

October 1934

Spanish revolutionary exile in France (1934-1936)

ABSTRACT

The exodus provoked by the Civil War (1936-1939) is, due to its magnitude, the principal field of study on Spanish exile. Nevertheless, during the Spanish Republic in peacetime (1931-1936), different exiles took place which have not raised as much interest within the historiography. This is the case of those that had to flee Spain after being involved in the October Revolution of 1934. They were anonymous activists, the middle ranks, and also well-known leaders of the working-class movement, many of whom would play an important role during the time of the Popular Front, the Civil War and exile. In order to carry out this study, the archives of the five French *départements* bordering Spain, the *Archives Nationales* and the *Archives de la Préfecture de Police* in Paris were consulted. That facilitated identifying two hundred and seventy-five refugees, as well as understanding important aspects of their route towards exile, how they crossed the border, what their the journey was and the vicissitudes they experienced in French territory and what the conduct of the French authorities was.

KEYWORDS

Second Spanish Republic, Third French Republic, October Revolution of 1934, exile.

Introduction

The hundreds of natural passes that connect the northern and southern sides of the Pyrenees have through history allowed demographic, economic, political and cultural exchanges between Spain and France. Since the beginning of the Contemporary era, there were diverse forms of exile and emigration to France: The War of Independence, the restoration of the absolute monarchy, the Carlist wars, the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century political situation (republicans, monarchists, socialists and anarchists), economic emigration in the first third of the twentieth century and the Civil War (1936-1939), which resulted in the greatest and most dramatic exile in the history of Spain. These population movements continued during the second global post-war era, when opponents of Franco and hundreds of thousands of economic migrants abandoned Spain to work in Western Europe (Hermet 1967, Dreyfus-Armand, 2000, Poussou 2002, 205-232. Alted 2005, Ceamanos, 2015, 67-96).

These population flows have been an object of study, principally the exile of 1939. However, others have scarcely attracted the attention of historiography. That is the case of exiles during the Second Republic in peacetime (1931-1936), in whom there has hardly

been any interest, except when their protagonists played a prominent role in political history.¹ During this period, different ideologies led various collectives to abandon Spain. Besides the royal family, prominent monarchists abandoned the country in order to show their opposition to the regime and to plot against the Republic (Ceamanos 2019, pp. 295-338). Important members of the Catholic hierarchy also left Spanish territory due to their opposition to the Republican regime, as did numerous members of religious orders, especially those of the Society of Jesus. A final kind of exile was that of those who led the Revolution of October 1934. Our interest focuses on this exile, that of the October revolutionaries. This is a little known episode and one led by anonymous activists, the middle ranks, and also well-known leaders of the working-class movement.² Many of them would play an important role during the time of the Popular Front, the Civil War and exile.³

The incorporation of three CEDA members in the Lerroix government was the trigger for the October revolution, endorsed by broad sectors in the workers' movement, which took place between 5 and 19 October 1934. In Cataluña, on the night of 6 to 7 October, the government of the Generalitat proclaimed a Catalan state within the Spanish Federal Republic. Both insurrections were crushed and government repression provoked the exile of numerous revolutionaries and Catalan nationalists.⁴ This study focuses on the former collective, that of members of the workers' movement. There are differences between the two –ideology, objectives, social stratum, conditions of exile, treatment received by the French authorities, etc.– which recommend their separate study.

In order to carry out this study, widespread and exhaustive research was undertaken in French archives. The archives of départements bordering Spain were consulted. They are the main archives for this subject. Information is deposited there about Spanish revolutionaries that crossed the border. The *Archives Départementales Pyrénées Atlantiques* (ADPA), with the Préfecture of Pau, contributed essential information. In second place, the *Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées* (ADHP), located in Tarbes, were consulted, in which barely any information was found. Nor was the documentation found in the *Archives Départementales de la Haute Garonne* (ADHG), based in Toulouse, or that in the *Archives Départementales de l'Ariège* (ADA), in Foix, noteworthy. Lastly, in the *Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales* (ADPO), based in Perpignan, important information was found due to the fact that cross-border movement took place principally at both ends of the Pyrenees. Two other indispensable archives were consulted: the *Archives Nationales* (AN) and the *Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris* (APP). The former supplied French government instructions sent to its departmental authorities. The latter house the documentation generated by the presence of Spanish refugees in the Paris region.

Once the primary sources have been detailed, one must understand the existing context in both republics. In Spain, it was the time of the Bienio radical-cedista (1933-1936). Radical republicans ruled with the parliamentary support of the right and, after October 1934, both were in government. In France, the triumph of the *Cartel des gauches* in the 1932 elections permitted the forming of a government led by Édouard Herriot. From then on, there were centre-left cabinets until, following the serious events of 6

February 1934, the centre-right came to power. The October exile took place within this context of conservative governments on both sides of the Pyrenees. As regards economic matters, both Spain and France had been suffering, since 1931, from the effects of an international economic crisis that had started in the United States in 1929. One of its principal consequences was growing unemployment, which was translated into a rejection of foreign labour. In the years that followed, in an atmosphere of protectionism and xenophobia, France accelerated the rate at which it expelled foreign workers. These circumstances affected the October exile, which came to French terrain at a moment of hostility towards foreigners.

The road to exile

What was the route that Spanish revolutionaries took on their way into exile? Aspect to note is that some of those that went into exile spent several months, occasionally more than a year, in reaching France. The decision to go into exile was taken late and the journey, because it was clandestine, took longer than usual. This delay provoked suspicion among the French authorities, which classified the arrival of the Spanish who considered themselves as political refugees a year after the Revolution as inadmissible.⁵

Initially, many revolutionaries hid in the mountains, close to home. Later, realising that the security forces were continuing to look for them, they decided to go into exile in France. We can cite names and journeys such as those of Benito Suárez, who remained hidden in different farms on the outskirts of Langreo until, on February 23, 1935, he made his way to Gijón. A socialist friend took him in there until 10 May, when he decided to head to Madrid. Pursued by the police, José García also fled into the mountains near Infiesto, where he survived thanks to food supplies from his parents, until he decided to seek refuge in France. His family gave him the necessary money to travel by train from Oviedo to Barcelona. Juan Álvarez, from Illano, was put up by some farmers in return for money, which his family paid. On 14 August, when he had already been ten months in hiding, he decided to seek refuge in France and left for Madrid. In the same way as his previous comrades, Félix Martín sought shelter in the mountains, from where he set out for the outskirts of Gijón. For the next seven months he remained hidden in the home of some friends. Now in Madrid, he was put up by the Central Committee of the PSOE, which advised him to take refuge in France. Andrés Pérez also came under the protection of this committee in the capital. Around 12 October, Pérez had already taken refuge in the mountains, around Piedrafita, and he remained in hiding for seven months with the help of his socialist comrades and by changing his place of refuge regularly. On 26 May he went to Madrid and, on finding out that the police were looking for him, decided to take refuge in France. José Peña also came from Galicia. He had taken shelter with some friends in his hometown of Ferrol. Reported to the police in September, he fled to Madrid at the end of that month with false documents and some money his family had given him. In similar circumstances, Manuel Cela hid at the homes of different friends in Labaniego, changing location frequently in order to evade the police. He went to Lugo and then La Coruña, where he was taken in by the Socorro Rojo Internacional (SRI) until September. On 24 September, he went to Madrid in a friend's car. Now in the Spanish capital, his socialist comrades advised him to take refuge in France. The Central Committee of the PSOE gave him a train ticket to Barcelona and 150 pesetas for the trip.⁶

Other revolutionaries, who remained under supervised release, decided to escape when they were charged by a military court. That was the case of Severo Bozal, from Logroño, who decided to head for the border at the beginning of November 1934. Cristóbal Aguilar took the same decision when he found out his sentence of 4 years and 29 days for rebellion. The pharmacist Manuel Ruiz had been jailed in the Cárcel Modelo in Madrid, accused of hiding explosives. In May 1935 he was taken ill and moved to the San Juan de Dios hospital. He remained there until he escaped with the goal of taking refuge in France. In Mieres, Patricio Carro and Benigno Martínez also went to Madrid as a first step towards leaving Spain when they found out that they were going to be tried in Oviedo by court martial. At the PSOE headquarters they were advised to take refuge in France until an amnesty was forthcoming. Lastly, Luis González, knowing that he was going to be tried for aiding and abetting rebellion, also decided to take the road to exile. On 6 December he went to Oviedo in a car provided by some friends and, from there, he travelled to Madrid.⁷

The big cities were the point of arrival during this initial stage towards exile. These places were Madrid and Barcelona, if they were going to flee via Cataluña; and Bilbao and San Sebastián, if they were going to do so via the País Vasco or Navarra. This was a necessary stop and it took time. There, left-wing organizations provided accommodation, a sum of money for the journey and a false ID card in order to get through police checks.⁸ The use of such ID cards was common in order to avoid being identified by the police. This was the case of José Suárez and of José Cossío, found by the French police on 24 February 1935 on the tracks of the Latour-de-Carol international railway station. They had each acquired ID cards in other people's names in Madrid. Three days later, two new refugees were found by French police. Their names were Ángel Delgado and Miguel Suárez, and they were also in possession of false ID cards provided by political organisations during their clandestine stay in Madrid.⁹ There are more documented cases. Félix Martín arrived in France with an ID card in the name of his brother-in-law Julián Herrero, and Manuel Cela in the name of Manuel Pereira.¹⁰ On other occasions, they carried a military service book as an ID document. This was the case of Juan Álvarez, who had the military service book in the name of a dead man –Guillermo García Fernández– and of Ángel Santín, who was given a military service book and ID card in the name of Juan Arístegui by his Bilbao comrades.¹¹ The use of such false documents made it difficult for the French authorities to control the border, but they could not intervene in the matter of a crime committed on Spanish soil or concerning Spanish documentation, so the Direction de la Police du Territoire et des Étrangers asked the Spanish government to do everything it could to avoid this illegal traffic.¹²

Once money and an ID card had been provided, the refugees began the final stage of their journey. Their destination was small border towns where they made contact with the “pasadores”, normally smugglers who knew the border area well and helped them cross it clandestinely on foot by means of one of the many unsupervised mountain passes that existed at both ends of the Pyrenees (Eychenne 1983, 1984 and 1987. Pereira 2014,

107-125. Arburua 2017. Calvet 2010). There were much fewer crossings in the central part of the mountain range, which was steeper and more difficult to cross. Moreover, the initial months of exile traffic in October coincided with the autumn and winter of 1934, when snow covered the mountain passes.¹³

The main problem the French authorities came across when it came to preventing such clandestine crossings was their lack of resources. Maurice Mathieu, préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, and François Taviani, préfet des Pyrénées-Orientales, acknowledged the implicit difficulty of controlling the passage of “undesirables” across the border, which they classified as “perméable”.¹⁴ There was a network of customs posts and gendarmerie spread out along the border, but they were few in number as a means of controlling effectively the passage of both contraband and individuals, which circulated along unmonitored tracks.¹⁵ There was a lack of local public employees from the region who were familiar with the territory and its people; and the activity of the customs authority, forest rangers and local police was not very effective due to their lack of numbers and because they had their own functions to fulfil: controlling border customs clearances, forest management and policing the cities.¹⁶ There was also a certain amount of mistrust on the part of the police towards the customs officers since they suspected that some of them were being bribed by smugglers.¹⁷

Many of the revolutionaries went into exile through the Western Pyrenees, which were closer to the mining and industrial areas of Asturias, León and the País Vasco, than the Eastern Pyrenees. However, sometimes instead of crossing the border via the País Vasco or Navarra, they set out on a longer trip and, after passing through Madrid, entered France via the Catalan border. The decision to choose this longer route was explained by the difficulty implied by crossing the border at the western end of the Pyrenees. Severo Bozal, who was in hiding in San Sebastián, was informed that he would not be able to cross the border in the País Vasco. He went to Madrid, where he was helped by the Juventudes Socialistas, and in July set out for Barcelona in order to cross over into France via the Catalan border.¹⁸ Another case was that of Ángel Santín, who, helped by the SRI, had left Bilbao on 9 December 1934. But he did not gain entry into France across the Basque border –barely a hundred kilometres away–, but instead made a huge detour. He caught a bus which took him to Pamplona, Zaragoza and Barcelona. There he caught a train for Puigcerda, where he arrived on 25 December and, once night had fallen, crossed the border over the mountains.¹⁹

As in the case of Bozal and Santín, numerous refugees went into exile across the eastern border of the Pyrenees. Their initial destination was Madrid, where they spent the necessary time to organise their journey to France. They went via Barcelona and arrived at a border town from which they crossed into France. Benito Suárez arrived in Madrid and stayed there four days at an inn run by a socialist activist. He went to Barcelona, where he coincided with his fellow Asturian Reiner García. On 18 May 1935 they went, always at night, to Gerona, from where they crossed the border on foot. They arrived in

St. Laurent-de-Cerdans on 20 May and reported voluntarily at the gendarmerie.²⁰ Manuel Fernández Menéndez also undertook a long journey. After taking part in the Asturian revolution in the town of Ujo, he and his four brothers were imprisoned, but he managed to escape and arrived in Oviedo, where his comrades provided him with false documents and a train ticket to go to Madrid. In the capital he made contact with the revolutionary committee, which provided him and Manuel Soto with money and a train ticket to get to Gerona. Soto had taken refuge in Corecilas, a small mountain village. With money and false documents, he arrived in Madrid on 10 June. Both revolutionaries left the Spanish capital. They travelled on the same train, but not in the same coach. In Gerona they met up again and on 15 June crossed the border on foot via the outskirts of Le Perthus. Now in France, they caught a bus which took them to Perpignan.²¹

At the beginning of July 1935, two new refugees arrived in Perpignan: José García and Blas Fernández. They travelled without any papers, sometimes on foot and others by train. After many ups and downs, they arrived in Barcelona. From there, they left together and, after nine days of travelling, avoiding the main roads, they arrived in France. Now on French soil, they waited at the roadside for a bus to take them to Perpignan.²² In August, Juan Álvarez caught a train in Barcelona which took him to Figueras, from where he crossed the border on foot in the outskirts of Le Perthus. On 26 August he arrived by bus in Perpignan and the following day reported voluntarily to the Commissaire de Police Spéciale.²³ Bernardino Duarte and José González also arrived in August. They had left Barcelona together and arrived in Figueras by train. They went on foot the rest of the way. They crossed the border over the mountains, avoiding any villages. Once in France, they headed for Perpignan, a route on which they coincided with Cristóbal Aguilar. In total, the journey on foot between Figueras and Perpignan took three days. Once in Perpignan, and as they had been instructed by the PSOE, they presented themselves to the French authorities with the aim of being declared political refugees and requesting authorisation to remain in France.²⁴

In September 1935, Félix Martín and Manuel Ruiz also entered France. On 24 September, Martín had left Barcelona for Figueras and, on the night of the 25th to the 26th, he crossed the border over the mountains in the outskirts of Le Perthus. A bus dropped him off in Perpignan that same morning and he reported voluntarily to the commissaire spécial.²⁵ For his part, Ruiz, who had arrived in Barcelona by train, also left for Figueras. Now in the capital of the Alto Ampurdán, he crossed the border on foot over the mountains. On 16 October he arrived in Perpignan and reported that same day to the commissaire spécial in order to request being allowed to remain in France.²⁶

In the following months new refugees arrived in Perpignan. Andrés Pérez had arrived by train in Barcelona on 25 September and the next day left for Gerona, a city from which he also undertook the last part of his journey on foot. He crossed the border over the mountains, arrived in Perpignan on 30 September and reported to the commissaire spécial.²⁷ Manuel Cela caught a train which took him from Barcelona to Gerona, crossed

the border over the mountains and arrived in Perpignan on 4 October. A few days later José Peña arrived. He had left Barcelona on 6 October. A lorry took him to Figueras, from where he crossed the border on foot over the mountains. Once on French soil he headed for Perpignan.²⁸

There were those that arrived in November and in December 1935. Patricio Carro and Benigno Martínez, who travelled together from Madrid, crossed the border via the outskirts of Le Perthus on the morning of 24 November and the following night arrived in Perpignan, where a compatriot advised them to report voluntarily to the commissaire spécial, and that is what they did on the morning of 26 November. In December Luis González arrived in France. He had left Madrid by train, heading for Barcelona, a city that he left on 21 December in a goods truck. After spending the night in a small house near La Junquera, he crossed the border on the morning of 22 December over the mountains and arrived in Perpignan the following day.²⁹

All these refugees crossed the border via the Eastern Pyrenees, although they came from regions that were far away from the Catalan border. Others sought refuge in France via the Western Pyrenees. Their journey was shorter. Near to the border, Basques and Navarrese entered France a few months after the failure of the Revolution. On 14 October 1934, Baldomero Ederra, Vicente Mainz, Juan Petrich and Santiago Ustarroz, from the Navarrese village of Isaba, entered France via the village of Sainte-Engrâce. After passing through the commune of Larrau they went to Mauléon, where they were arrested by the gendarmerie.³⁰ That same day, a group of six refugees –Marco Vitoria, Ismael Díez, Pedro Ruiz de Alegría, Nemesio Sarasa, Guillermo Lasagabaster and José Aguirregomezcorta– were arrested after crossing the border clandestinely and taken to the commissaire spécial in Hendaye. They all declared themselves to be political refugees.³¹ Some days later, on 31 October, the gendarmes de service at the international bridge of Béhobie observed two foreigners that were walking along the road. They had come from the French town of Urrugne and were heading towards Hendaye. They were José López and Victoriano Aguirregoicoa. On 22 October they had fled Galdames and entered France over the mountains on the 30th.³²

Two weeks later, during the night of 15 November, José Uría and Julio Hevia appeared at the commissaire spécial in Hendaye, requesting that they be accepted as political refugees. They barely had any possessions and only Uría was carrying an ID document. They were trying to get to the embassy of the Soviet Union in Paris, through which to go to the country of the soviets.³³ On 26 November, while the Aldudes gendarmes were carrying out a night-time inspection in the village of Banca, they came across five refugees on the road –Luis Fernández, Mario Camardiel, Manuel Rigal, Julián Ángel Aransáez and Pedro García–, who were heading inland. After taking part in the Revolution in Santurce and escaping to Zaragoza, they had crossed the border via mountain paths which had led them to the small village of Urepel. Following interrogation, they were sent to Bayonne for the commissaire spécial to decide what to do

with them.³⁴ That same day, the gendarmerie, which was patrolling the roads near the town of Boucau, identified fifteen refugees –Sergio Velasco, José Vizcaya, Manuel Gil, Manuel Vizquete, Cándido Busteros, Elisardo Pérez, Miguel Olalde, José Aranguren, Alberto Velasco, Saturnino Aransáez, Agustín Berzal, José Echevarría, Luis Arbella, [Teodoro?] Lluch and Enrique de Francisco–. They were all taken to Bayonne police station.³⁵ Already in 1935, on 17 January, the gendarmerie of Saint-Jean-de-Luz came across, opposite the train station, a group of Spanish refugees –Pedro Fuertes, Filomeno Guerra, Gregorio González and José Lanza– that, that same night, had crossed the border over the mountains via the Navarrese village of Endarlatsa with the aim of catching a train to Bayonne.³⁶

On occasion, the refugees attempted to go further north, to Bordeaux and Orléans. Because they had no documents or financial means, they feared being returned to Spain if they were found near the border. And this was not an unfounded concern since it was relatively common for the commissaire spécial in Hendaye to order the return of refugees to Spain.³⁷ But if they did manage to reach Bordeaux and Orléans they found support in the refugee aid committees and, due to the distance from the border, the application of an order to return them was more convoluted.³⁸ This order to return (“refoulement”) implied an obligation to leave France within a very short space of time. For that reason, the refugee could only return to Spanish territory, although in being able to choose the point of return he avoided his immediate capture by the Spanish authorities. If in the allowed time-frame he had not left France and was once more found by the police, an expulsion order was then emitted and the French police accompanied him to the border to assure that, in effect, he now crossed it. On the other side of the border post the Spanish police were waiting for him.³⁹

There are various documented cases of refugees that managed to reach Bordeaux and Orléans. In late January 1935, various groups of refugees crossed the border and arrived in Bordeaux, where they declared themselves political refugees. Others continued on the route towards Orléans.⁴⁰ Around the same time, Primitivo Miranda and Ángel Lebrato crossed the border by boat via the River Bidasoa. Both had left Langreo in December 1934 and they arrived in Saint-Jean-de-Luz on 21 January 1935. There, instead of reporting to the French authorities, they took a train to Orléans, where they handed themselves in at the central police station and declared themselves political refugees.⁴¹ Nor did Julio Peón and Arturo Satro report to the border authorities, but instead those of Bordeaux. Undocumented, they had gone across the border via Hendaye and headed directly for the capital of the Gironde, where on 3 February they reported to the commissaire spécial in order to declare themselves political refugees.

Finally, one should point out that the arrival in France of refugees was also carried out by train and sea. The best documented cases are those found in the ADPA. The railway route seemed dangerous but it was used because of the minor effectiveness of police controls. Train stops in stations were short at the request of the train companies

and that meant that the French police did not have sufficient time to inspect every passenger.⁴² At the beginning of November 1934, Mariano Hernández and Manuel Sánchez went across the border clandestinely by catching a train in Irún which was going to Hendaye. Already in the police station, they admitted to having participated in the workers' insurrection in Oviedo and they requested being accepted as political refugees.⁴³ Other refugees managed to reach France by sea. On 22 October, five refugees –Victoriano Blanco, Eugenio Cavia, Teodoro Llano, Valentín Cirión and Andrés Gabiña– arrived at the fishing port of Biarritz hidden inside a small boat.⁴⁴ In late December two new groups of refugees arrived at the port of Saint-Jean-de-Luz and were taken to the police station. The first group was made up of fourteen refugees from Bilbao; the second, eleven refugees that were hidden in the hold of the fishing boat “Carmen de Amorebieta LF279”, registered at the port of Santurce.⁴⁵

The conduct of the French authorities

In late October, the Direction Générale of the Sûreté Nationale warned the préfets of border départements about the arrival of Spanish refugees, who would demand refuge in France. It was not a development to their liking. The activity of these exiles near to the border would harm relations with the government of Spain, unemployment was on the rise due to the economic crisis and it was feared that the refugees would collaborate with the forces of the French left.⁴⁶ In order to get some idea of the situation, Perpignan had at the time some 100,000 inhabitants, of which 25,000 were foreigners, and mainly Spanish. Their arrival was continuous and many went straight into the ranks of the unemployed. To this concern was added the fact that the headquarters of political parties and unions were in Perpignan, the capital of the département des Pyrénées-Orientales, as was the greatest political activity, especially that of communists.⁴⁷

A memorandum from the Ministère de l'Intérieur on 27 October 1934 established that all the Spanish who crossed the border should be taken to the closest commissaire spécial to the point of their arrest, that is, that they should be brought before the commissaire spécial in Hendaye, Bayonne, Mauléon and Pau, in the Basses-Pyrénées; and those of Perpignan and Bourg-Madame in the Pyrénées-Orientales. There they were subjected to a decisive interrogation, insofar that the French authorities accepted considering them as political refugees according to the credibility of their refugee story concerning their participation in the October Revolution. It is for that reason that, as soon as they arrived in France, the refugees sought out anyone who could confirm their participation in the revolutionary movement or, at least, their ties to some organisation of the Spanish left. A few days after reporting to the police station, Juan Álvarez went again to deliver, as proof of his condition of political refugee, a letter sent from Brussels by Amador Fernández, a diputado in the Cortes for Oviedo.⁴⁸ This was also the case of Manuel Ruiz, who returned to the police station in order to hand over a written document

signed by a committee of Spanish refugees who confirmed his condition of political refugee.⁴⁹

There is evidence of the formation of a so-called “Comité des réfugiés socialistes espagnols” as the exile started. Numerous refugees turned to this organisation. The *modus operandi* was the following: when a refugee arrived in France he wrote immediately to the aforementioned committee informing it of his arrival on French soil and it sent him an express letter to present before the commissaire spécial. Therein, it indicated that the recent arrival was persecuted in Spain for participating in the October Revolution. Félix Martín, Andrés Pérez, José Peña and Manuel Cela presented this letter before the commissaire spécial in Perpignan.⁵⁰ These missives were accepted by the commissioner on the understanding that they confirmed the veracity of the refugees’ declarations, but he also advised investigating the nature of this committee and finding out the level of trust that could be given to such certificates.⁵¹

An investigation by the Préfecture of Paris offers some information about this “Comité des réfugiés socialistes espagnols”. Founded by Indalecio Prieto in November 1934, its president was José Cuesta Fernández and its secretary Ramón Argüelles Fernández. Initially, its headquarters was at number 10 on the Avenue Mac Mahon (Paris) and from there it was moved to the coastal city of Dieppe. Thereafter, when its leaders, whom included the socialist diputado Amador Fernández, went to settle in Paris, the headquarters was installed at number 77 on the rue du Ruisseau. This Committee took charge of aiding refugees with funds sent by Anastasio Gracia de Villarubia, a socialist diputado and the president of the UGT. The Committee helped a hundred socialist refugees residing in France, but in later months had also started to help around fifty communist refugees, who were having difficulties in receiving aid from the SRI. Moreover, it had links with the “Comité Matteoti” in Brussels, which was in charge of receiving Spanish political refugees that went to Belgium, whether by personal choice or because of expulsion orders from the French authorities. Ramón Argüelles managed these links with the “Comité Matteoti” and thus used to journey twice a month to Brussels. The refugees that went to Belgium with the help of Spanish committee provided him with their personal data and a photograph, which were sent to the “Comité Matteoti”, which, in turn, supplied them to the Belgian police. In this way, the French and Belgian authorities had in their power the identity of Spanish refugees that crossed the Franco-Belgian border via the French border town of Jeumont, at least that of those connected to the “Comité des réfugiés socialistes espagnols”.⁵²

Once in the commissaire spécial, the first step was to check if there was a Spanish search warrant for the refugees for common crimes. In that event, they were returned to Spanish territory, even if they insisted on being considered political refugees. Antonio Gutiérrez and José Cristóbal were arrested on 28 September 1935 by the gendarmerie patrolling the international bridge in Béhobie. Gutiérrez had fled San Sebastián, where, in the course of a meeting with socialist activists, he had met Cristóbal, who had escaped from Oviedo in order to avoid being arrested. They then both joined a clandestine group in Bilbao made up of seven people, but, when their companions were arrested, they decided to cross the border. They escaped over the mountains and reached the border via Biriattou.

Their objective was to go to Bordeaux. There, Spanish socialists could provide them with money to continue on their way. They were attempting to get to Belgium in order to later reach the Soviet Union. Gutiérrez and Cristóbal declared themselves political refugees and were taken before the commissaire spécial in Hendaye. There, it was discovered that Cristóbal had a criminal record for theft and that there was a warrant for him from the magistrate's court in La Carolina. On account of that fact and because of doubts over the true identity of Gutiérrez an order was his issued for their repatriation and they were invited to return to Spain on the night of 28 to 29 October 1935.⁵³ They did not comply and, when they were arrested once more on 31 October in Bayonne, they were taken to the commissaire spécial in Hendaye and deported to Spain on 3 November. On arriving in Irún, the Spanish police arrested them.⁵⁴ On other occasions, the motive behind the deportation was the level of participation in the October revolutionary movement. This was the case of Eucario Redín. Interrogated by the gendarmerie of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, he confessed to his participation in the Revolution. Fearing arrest, he had crossed the border over the mountains and requested to be recognised as a political refugee. The French police established that there was a warrant for him in Spain for the clandestine possession of arms and explosives. For this reason the French authorities decided to deport him. On 22 October he was taken to the international bridge at Arnéguy by which he entered into Spanish territory, being arrested immediately.⁵⁵

As we pointed out, the French authorities did not take to the presence of these refugees kindly.⁵⁶ In a memo of 20 November 1934, the Ministère de l'Intérieur demonstrated its preoccupation for the high number of Spaniards turning up at the border and requesting recognition as political refugees.⁵⁷ A year later, the ministry indicated the need to repatriate the refugees and attend only to the most serious cases.⁵⁸ In a November 1934 interview, Charles Magny, directeur général of the Sûreté Nationale, declared that the only solution to the "lamentable état de choses", created by the inability of the administration to expel the "indésirables", was to send them to a "camp de concentration", where they would be subject to a strict work regime (Caron 2008, 97). Such opposition to refugees was common amongst French public servants. When the exodus of Spanish revolutionaries towards France began, the sous-préfet d'Oloron asked his superior if he could carry out illegal acts in order to expel them since, in his opinion, they should not remain in France:

Comme d'autres Espagnols se trouvent certainement dans une situation identique, je vous serais obligé d'examiner s'il n'y aurait pas lieu d'envisager des mesures illégales. Par ma part, en ce qui concerne les quatre Espagnols arrivés à Mauléon, j'estime que [leur] séjour sur notre territoire ne saurait être autorisé. Le Sous-Préfet.⁵⁹

Of the same view was the sous-préfet de Bayonne, who lamented the daily arrival of refugees, whether via Hendaye or the mountain roads, who declared themselves political refugees in order to benefit from French hospitality.⁶⁰ The préfet des Basses-

Pyrénées was of the same opinion as his public servants. He made it known to the Ministère de l'Intérieur his unease at the growing arrival of refugees and the impossibility of verifying the information collected on them. To that, the préfet added the bad impression that the presence of these refugees was creating within local public opinion.⁶¹

In the face of the arrival of the Spanish revolutionaries, the instructions from Paris were to intensify border patrols and proceed to “réfouler” to Spanish territory any refugees without documents, economic means or a work contract that could return to Spain without any serious risk or that were carrying out political activity in French territory.⁶² Whatever the case, we will see that the application of this ruling was arbitrary.

It was worried, especially, that the refugees might participate in politics for fear of an expansion of the French revolutionary movement. This, together with campaigns by the conservative press against the revolutionaries and the desire to maintain good relations with the Spanish government, led the French executive to make a guarantee to Juan Francisco de Cárdenas, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, that the October refugees would be controlled rigorously (Denéchère 1999, 73-74, 119-120 and 127-128). It was a question of keeping them out of local political life. With this aim, the interior ministry invited its préfets to suggest specific administrative sanctions against those refugees that might become a problem for public order. The government argued that France was applying a generous policy of political asylum and that the exiles should reply in turn by fulfilling the demands that were imposed on them.⁶³

This concern about the political activity of the refugees was evident in the case of five refugees that arrived by boat in the port of Biarritz –Victoriano Blanco, Eugenio Cavia, Teodoro Llano, Valentín Cirión y Andrés Gabiña–.⁶⁴ The police commissioner of Biarritz reprimanded them severely for having met with PCF members and threatened them, in the event of repeating any such encounter, with returning them to Spain.⁶⁵ In the face of this situation, the French authorities decided to maintain an “étroite” watch over these refugees, warning them earnestly of the need to report twice daily to the police station. The préfet himself asked the sous-préfet de Bayonne to draw up a report about the members of this group.⁶⁶

Following the declaration by the refugees and the corresponding police investigation, the Préfecture took a decision. In numerous cases their condition as political refugees was acknowledged. For example, the préfet des Basses-Pyrénées communicated to the interior ministry the recognition of the status of political refugees for * Sánchez, Hermenegildo Vinambres, Francisco Carmona, Jaime Martínez, Juan Ruiz, Ángel Simón, Ignacio Lavilla, Benito Taibo and Nicolás de Pablo.⁶⁷ We also know that, in regard to the twelve Spaniards that had arrived from Bilbao and docked at the port of Saint-Jean-de-Luz, the commissaire spécial in Hendaye, following a thorough interrogation and having examined the documents in their possession, was favourable to granting them the status of political refugees.⁶⁸

* Unknown.

Yet the French authorities did not always recognise this status of political refugees when it came to those that stated they had left their country for fear of reprisals on the part of the government. There are documented cases of refugees being repatriated. When the gendarme de service in Urdos checked the identity of travellers, one of them identified himself with an ID in the name of Alfredo Mendoza. Without any other documents, economic means or a work contract, he was warned that he was going to be returned to Spain. It was then that he declared that the accredited identity was false. He had taken a friend's ID, and his real name was Ricardo Zabalza. The French police had no file on him, but that did not stop the gendarmerie in Urdos, once he entered France with false documents, from receiving orders to return him to Spain.⁶⁹

In late 1934, the twelve Spaniards that had disembarked at Saint-Jean-de-Luz and been taken to the commissaire spécial in Hendaye were also returned to Spain. The reasons put forward by the French authorities were that they were not in possession of a passport and that they lacked economic means and a work contract. And all that in spite of demonstrating their wish to be accepted as political refugees. Their activity during the revolutionary days had been significant. Santiago Aznar, secretary general of the UGT in Bilbao, had been one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in the País Vasco; Julio Aznar, his brother, had also participated in the revolutionary events in Vizcaya; Gerardo Martínez was a leader in the Juventudes Socialistas; Toribio Díaz, a member of the Comité Revolucionario; and Elías Mencías, a member of the local Comité Revolucionario and head of the Juventudes Socialistas de Sestao. Other refugees were accused of possessing and distributing firearms and grenades. This was the case of Gregorio Barahona, Santos Morales, Tomás Aristegui, Julio Gangoitia, Emilio Díaz, José Díaz and Constantino Campos, the latter accused of also participating in the destruction of a bridge. These refugees argued that there was a Spanish police warrant for their arrest to be tried by military court. Finally, the French authorities affirmed their decision, although as a way of avoiding arrest by the Spanish police, and as was common in cases of a repatriation order, they were given the option of choosing their route to return to Spanish territory.⁷⁰

Some months later, on 17 January 1935, Pedro Fuertes, Filomeno Guerra, Gregorio González and José Lanza were discovered by the gendarmerie of Saint-Jean-de-Luz. They declared themselves political refugees and were taken to the commissaire spécial in Hendaye. In their interrogation they confirmed their affiliation in the PCE and participation in the October revolutionary days. However, in spite of the risk of being arrested if they returned to Spain, after verifying that they lacked documents and did not possess any means of subsistence or a work contract, they were invited to return to their country via the same place by which they had entered France.⁷¹ A month later, the gendarmerie of Saint-Jean-de-Luz took a new group of refugees that had come in over the mountains –José González, Pedro García, Emilio Bayón and Vidal Toraño– to the commissaire spécial in Hendaye. All of them said they were affiliated with left-wing parties and had participated in revolutionary events in Spain so there was a police warrant for them. Their situation was examined and, for the same reasons as the previous group, they were invited to return back across the border.⁷²

North of the Loire, excluding the Paris region

In memos of 27 and 31 October 1934, the Ministère de l'Intérieur ordered that the refugees should establish their residence in towns located north of the River Loire, with the exception of the Paris region, which was prohibited as a place of residence.⁷³ The Ministère de l'Intérieur was conscious of the fact that, as had been happening since the nineteenth century, the presence of Spanish political refugees near the border could complicate diplomatic relations with Spain.⁷⁴

The refugees could choose the city in which to settle, taking into account the possibilities of finding work or relatives and other contacts that may favour their settlement. In their journey north, the refugees received a letter of safe passage to cross France, which indicated their final destination in order to avoid them going to a place other than that indicated; and, in the event that they did not possess sufficient economic means, the French authorities covered the moving costs. Thus, in early November, when the funds collected by what was termed the Comité Antifasciste had run out after paying for the tickets of several refugees, the movement north of Victoriano Aguirregoicoa and José López, who lacked their own economic means, was defrayed by the Préfecture of the Basses-Pyrénées.⁷⁵

The *Archives Départementales Pyrénées Atlantiques* preserve the most complete corpus on the movements north of the River Loire. There is evidence of the transfer of seventy-two Spanish political refugees, specifically, to the cities of Orléans, Tours, Évreux, Caen, Rennes, Saint Nazaire, Nantes and Le Havre. Twenty-nine Spaniards settled in Orléans, the capital of the département of Loiret. On 16 November 1934, Ramón Moreno left Pau for Orléans, where he established his residency.⁷⁶ That same day, Ángel [Darduagua?] and Jesús Vázquez left Paris for Orléans.⁷⁷ Five days later, a group of political refugees –three of their names are cited, Nicasio González, Manuel Zapico and Manuel Fernández Álvarez– left Hendaye for Orléans.⁷⁸ That same afternoon, Joaquín Campo, Mariano Fernández, Ángel Cabrero, Laureano Arguelles, José Laín and Faustino Miranda took the train to Orléans.⁷⁹ Now on 1 December, another sixteen Spanish refugees left Hendaye. The commissioner of this town informed the prefect of Loiret of their arrival in Orléans on the following day. They were Miguel Segura, Agustín Berzal, Saturnino Aransáez, Ángel Aransáez, Pedro García, Manuel Vizuete, Manuel Gil, Cándido Busteros, José Vizcaya, Luis Arbella, Luis Fernández, Mario Camardiel, Manuel Rigal, Elisardo Pérez, Sergio Matías and Alberto Velasco.⁸⁰

Thirteen refugees went to Tours. A first group was made up of Marco Vitoria, José Aguirregomezcorta, Pedro Ruiz de Alegría, Ismael Díez, Guillermo Lasagabaster and Nemesio Sarasa. On 1 November they left Pau station for Tours.⁸¹ Some days later,

on 13 November, Jaime Uriarte, Francisco Azconaga and Víctor Berecibar left Cambolles-Bains heading for Tours, the town chosen by the aforementioned refugees.⁸² The next day, Victoriano Aguirregoicoa and José López took the train to Tours.⁸³ And just days later, on 16 November, José Alonso and Julio Hevia left Hendaye station heading for the capital of the département of Indre-et-Loire. Their choice was due to the fact that, on account of its relative proximity to Paris, in Tours they could receive visits and help from their fellow activists that lived in the French capital.⁸⁴

Eight refugees made their way to Évreux, the seat of the Préfecture of the département of Eure. The first group was made up of Teodoro Lluch, José Arangurén, José Echeverría and Enrique de Francisco. The commissaire spécial in Hendaye informed the prefect of Eure that these four refugees had left on 1 December and that their arrival in Évreux was scheduled for the next day.⁸⁵ On 26 December, Pedro Lurueña, Guzmán García, * Conde and Eugenio Bergara also left for Évreux.⁸⁶ Around the same time, nine refugees were sent to Saint-Nazaire. First, Baldomero Eterra, Vicente Mainz, Juan Petruich and Santiago Ustarroz; and, now at the end of December and coming from Pau, Teodoro Llano, Andrés Gabiña, Eugenio Cavia, Valentín Cirión and Victoriano Blanco arrived in this city at the mouth of the Loire.⁸⁷ For their part, * Sanchez Castro, Hermenegildo Vinambres, Francisco Carmona and Jaime Martínez went to Caen; and Juan Ruiz, Ángel Simón, Ignacio Lavilla, Benito Taibo and Nicolás de Pablo to Rennes.⁸⁸

The transfer of one single political refugee each to the cities of Nantes and Le Havre is documented. Andrés Pérez left Hendaye on 26 December heading for Nantes, where his arrival was scheduled for the 27th. The préfet of the Loire-Inférieure had already been informed.⁸⁹ Alejandro Loinaz, who reported voluntarily on 9 November to the commissaire spécial in Hendaye stating that he was a political refugee, was sent to Le Havre. After checking his statements, the commissioner informed him of the instructions in effect and Loinaz asked to be taken to Le Havre, where he thought he could find work in a shipyard. On the afternoon of 10 November he left Hendaye towards the northern coast of France.⁹⁰ Finally, there is information about other transfers, but the destination city is not indicated. That is the case of Federico Angulo, Luis Iglesias and Juan de los Toyos, refugees that, on 3 November, left Hendaye heading north of the River Loire.⁹¹

The refugees were at all times subject to close police surveillance and, the moment they arrived in their new destination, they had to report to the central police station. There they received a letter of safe passage valid for twenty days in order to process a request for residency.⁹² Yet many refugees did not want to stay in these cities and they left.⁹³ In late 1934, the Direction Générale of the Sûreté Nationale informed the departmental authorities that a total of thirteen Spanish refugees had left, without authorisation and

without informing anyone of their destination, the cities in question. They were Laureano Argüelles, Joaquín Campo, Fernando Claudín, Mariano Fernández, Francisco Granell, José Grau, José Laín, Pedro Llauro, Faustino Miranda, José Santiago Mensa, Ramón Moreno, Isidoro Pons and Rosendo Vilagines.⁹⁴ In the months that followed new warrants were issued for the arrest of refugees that had left without authorisation the cities to which they had been assigned.⁹⁵ In May 1935, Agustín Berzal, Manuel Rigal and Francisco Argüelles left their residence in Saint-Brieue secretly.⁹⁶ That same month, Severino Pozo, Fernando Fernández and José Antonio * –the latter two marked as active communist party members– left Chateaux. It was suspected that they had headed for the Paris region. Specifically, Pozo had told one of his colleagues that he was going to Paris in order to meet up with other refugees and return with them to Spain.⁹⁷ And in June that same year, José Echeverría and Jaime Martínez also left their assigned cities without indicating where they were going.⁹⁸

Occasionally, the French authorities were informed of the refugees' intentions. José Aranguren, Luis Fernández, Teodoro Lluch and José Vizcaya had left their residence in Évreux on 22 May 1935 without telling anyone and with the aim of heading to the Soviet Union.⁹⁹ This was the destination for a significant number of refugees. On 7 May 1935 the following left for the country of the soviets: Osvaldo Fernández, Antonio Ponte, José Fernández, José Aguilar, José Abelia, Ángel Álvarez, Manuel Álvarez, José Flores, Jaime García, José García, Celestino González, Teodomiro Ibáñez, José Argüelles, Óscar Barredo, Luis Cambor, Julio Castrillo, Martín [Enriso?], Félix Fernández, José Fernández, Juan Fernández, Rafael Fernández, José Iglesias, Mariano Luis *, Emilio Morán, Silvino Morán, Jesús Posada, Severino Riera, José Vizcaya and Manuel Zapico.¹⁰⁰

The French authorities were strict with refugees that not fulfil the obligation of staying north of the River Loire, ordering their immediate return to those territories as soon as they were discovered, or even their deportation to a third country, normally to Belgium. Because of its proximity to France, and given the establishment of a Fascist government in Italy and a Nazi one in Germany, the Belgian border was the easiest to cross (Branciforte 2011, 199-200).

The aim of prohibiting the refugees from settling in Paris and its region was clear. It was a question of a territory in which the workers' movement was especially important and the presence of Spanish revolutionaries could strengthen it. Paris, the capital of a centralist republic, was an especially sensitive city and had been, and was, the setting for significant social movements. Yet numerous refugees did not obey this rule and settled in this territory. At the close of 1934, the Préfecture of Paris sent the Direction Générale of the Surêté Nationale a list with the names of twenty-three refugees that had left the *Midi* of France and it was thought that they could have headed for the French capital: Victoriano Aguirreagoicoa, Luis Aranceta, Isidoro Bonfil, Alfonso Cotrino, Genaro Claudín, Ernestino Domínguez, Bernardino Echezar-Garro, Eustaquio Echezar-Garro,

Agapito Echeverría, Pedro Ganadero, Ernesto García, José López, Pedro Núñez, Ángel Núñez, Cruz Ortiz, Luis Pérez, Daniel Quintana, Ignacio Salinas, Vicente Segura, Pedro Tudela, José María Urcelay, José Uriarte and Martín Yerro. The objective of the Préfecture de Police was to find them and send them to a city north of the River Loire.¹⁰¹

This same report offers a list in which Spanish refugees resident in the département of the Seine, or at least those that the Préfecture was aware of, are connected. These refugees are listed below, grouped according to residence: Federico Angulo, Juan de los Toyos, Luis Iglesias, Amador Fernández, Félix Merodio, Ernesto Navarro and Eusebio Rodrigo, at number 77, rue du Ruisseau; Moises Castillo, Nestor Cuartos, José Viador and Antonio Fernández-Bolaños, at number 4, rue du Mont Thabor; Antonio Gutiérrez, Francisco Goenaga and Francisco Sanz, at number 12, rue Caillié; José Guarner, Arturo Menéndez and Jesús Pérez, at number 56 rue Montmartre; José Tomás y [Piedra?], at number 14, rue de Tilsitt; Indalecio Prieto, at number 10, avenue Mac Mahon; and, lastly, Benito Valls and Baldomero Fita resided in the city of Saint-Denis (Seine).¹⁰² The Préfecture of Paris indicated the need to oblige them to establish their residence outside Paris and to the north of the River Loire. In the event of not complying they were deported from France as had already happened to Antonio Villodres, who, after receiving a deportation order on 6 November 1934, left, that same day, for Belgium.¹⁰³ This country was the destination that some of the refugees who resided in the Paris region chose in the summer of 1935: Indalecio Prieto, Arturo Menéndez, Jesús Pérez and José Guarner.¹⁰⁴

In some cases, refugees requested authorisation from the French authorities to settle in the Paris region; others, however, disobeyed the rule and settled in this region without permission. Federico Angulo, Juan de los Toyos, Luis Iglesias and Eusebio Rodrigo requested authorisation to settle in the Paris region, which was granted in mid-December 1934. They had to abstain from any political activity, under the sentence of immediate deportation should they not fulfil this condition.¹⁰⁵ Authorisation to establish their residence in Paris was also requested by Arturo Menéndez, Jesús Pérez, José Guarner, Ernesto Navarro, Félix Merodio and Amador Fernández, who were being investigated by the police in order to take a decision.¹⁰⁶

With regard to those who were in the Paris region secretly, the Préfecture de Police processed their exit from this territory, but the refugees did not report to the Préfecture when it required their presence to tell them that they must leave the region. Benjamín Cortino, Maximiliano Álvarez, Julio Casas, Antonio López, Juan Bautista, Constancio Pisonero, Francisco Ballester and Ricardo Gracia received different notices to report to the Préfecture, but they did not report. French civil servants classified the failure of the refugees to report to the Préfecture as “refus obstiné”. Finally, on 29 October 1935, a deportation order was issued for all of them. Then, in order to avoid deportation, they left their places of residence and the Direction Générale of the Sûreté Nationale issued a warrant for their arrest.¹⁰⁷

This was the refugees' *modus operandi* when a warrant for their deportation was issued: they left the homes where the police could locate them for another safer one. Such deportation sentences were issued for Luis Bermejo and Pedro Olano, residents in Paris, on 11 April 1935. Summoned by the Préfecture of Paris in order to communicate this decision, they decided to not report and left their residence in a hurry.¹⁰⁸ There was fear of deportation and the summons on the part of the Préfecture led to many fleeing, such as Juan García, who left Paris on 15 June 1935 without indicating where he was going.¹⁰⁹

This game of cat and mouse lasted until the triumph of the Popular Front in the February 1936 elections, when an amnesty was declared and the political refugees returned to Spain. Some had even gone towards the border, waiting for a possible change of government. In the département of the Loire-Inférieure, the préfet informed Paris that most of the Spanish refugees residing in Saint-Nazaire had left to go back to their country. The last to do so were Manuel Fernández Madera, Elías Díaz and Mariano Fernández, on 2 March; and Manuel Soto, on 7 March. Santiago Ustarroz, who had settled in Saint-Nazaire as a greengrocer, did not return to Spain.¹¹⁰

Conclusions

By consulting the French Pyrenean departmental archives, as well as the *Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris* and the *Archives Nationales*, this article reconstructs some of the main aspects of the October 1934 revolutionary exile. It identifies two hundred and seventy-five Spanish political refugees, shows what their route towards exile was, their passage across the border, the conduct of the French authorities, and their journey through French territory.

It was not always an immediate exile. Many revolutionaries spent months, even more than a year, in reaching France. Initially, they went into hiding in their home regions. They knew the territory and were able to receive the help of relatives and friends. But when they saw that the police were not giving up their search for them, they decided to escape to France. The first step was to head for the big cities, where the workers' movement organisations offered them information about how to cross the border, money for the journey and false documents in order to evade police checkpoints. They exited at both ends of the Pyrenees, which were much more accessible than the central part of the Pyrenean mountains range. They crossed on foot via mountain paths that the French police, due to a lack of resources, could not monitor, although there are also documented cases of crossing by rail and boat.

Most were taken to a commissaire spécial. There, the commissaire spécial interrogated them in order to decide whether they would be accepted as political refugees. There were repatriations, but many others were accepted in France, in spite of the unease their presence generated among the authorities, which classified them as undesirables on account of their scarce economic means and dangerous on account of their revolutionary activism. On the contrary, they found support in left-wing organisations, both French and

those of exiles themselves, as was the case of the “Comité des réfugiés socialistes espagnols”.

The first step was to check whether they had any pending issues with the law. If they did, they were repatriated to Spanish territory. For the rest, the vast majority, the Ministère de l’Intérieur dictated precise orders. All those that were undocumented, did not have the means to support themselves, lacked a work permit and, very especially, participated in politics could be repatriated. In reality, all the refugees fell into one of these situations. They crossed the border secretly, so that they did not have any documents or what they did have was false in order to avoid recognition by the Spanish police; their economic resources were scarce; and, amid a major crisis, it was not seemingly easy to employ them, and even less with a work contract. In light of the cases analysed, the departmental border authorities took a decision based mainly on the result of a police investigation. There were, then, directives to guide them, but also a wide margin of judgement when it came to interpreting them.

Those that were admitted were obliged to report to a city north of the River Loire. It was a question of keeping them away from the border, a territory where they could provoke incidents and protests on the part of the Spanish government. They could choose which city they wanted to go to because the French government was interested in them going somewhere they could find work or, at least, rely on some kind of support in order to avoid them becoming an expense for its administration. Many of them soon left these cities. Some wanted to return to the border in order to be near Spain, others attempted to head for Belgium –socialists–, others to the Soviet Union –communists– and a significant number to the Paris region, even though that was banned. In effect, in spite of this prohibition, Paris was the clandestine destination for many refugees, who became a headache for the French police, which had serious difficulties in expelling them.

The October refugees were subject to strict control on the part of French authorities. They were controlled both in the detention centres to which they were taken after crossing the border and in their different transits and the cities to which they were sent. This surveillance activity generated abundant documentation, which has allowed us to picture this exile and reconstruct its main milestones, until the amnesty approved by the triumph of the Popular Front in February 1936 permitted the return to Spain of these hundreds of refugees, many of whom would carry out significant work in the immediate Spanish political life.

Notes

1. The conspiratorial activity of monarchist politicians on the French Basque coast and in Paris has, though, been of interest: González Calleja 2011.

2. Works that allude to the exile of October 1934 coincide in pointing out the scarce existent bibliography in this regard: García 2012, 225-247, 225 and Branciforte 2011: 197.
3. An initial examination of the October revolutionary exile, limited to the Atlantic Pyrenees: Ceamanos 2018: 277-306.
4. There are only very general figures for the number of refugees. Some works indicate that approximately 350 Spanish activists took refuge in France, García 2012. 225-247, 232. Others contend that “between two and three hundred exiles crossed the Franco-Spanish border”. Branciforte 2011: 196.
5. AN, 19940496-62, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées-Orientales, 15 octobre 1935”.
6. ADPO, 4M, 768: “Procès-verbal. Benito Suárez. Marie Jean Lambert, Commissaire de Police Spéciale, Perpignan, 21 mai 1935”; and “Procès-verbal. José García Figaredo. Le Commissaire Spécial, Jules Robert, le 2 juillet 1935”. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Traduction d’une lettre reçue par le réfugié politique Juan Álvarez, Perpignan, 30 août 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Félix Martín. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de police spécial, Perpignan, 26 septembre 1935”; Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Andrés Pérez. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de police spécial, Perpignan, 30 septembre 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol José Peña Rico. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de police spécial, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Manuel Cela Fernández. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de police spécial, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”; and “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”.
7. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Procès-Verbal. Severo Bozal. Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”; “Cristobal Aguilar. Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Manuel Ruiz García. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de Police Spécial. Perpignan, 29 octobre 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Patricio Carro Losada. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de police spécial, Perpignan, 26 novembre 1935”; and “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Benigno Martínez Magdalena. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de police spécial, Perpignan, 26 novembre 1935”. ADPO, 4M, 770, “Interrogatoire du réfugié politique espagnol Luis González Rodríguez. Pierre Cortade, Inspecteur principal de Police Spécial, Perpignan, 23 décembre 1935”.
8. This ID was a document which identified its holder. Its falsification or misuse was punished by the penal code.
9. AN, 19940500-121: “Procès-verbal. José Suárez et José Cossio. Louis Sacaze, commissaire de Police Spéciale, Bourg-Madame, 24 février 1935”; and “Réfugiés politiques dirigés sur Orléans. Procès-verbal, Louis Sacaze, commissaire de Police Spéciale, Bourg-Madame, 27 février 1935”.
10. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Félix Martín. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de police spécial, Perpignan, 26 septembre 1935”;

- “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Manuel Cela Fernández. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”; and “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”.
11. ADPO, 4M, 769, “Traduction d’une lettre reçue par le réfugié politique Juan Álvarez, Perpignan, 30 août 1935”. ADPO, 4M, 768, “Procès-Verbal. Ángel Santín. Le Inspecteur principal de police Spécial, Pierre Cortade, Perpignan, 27 mai 1935”.
 12. AN, 19940500-121, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction de la Police du Territoire et des Étrangers) à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères (Direction de Affaires Politiques et Commerciales), 16 mars 1935”.
 13. ADPA, 1M, 253, “Rapport du Commissaire divisionnaire, Chef de Secteur (Roussel) à la Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale, 16 novembre 1934”.
 14. ADPO, 4M, 417: “Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Procès-verbal de la réunion préparatoire de la Commission interministérielle chargée de l’étude du renforcement de la surveillance des frontières”. ADPA, 1M, 253, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Commandant de Gendarmerie et le directeur de douanes, 25 janvier 1935 “.
 15. ADPA, 1M, 253: “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale), 3 novembre 1934”; and “Rapport du Commissaire divisionnaire à Pau et Chef de Secteur à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 15 novembre 1934”.
 16. ADPO, 4M, 417: “Le Commissaire Spécial de Bourg-Madame à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées-Orientales, Bourg-Madame, 17 novembre 1934”; and “Inspecteur des Eaux et Forêts. Rapport, Prades, 19 novembre 1934”.
 17. ADPO, 4M, 417, “Rapport du Sous-Préfet de l’arrondissement de Prades sur la reorganisation de la surveillance de la frontière, 17 novembre 1934”.
 18. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Procès-Verbal. Bernardino Duarte. “Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”; “Procès-Verbal. Severo Bozal. “Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”; and “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol José González. Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”.
 19. ADPO, 4M, 768, “Procès-Verbal. Ángel Santín. Le Inspecteur principal de police Spécial, Pierre Cortade, Perpignan, 27 mai 1935”.
 20. ADPO, 4M, 768: “Procès-verbal. Benito Suárez. Marie Jean Lambert, Commissaire de Police Spéciale, Perpignan, 21 mai 1935”; and “Procès-verbal. Reiner García Solis. Marie Jean Lambert, Commissaire de Police Spéciale, Perpignan, 21 mai 1935”.
 21. ADPO, 4M, 768, “Procès-verbal. Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan (Jules Robert), 18 juin 1935”.
 22. ADPO, 4M, 768: “Procès-verbal. José García Figaredo. Le Commissaire Spécial, Jules Robert, 2 juillet 1935”; and “Blas Fernández Trapote. Procès-verbal. Le Commissaire Spécial, Jules Robert, 2 juillet 1935”.

23. ADPO, 4M, 769, “Procès-verbal. Juan Álvarez. Jules Robert, Commissaire de Police Spéciale, Perpignan, 27 août 1935”; and “Traduction d’une lettre reçue par le réfugié politique Juan Álvarez, Perpignan, 30 août 1935”. The Commissaire de Police Spéciale was charged with monitoring borders and controlling the passage of foreigners. Specifically, the special police watched over railway and road crossings, while the gendarmerie patrolled the countryside in 5-man brigades.
24. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Procès-Verbal. Bernardino Duarte. “Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”; “Procès-Verbal. Severo Bozal. Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol José González. Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”; and “Cristobal Aguilar. Jules Robert, Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan, 12 août 1935”.
25. ADPO, 4M, 769, “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Félix Martín. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 26 septembre 1935”.
26. ADPO, 4M, 769, “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Manuel Ruiz García. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de Police Spécial. Perpignan, 29 octobre 1935”.
27. “ADPO, 4M, 769, Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Andrés Pérez. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 30 septembre 1935”.
28. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol José Peña Rico. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Manuel Cela Fernández. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”; and “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”.
29. ADPO, 4M, 769, “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Patricio Carro Losada. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 26 novembre 1935”; and “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Benigno Martínez Magdalena. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 26 novembre 1935”. ADPO, 4M, 770, “Interrogatoire du réfugié politique espagnol Luis González Rodríguez. Pierre Cortade, Inspecteur principal de Police Spécial, Perpignan, 23 décembre 1935”.
30. ADPA, 4M 247: “Le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 15 octobre 1934”; et “Procès-verbal. Baldomero Eterra, Vicente Mainz, Santiago Ustarroz et Juan Petruich. Brigade de Mauléon (Gendarmerie Nationale, Compagnie des Basses Pyrénées), 15 octobre 1934”.
31. ADPA 4M 247: “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 15 octobre 1934”; and “Le Commissaire Central à Pau à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 16 octobre 1934”. ADPA, 4M, 186, “Le Commissaire Central à Pau à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 16 octobre 1934”.
32. ADPA 4M 247, “Procès-verbal. José López et Victorino Aguirregoicoa. Brigade de Béhobie (Section Bayonne), 31 octobre 1934”.

33. ADPA, 4M, 247, “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 16 novembre 1934”.
34. ADPA, 4M, 245, “Le Chef d’Escadron ADAM Comandant de la Compagnie de Gendarmerie des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, Pau, 5 décembre 1934”. ADPA, 4M, 186, “Procès-verbal. Ángel Arensáez, Mario Camardiel, Pedro García, Manuel Rigal et Luis Fernández. Brigade des Aldudes (Sección Mauléon), 27 novembre 1934”. ADPA, 4M, 247, “Procès-verbal. Ángel Arensáez, Mario Camardiel, Pedro García, Manuel Rigal et Luis Fernández. Brigade de Bayonne, 28 novembre 1934”.
35. ADPA, 4M, 247, “Procès-verbal. Sergio Velasco, José Vizcaya, Manuel Gil, Manuel Vizuete, Cándido Busteros, Elisardo Pérez, Miguel Olalde, José Aranguren, Alberto Velasco, Saturnino Aransáez, Agustín Berzal, José Echevarría, Luis Arbella, Lluch Alberdi et Enrique de Francisco. Brigade de Boucau (Section de Bayonne. Compagnie des Basses Pyrénées), 26 novembre 1934”.
36. ADPA, 4M, 247: “Procès-verbal. José Lanza, Pedro Fuertes, Filomeno Guerra, Gregorio González et Antonio Souza. Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye, 17 janvier 1935”; and “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 21 janvier 1935”.
37. AN, 19940500-123, “Le Commissaire Divisionnaire à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, Hendaye, 22 janvier 1935”. The political refugees were: Juan Benito Espilla, Cándido Jiménez, Narciso Egurola, Celestino Fernández, César Fernández, Pedro Fernández Antolín, Antonio García, Fernando González, Pedro González Muñiz, Primitivo González, José Iglesias, Gaspar Moro, Jesús Posada, Daniel García, Marcelino García, Fernando Genaro, Antonio Robles López, Ángel Rodríguez, Severino Rodríguez and Enrique Suárez.
38. AN, 19940500-123: “Le Commissaire Central d’Orléans à Monsieur le Préfet du Loiret, Orléans, 23 janvier 1935”; “Ministre de l’Intérieur, 29 Janvier 1935”; and “Le Commissaire Divisionnaire à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, Hendaye, 22 janvier 1935”.
39. ADPA, 4M, 236, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron, 19 septembre 1934”.
40. AN, 19940500-123, “Ministre de l’Intérieur, 29 janvier 1935”.
41. AN, 19940500-123, “Le Commissaire Central d’Orléans à Monsieur le Préfet du Loiret, Orléans, 23 janvier 1935”.
42. ADPA, 1M, 240: “Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Directeur Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, sous-direction de la Police des Étrangers, Courses et Jeux) à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 14 janvier 1935”; and “Le Directeur des Chemins de Fer P.O. Midi, 14 décembre 1934”.
43. ADPA, 4M, 247, “Procès-verbal. Mariano Hernández et Manuel Sánchez. Brigade d’Hendaye (Section Bayonne), 4 novembre 1934”.
44. ADPA 4M 247, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à la Direction Générale de la Surêté Nationale, 6 novembre 1934”.

45. ADPA, 4M, 247: “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées [27 décembre 1934]” and “Le Directeur de douanes à Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 18 janvier 1935”.
46. ADA, 5M, 144, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, 7ème Bureau) à Monsieur le Préfet de Police et à Messieurs les Préfets, Paris, 27 octobre 1934”; and ADPA, 4M, 243, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron, le Commissaire divisionnaire à Pau, le Commissaire Central à Pau et le Commandant de Gendarmerie, 29 octobre 1934”.
47. ADPO, 4M, 417, “Le Commissaire Central de Police à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan, le 18 novembre 1934”.
48. ADPO, 4M, 769, “Traduction d’une lettre reçue par le réfugié politique Juan Álvarez, Perpignan, 30 août 1935”. This letter was sent to the home address of bar owner Michel Dachts, 64, rue Maréchal Foch (Perpignan), who sent it on to the applicant.
49. ADPO, 4M, 769, “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Manuel Ruiz García. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de Police Spécial. Perpignan, 29 octobre 1935”.
50. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 30 septembre 1935”; “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 4 Octobre 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol José Peña Rico. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”; “Interrogatoire de l’espagnol Manuel Cela Fernández. Pierre Cortade, inspecteur principal de pólce spécial, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”; and “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 10 octobre 1935”.
51. ADPO, 4M, 769: “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 30 septembre 1935” and “Le Commissaire Spécial de Perpignan à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées- Orientales, Perpignan, 4 octobre 1935”.
52. AN, 19940496-62: “Le Préfet de Police [Paris] à Monsieur le Président du Conseil et le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale), 3 Février 1936”; and “[s.n.], janvier 1936”.
53. ADPA, 4M, 187: “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, 30 septembre 1935”; “Procès-verbal. Antonio Gutiérrez et José Cristóbal. Brigade de Béhobie (Section de Bayonne, Compagnie des Basses-Pyrénées), 27 septembre 1935”; and “Rapport du Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, 30 septembre 1935”.
54. ADPA, 4M, 187: “Rapport du Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 4 octobre 1935”; “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Préfet de la Gironda, 7 octobre 1935”; and “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à la Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale (cabinet du Directeur), 9 octobre 1935”.
55. ADPA 4M 246: “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 30 octobre 1934”; and “Procès-verbal de réfolement. Eucario Redín, [s.d.]”.

56. ADPA, 4M, 186, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Sûreté Nationale, 7ème bureau), 16 novembre 1934”.
57. ADPA 4M 246, “Circulaire de Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Sûreté) aux préfetures frontalières, 20 novembre 1934”.
58. AN, 19940496-62, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur à Monsieur le Préfet des Pyrénées-Orientales, 15 octobre 1935”.
59. ADPA, 4M 247, “Le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 15 octobre 1934”.
60. ADPA, 4M, 245, “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 28 novembre 1934 “.
61. ADPA, 4M, 186, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Sûreté Nationale, 7ème bureau), 16 novembre 1934”.
62. ADA, 5M, 144: “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, 7ème Bureau) aux Messieurs les Préfets, le Préfet de Police et le Gouverneur Général de l’Algérie, Paris, 31 octobre 1934”; and “Le Préfet de l’Ariège à Messieurs le Sous-Préfet de Saint-Girons, le commandant de Gendarmerie en Foix, le commissaire spécial, le commissaire de pólíce en Foix, le commissaire de Police en Pamiers, le capitaine des Douanes, 29 novembre 1934”. ADPA 4M 246, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Sûreté Nationale) à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 27 décembre 1934”.
63. ADPA, 4M, 243: “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police et le Gouverneur Générale d’Algérie, 31 octobre 1934”; “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron, le CommissaireSpécial à Pau, le Commissaire Central à Pau et le Commandant de Gendarmerie, 30 octobre 1934”; and “[s.n.] à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 6 novembre 1934”. ADA, 5M, 144, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, 7ème Bureau) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police et le Gouverneur Général de l’Algérie, Paris, 31 octobre 1934”.
64. ADPA 4M 247, “Le secrétaire de la commissariat de Biarritz à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, 23 octobre 1934”.
65. ADPA 4M 247, “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 24 octobre 1934”.
66. ADPA 4M 247: “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, 22 octobre 1934”; and “Le secrétaire de la commissariat de Biarritz à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, 24 octobre 1934”.
67. ADPA, 4M, 246, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale), 26 décembre 1934”.
68. ADPA 4M 247, “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées [27 décembre 1934]”.
69. ADPA 4M 246: “Procès-verbal. Ricardo Zabalza. Gendarmerie d’Urdo, 22 octobre 1934”; and “Le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, [s.d.]”.

70. ADPA 4M 246, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à la Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, 31 décembre de 1934”. There was new information about the rejection of refugees arriving by sea. In January 1935, the sub-prefect of Bayonne informed the prefect about fifteen refugees that had arrived in the Gironde by boat and that had been refused entry. ADPA 4M 246, “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 22 janvier 1935”.
71. ADPA, 4M, 247: “Procès-verbal. José Lanza, Pedro Fuertes, Filomeno Guerra, Gregorio González et Antonio Souza. Commissaire divisionnaire à Pau, 17 janvier 1935”; and “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 21 janvier 1935”.
72. ADPA, 4M, 247, “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 19 février 1935”.
73. ADPA, 4M, 243, “Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police et le Gouverneur Générale d’Algérie, 31 octobre 1934”. Paris had been a key city in the Spanish exile. See Martínez Canal and Lemus eds. 2010.
74. ADPA, 4M, 243, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron, le Commissaire divisionnaire à Pau, le Commissaire Central à Pau et le Commandant de Gendarmerie, 29 octobre 1934”. Among other exiles, the Carlists were also the object of movement away from the border, police surveillance and control by the French authorities, Rújula 2007: 167-189, 174.
75. ADPA 4M 247, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale), 3 novembre 1934”.
76. ADPA 4M 247: “Le Commissaire Central à Pau à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 16 novembre 1934”; and “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Sûreté Nationale), copie à Monsieur le Préfet d’Orléans, 19 novembre 1934”.
77. ADPA 4M 247, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (copie à Monsieur le Préfet d’Orléans, 16 novembre 1934”. ADPA, 4M, 186: “Le Sous-Préfet d’Oloron à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 19 novembre 1934”; and “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Ministre de l’Intérieur et le Préfet d’Orléans, [s.d.]”.
78. ADPA, 4M, 247, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées au Commissaire Spécial à Hendaye, 24 novembre 1934”.
79. ADPA, 4M, 247: “Rapport du Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 21 novembre 1934”; and “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Préfet d’Orléans (Loiret), [s.d.]”.
80. ADPA, 4M, 246 : “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale) et le Préfet d’Orléans (Loiret), 30 novembre 1934”; and “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 1 décembre 1934”.
81. ADPA 4M 247, “Le Commissaire Central à Pau à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 1 novembre 1934”.

82. ADPA, 4M, 247: “Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 9 novembre 1934”; and “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Préfet de Tours et le Ministre de l’Intérieur, 13 novembre 1934”.
83. ADPA 4M 246, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à la Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale et au Préfet de Tours, 14 novembre 1934”. ADPA 4M 247, “Le Commissaire divisionnaire de Bayonne à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 14 novembre 1934”.
84. ADPA, 4M, 247: “Note. Le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, 14 novembre 1934”; and “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 16 novembre 1934”.
85. ADPA, 4M, 246, “Liste des réfugiés politiques espagnols qui ont quitté Hendaye en direction d’Évreux, 1 décembre 1934”.
86. ADPA, 4M, 246, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale), 26 décembre 1934”.
87. ADPA, 4M 247: “Le Sous-Préfet d’Orlon à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 15 octobre 1934”; and “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à la Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale et au Préfet de la Gironde, 27 décembre 1934”.
88. ADPA, 4M, 246: “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale), 26 décembre 1934”; and “Direction de la Sûreté Nationale à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 27 décembre 1934”.
89. ADPA, 4M, 246, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à la Direction Générale de la Sûreté Générale, 27 décembre 1934”.
90. ADPA 4M 246, “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Hendaye à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 11 novembre 1934”.
91. ADPA, 4M, 247, “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées à Monsieur le Directeur de la Sûreté Nationale, 3 novembre 1934”.
92. ADPA, 4M, 243: “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police et le Gouverneur Générale d’Algérie, 31 octobre 1934”; “Le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées aux Messieurs le Sous-Préfet de Bayonne, le Sous-Préfet d’Orlon, le Commissaire Spécial à Pau, le Commissaire Central à Pau et le Commandant de Gendarmerie, 30 octobre 1934”; and “[s.n.] à Monsieur le Préfet des Basses-Pyrénées, 6 novembre 1934”.
93. ADPA, 4M, 245, “Le Commissaire divisionnaire à Toulouse (Ministre de l’Intérieur, Direction générale de la Sûreté Nationale) au Directeur Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, 6 décembre 1934”.
94. Specifically, and in chronological order: Francisco Granell, José Grau and Rosendo Vilagines had left Laval in early December; José Santiago Mensa had also left Orléans in early December; Laureano Argüelles, Joaquín Campo, Mariano Fernández, José Laín, Faustino Miranda and Isidoro Pons had left, once more, Orléans around 15 December; and the last one, Isidoro Pons, in turn, had left Nantes on 19 December; and Ramón Moreno also left Orléans around 20 December. ADA, 5 M 144, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale) à Messieurs les Préfets de France et d’Algérie (Seine excepté),

- Le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, 4 janvier 1935"; and "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale) à Messieurs les Préfets de France et d'Algérie (Seine excepté), Le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, 14 janvier 1935".
95. ADA, 5 M 144, "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Contrôle Général des Services de Police Administrative) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police, le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, 8 juillet 1935".
 96. ADA, 5 M 144, "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police, le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, 21 mai 1935".
 97. ADA, 5 M 144, "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Contrôle Général des Services de Police Administrative) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police, le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, le 15 juin 1935".
 98. ADA, 5 M 144, "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Contrôle Général des Services de Police Administrative) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police, le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, 8 juillet 1935".
 99. ADA, 5 M 144, "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Contrôle Général des Services de Police Administrative) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police, le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, le 15 juin 1935".
 100. ADA, 5 M 144, "Le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Contrôle Général des Services de Police Administrative) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police, le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port arien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, le 15 juin 1935".
 101. APP. BA, 2160, "Le Préfet de Police à Monsieur le Ministre de l'Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale), 21 décembre 1934".

102. APP, BA, 2160, “Le Préfet de Police à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale), 21 décembre 1934”.
103. APP, BA, 2160, “Le Préfet de Police à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale), 21 décembre 1934”.
104. APP. BA, 2160, “Le Préfet de Police à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Direction de la Police du Territoire et des Étrangers), 2 septembre 1935. Rapport, 27 août 1935”.
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106. APP. BA, 2160, “Le Préfet de Police à Monsieur le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale), 21 décembre 1934”.
107. ADA, 5 M 144, “Le Ministre de l’Intérieur (Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale. Contrôle Général des Services de Police Administrative) aux Messieurs les préfets, le Préfet de Police, le Gouverneur Général de l’Algérie, les commissaires spéciaux des gares de Paris et du Port aerien du Bourget, en communication à Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, 31 octobre 1935”.
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