

XAVIER MORENO JULIÀ  
ROVIRA I VIRGILI UNIVERSITY TARRAGONA\*

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5188-123X>

## German institutional aid to Spanish students in Germany during the Second World War<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** During the Second World War Dr. Edith Faupel intensively helped the Spanish students and soldiers of the Blue Division, the unit that fought in Russia within the Wehrmacht troops. She was the wife of the first German Ambassador in the National Spain, General Wilhelm Faupel (1936–1937). Faupel was the director of The Iberian-American Institute and of the German-Spanish Society at a time. She and her husband fully served the regime of the National Socialists during its existence in Germany. The action of this woman and her motifs are studied in this article. It is also analysed how her activities were determined by the changes on the fronts of World War II.

**Keywords:** Second World War, diplomacy, Spain, Germany, Third Reich.

Protected by her husband, the German Ambassador to National Spain, Dr. Edith Faupel provided assistance to Spanish students in Germany through the two institutions of which her husband was president: the Instituto Iberoamericano (Iberian-American Institute) and the Sociedad Germano-Española (German-Spanish Society). An analysis of her activities can shed more light on German-Spanish relations during the Second World War, which were obviously affected by the progress of the conflict in which both morale and funds decreased notably over time<sup>2</sup>.

\* Department of History and History of Art, e-mail: [xavier.moreno@urv.cat](mailto:xavier.moreno@urv.cat)

<sup>1</sup> My gratitude goes to Professor Dariusz Jeziorny, from University of Lodz, for his interest in publishing the article. It also goes to Iain and Margaret Stewart, from Edinburgh, for their language revision.

<sup>2</sup> I have essentially been able to reconstruct her activities from primary sources: from documentation I found in the Federal Archive of Koblenz [hereinafter:

It is difficult to determine an overall plan in General Wilhelm Faupel's career during the 1920s and 1930s. First, between 1921 and 1930, he was in Argentina, where he worked as an advisor to the Army Minister. He then went to Peru, where he worked as an inspector, also of the Army, although this did not last for very long because in September 1930 he was expelled by the country's new provisional government<sup>3</sup>.

After returning to Berlin, Wilhelm Faupel became director of the Iberian-American Institute and the German-Spanish Society<sup>4</sup>, two institutions which allowed him full contact with both the Spanish and Hispano-American political scenes between 1934 and 1936. Furthermore, as Head of the Institute, Faupel led the annual Hispanic Day celebrations on 12 October, and in April 1935 presided over the founding of the German-Iberian-American Medical Academy<sup>5</sup>. Consequently, Faupel was able to obtain a lot of information about Spain and to develop many contacts: for example, the Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop participated in the 'Day of the Race' celebrations in October 1935, which was also attended by the writer Ernesto Giménez Caballero, who gave a talk on "Poetry and state propaganda in the work of Lope de Vega"<sup>6</sup>.

The Spanish Civil War began in July 1936. The information and contacts obtained by Faupel, together with his National Socialist beliefs, took him to Salamanca (General Franco's headquarters) where he worked as German Special Representative first (November 1936) and then after as German Ambassador (from March 1937).

---

the Koblenz Archive] when I visited Germany in 1995 to collect material for my doctoral thesis. I published this work at the University of Barcelona in July 2003 under the title *Falangismo y División Azul* (Falangism and the Blue Division) and won one of the Extraordinary Doctorate Prizes awarded by the University. At the end of 2004 it was published as *La División Azul. Sangre española en Rusia, 1941-1945* (The Blue Division: Spanish Blood in Russia, 1941-1945), a book which has run to seven editions and has been translated to Polish (2009) and English (2015). Otherwise, I have published *Hitler y Franco: Diplomacia en tiempos de Guerra, 1936-1945* (Hitler and Franco, wartime diplomacy 1936-1945) (2007) and *Legión Azul y Segunda Guerra Mundial: hundimiento hispano-alemán en el Frente del Este, 1943-1944* (Blue Legion and Second War World: Spanish-German collapse on the Eastern Front 1943-1944) (2014), the final book of my Trilogy about Spain and the Second World War.

<sup>3</sup> "La Vanguardia Española" [newspaper], March 29, 1934, p. 28, and September 18, 1930, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Hereafter I shall refer to these as the Institute and the Society.

<sup>5</sup> "La Vanguardia Española", October 13, 1934, p. 23; and April 10, 1935, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> "La Vanguardia Española", October 12, 1935, p. 29.

However, in August 1937 his political career once again received a setback when he was dismissed from his post. It would seem that Franco took action against him after tiring of his constant interfering in military questions and internal Spanish politics. This was sensed to a certain degree by the other side in the fight, the Republicans: "What can have happened between *von [sic] Faupel* and the Spanish Judases who have sold their country? Officially it is said that Hitler's representative resigned because of his health. But he is still a young and vigorous man, [...]. Furthermore, *it is a standard official excuse to cite health concerns as the reason behind all politically forced resignations.* There is a connection between the resignation of *von Faupel* and the frequent and bloody disagreements that have been occurring for some weeks in the rebel camp. [...] The Spanish people have not been able to prevent foreigners from imposing their laws on them. And the real dictator among the rebels [Franco] was not that lucky little general who convulsed fascist Spain and placed himself at the head of the military rebellion when Sanjurjo [General] and Goded [General] fell, but rather it was an unbearable foreigner, *von Faupel*, a man completely devoid of any political tact, *a perfect specimen of Teutonic insolence, who ended up irritating* not only the Spaniards subject to his tyranny, but also all the Babylonian creatures of the invasion"<sup>7</sup>.

The reality is that the dismissal of Wilhelm Faupel came about as a result of various veiled declarations made by Franco to General Hugo Sperrle, first commander of the Condor Legion (German military unit in Spanish Civil War), at a time when Franco was having to deal with the Falangist Manuel Hedilla (Falange party leader after the assassination of its founder, José Antonio Primo de Rivera), who in April 1937 had refused to accept Franco's *Decree of Unification* with the Carlist and other right-wing parties. Hedilla was dismissed without warning, arrested on the 25 April and sentenced to death, although this was finally commuted to imprisonment and later to exile<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> "La Vanguardia Española", August 26, 1937, front page. Author's Italics.

<sup>8</sup> Faupel was substituted, until December 1942, by Eberhard von Stohrer (the first appointed career Ambassador, in July 1936, whom Hitler finally decided to change by a General in order to get a better interaction with Franco, a move which finally proved to be a big mistake). When the Minister von Ribbentrop lost confidence in him, he was substituted by Hans von Moltke, who suddenly died three months later, in March. The post of German Ambassador in Madrid was then given to Hans Dieckhoff who left unexpectedly in September 1944 for Berlin.

After returning to Germany, General Faupel resumed leadership of the Institute and the Society, both of which maintained cultural links with Spain, and which functioned in fairly collegial manner, to the point of sharing the same premises from the end of 1941. In any case, Faupel orientated both towards a common goal: to bring Spain and Hispanic-America closer to the German cause<sup>9</sup>.

The Iberian-American Institute had been established in January 1930 to create a cultural bridge between Germany and Hispanic America. It had libraries specialising in Latin-American matters and was located in the “Neuer Marstall”, the stables of the Berlin City Palace. Its first director was Otto Boelitz, ex-Prussian Minister of Culture and Education who had to deal with an exasperating lack of funds. Despite this, the *Institute* was able to publish a journal entitled *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*<sup>10</sup>.

In 1934, Wilhelm Faupel became president of the *Institute* and reorientated it along National Socialist lines through his close relations with certain elite Latin-American and Spanish circles and through the publishing of propaganda such as the journal *Ensayos y Estudios* (Essays and Studies), which appeared in 1939 and was published in Spanish and Portuguese. At the same time, Faupel expanded the library with the cataloguing of new large collections, and started exchanges with other institutions and fund raising activities<sup>11</sup>.

In October 1941, the *Institute's* premises were given to the Nazi Party's *Department of Colonial Politics*, which meant it had to move to a neo-classic building surrounded by gardens called the “Villa Siemens”, 25–32 Gärtnerstrasse, in Berlin-Lankwitz<sup>12</sup>. In those

---

The post then remained vacant until the end of the War. For more information on this matter, see X. Moreno Juliá, *La División Azul...*, pp. 15 and 437.

<sup>9</sup> For more information regarding the *Institute* during the Nazi years, see the book written in collaboration by R. Liehr, G. Maihold and G. Vollmer, *Ein Institut und sein General. Wilhelm Faupel und das Ibero-Amerikanische Institut in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt-Main-Vervuert 2003. See also the *Institute's* website [www.iai.spk-berlin.de](http://www.iai.spk-berlin.de), edited by *Preussischer Kulturbesitz*.

<sup>10</sup> Webpage of the *Ibero-American Institute* (IAI), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>12</sup> The location of the Institute, among others, can be found on the obverse of a private letter dated September 16, 1942, and a note from the Spanish Consulate in Berlin dated June 19, 1943. Regarding the building, see three photos in number 125 of the journal *Aspa. Actualidades Sociales y Políticas de Alemania*, August 1942. For information about Doctor von Merkatz, see the letter dated February 16, 1944 sent by Carlos Fesser Teresa which is now in Koblenz Archive,

days, the *Institute* was to a large extent managed by its secretary, Doctor Hans Joachim von Merkatz, a man of proven ability who would continue working as a Minister in the Federal German Republic with Konrad Adenauer after the fall of Nazism.

For its part, the German-Spanish Society also had its central offices in Berlin and, from 1941 onwards, would occupy the “Villa Siemens”, which it would manage in conjunction with the German-American Society<sup>13</sup>. In time, three branches of the Society would be created in Munich (Bavaria) in April 1942, in Leipzig (Saxony) in October 1942, and in Frankfurt am Main (Hesse) in February 1943<sup>14</sup>. Of these branches, we know that the Munich branch was unable to award scholarships<sup>15</sup> and that the Leipzig branch was located in the crowded Gutenberg Square, along with many other literary institutions<sup>16</sup>. In particular, the Leipzig branch had been created out of an exhibition called “Spain in German literature”<sup>17</sup> and also held cultural activities every fortnight involving German and Spanish members who were particularly respected for their cultural contributions<sup>18</sup>.

In addition, the *Institute* was home to many other activities and cultural events such as the concerts that were given in a room decorated in the pseudo-classical style of the building, that is, gold on a white background. These concerts were Spanish or Portuguese pieces often performed by German orchestras such as the Krefeld “Collegium Musicum”<sup>19</sup>.

Faupel, in his role of president of both the Institute and the Society, managed to earn the affection of a number of Spaniards when in December 1942 he returned a group of fourteen “children

---

*Deutsch-Spanische Gesellschaft* collection [hereinafter: the *D-S.G.*], Aktenbände [hereinafter: the Akt.] 23.

<sup>13</sup> “La Vanguardia Española”, October 12, 1941, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> J. i M. Marició, *La cultura como instrumento de la influencia alemana en España: la Sociedad Germano-Española de Berlín (1930–1945)*, “Ayer” 2008, No. 69, pp. 40–41.

<sup>15</sup> Edith Faupel to Manuel de Castro Muñoz, May 20, 1942, Koblenz Archive, *D-S.G.*, Akt. 27.

<sup>16</sup> German-Spanish Society report by Eduardo G. García-Hernández called “España en el libro alemán”, April 1943, Koblenz Archive, *D-S.G.*, Akt. 24, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>18</sup> German-Spanish Society report by Eduardo G. García Hernández called “España en el libro alemán”, April 1943, Koblenz Archive, *D-S.G.*, Akt. 24, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Aspa. Actualidades Sociales y Políticas de Alemania*, No. 125, August 1942, pp. 8 and 9.

from Russia” found by the Wehrmacht at the front<sup>20</sup>. This moment gave a particular boost to Hispanic-German cultural relations and, from 1930 to 1942, saw the publication of 6,114 books and journal articles on Spanish subjects in Germany. This was half the 12,574 published on Iberian-American subjects. Overall, this amounted to an average publication of four volumes a day, which indicates a considerable interest in all things Hispanic<sup>21</sup>.

The Spanish counterparts to both the Institute and the Society were created midway through 1941 when the entity *Amigos de Alemania* (Friends of Germany) was founded in Barcelona on 24 June and the *Sociedad Hispano-Germana* (Hispanic-German Society) was founded in Madrid on 5 August<sup>22</sup>. *Amigos de Alemania* was led by the Military Governor General Enrique Múgica, although the honorary presidency was held by the Captain General of the 4<sup>th</sup> Military Region, Alfredo Kindelán, and the Civil Governor of the province, Antonio de Correa Véglison. It was probably conceived in the mind of, among others, the writer, *old shirt* (early Falangist) and *ex-prisoner Luys Santamarina* (pseudonym of Luis Gutiérrez Santa Marina), member of the organizing commission<sup>23</sup>.

It was no accident that *Amigos de Alemania* was born only two days after the German invasion of Russia, one day after the demonstration in support of Germany that brought Barcelona city centre to a standstill and on the very same day as the Falangist demonstration in Madrid which would pave the way for the creation of the Blue Division. Its function was to “channel the sympathies in our city (and province) towards the great Germany of Adolf Hitler”. However, the Catalan masses were not given to Germano-

---

<sup>20</sup> Children from Cantabria, mostly Basques, evacuated in 1937 during the Civil War by their parents and families, who wanted to prevent them coming into contact with the occupying National army. See “*La Vanguardia Española*”, December 13, 1942, p. 8. It seems that some of them showed no interest in re-establishing contact with their families (“Above all it is the girls who show the greatest lack of emotion when they receive news about their relatives. Some of them say ‘I am not interested’”).

<sup>21</sup> Data obtained from a German-Spanish Society report by Eduardo G. García Hernández in April 1943 called “*España en el libro alemán*”, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 24, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> See “*Solidaridad Nacional*” [newspaper], August 6, 1941.

<sup>23</sup> See “*Solidaridad Nacional*” June 24, and August 30, 1941; and “*La Vanguardia Española*”, July 30, 1941.

philia, which was almost exclusively restricted to the better-off sections of the population<sup>24</sup>.

The Hispanic-German Society had a greater impact given that it was based in the Spanish capital and that it soon had 250 members. Among these were Alfonso García Valdecasas, co-founder of the Falange and professor of Political Law; Pedro Laín Entralgo, doctor and Falangist writer who would soon become professor of History of Medicine at the University of Madrid; Ernesto Giménez Caballero, the Germanophile writer linked to the Falange (initially a supporter of the fascist JONS – Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista), and Eugenio D'Ors, the eminent essayist, philosopher and art critic<sup>25</sup>.

Despite its initial strength, the Hispanic-German Society had to wait until September 1942 before its bilingual bulletin started to appear (the writing committee consisting of Antonio Tovar, Pedro Laín Entralgo and the writer and journalist Juan Beneyto<sup>26</sup>) and until March 1943 before it could move to its permanent premises at number 5, Pinar Street<sup>27</sup>.

### **Edith Faupel and Spain**

Edith Fleischauer was born in Magdeburg in 1890 in a wealthy family. She married captain Wilhelm Faupel in 1909, with only 19 years old (17 less than him), and accompanied him in all his stays abroad. Thus, she went to Argentina and Peru. Hence, she was fluent in Spanish like her husband. That allowed her to obtain the academic level of Doctor in Political Science in 1929 with the doctoral thesis “Causes of the economic failure of Bolshevism”. After returning to Berlin (1931), she worked “ad honorem” at the *Ibero-American Institute*, of which her husband would become director three years later<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*. Regarding the lack of Germanophilia among the Catalan working class, see the various references I make in chapter four of *La División Azul*...

<sup>25</sup> J. i M. Marició, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> “La Vanguardia Española”, September 16, 1942, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> “La Vanguardia Española”, March 12, 1943, p. 5. The inauguration was attended by the German Ambassador von Moltke and by the Spanish Ministers of National Education and Industry and Commerce.

<sup>28</sup> Del Barrio Garcés, R. Silvano, *La primera parte de una historia vital: Wilhelm Faupel, años de juventud y primera madurez (1873–1919)*, minor thesis,

Wilhelm Faupel's leadership of the *Institute* and the *Society* received effective support from the activities of his wife, Doctor Edith Faupel, who soon earned the respect of many Spanish students, although the esteem they accorded her was not always disinterested. Before we analyse this, however, it should be pointed out that the Faupels' efforts went beyond mere philanthropy and were aimed at cementing in people's minds to a favourable perception of the Nazi regime, of which both Wilhelm and Edith were fervent followers. As the Spanish Ambassador said in Munich: "The most important intellectuals of the Falange, those who have continued the political thought of José Antonio, have got to know Germany intimately thanks to the Institute and the efforts of General Faupel and Doctor Faupel, who is held in such high esteem by all of us, and they have studied the doctrine and techniques of National Socialism with positive and profitable results"<sup>29</sup>.

Edith Faupel was without doubt a special woman in many ways. Although of German roots, she had a sincere love for Spain ("Spain! A word that makes millions of German hearts beat faster", she once said) and placed great value on the strong contrasts in its landscape, such that she wrote that, for her, it was "a land of disconcerting contrasts". "In Spain, one can find high mountains, extensive coastline, arid steppes and fertile arable land, enchanting valleys reminiscent of those in Thuringia, and landscapes comparable to those in the south of Morocco or Algeria, pine woodlands and palm-lined oases".

However, at the heart of Spain, Doctor Faupel particularly admired Castile and its people, as is reflected in this paragraph also written by her: "Together with the variety in the landscape, we can also observe the contrast between the dark and vivacious Andalusian and the proud, severe and quiet Castilian, whose soul appears to be a reflection of the arid but also magnificent Castilian Meseta [central Spain]".

---

Rovira i Virgili University, Tarragona 2016, pp. 90, 91 and 111; *Sin fronteras: encuentros entre mujeres y hombres entre América Latina y Europa (siglos XIX y XX)*, eds E. Scarzanella, M. Raisa Schpun, Madrid-Frankfurt am Main 2008, p. 47.

<sup>29</sup> It seems that Wilhelm Faupel was involved in the air accident that cost the life of Arthur Yencken, the British diplomat based in Madrid. (See the reproduction of the letter sent by Faupel to von Merkatz on 22 May 1944, [www.hitlers-escape.com./carta5.htm](http://www.hitlers-escape.com./carta5.htm)). The text of the Spanish Ambassador, in the Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 27.

Andalusia fascinated her because of the historic Muslim domination of the region, which is reflected in the walls and patios of the Alhambra (“We admire the magnificent double vaulting over the main entrance [...]. The towers at the sides give an impression of threatening and sombre strength but furnish no clues as to the joyful elegance of the interior”). Similar reverence was extended towards the city of Cádiz, which she described as being perched “between the lagoon and the rugged Atlantic coast and pumelled by the waves of the wild ocean”<sup>30</sup>.

With regard to contemporary Spanish politics, Edith Faupel believed that the country should “take its place in the international community” and that the creation of the Blue Division was a step in this direction: “Today in the Main Square of Madrid we came across a brave combatant of the Blue Division, who was wearing the German Iron Cross next to the insignia of the Falange. This meeting is symbolic for us: it shows that Spain has taken its place within the European community”<sup>31</sup>.

That is to say, in the mind of Dr. Faupel, Spain on the one hand and Spaniards on the other. In this sense, the psychological interaction that Doctor Faupel established with her students is more than a little curious: she literally took on the role of adoptive mother towards them (she was ‘mother’ and the students ‘children’). An example of this can be found in the farewell letter she wrote to one of them in May 1942, which finishes with “an affectionate embrace from your mother Edith F. Your photo is already displayed among those of my other children”<sup>32</sup>.

In any case, these forms of address were generally accepted by those she communicated with. Such was the case with Celia Giménez, the future Head of the Women’s Section of the Falange in Germany, radio broadcaster and official ‘female figurehead’ of the Blue Division. In a letter dated December 1939, she expressed her gratitude to Doctor Faupel for her “immense material and moral support” during the year that Giménez had stayed in Germany, and addressed her as “dearly loved and admired mother Faupel”<sup>33</sup>.

---

<sup>30</sup> Notes of Edith Faupel, undated, Koblenz Archive, *D-S.G.*, Akt. 13.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>32</sup> Edith Faupel to Manuel de Castro Muñoz, May 20, 1942, Koblenz Archive, *D-S.G.*, Akt. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Celia Giménez to Edith Faupel, December 20, 1939, Koblenz Archive, *D-S.G.*, Akt. 27.

### **Institutional activities of Edith Faupel**

One of the fundamental activities of Edith Faupel and the Hispanic-German Society was to provide the students with financial assistance. The Society thus complemented the work of institutions such as the Deutsche Akademie and the Akademische Auslandsstelle, which awarded the prestigious Humboldt grants<sup>34</sup>. The Society's grants were usually between 100 and 300 marks every month<sup>35</sup>. For example, in October 1942, Edith Faupel started to send 150 marks a month to the future surgeon Francisco Acín in Göttingen<sup>36</sup>. In November, she sent another 150 marks to Martín Imaz, who was complaining about not being able to find accommodation in Kassel<sup>37</sup>.

Through these subsidies, she was able to channel the students towards certain institutions, such as the Faculty of Medicine in Breslau<sup>38</sup>. If necessary, she even re-sent quantities of money: "My dear friend, I am re-sending your allowance for the month of July in the hope that this time it safely reaches your hands"<sup>39</sup>.

And she would also re-assume responsibility for paying grants to students, as was the case with a medical student who was supposed to receive 100 marks a month plus an initial amount of 200 marks: "My friend Trullás tells me that you have not received

<sup>34</sup> Edith Faupel to Manuel de Castro Muñoz, May 20, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>35</sup> A *Reichsmark* was worth 4.24 pesetas. The average wage of a working class Spaniard (textiles worker, miner, construction worker) at the time was around three hundred pesetas a month, or about seventy *Reichsmarks*. See *La División Azul...*, p. 363 and pp. 422–425.

<sup>36</sup> Edith Faupel to Francisco Acín Jerez, October 9, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>37</sup> Edith Faupel wrote to him: "I understand how difficult it is to find a room, but the time, patience and talent of my sons will solve even the most difficult problems". Edith Faupel to Martín Imaz, November 2, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>38</sup> "I propose that you should go to work in Breslau. If you did this, I could promise you a monthly allowance of 150 because I have funds available that are specifically for Spaniards studying in Breslau. Furthermore, as that Faculty of Medicine has an excellent reputation in Germany, perhaps it would be beneficial to you if you were able to find a professor in the specialty that you wish to study". Edith Faupel to Kutz Echave, January 6, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>39</sup> Edith Faupel to Ernesto Pinto Bazurco, July 29, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

a penny from the *Reichsärztekammer* since May. I don't know what to say about such a completely disorganised organisation. Of course, I will continue to send you the 100 marks until the *Reichsärztekammer* takes over from me. Perhaps one day you will be able to surprise me with the news that they have"<sup>40</sup>.

The grants sometimes turned out to be providential, as is indicated in a letter written by a philosophy graduate from Frankfurt am Main, Fernando Nogués, to Edith Faupel in November 1942. Nogués had been awarded a Humboldt grant in 1941 in order to learn German. Once he had arrived in Germany, he decided to do a doctorate, which meant that the *Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung* delayed payment of his grant until July 1943. However, he had to give Spanish classes from the moment he arrived to support himself. This state of affairs prevented him from studying properly and continued until Edith Faupel helped him to obtain a grant from the German-Spanish Society, at which point the young man's situation began to improve considerably<sup>41</sup>.

Also seemingly providential were the 200 marks sent by Edith Faupel in September 1943 to a seriously ill Spanish student to cover the cost of the radiotherapy that he was receiving in Germany. "I am very sorry, my dear friend, to learn that you are ill and please believe me when I wish you a quick recovery", she wrote in a letter to him, which she concluded, "Never think that your letters are a nuisance to me or that they take up my time, because it is through them that I find out about your life, and if you tell me about your troubles, I will do everything I can to help you and thus live up to the confidence that you have in you dear and maternal friend"<sup>42</sup>.

Edith Faupel also defrayed the cost of German classes for the students ("if you decide to do it and you have time, you will end up being able to speak it because, in this life, my dear protégé, the right attitude can achieve a great deal")<sup>43</sup>. But her assistance was

<sup>40</sup> Edith Faupel to José María Gómez Yelo, July 29, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Fernando Nogués Mezquita to Edith Faupel, November 3, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>42</sup> Edith Faupel to José María Gómez Yelo, September 16, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>43</sup> Edith Faupel to Antonio Seguy, August 26, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

not solely financial, because she also provided student reports to certain grant-awarding institutions, such as the aforementioned *Humboldt-Stiftung*. In so doing she came, in time, to have considerable power over the Spanish students' chances of remaining in Germany<sup>44</sup>.

Doctor Faupel also gave books to students (e.g. Ángel Angulo received *El hombre. La explotación. El mercado*)<sup>45</sup>. If the opportunity arose, she even recruited them to work in films. This can be seen in the following communication which she wrote, with a characteristic lack of tact, to one of the students: "Terra Film have asked me for *some dark-skinned lads* to work in a film from 23 November to 3 December [1943]. The fee is 40 marks. If you are interested in taking part, write to me immediately so I can include you on the list and reserve you a room at the Emperor Hotel, or some other centrally located establishment, from Monday 22"<sup>46</sup>.

It seems that all these activities together generated a tremendous amount of work for Edith Faupel, who was not always able to manage as well as she would have liked. She expressed this, in a somewhat plaintive tone, in a letter she wrote in October 1942 to a student residing in Heidelberg: "Every two days for the last three weeks, I have started to write a letter to you, and each time my good intentions have been frustrated by one or another of my thousand children interrupting me with his problems, which are usually urgent. If you only knew just how difficult all these things have made it for me to sit down and write you a few lines!"<sup>47</sup>

Sometimes, the students were able, through Edith Faupel, to get General Faupel to mediate with the Spanish authorities. This was the (apparently unique) case with the young Falangist actor Manuel Collado Álvarez, who on finishing his training managed to obtain permission to act in German state theatres (Strasburg and Essen) despite the fact that he was supposed to return to Spain to do his military service. General Faupel (who still exerted considerable power in 1942) tried to influence matters in the actor's

---

<sup>44</sup> Edith Faupel to Gonzalo Álvarez-Ossorio, October 23, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>45</sup> Edith Faupel to Ángel Angulo, September 8, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>46</sup> Edith Faupel to Enrique Lavalle de Miguel, November 5, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>47</sup> Edith Faupel to Santos Moreno Borondo, October 12, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

favour by saying to the Spanish consul in Berlin that “it would be beneficial to Spain to have a great actor who could perform in Spanish and German and who would form a link between the two countries”<sup>48</sup>.

Nevertheless, Collado was declared a deserter by the military authorities, which obliged Wilhelm Faupel, in November 1942, to write directly to General José Moscardó to ask him to do everything he could to allow the youth to stay in Germany “we have faith that we can make him a great actor who will be able to perform perfectly in both German and Spanish, thus being a future object of pride for his homeland and providing an artistic link between Germany and Spain”<sup>49</sup>.

One of the activities of the Iberian-American Institute was a lecture tour given by Láin Entralgo. During his stay in Germany he suggested to Wilhelm Faupel that Antonio Tovar, the Falangist linguist and essayist should be invited. Tovar was undersecretary of Press and Propaganda, taking his orders from Ramón Serrano Suñer, before becoming rector of the University of Salamanca. For his part, Faupel was aware of Tovar’s interest in returning to Germany to continue his interrupted studies and so, in April 1940, invited him to stay for a period of three weeks, with the Institute meeting his travel and accommodation costs. The aim was to “strengthen the spiritual and cultural links between our two nations”. Faupel put both the Institute and the Society at his disposal so that Tovar could exchange his impressions with teachers and other people. In return, Faupel asked Tovar to give “one or two” talks in German, which Tovar could speak, on familiar subjects of general interest. (He proposed two topics: “Germanophilia and Francophilia in Spain” and “Spain and the idea of empire”)<sup>50</sup>.

In Germany in the summer of 1940 Tovar gave a talk entitled “The concept of the Spanish Empire in history and in the present day”<sup>51</sup>, whilst another speaker, Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, was also well received, although not at such a high institutional level.

<sup>48</sup> Wilhelm Faupel to the Spanish consul in Berlin, August 6, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 27.

<sup>49</sup> Wilhelm Faupel to General José Moscardó, November 11, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 27.

<sup>50</sup> Wilhelm Faupel to Antonio Tovar, April 23, 1940, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 27.

<sup>51</sup> J. i M. Marició, *op. cit.*, p. 36. A lecture by Tovar which, due to its subject, was linked with his book: *The Spanish Empire*, Madrid 1940.

De Entrambasaguas was professor of Spanish literature at the University of Madrid and gave a lecture entitled “Contemporary Spanish Poetry” on 27 March 1942<sup>52</sup>.

At another level, at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, the Iberian-American Institute and the German-Spanish Society, together with the Prussian Academy of Art, organized an Exhibition of Spanish Art in Berlin. A collection of artworks was transported from Madrid and Wilhelm Faupel invited the Marquis of Lozoya to Germany to preside over the Exhibition: “It would give us the utmost satisfaction to be able to greet you here in Berlin in the near future”. In Faupel’s words, “The exhibition, in addition to contributing to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between our two countries, will constitute a grand symbol of the unbreakable will of two nations that for many years have joined in the bitter struggle against Bolshevik barbarism”<sup>53</sup>.

The organization of the event, which took place between March and April 1942, fell to Doctor Gertrud Richert, who had at one time given art classes at the University of Barcelona. It seems that 219 works by 85 artists were put on display and were seen by a record 28,000 visitors<sup>54</sup>. However the exhibition was sullied by some irregularities in the form of illegal sales, in particular a painting by the celebrated painter (name) Antonio Vila Arrufat, entitled “La modista”. This had already been sold but was claimed by the Spanish Ministry of National Education, which demanded that the painting be returned to Spain, along with other “remaining” painting[s]<sup>55</sup>.

---

<sup>52</sup> In this lecture Entrambasaguas said that there were two schools of Spanish poetry: the *cultured school*, of Juan Ramón Jiménez, followed by Luis Felipe Vivanco, Leopoldo Panero and Leopoldo Eulogio Palacios, and the *popular school*, of Federico García Lorca, Luis Rosales and Joaquín Romero Murube. In between there were the writings of Dionisio Ridruejo, which resembled those of Juan Ramón Jiménez in terms of technique but those of Lorca in terms of spirit. In addition, there were four distinct trends within the Spanish poetry of the day: the *classicist trend* of Gerardo Diego, which was reminiscent of the Golden Age; the *multifaceted trend* of Adriano del Valle, which was broad in its register; the *sensitive trend* of Agustín de Foxá, which was marked by the work of Ramón María del Valle-Inclán, and the *resonant and colourful trend* of Rafael Duyos. Conference notes, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Manuscript of General Wilhelm Faupel, undated, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 14.

<sup>54</sup> J. i M. Marició, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.

<sup>55</sup> Transcription of a telegram from May 9, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 14.

The Faupel's philanthropic activities in Germany would also reap benefits in Spain and Edith Faupel did not hesitate to use her contacts to obtain help when she needed it. This was the case, for example, when two professors named Dengler and Hesmer went on a trip through southern France and northern Spain between May and June in 1941. Neither of them spoke Spanish and so they asked Doctor Faupel if she could help them. Both would require assistance when they spent a week in Spain to gather information about the local forests for their studies. Consequently, Edith was able to write to a director of the Spanish Institute of Forestry and asked him to place someone from the Institute of Forestry or the Ministry of Agriculture at the professors' disposal<sup>56</sup>.

### **Difficulties and the progress of the War**

Edith Faupel's morale was much affected by the progress of the war, and this obviously in a negative way. She passed from an initial attitude of confidence to a state of high emotional tension which she vented partly, but only partly, in some of the letters she wrote to her students. Thus, the start of the war in 1939 finds her writing: "Naturally, the invitation I made to you is still open, given that, despite the war, the blackout, etc., life in Berlin continues in perfect order and work in the schools is proceeding without interruption". She then concludes: "The expenses which your two-month stay in Germany will incur, as well as your return flight from Madrid via Rome to Berlin, will be met by the *Deutsch-Spanische Gesellschaft*"<sup>57</sup>.

However, a few years later, the progressive defeats and the bombings had changed everything. From 1943 onwards, Edith Faupel was very concerned about the progress of events, particularly the war in Russia – "I will do what I can for you", she wrote to a student in August that year, "and I will do it with pleasure in the knowledge that I am helping a brave soldier in the fight against Communism, that human scourge that is threatening the whole of Europe"<sup>58</sup>.

---

<sup>56</sup> Edith Faupel to Ignacio Echeverría, May 2, 1941, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 24.

<sup>57</sup> Edith Faupel to Enrique Álvarez Prada, November 23, 1939, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 27.

<sup>58</sup> Edith Faupel to Javier Vallauré, August 31, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

Doctor Faupel's concern extended to the Allied war on Germany (she described the British and Americans as "monstrous allies" of Communism) and, in particular, to the devastating Allied air attacks. "One of their specialities", she wrote in May 1944, "is to destroy anything that might constitute art or culture"<sup>59</sup>. She also expressed her concern about events occurring in Italy. "They have told me that you conducted yourself, as always, with great bravery in a clash with the Spanish supporters of Badoglio. We are truly and deeply grateful to you", she wrote in November 1943<sup>60</sup>.

But these were not Doctor Faupel's only assertions regarding the war: her reprimands were also aimed at German allies, in particular the Hungarians. This can be seen in a comment she made in September 1943 in response to the ingenuous words of one of her *protégés*: "I am amazed that you should write that it [Hungary] is an 'admirable country in which to be Spanish is of great merit'. Of course, they live well in Hungary, because they calmly leave it to us [the Germans] to make all the sacrifices in the defence of the whole of Europe, and of themselves above all. They live splendidly, they hardly fight and they speak badly of us, regardless of the fact that they owe not only their lives, but also the recovery of Siebenbürgen [ethnic German Transylvania – X.M.J.] to the generosity and sacrifices of the Germans. I should very much like to see the Romanians snatch Siebenbürgen back from those ungrateful swine"<sup>61</sup>.

Also, by the end of 1943, a certain distancing on the part of the Spanish became evident. With the Blue Division in the process of being repatriated, the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin, the shrewd Ginés Vidal y Saura, refused to participate in the "Second Spanish Week" which was to be held in Frankfurt am Main. This seems to have angered Faupel, but the Spanish were more concerned about progress of the war against Germany<sup>62</sup>.

Only a few months previously, in May 1943, Edith and Wilhelm Faupel visited Spain for the last time, but this time they were

<sup>59</sup> Edith Faupel to Carlos de Motta, May 25, 1944, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>60</sup> Edith Faupel to Enrique L, November 5, 1943, *ibidem*.

<sup>61</sup> Edith Faupel to Andrés Amado, September 17, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 24. German suspicions regarding Admiral Miklós Horthy, the Hungarian leader, reached their height on 17 March 1944: Hitler tried to keep him at Klessheim Castle before ordering the invasion of the country. For further information, see the Admiral's memoirs (title: *Almirante Nikolaus von Horthy: Memorias*, ed. AHR, Barcelona 1955).

<sup>62</sup> J. i M. Marició, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–42.

received more coolly by the Spaniards. Thus, the highest Spanish representatives to meet them were General Moscardó (President of the German-Hispanic Society) and Pilar Primo de Rivera (national delegate of the Women's Section of the Falange). And although they were awarded the Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Yoke and Arrows, Franco did not receive them when they visited a Youth Front academy in the El Pardo Palace, his place of residence<sup>63</sup>.

Edith Faupel's increasingly low morale can be seen in the formal aspects of her writing; for example, it is interesting to note that in May 1944 she wrote a letter in which she mixed both German and Spanish. It is also strange to note the low quality of certain writings by her new collaborators, which she attributed in her letters to a lack of training on their part – "Really she is very young and this is one of her first typewritten letters. I won't be editing the letter for publication" she noted in March 1943. Whatever the reason, Faupel's later letters were not written with the same meticulous care as her earlier ones<sup>64</sup>.

Nevertheless, during those difficult years leading up to the German defeat, Edith Faupel ardently continued her maternal-philanthropic activities. Thus, she continued to give advice to her pupils, as was the case with one student resident in Dresden, who she urged to buy a copy of the Slaby-Grossmann Dictionary ("A jewel that will help you study. It is very well done. I myself often consult it and am happy with its explanations"). She also sent him 100 marks to buy the dictionary and, at the same time, some books on architecture that were difficult to obtain in Berlin<sup>65</sup>.

Doctor Faupel even came to act as "*marraine de guerre*" [war-time god-mother] to more than one member of the Blue Division: as when in March 1943, at the request of the director of the Nazi *Völkischer Beobachter*, she brought together the student Else Mopzek and Blue Division member Miguel del Hoyo<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> "La Vanguardia Española", May 18, 1943, p. 4; May 20, 1943, p. 5; and May 22, 1943, p. 5.

<sup>64</sup> Edith Faupel to Amparo Lliso Marco, May 25, 1944; and Edith Faupel to Enrique Cabré, March 1, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>65</sup> Edith Faupel to Carlos de Motta, May 25, 1944, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>66</sup> Edith Faupel to Miguel del Hoyo Solares, March 22, 1943, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

The letters of Edith Faupel housed at Koblenz finish in August 1944, which was a very hard year for both Germany and, obviously, the Faupels. Already by 1943, the activities of the German-Spanish Society had generated, in Edith Faupel's words, "a large deficit", and it was proving difficult to commit to providing more grants. Thus, in 1944 she recommended to students that they should fund their studies by working (which would also allow them to send money back to Spain, something which was impossible for students living on a grant)<sup>67</sup>.

Doctor Faupel continued with her work whilst emphasising that the coffers of the German-Spanish Society were "empty"<sup>68</sup>. However, she did have a small surplus on which she was able to draw in order to help "particularly needy" students, although such assistance came with the implicit warning that they were not to be excessive in the requests they made. Thus, on 11 April, she wrote to one of them, "I continually live beyond my means and in a state of perpetual bankruptcy, but this does not mean that I will not give everything I can gladly, especially if you truly need special assistance. I leave it to your judgement. And I know that *my children* treat me as a real mother and never try to take advantage of me, and at the same time know who they can turn to when they are in great need"<sup>69</sup>.

Suffice to say, as an example of the difficulties facing Germany towards the end of the war is the fact that a letter sent from Madrid by the *Iberian-American Institute* on 16 February did not arrive in Berlin until 14 March. Furthermore, the materials it asked for did not reach its recipient until the beginning of July, and then only in part (only five out of nineteen legal notebooks were sent and the text of a law relating to trials involving children was also missing)<sup>70</sup>.

Despite the many tensions and troubles caused by the war, which we have just briefly alluded to, the lives of Edith Faupel and those linked to her were not lacking in quieter moments. This was

<sup>67</sup> Edith Faupel to José Luis Ormaechea, February 17, 1944, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>68</sup> Edith Faupel to Antonio Tugores Serra, to whom she sent 200 marks, February 22, 1944, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>69</sup> Edith Faupel to José Miguel de Bueren, April 11, 1944, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 40.

<sup>70</sup> Carlos Fesser Teresa to Hans Joachim von Merkat, 16 February, 1944, and July 12, 1944, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 24.

the case with the reception given by the German-Spanish Society in 13 April 1942 in honour of the Spanish football team, an event which generated a great number of activities<sup>71</sup>. By the same token, there continued to be festive moments, such as the seventieth birthday celebrations of General Faupel, which took place on 29 September 1943 in the rooms of the Iberian-American Institute, and at which Spain was represented by General Emilio Esteban-Infantes, at that time still head of the Blue Division<sup>72</sup>.

It seems that the Faupel's committed suicide when the Red Army entered Berlin. In any case, their disappearance and the loss of 40,000 printed volumes belonging to the Institute signalled the end of an important (and harmful) period in the history of both the Iberian-American Institute and the German-Spanish Society. The Institute survived the War by accusing General Faupel of being responsible for all the political acts that it had committed. The Society, which was more important to Spain because it dealt exclusively with that country, did not survive: it died under Soviet boots between April and May 1945, along with Hitler and his Third Reich.

## **Bibliography**

### **ARCHIVAL SOURCES**

Federal Archive of Koblenz, Germany

*Deutsch-Spanische Gesellschaft* collection, files 13, 14, 24, 27 and 40.

### **UNPUBLISHED SOURCES**

Moreno Juliá X., "Falangismo y División Azul", doctoral thesis, University of Barcelona (Spain), 2003.

### **PUBLISHED SOURCES**

*Almirante Nikolaus von Horthy: Memorias*, ed. AHR, Barcelona 1955.

*Aspa. Actualidades Sociales y Políticas de Alemania* (German Review translated to Spanish); Madrid (Spain), August 1942.

---

<sup>71</sup> Letter to Carlos del Palacio Chevallier, May 18, 1942, Koblenz Archive, D-S.G, Akt. 13.

<sup>72</sup> See X. Moreno Juliá, *Hitler y Franco...*, p. 493. Esteban-Infantes tested the patience of the Ambassador Ginés Vidal y Saura to the limit (see the cited text and pages). He abandoned the Unit on 20 October, and was biding his time in Berlin waiting for the order for Spanish forces to be repatriated.

### PRESS

“La Vanguardia Española” [Barcelona] 1930, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1941–1943.  
“Solidaridad Nacional” [Barcelona] 1941.

### REFERENCES

- Del Barrio Garcés, Silvano R., *La primera parte de una historia vital: Wilhelm Faupel, años de juventud y primera madurez (1873–1919)*, minor thesis, Rovira i Virgili University, Tarragona 2016.
- Liehr R., Maihold G., Vollmer G., *Ein Institut und sein General. Wilhelm Faupel und das Ibero-Amerikanische Institut in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt-Main–Vervuert 2003.
- Marició J. i M., *La cultura como instrumento de la influencia alemana en España: la Sociedad Germano-Española de Berlín (1930–1945)*, “Ayer” 2008, No. 69.
- Moreno Juliá X., *Hitler y Franco: Diplomacia en tiempos de Guerra, 1936–1945*, Barcelona 2007.
- Moreno Juliá X., *La División Azul. Sangre española en Rusia, 1941–1945*, Barcelona 2004.
- Moreno Juliá X., *Legión Azul y Segunda Guerra Mundial: hundimiento hispano-alemán en el Frente del Este, 1943–1944*, Madrid 2014.
- Sin fronteras: encuentros entre mujeres y hombres entre América Latina y Europa (siglos XIX y XX)*, eds E. Scarzanella, M. Raisa Schpun, Madrid–Frankfurt am Main 2008.

XAVIER MORENO JULIÁ  
UNIWEYSYTET ROVIRA I VIRGILI W TARRAGONIE

## Niemieckie instytucjonalne wsparcie dla hiszpańskich studentów w Niemczech w czasie drugiej wojny światowej

W czasie drugiej wojny światowej dr Edith Faupel intensywnie pomagała hiszpańskim studentom i żołnierzom Błękitnej Dywizji, jednostki, która walczyła w Związku Sowieckim w składzie wojsk Wehrmachtu. Była ona żoną pierwszego ambasadora Niemiec w nacjonalistycznej Hiszpanii, generała Wilhelma Faupela (1936–1937). Faupel był wówczas dyrektorem Instytutu Ameryki Łacińskiej i Towarzystwa Niemiecko-Hiszpańskiego. Ona i jej mąż z oddaniem służyli reżimowi narodowych socjalistów w czasie jego funkcjonowania w Niemczech. W artykule omówiono działania tej kobiety oraz kierujące nią motywy. Dokonano również analizy tego, jak na jej działania wpłynęły zmiany na frontach drugiej wojny światowej.

**Słowa kluczowe:** druga wojna światowa, dyplomacja, Hiszpania, Niemcy, Trzecia Rzesza.