarian dream because it recreates a "poetic world" where strangers unite and aid one another to fulfill their dreams.<sup>78</sup> In a similar vein, "Presagio" connotes transformative, albeit contingent, interactions with others. Martí Ibáñez interconnects perspectives and resists making up the world for readers. Instead, he invites them to deconstruct representation.

### **"Episodio en Londres"**

"Episodio en Londres" (Episode in London) is encompassed by two entries in March 1940.<sup>79</sup> The story starts with the description of an English lord getting ready for his parliamentary session in London. His secretary has prepared literary quotes to use in his parliamentary address. The lord likes one in particular, that of Francis Bacon: "Cualquier voz extraña puede ser en un momento la voz de tu propia consciencia" (Any strange

voice can be the voice of your conscience).<sup>80</sup> In the parliament's public gallery stands Spanish refugee Juan Arnall. He had a small print shop in Spain until bombs destroyed it and killed his family. After he joined the Loyalist army, Juan would sit in his trench at night and remember his print shop and the bloody dust where his wife died. The Quakers helped him to get to London and work in a Quaker's print shop after the war.

The lord argues that England can aid Spain by helping to restore the monarchy. Juan Arnall shouts, "¡Mentira! . . . ¡traidor!" (That is a lie! . . . traitor!). For stirring this commotion, the refugee is asked to leave the premises.<sup>81</sup> "Episodio" repeats the structure of "Presagio." At first we encounter common people fighting incredible odds. However, the heroic mode again changes into introspection. After the incident, the lord has trouble resuming his address: "el orador está sudoroso y las palabras se atropellan en sus labios . . . algo se le ha anudado en el corazón" (the speaker is sweating and stumbles over his words . . . something had deeply wounded his heart).<sup>82</sup> At that moment, the lord remembers Bacon's phrase, "Any strange voice can be the voice of your conscience." The climax of the story is another case of self-awareness through others. The dignity of the refugee's cry for help affects the lord. The story enunciates anarchist values that represent the individual as a product of collective forces.

With "Episodio," Martí Ibáñez proposes contingent and multiple perspectives as a transformative force to combat complacency toward fascist rule and counteracts fascist dehumanization with affective identification. Engagement with the reader does not rely on the grand action of the protagonist but on its effect, characters are forced to experience reality through others' eyes—a dialectic embodied in the text itself. The antifascist sensibility proposes individual introspection and observance of multiple perspectives to combat fascism.

Martí Ibáñez's "Presagio" and "Episodio" enact possibility through interaction with others. Both short stories show Martí Ibáñez's evolution away from the mythical and heroic narration of *Yo, rebelde* and *Aventura* toward a dialectical and introspective mode. Barker notes that the trajectory of antifascist aesthetics in the twentieth century becomes an alternate strand of postmodernism, "a postmodern humanism, in which humanism survives the eviscerations of modern fragmentation and fascist dehumanization."<sup>83</sup> After the grand vitality of *Yo, rebelde* and *Aventura*, Martí Ibáñez's first two

short stories in exile affirm the possibility of social transformation by circumstantial yet significant interconnectedness. Even if unwilling or momentarily, characters' affective responses opposes fascist dehumanization.

## Conclusion

Martí Ibáñez's early opinion columns "Cuaderno de bitácora" in *España Libre* in the early 1940s mythologize common people who fight for democracy in the Spanish Civil War and under Francisco Franco's dictatorship. In the subsequent stories, the author asserts the belief in the possibility of improving the human condition without demanding the uniformity of grand narratives. Instead, he proposes characters that share fortuitous but transformative encounters. "Presagio de Berchtesgaden" and "Episodio en Londres" testify to how, within a year of his exile to the United States, Martí Ibáñez's fiction evolves toward a dialectical and introspective fiction. These two short stories show the author's new transatlantic dialectical consciousness that resists homogenous representation. Interdependence, recognition, and affective identification in the short stories foreshadow a more intersectional world. Through their resilience aesthetics, Martí Ibáñez's short stories become an act of healing and hope for his readers.

Félix Martí Ibáñez's narrative journalism in *España Libre* also documents the relationship of educated middle-class intellectuals within migrant networks in exile. Martí Ibáñez's short stories, "Presagio" and "Episodio," with a convergence of antifascist, anarchist, and exile characteristics, illustrate the hidden social context in which texts and ideas circulated when the anarcho-intellectual arrived in the United States and the Confederadas welcomed him. Forming their own alternative press, earlier Spanish migrants and exiled labor leaders participated in a vigorous transnational counterculture that flourished at the height of the Cold War and lasted until the last day of the Francisco Franco dictatorship. *España Libre* denounced fascism and totalitarianism and helped refugees and political prisoners to maintain working-class culture while in exile. After his 1940s contributions in *España Libre*, Martí Ibáñez transformed his public and professional persona in the United States; however, his international success as *MD* editor also constituted a public affront to Francoism. It evidenced the exile of the anarchist intelligentsia.

Certainly, Martí Ibáñez’s short stories had a significant role in the survival of anarchist culture in exile and under the dictatorship. Revered by *España Libre* readers, his literature also shows the contribution of anarchist narrative in the fight against fascism. “Presagio” and “Episodio” counteract the fascist and Francoist myths of perfection, power, and regenerative death. Instead, they demonstrate the need to document, validate diversity, and connect with others to eradicate fascist values from society. His two short stories are examples of the complex and rich literature of the Spanish Civil War anarchist exiles in the United States, still to be fully studied. While Martí Ibáñez’s 1940s fiction embodies an anarchist ideal that refuses to leave the trenches in the context of antifascism and exile, his later fiction in the 1950s and 1960s introduces more commercial considerations for his *MD* audience; nonetheless, it continued to open his readers’ minds to choices, an action that, in itself, was a revolutionary trench from which to eradicate fascist tendencies.

## NOTES

I thank Jesse Cohn, Maria Hasler-Barker, Jason Patton, Ervin Malakaj, and the editors of the *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* for their generous feedback in my drafting and revisions of this article. Any errors or shortcomings are mine.

1. José Vicente Martí and Antonio M. Rey González, “Breve biografía del doctor Félix Martí Ibáñez,” in Félix Martí Ibáñez, *Antología de textos de Félix Martí Ibáñez*, ed. José Vicente Martí and Antonio M. Rey González (Valencia, Spain: Generalitat Valenciana. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport, 2004), 21–42.
2. Some of Félix Martí Ibáñez’s essays were reprinted in several collections published in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. *Men, Molds, and History* (1958), *Medicine in the Spain of Don Quijote* (1958), *Centaur: Essays on the History of Medical Ideas* (1958), *Surco; ensayos sobre literatura, historia de la medicina, arte y psicología* (1960), *Ariel: Essays on the Arts and the History and Philosophy of Medicine* (1962), *The Crystal Arrow: Essays on Literature, Travel, Art, Love, and the History of Medicine* (1964)—translated as *La flecha de cristal; ensayos sobre literatura, viajes, arte, amor y la historia de la medicina* (1970), *The Ship in the Bottle, and Other Essays* (1964), *Tales of Philosophy* (1967)—translated into Spanish as *El barco en la botella y otros ensayos* (1972); *Journey Around Myself, Impressions and Tales of Travels Around the World: Japan, Hong Kong, Macao, Bangkok*,

- Angkor, Lebanon* (1966)—translated into Spanish as *Viaje alrededor de mi mismo* (1967), *The Adventure of Art* (1970), and *The Mirror of Souls, and Other Essays* (1972). His anthologies of short stories are *Waltz, and Other Stories* (1952)—translated as *De noche brilla el sol* (1966), and *Los buscadores de sueños. Trece cuentos de maravilla y prodigio* (1953)—translated as *All the Wonders We Seek; Thirteen Tales of Surprise and Prodigy* (1963). Cohn also notes some of Martí Ibáñez's short stories were originally published in *Magazine of Fantasy and Science-Fiction* and in *Weird Tales*. Jesse Cohn, *Underground Passages: Anarchist Resistance Culture 1848–2011* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2014), 186.
3. There is ample recent scholarship on anarchism. I can only here refer to a few recent publications that have captured this developing academic interest, such as the journal *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, launched in 2010; Jacob Blumenfeld, Chiara Bottici, and Simon Critchley, eds., *The Anarchist Turn* (London: Pluto Press, 2013); special section: Anarchism, *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2011); *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 4, no. 2 (Fall 2010); and Benjamin Hutchens, ed., special issue: The Future of Anarchism, *SubStance* 36, no. 2 (2007).
  4. Although his exile short stories are still to be studied, there is an extensive bibliography on Martí Ibáñez's medical practice and writings in Spain and in the United States. See Martí and González, "Bibliografía," in *Antología de textos de Félix Martí Ibáñez*, 43–58.
  5. *Yo, rebelde* is a romantic coming-of-age novel set in an insipient revolutionary Spain. Martí Ibáñez finds his role in life heroically fighting for workers' rights. In *Aventura*, Martí Ibáñez and his young friends defend the Second Spanish Republic during the first weeks of the Spanish Civil War.
  6. Comité Antifascista Español de los Estados Unidos de Norte América and Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas de los Estados Unidos de Norte América, *España Libre* (Brooklyn, NY: Comité Antifascista Español de los Estados Unidos, 1939–77).
  7. Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 7.
  8. Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 185–88.
  9. Jennifer Lynde Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film: Radical Projection* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 25.
  10. Michael Mack, *Philosophy and Literature in Times of Crisis* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014) 15, 16, 45, 204.
  11. See Cohn, *Underground Passages*; and Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film*.
  12. Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 390.
  13. Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film*, 16.

14. Imprecise official figures, clandestine immigration channels, and lack of ethnic differentiation among Hispanics have hampered research about the Spanish Civil War exile to the United States. Likewise, these factors have obstructed studies of previous migrations. Despite these complications, Sánchez Alonso and James D. Fernandez have determined that Spanish migration to the United States was at its height at the turn of the twentieth century, the number of immigrants at that time being greater than the total number of Spaniards who came to the Americas between 1492 and 1880. See Blanca Sánchez Alonso, *Las causas de la emigración española, 1880–1930* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1995); and James Fernández, “El descubrimiento de España en Nueva York, circa 1930,” in *Brevísima relación de la construcción de España y otros ensayos transatlánticos* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2013), 163–87.
15. Translations are mine. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Precisiones sobre el anarquismo español en Norteamérica,” *Cultura Proletaria*, 10 December 1938, 2. *Arte Público Hispanic Historical Collection: Series 2* digital collection.
16. Martí Ibáñez, “Precisiones sobre el anarquismo español en Norteamérica,” 2.
17. Martí Ibáñez, “Precisiones sobre el anarquismo español en Norteamérica,” 2.
18. Figures stated in *España Libre*: “Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation,” *España Libre*, 9 October 1953, 4; 7 October 1955, 4; 20 October 1961, 4; 5 March 1965, 4; 3 September 1965, 4; 10 September 1967, 4; September–October 1969, 4; September–October 1970, 4; September–October 1971, 4; September–October 1972, 4; August–December 1973, 7; August–October 1974, 2; October–December 1975, 4. José Nieto Ruiz, telephone interview, 29 March 2014; Jesús González Malo, letter to Josep Buiria, 6 January 1965, and González Malo, letter to Carlos Esplá, 20 September 1964, Jesús González Malo Papers, Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections, Brandeis University.
19. Correspondence, box 14; correspondence, box 88; internal communications, box 108, *España Libre* Collection, Robert D. Farber University Archives and Special Collections, Brandeis University.
20. Jesús González Malo, FBI Case 100-HQ-105493, Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration; and González Malo, letter to Helmut Rüdiger, 4 July 1964, Jesús González Malo Papers.
21. In November 1939, the Confederadas separated from its Communist members and changed the name of the newspaper from *Frente Popular* to *España Libre*.
22. For more on the CNT and UGT in exile, see Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), and *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States*

- (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2006); José Borrás, *Políticas de los exiliados españoles* (París: Ruedo Ibérico, 1976); Montse Feu, “*España Libre* (1939–1977) and the Spanish Exile Community in New York” (Ph.D. diss., University of Houston, 2011), 82; and Ángel Herrerín López, *La CNT durante el franquismo. Clandestinidad y exilio (1939–1975)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2004).
23. González Malo, FBI Case 100-HQ-105493; Carlos Esplà Rizo, Pedro Luís Angosto, and Encarna Fernández, *Mi vida hecha cenizas: Diarios 1920–1965* (Seville, Spain: Renacimiento, 2004), 310; and Montse Feu, *Correspondencia personal y política de un anarcosindicalista exiliado: Jesús González Malo (1950–1965)* (Santander, Spain: Colección Cuatro Estaciones. Universidad de Cantabria, 2016), 6–8.
  24. For more details on the role of these editors in anarchist and antifascist culture in exile, see Montse Feu, *Correspondencia personal y política*; Montse Feu, “José Castilla Morales y *España Libre* (1939–1977): sátira contra la dictadura de Francisco Franco desde Henry Street, Brooklyn,” *Migraciones and Exilios. Cuadernos AEMIC* 14 (2014): 87–104; and Montse Feu, “José Nieto, Last Exile from the Francisco Franco Dictatorship, CNT Militant, Found Refuge in New York,” translation of Carlos García Santa Cecilia and Montse Feu, “José Nieto, último exiliado del franquismo, militante de la CNT, hizo de Nueva York su refugio,” *fronterad*, 20–26 February 2015, <http://www.fronterad.com/?q=jose-nieto-ultimo-exiliado-franquismo-militante-cnt-hizo-nueva-york-su-refugio>.
  25. Although Martí Ibáñez kept in good terms with the Spanish government-in-exile, in 1971, he rejected the offer made by its president, Fernando Valera, to be the minister in the United States. Félix Martí Ibáñez, letter to Fernando Valera, 30 September 1971, Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 32, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Also, his writing interests shifted in the late 1950s to topics such as the medical humanities and traveling.
  26. See Josep Lluís Barona Villar, “Introducción: Félix Martí Ibáñez: Los dos rostros de un triunfador,” in Martí and González, *Antología de textos de Félix Martí Ibáñez*, 13–20.
  27. Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 114, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. However, several individuals helped Martí Ibáñez. For instance, John W. Hart from the Sterling Winthrop Research Institute became a father figure for him in the United States.
  28. Martí Ibáñez, letter to María Martí Ibáñez, 13 April 1942, Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 114, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
  29. Martí Ibáñez, letter to María Martí Ibáñez.
  30. Martí Ibáñez, letter to María Martí Ibáñez.
  31. Martí Ibáñez, letter to María Martí Ibáñez.

32. Martí Ibáñez, letter to María Martí Ibáñez.
33. Josefina Ibáñez Sánchez de Martí, letter to Félix Martí-Ibáñez, 19 August 1946, Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 114, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
34. Josefina Ibáñez Sánchez de Martí, letter to Félix Martí Ibáñez, 25 January 1951, Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 68, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
35. Martí Ibáñez only tells the secrets plans to his “American father,” John W. Hart. Félix Martí Ibáñez, letter to John W. Hart, 14 October 1949, Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 119, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
36. Hernán Poza Juncal, letter to J. Millán Otero, 26 January 1960, Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 119, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
37. In addition, Martí Ibáñez and Welch produced a wide array of professional medical journals under the *MD Publications* and *Medical Encyclopedia* banners in the 1950s, including *MD Monographs on Medical History, Antibiotics and Chemotherapy, Antibiotic Medicine and Clinical Therapy*, and *Antibiotics Annual*. I am indebted to Jesse Cohn for this section on Martí Ibáñez’s biography as medical editor and the scandal about his editorship. A forthcoming study with Jesse Cohn will further explore Martí Ibáñez’s fiction writing. Some of our findings were presented as Jesse Cohn and Montse Feu, “Félix Martí Ibáñez in America: The (Guilty) Pleasures of Exile?” (paper, Annual Meeting of the American Studies Association, Los Angeles, CA, 6–9 November 2014).
38. See Scott H. Podolsky and Jeremy A. Green, “Are the Medical Humanities for Sale? Lessons from a Historical Debate,” *Journal of Medical Humanities* (2014), *MEDLINE EBSCOhost* (accessed November 23, 2015); and Richard E. McFadyen, “The FDA’s Regulation and Control of Antibiotics in the 1950s; The Henry Welch Scandal, Felix Marti-Ibanez, and Charles Pfizer and Co.,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 53, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 159–69.
39. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “A Message to Our Readers,” *Antibiotics and Chemotherapy* 10, no. 7 (July 1960): 401–4, 403.
40. Martí Ibáñez, “A Message to Our Readers,” 403, 404. Despite the accusation of conflicting interests, Martí Ibáñez continued to popularize medical science for a wider U.S. audience with his internationalist and humanistic approach. The exile doctor also published in *Cosmopolitan*, *Gentry*, *Art and Architecture*, *Town and Country*, and *Esquire* to mention a few. Cohn and Feu, “Félix Martí Ibáñez in America.”
41. Martí Ibáñez, “Interview with Myself,” *MD Magazine* 15 (April–May 1978): 1–18.
42. See Martí and González, *Antología de textos de Félix Martí Ibáñez*; and Cohn and Feu, “Félix Martí Ibáñez in America.”
43. Martí Ibáñez, *Antología de textos de Félix Martí Ibáñez*, 63.

44. Martí Ibáñez, *Antología de textos de Félix Martí Ibáñez*, 64.
45. Félix Martí-Ibáñez Papers, box 68, card index boxes 56–67, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
46. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Sinfonías del español anónimo,” *España Libre*, 3 November 1939, 4–8. This first essay in *España Libre* is a reprint from the above-mentioned magazine, *Ariel*.
47. Also, the convulsive political climate in Spain limited the development of political journalism.
48. In *Underground Passages*, Cohn mentions *Estudios*, *Tiempos Nuevos*, and *Ruta* (160).
49. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Hombres de Fe,” *España Libre*, 2 February 1940, 2–3.
50. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. La lección inolvidable,” *España Libre*, 2 August 1940, 4–5. *Arte Público Hispanic Historical Collection: Series 1* digital collection.
51. “Columbia Awards,” *New York Times*, 29 November 1964, 67, *ProQuest Historical Newspapers* digital archive.
52. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. La voz de la soledad,” *España Libre*, 26 April 1940, 3.
53. Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. La voz de la soledad,” 3.
54. Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film*, 17–18.
55. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Julio,” *España Libre*, 19 July 1940, 3.
56. Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Julio,” 3.
57. Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Julio,” 3. I thank Jesse Cohn, who generously suggested these translations.
58. Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film*, 26.
59. See Mack, *Philosophy and Literature in Times of Crisis*, 5.
60. Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. El centenario olvidado,” *España Libre*, 28 June 1940, 6.
61. Cohn mentions the name of Zola is to be found frequently in the anarchist press; *Underground Passages*, 50.
62. Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 17.
63. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Los hombres de buena voluntad,” *España Libre*, 26 July 1940, 6.
64. Cohn, *Anarchism and the Crisis of Representation* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), 177.
65. Sandra Jeppersen, “Becoming Anarchist: The Function of Anarchist Literature,” *Art and Anarchy* 2 (2011): 189–213, 201.
66. See Sophia MacClennen, *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language, and Space in Hispanic Literatures* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2004), 38–40.

67. Henri Wald, *Introduction to Dialectical Logic*, vol. 14, *Philosophical Currents* (Bucharest, Romania: Editura Academiei, 1975), 194.
68. Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 391.
69. Martí Ibáñez, “La voz de la soledad,” 3.
70. Martí Ibáñez’s short stories and opinion columns form part of a corpus that I am recovering and analyzing. The Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project continues to digitalize and preserve the rich U.S. Hispanic print culture existent before the 1960s. Both short stories are available in the Arte Público Hispanic Historical Collections hosted at EBSCO and in the Hispanic American Newspapers Database. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Presagio de Berchtesgaden,” *España Libre*, 9 February 1940, 2; Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Presagio de Berchtesgaden,” *España Libre*, 16 February 1940, 3; and Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Presagio de Berchtesgaden,” *España Libre*, 23 February 1940, 3, 8. *Arte Público Hispanic Historical Collection: Series 1* digital collection.
71. Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism in Spain, 1923–1977* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 336.
72. Martí Ibáñez, “Presagio,” 16 February 1940, 3.
73. Martí Ibáñez, “Presagio,” 16 February 1940, 3.
74. Martí Ibáñez, “Presagio,” 23 February 1940, 8.
75. Martí Ibáñez, “Presagio,” 23 February 1940, 8.
76. Antón Fernández Álvarez, *Ricardo Mella o el anarquismo humanista* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1990), 120.
77. Félix Martí Ibáñez, *Yo, rebelde* (Valencia, Spain: Biblioteca de Estudios, 1936).
78. Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 161, 163, 164.
79. Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Episodio en Londres,” *España Libre*, 15 March 1940, 9. *Arte Público Hispanic Historical Collection: Series 1* digital collection; and Félix Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Episodio en Londres,” *España Libre*, 22 March 1940, 9. *Arte Público Hispanic Historical Collection: Series 1* digital collection.
80. Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Episodio en Londres,” *España Libre*, 15 March 1940, 9. My translation. I have been unable to locate the quote that Martí Ibáñez attributes to Bacon.
81. Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Episodio en Londres,” *España Libre*, 22 March 1940, 3.
82. Martí Ibáñez, “Cuaderno de bitácora. Episodio en Londres,” *España Libre*, 22 March 1940, 9.
83. Barker, *The Aesthetics of Antifascist Film*, 25.