



Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War

Realms of Oblivion

Edited by Aurora G. Morcillo

BRILL

Memory and Cultural History of the Spanish Civil War

History of Warfare

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

NEREA ARESTI is Professor of Contemporary History at the Universidad del País Vasco. Among her publications, *Masculinidades en tela de juicio. Hombres y género en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (2010), *Médicos, donjuanes y mujeres modernas. Los ideales de masculinidad y feminidad en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (2001) stand out as well as articles such as “The Gendered Identities of the ‘Lieutenant Nun’. Rethinking the Story of a Female Warrior in the Early Modern Spain” (*Gender & History*) and “Shaping the Spanish Modern Man: The Conflict of Masculine Ideals through a Court Case in the 1920s” (*Feminist Studies*). She has also made contributions to collective works with papers such as “La categoría de género en la obra de Joan Scott”, en *Joan W. Scott y las políticas de la historia* (2006).

ÁLEX BUENO is a Ph.D. candidate in the History and theory of Architecture and Urban Studies at Harvard University Graduate School of Design.

ANTONIO CAZORLA-SÁNCHEZ is Professor of History at Trent University, Canada. Author of four books, including *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975* (2009), he is the author of a cultural biography of the dictator General Francisco Franco.

PAULA A. DE LA CRUZ-FERNÁNDEZ received her Ph.D. from the Department of History at Florida International University in 2013. She is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the International Research Center IGK at Humboldt University in Berlin, where she is working on her first book about a comparative analysis of the culture of sewing and the introduction of the Singer sewing machine in Spain and Mexico from 1870 to 1940.

MARY ANN DELLINGER is Professor of Spanish Language and Peninsular Cultures at the Virginia Military Institute. Her research interests focus on the anti-Franco movement as text and ethos, particularly the discourse of Dolores Ibárruri, Pasionaria, as well as the literary production of political prisoners (1939-1977). Her publications include several college-level Spanish programs and numerous journal articles.

PILAR DOMÍNGUEZ PRATS is professor of History of Political Thought and Social Movements at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain). She has worked with institutions dedicated to research in the field of oral history since its beginnings. She is associate founder of the Seminario de Fuentes Orales and of the Instituto de Investigaciones Feministas of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and is currently chairperson of the Asociación Internacional de Historia Oral. She has authored *Voces del Exilio. Mujeres españolas en México. 1939-1950*, Comunidad de Madrid, 1994 and *De Ciudadanas a Exiliadas. Un estudio sobre las republicanas españolas en México*. Ed Cinca, Madrid (2009); she has published several articles on exile and the work of women under Francoism in scientific journals. She is co-editor of *VI Jornadas Historia y Fuentes orales. Crisis del franquismo y la transición. El protagonismo de los movimientos sociales* (2003). She has collaborated in collective works such as *El mundo del trabajo en Renfe. Historia Oral de la Infraestructura* (2003), *Mujeres y hombres en los mercados de trabajo. ¿Privilegios o eficiencia?* (2003), *Mujeres y Hombres en la España franquista* (2003), *Mujeres en el mundo* (2007) and *El protagonismo de la mujer en los movimientos migratorios* (2009), among others.

VICTORIA L. ENDERS taught humanities in the Comparative Cultural Studies Department at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, AZ in 2011. Her work focuses on Spanish and women's history. She co-edited *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* with Pamela Radcliffe, and has published various articles on Spanish historiography and gender and the right in 1930s Spain.

DEIRDRE FINNERTY received her Ph.D. at the University of Limerick, Ireland, where she also undertook a Specialist Diploma in Teaching, Learning and Scholarship. She has three main research interests: gender and memory, motherhood, and memory and representation of the Spanish Civil War. During her doctoral studies, she was recipient of the University of Limerick's Women's Studies Doctoral Scholarship, and in 2011 she undertook a Junior Visiting Research Fellowship at the Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies, University of London. She currently works as a journalist for the BBC World Service in London, UK.

MIGUEL GÓMEZ OLIVER is professor of Contemporary History at the Universidad de Granada. He has been dean of the School (Faculty) of Philosophy and Letters and Vice President for Extension and Development

Cooperation of the University of Granada. His research has focused on agrarian history and the Andalusian peasantry. He has also studied social movements of opposition to Franco, the political transition and democratic memory of Andalusia. He has introduced and pioneered studies on the History of Andalucía and coordinated several national conferences on Agricultural History, and international conferences such as the I Coloquio Internacional sobre la Guerra Civil Española. *Historia y Memoria. Reponsabilidades Políticas, mapas de fosas y todos los nombres en Andalucía*. Among his most recent works are *Historia contemporánea de Andalucía (nuevos contenidos para su estudio)*. José Palanco Romero: *la pasión por la Res Pública*.

GEOFFREY JENSEN holds the John C. Biggs Chair in Military History at the Virginia Military Institute. He is the author of *Irrational Triumph: Cultural Despair, Military Nationalism, and the Ideological Origins of Franco's Spain* (2002).

MIREN LLONA is professor at the Universidad del País Vasco. She is an expert in Oral History and member of the Executive Board of the International Oral History Association.

MARÍA DEL MAR LOGROÑO NARBONA (Ph.D.—University of California Santa Barbara, 2007) is Assistant Professor of Modern Middle Eastern History at Florida International University in Miami. Her dissertation (“The Development of Nationalist Identities in French Syria and Lebanon: A Transnational Dialogue with Arab Immigrants to Argentina and Brazil, 1915-1929”) explores the transnational political movements among Syrian and Lebanese emigrants in Brazil and Argentina during the period of the French Mandate. She is the author of several articles on this topic, among them: “Information and Intelligence Collection Among Imperial Subjects Abroad: The Case of Syrians and Lebanese in Latin America, 1915-1930” in *The French Colonial Mind*, edited by Martin Thomas (University of Nebraska Press: forthcoming), and “The ‘Woman Question’ in the Aftermath of the Great Syria Revolt” in *Al-Raida* (May 2007); “*The Making of a Lebanese Pan-Arab Nationalist in the Argentine Mahjar*,” in *Politics, Culture and Lebanese Diaspora*, edited by Paul Tabar (Lebanese American University: forthcoming). She has conducted a research and dissemination project funded by the Social Science Research Council on “Islam in Latin America.” As part

of this project Dr. Logroño Narbona has written and co-produced a short educational documentary *Being Muslim in Latin America* (2010, 22 min).

FERNANDO MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ is Professor of Contemporary History at the Universidad de Almería. He heads the Sur-Clio research group of the Universidad de Almería. Since 2006 he coordinates researchers of Andalusian universities for the projects “Las actuaciones de los Tribunales de Responsabilidades Políticas en Andalucía, 1936-1945”, “El exilio republicano andaluz de 1939” and “La represión franquista de la masonería andaluza”. His research work has focused on political history and social movements, especially Socialism, Republicanism and the figure of Nicolás Salmerón. The following are among his latest publications: *La Barbería de la Almedina. Los orígenes del socialismo almeriense (1880-1903)* (2003), *Los republicanos en la política almeriense del siglo XIX* (2006), *Discursos y escritos políticos de Nicolás Salmerón y Alonso* (2006). He coordinated the collective work *Crónica de un sueño. Memoria de la transición democrática en Almería (1973-1983)* (2005). He is the editor and author of *Nicolás Salmerón y el republicanismo parlamentario* (2007), *Políticas de Paz en el Mediterráneo* (2007), *Historia y memoria. Todos los nombres, mapa de fosas y actuaciones de los Tribunales de Responsabilidades Políticas en Andalucía* (2007), *París, ciudad de acogida. El exilio español de los siglos XIX y XX* (2009). He has coordinated the Contemporary History section of the *Enciclopedia General de Andalucía*.

M. CINTA RAMBLADO MINERO is Lecturer in Spanish at the University of Limerick, Ireland. She has published widely on issues of memory and representation in contemporary Spain. In 2008 she was a recipient of the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Fellowship Program and is also co-recipient of an Irish Research Council Grant for the development of a project on women’s memory and political change. Her current research project focuses on gender, memory and representation, and explores the role of women’s writing, testimony and film as complementary tools in the re-construction and recovery of subaltern memories of historical experience in Spain.

ÓSCAR RODRÍGUEZ BARREIRA received his PhD in Contemporary History from the Universidad de Almería, Spain in 2005. Between 2001 and 2005 he was a pre-doctoral researcher at the Universidad de Almería, and specialized in social and political history of Francoism. Between 2003 and 2004

he conducted research at the York University (Toronto, Canada) and at the Universidad Complutense, Madrid. Among his outstanding publications are *Migas con miedo* (Almería, 2008) and *Miserias del Poder* (Valencia, 2011). He has also written numerous articles on Francoism in journals such as *Historia Social*, *Historia y Política* e *Hispania*. He carried out post-doctoral studies at the Cañada Blanch Centre of the London School of Economics & Political Sciences in 2011. His project is a transnational history of daily resistance in fascist and para-fascist dictatorships in southern Europe during the first half of the twentieth century.

SOFÍA RODRÍGUEZ LÓPEZ received her PhD in Contemporary History at the Universidad de Almería in 2004. In 2002 she was awarded the Premio de Investigación Blas Infante with *Mujeres en Guerra. Almería, 1936-1939*. In 2008 she published *Quintacolumnistas*, a book that addresses clandestine movements and conservative resistance during the war, and in 2010 she publishes *El Patio de la Cárcel*, based on her doctoral dissertation to the *Sección Femenina y la sociedad almeriense durante el Franquismo* (CD, 2005). These works lead her professional trajectory in social history and gender relations in the Spain of the twentieth century, with over thirty contributions to collective works, articles for specialized journals (*Arenal*, *Asparkía*, *Pasado y Memoria*) and two documentaries on the recuperation of historic memory: *Bombas y Obvidos* (2008) and *El Parte Inglés* (2010).

AURORA G. MORCILLO is professor of history at Florida International University, Miami, Florida. She is the author of two books: *True Catholic Womanhood. Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000, second print 2008); *The Seduction of Modern Spain. The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politics* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010). Her third monograph entitled *En cuerpo y alma: Se mujer en tiempos de Franco* forthcoming in Akal.

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INTRODUCTION:
POST-MEMORY AND HISTORICAL AGENCY

Aurora G. Morcillo

A heretical history?¹

PAUL RICOEUR, *Memory History, Forgetting*.

The Spanish Civil War (1936–39) remains to this day² the focus of intense and passionate discussion among scholars, intellectuals, and politicians both in Spain and abroad. There are numerous works on the political, economic, diplomatic, military, even social history of the war and recently a cultural approach has been steadily growing stronger.³ Cultural Spanish studies had been a field cultivated by literary critics rather than historians. Little by little, we are reaching out to each other across disciplines to gain a more textured understanding of the war—such a profound wound in our historical imaginary. As Peter Burke says, “Cultural history is not the monopoly of historians. It is multidisciplinary as well as interdisciplinary.”⁴ Therefore, this volume aspires to contribute to the discussion, to serve as a navigational chart, a fresh look into some of the most recent scholarship in literary criticism, art history, social, and cultural memory of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. The approach in this anthology follows Jacques Le Goff when he says: “What interests me is to show ... the kind of relations that historical societies have entertained with their past, and the place of

¹ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006) 342–44.

² On December 27, 2007 the Spanish Parliament passed Ley de Memoria Histórica (“Law of Historical Memory”).

³ See *Spanish Cultural Studies* by Jo Labanyi and Helen Graham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Michael Richards and Chris Ealham, eds., *The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Brian D. Bunk, *Ghosts of Passion: Martyrdom, Gender, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

⁴ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Malden: Polity, 2009), 135.

history in their present.”⁵ The historian’s role is to make the historical process intelligible so that recurrent patterns may be identified. In turn, by reaching across disciplines we stand a better chance to draw informed conclusions. Again in Le Goff’s words: “An ambitious goal, objective history is slowly constructed little by little, through the ceaseless revisions of historical work, the laborious successive rectifications, and the *accumulation of partial truths*” (my emphasis).⁶ The chapters in this collection focus on what might be regarded by some as marginal or unconventional topics linked together by a few provocative questions that emerge from putting in conversation memory and literary studies with cultural history. The volume offers a “polyphony” of themes with fresh insight by outstanding senior and emerging scholars. This concerted effort demonstrates how a cultural approach to the remembrance of the Spanish Civil War during Francoism and the transition to democracy promises to reveal that a multidisciplinary historical narrative is not only possible but urgently necessary in the age of globalization.

A few of the chapters look at the Spanish Civil War from the perspective of Post-memory as defined by Marianne Hirsch: “Post-memory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right.”⁷ Our axiomatic question attached to it is to explore the relationship between memory and historical agency. Two of the authors explore how we are to rethink political and social narratives of the Spanish Civil War at the turn of the twenty-first century. These questions are based in a solid intellectual conviction of all the authors to resist facile arguments both on the Right and the Left, concerning the historical and collective memory of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship in the milieu of post-transition to democracy. Therefore, the problem we intend to discern is: how do memory and historical agency relate to each other? The answer points to a constant zeal for compromise to negotiate discrepant memories in the democratic and global economy of the twenty-first century. Central to a true democratic historical narrative is the commitment to listening to the *other experiences* and the willingness to rethink our present(s) in light of

⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 105.

⁶ Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 114.

⁷ Marianne Hirsch, “The Generation of Post-memory,” *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 103-28, esp. 103.

our past(s). In sum, to reach historical reconciliation a true understanding of our differences it is necessary and only possible by the artful combination of retrospection and introspection.

In this effort, the volume has some of the following objectives: First, to address the study of political violence from a humanistic and democratic perspective. Several chapters utilize the lens of gender, examine myths and otherness, reflect on structural hunger and fear, and narrate testimonials of exile abroad and within Spain. The methodologies vary but as a unit the volume is grounded in hermeneutics; discourse analysis; architecture, art, and literary criticisms; and social and oral histories.

The second objective has to do with the past/present divide. Though coming from different disciplines, there is a diachronic, hence profoundly historical narrative throughout the volume. However, the exploration of time embedded in the structure of the book speaks to the epistemological problematizing of historical periodization when dealing with memory and representation of traumatic pasts. Therefore, the memory of the Spanish Civil War is intertwined with the development of Francoism.

Third, from this diachronic and profoundly historical perspective, it follows the uncovering of several binary dislocations of identity along gendered, ethnic, and nationalist lines. The war violently disrupted the “natural” order of things and the ensuing dictatorship exploited through terror its role as arbiter of order after the victory of 1939. Therefore, the volume explores how political violence (of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship) and the remembrance and forgetting of it articulate a *sense of self*, a sense of historical agency at the personal and collective levels. This articulation is only possible to unfold over time/history. Moreover, it is in constant negotiation generation after generation and in order to achieve understanding and tolerance it is imperative to be willing to revisit our past as if it were the first time.

Volume Structure

Every author has included at the end of their work the sources and archives they consulted to provide future researchers with information to locate further documentation. The goal here is to make available a graduate student-level collection of papers focusing on the debate and the state of scholarship regarding memory and cultural studies; a guide for graduate students approaching the material for the first time. This anthology is divided in six sections:

- I. Institutional Realms of Memory
- II. Past Imperfect: Gender Archetypes in Retrospect
- III. The Many Languages of Domesticity
- IV. Realms of Oblivion: Hunger, Repression, and Violence
- V. Strangers to Ourselves: Autobiographical Testimonies
- VI. The Orient Within: Myths of Hispano-Arabic Identity

"From Anti-Fascism to Humanism: The Spanish Civil War as a Crisis of Memory" by Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez opens the section "Institutional Realms of Memory." He situates the origins and evolution of the Movement for the Recovery of Historical Memory (MRHM) in Spain within a wider narrative, both intellectually and geographically. His analysis inserts the Spanish case within the European context of dealing with the memory of Fascism, especially connecting with the legacy of political violence, of what he calls "European Civil War" that plundered the continent in the interwar period (1919–39). Cazorla-Sánchez reminds us how the Spanish case is often seen out of the international context, perpetuating the commonplace that Spain today is still "different"—an anomaly within the Western European context. In his piece, he explains how historical memory in Spain represents only a local version with its specificities of what it indeed was an international revision of both the role of politics and history in society, and most recently memory. The subsequent scholarly revision of the past has created what he calls "a crisis in the post-war consensus on historical memory." With this broad perspective, Cazorla-Sánchez first explains the evolution of the concept of anti-Fascism in post-1945 Europe to better understand the roots of Spain's MRHM language and rationale. Taking the Italian case as his model, he examines the developments and connections between recent Spanish historical renditions of the past and historiographical reinterpretations of the Spanish Civil War. The chapter ends with a reflection on *how* and *why* the MRHM emerged; what have been its accomplishments and its shortcomings.

Cazorla-Sánchez's words are a reflection on "the relationship between history and historical memory, ownership of the past, the purpose of remembering, and how we relate to both victims and perpetrators. The overall objective is to show the need to develop a new paradigm for historical analysis in the study of political violence based on humanistic, democratic and universal values."⁸

⁸ See "From Anti-Facism to Humanism: The Spanish Civil War as a Crisis of Memory" by Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez in this volume.

The following essay is Álex Bueno's "Valle de los Caídos: A Monument to Defy Time and Oblivion." Bueno examines the construction and symbolism of El Valle de los Caídos as a *lieu de memoire* in Pierre Nora's sense of the nomenclature. From the very outset the mausoleum established a link to the monuments of the past that "defy time and oblivion," proclaiming to symbolize the historic significance of the Civil War. This idea for the monument is closely associated with Franco himself, an idea born from his own being, writes art historian Antonio Bonet Correa, "like the armed Athena from the head of Zeus."⁹ That is to say, a mythology was, and has been, built around the authorship of the polemical monument. However, Bueno's chapter proposes that beyond the figure of Franco lies a complex understanding of Spanish history and the role of architecture within it. This chapter draws out in detail on the function of the monument to represent a particular historical narrative, which has been at the center of much debate recently.

This section closes with the chapter by Fernando Martínez López and Miguel Gómez Oliver, "Political Responsibilities in Franco's Spain: Recovering the Memory of Economic Repression and Social Control in Andalusia 1936–45." This essay further explores the regime's repressive apparatus from the economic perspective and within the framework of the Francoist Law of Political Responsibilities during the 1940s "hunger years." It is the result of a research-intensive project for the Recovery of the Historical Memory launched by the government of Junta de Andalucía, which includes a consortium of nine Spanish southern universities, the Consejería of Justice, as well as public institutions. The main goal behind the institutional initiative was to investigate the actions taken by the courts during the mandate of the Law of Political Responsibilities in the immediate postwar period.¹⁰ The authors examine how the law regulated the confiscation of property of the vanquished since 1940 in Andalucía. This type of institutional repression represents one of the less studied areas of the retribution the regime deployed. The chapter explores the process of economic purging at the national level as a means of social control against the defeated. Some of these individuals were executed, some imprisoned, but

⁹ Antonio Bonet Correa, "El crepúsculo de los Dioses," *Arte del franquismo* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1976), 324.

¹⁰ Coordinated by Professor Fernando Martínez López from the Universidad de Almería. It started in 2007 with the participation of thirty-two researchers from nine different universities in the Andalusian region.

many, we learn from this narrative, were stripped of their property as well as their ability to return to practice their profession and make a living.

The second section, entitled "Past Imperfect: Gender Archetypes in Retrospect," opens with Nerea Aresti's essay "The Battle to Define Spanish Manhood." Aresti explores the construction of "Spanish masculinity," specifically the different masculinities elaborated from various ideological positions during the conflict. In this chapter she tells us about the masculine model of the right-wing forces, which included a variety of groups: Falangists, Monarchists, Catholic Church hierarchy, and economic interests. They were all behind the self-proclaimed "nationalist" military uprising on July 18, 1936. Aresti explains how, on the symbolic realm, there was no homogeneity on what it meant to be a man. In both sides of the conflict different versions of the national virile archetype coexisted. Nonetheless, the war offered a framework to revise the masculine model inherited from the 1920s and its gender instability was put to the test during the civil war.¹¹ Aresti has studied the conflicted nature of masculinity in Spain at the turn of the twentieth century. There were two models; the kind of decadent manhood and a more progressive (meaning modern) masculinity that was especially difficult to imagine in the 1920s during the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera. Progressive sectors of society proposed a different, more modern masculinity: one of rational, austere, and hard-working men. As Aresti has demonstrated in her previous works, the different alternatives of what it meant to be a man were an intrinsic part of the evolution of Spanish politics. Her chapter is a fresh look at how the Spanish civil war brought to a violent confrontation the direction and definitions of gender ideals for men as much as women.¹²

The following chapter by Miren Llona entitled "From Militia Woman to *Emakume*: Myths Regarding Femininity during the Civil War in the Basque Country" focuses on the Basque female archetype as represented in the iconic painting of Bilbao born artist Aurelio Arteta (1879–1940), who died in exile in Mexico only a year after the end of the Spanish Civil War. Llona tells us how Arteta was able in his triptych *El frente, la retaguardia y el éxodo*

¹¹ Nerea Aresti has published extensively on this topic. See *Masculinidades en tela de juicio. Hombres y género en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (Madrid: colección *Feminismos* de la editorial Cátedra, 2010); "The Gendered Identities of the 'Lieutenant Nun': Rethinking the Story of a Female Warrior in Early Modern Spain" in *Gender History* 19, no. 3 (2007): 401–18; *Médicos, donjuanes y mujeres modernas. Los ideales de feminidad y masculinidad en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco, 2001).

¹² Nerea Aresti, "Shaping the Spanish Modern Man: The Conflict of Masculine Ideals through a Court Case in the 1920s," *Feminist Studies* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 606–31.

to encapsulate the meaning of the civil war in the Basque country from a gender perspective. The painting sacralizes, according to Llona, the figures of the soldier and the mother, the former fighting on the front line and the latter lending meaning to the home front. Although this painting has become an icon in the Basque country, to Llona the symbolic limitations posed by these images are not reflective of a much wider range of actions men and women in the Basque country (*Euskadi*) acquired during the conflict. In Llona's analysis, these different and wide-ranging gender options were no doubt full of contradictions and certainly less simplistic than the painting portraits. "What we can see through this representation of the war," she points out, "is the power of the prescriptive gender codes during the conflict." Certainly, the perpetuation of a strict gender order offered a sense of security in the midst of total chaos and hence contributed to "settle unilaterally gender ideals based on traditional values."¹³

Like Miren Llona, Deirdre Finnerty's chapter, "The Republican Mother in Post-Transition Novels of Historical Memory: A Re-Inscription into Spanish Cultural Memory?" explores prescriptive gender norms in the literature of the transition to democracy. Finnerty examines the archetypical representation of motherhood more specifically Republican Mothers in postwar Spain as recorded in testimony and fictional representations about the recovery of historical memory. While Llona focuses on the Basque case and utilizes the visual rendition of the gender divide, Finnerty examines post-Francoist democratic transition literature and expands the scope to the rest of the country. The literary texts she studies illustrate the cultural and intellectual surge of the recovery of "Historical Memory" of the Spanish civil war and repression. The foreground is the domestic sphere and the mother-child relationship highlighting, in Finnerty's analysis, the paradox that motherhood represented in the Republican side during the postwar period. Therefore, this chapter follows the argument of dislocation and wide-range gender boundaries in the context of war, explored also in Aresti's and Llona's pieces. What is significantly interesting about Finnerty's work is the utilization of testimonial narratives of resistance that suggest that, "rather than accepting the Francoist monolithic maternal ideal, some Republican mothers continued to be influenced by the Republican ideal of motherhood."¹⁴ By comparing

¹³ See "From Militia Woman to *Emakume*: Myths Regarding Femininity during the Civil War in the Basque Country" by Miren Llona in this volume.

¹⁴ See "The Republican Mother in Post-Transition Novels of Historical Memory: A Re-Inscription into Spanish Cultural Memory?" by Deirdre Finnerty in this volume.

fiction to testimonial texts, this chapter shows the representation of the Republican maternal figure in a selection of post-transition historical novels makes a valuable contribution to the recovery of their experience and historical agency.

Christian domesticity is enshrined in francoist official discourse. In the third section, entitled "The Many Languages of Domesticity," the authors address the regime's repressive environment as prescribed and contested in literary works and national symbols. Franco's first period (1939–59)¹⁵ characterized as a closed society devastated by the phantom of the civil war first and the hunger of the autarky later, and how it was immersed in a world subordinate to the hegemonic religious discourse of redemption.¹⁶ The objective was to perpetuate a state of continuous alert and in turn foment self-monitoring and control as well as permanent sentiment of guilt. Paula A. de la Cruz-Fernández's chapter, "Embroidering the Nation: The Culture of Sewing and Spanish Ideologies of Domesticity," represents a new and original contribution to a well-grounded scholarship on Anglo-Saxon historiographies of domesticity. In her analysis the author challenges studies about the process of nation building, which have made a relatively small effort to incorporate gender to understand the ways in which national identities have been shaped. Furthermore, this work explores how the past is remembered as it surfaces every day in polyvalent symbols and images that represented usually female-centered day-to-day activities, in this case the culture of sewing during the 1940s and 1950s. The author approaches home sewing, which according to Cruz-Fernández not only reveals the significance of this practice in Spanish households beyond the nineteenth century but it also represents a means of women's individual historical

¹⁵ Jordi Roca i Girona states that the period between 1939 and 1959 presents a comprehensive unit. Thus 1959 marks the end of the autarchic stage and, in a way, of the international isolation of the regime. Through the Law-Decree of Economic Stabilization Plan, promoted by the ministerial technocracy that gained access to the government in 1957, protectionism was overcome and Spain began its integration in the market economy. In addition, five years later brought about the opening of the Vatican Council II (1962–65) under Pope John XXIII and the first significant dissensions among representatives of the Church and of the political power, that is, the beginning of the end of the National Catholicism that characterized the first years of the regime (Jordi Roca i Girona, "Esposa y madre a la vez. Construcción y negociación del modelo ideal de mujer bajo el (primer) franquismo," *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: Sociedad, economía, política, cultura*, ed. Gloria Niefra Cristóbal (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2003), 45–65, esp. 51).

¹⁶ The regime's official discourse created an atmosphere of omnipresent danger as the Second World War raged beyond the Pyrenees. The propaganda apparatus presented Franco's meeting with Hitler in Hendaya as proof the Caudillo was the iron surgeon to deliver us from evil, keeping Spain out of the global conflict.

agency and participation in nation building—whether it is part of the nineteenth-century appraisal of motherhood or the twentieth-century revival of the domestic.

The evolution of the self-interpretation of what it was to be a woman will further change with the modernization of the country in the 1950s and 1960s. Three major changes will impact social relations: urbanization, emigration, and tourism. Urbanization will provoke migration from the rural areas to the cities inside Spain and then to other European countries. The third change came with the avalanche of millions of tourists that made sexual relations more contentious in a country ruled by National Catholicism. The chapters in this section reveal how the Francoist system reinstated and opposed the two archetypical models of the feminine: Mary and Eve, setting against each other the Hispanic (desirable) women versus the foreign women—a kind of *orientalization* we will further explore in the last section of the volume.

Mary Ann Dellinger looks at the legendary figure of Pasionaria in the last chapter in this section that is concerned with the multiple languages of domesticity. In “The Mythopoeia of Dolores Ibárruri, *Pasionaria*” Dellinger tells us how Pasionaria’s writings and speeches address the question of women, almost always within the parameters of domesticity: marriage and motherhood. Yet what the author calls “the mythopoeia of Pasionaria has evolved to create a misrepresentation of Dolores as a crusader for women’s rights rather than an advocate of women’s domestic responsibilities and abnegation.” This distortion plays a key role in the maintenance of her myth and indeed in the creation of the two models of women born after the civil war. In reality, the exploration of the myth of Pasionaria offers us an opportunity to unveil the prevalence of domesticity in the left as well. In contrast, Dolores continues to be not only the subject of her biographers and popular documentaries but also the muse of leftist poets and Third World revolutionaries. Indeed, since her role in the defense of Madrid in 1937, a mythical aura has come to surround Dolores Ibárruri, Pasionaria, casting her into a cultural icon recognized not only in Spain, but also in the world, in two diametrically opposing versions. In this chapter, Dellinger explores the way in which different representations of the Communist leader converge in Western literature to preserve neither the biography of the woman Dolores Ibárruri nor her place in history, but rather to promulgate the image of Pasionaria as a mythical figure, defined within a classical context. Dellinger explains how the misrepresentation of Dolores as a feminist has been crucial to the perpetuation of the *Pasionaria* myth. The leftist historian and novelist Manuel Vázquez

Montalbán provides a good example in his fictional *Autobiografía del general Franco*. In the voice of Franco, he makes the following observations:

the small but very active Communist Party directed by that woman that was the symbol of all the counter virtues of the Spanish woman according to the prototype I had accepted from my childhood reading and the behavior of my mother: merciful queen of the home. In the place of that sweet, kind, and benevolent queen of the home appeared Dolores Ibárruri, Pasionaria, a common woman inflaming the masses, preaching feminism and rebellion and inciting the Spanish woman to leave the kitchen for the revolution. They called her Pasionaria, but I don't know if it because of the passion she put into her harangues, or for the flower called Pasionaria, although any semblance between that woman and a flower could only be in the eyes of her most fanatical cohorts.¹⁷

The fourth section, entitled "Realms of Oblivion: Hunger, Repression, and Violence," focuses on the trauma of the civil war in the collective memory. Repression and terror existed efficiently, administered outside the prison walls in the name of preserving peace and order after the Francoist victory. The administering of misery and starvation is the subject of Óscar Rodríguez Barreira's chapter "Franco's Bread: *Auxilio Social* from Below, 1937–43." The author reminds us how in the immediate postwar years the dictatorship utilized starvation as a means of repression. Hunger increased significantly in the 1940s, which were known as the "hunger years." The absolute misery Spaniards had to endure until the early 1950s was the result of the economic policy of "autarchy." Autarchy was based on two basic pillars: self-sufficiency and authoritarian rule. The chapter tells the story of that hunger and the role of the falangist agency *Auxilio Social* in the administering of social services. The repressive apparatus deployed by the regime went beyond putting people in prison. Starving them was as effective a tactic as torture behind bars. The insightful analysis of Rodríguez Barreira here complements the institutional repression examined in the chapter by Fernando Martínez López and Miguel Gómez Oliver discussed above.

¹⁷ El pequeño pero activísimo Partido comunista dirigido por aquella mujer que era el símbolo de las contravirtudes de la mujer española según aquel prototipo que yo había aceptado en mis lecturas infantiles y a través de la conducta de mi madre: reina y misericordiosa del hogar. En lugar de aquella dulce reina amable y misericordiosa del hogar aparecía Dolores Ibárruri la Pasionaria, mujeruca inflamando a las masas, predicando feminismo y revolución e incitando a que la mujer española dejara las cocinas y se pusiera a hacer la revolución. La llamaban la Pasionaria, no sé si por la pasión que ponía en sus arengas o por la flor que se llama Pasionaria, aunque cualquier parecido entre aquella mujer y una flor solo estaba al alcance de sus más fanáticos correligionarios. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *La autobiografía de Francisco Franco* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1995), 278.

Sofía Rodríguez López, in her chapter “*Corpus Delicti*: Social Imaginaries of Gendered Violence” analyzes gendered repression in a diachronic analysis of wars in Spanish soil. Rodríguez López utilizes Goya’s paintings and lithographs in her study as well as propaganda photographs to afford a brilliant allegorical interpretation of key war experiences in collective/historical memory. She proceeds to relate iconography and “iconología” (painting, photographs, and oral testimonies) with the Francoist establishment’s ideological backdrop of the binary whore/virgin to justify its gendered violence. Rodríguez López first examines the parallel tropes present in both the representation of women in the Spanish War for Independence (1808–14) and the Civil War (1936–39). The comparison of these two distant wars utilizing trauma and violence as their coherent commonality shows the fruitful application of diachronic analysis when studying trauma and gender. Rodríguez López’s analysis of the propaganda photographs exposes how portraying the most explicit violence, specifically rape, served as a call to repulsion not only of rape but of the demonization of the enemy perpetrating such violence. The bodies of women are hence doubly violated: first physically and then perpetually in the imaginary of war memories by fixing them into a photographic image. The chapter ends with a study of what Rodríguez López calls *cultura de guerra* (war culture) within sexual politics and everyday life in the immediate aftermath of the conflict. “Un montaje de imágenes y discursos cuyo objetivo último es comprender la carga simbólica de dicha agresión sexual. Un acto que va más allá de la *brutalización*, porque no banaliza la muerte, sino que convierte este paradigma de vejación en resorte movilizador” (“A montage of images and discourses with the objective to understand the symbolism of such sexual violence. This is an act that goes beyond the brutalization, because it does not banalize death, but rather it turns this humiliating paradigm in a mobilizing propaganda tool” [my translation]).¹⁸ In the end she tells us this paradigmatic inhumanity thrives in a “framework of injustice” that legitimizes *total war*. Moreover, it is a means of male power not only over women but also over the male enemy—the other masculinity.¹⁹ In this sense the chapter complements the analysis of the battle for masculinity studied by Aresti and exemplified the objectification of women’s bodies as crime’s material evidence: “los cuerpos del delito (The Bodies of the Crime).”

¹⁸ See “*Corpus Delicti*: Social Imaginaries of Gendered Violence” by Sofía Rodríguez López in this volume.

¹⁹ Ibid.

M. Cinta Ramblado Minero's chapter, "Locks of Hair/Locks of Shame? Women, Dissidence, and Punishment during Francisco Franco's Dictatorship," further expands Sofía Rodríguez López's argument on the Francoist repressive strategies against women. This work analyzes the meaning and purpose of the nationalization and repression of women in the Francoist state, especially at times of instability, by offering a socio-historical overview of the different methods of repression against women. The author focuses on the exploration of two short films: *Pelonas*²⁰ and *A golpe de tacón*²¹ in order to illustrate the importance of remembering marginal/subaltern experiences of exclusion during the Spanish Civil War. Ramblado Minero focuses on women's agency rather than victimization by exploring how dissident anonymous women coped with the punitive politics of the regime and in what ways they rebelled against it. She follows Marianne Hirsch's framework of post-memory to study these films. "Post-memory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up."²²

The tactics, in de Certeau's sense, that these women deployed (sometimes historically invisible tactics) helped them maintain a sense of self-empowerment that the dictatorship intended to erase. Such self-empowerment is more vivid nowadays since it has survived strongly in the filmic representation featured in the chapter. The films produced and directed by young women filmmakers are visual mnemonic aids that put in conversation past and present to achieve closure and healing. The Francoist dictatorship tested the dissidents' resistance, courage, and dignity, and it did so in a much greater degree with women, as they were attacked from different angles: as women, as (potential) mothers, and as political dissidents. The active exclusion from the political body to which these women were subjected meant that survival was based on the subversive and subtle contestation of the dominant gender discourse on Christian domesticity within the private sphere, the same realm that the regime aimed to penetrate by means of the only official women's organization: *Sección Femenina*. Dissidents' contestation was exercised precisely through the remembrance and transmission of experiences of

²⁰ Directed by Laly Zambrano and Ramón de Fontecha (RdeF Producciones Audiovisuales, 2003).

²¹ Directed by Amanda Castro (Por Tantas Cosas Producción Audiovisual, 2007).

²² Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 2008 29, no. 1: (2008): 103–28, 106.

marginalization, repression, and exclusion, and by means of the subtle transmission of the democratic (in some cases revolutionary) legacy of the previous era. As a result, these strategies of subversive contestation help us learn about the role of women in the construction and transmission of a cultural memory of resistance, which has been essential for the recovery of experiences of disobedience within the private sphere to the survival within the punitive (and penitentiary) system of the regime and furthermore, the preservation of a democratic culture which informed the transition to democracy.

The next two chapters in section five, entitled “Strangers to Ourselves: Autobiographical Testimonies,” focus on the oral tradition. These two chapters are based on oral histories of exiled women from both sides in the war. In her chapter “Chelo’s War: Late Memories of a Falangist Woman,” Victoria L. Enders explores the issue of exile from a gender perspective. She reminds us how the pioneering work of historians Alessandro Portelli and Luisa Passerini have shown us how oral histories can deepen our understanding of historical events by capturing the subjective memories of the participants themselves. Oral history is a means to discover the meaning they derived from the interviewees’ own experience of events—viewed from their particular social, political, ideological, and religious locations. Certainly, oral testimonies can help us to understand the social and material limits on individual agency and to gain a deeper understanding of historical events by merging those historical events with individual biography. Oral historians are also dedicated to the promotion of a more widely shared historical consciousness, one that is inclusive of a broader range of experiences with their inherent values and perspectives, and this more comprehensive historical consciousness will work in the interests of democracy. Enders presents an assemblage of the memories of a former leader of the *Sección Femenina de Falange* (SF), which translates as the Women’s Section of the Spanish Falange. Enders interviewed a woman named Consuelo Muñoz Monasterio, or Chelo on January 13, 1989, in her home in Madrid. Chelo had been an important official in the Women’s Movement of the Falange during the 1930s and later in the Francoist government. Enders discovered a charming, intelligent, reflective woman of 89 years of age who talked openly about her life during the Civil War, and her reflections about that period. Chelo spoke at length, and her account sheds light on a number of questions raised by historians concerning not only the Women’s Section of the Falange but also the conflict itself.

By contrast, Pilar Domínguez Prats, in “Memories of War and Exile: Two Autobiographical Narratives of Exiled Women” examines two Republican women’s autobiographies and their subjective vision of private memories. In this piece she deconstructs her personal interviews of two exile Republican women as they tell her about their experiences during the Second Republic (1931-1936) and the Civil War (1936-1939). One of the interviews, conducted in Madrid in 1984, tells the story of a painter, Juana Francisca Rubio, or Paquita.²³ While in previous chapters Miren Llona and Sofía Rodríguez López have analyzed pieces of art, Domínguez Prats here talks to the painter and her rendition in visual and oral terms of a traumatic past through remembrance. The second source that Domínguez Prats utilizes is the chronicles written by refugee Dolores Martí who was also exiled. Her daughter María Luisa Broseta published her memoirs in the early 1960s.²⁴ Both are stories focusing on “minutia” but presented in very different ways: one oral and the other written. Domínguez Prats proposes that reading these two narratives against each other helps us better understand the collective experience of exiled women. Furthermore, the multiple layers of memories that unfold before the reader’s eyes invite us to partake in the deconstructing process of pain through remembrance.

The volume concludes with a section entitled “The Orient Within: Myths of Hispano-Arabic Identity.” This last section explores the significance of the myth of the Hispano-Arabic identity in the Francoist ideological discourse. This myth rooted in the medieval Spanish *Reconquista* has fed into the *orientalization* of Spain in the European psyche. The slogan “Spain is different” popularized by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Minister of Information and Tourism in the 1960s had a long tradition and a strong link to the Spanish Civil War and the reinvention of the Francoist regime. Franco’s military career took off as a result of his experience as an Africanist. Geoffrey Jensen’s chapter, “Military Memories, History, and the Myth of Hispano-Arabic Identity in the Spanish Civil War,” turns its focus to military history with a fresh approach by examining military orientalism. While the Spanish Civil War serves as a sort of axis for this chapter, Jensen devotes

²³ “Entrevista a Juana Francisca Rubio realizada por Rosario Calleja en Madrid, 1984. Para ampliar la información se ha consultado otra entrevista a Juana Francisca realizada por Elena Aub en Madrid, en 1980, dentro del proyecto titulado “Archivo de la Palabra” del INAH de México. Ambas se encuentran en el Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca.

²⁴ M. Luisa Broseta, “Dossier Dolores Martí Domenech: Souvenir d’enfance et d’exil. Radio Calamidad,” 1963, en Burdeos: escribe mi madre, “*Exils et migrations ibériques aux XX siècle. Temoignages d’exils entre parole et silence: regards et points de vue*” (Paris: Centre de Recherches Iberiques, 2004), 13–119.

most of his attention to developments that both predated and outlived the war. Although historians and others have analyzed the paradoxes of Franco's employment of Muslim troops, the broader context has received little attention until relatively recently, especially in terms of "military orientalism."²⁵ This chapter sheds light on the military manifestations of two prominent but contradictory myths of Francoist propaganda: that of the "good Moor" who fought for Franco in the Civil War, and that of the brutal and "savage" character of the Moroccan troops. The latter of which served Republican efforts to demonize their enemies and was used by the Nationals to terrify theirs. Insightfully, Jensen reminds us how Francoist ideologues did not have to invent the ideal of Hispano-Arab identity already present in the self-perceptions of some officers—both liberal and conservative—and in their related interpretations of Spanish history and culture. While the Hispano-Arab myth was by no means universal or homogenous, it facilitated the merging of historical perceptions and political needs in the service of the Franco regime's ideological front.

Jensen explores these issues by examining some of the army's cultural policies in North Africa, especially with regard to education of Muslim children, and a few Spanish military writings. Although these cases by no means constitute a comprehensive survey, Jensen points out "they may help us to understand better how identity perceptions and historical consciousness can clash, coalesce, and evolve."²⁶ Modern Spain's army officers have expressed ambivalent attitudes toward Moroccans since at least the "War of Africa" of 1859–60. Like civilian writers and artists, some mid-nineteenth-century Spanish army officers portrayed Moroccans in unabashedly *orientalist* terms, but others wrote of their North African "brothers" relatively favorably.²⁷ Spanish *arabism* (which also encompass what some scholars have termed *africanism*) was definitely not a clear-cut case of *orientalism*. Soldiers employed these terms almost interchangeably, as seen in works by the Franco regime's quasi-official spokesman for Hispano-Arab brotherhood, Tomás García Figueras. Jensen also explains how, furthering complicating matters, the term *africanista* had more than one meaning in military culture. It could denote an army officer who devoted much of his

²⁵ The term comes from Patrick Porter, *Military Orientalism: Eastern War Through Western Eyes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

²⁶ See "Military Memories, History, and the Myth of Hispano-Arabic Identity in the Spanish Civil War" by Geoffrey Jensen in this volume.

²⁷ On the ambivalence of Spanish portrayals of the 1859–60 conflict, see Susan Martin-Marquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 101–30.

professional life to studying North Africa, such as Emilio Blanco Izaga, whose work continues to be valued by civilian anthropologists and historians alike.²⁸ But it most frequently took a political form, referring to the army officers who favored Spanish occupation and expansion in North Africa.

María del Mar Logroño Narbona's chapter, "'Carmencita' Goes East: Francoist Cultural Discourses about the Middle East," continues the exploration of *orientalism*. In contrast to the attention given to the *Maghreb*, the relationship between the Oriental Middle East (*Mashreq*) and Spain has received secondary attention, coming mostly from a diplomatic perspective: Franco's renewed relationship with the Arab world was furthered in the aftermath of Spain's international isolation in the late 1940s. The study of the Arab-Spanish political partnership has mostly relied in the analysis of the pivotal trip of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Martín Artajo, to the *Mashreq* in the spring of 1952. The diplomatic assessment of the trip, however, has largely obliterated important cultural and symbolic elements. This chapter offers an in-depth cultural reading of the discursive aspects of this diplomatic mission as it contrasts both intellectual and popular discourses of this mission.

Considering that Spain's diplomatic efforts turned to a different direction by the end of the 1950s, scholars have dismissed the efforts of the 1952 diplomatic mission and the media campaign built around it as being empty discourses that were set aside once Spain had achieved its diplomatic purposes within the international arena.²⁹ However, this chapter by Narbona highlights how the rhetorical discourses produced by the early Franco regime were not empty intellectual constructions, but rather show the regime's efforts in institutionalizing romanticized notions of its past, anticipating to some extent the positive self-orientalization of Spain that took place during the tourism boom in the 1960s.³⁰ Furthermore, a combined

²⁸ See Emilio Blanco Izaga, *Emilio Blanco Izaga: Coronel en el Rif*, ed. David Montgomery Hart (Melilla: Ayuntamiento de Melilla, 1995).

²⁹ See the works of Dolores Algora Weber, *Las relaciones hispano-árabes durante el régimen de Franco: La ruptura del aislamiento internacional (1946-1950)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1995), Raanan Rein Rein, "In pursuit of votes and economic treaties: Francoist Spain and the Arab world, 1945-56," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1998): 195-215, and Hishaam D. Aidi, "The Interference of Al-Andalus: Spain, Islam, and the West," *Social Text* 87, 24, no. 2 (2006): 67-88.

³⁰ See Aurora Morcillo, "The Orient Within: Women Self-Empowering Acts under Francoism," in *Women as Agents of Change in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji (New York: Routledge, 2010), 259-70, and Hisham Aidi, "The Interference of Al-Andalus," 73. Again, see n. 8.

analysis of the interaction between popular and intellectual discourses around the 1952 mission to the Middle East sheds light on the plurality and tensions of Spanish *Orientalism*, which, as Geoffrey Jensen states in his article, are difficult to overstate.

Memory and History

According to Le Goff the history of memory is a part of a “history of history.” In this sense memory may be one more in a number of new objects of study in history such as the body, sex, festivals, and traditions. However, memory is more than another object of history because it forces us to reflect on the divide past/present and also it provides a peculiar approach to history since it is concerned with the modes of transmission of those memories. The problem arises with the exclusive claim of history as a professional enterprise with objectivity and absolute truth as its guiding forces versus the demotion of memory as imaginary and therefore unreliable information. Paul Ricoeur identifies printing and the commercial diffusion of information in the twentieth century as moments in which a full emancipation of history as a discipline took shape. The credibility of the written document opens the door to the elaboration of what is a reliable source and the division of history in neatly designed periods or ages along with thematic foci: political, social, cultural history. That is how history ceased to be part of memory and memory became just a province of historical research. What it is lost in this way of structuring our relation to the past is the collective consciousness and the memory of the community. The sense of self and belonging to a group is divorced from the learning of history, in turn transformed in an artificial exercise of memorization (oddly enough) of supposedly neutral and value-free events and dates. This volume is a plea to put memory and history in conversation with a civic sense of responsibility, a responsibility as intellectuals to shape constructive narratives, meaning inclusive and committed to preserve the many pasts that weave into our common history. Therefore, we envision a history that makes use of the imaginative uses of cultural traditions as preserved orally through memory and forgetting. This volume finds inspiration in the concept of “historicizing of memory” afforded by Paul Ricoeur’s work *Memory, History and Forgetting*, further explored in the conclusion. Ricoeur reminds us how literary critic Richard Tardiman explains the “memory crisis” as arising out of literature, more specifically from Baudelaire’s concept of “modernity.” In the fast-paced modern times, we need to preserve the multiple objects

that represent our existence. Literature allows us through language to bridge the gap between them. On the one hand, the events we experience and the traces we leave behind, and on the other hand the meaning of those experiences. There is, in a way, an excess of the past surrounding us. In the case of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism they continue to haunt us. In order to gain retrospection and enlightenment to move forward in a democratic society we need to engage both memory and history as inseparable in our research, because it is our capacity to remember that transforms history into a dynamic and living discipline. My remembrance as a personal exercise when confronted with the remembrance of the *other* as told in historical narratives open the door to examine *oneself as another*, producing a radical self-determination and ultimately a capable *being in time*.

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PART ONE

INSTITUTIONAL REALMS OF MEMORY

FROM ANTI-FASCISM TO HUMANISM: THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS A CRISIS OF MEMORY

Antonio Cazorla-Sánchez

The Movement for the Recovery of Historical Memory (MRHM) is an informal cluster of associations, political parties, volunteers, historians, and publicists, among others that has sought to raise public awareness in Spain about the supposedly forgotten aspects of the Francoist repression. The MRHM has called for both legislation and action that will help to correct this neglect. One of the main tenets of this movement is that Spanish society, for a number of reasons, does not know or does not want to know about the terrible events wrought by the Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship. One of MRHM's projects gathering significant attention, especially outside Spain, is the detection, excavation, and identification of human remains from the Francoist repression. The case of the internationally renowned poet Federico García Lorca, executed in the summer of 1936 by the pro-Franco forces and buried somewhere not far from the city of Granada, is the most well-known case among these. While MRHM's activities suggest a promising path of inquiry it must be added that, in general, the movement has neglected to analyze or has expressly refused to deal with the consequences of Republican (left-wing) repression during the war, and of the violent actions of the postwar anti-Francoist guerrillas (also called *maquis*).

The public impact of the MRHM has been growing since the late 1990s. While the economic recession that began to affect Spain in 2008 has dimmed its public presence, people have not forgotten the heated discussions of not long ago and the excavation of mass graves has not stopped. On the contrary, they continue at a steady pace. But as Spanish society deals with rising unemployment and economic hardship, a practice of "remembering" the past, and particularly the horrors of the Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship, seems to have greatly diminished in the public's attention. To an extent, it seems as if the topic of historical memory is suffering from a certain social fatigue. This may then be an appropriate moment to reflect on the balance of MRHM's activities in the past decade.

The main objective of this chapter is to situate the origins and evolution of the MRHM within a wider narrative, both intellectually and

geographically. This narrative encompasses the European experience of dealing with the memory of Fascism in particular and with the legacy of political violence, the so-called European Civil War that ravaged the continent in the interwar period 1919–39. Too often, the Spanish case is seen out of the international context, “proving” that Spain today still is not normal. In reality, historical memory in Spain is just a local version, with very specific situations and cases, of an ongoing international revision of both the role of politics and history in society. This revision has created what we call a crisis in the postwar consensus on historical memory. With this broad perspective in mind, I will first explain the evolution of the concept of anti-Fascism in post-1945 Europe. The reason for this is that both the language and the reasoning of the MRHM are heavily indebted to this anti-Fascist tradition. The Italian case will be described because I believe that the evolution of that country’s historiography clearly indicate the venues and risks of trying to build a new historical memory. Second, I will identify the developments in and the connections between both recent Spanish history and historiography. Third, I will demonstrate how and why the MRHM emerged, as well as its achievements and shortcomings. Finally, this chapter will offer venues for a future debate by exploring questions such as the relationship between history and historical memory, ownership of the past, the purpose of remembering, and how we relate to both victims and perpetrators. The overall objective is to show the need to develop a new paradigm for historical analysis in the study of political violence based on humanistic, democratic, and universal values.

Anti-Fascism and Postwar European Identity

The inconvenient past of the anti-Fascist movement started in the mid-1970s. While this happened in many parts of Europe, developments in Italian historiography have been most significant in terms of its proximity and relevance to the Spanish case. The contrast between the Italian and the Spanish examples shows that in spite of different political circumstances the evolution of both their historiographies shares a common trend toward a more critical view of the Left’s own record. This includes an evolution toward a more humanistic and democratic approach, while it also coincides with a revival of old Right-wing clichés that have been trivialized by politicians and propagandists.

A critical approach to the Left’s historical record began in Italy rather suddenly. In a very complete 1975 survey article on the Italian anti-Fascist

resistance, Charles Delzell described the pro-Resistance, anti-Fascist historiography without yet any hint of scepticism.¹ At most, the “critical” or more controversial aspect of this survey addressed the postwar division of memory that occurred in the conflict between several anti-Communist groups and the Italian Communist party itself. Still, the main line of inquiry was concerned with whom, how, and under what circumstances both Italy and its people were liberated from Fascism, and how this connected with a general narrative of Italian (national) history. By 1975, however, a rapid undermining of this mostly seamless discourse had already started. The spectacular commercial success of Renzo De Felice’s *Intirvista sul fascismo*, published that summer, highlighted how a vast segment of the Italian public did not identify with what had been until then the semi-official version of the recent past, and they harboured different and often publicly articulated dissenting memories. In this popular book and in his far more monumental ongoing biography of Mussolini, what De Felice achieved, in essence, was to introduce the issue of the popularity of both the dictator himself and of his movement.² Most responses were ferocious. De Felice was accused of having a neo-Fascist and an apolitical agenda, of rehabilitating Fascism, of minimizing the horrors of the dictatorship, and even of “perversion.” The most notable exception to this barrage came, curiously, from a Communist leader and intellectual, Giorgio Amendola, who, even while acknowledging many discrepancies with De Felice, endorsed the idea of a revolutionary aspect in Fascism that attracted ample segments of the population.³

As the dust started to settle, it became obvious that the initiative in the debate was slipping from the hands of classic anti-Fascist historians. Issues such as the popularity and support for Fascism that De Felice advanced rather crudely under the term *consenso* (which he takes to mean both consent and consensus) needed to be addressed. In doing so, historians of Fascism needed also to address the complicated aspects of the social origins of Fascism, rather than brushing them aside by placing most of the blame on the most reactionary middle classes and the complicity of conservative elites. Another key issue was the relationship between the regime and society. The result was nothing short of a historiographical revolution that

¹ Charles F. Delzell, “The Italian Anti-fascist Resistance in Retrospect: Three Decades of Historiography,” *The Journal of Modern History* 47 (March 1975): 66–96.

² Michael A. Ledeen, “Renzo de Felice and the Controversy over Italian Fascism,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 11 (1976): 269–83.

³ Idem.

by the next decade, as Emilio Gentile has demonstrated, had changed the paradigm within which historians of Fascism worked. The result was an opening of new methodological approaches and fields of research such as oral history, social history, and cultural history.⁴ Revisionism did not result in the dreaded neo-Fascist political revival. Instead it resulted in both a more complete understanding of the successes (and failures) of Fascism and in the unveiling of many aspects of Fascism that are still active in Italian society and in Italian national identity.⁵ Revisionism proved how exhausted and generic Marxist approaches to Fascism had become and revealed in the process the need to historicize ideas of birth, development, and fall, as well as memories and identities generated by Fascism and anti-Fascism.⁶

The effective loss of political power at the national level since 1947, when the Italian Communist Party (PCI) was expelled from the government, was “compensated” by the rise of an intellectual (rather than cultural) hegemony. This cultural hegemony did not translate into a renovation of Italian political culture. On the contrary, it presided over the atrophy and corruption, which led by the Christian-Democratic Party (DC), engulfed the so called “first republic.” In many ways, the fact that intellectual hegemony did not translate into an effective and culturally and socially transformative force explains many of the troubling developments that have taken place in Italy after the end of this “first republic.”⁷ With the implosion of the PCI and the collapse of the DC (and its minor allies, starting with the Socialists), what emerged was not a society that looks critically at the Fascist past, but one that has “forgotten” and to an extent has erased this past from its national identity.⁸ Even worse, the supposed purification and opening of political life in Italy during the late 1980s and early 1990s has revealed that an important segment of society endorses the right-wing populists. This began during the rise of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, when praise was directed towards the “good” aspects of Fascism and certain nostalgia was advanced for the (supposedly) peaceful and consensual way in which law

⁴ Emilio Gentile, “Fascism in Italian Historiography: In Search of an Individual Historical Identity,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 21 (1986): 179–208.

⁵ *Idem.*, 202.

⁶ Borden W. Painter, “Renzo De Felice and the Historiography of Italian Fascism,” *The American Historical Review* 95, no. 2 (April 1990): 391–405.

⁷ See Paul Ginsborg, *Italy and Its Discontents. Family, Civil Society, State 1980–2001* (London: Penguin, 2001).

⁸ Niccolò Zapponi, “Fascism in Italian Historiography, 1986–93: A Fading National Identity,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 29, no. 4 (October 1994): 547–68.

and order had been imposed.⁹ In Berlusconi-land, Fascism was a “modernizing” moment in Italy’s life; its internal policies were supposed to be mild and humane (“nobody got killed,” “dissidents were sent on holidays”), while its foreign policy did not differ from that of other big European powers at the time.¹⁰ Paradoxically, during the past two decades, while neo-Fascists have taken cabinet posts in Italy’s government (such as Deputy Prime Minister Gianfranco Fini and his party, *Alleanza Nazionale*) and popular publications have praised aspects of both Fascism and Mussolini, some of the most fruitful and complex debates about Italy’s relationship with Fascism have been taking place.¹¹ These include, of course, a re-evaluation of anti-Fascism, the Resistance, and the Italian civil war of 1943–45.

The insistence on the part of the Resistance on purging the nation from both the people and the factors that made Fascism possible has been problematic. It promised a continuous political struggle at a time and place (postwar Europe) when people were tired of struggles, violence, and politics. It is not surprising that the rebirth of democracy did not include a significant increase in militancy and popular political mobilization. On the contrary this rebirth has seen an increase in passivity and in the entrusting of governance to technocrats. Postwar Europe is the golden era of the high-placed, un-elected expert bureaucrat planning the future: the great postwar institutions were in fact envisaged and designed by these technocrats. Politicians of this period have been described as “grey men,” an expression that highlights their lack of popular appeal and their concentration on running and politicking, rather than in raising consciousness.¹²

The Resistance’s encouragement of confrontation and retribution—violence, in sum—is its weak point, and the movement has suffered a similarly paradoxical fate in Italy and elsewhere in the last three decades. In neo-conservative and neo-Fascist environments, the Resistance has been blamed for the civil war that unfolded in the final stages of the last world war. Its actions have been placed on the same moral level as those of the

⁹ An acerbic criticism of this in Paul Corner, “Italian Fascism: whatever Happened to Dictatorship?,” *Journal of Modern History* 74, no. 2 (June 2002): 325–51.

¹⁰ For Berlusconi’s “enlightened” opinions on Fascism, see Andrea Mammone, “A Daily Revision of the Past: Fascism, Anti-Fascism, and Memory in Contemporary Italy,” *Modern Italy* 11, no. 2 (June 2006): 211–26. For Fascist foreign policy see MacGregor Knox, “The Fascist Regime, Its Foreign Policy and Its Wars: An Anti-Anti-Fascist Orthodoxy?,” *Contemporary European History* 4, no. 3 (November 1995): 347–65.

¹¹ Robert Ventresca, “Debating the Meaning of Fascism in Contemporary Italy,” *Modern Italy* 11, no. 2 (June 2006): 189–209.

¹² Martin Conway, “Democracy in Postwar Western Europe: the Triumph of a Political Model,” *European History Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (2002): 59–84.

Fascist regimes and forces; in fact, the civil war has been recast as simply the confrontation of two equally violent sides. Going further, the Resistance has even been blamed for laying the foundations of Italy's notorious partitocracy. Next to this crude misrepresentation, which ignores the fact that the actual origin of violence was the dictatorship that the Resistance had been fighting, stand more careful and rigorous works. For example, the eminent historian Claudio Pavone has documented Partisan violence, insisting on its moral shortcomings and the human suffering it caused, but without forgetting both the context and development of such violence, or the basic "morality" of the Partisan cause.¹³

Work by Pavone and by others in Italy (similar to the work that serious historians of the Liberation have done in France) has a double dimension. On the one hand, it tries to explain the dynamic of violence in the civil wars that took place in the last months of World War II, reconstructing a process that rejects simple mono-causal explanations but that brings society's contradictions and expectations into the analysis.¹⁴ On the other hand, by documenting all aspects of violence (victims, perpetrators, and their possible interchanged roles) the narrative becomes all-encompassing and inclusive. The resulting dualistic approach is intrinsically humanistic because it does not reject in principle the idea that human suffering is equal regardless of who suffers it, and that each case deserves careful, non-prejudiced study. This humanistic yet historically rigorous approach has been undertaken in other cases concerning difficult or inconvenient victims from the same period, such as the case of the near half million German civilians killed by Allied aerial bombing during World War Two.¹⁵ Notice how different this rediscovering of the pain of others is (in this case, German pain) from the narratives of victimhood that dominated German popular and official historical memory until the 1970s.¹⁶

¹³ Simona Neri Seneri, "A Past to Be Thrown Away? Politics and History in the Italian Resistance," *Contemporary European History* 4, no. 3 (November 1995): 367–81.

¹⁴ See an excellent local study on Partisan violence as it operated in the broader social context of France in Megan Koreman, "The Collaborator's Penance: The Local Purge, 1944–5," *Contemporary European History* 6, no. 2 (1997): 177–92. A vision from above (intellectual history) that also includes the social context and the political expectations of the moment is in Tony Judt, "We Have Discovered History: Defeat, Resistance, and the Intellectuals in France," *The Journal of Modern History* 64 (December 1992): s147–s172.

¹⁵ See Thomas Childers, "Facilis descensus averni est: The Allied Bombing of Germany and the Issue of German Suffering," *Central European History* 38, no. 1 (2005): 75–105. See also Mary Nolan, "Air Wars, Memory Wars," *Central European History* 38, no. 1 (2005): 7–40.

¹⁶ See Robert G. Moeller, "War Stories: the Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany," *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (October 1996):

This approach has its risks, of course, as was evidenced during the heated argument that followed Giampaolo Pansa's book on partisan violence in Italy following the end of the war. Pansa, an anti-Fascist, was accused of being a pawn of right-wing and neo-Fascist revisionism for not doing enough to avoid having his book manipulated.¹⁷ It is well known that the risk of humanistic approaches is that the emotions and arguments that are presented can be used by those who believe in neither humanism nor democracy. This risk is, however, far from exclusive to humanism.

Before Memory: Spain's Political, Historiographical, and Cultural Transitions

Compared to Italy, memory, like political freedom, came relatively recently to Spain, arriving precisely when the anti-Fascist identity was entering its formal crisis elsewhere in Western Europe. However, while the way memory and anti-Fascist categories operated in debates and discussions in the public sphere reflected this late arrival of freedom, the evolution of historiography in Spain has been similar, if sometimes lagging behind, to the rest of the West. Following Franco's death, mid- and late-1970s' Spanish civil society needed to reaffirm its democratic identity and so looked back to the Second Republic, the Civil War, and the dictatorship to find what it was looking for, ignoring questions that were deemed either unnecessary or inopportune. Spain is a unique case in the sense that its political transition to democracy in 1976–77 ran more or less parallel to an already unfolding, broader historiographical transition. This transition operated in a context in which anti-Fascist myths were necessary not just to cement the still weak and threatened democratic system but also to counteract forty years of one-sided Francoist propaganda, lies, and occultation. Those myths quickly became critically revised by professional, democratic-minded, and overwhelmingly left-wing historians.

The Spanish awakening historiographical transition was not only a rapid intellectual process, but occurred simultaneously with a crucial transformation in the Spanish university system. Spain first saw an increase in educational quality during the 1970s and 1980s in fields such as social history, whose value had already been established. Marxist thinking took root

1008–48. See also Robert G. Moeller, "Germans as Victims? Thoughts on a Post-Cold War History of World War II's Legacies," *History and Memory* 17, nos. 1–2 (Spring/Summer 2005): 147–94.

¹⁷ Ventresca, "Debating the Meaning of Fascism," 201.

in the expanding history departments.¹⁸ Not long ago, a young historian, Óscar Rodríguez Barreira, took the trouble to count the number of doctoral dissertations that had been written on the Francoist period in Spain. He discovered that for the period 1976–2003, 83 percent of them were written after 1990.¹⁹ This was no accident, but is rather a direct result of the above-mentioned boom in the study of social history in Spain during the 1980s. The professors who were writing and supervising doctoral dissertations after the death of Franco in 1975 did so under difficult professional circumstances. They were employed by people with very different ideological and professional outlooks who were committed Francoists and for whom political history of the most traditional sort was the only history worth studying. Young professors were working under precarious conditions, they were ill-paid, and they were overloaded with teaching and marking tasks.

In addition, there was the outstanding problem of scant resources and of closed or ill-organized archives. Anyone who conducted research before the 1990s on Franco's Spain or the Civil War knows very well the hostility, carelessness, and ill-preparation with which they were met when trying to gain access to an archive that contained, or was supposed to contain, sensitive documentation. While some of these problems were sometimes overcome, others were not, thus limiting the ability of the insecure young scholar to do a thorough research job. This was particularly true for the major question, which is Francoist repression. But the research problems did not end with the archives. The ideas, and needs, that were prevalent in the 1970s or 1980s were also very different than the realities and expectations of the last decade of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first have seen a spectacular growth in dissertations, particularly those devoted to detailed studies at the local level, on Francoism, the Civil War, and political repression.

This historiographical shift ran parallel to Spain's difficult political transition away from dictatorship and the subsequent and rather sudden, firm rooting of democracy. However, this parallel course was not obvious at the time. Spain was a democracy after June 1977, when the first fully democratic elections took place, but many dark clouds continued to threaten this transition until the mid-1980s, when the Socialist Party (PSOE) government of Felipe González was able to impose the principle of the primacy of civilian rule over the military and to show, despite the reticence of sectors of

¹⁸ Julián Casanova, *La Historia Social y los historiadores* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1991).

¹⁹ Óscar Rodríguez Barreira, "La Historia Local y Social del franquismo en al democracia, 1976–2003. Datos para una reflexión," *Historia Social* 56 (2006): 153–76.

the military and business communities, that democracy could deal effectively with the country's problems. It was only with this imposition of civilian rule that the spectre of a military coup, such as that of February 1981, or those that were aborted while still in the planning stages in the following two years, disappeared. The three main problems that Spanish society faced at the time and that were managed sufficiently well were the democratization and de-centralisation of the state, high levels of unemployment and a concomitant dysfunctional welfare network, and finally, the terrorist activities of the Basque Fatherland and Freedom (ETA in Basque) organisation. The relative success of the reforms carried out by the first two PSOE governments during the 1980s, the endurance of a population that was confronting both socioeconomic hardship and a terrorist onslaught, and finally the integration of Spain into European political/economic structures such as NATO and, later, the European Union, established the basis for the prosperity and renaissance of the country in the decades that followed. The problems, pains, and successes just described were mirrored in the evolution of the university system and in the methods and approaches historians used to research, write about, and teach the past.

As the economy improved in the mid-1980s and the country started to find a new sense of self-confidence, the university system got new resources such as grants and fellowships as well as professional stabilization, and the historiographical production changed, expanding in both quality and variety.²⁰ Younger historians reaped not only the efforts of the largely hard-pressed young professors working in Spain, such as Javier Tusell, José Álvarez Junco, Santos Juliá, or Julio Aróstegui, but also of those Spaniards who had previously worked in exile, such as Manuel Tuñón de Lara (whose professorship in Pau, France, established a center of collaboration with historians working in Spain). In addition, there was also a third source, or historiographical tradition, that cemented this renaissance of Spanish history: the invaluable contribution of foreign historians who specialized in Modern Spain. It is easy today to forget this contribution, not only in terms of quantity and quality, but just as importantly, the liberal, tolerant approach of historians working in the 1960s and 1970s. These people

²⁰ Some, among many other, historiographical balances can be found in the following publications: Casanova, *Historia Social*; Pablo Sánchez and Jesús Izquierdo, *Clásicos de historia social en España. Una selección crítica* (Valencia: Historia Social, 2000); Javier Faci (coord.), *Tendencias en historia* (Madrid: SNEP-CSIC, 1988); José Luis de la Granja (coord.), *Tuñón de Lara y la historiografía española* (Madrid: Universidad del País Vasco, 1999).

included Raymond Carr, Stanley Payne, Gabriel Jackson, Hugh Thomas, and Edward Malefakis. In the French academia, Jean Bécarrud cannot be overlooked. These men were the first to explore Spanish history free of the ideological constraints imposed by the Francoist dictatorship. They also often introduced Spanish historians to new concepts such as oral history and gender history, and also popularized Spanish history, both outside and inside Spain itself.²¹ Looking at this situation in perspective, there was very little time to spare in the 1980s or even in the 1990s to explore questions of historical and cultural memory (a relative new field back then). Spanish historians were literally building their profession and were rapidly filling in gaps, particularly in terms of archival research that had been left by forty years of lies, malfeasance, repression and censorship practiced by Francoism.

In spite of all the problems and changes that were taking place both in society and in academia, historians neither forgot nor chose to neglect “hot” topics. In fact, while they were highly influenced by the needs and worries of the times, they actively sought out such topics. In histories from both inside and outside Spain four themes attracted the most attention: the Second Republic, the Civil War, the Francoist dictatorship, and, running through all three, the political violence that ultimately signalled the failure of Spain’s earlier democracy and that cemented the harsh Franco regime. Lingered over or near these themes was another question, imported in principle from the political sciences, which entered the debate: the political nature of Francoism, and more precisely asked, whether it was or was not a Fascist regime.²² Historians were looking for the source of Spain’s recovered democracy (for example, was it a direct descendant of the Second Republic?) while at the same time trying to understand the failures of the previous one, including its military defeat during the war. Having been raised under the lies of Francoism, and in particular under the big official lie that only the “Reds” killed while the “Whites” acted like gentlemen, these historians concentrated a significant part of their efforts on uncovering Francoist repression. This was unavoidable because during the study of Spain’s “Fascist” history the context of and responsibility for crimes committed by the Left were often downplayed or ignored. Critical voices such as that of Stanley Payne were ignored while the myth of focusing

²¹ Octavio Ruiz-Manjón Cabeza, “La Segunda República española. Balance historiográfico de una experiencia democratizadora,” *Ayer* 63 (2006): 279–97.

²² Manuel Pérez Ledesma, “Una dictadura por la Gracia de Dios,” *Historia Social* 20 (1994): 173–94.

responsibility for crimes committed by leftists on “uncontrolled people,” “anarchists,” etc. remained strong.²³ The same simplification occurs when the failure of the Republic is blamed on the treacherous actions of the Right and the predominantly Catholic parties, combined with the corruption of the Radical Party, and the “stupid” radicalization of a partition of PSOE. This self-serving interpretation of the failure of the Republic allowed many mostly Left-leaning historians to qualify the left-wing revolution in Asturias in October 1934 against the legal Center-Right government as a “mistake” caused by the “fear” of Fascism, but at the same time to fully blame the Right for the July 1936 revolt against the legal center-left Government. Unlike the earlier revolt, this latter one was, they said, a betrayal of democracy.²⁴

The classic anti-Fascist approach to the relationship between left- and right-wing responsibilities for the war, along with the explanations for political repression carried out by both sides, has been moving toward a more balanced account since the mid-1990s. But it has been during this time, paradoxically (just as it happened in Italy more or less at the same time), that right-wing and more or less philo-Fascist propagandists started to appear in the public arena, selling books profusely and posing as historians. In this they counted on the tacit support of powerful political and social groups, such as the conservative government of José María Aznar (1996–2004), which controlled the public broadcasting system, and newspapers such as *El Mundo* or *La Razón*, or the radio stations of the Catholic Church’s broadcasting company, COPE. Curiously enough, traditional conservative media such as the monarchist newspaper *ABC* remained largely aloof from this movement and were often the target of vilification by the neo-conservatives, who accused it of being too moderate or cozy with the orthodoxy of the new democratic system. Many of the publicists involved in these pseudo-historical writings worked for these media organizations. This philo-Fascist literature and the role of the propagandist-historian and Francoism apologist were not new: the half-baked books of people such as Federico Jiménez Losantos, Pío Moa, César Vidal, and other polymaths has a long tradition that comes from the Civil War and that thrived during the dictatorship.²⁵ Berlusconi-land had its cultural counterpart in Aznar-land.

²³ Stanley Payne, “Political Violence during the Spanish Second Republic,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 25, no. 2 (1990): 269–88.

²⁴ Paul Preston, *The Coming of the Spanish Civil War: Reform, Reaction and Revolution in the Second Republic, 1931–1936* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

²⁵ See Alberto Reig Tapia, *Revisionismo y política. Pío Moa revisitado* (Madrid: Foca, 2008).

The line of reasoning behind the Francoist version of violence, which is now being repeated by the populist neo-conservatives or philo-Fascists, is that Spain was engulfed in a wave of violence and chaos before the Civil War started that forced the reluctant Right and a section of the army to rebel to re-impose order in a country on the verge of revolution. No political interests here, no class interests either, just patriotism and a desire for a decent life. Franco embodied this apparent disinterestedness. By rebelling, the general saved Spain from Communism and eventually led the country to prosperity and modernity. In a new twist, the neo-conservatives have decided that Franco's policies made Spain's present democracy possible: Franco and the conservative forces of Spain are the true makers of the free and modern country.²⁶

There are historico-cultural reasons behind the view of the past offered by today's Right. During the dictatorship, there were (and they still largely persist) two main discourses on the Civil War. Both are connected: one is the official discourse and the other is the discourse of "private" recollections. The regime's discourse was printed in the official historical accounts of the period such as the *Dictamen oficial sobre la ilegitimidad de los poderes actuantes en 18 de julio de 1936* (1939), *Causa General* (1940–60), Joaquín Arrarás's *Historia de la Cruzada Española* (1939–43) or, much later, Ricardo de la Cierva's *Francisco Franco: un siglo de España* (1973). This official version also informed the countless monuments erected by the Francoists all over Spain, including the crosses and plates with the names of the "Fallen for God and for Spain" in each municipality. The biggest monument among those is the Valley of the Fallen (1939–59), where Franco was buried in 1975, next to the founder of the Falange party, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, and perhaps the bodies of 33,000 killed during the Civil War. The official message and the common theme in all these accounts are strongly nationalistic and religious: they tell a story of sin (against God and the Nation) by the Republican governments, crime (against decent people by the Red mobs) and costly redemption (the blood of the fallen) led by a providential man (Franco). What is absent in this official memory is the fate of the Reds, a key element that is also missing in the semi-official memory. In both accounts the only people who died, or rather, the only people whose deaths are accounted for, are right-wing people. The reason for this omission has to be more clearly found in the semiprivate recollections that complete

²⁶ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939–1975* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

the Francoist memory of the war. In countless books and other records of memory that appeared for the most part immediately after the war but that were still numerous in the 1960s, the Reds are depicted as degenerate, lower class, semi-beasts. Given free reign by the Republican government, the Reds fulfilled their basic criminal instincts and murdered, often in the most atrocious circumstances, their natural and social superiors. In these accounts, Red men look bestial, dirty, and often effeminate. Women in turn are portrayed as dirty, lecherous, consumed by syphilis, and sometimes having man-like natures. They are the poor people who during periods of order seem to comply with the law, but whom at the first chance, reveal what they truly are and demonstrate why they deserve their subordinate social position. In sum, like in the lapses of memory in Nazi Germany—for example, in the accounts of violence in the Eastern Front, and in particular in accounts of the Holocaust—the unpleasant but necessary things done to “sub-humans” are not talked about. What made the Francoist historical memory so perverted was its semi-biological-cum-social foundation couched within an externally respectable discourse about God, Order and Nation.²⁷ Not surprising, when young historians in the 1970s and 1980s started to show up in military and civil archives trying to find out what happened to the republicans who had been killed, how many were killed, and where their bodies were, they encountered silence, hostility, and often open contempt. Only the democratisation of the state apparatus made their work possible.

The Francoist narrative about the Civil War was the only one transmitted to the public during the long dictatorship. It was both Manichean and ruthless. It was Manichean because it presented a past of Good (and God) versus Evil, of order and justice fighting and overcoming terror and crime. It was ruthless not only because it treated the vanquished Reds—both the dead and the survivors—as criminals, but also because it denied that they had suffered any violence, negating the possibility of their victimhood. This denial included the deaths of those shot by the Francoists and buried elsewhere, most often in unmarked mass graves. In Franco's Spain there were no Republican victims and there was no Republican pain. This was in essence the message repeated constantly by the regime and by Franco

²⁷ See Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, “Patria Mártir: los españoles, la nación y la guerra civil en el discurso ideológico del primer franquismo,” in Javier Moreno Luzón (ed.), *Construir España: Nacionalismo español y procesos de nacionalización* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2007), 289–302. This discourse was constructed during the war; see Francisco Sevillano Calero, *Rojos: la representación del enemigo en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Alianza, 2007).

himself for nearly forty years, a message that surprisingly survives as a memory among vast sectors of the present-day Spanish public. The reasons for this survival are simple but intertwined.

The official, one-sided Francoist lie contrasted with the reality that three-quarters of the approximately 200,000 executed or assassinated during and after the war were Republicans. During the regime, this truth could not be independently or scientifically explored. Censorship, occultation, fear, and denial prevented a balanced account of the victims of the Civil War. The only historians that were given permission to publish on the topic were committed Francoists and their "research" supported the official li(n)e. The most careful account of repression ever produced by a pro-Franco historian, General Ramón Salas Larrázabal's *Los datos exactos de la Guerra Civil*, was not published until after the end of the regime (1980), and still inflated the number of Francoist victims (over 72,000) while minimising the Republican ones (over 57,000), when the real numbers were probably less than 50,000 pro-Francoist victims and close to 150,000 Republicans killed.²⁸ Thus the Francoist memory of the war became confused with propaganda in the public sphere and was circulated in places ranging from publications to the movies to the educational system. On the one hand, this circulation re-enforced and shaped the private memories of the originally pro-Franco population. On the other hand it spread an official version of events within the sphere of the private opinions of the pro-Republican population.

The pro-Republican population, unlike their pro-Franco counterparts, could not transmit their own memories to their children without putting themselves at risk. Quite often, parents decided not to share their memories with their own children. If they were asked about the past they responded by feigning amnesia or cutting the conversation short. Children's innocence was preserved not only to protect their parents but also because the parents understood that their children had nothing to gain from knowing the truth as long as they lived under the hopelessness of the dictatorship. It was thus not uncommon that children grew up with a memory of the war received from the regime's socialization agencies that contradicted their parents' repressed memories. The overall result was a clear dominance of the pro-Franco memory in the public sphere until after the end of the regime, and a resulting general ignorance among the absolute majority of the population about the real dimensions and circumstances of the violence

²⁸ Ramón Salas Larrázabal, *Los datos exactos de la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Rioduero, 1980).

that took place in Spain in the 1930s and 1940s. This ignorance generated a thirst for knowledge, and after the end of the regime, this misinformed public wanted to know. They rushed to buy the first published accounts of the war, available in 1976 thanks largely to the research conducted by foreign historians such as Hugh Thomas and Gabriel Jackson, or the excellent oral historian Ronald Fraser.²⁹ One of the problem with those accounts was the authors' very limited (if any) access to the key archives that contained the records of such repression.

Perhaps the earliest, and certainly among the best, anti-Fascist, yet critical reflections on the Republic and the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, was provided by Santos Juliá in 1977 in a groundbreaking study of the PSOE.³⁰ In this book he explained how the radicalization of the party deeply weakened the democratic system. This "revisionism" was taken up by other authors and would close, or rather culminate with, Julian Casanova's 1997 book on the too-often romanticized Anarchist movement. Casanova explained how the powerful anarcho-syndicalist movement gravely obstructed the implementation of the Republic's reform.³¹ Both authors are committed democrats and anti-Fascists, which demonstrates the rapid updating of approaches in some sectors of Spanish academia as it caught up with both new analytic methodologies and new post-orthodox, anti-Fascist thought paradigms. In the meantime, and influenced by this new academic context, historians at local and regional levels, quite often as part of a new wave of doctoral dissertations on the Civil War, started to document and evaluate repression, mostly Francoist but also on the part of the Republicans. The turning point in this work on repression was Josep María Solé i Sabaté and Joan Villarroya's massive pioneering 1989–90 study on repression carried out in Catalonia by the Republicans during the war.³² The result of this vast research effort came in the form of a collection coordinated by Santos Juliá himself in 1999, which for the first time, impartially and based on exhaustive archival work, offered nationwide analysis of

²⁹ Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961). Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931–39* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965). Ronald Fraser, *Blood of Spain: An Oral History of the Spanish Civil War* (London: Pantheon, 1979).

³⁰ Santos Juliá, *La izquierda del PSOE, 1935–1936* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1977).

³¹ Julián Casanova, *De la calle al frente. El anarcosindicalismo en España, 1931–1939* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997).

³² Josep María Solé i Sabaté and Joan Villarroya, *La represió a la retaguardia de Catalunya, 1936–1939* (Monsterrat: Publicaciones de la Abadía de Monsterrat, 1989–90), 2 vols.

political repression carried out by both sides of the war.³³ This book has become the principle study for discussion, and often for fine-tuning, among serious historians of political repression in Spain during the 1930s and 1940s.

Ironically it was at the very moment, when the public finally had an encompassing and balanced account of political repression, based on the most precisely researched data ever provided, that debate seemed to move toward the far more muddy waters of memory, responsibility, and emotions. A wave of largely less erudite books, often produced by non-historians, started to inundate the market and to sell well. The context for this was a new social perception that something was missing in the account of the past, which led to a mobilization and public debates (often just harangues) about the Spanish Civil War of the sort that had not been seen before. And curiously enough, this "recovery" of memory included recycling old clichés produced by both the Right and the Left during and after the war.

Historical Memory in Spain: Shortcomings and Possibilities

Those who, from both sides of the political spectrum, insist on the need to remember must first convince us that we have forgotten.³⁴ The Right accused professional historians of having told a pro-Marxist, partial, and mendacious story. Many on the Left insist that Spaniards chose to forget the Civil War and the Francoist repression that followed in order to accommodate themselves to the new, fragile democracy.³⁵ More poignantly, they insist that the economic and cultural renaissance that Spain experienced beginning in the 1980s literally took place while standing over tens of thousands of bodies scattered in unmarked mass graves all over the country.³⁶

³³ Santos Juliá (coord.), *Victimas de la guerra civil* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999).

³⁴ A very incisive analysis of this in Enrique Moradiellos, "Revisión histórica crítica y pseudorevisionismo político presentista: el caso de la Guerra Civil Española," *Seminario de Historia del Departamento de historia del pensamiento y de los Movimientos Sociales y Políticos, UCM Fundación Ortega y Gasset, curso 2009-2010* (Madrid: Fundación Ortega y Gasset, 2009).

³⁵ Three different perspectives on this in Paloma Aguilar and Carsten Humlebaek, "Collective Memory and National Identity in the Spanish Democracy," *History and Memory* 14, nos. 1–2 (Fall 2002): 121–64; Angela Cenarro, "Memory beyond the Public Sphere: The Francoist Repression Remembered in Aragon," *History and Memory* 14, nos. 1–2 (Fall 2002): 165–88; Michael Richards, "From War Culture to Civil Society: Francoism, Social Change and Memories of the Spanish Civil War," *History and Memory* 14, nos. 1–2 (Fall 2002): 93–120.

³⁶ This opinion was, for example, expressed by several of the protagonists of the documentary by Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, *Las fosas del silencio* (Barcelona: TV3,

While the image is crude it is based on the real existence of perhaps 130,000 bodies and their unmarked mass graves. However, this image is partial at best. Others take this partiality further. Not only was there, as many authors and memory activists argue, a “pact to forget,” but this pact made the new Spanish democracy flourish only on the surface. Beneath cool (*movida*) Spain there was a fundamental flaw that undermined the true democratic nature of the new system: Francoist criminals and those who had held power, particularly of a socio-economic nature, during the dictatorship had been allowed to preserve both their immunity and their privileges.³⁷ Spain’s democracy is, we are told, a facade, in an exercise in hyper-criticism that is not very different from the generation of the late 1960s in Italy, France, Germany, and elsewhere. These generations called their parents’ names for not having cleansed their own countries from Fascism for good during the Liberation: in short, for having compromised. There is a rather rancid 1968 *déjà vu* in this accusation.³⁸

The theory of the “pact to forget” itself forgets that Spaniards had always, in fact, remembered. However, it also ignores the fact that in each period remembering is done differently and has different contents. During Francoism, remembering was an act that took place at the intersection of public discourse and the private recollections of those who dissented. But as we have seen, private recollections were too dangerous and problematic to transmit to the younger generations. A different matter that arises in this progression is that each generation comes to demand a different narrative from the same past.³⁹ The hidden memory only came to light, and were in the process transformed, after Franco died and democracy was restored. Following this restoration, private recollection, supported by a context of liberty and lack of fear, became public memory. However, Francoism was very efficient not only at hiding the truth, but also at distorting a general knowledge of the context for violence by preventing research and open discussion. In the mid to late 1970s Spaniards were hungry to

2003). Unfortunately, this excellent documentary was released in English under the title *The Spanish Holocaust*. For a sharp rebuke of the abuse of the word Holocaust as it was applied to Franco’s Spain see Julius Ruiz, “A Spanish Genocide? Reflections on the Francoist Repression after the Spanish Civil War,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 2 (2005): 171–91.

³⁷ An analysis of this in Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, “Revisiting the Legacy of the Spanish Civil War,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 21, no. 3 (2008): 231–46.

³⁸ See Stuart J. Hilwig, “Are you calling me a Fascist? A contribution to the Oral History of the Italian 1968 student rebellion,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 4 (2001): 581–97.

³⁹ Enzo Traverso, *El pasado, instrucciones de uso. Historia, memoria, política* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007), 93–98.

learn about the basic facts and processes of the Second Republic, the Civil War, and the dictatorship. The rebirth of public opinion included a demand for grand narratives to fill the huge gaps in knowledge. This explains both the explosion of translations of general books during this time by writers such as Gabriel Jackson and Hugh Thomas, cited above, and the popularity of academic studies, particularly new doctoral dissertations on those topics. This interest was also evident in the arts: dozens of movies about the war and the dictatorship were filmed and moviegoers became a different public, with new demands and new possibilities.⁴⁰ New novels appeared, and semi-forgotten or barely known works by exiled Spanish writers were rediscovered.⁴¹

Many things changed when the conservative Popular Party came to power in 1996. This ascension both coincided with and was helped along by the use of state-controlled media for feeding right-wing revisionism. This was presented as a genuine reaction against mainstream academic history, which was seen as being overwhelmingly left-wing and full of prejudice against the experiences of those who subscribe to right-wing ideas. In a way, this reaction was not just rejecting what an ample sector of the public educated in Francoist memory considered a one-sided version of the past. It was also a process of demanding the validity of their private recollections, which they perceived as not fitting into the now semi-official, academically sanctioned version of history. The recycled works of Ricardo de la Cierva as well as new ones by Pío Moa and César Vidal owe their success to the existence of the gaps between private recollections, clusters of memory, and the dominant academic discourse. The public who bought their books, some of them authentic best-sellers, found their own vision of the past and had their distrust of professional historians “confirmed.” In at least one aspect their “suspicion” was right. Historians had been working for the most part on the ignored Francoist repression and on the overwhelmingly ignored historic-cultural impact of Republican repression. They counted on the idea that the story that had been told repeatedly through the dictatorship’s official propaganda machine for nearly four decades needed no further work, at least for a while. It was a short-sighted approach, however. By neglecting to analyze and dismantle this story, professional historians tacitly accepted the Francoist discourse about its

⁴⁰ Manuel Trenzado Romero, *Cultura de masas y cambio político: el cine español de la transición* (Madrid: CIS, 1999).

⁴¹ Samuel Amell and Salvador García Castañeda, eds., *La cultura española en el posfranquismo: diez años de cine, cultura y literatura en España (1975–1985)* (Madrid: Playor, 1988).

own victimhood, leaving intact and isolated the “other Memory” that was itself entrenched within the pro-Franco and conservative population. The Francoist explanation of the past was no doubt one-sided and Manichean but it had been absorbed, either whole or in part, by vast segments of society who were never targeted by the new professional history developed after the end of the regime. This conservative-minded population still demanded history that supported their own memory. By not addressing the complex relationship between Republican and Francoist violence, and between victims and perpetrators, the admittedly Left-oriented majority of professional historians left this population in the hands of those who appealed to their memories of suffering through Francoists and neo-Francoist accounts.

This rebellion of right-wing private recollections in search of a sympathetic ear had its ideological and factual counterpart in the movement (or rather movements) for the Recuperation for the Historical Memory (RMHM) that appeared in the late 1990s and that became very prominent in the new millennium. This movement was often supported, and was even usurped, by far-Left political organizations for their own narrow partisan interests, including the supposedly fatal flaws of Spain’s restored democracy. The reaction of the MRHM was two-pronged. One prong directed against the neo-nationalist discourse of the ruling conservative Popular Party seemed to have ended the “revealing” and “cleaning” of the past that took place in the previous two decades, and concluded that the past was closed forever. Connected to this were reactions directed against the Socialist Party, now in opposition, and against mainstream historians for having failed to eliminate Fascism in Spain and for neglecting to go far enough in revealing the crimes and in punishing the criminals of the past. The international context for addressing such ideological conflicts has been the creation of truth and justice commissions in countries such as Argentina, Chile, and South Africa. They present a seemingly glaring example of the disparity between Spain’s lenient approach to its own past, and the approaches taken by these other countries for examining their histories. It has been argued that this disparity does not indicate negligence on the part of Spain, but is rather the result of an immoral and anti-democratic “pact” between a weak but self-satisfied Left and a well-entrenched Right.⁴²

In the case of the memories of both the Left and the Right the fundamental issue has been how to insert the individual into a grand narrative

⁴² Cazorla, “Revisiting the Legacy of the Spanish Civil War,” *passim*.

that is about violence. This narrative is full of considerations (usually opposed and seemingly irreconcilable) of crime, punishment, and impunity. This quest was not just about living individuals—the “survivors”—but also about the bodies of those who died as a result of this violence. It raises the question of who owns the suffering of the past and how far justice, both real and symbolic, can be pushed. Inevitably, reinserting the individual into a discourse about victims and perpetrators has led toward sentimentality. Remembering was often associated with re-enacting one’s own or one’s ancestors’ suffering in public. Perhaps there is no better example of this than the summer 2006 publication in several Spanish newspapers of death notices for people killed during the war.⁴³ In this process suffering became, to an extent, a proud display of victimhood. By its very nature such a display excludes the possibility that those who were remembered or that those who remember could be associated with any element of guilt or of being seen in any way as a perpetrator of violence. This unidirectional process is normal when remembering violence, especially when those who remember consider themselves victims. But it is highly problematic when it has to be processed by the professional historian into history, or when it becomes historical memory. Most historians were aware of the risks of sharing emotions with those expressed by a subject during an oral history interview, for example. A minority of historians, particularly writers of popular history, did not distance themselves from both the topic and their subjects, and thereby encouraged emotional reaction by re-enforcing a one-sided discourse about violence and victimhood. This applies to writers on both the Left and the Right.⁴⁴ In this way, historical memory became a topic of exhibition and display.

There is something very revealing about our times and our needs when we transform memory into an instrument for emotions, when memory is used to frame historical events instead of events framing memory. The Spain that saw the explosion of historical memory studies shared with other Western societies both material affluence and a demand for history as an “authentic” consumer product, when in reality it is nothing but a

⁴³ See, for example, the conservative newspaper *El Mundo*, “La Guerra Civil de las Esqueletas se Dispara,” 9-3-2006. <http://www.elmundo.es/suplementos/cronica/2006/566/1157234403.html>.

⁴⁴ See Rafael Torres, *Víctimas de la Victoria* (Madrid: Oberón, 2006). On the other side and published almost at the same time is a rather hallucinating geographical and ideological trip through Europe’s violence that proposes connections that are not connections at all. See César Vidal, *Paracuellos-Katyn. Un ensayo sobre el genocidio de la izquierda* (Madrid: Libros Libres, 2005).

controlled, intellectually light, emotionally loaded excursion. Like many other consumer demands, the success of the product is too often linked to its simplicity, a characteristic that is evident in the discourses about victimhood produced by propagandists and popular writers on both sides of the spectrum. This does not mean, of course, that there are no elements of true, real grievances that need to be addressed to support the demand for historical memory. At the center of the rise in the study in historical memory is a harrowing reality: tens of thousands of unaccounted for bodies of those killed during and after the war, mostly by Francoists. To everyone's shame these bodies still remain in unmarked mass graves all over the country. The issue of the mass graves, a more comprehensive material compensation package, and many other aspects have been addressed in the inaccurately named *Law for Historical Memory* that was passed by the Socialist Party government in November 2005. At about the same time, most Spanish regions ruled by left-wing governments have funded projects for locating and excavating mass graves as well as identifying the remains. Sadly, and tellingly, with only some exceptions, regions and municipal governments ruled by the conservative Popular Party, have remained indifferent and often hostile to the efforts by local Historical Memory associations to find the grave sites.⁴⁵

From a historiographical point of view, the tense situation between the grand narratives (and in particular the demise of the orthodox anti-Fascist paradigm) and the sudden rise of the significance of the individual in historical discourse offers as many risks as it may offer possibilities. As they stand today in Spain and elsewhere, accounts of violence in the twentieth century are still too close to be simply an encyclopaedia of horrors filled with testimonies, memories, and independent entries rather than providing the basis and the material for a new interpretative paradigm. Those horrors, both as general accounts and as personal suffering, continue to be divided according to an internal distinction between "victims," even if their suffering is closely related. When exploring these accounts we too often become stuck in moral condemnations, supported by a string of sentiments that are attached to direct witnesses, rather than extracting lessons to be learned from them. If we remain stuck in this encyclopaedic emotional narrative the victims of World War II, for example, can be placed side by side in a banal and self-serving account of the Holocaust, the destruction of Poland and the Western part of the Soviet Union, the bombing of

⁴⁵ For an update on this consult: <http://www.memoriahistorica.org/>.

Germany, and the mass rape of German women, all without generating a discourse that can account for differences while seeking to extract a conscientious overall view of an historical situation. The same conclusion could be drawn, of course, in the far simpler case of the Spanish Civil War, in which the radical dichotomy between victims and perpetrators remains strangely strong.

The main culprit behind this inability to arrive at an all-encompassing narrative may be the lingering legacy of nineteenth-century ideologies, traced in our analysis through Utopian Socialism to Nationalism. We know by now that class struggle and narratives bound by nation, ethnicity, and state are not sufficient to justify the actions of the past, particularly the enormous violence of the last century. We have been increasingly rejecting this approach for years, and yet we have witnessed an increase in "designed victimhood." The recent cultural shift includes a rejection of the victim-perpetrator dynamic, which goes no further than resorting to the moral-historical-epistemological banality of necessity versus evil (or necessary evil versus unnecessary evil) as Hannah Arendt says. The human experience is more complex than encyclopaedic accounts of necessity and perversion. The use of the meaningless concept of evil as the straw man for arriving at the good, should be substituted for new types of historical analysis that draw from philosophy, ethics, sociology, cultural and oral history, and yes, pedagogy, which would transcend traditional uses of nation, group and class.⁴⁶

In any case, as in the case of the Spanish Civil War, we can never forget the sufferings of ordinary people, beyond the question of those who caused this suffering. This is as true in the case of the Spanish Civil War as it is in any other conflict. No individual or collective suffering is big enough to obscure anybody else's suffering. Simplistic explanations may sell in large numbers and may benefit the interests of particular groups, the nation and the state. However, these are parochial and do not reflect the deeply rooted humanistic values that European and other societies have developed, in part, precisely because of their own tragic history of violence in the past century. Finally, when we tell the story of such violence we should also consider who may care and who may benefit from these stories, especially in an increasingly multiethnic and multicultural society that is emerging in Spain and in the rest of Europe through immigration. If we want this new society to care, we may well look for a discourse that relates to not

⁴⁶ See, for example, Nathan Bracher, "Remembering the French Resistance. Ethics and Poetics of the Epic," *History and Memory* 19, no. 1 (2007): 39–67.

only local and other European interests, but that also appeals to the immigrants' own memory. This is a memory of the pain that one has caused to another, and that may still be ongoing. Such is the nature of the human experience of suffering, and this experience needs a new democratic and humanistic paradigm that is less local, and more inclusive and insightful than the ones we use today.

A Final Reflection: The Faulty Lines between History and Memory

Anti-Fascism, in its old-fashioned self-congratulatory manifestation, is long gone in Europe. Spain is no exception. Likewise, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the rosy Western visions of progress and civilization by the democratic bourgeois, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, are no longer sustainable. The simplistic separation between the horrors of Fascism and Communism from the supposed humanitarian traits of liberal politics, along with the "positive" historical appraisal of the role played first by the United Kingdom and France, and after World War II, by the United States become less obvious and more open to critical inquiry. In the case of Europe in the last century, no other book has contributed more to undermine this optimistic vision than Mark Mazower's *Dark Continent*.⁴⁷

The established academic view of our recent past as "dark" has had an impact on what we call memory, introducing the notion that it is false to reinterpret the violence of the previous century by ignoring those negative aspects that have nevertheless become part of our collective identity.⁴⁸ Anyone who has read George Mosse's *Fallen Soldiers* will recognize the unsettling commonalities (and murderous banalities) behind the most sacred symbols of nationalism and of places of memory: the cult of young dead men, sacrificed for "our" benefit.⁴⁹ The alert reader will also notice that both democracies and dictatorships share this cult and promote a distinctive memory of the past as historical memory—using not too dissimilar approaches to war, nation, and the identification and classification

⁴⁷ Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (Knopf: New York, 1999).

⁴⁸ See, Sebastian Conrad, "Entangled Memories: Versions of the Past in Germany and Japan, 1945–2001", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38, 1 (2003): 85–99.

⁴⁹ George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). See also Daniel Sherman, "Bodies and Names: The Emergence of Commemoration in Interwar France," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 443–66.

of different “types of victims.” In other words, where it is fair and obvious to say that democracy and dictatorships (right-wing and left-wing) are not the same, they share too many elements and crimes against humanity and dignity for them to be considered absolutely different.

Historical memories and collective memories are not the sum of individual recollection or the product of government propaganda. Memory is by definition a biological function with a social impact. Memories are individual but they are not isolated. Individual memories tend to fit in variable degrees with historical narratives that are socially produced. Private and collective memories thereby affect and transform each other. This explains, at least partially, why memories and historical narratives are always changing, accommodating, “forgetting” some things and “remembering” others, discovering some new meanings and discarding old ones. What we now call historical memory therefore encompasses what a community thinks they know about their past at any given moment.

Memory, however, cannot be confused with history. Memory is not subject to critical analysis and often it may include an emotional reading of events that would never be acceptable in a history book. Memory, unlike history, does not “know,” does not “remember,” about previous memories. This is why memory always highlights its capacity for revealing “unknown” pasts rather than recognizing that what appears to be new and sensational may simply have seemed uninteresting at an earlier time. A critical approach to memory is within reach of professional historians, who, in theory at least, have the capacity to write about the history of memories or about how “knowledge” of the past has changed. There is too often a lack of self-criticism among practitioners of historical memory that leads to abuses and simplifications. Outside and sometimes inside academia, the term historical memory—or even just memory—has replaced with astounding ease what was previously understood simply as chronicle, recollections, memoirs, historical knowledge, and history. A look at what is being published or reported in documentaries, for example, reveals that oral history has vanished into or perhaps been absorbed by memory. This in spite of the fact that in the last few decades oral history has gone through a process of developing and refining sophisticated and highly productive analytical tools and techniques. Now too often it seems that everything and anything we claim to know is, by the mere fact of being said, “historical.” Or even worse, that everything becomes collective memory, and that when talking about the past, all voices are the same because they are

memory “bearers.”⁵⁰ While nobody owns history, history cannot be written as it is done among some historical memory practitioners, with disregard for accuracy, lack of context, or critical examination.

The lack of sophistication represents a return to a linear approach to history that is, in the end, not very dissimilar from the one that prevailed when history was only political history and we bowed to accounts of exploits advanced by those (males) in power or by their chroniclers. Governments and special-interest groups are attracted to the certitudes of linear discourse: advocacy rather than criticism. It is thus not surprising that sometimes governments and institutions support this unproblematic “History” full of emotions and clear (perhaps because they are artificial) distinctions between good and bad. Under such circumstances history, in this case through a supposedly collective experience (which is defined in advance by those in power), inevitably ends up in the service of state, national, or special interests.

This uncritical approach to memory can be seen in the cultural phenomena of the late twentieth-century. These include the pre-eminence of emotions in the public sphere, especially victimhood discourses conferring moral significance and meaning to history. In other words, while claims for victimhood used to be in the past a not so well-regarded phenomenon, sometimes even viewed as a sign of inadequacy and failure, now they are power tools. They are used as political or moral accounts of one ethnic group pitted against those of another in order to extract real or symbolic reparations.⁵¹ Victimhood also has been absorbed by an all-encompassing consumer society that is eager to experience safely controlled aseptic “emotions” but that does not have the taste to analyse the implications and contradictions behind them.⁵²

⁵⁰ See Carlo Ginzburg, “Shared Memories, Privates Recollections,” *History and Memory* 9, nos. 1–2 (April 1997): 353–63; and Neil Gregor, “The Illusion of Remembrance: The Karl Diehl Affair and the Memory of National Socialism in Nuremberg, 1945–1999,” *Journal of Modern History* 75, no. 3 (September 2003): 590–633.

⁵¹ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2003).

⁵² One of the most obvious but far from unique cases of using the pain of the past for the gains of the present, or, we might say, from creating an orthodox memory that no longer “remembers” the principle memory from just three decades ago, is that of present-day Israel. Israel acts as a self-appointed administrator and beneficiary, of the moral and political legacy of the Holocaust. However, the rise of the *Shoah* to a central interpretative role, not just of the horrors of World War II but also as a way of addressing the problems (what was wrong with) the whole past century, is relatively new. This interpretation is not carried out by those who suffered the Holocaust. The real survivors, in both Western Europe and in Israel, at least in the two decades following the Nazi genocide, lived in a situation of relative marginalization and even social derision. Moreover, these people—the individuals

The use of a memory full of emotion and empty of doubt raises the question of ownership of the past and the uses of such memories. Are the victims or their "heirs" sole administrators of the past? Who speak for the victims and how far their claims can go? Can states appropriate human experiences and thereby operate past sufferings to justify present politics? This essay argues that the answer to these two questions is that the past belongs to nobody. This conclusion is different in kind from the conclusion that moral, legal, and material reparations, when possible, are not desirable or impossible. On the other hand, states cannot legitimately use memory for their own ends.⁵³ The reasoning behind this negative answer is as follows. Under the pretence of administrating the past on the part of or in the name of the "victims" there is moral assumption that has deep and quite often surprising implications. A clear and clean distinction is often drawn between perpetrators and victims that does not take into account how interconnected they are to each other. Let's consider, for example, that opposing groups might equally share militant ultranationalist or racist beliefs. This is not to claim that victims and perpetrators act the same way, or that they are in the end morally the same. Those who killed, for example, did in fact kill, while those who were killed may or may not themselves have killed others, which is not the same. The advancement of a memory or set of memories in which victims and perpetrators are considered different in essential and reductive terms can be and often is one-sided, both morally and in terms of historical interpretation.⁵⁴ We should not forget that the most murderous regimes of the past century presented their victims as absolute and essentially different (racially or morally) "others," sometimes going so far as to present their victims as "criminal," "monster," or "sub-human."⁵⁵ We should not fall into the reductive reasoning of the

who actually lived the experience of genocide—were often among the most reluctant to "remember," at least using the present terms of memory, when to be a victims equaled being a "survivor," and thus a "winner." See Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust* (London, Hill and Wang, 2000). For the situation of Jewish victims of the Nazis in Western Europe see, Peter Lagrou, "Victims of Genocide and National Memory: Belgium, France and the Netherlands, 1945–1965," *Past and Present* 154 (February 1997): 181–222.

⁵³ See Volker Berghahn, "The Unmastered and Unmasterable Past," *Journal of Modern History*; Efraim Sicher, "The Future of the Past: Countermemory and Postmemory in Contemporary America Postholocaust Narratives," *History and Memory* 12, no. 2 (Fall-Winter 2000): 56–91.

⁵⁴ Mark Mazower, "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (October 2002): 1158–78.

⁵⁵ Omer Bartov, "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews and the Holocaust," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 3 (June 1998): 771–816.

old nationalistic discourse that justified actions due to an exaggerated or imagined set of offences committed by the victims against the regime. While we should examine facts and processes, and acknowledge that they are always unique, we should never forget who the perpetrators are and who the victims are. But neither should we ever forget the role that common prejudices, for example nationalism, racism, religious or political intolerance, are accepted by perpetrators and victims. We can never forget the power of prejudice and the accidental nature of historical events, in which the perpetrators of today can be the victims tomorrow, and vice versa, because both groups may share the same non-humanistic values. No one, and no society, victim or perpetrator in the past, is beyond the peril of committing the same misdeed in the future.⁵⁶

The artificial and manipulative use of an absolute moral opposition between victim and perpetrator is not an exclusive tool of dictatorships. There were and there still are millions of victims of the actions of democracies who have been largely forgotten or semi-ignored in public discourse. For example, when democracies undertake actions that lead to the killing of other people living under a dictatorship, such as what happened to the Germans and Japanese during the Allied bombing in World War II, or in the careless, often fatal attitude of American forces in Irak (however, most of the victims during the “pacification period” were caused by ethnic, religious and patriotic groups “in defence” of the Iraqi people). When dealing with those inconvenient victims, Western democratic societies sometimes use arguments similar to those advanced by both Fascists and Communists. Western democracies can fall into an Orwellian reasoning that makes their enemies “lesser victims” than their own. In other words, democratic regimes may subscribe to the comforting moral assumption that civilians from enemy countries were, or are, at least partially responsible for their own suffering, whereas their own civilian and even military casualties are always truly innocent victims. Furthermore, such moral superiority leads to the argument that “we” treat “our” enemies far better than they treat “us.”⁵⁷ What Franco did to his victims—negating their memory and forgetting their fate—was no exceptional and it is not exceptional.

⁵⁶ Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁵⁷ A sobering reminder of the links between victors' tales and losers' realities can be found in S. P. Mackenzie, “The Treatment of Prisoners of War in World War II,” *The Journal of Modern History* 66, no. 3 (September 1994): 487–520.

While the difficulties involved in reaching a balanced discussion on ownership and uses of memory can arise anywhere, they are particularly evident in narratives that produce official, linear, state-sanctioned memory. This is the case, for example, with the polemic arguments that arose in the United States during the debate concerning the Smithsonian Institution's 1995 proposed *Enola Gay* 1995 exhibition to address the bombing of Hiroshima. Originally, the exhibition dared to question both the morality and the military need to drop the bomb, only to create uproar among veterans and other "memory bearers" and "keepers" such as the American Legion. The director of the Smithsonian was forced to resign. The Japanese, according to the Americans, were only victims of their own government. The Japanese see it differently. Ironically, the Japanese argument identifies one set of victims (its own people) at the same time ignores the victims' victims. This attitude becomes shamefully contradictory given the persistent resistance on the part of the Japanese government to recognise the crimes committed by their own army in China and elsewhere during World War II.⁵⁸

In sum, there is always a temptation, both in public life and in the discourses of historical memory, to disregard the victims that "we" have created while at the same time highlight "our" own victimization. This question has become relevant again in the post-September 11 context. We have seen the construction of a neo-conservative framework for analysis based on the superiority, if not the exceptionality, of the West, and particularly of the United States, against a more or less diffused enemy in the no less ambiguous and all-encompassing "war on terror." This framework forgets that the quality of a democracy depends not only on how it treats its own citizens, but also on how it deals with other peoples, and in particular its enemies, both past and present. A debate that forgets that memory is about recognising the moral complexities of violence is bound to become a self-congratulatory, official, rigid, and eventually false memory: a memory

⁵⁸ Charles O'Reilly and William A. Rooney, *The Enola Gay and the Smithsonian Institution* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005); also Robert Newman, *Enola Gay and the Court of History* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004). On the insertion of the atomic bombing in a wider historical and moral context, see J. B. Bosworth, *Explaining Auschwitz and Hiroshima: History Writing and the Second World War, 1945–1990* (New York: Routledge, 1994). A critique of this in Chris Lorenz, "Explaining Auschwitz and Hiroshima: History Writing and the Second World War, 1945–1990," *History and Theory* 35, no. 2 (1996): 234–52.

without history or perhaps a history that has no place for conflicting memories.⁵⁹

The more we travel to that foreign country called the past, armed only with the moral certitudes of seeing things from the perspective of “our” present and our one-sided interests, the more likely we are to embrace a fantasy called memory. This fantasy most often helps to confirm what we already “know.” Such manipulation of memory occurs as much in dictatorships as it does in democratic societies.⁶⁰ The past is full of inconvenient human remains and contradictory ideas and actions. The way we deal with the remains of the past and the way we reconstruct them into what comes to be called historical memory changes all the time. Rather than showing eternal or universal values, however, these reconstructions emphasize elements of our present values, interests, hopes, fears, insecurities, and certitudes.⁶¹ We cannot simply bury the inconvenient remains of the past. At the same time we cannot simply ignore the complexities and possible contradictions of the victims’ real experiences (consider the example of victims who were at one point themselves perpetrators, or who endorsed racist ideas, discrimination, and violence against others) under the all-encompassing blanket of victimhood and reassuring national, political, or ethnic myths. This is perhaps the best argument against the use of emotions and one-sided arguments of victimhood in the construction of historical memory discourses: you cannot refute tears and essentializing arguments with historical knowledge. We can, however, support tears and essential arguments with history. Such an encounter will be based on circumstances and not on identifying with the values that those tears may (or may not) represent. This is why history and historical memory can never been the same. History is full of inconvenient memories that no single memory can withstand intact.

The legacy of the Spanish Civil War is part of that inconvenient past: victims who may or may not have been killers themselves; memories

⁵⁹ For an example of making false and self-congratulatory memories of violence in a democracy see Elisabeth Heineman, “The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany’s Crisis Years and West German National Identity,” *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (1996): 354–95.

⁶⁰ In the case of Germany and the Holocaust, see, for example, Alon Confino, “Telling about Germany: Narratives of Memory and Culture,” *The Journal of Modern History* 76 (June 2004): 389–416; also Alon Confino, “Fantasies about the Jews: Cultural Reflections on the Holocaust,” *History and Memory* 17, nos. 1–2 (Spring/Summer 2005): 296–322.

⁶¹ See the case of the inconvenient remains of Mussolini in Sergio Luzzatto, *The Body of Il Duce: Mussolini’s Corpse and the Fortunes of Italy* (New York: Metropolitan, 2006).

processed in the process what we can called the end of the grand ideologies of the past century; the manipulations of suffering by governments; the rise of emotions to a valid and abused, historical dimension; and the lingering question of what we want memory for, for power or for a happier humankind.

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VALLE DE LOS CAÍDOS: A MONUMENT TO DEFY TIME AND OBLIVION

Álex Bueno

On April 1, 1939, as Nationalist armies claimed victory over the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, Generalísimo Francisco Franco Bahamonde declared himself “caudillo de España por la gracia de Dios” (military leader of Spain by the grace of God). Precisely one year thereafter, a monument to honor the dead was announced that would take twenty years to complete: la Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos (the Holy Cross of the Valley of the Fallen). It was to become a basilica-crypt-monastery complex to commemorate the war, officially consecrated as a minor basilica by Pope John XXIII on April 7, 1960. Though its precise significance would change over time, from its inception the monument would serve to present the Civil War as a righteous crusade for peace, playing a key role in the writing of the history of the war: the victors would raise it to praise their victory over the vanquished in a battle for *all* of Spain. In time, the discourse on the Valle de los Caídos would gradually shift toward seeing it as a site of reconciliation between the two sides, while at the same time continuing to prolong the division. An examination of the history of this monument built by Franco and of the ideas designed into it will clearly show how it has all but reconciled the animosity between the opponents in the Civil War that ended over seventy years ago.

The Decree of April 1, 1940 announcing the project explicitly laid out this discourse:

La dimensión de nuestra Cruzada, los heroicos sacrificios que la victoria encierra y la trascendencia que ha tenido para el futuro de España esta epopeya, no pueden quedar perpetuados por sencillos monumentos con los que suele conmemorarse en villas y ciudades los hechos salientes de nuestra Historia y los episodios gloriosos de sus hijos.

Es necesario que las piedras que se levanten tengan la grandeza de los monumentos antiguos, que desafíen al tiempo y al olvido, y que constituyan lugar de meditación y de reposo en que generaciones futuras rindan tributo de admiración a los que les legaron una España mejor.

A estos fines responde la elección de un lugar retirado donde se levante el templo grandioso de nuestros muertos que, por los siglos, se ruegue por

los que cayeron en el camino de Dios y de la Patria. Lugar perenne de peregrinación, en que lo grandioso de la naturaleza ponga un digno marco al campo en que reposan los héroes y mártires de la Cruzada.¹

The document continues on to specify the monument as a basilica, a monastery, and youth quarters.²

From the very outset, by proclaiming to symbolize the historic significance of the Civil War, the Valle located itself among the monuments of the past that “defy time and oblivion.” This idea for the monument is closely associated with Franco himself, an idea born from his own being, writes art historian Antonio Bonet Correa, like the armed Athena from the head of Zeus.³ That is to say, a mythology has been built around the authorship of the Valle. In addition, beyond the figure of Franco lies a complex understanding of Spanish history and the great role assigned to architecture within it. It is these two points—the role of Franco in the creation of the monument, and the function of the monument to represent a history—whichever this chapter will attempt to draw out in detail.

Birth of the Monument

Franco would build the Valle de los Caídos to represent his interpretation of the Civil War as a crusade, to proclaim the ideology supporting the state attained by the war, and arguably to glorify an image of himself as its creator. The idea for a pharaonic monument to honor the war dead, however, can be attributed elsewhere. It was born in “Red Madrid” just months after

¹ *Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE)*, n. 93, 2 April 1940.

The dimension of our Crusade, the heroic sacrifices that victory entails, and the transcendence this epic has had for the future of Spain cannot remain perpetually commemorated with simple monuments, as those which commemorate in towns and cities the salient events of our history and the glorious episodes of its sons.

It is necessary that the stones to be erected have the greatness of the ancient monuments, that they defy time and oblivion, and establish a place of meditation and repose in which future generations would give the praise of admiration to those who bequeathed to them a better Spain.

To these ends corresponds the selection of a remote site where the grand temple of our dead would be erected, so that for centuries we pray for those who fell on the path of God and of the Fatherland. Perennial place of pilgrimage, in which the greatness of nature would place a mark of dignity upon the field in which rest the heroes and martyrs of the Crusade.

² This refers to the Frente de Juventudes de la Falange Española.

³ Antonio Bonet Correa, “El crepúsculo de los Dioses,” in *Arte del franquismo* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), 324.

the civil war broke out, devised by three Nationalists—sculptor Manuel Laviada, architect Luis Moya, and the viscount of Uzqueta, who anticipating the defeat of the Republicans, felt “la necesidad de combatir de un modo espiritual por un orden” (the need to spiritually fight for an order) and dreamt “un sueño perfectamente razonado” (a perfectly devised dream):

una exaltación fúnebre, nacida de lo que sucedía alrededor y de lo que amenazaba; la idea triunfal, que producía lo que se oía y lo que se esperaba; una forma militar, reacción contra la indisciplina ambiente.⁴

Though the Valle de los Caídos would not eventually be designed by these three men, their plan would serve as a precedent for the conceptualization of a monument for the commemoration of the Nationalists’ victory in the Civil War. Moya sketched out a “citadel” with a triumphal arch and a great pyramid (as well as defenses against siege warfare) in the hills around Madrid (near the Universidad Complutense), published after the end of the war in the Falangist magazine *Vértice* in September 1940 (see Figure 2.1).

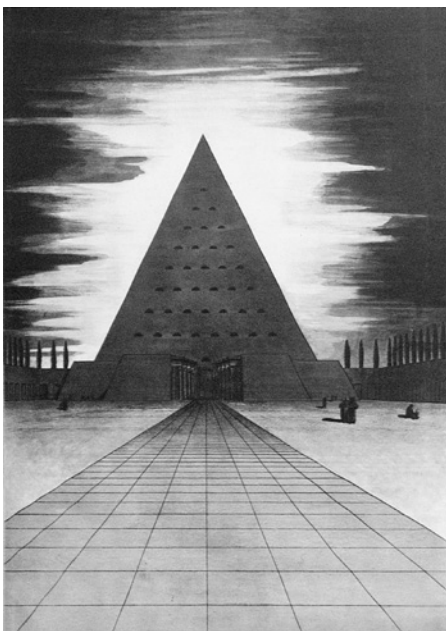
The plan is dominated by two axes, the central axis indicated as triumphal, terminated by a “Spanish” colonnaded reunion hall; the transverse is funerary, sloping downward towards the pyramid at its end. Two triumphal arches mark each side of a central plaza, around which are planned other structures such as a theater. One face of the arch consists of a red-and-yellow flag in stone. At its center is a sculpture of Saint James (his appellation of *Matamoros* [Moor-slayer] is not mentioned), surrounded by depictions of four victory scenes: Covadonga (722, first major victory against the Muslims, Asturias), Las Navas de Tolosa (1212, turning point toward the conquest of Córdoba, Jaén, and Sevilla), America (ambiguous), and “the Movement,” referring to their foreseen victory in the present civil war (see Figure 2.1a). The other face, dedicated to “resurgence,” is centered on two figures planting a tree. Intriguingly, though the pyramid appears in a secondary position in the plan of the complex, it is clearly the main focus, based on this description. The pyramid encompasses a basilica surrounded by a crypt (see Figures 2.1b and 2.1c). At the center is a sculptural piece

⁴ Manuel Laviada, Luis Moya, and Vizconde de Uzqueta, “Sueño arquitectónico para una exaltación nacional,” *Vértice, revista nacional de la Falange española tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S.* n. 36 (September 1940): 7.

a funerary exaltation, born of what was taking place all around and of what threatened; the triumphal idea, which produced what was heard and what was awaited; a military form, reaction against the ambient indiscipline.



a



b



c

Figure 2.1a-c.



d

Figure 2.1. Luis Moya, 1939-40. Laviada, Moya, and Uzqueta, "Sueño arquitectónico para una exaltación nacional," 9, 11-12. a) "Triumphal arch," front, b) "Funereal pyramid," exterior, c) "Funereal pyramid," interior, d) Main building.

representing the Holy Shroud carried by angels, along which are also carried the veil of Veronica, the Cross and other icons of the Passion of Christ. At the rear of the space is the tomb "no de un democrático soldado desconocido, sino de un Héroe único" (not of a democratic unknown soldier, but of a unique Hero)—a practice that became common after the First World War.⁵

The plan expressed what they saw as a new concept to destroy the "mundo de ismos" (world of "isms") that made up the contemporary art world. They referred to drawing inspiration from the Spanish artistic tradition, in contrast to what they saw as modern "estilos extraños" (strange styles), without concretely imitating any particular Spanish style or "anquilosar" (paralyzing) the Spanish classical tradition in any given moment.⁶ A primary reason for the need for such a new style comes from "nuevos programas, determinados por las circunstancias políticas, sociales y económicas" (new programs, determined by the political, social and economic circumstances) of modern times.⁷ The pyramidal form of the monument is the crux of their new yet traditional plan, as the authors considered this pyramid to be a distinctively Spanish form. This derived native origin is supported by two concrete examples: the "remates"

⁵ Laviada, Moya, and Vizconde de Uzqueta, "Sueño arquitectónico", 8.

⁶ Laviada, Moya, and Vizconde de Uzqueta, "Sueño arquitectónico", 7.

⁷ Laviada, Moya, and Vizconde de Uzqueta, "Sueño arquitectónico", 8.

(cappings, referring to the roofs of the towers) of El Escorial and similar forms found in works by Goya.⁸ They also referred to the plan to build a pyramid that was rejected in favor of the obelisk for the Monumento a los Héroes del Dos de Mayo (Monument to the Heroes of the Second of May) in the Plaza de la Lealtad (Madrid). In closing, they described the complex as “En conjunto una ciudadela, acrópolis de este siglo. Ordenada a la española, como El Escorial” (As a whole a citadel, acropolis of this century. Ordered in a Spanish manner, as El Escorial), though how the organization of the plan actually relates to El Escorial is unclear.⁹ The design for the monument certainly has a quality that one can link to Italian Fascist or German National Socialist architecture. Yet though it has, for instance, a radicalism associated with the former and a theatricality from the latter, as well as classicizing elements common to both, this proposal demonstrates a concerted attempt to devise a style fit for the new Spanish political regime that reflects both its novelty as well as its tie to the national tradition.¹⁰

Furthermore, aside from the design of the architecture, the aesthetics underlying the great importance placed on the fallen of the war by the Falangists are key to understanding the significance of what would become the Valle de los Caídos. The burial of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange, in the royal sanctuary of El Escorial is indicative of

⁸ Interestingly, the pyramids they found in several of Goya's paintings are charged with symbolic value (Laviada, Moya, and Vizconde de Uzqueta, “Sueño arquitectónico”):

Goya proyecta tres pirámides funerarias: la que sirve de fondo al enterramiento de la duquesa de Alba, con su entrada a estilo de cueva rajada en un paramento; la “Gran Pirámide” en el dibujo propiedad del marqués de Casa Torres, horadada en inmensa abertura en arco, combinación de monumento funerario y arco de triunfo, colocado al modo romántico en un emplazamiento con el que no tiene ninguna relación, como llovía del cielo; el verdadero proyecto, en alzado delineado y lavado, conservado en el Museo del Prado, combinación de templo y pirámide, ésta como remate de aquél, en vez de lo contrario, que es lo usual en Méjico y Yucatán.

Goya shows three funerary pyramids: the one that serves as a backdrop for the burial of the duchess of Alba, with its cracked-cave entrance; the “Great Pyramid” in the drawing, property of the marquis of Casa Torres, pierced with an immense arch-like opening, a combination of the funerary monument and the triumphal arch, placed in the Romantic manner in a site to which it does not relate, as rain fallen from the sky; the real project, delineated and washed in drawings preserved in the Museo del Prado, a combination of temple and pyramid, the latter as capping of the former, instead of the opposite, which is usual in México and Yucatán.

⁹ Laviada, Moya, and Vizconde de Uzqueta, “Sueño arquitectónico”, 61.

¹⁰ See Ángel Llorente Hernández, *Arte e ideología en el franquismo (1936–1951)* (Madrid: Visor, 1995), chap. 2; Alexandre Cirici Pellicer, *La estética del franquismo* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977).

this mythic emphasis placed by the Falangists on the war dead.¹¹ At the end of the war, he was exhumed by ardent followers from his burial site in Alicante, where he had been executed three years earlier, and carried on foot continuously in alternating shifts for ten days and nights to El Escorial. This spectacle of epic proportions set around the death of their leader is a fundamental part of the aesthetic of the Falange. The date of his death—November 20—was established as a national day of mourning in a Nationalist decree before the war's end (November 16, 1938). The display of Falangist masses making the pilgrimage on this day first to El Escorial, and later to the Valle de los Caídos, to honor José Antonio continues to this day. This importance of the dead can be seen as a key reason for the creation of the Valle. There were in fact a number of smaller-scale monuments to the war dead planned by the Nationalists even before their victory had been secured. These appear to have generally been centered on crosses, monoliths, or obelisks as homages to the dead. Interestingly, there are records of plans for monuments that combined cross and obelisk that were rejected by the authorities as they presented a pagan element in opposition to the Christian cross. Numerous other monuments would also be planned and some built in the years following the war's end. Those never built include one in Burgos planned with a crypt to entomb the bodies of unknown foreign soldiers killed by Republican forces, alongside iconography of the Spanish Nationalist army.¹² This underscores the fervor with which Falangists pursued the exaltation of the war dead as martyrs both through the construction of monuments and the celebration of militaristic rituals.¹³

However, the government formed by Franco was not strictly Falangist. Even before the end of the war, he ruled over a coalition, a heterogeneous, generally conservative coalition that included both the traditional Church as well as the vanguardist Falange. This plurality can also be seen in contemporary architecture theory. Different from Moya's aesthetic, the architect Diego de Reina de la Muela would profess a style somewhat later that strongly calls for classicism for the new Franco regime in *Ensayo sobre la*

¹¹ Typically, this Primo de Rivera (1903–36), founder of the Spanish Falange, is referred to simply as José Antonio to distinguish him from his father Miguel (1870–1930), dictator from 1923–30.

¹² Luis Castro, "El recuerdo de los Caídos: una memoria hemipléjica," Federación Estatal de Foros por la Memoria, November 2003, http://www.foroporlamemoria.info/documentos/luis_castro_nov2003.htm.

¹³ Llorente, *Arte e ideología*, 275–302; Fernando Olmeda, *El Valle de los Caídos: Una memoria de España* (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 2009), 19–30.

directrices arquitectónicas de un estilo imperial (Essay on the Architectural Directives of an Imperial Style). Therein, he criticizes Italian Fascist architecture for abandoning traditional forms in favor of modern, functionalist structures, for instance, and materials such as stone; failing to establish a national style; and lacking a religious element, among other reasons.¹⁴ These points can be seen as demonstrating the differing aesthetic politics between the Falange and Franco's National Catholicism. However, this work is perhaps more representative of one particular set of ideas at a particular moment after the war, rather than of the form architecture as a whole would take under Franco.

Reina de la Muela envisioned an altogether new aesthetic to represent the unprecedented glory and power of the New State—"bella arquitectura del más bello imperio de los tiempos" (beautiful architecture of the most beautiful empire of all time).¹⁵ In the essay, he lays out a progressivist narrative of the history of architecture that places the Spanish present at the pinnacle of civilization. Seeing the new Franco state was seen as the ultimate, refined form of government, he argues that architectural design should aim to reconcile different aesthetic approaches into one "eternal" style. Using nationalist and traditionalist language, Reina de la Muela thus proposes a utopian architecture that (effortlessly) resolves every design problem:

creemos que el canon de belleza buscado ha de proceder de la raíz tradicional sin calcar ni reproducir formas arcaicas, sino que ha de inspirarse en el espíritu eterno de nuestra arquitectura. Debe ser fiel reflejo de la filosofía nacional y representarla en toda su plenitud, con carácter de acusada actualidad sin ser modernista ni caer en la aberración ingenieril; ha de ser unitario sin monotonía, sobrio sin pobreza, austero sin sequedad, estático sin pesadez, perenne, verdadero y concebido a escala humana (condición indispensable para nuestro sentir), y sobre todo ha de ser universal, cualidad que no quiere decir desnacionalización, sino hallazgo de formas de belleza indiscutible que representen las aportaciones universales de la misión histórica de España.¹⁶

¹⁴ Diego de Reina de la Muela, *Ensayo sobre las directrices arquitectónicas de un estilo imperial* (Madrid: Verdad-Diana, 1944), 73–81.

¹⁵ Reina de la Muela, *Ensayo sobre las directrices arquitectónicas*, 109.

¹⁶ Reina de la Muela, *Ensayo sobre las directrices arquitectónicas*, 133.
we believe that the canon of beauty we seek ought to originate from the traditional roots without copying [lit., tracing] or reproducing archaic forms, rather it ought to be inspired by the eternal spirit of our architecture. It should be a faithful reflection of our national philosophy, and it should represent it in all its fullness, with a character of acknowledged actuality without being modernist or falling into the engineer's

Reina de la Muela's utopianism is indeed revealed in his stream of nearly paradoxical ideals: "con carácter de acusada actualidad" and "sin ser modernista," "unitario" and "sin monotonía," etc. Concretely speaking, the solution is in a particular national style that is capable "de adquirir el valor estético y la flexibilidad constructiva necesarios para una arquitectura monumental" (of acquiring the aesthetic value and the constructive flexibility necessary for a monumental architecture)¹⁷—monumentality with a specific point of reference:

Creemos que la solución está en un neoclasicismo resuelto a tono con nuestro tiempo, desentrañando "cómo" tuvo que variarse el Herrerianismo durante el siglo XVIII para adaptarse a un nuevo modo de vivir nacional. [...] Tenemos el ejemplo histórico de que ningún estilo es en su nacimiento más que una solución escueta y a veces pobre, si bien ciclo evolutivo deforma decorativamente sus elementos funcionales, quebrantándolos y adornándolos con amables guiraldas del barroquismo. [...]

En resumen, un estilo arquitectónico para estar a tono de nuestro tiempo ha de reunir las condiciones de pureza estética, funcionalismo social, o dicho más concretamente: belleza, técnica y dogma.¹⁸

This description, of course, refers to the style established by Juan de Herrera's great work of imperial architecture—El Escorial. It is important to note that he does not advocate a direct copy of this style but rather the use of it as a starting point from which contemporary needs should be taken into account, as he sees it evolved into the Baroque architecture of the Colegiata de San Isidro (mid-16th century, Madrid) and the Convento de las Salesas Reales (mid-17th century, Madrid).¹⁹ However, the form that

aberration; it ought to be unified without monotony, sober without scarcity, austere without dullness, static without heaviness, perennial, true and conceived at human scale (indispensable condition in our view), and above all it ought to be universal, a quality that does not mean disnationalization, rather the discovery of forms of indubitable beauty that represent the universal contributions of the historic mission of Spain.

¹⁷ Reina de la Muela, *Ensayo sobre las directrices arquitectónicas*, 120.

¹⁸ Reina de la Muela, *Ensayo sobre las directrices arquitectónicas*, 133–35.

We believe that the solution is in a Neoclassicism resolved in tune with our times, ascertaining "how" Herrerianism had to change during the eighteenth century to adapt itself with a new mode of living of the nation. ... we have the historical example that no style is at its inception more than a simple and at times poor solution, but an evolutionary cycle that deforms its functional elements decoratively, breaking them and adorning them with affable garlands of the Baroque. ...

In summation, an architectural style, in order to be attuned to our times, ought to bring together the qualities of aesthetic purity, social functionalism, or said more concretely, beauty, technique and dogma.

¹⁹ Reina de la Muela, *Ensayo sobre las directrices arquitectónicas*, 117.

official urban architecture would actually take in the early Franco period is better demonstrated by the Ministerio del Aire (Luis Gutiérrez Soto, 1943–1957). Though in its initial plan was very strongly drawn from Nazi architecture, the design was changed in 1945 to a rather literal application of Herrerian forms to a modern program.²⁰

Unable to form a unitary aesthetic vision from an already multifarious set of ideologies, along with the shift away from Nazi influence after Germany's defeat, Francoism would fail to develop a coherent, unifying architectural style.²¹ Still, at the fore in contemporary rightist discourse since before the war was the centrality of architecture to political activity, and within this El Escorial served as a powerful national symbol: "No hay régimen que merezca su nombre sin un entendimiento de la arquitectura" (There is no regime that deserves its name without an understanding of architecture).²² As will be discussed in detail further below, the decision to build the monument must be understood within this ideological context; however, the figure of Franco in the history of the Valle from its conception to the present is what has become most closely associated with it.

Design and Construction

According to Diego Méndez, the architect who would finish the Valle, Franco felt the moral—even "physical"—need to honor the dead "as they honored us," emphasizing Franco's obsession with the monument.²³ In official announcements, it was said to be dedicated to the war and the dead,

²⁰ See Sofía Diéguez Patao, "Arquitectura y urbanismo durante la autarquía," in *Arte del franquismo*, ed. Antonio Bonet Correa (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), 47–76; Gabriel Ureña, *Arquitectura y urbanística civil y militar en el período de la autarquía (1936–1945): análisis, cronología y textos* (Madrid: ISTMO, 1979), chaps. 5–6; Cirici, *Estética del franquismo*, 110–50; José Camón Aznar, "Hacia una arquitectura nacional," *ABC*, 20 September 1947. For a discussion on various studies on the relationship between discourse and actual architectural practice during the Franco regime, see Tomás Llorens Serra and Helio Piñón Pallarés, "La arquitectura del franquismo, a propósito de una nueva interpretación," *Arquitecturas Bis*, no. 26 (January/February 1979): 12–19; Carlos Sambricio, "A propósito de la arquitectura del franquismo, Carlos Sambricio responde a Tomás Llorens y Helio Piñón," *Arquitecturas Bis*, no. 27 (March/April 1979), 25–27; Ignacio Solà-Morales, "A propósito de la arquitectura del franquismo, Ignacio Solà-Morales responde a Tomás Llorens y Helio Piñón," *Arquitecturas Bis*, no. 27 (March/April 1979), 27–29.

²¹ See Llorente, *Arte e ideología*, chap. 2.

²² Ernesto Giménez Caballero, "El orden de la arquitectura," *Arriba*, October 3, 1939.

²³ Diego Méndez, in Tomás Borrás, "Novena maravilla: el Valle de los Caídos," *ABC*, July 21, 1957. Incidentally, the article places the Valle as the *ninth* wonder of the world; El Escorial is in his view the eighth, as it has been referred to by many for some time in Spain.

but more importantly the Valle would serve to immortalize the Caudillo as the author of the monument, the war victory he headed and the Spain it was intended to have brought into existence. Franco is said to have felt a very personal need to erect such a monument. During his service in Morocco in the 1920s, Franco had worked on irrigation projects and on the construction of military quarters at various sites, and had apparently performed well and enjoyed the work. It has been noted that at an early point in his life he actually wanted to be an architect or an urban planner.²⁴ Franco is also said to have been skilled in drawing and painting, conveying his desires to designers at times by sketching. Thus just as Hitler and Mussolini, the Generalísimo had ambitions in architecture closely associated with his state, indeed as a fundamental part of it.

Still, as the Caudillo was no architect, to design and build the Valle he would need one. After sending an army general in search of a site appropriate for the monument,²⁵ Franco decided on a mountain in a plot of land known as Cuelgamuros, in the Sierra de Guadarrama, north of Madrid, very near El Escorial.²⁶ Soon after the announcement, the chief architect of the Dirección General de Arquitectura, Pedro Muguruza Otaño, was chosen by Franco to construct the great monument for the fallen. This original plan was set in a traditional imperial idiom, but it did not have the colossality of what would eventually be built. Drawing directly from the Caudillo's ideas,²⁷ a cruciform crypt for three thousand persons would be cut into the mountain, on top of which would stand a 120-meter granite cross. The complex is mentioned as incorporating "una Orden religiosa

²⁴ Claude Martin, *Franco: soldado y estadista* (Madrid: Fermín Uriarte, 1965, 4th ed.), 42, cited in Daniel Sueiro, *El Valle de los Caídos: Los secretos de la cripta franquista*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Argos Vergara, 1983), 17. Linking the project of nation building to that of an architect, the newspaper *ABC*, quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 33, at one point wrote of Franco:

ha tenido la inspiración de todos los grandes conductores de pueblos que buscaron en la arquitectura el mudo y magnífico lenguaje de las piedras para decir a las generaciones del remoto futuro cuál fue su fuerza y cuál fue su gloria.

has been inspired by all the great leaders of peoples that sought in architecture the mute and magnificent language of the stones to say to the generations of the remote future what was their strength and what was their glory.

²⁵ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 31.

²⁶ Interestingly, it appears to have been recorded at the time in official documents that the site chosen for the Valle is higher above sea level than El Escorial (Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 32).

²⁷ Muguruza in *ABC*, "El grandioso monumento a todos los Caídos en la Cruzada," April 3, 1940; Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 16.

española, y un cuartel [...] para que den guardia permanente, espiritual y material, a nuestros caídos" (a Spanish religious Order, and a barracks ... to give permanent protection, spiritual and material, to our fallen).²⁸ Aside from the basilica, two pilgrimage paths are drawn out approaching the monument following the signs of the cross, described by Muguruza as "una pequeña calzada romana" (a small [paved] Roman road).²⁹ In addition to the monastery and youth quarters that had been announced by Franco on April 1, 1940, Muguruza planned a cemetery before the main entrance and a cruciform lake on axis with the basilica in the rear, both of which would not be realized. The design was hailed as successfully combining religious and military elements, while avoiding the "paganism" of a triumphal arch.³⁰ However, it can be gleaned from this comparison that the monument is consciously intended to glorify the victors.

Upon the suggestion of Muguruza, a competition for the design of the cross was held in late 1941. But none presented were definitively chosen.³¹ The proposal by Luis Moya, Enrique Huidobro, and Manuel Thomas was awarded first prize, which consisted of a semicircular terrace at the base connected to an upper terrace via dual intercrossing stairs, crowned by a cross ornamented with sculpture (see Figure 2.2a). In all, the design could be said to exhibit an aggrandized Classical style, yet the cross itself has a distinctly modern aspect. Muguruza also submitted a design but it was not chosen, nor was it given second prize or even an honorable mention. However, a later design by him from 1943 survives, which appears to be one of several made in the course of his tenure as lead architect of the Valle, based on the winning design but altered following input from Franco.³² It is topped by a cross in a heavier, perhaps Herrerian idiom than the selected design (see Figure 2.2b). At the time, Muguruza was also working on the Cerro de los Ángeles in Madrid³³ and was in charge of the Dirección General

²⁸ Muguruza in *ABC*, "El grandioso monumento."

²⁹ Muguruza in Juan Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos: Ni presos políticos, ni trabajos forzados* (Madrid: Colección Denuncia, 2009), 81. These are notably an element of the less colossal design Muguruza had initially planned that would apparently be left untouched by Diego Méndez when, as described below, he would assume control over the project.

³⁰ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 32–37.

³¹ Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 81.

³² Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 88.

³³ Originally erected in 1919 by Alfonso XIII and partially destroyed in the war, Muguruza attempted to "restore" the monument in the imperial style of El Escorial yet due to the great cost, the project was cut down in scale, delayed like the Valle, and was not inaugurated until 1965 (Bonet Correa, "Crepúsculo de los Dioses," 322–23).

de Regiones Devastadas, which selectively reconstructed areas throughout the regime that were destroyed during the war.³⁴ His designs in general show the very revival of austere Spanish imperial architecture that Reina de la Muela advocated. Muguruza criticized overly individualist architects, arguing that design for the expression of one's "personal character" was wasteful. Because of this, he advocated unified state control over architectural design, and further, that as architecture affects how one lives, acts and ultimately exists, it functions to educate society.³⁵

Work at Cuelgamuros is recorded as having begun in August 1940 with the hiring of a construction company for the excavation of the crypt.³⁶ Present at the groundbreaking, Franco would often visit the site to survey the progress and comment on the drawings and models, showing that he had committed time to thinking carefully about the project.³⁷ Franco would also intervene personally in particular design decisions such as the selection of decorative elements, at times altering plans.³⁸ Work at the Valle would encounter significant delays from the outset, not only due to Franco's changes. By April 1, 1941, which initially had (quite implausibly) been set as the completion date for the monument, only a few tons of rock had been excavated from the mountainside, let alone construction started. The housing for workers had not even been finished. The reason for these delays,

³⁴ The Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas was a section of the Dirección General de Arquitectura, whose aim was explicitly laid out as the use of architecture to carry out the goals of the state (*BOE*, September 30, 1939):

la necesidad de ordenar la vida material del país con arreglo a nuevos principios, la importancia representativa que tienen las obras de la Arquitectura como expresión de las fuerzas de la misión del Estado en una época determinada, inducen a reunir y ordenar todas las diversas manifestaciones profesionales de la Arquitectura en una Dirección al servicio de los fines públicos.

the necessity to order the material life of the nation according to new principles [and] the representative importance that works of Architecture have as expressions of the strengths of the mission of the State in a determined time, induce one to gather and order all the diverse professional manifestations of Architecture in an Office to serve public objectives.

³⁵ Muguruza quoted in Cirici, *Estética del franquismo*, 123.

³⁶ Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 78.

³⁷ Workers interviewed in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*. One worker even commented that the Caudillo's enthusiasm and attention to the construction process far surpassed that of his accompanying ministers who would sneak out from time to time for snacks. Others note that Franco's visits served to raise morale among the workers, and especially in the early years tended to come along with the supply of sustenance (Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 136–37).

³⁸ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 138–40.

however, is for the most part simple: at this point, just after the war, the nation did not have the means to undertake a project of such large scale. There was a general lack of necessary materials, in particular vehicles, gasoline, copper, and dynamite. The administration was even having difficulty keeping its workers fed. High in the mountains, the cold and snowy winters of Cuelgamuros also caused significant delays. This poignantly demonstrates the difficult conditions for Spain as a whole. It is after this short time, during which enough progress to satisfy Franco is not made, that prisoners began to be used at the Valle; this will be discussed in more detail below.³⁹

Muguruza grew ill in the late 1940s, dying in 1952. Thus it became clear that a replacement architect would be needed for the project. In 1949 a joint board of directors was formed with architects Diego Méndez, architectural consultant of the Patrimonio Nacional, Francisco Prieto, the new director of the Dirección General de Arquitectura after Muguruza, and Antonio de Mesa, who was assigned as the lead. In June of that year, it was reported that the tunnel had been excavated but its design had not yet been finalized; the exedra was nearly complete, but the design for the gate had been rejected and no new plan existed; there was still no design for the esplanade; and the cross remained totally unresolved, eight years after the competition.⁴⁰

Méndez had studied with Muguruza at the Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid before the war and claims to have been close to Franco. Since 1940, he had been in charge of the restoration of the Palacio de El Pardo in Madrid, which the Caudillo used as his residence, and of a number of other royal sites such as the Castillo de Viñuelas.⁴¹ In contrast to Muguruza, Méndez appears to have been rather concerned with personal glorification, both of himself and of the Caudillo—perhaps even more Francoist than Franco. In his monograph on the Valle, Méndez presents himself as effectively its sole architect, having been inspired by Franco directly to create the divine monument.⁴² While he is forced to mention Muguruza's involvement in the project as lead architect for ten years, he

³⁹ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 43–49.

⁴⁰ Official report cited in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 141.

⁴¹ This position Méndez is said to have acquired through his introduction to Franco by Muguruza (Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 95). See also Diego Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción* (Madrid: Fundación de la Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos / Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, 1982), 19–20.

⁴² Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*.

obscures the extent to which construction had progressed before he took control. In interviews with journalist Daniel Sueiro, Méndez speaks of his intimate relationship with Franco. Being close to him, Méndez says, gave him insight into the Caudillo's thoughts on the monument. Concerning his absence from the design competition for the Valle in 1941, he claims to have discussed selection of an architect for the Valle with Franco, who worried about how it would be seen were he to appoint a personal friend to design the monument. Furthermore, Méndez states that Franco chose Muguruza in order to have his own way with the design, claiming that it was he (Méndez) who suggested this to Franco. Méndez is even quoted as saying that he gave Franco a sketch of his own design for Muguruza to carry out.⁴³ However, though there do not appear to be any records to corroborate this, Méndez does include a rough sketch he attributes to Franco as the basis for Muguruza's first proposal after the competition. While Méndez claims that Franco asked him to take over single-handedly,⁴⁴ it would seem that this was at least in part of his own doing: less than a month prior to being named the new lead architect, Méndez presented a complaint to the board of directors disapproving of Muguruza's existing plans for the monument and the leadership of Antonio de Mesa, who seems to have rejected design changes proposed to him by Méndez. On January 6, 1951, Méndez would officially take control.⁴⁵

Muguruza's plans had been approved in December 1948, including a revised cross.⁴⁶ Yet despite this, Franco would eventually decide on Méndez's new designs. According to one worker interviewed by Daniel Sueiro, at one point Franco had become upset upon seeing a model for the cross left by Muguruza.⁴⁷ This would seem to indicate the point at which Franco decided to pursue a new design, which Méndez describes in an interview as "sencillamente, Cruz" (simply, Cross).⁴⁸ In his monograph, he claims that Franco then sketched out for him on the spot exactly what he wanted, and in a 1957 interview, Méndez is quoted as saying that the new cross desired by Franco was technically unfeasible, and that based on that, he was inspired one day and drew out the cross precisely as it would be built.⁴⁹ He continues to note that this cross, 150 meters in

⁴³ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 118–20.

⁴⁴ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, chap. 3.

⁴⁵ Acta del Consejo de Obras, cited in Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 99–101.

⁴⁶ Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 88.

⁴⁷ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 113–14.

⁴⁸ Méndez, quoted in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 127.

⁴⁹ Diego Méndez, in Borrás, "Novena maravilla."

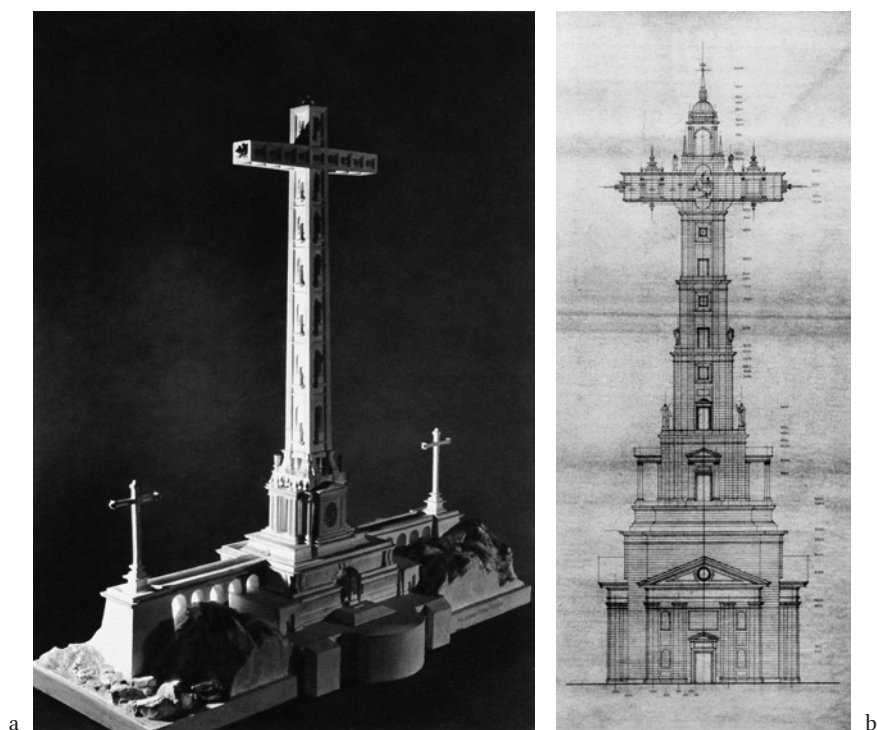


Figure 2.2. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 25, 36, 40. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco. Designs for the cross. a) Model of proposed design; Moya, Huidobro and Thomas, 1941, b) Sketch for cross, Pedro Muguruza, February 1943, c) Sketch for cross, Diego Méndez, n.d., likely before 1949.

height above its base and 300 above the esplanade, is taller than the Egyptian pyramids.⁵⁰ Méndez includes an undated sketch of his, presumably as the sketch presented to Franco (see Figure 2.2c).⁵¹

The assignment of Méndez as lead brought other significant changes to the monument's design. The scale of the tunneled basilica would be enlarged greatly, from 11 by 11 meters to 22 by 22 meters at its largest points, leaving the vestibule, atrium and intermediate spaces unchanged. This

⁵⁰ The Great Pyramid of Giza stands at about 140 meters above the ground.

⁵¹ The base for the cross was completed by December 1951, with its shaft being set in fourteen months. The arms were built between April 1954 and September 1956.

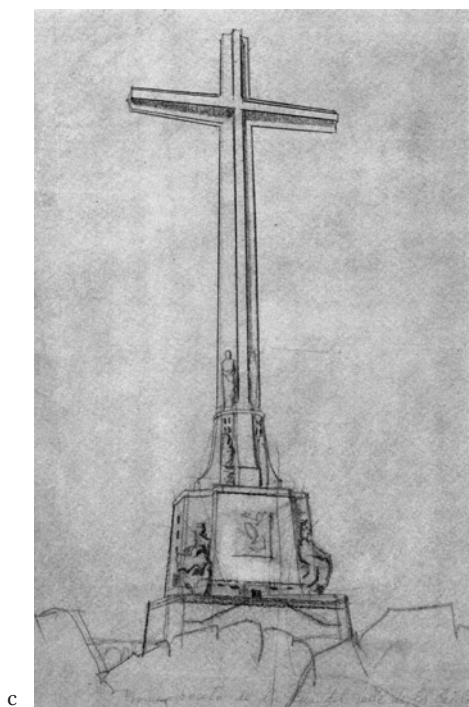


Figure 2.2c.

modification is recorded as approved on January 16, 1951. According to Méndez, it was in response to a direct comment from the Caudillo himself (November 1949, just before the above cited formal complaint to the board):

A esto le faltan dimensiones. Esto da la sensación de que entramos en un túnel. Aquí hay que profundizar metro y medio en el suelo.⁵²

Begun in mid-1951, the new excavations would take another three years.⁵³ Additionally, Muguruza's plan to leave natural rock exposed in the vault of the basilica was abandoned and the entrance transformed into a blind arcade.⁵⁴ The *cuartel de juventudes* too was eliminated, though likely for reasons unrelated to the imposition of Méndez's aesthetic. Ultimately, where to place the agency here is somewhat unclear. The sudden changes

⁵² Franco quoted by Méndez in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 113–14:

This, it lacks dimensions. This gives the feeling that we are entering into a tunnel. Here we need to deepen a meter and a half into the ground.

⁵³ Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 102–4.

⁵⁴ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 148.

in design could have simply been a case of the patron and architect seeing perfectly eye-to-eye, as Méndez claims, or of his somehow being able to skillfully bend the will of the Caudillo, or even still of the reverse. Yet, whatever the politics surrounding of the aggrandizing changes, the fact remains that the final decision must have been Franco's. Several years after the opening of the Valle, Méndez was dismissed from his position by the board of directors, apparently among circumstances that barred him from publishing his work on the Valle—something which he did after the death of Franco.⁵⁵ All said, however, within ten years of Méndez's taking control after Muguruza, the monument was completed.

Cost

The Valle de los Caídos was indubitably built at a great sacrifice. Since its completion, there has been a fair amount of controversy over the fact that the monument was constructed by political prisoners, in no small part due to the denial and obfuscation of this fact on the part of the Franco administration and its supporters long after his death. However, while it appears indisputable that prisoners were used at the Valle for a time, the extent of their utilization and the conditions under which they lived and worked may have also been exaggerated by some.

On the one hand, the validity of the claim may depend to some extent on how one defines a *political* prisoner, as some supporters of Franco have said in attempts to deny the fact altogether.⁵⁶ Initially, the prisoners were largely Republican combatants or those imprisoned for rebellion or adherence to the rebellion, all incarcerated at least since the end of the war, while later some common criminals were also used at the Valle, including those with life sentences. On the other hand, it cannot be said that the monument was built by prisoners in its entirety or even in large part, as an architectural project of this scale and complexity cannot be constructed only by unskilled laborers (though it seems some of the prisoners were skilled in aspects of construction). That said, a number of prisoners were used for several years in the earlier stages of construction for tasks such as the demolition work in the tunnel and the construction of roads. The exact number of prisoners,

⁵⁵ Acta del Consejo de Obras, June 6, 1963, quoted in Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 105.

⁵⁶ See for instance Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, who even goes so far as to say that the prisoners should be grateful that Franco gave them the opportunity to work for their freedom, rather than following what "Justice" demanded and executing them (133).

however, remains unclear: figures ranging from two thousand to twenty thousand have been given, but a number of more than several thousand seems rather unlikely. Also, while it appears certain that common criminals also were used, the percentage of the whole has not been definitively ascertained.⁵⁷

In the background of this issue is the penal system under Franco as a whole and its use towards the reconstruction of the war-battered nation, rather than a specific use of prisoners at the Valle. During the war, some two hundred and eighty thousand were imprisoned by the Nationalists, and a very large portion of the surviving Republican army was incarcerated when the war ended, along with many other dissidents thereafter. Though the atrocities of the war on both sides have been reported in detail, those under the rule of Franco are not as well known, and so only relatively recently have they begun to be investigated by scholars.⁵⁸

Even before the end of the war, the new Nationalist government was faced with an apparently unmanageable number of prisoners, along with a severe need for labor. In May 1937, Franco instituted a plan—*Redención de Penas por el Trabajo* (Penal Redemption through Work)—giving prisoners of war and other political prisoners the “right” to work to shorten their sentences (initially a reduction of two to three days, later as many as six, for every one of work). The system was devised by a Jesuit priest in order to “purify” the insurgents, José Agustín Pérez del Pulgar, who naturally attributed the idea to Franco: “sacada por el Generalísimo de las entrañas mismas del dogma cristiano” (pulled by the Generalísimo from the very entrails of Christian dogma).⁵⁹ The *Redención de Penas* also served as propaganda for the Nationalists: the idea of redemption inculcated the prisoners with Christian ideals, according to which the nation was to be reformed.⁶⁰ Though it should also be noted that during the war, the Republican forces also used prisoners to build fortifications and other structures, the use of war prisoners to build a monument to their defeat is an irony that was certainly not lost on those involved. Still, the detachment

⁵⁷ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*; Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*.

⁵⁸ See for instance Rodolfo Serrano and Daniel Serrano, *Toda España era una cárcel: memoria de los presos del franquismo* (Madrid: Aguilar, 2002); Ricard Vinyes, “El universo penitenciario durante el franquismo,” in *Una inmensa prisión: los campos de concentración y las prisiones durante la guerra civil y el franquismo*, ed. Carme Molinero, Margarida Sala, and Jaume Sobrequés (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 155–76, for instance.

⁵⁹ José Agustín Pérez del Pulgar, *La solución que España da al problema de sus presos políticos* (Valladolid: Santarem, 1939), 30.

⁶⁰ Pérez del Pulgar, *Solución*, 30.

at the Valle was only a part of a larger mechanism that fed prisoners into projects to restore the nation's infrastructure destroyed in the war (railroads, highways, ports, mines, etc.) under the Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas.

The first prisoners arrived at the Valle in May 1943, peaking late that year at about six hundred, and would continue to be used until early 1950.⁶¹ Upon completion of the monument, the fact that prisoners had been used in the construction would be denied, as one can see in the first official guidebook to the site of 1959 by Justo Pérez de Urbel, the first abbot of the Valle: "Se ha dicho que la obra se debe a los presos de guerra, condenados políticos y criminales comunes. No es verdad." (It has been said that the project is due to prisoners of war, political convicts and common criminals. It is not true.)⁶² He makes this claim on the basis that all workers were freely contracted and that only about one hundred were prisoners given the opportunity to work off their prison sentences while being paid a salary—hence, not strictly prisoners. Pérez de Urbel also stated that it was Franco's idea to eliminate the use of prisoners,⁶³ though Méndez claimed to have convinced the Caudillo of the "moral" necessity to do so, despite complaining that the work the prisoners did was inferior.⁶⁴

The memories of the workers at Cuelgamuros, both prisoners and not, have been collected in detail by journalists Daniel Sueiro and Fernando Olmeda.⁶⁵ Though prisoners under the Redención de Penas were kept in poor conditions,⁶⁶ it seems the prisoner workers at the Valle were in better conditions than those at other, more mundane construction projects.⁶⁷ Happy to be out in the mountains and enjoying certain privileges others did not, many imprisoned workers there thought that working at the Valle was preferable, despite the extreme winter cold. One worker interviewed by Sueiro justifies his choice to move there from Buitrage (Madrid) for the construction of a dam:

⁶¹ While many were freed at that point, some were sent to other projects to finish off their sentences (Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 142–43).

⁶² Justo Pérez de Urbel, *El monumento de Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos*, Itinerarios de Madrid 17 (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1959), 36.

⁶³ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 142.

⁶⁴ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, ch. 5.

⁶⁵ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*; Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*.

⁶⁶ See Santiago Vega Sombria, "La vida en las prisiones de Franco," in *Una inmensa prisión: los campos de concentración y las prisiones durante la guerra civil y el franquismo*, ed. Carme Molinero, Margarida Sala, and Jaume Sobrequés (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 177–98.

⁶⁷ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 57.

El destacamiento de Buitrago era todo lo contrario, no podíamos movernos del recinto que teníamos marcado con alambrada, no podíamos salir para nada, no siendo más que al trabajo y del trabajo a los barracones. En cambio en Cuelgamuros, una vez acabado el trabajo, se podía andar por todo aquello. Por estar al aire libre, trabajando, no por otra cosa. Además, en Cuelgamuros nos dieron facilidades para llevar a la familia.⁶⁸

In addition, imprisoned laborers seem to have often remained at the Valle after their sentences expired, guaranteed work and housing there.

All of this notwithstanding, it has long been argued that the Redención de Penas bears a resemblance to slave labor. The prisoners were not compelled to work by law, chose to work of their own volition in exchange for the reduction of their sentences, and were compensated monetarily, albeit meagerly. However, the system was evidently designed to encourage prisoners to work, as it was the only means to quickly attain freedom in order to care for their families left in difficult circumstances after the war. Prisoners at the Valle worked under supervision alongside hired laborers, no doubt highlighting the fact that they were not free. They worked Monday through Saturday with Sunday off, which initially was when their families would visit before being allowed to reside on-site in tiny, hastily built shacks until proper housing was constructed later. They were permitted to participate in occasional local festivals and there were soccer games held with the contracted workers and nearby towns. However, there were also shows of force on the part of the guards, as well as a significant number of escapes.

As can be expected for such a large construction project as the Valle, there were a number of accidents. Though Diego Méndez claimed there were only four mortal accidents (perhaps only referring to the years during which he headed the project), Daniel Sueiro found through his interviews that as many as eighteen died on-site, along with many more having had arms and legs amputated due to severe injuries.⁶⁹ One doctor at the Valle

⁶⁸ Jesús Cantelar Canales, interviewed in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 62: The detachment at Buitrago was exactly the opposite: we could not move from the compound, which was marked with [barbed] wire, we would not leave for anything but to work and from work to the barracks. On the contrary, in Cuelgamuros, once work ended, one could walk around there. To be working in an open space, not for any other reason. Also, at Cuelgamuros, they gave us accommodations to bring our families.

⁶⁹ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 202–4. One foreman explained that workers with physical handicaps, such as deafness, tended to be those injured or killed in the accidents.

claimed that it was unusual for a day to go by without at least a minor accident.⁷⁰ In addition, he estimates that around fifty workers died a short time after contracting silicosis from excavating the tunnel and crypt. One of the former prisoner workers counts fifty-eight deaths and two hundred injuries, but Olmeda asserts that only fourteen deaths are documented.⁷¹ That said, the total human cost of the construction of the Valle, though regrettable and indeed significant, does not appear to have been of dramatic proportions given the scale of the project, the time it took to complete and the circumstances under which it was carried out.

The other important cost factor is monetary. Like the number of prisoners who worked at the Valle, the exact amount spent to construct the monument is unclear. Muguruza estimated in his work proposal of 1941 a cost of 39,360,000 pesetas, with the basilica amounting to about one quarter of that sum.⁷² But it is evident that this could not even begin to cover the total costs. Blanco claims a figure of one billion pesetas to the end of 1960, but he does not appear to account for the changing value of the currency.⁷³ Sueiro estimated the cost of the monument as over five times that, yet without clearly demonstrating how he arrived at the figure; using the value of the euro in mid-2011, this is about 310 million euro.⁷⁴ In his monograph, Méndez compares the cost of the Valle to that of El Escorial, demonstrating that Felipe II's palace cost around four times more (using his estimate for the Valle of 1.16 billion pesetas in 1961).⁷⁵ Perhaps a more relevant comparison is the 442-meter Sears Tower which cost about \$175 million in 1974, or 10 billion pesetas at the contemporary exchange rate.

However, it has been argued that the cost of building the monument has been greatly exaggerated, as the funds actually came from donations.

⁷⁰ Ángel Lausín, a medical doctor who entered the Valle as a prisoner and was later freed, quoted in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 73.

⁷¹ Miguel Rodríguez, *El último preso del Valle de los Caídos*, Madrid, 1979, quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 76.

⁷² Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 87.

⁷³ Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 305. This figure of 1,086,460,381 pesetas appears to be based on a 1984 calculation by historians Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi, who also note that twenty thousand workers were employed in its construction (Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 364).

⁷⁴ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 200–203. He estimates 5,329 billion pesetas of 1976. The euro estimate is derived from the consumer price index calculated by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, with the conversion from the peseta at the fixed rate in 1999. Sueiro also mentions another calculation published in *Arriba* by economist Juan Velarde Fuentes, contradicting the methodology of his estimate, that concluded on 4.138 billion pesetas.

⁷⁵ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 288–89.

This is the position taken by Pérez de Urbel in the original guidebook.⁷⁶ The Decree of April 1, 1940 mentions these donations without specifying the amount, but numerous later government documents attest to the need for more funds. As early as a year after construction started, an edict was issued to allow the government to set aside further funds for the Valle as needed.⁷⁷ Sueiro estimates the amount of the donations at 45 million pesetas, which clearly would not even begin to cover the total cost—whether one or five billion pesetas.⁷⁸ These funds apparently became entirely exhausted in 1952, and the government proceeded to siphon off the profits of the National Lottery of the Fifth of May to pay for the monument, about thirty million pesetas annually.⁷⁹ On the other hand, Blanco claims the donations amounted to 235 million pesetas,⁸⁰ the same figure given by Diego Méndez.⁸¹ Regardless, it remains nebulous at best just how much was spent.

Actual cost notwithstanding, far more important than precisely how much and from where funding came is the fact that such significant resources, human and otherwise, were expended on this monument. It is clear that the great cost of the Valle de los Caídos to the war-battered nation over twenty years of construction and another twenty years of exhuming and transporting remains of the war dead (as elaborated below) demonstrates that Franco put the glorification of his Crusade and himself above the more pressing basic needs of his people. Interestingly, Reina de la Muela briefly touched on the issue of the monetary cost of architecture and dismisses it as irrelevant when the result is worthy:

La cuestión económica, que a muchos les parecerá factor irremontable, tiene poca importancia cuando de tan alta empresa se trata, aparte de que como nuestro espíritu es íntegramente español, por encima del razonamiento materialista ponemos la fe indestructible ...⁸²

⁷⁶ Pérez de Urbel, *Monumento*, 35. Claiming that these donations funded the construction in its entirety, Diego Méndez even went so far as to say that the monument effectively cost the Spanish people and the state nothing (Borrás, “Novena maravilla”).

⁷⁷ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 23.

⁷⁸ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, chap. 24.

⁷⁹ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, chap. 20. Sueiro writes in 1976 that even after the monument was completed, the Fundación de la Santa Cruz, which manages it, continued to receive these lottery profits.

⁸⁰ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 365.

⁸¹ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 287.

⁸² Muela, *Ensayo sobre las directrices arquitectónicas de un estilo imperial*, 136:

The economic issue, which may seem an insurmountable factor to many, has little importance when it deals with such a great undertaking; aside from the fact that

As mentioned above, a major cause of the slow progress in the early years was the lack of materials, on top of the lack of labor, which led Franco to use prisoners. However, the shortage of construction materials was exacerbated by a fair amount of corruption on the part of the contractors.⁸³ While a certain amount of this was likely inevitable, the need for supplies was apparently so great in the 1940s that some involved enterprises were driven to steal from a project so close to the Caudillo.

History and Architecture

Such was the symbolic power to influence the memory of the past that Franco saw in architecture that this sacrifice would be justified. Beyond the figure of Franco and the designers of the monument was a mix of ideologies that came together to form National Catholicism which understood architecture, and its aesthetics and function as a form of politics that would serve as the conceptual basis for the Valle de los Caídos. Thus, why the monument would take the form it did, as well as why Franco felt the need to build it in the first place, is best understood by tracing this intellectual background back to its nineteenth-century origins.

As explained above, El Escorial served as an aesthetic model for allusion and imitation in the designs for the Valle. This great importance placed on El Escorial by the Francoists is based on a particular theorization of Spanish architectural history with the palace complex at its apex, that in turn is rooted in a broader discourse within which what the Spanish state is and should be was debated. This served as the foundation for the Falange and Franco's regime. However, while it can be argued that at some level certain ideologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would result in the rise of National Catholicism in Spain, the objective here is not to imply an inevitable consequentiality but rather to draw out the evolution of the particular discourse in so far as it relates to the creation of the Valle de los Caídos (and other Francoist architectural projects). To take a more deterministic stance on this, arguing that early twentieth-century totalitarian movements can be read as the culmination of the project of modernity, whether in Spain, Italy, Germany, Russia, or Japan, is more of a political statement than a historical one.

our spirit is integrally Spanish, we place indestructible faith above materialistic rationale.

⁸³ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 74.

It can be said that at the end of the nineteenth century Spain remained very much in transition between the *ancien régime* and modernity. At the time, it was argued that Spain could not develop as a capitalist democracy to the level of its European neighbors. Aiming to solve problems in education, agriculture, industry, etc., toward the regeneration of Spain, scientific analyses produced specific rationalist policies. With strong nationalist tendencies, these arguments often arrived at the question of the national character, seeing the roots of “el problema de España” (the problem of Spain) in its particular condition. Given the comparatively more developed other western European states, particularly France and Britain, the idea of modernity was perceived as a European—thus, foreign—phenomenon. A significant opposition to the “regenerationists” came from the pessimistic notion that the Spanish character was incompatible with modernity. The modernizing educational reforms discussed by Paula de la Cruz Fernández in this volume, shown therein to have an intrinsic gender bias, played a significant role not only in reinforcing the place of women as limited to the domestic sphere but also in establishing a modern feminine ideal according to contemporary interpretations of Catholic doctrine. This aspect of nation building through education can be seen attempting to engender a *better* national character based on an “imagined” ideal somewhat paradoxically formulated out of interpretations of the history and tradition.

Many arguments aiming to describe the Spanish character of the early twentieth century can be said to have at similar conclusions (though naturally the particulars vary), that it is formed of two interconnected yet opposing forces: the mystical and the real. This dualism tends to come from a reading of *Don Quijote* in which the eponymous protagonist represents the former and Sancho Panza the latter. In particular, it was widely thought that *quijotismo* is opposed to modernity, and by extension, that the nation is unable to “progress” along with other western European nations.⁸⁴

Philosopher José Ortega y Gasset conceived of the Spanish character along similar lines drawing from national literature, but saw Spain from a relatively more international point of view than his contemporaries. Stepping outside of the scope of the nation, he understood the rise of nationalism throughout Europe pluralistically—that is, of a multitude of nationalisms—each as an expression of “una manera de ser Europa” (a way

⁸⁴ See Julio Caro Baroja, *El mito del carácter nacional. Meditaciones a contrapelo* (Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1970); José María Jover, “Caracteres del nacionalismo español (1854–1874),” *Zona Abierta* 31 (1984): 1–22; Inman Fox, *La invención de España* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997).

of being Europe).⁸⁵ Within this, the “Spanish” character is formulated as ultimately materialist and lacking imagination, in opposition to the expressive and transcendental “Northern.” Curiously, Ortega explicated the conceptualization using architecture. Entering the Cathedral of Sigüenza,⁸⁶ Ortega gave as an example the Spaniard confronted with an aggressive unreality who understands his limits but is “sin aspiraciones irrealizables” (without unrealizable aspirations).⁸⁷ This is his attempt to resolve the popular dualist conception of the Spanish character: he argued that as a result of the eight centuries of the Reconquista, a “frontier culture” was created in Spain; this “aesthetic,” derived from the figure of El Cid, was “[una] cultura salvaje, [una] cultura sin ayer, sin progresión, sin seguridad; [una] cultura en perpetua lucha con lo elemental” (a savage culture, a culture without a past, without progression, without certainty; a culture in perpetual struggle with the elemental).⁸⁸ The resolution of this struggle, he found in El Escorial, conceiving of it as a national symbol:

[L]a arquitectura no habrá hecho descender sobre nosotros ninguna fórmula que trascienda de la piedra. El Monasterio del Escorial es un esfuerzo sin nombre, sin dedicatoria, sin trascendencia. Es un esfuerzo enorme que se refleja sobre sí mismo, desdeñando todo lo que fuera de él pueda haber. Satánicamente, este esfuerzo se adora y canta a sí propio. Es un esfuerzo consagrado al esfuerzo.

[E]n este monumento de nuestros mayores se muestra petrificada un alma toda voluntad, todo esfuerzo, mas exinta de ideas y de sensibilidad. Esta arquitectura es toda querer, ansia, ímpetu. Mejor que en parte alguna aprendemos aquí cuál es la sustancia española, cuál es el manantial subterráneo de donde ha salido borboteando la historia del pueblo más anormal de Europa. Carlos V, Felipe II han oído a su pueblo en confesión, y éste les ha dicho en un delirio de franqueza: «Nosotros no entendemos claramente esas preocupaciones a cuyo servicio y fomento se dedican otras razas; no queremos ser sabios, ni ser íntimamente religiosos; no queremos ser justos, y menos que nada nos pide el corazón prudencia. Sólo queremos ser grandes».

⁸⁵ José Ortega y Gasset, “Meditación del Escorial,” in, vol. 1 of *Obras completas* (1915; Madrid: Alianza, 1983), 358.

⁸⁶ The Cathedral of Sigüenza dates to the twelfth century and externally demonstrates a style transitioning between the Romanesque and the Gothic. However, the interior is well known for Plateresque sculpture, a style which combines *mudéjar* and late Gothic influences with Renaissance structures to produce highly ornate forms and is also closely associated with the Reyes Católicos.

⁸⁷ José Ortega y Gasset, *Arte de este mundo y del otro*, in, *Obras completas* (1911; Alianza, 1983), 186.

⁸⁸ José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Quijote*, in, vol. 1 of *Obras completas* (1914; Madrid: Alianza, 1983).

Hemos querido imponer no un ideal de virtud o de verdad, sino nuestro propio querer. Jamás la grandeza ambicionada se nos ha determinado en forma particular; como nuestro Don Juan, que amaba el amor y no logró amar a ninguna mujer, hemos querido el querer sin querer jamás ninguna cosa. Somos en la historia un estallido de voluntad ciega, difusa, brutal. La mole adusta de San Lorenzo expresa acaso nuestra penuria de ideas, pero, a la vez, nuestra exuberancia de ímpetus.⁸⁹

The palace complex certainly symbolized the rule of the Habsburgs, but for Ortega it was more significantly a manifestation of what Spain wished to be and could have been—*great*. Effort represents a middle ground between the reason and mysticism in the dualist discourse: it made the mystical, livable; the unreal, real. With respect to the contemporary problem of Europeanization, the idea of El Escorial, which at the time was not valued as highly outside of Spain, integrated tradition and progress. While Ortega's comments on El Escorial are tied more than anything to literature, the step towards seeing Felipe II's monument as the pure physical embodiment of the monarch's political and religious aspirations is short.⁹⁰

A current of Catholic nationalism had been forming in Spain in the first decades of the twentieth century. The surge in the power of the Church

⁸⁹ Ortega y Gasset, "Meditación del Escorial," 557:

... architecture has bequeathed upon us no formula that transcends from the stone. The Monasterio de El Escorial is an effort without a name, without [a] dedication, without transcendence. It is an immense effort that reflects on itself, disdaining all that could exist outside of itself. Satanically, this effort adores [itself] and sings praises to itself. It is an effort consecrated to effort.

... this monument of our elders reveals a petrified soul [that is] all will, all effort, but lacking ideas and sensibility. This architecture is all wanting, angst, impetus. Better here than elsewhere we learn what is the Spanish nature, what is the subterranean source from which has sprung bubbling the history of the most abnormal people of Europe. Carlos V, Felipe II have heard the confession of their people, and they have spoken in a fit of frankness: "We do not understand clearly these preoccupations, at whose service and furtherance other races dedicate themselves; we do not want to be sages, nor to be intimately religious; we do not want to be just, and least of all do our hearts plead for prudence. We only want to be great."

We have wanted to impose not an ideal of virtue or truth, but rather [of] our own wanting. Never has our desired greatness been determined as a particular form; like our Don Juan, who loved love and was never able to love a woman, we have wanted wanting without ever wanting a thing. In history we are an explosion of blind, diffuse, brutal volition. The severe mass of San Lorenzo expresses perhaps our lack of ideas, but, at the same time, the exuberance of our impetus.

⁹⁰ Inman Fox, *Invencción de España*, 139–51; José Beneyto, *Tragedia y razón: Europa en el pensamiento español del siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 1999), 133–46; Jaime de Salas, "El quijotismo de Ortega y el héroe en las Meditaciones del Quijote," *Revista de Occidente* 288 (2005): 61–81.

has been said to be due in large part to its earlier successes in educating the masses, which filled the need ineffectual governments could not. Conservative Catholic intellectuals pushed the idea that the true nature of Spain was in religious orthodoxy centered around the figures of the Reyes Católicos. Historians such as Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo argued that Fernando II de Aragón and Isabel I de Castilla had defended the Spanish spirit with the Counterreformation and the Inquisition, and praised that spirit as the unifying force of Spain. The Reconquista over the Muslims, their expulsion and that of the Jews and the conversion of the Americas to Christianity by missionaries were all seen as manifestations of the nationalistic protective force of Spanish religious orthodoxy.⁹¹ The Spain of the Habsburgs would thus become an ideal for National Catholicism, in particular, their Catholic faith was idealized as the force behind their successes, with the monarchy serving as a myth for which the modern state to aspire. Further, it was argued that the religious unity established by these monarchs shaped the national identity, such that the combination of the monarchy and Catholicism created the empire. The National Catholics aimed to “restore” this to Spain.⁹²

Cofounder of the rightist publication *Acción Española*, Ramiro de Maeztu Whitney was a key figure in disseminating these views. His concept of *hispanidad* promoted during the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923–30) moved nationalism beyond the borders of Spain, incorporating a missionary or crusade mentality. In a twist of logic, he blamed the New World for the religious downfall of Spain, having destroyed the ideals of the empire. One step further from Ortega’s interpretation, Maeztu also derived a model for Spain from *Don Quijote*, claiming that Don Quijote’s spirituality had been lost to Sancho Panza’s materiality, and thus needed to be restored. Though once a supporter of socialism, during the dictatorship he came to equate this “materiality” with the rise of liberal egalitarian views. Thus, his division between two Spains was not merely an ideological construct. Rather, as evidenced by the civil war, the country was in fact strongly divided, if not as evenly into two camps as portrayed but rather into a multitude of factions. It was the “humanism” of Catholicism, he

⁹¹ This is in sharp contrast to the liberal view advocated by intellectuals such as philosopher Miguel de Unamuno, which understood the Spanish religion to lie in the less institutionalized medieval mysticism that was believed to have precisely opposed the autocracy of the sixteenth century.

⁹² Raúl Morodo, *Los orígenes ideológicos del franquismo: “Acción Española”* (Madrid: Alianza, 1985), 53; Fox, *Invencción de España*, 184–99; Carlos Castilla del Pino, ed., *La cultura bajo el franquismo* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1977).

argued, in the hands of a ruling elite was to bring about the restore the Spanish spirit of the Habsburgs.⁹³

As the most significant monument of that idealized imperial past, El Escorial would therefore serve as an important image for National Catholicism. It would arguably exert the most profound historical influence on the architecture of the early Franco regime. For the Falangists in particular, El Escorial would dramatically arouse memories of the past glories of Spain. Ernesto Giménez Caballero, the literary father of Spanish fascist thought, ruminated on El Escorial in his attempt to delineate the essence of a state. Felipe II's palace complex represented for him the ideal that engendered a new, necessarily Spanish art, representative above all, not of the Spanish people as others argued before him, but of the *state*:

El Escorial era un Estado. Era el resultado de un arte: *el arte de lograr un Estado*, y el supremo estado de nuestro pueblo, de nuestro genio. Faltaba otra vez el artista que despertase ese genio adormecido e incendiase de acción aquel *motor inmóvil*. Pues si lograr un Estado supremo es sencillamente un Arte (el Arte más sublime y divino entro todos los artes del hombre), también el hombre de Estado que logra tal Estado, no es un político: es un artista primordial. Es decir: la mayor cercanía que el hombre puede alcanzar con la divinidad. Con Dios mismo.⁹⁴

Giménez Caballero sees El Escorial as both the achievement of a state and the evidence of the emergence of that state—art and state are one, created simultaneously in a virtually divine act. In other words, the ideal state is imbued with an aestheticized religiosity springing into existence through the mediation of a deified leader as expressed by a defining work of architecture. Inspired by Italian fascism, Giménez Caballero advocated a more vanguardist conservatism than did Maeztu, yet both saw the regeneration of Spain as attainable through the restoration of the values of the Habsburgs.

⁹³ Ramiro de Maeztu, *Defensa de la hispanidad* (1934; Madrid: Fax, 1952); Bailey W. Diffe, "The Ideology of Hispanidad," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 23, no. 3 (1943): 457–82; Fox, *Invencción de España*, 184–99.

⁹⁴ Ernesto Giménez Caballero, "El arte y el estado," *Acción Española* 14, nos. 74–78 (April–August 1935): no. 78, p. 334. Emphasis in original.

El Escorial was a State. It was the result of an art: the art of achieving a State, and the supreme state of our people, of our genius. It yet needed to occur that the artist awaken that dormant genius and alight that immobile motor with action. Thus, if to achieve a supreme State is simply an Art (the most sublime and divine Art of all the arts of man), then the man of the State who achieves such a State is not a politician: he is a primordial artist. That is, the greatest proximity to divinity that man can attain. To God Himself.

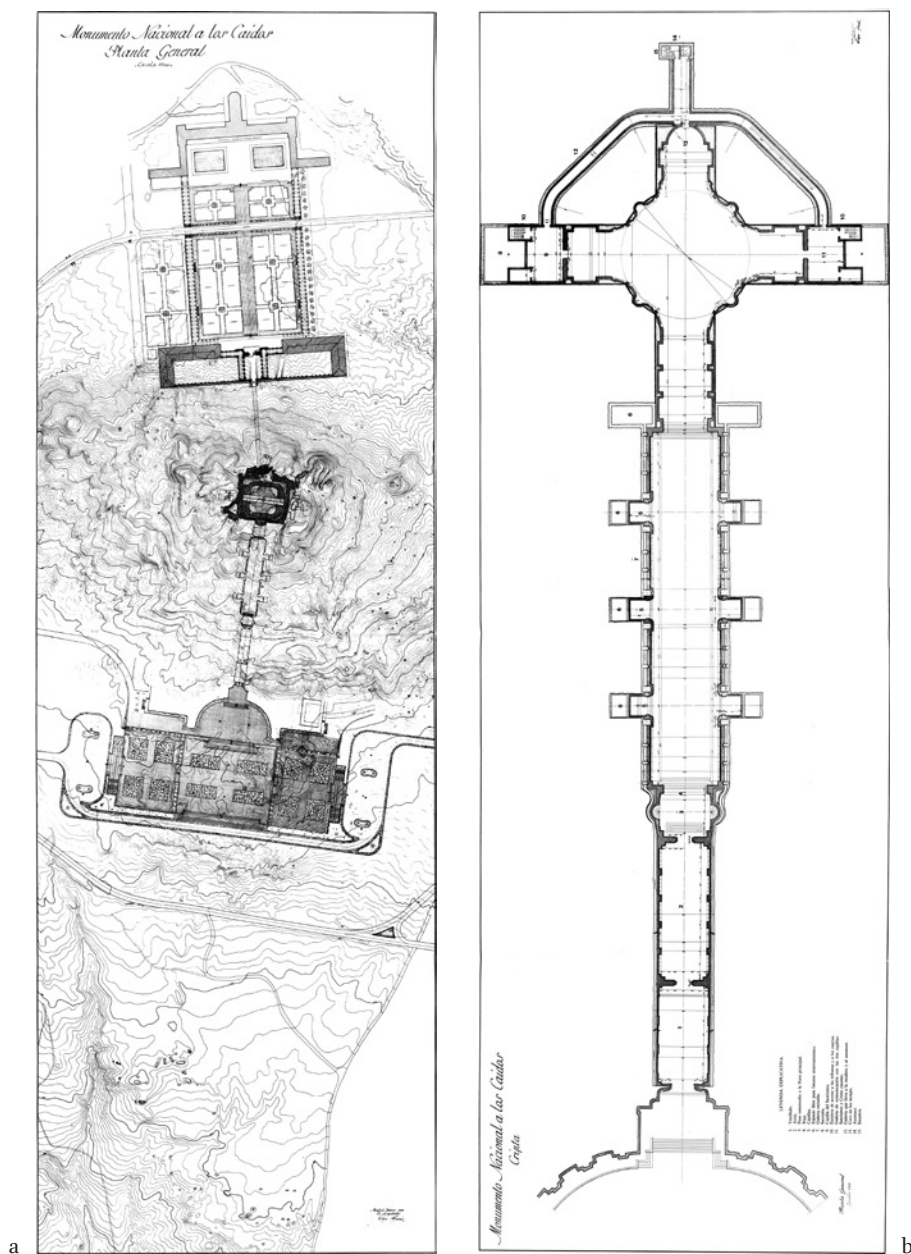


Figure 2.3. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 256, 81. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco. a) Site Plan, b) Floor plan for basilica.

Thus, the creation of a new art on the level of El Escorial would herald the coming of and at the same time be the very manifestation of a new State.⁹⁵

In short, it is based on this intellectual background that Franco felt the need to build *his own* Escorial. Yet perhaps more importantly than the physical appearance of architecture, the metaphysical significance with which architecture was understood to be imbued was fundamental for the Falangists and Franco. That art and the state were intrinsically one, and that architecture specifically held the power to wholly represent a polity or a people, even the power to engender a transformation of that culture, these beliefs were key in the conception of the Valle de los Caídos. Defending their own values, as well as opposing the materialism of socialism, communism, and modernism, they would aim to uphold the spiritual through art. Architecture was thus seen as an especially political mode of art with which Franco would directly achieve his political goals.

Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos

One arrives at the Valle de los Caídos after driving some sixty kilometers northwest of Madrid. Apart from the signs leading up to it, the first sight one has of the monument is the 150-meter-high cross that tops the mountain (see Figure 2.3a). Provided one is high enough, the great cross can be seen from more than fifty kilometers away. Arriving at the monument's entrance, the visitor passes the guardhouse and meets the "Juanelos." These four 54-ton monoliths are counterweights built under the reign of Felipe II to draw water from the Tajo River into Toledo. As Diego Méndez wrote, "rescatados del olvido" (rescued from oblivion),⁹⁶ the Juanelos are the first of several direct references to the sixteenth-century monarch.⁹⁷ They were originally envisioned by Muguruza to flank the main entrance of the basilica, but in 1953 were placed where they now stand. There is also a Via Crucis of five stations designed by Muguruza, who had planned all fourteen but only the first, second, fifth, eighth, and tenth were built, at distances from the monument allowing panoramic views of it and the surrounding

⁹⁵ See Llorente, *Arte e ideología*, chap. 1.

⁹⁶ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 46.

⁹⁷ Named after the engineer who constructed them, Juanelo Turriano, the Juanelos measure 145 centimeters in diameter and about 11 meters in height. The project was left uncompleted due to the death of Felipe II.

landscape. All but one, which is an arrangement of crosses, are chapels in differing styles, supposedly inspired by the era of Felipe II.⁹⁸

Throughout, the architecture of the Valle evinces a tension between the severe classicism of Muguruza and the hybrid perhaps proto-postmodernism of Méndez. Its decorative elements mix historical styles—Romanesque, Byzantine, Herrerian, neoclassical—and thus fail to give the monument aesthetic cohesion. This is likely not the lack of artistic ability of its creators, as the work tends to be of high quality, but rather is likely indicative of the degree to which the designers of the Valle aimed to please the Caudillo's quixotic taste.

Walking up to the entrance of the basilica, one cannot but be struck by the sheer immensity of the space (see Figure 2.4a). The tripartite esplanade before the exedra was built from the granite excavated from the tunnel; each section measures one hundred meters squared, making a space three hundred meters wide. Each set of stairs in the esplanade has ten steps, representing the Ten Commandments,⁹⁹ and each of its three terraces has the pavers laid out to form a cross. Partially constructed by Muguruza, the exedra had no openings and revealed some of the natural rock, until the structure was extended outward to form a semicircular colonnade by Méndez.¹⁰⁰ This form may have been a reference to the colonnade in Saint Peter's Square, only completing half of an ellipse to create an open space of roughly half of the internal width of Bernini's square. The structure of the space, however, is quite different, in which the visual weight of the towering cross, the superhuman scale of the arcade and the pathetic gaze of Juan de Ávalos's *Piedad* sculpture (see Figure 2.4b)¹⁰¹ set before the large expanse create an empty, hierarchical space, greatly subordinating the

⁹⁸ José Luis Sancho, *Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2008), 15–18. From one of the chapels, there is also a view of the former royal property known as Campillo, which was purchased by Felipe II for the Duke of Maqueda to be used as temporary residence and hunting grounds.

⁹⁹ Bonet Correa, "Crepúsculo de los Dioses," 329.

¹⁰⁰ Simón Marchán Fiz, "El Valle de los Caídos como monumento del nacional-catolicismo," *Guadalimar: Revista mensual de las artes* year 2, no. 19 (January 1977): 71.

¹⁰¹ It should be mentioned that Ávalos was a "socialist" but was chosen specifically by Franco after seeing an exhibition of his work. There was a competition held, which he won, and the inappropriateness of his political leanings was questioned by some. Interestingly, this is the second version of the sculpture; the first one was rejected by Franco for being "too pathetic" (Méndez citing Franco in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*). The sculpture was dismantled in April 2010 by the Patrimonio Nacional for on-site repairs, in particular after a piece of the draped arm of Christ fell in 2008 (Miguel Oliver, "Patrimonio cierra el Valle de los Caídos," *ABC*, 7 April 2010; *El Mundo*, "El desmontaje de 'La Piedad' del Valle de los Caídos, a 'mazazo limpio,'" 23 April 2010).



Figure 2.4. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 63, 221. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco. a) Center esplanade, b) Sculpture *Piedad* above main entrance.



Figure 2.5. Main entrance. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 54. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco.

visitor to its massiveness. This could be said to be the closest Spain would get to the grandiose theatrical architecture of Albert Speer. Here, perhaps more than anywhere else in the complex, one understands that Franco's vision for the Valle was about "the poetics of the colossal" (see Figure 2.5).¹⁰²

Passing through the monumental gate, one enters the basilica tunneled into the mountainside. From the entrance, the first thing that the visitor notices is certainly the great depth of the nave—262 meters (see Figures 2.3 and 2.6). Intriguingly, this is significantly longer than the 211 meters of St. Peter's in Rome, a fact that was very much known to Franco and the designers. Pérez de Urbel spoke of mentioning this to Franco:

Acabo de llegar de Roma y ya sabe Su Excelencia que allí en la Basílica del Vaticano, están las medidas de todas las basílicas que hay en la cristianidad, las mayores. ... y la más larga, el Vaticano. ¿Por qué no hacemos en la del Valle una cosa parecida? ... y hasta aquí llega el Vaticano, y nos quedan

¹⁰² *Horizonte*, n. 13–14 (March–April 1940), quoted in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 21.



Figure 2.6. View of nave. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 118. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco.

todavía veinte o treinta metros. Y Franco me dice: “Eso no está mal pensarlo; pero decirlo ya es peligroso.”¹⁰³

Pérez de Urbel mentioned this fact in his guidebook as well.¹⁰⁴ Just as the entrance façade, the nave gives a feeling of overwhelming emptiness. Supposedly at Franco’s wish, Muguruza had intended to leave the natural rock exposed in his design, as noted above; however, this apparently could not be executed due to excessive stress.¹⁰⁵ Méndez compromised by imitating the effect of the vault as if it had been perforated to show the

¹⁰³ Pérez de Urbel, quoted in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 176:

I’ve just returned from Rome, and [as] Your Excellence already knows there in the Basilica of the Vatican are the measurements of all the basilicas in Christendom, the major ones. ... and the longest, the Vatican. Why don’t we do something similar in the one of the Valle? ... and the Vatican is up to here, and we still have twenty or thirty meters left. And Franco says to me: “It’s fine to think that, but saying it is dangerous.”

¹⁰⁴ Pérez de Urbel, *Monumento*, 24. The basilica of the Valle was perhaps not considered a threat to Rome’s supremacy because the nave at the Valle is divided both by gates and steps, and can thus be strictly read as not one continuous space.

¹⁰⁵ Marchán Fiz, “El Valle de los Caídos como monumento del nacional-catolicismo,” 71–72.

natural stone of the tunnel, which he saw as a return to the primitive cave.¹⁰⁶ Also, the tunnel is aligned with the rising sun on the summer solstice.

The nave is divided into three parts (see Figure 2.3b): a vestibule now housing the gift shop, an “atrium” and the main nave with three chapels on either side; a gate depicting various saints divides the former two and a small intermediary space the latter two. As a whole, the interior of the basilica is dominated by detailed imagery aimed at promoting Franco’s interpretation of the Civil War and his victory as a crusade. Initially, Franco appears to have wanted heroes and martyrs in bas-relief lining the walls of the main nave. In this case, it seems both Méndez and bishop of Madrid, Leopoldo Eijo y Garay, had to convince Franco of the need for more “spiritual” decoration, lest it engender resentment.¹⁰⁷ Instead, a set of tapestries by the sixteenth-century Flemish weaver Willem de Pannemaker were brought from La Granja. They illustrate eight scenes of the Apocalypse from the Book of the Revelation. The tapestries were made for none other than Felipe II; thus, their presence in the Valle serves to associate Franco with the monarch.¹⁰⁸

The reliefs above the six chapels in the main nave are specifically related to the military (left to right, towards the altar): *Inmaculada*, patroness of the army; *Virgen de África*, commemorating Franco’s launching of the coup d’état from Morocco; *Virgen del Carmen*, patroness of the Spanish Armada; *Virgen de la Merced*, patroness of captives (*cautivos*, referencing the capture of Spanish Christians by Muslims in the thirteenth century); *Virgen de Loreto*, patroness of the Air Force, for the decisive victory of the Nationalists in the Battle of the Ebro; and *Virgen del Pilar*, patroness of *hispanidad*. Additionally, the miscellaneous sculptures of the crossing feature saints and angels often depicted militantly (see Figure 2.7).

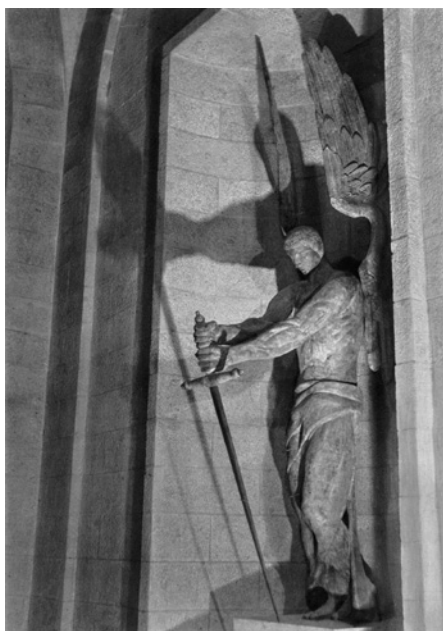
Of course the climax of the basilica is at the altar, beneath the dome, about 33 meters in diameter and 38 meters in height. The dome, decorated with a mosaic by Santiago Padrós, consists of some five million tiles, which took four years to put in place. Over a gilded background, it depicts the descent of Christ in the center, around which are Saints James and Paul surrounded by named “heroes and Spanish martyrs.”¹⁰⁹ The wood of the

¹⁰⁶ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 73–76.

¹⁰⁷ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 152; Sancho, *Valle de los Caídos*, 27.

¹⁰⁸ Sancho, *Valle de los Caídos*, 28–34. Due to excessive humidity, the tapestries were replaced with replicas made 1966–75. The originals were returned to the tapestry museum of La Granja.

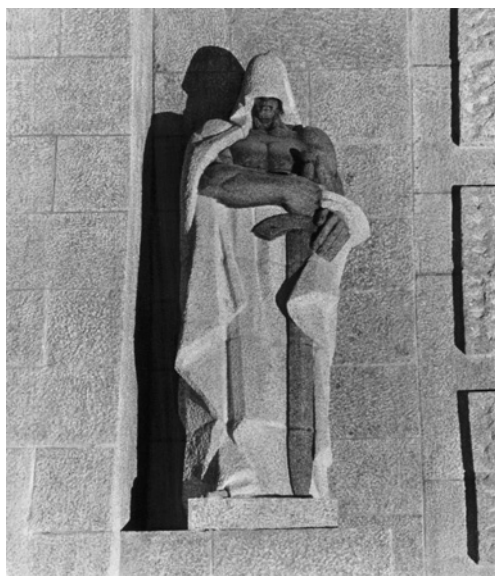
¹⁰⁹ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 140.



a



b



c

Figure 2.7. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 97, 111, 139. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco. a) Bronze archangel, Carlos Ferreira, b) Iron light fixture, José Espinós Alonso, c) Sculpture representing the Army, Luis Antonio Sanguino and Antonio Martín.

cross that stands on the main altar was specifically selected by Franco in the mountains of Segovia and carved in his presence.¹¹⁰ In all, the decorative program of the basilica indicates that the space has much to do with the imperialist Catholic ideal drawn from the Reyes Católicos and Felipe II that formed the basis for Franco's National Catholicism. The strong emphasis on the military and the particular allusions to the figure of Franco himself demonstrate a syncretism of Catholic and military symbolism that is aimed at provoking a sentimentalism for the war as a holy crusade, which can be said to only prolong the schism between the victors and the vanquished.

José Antonio Primo de Rivera is buried in front of the altar and Francisco Franco behind it (see Figures 2.8 and 2.9). Thus, within a space of some thirty meters, the beginning and end of the Falange are buried. Soldiers are entombed in the crypts lining the main nave, with entrances at each end of the transept. Both Nationalists and Republicans were accepted, though the exact number from each side is the subject of significant debate. The title over the two doors leading to the crypt explains their fate collectively:

CAÍDOS por Dios y por España. 1936–1939. R.I.P.

The significance of the burials of José Antonio and Franco in the Valle and their specific placement before and behind the altar, as well as the details of the inhumation of the fallen soldiers will be discussed in the following section.

Directly above the dome is the cross on the mountaintop. There is service access from the basilica to the cross, but the visitor must exit the tunnel to reach it. A funicular was built for this purpose in 1975.¹¹¹ From below, the sculptures of the four evangelists at the base of the cross are intended to appear emerging out of the natural rock, as if the earth itself gave birth to the monumental cross through their intercession. Still, at the top of the mountain, one cannot but feel the massiveness of the sculptures and indeed of the cross. The four evangelists by Juan de Ávalos, each standing about eighteen meters tall, are of overpowering scale (see

¹¹⁰ Sancho, *Valle de los Caídos*, 38–42.

¹¹¹ The funicular was out of service since 1999 until repaired in 2004, as part of a 2.3 million euro rehabilitation carried out by the Patrimonio Nacional. ("Reabren el funicular del Valle de los Caídos tras años parado," *El Mundo*, March 23, 2004.)

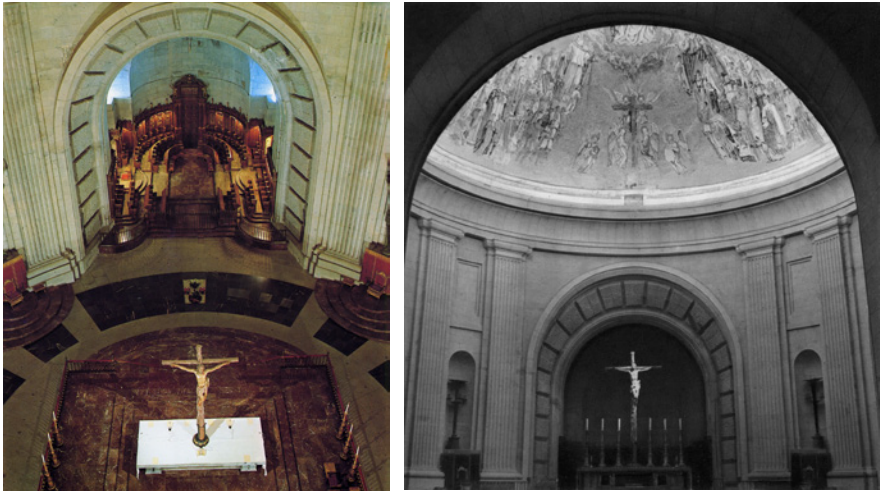


Figure 2.8. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 162, 142. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco. a) Tomb of Franco between altar and choir, b) Altar and dome. Mosaics by Santiago Padrós.

Figure 2.10).¹¹² Above the evangelists are figures representing the four virtues, also by Ávalos.

From the base of the cross, the visitor can also see the rear of the Valle: the Benedictine community intended to watch over the sacred site resides in an immense structure designed for the most part following Muguruza's design (see Figure 2.11). The buildings are in an Herrerian idiom, as can be especially seen in the roofs, but without the strong geometric unity that characterizes works such as El Escorial. The original plan included only the building at the far end of the expanse. But when the installation of the Benedictines was being arranged in 1957, Pérez de Urbel noted to Méndez that the great distance between the monastery and the entrance to the basilica was inconvenient for the monks' access, due to the extreme winter cold. Since construction on the building began in 1942, this had apparently not been seen as a problem. The solution was to build a mirror structure adjacent to the mountain, connected by a covered corridor to the original

¹¹² Méndez writes that Franco wished John the Evangelist specifically to look "young and intrepid" and had Ávalos remove the beard; the other three evangelists are bearded. John is poised forward, in a "march" posture (Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 225). The original design by Ávalos may have been in response to directions given by Méndez: "¡Más salvaje. Quiero algo mucho más salvaje!" (More savage, I want something much more savage!) (*Índice*, December 1953, quoted in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*).

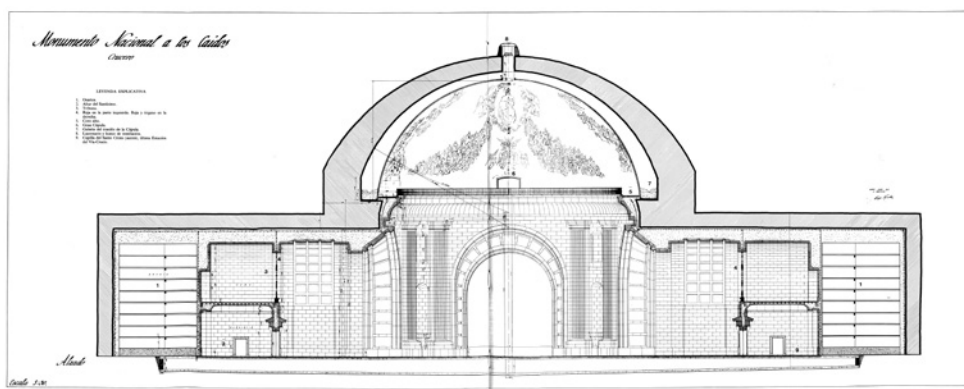


Figure 2.9. Section of transept. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 80. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco.

building, which came to be used for the research institute and as a hospice. This added to the already significant delays that beset the project.¹¹³ Between the two an immense cloister was formed, if one can call it a cloister at this scale, which measures about three hundred meters by one hundred and fifty, through which a peripheral road runs. Mirroring the esplanade on the opposite side of the mountain, here once again prevails the aesthetic of overpowering emptiness.

The monastery and the Centro de Estudios Sociales de la Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos were built for specific purposes laid out by Franco. Daily mass was to be held for the Spanish nation, as well as several specific events to be commemorated: April 1 for the end of the crusade with a thanksgiving Mass and a Te Deum; October 1, after the day in 1936 on which Franco was named the head of state; and November 20, the day of José Antonio's (and later Franco's) death, for all the fallen of the crusade.¹¹⁴ Additionally, the Center has published periodicals on social issues, papal documents, and studies on Spanish business and family life, from a generally conservative Catholic point of view. It was closed in 1982, apparently due to budget cuts. Interestingly, the choir of the Valle has produced world-class singers, some of whom are among the members of the group Schola Antiqua, which specializes in medieval music.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 261–70; Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 209; Sancho, *Valle de los Caídos*.

¹¹⁴ *BOE*, September 5, 1957.

¹¹⁵ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 434.



Figure 2.10. Sculpture of Saint John the Evangelist, one of four at base of cross, Juan de Ávalos. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 225. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco.

Defiance of Time and Oblivion

As argued above, for Franco, the influence of El Escorial came out of a nationalist idealization of the palace complex and the monarch who built it, both standing as objects of admiration and emulation, as well as competition. Franco's cousin and secretary Francisco Franco Salgado-Araujo wrote specifically in his memoirs that the Caudillo may have had ambitions of emulating Felipe II in erecting his own monument.¹¹⁶ This is evident not only in the references throughout the Valle to Felipe II himself but also in the program of the monument. Borrowing the idea of incorporating a multitude of functions into one architectural complex from El Escorial (palace, basilica, royal pantheon, monastery, school, library and hospital),¹¹⁷ the Valle is comprised of basilica, crypt, monastery, school and library (not to mention the planned but unrealized *cuartel de juventudes*).

¹¹⁶ Francisco Franco Salgado-Araujo, *Mis conversaciones privadas con Franco* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1976), 215.

¹¹⁷ On the influence that Felipe II had from the Temple of Solomon in constructing El Escorial, see Juan Rafael de la Cuadra Blanco, "El Escorial y el Templo de Salomón" (PhD diss., Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 1994), <http://sapiens.ya.com/jrcuadra/index.htm>.

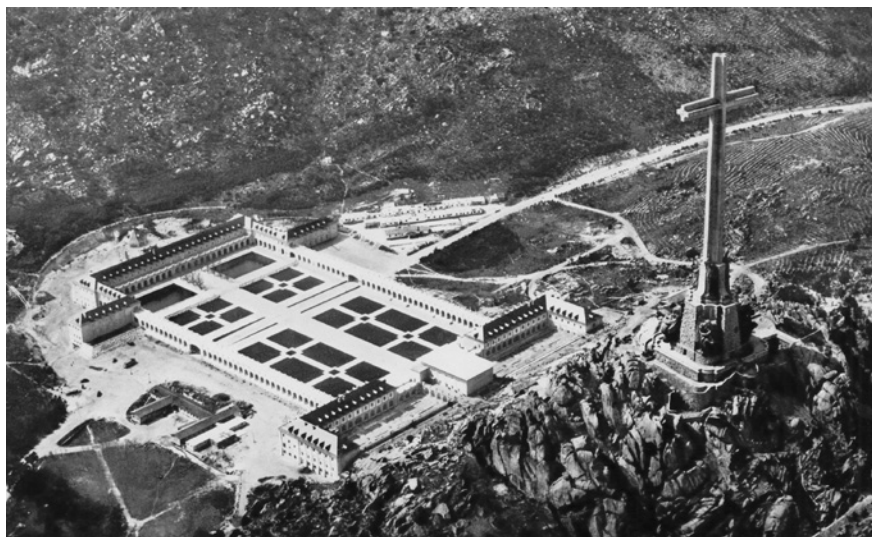


Figure 2.11. Aerial view of monastery, research institute and school. Méndez, *El Valle de los Caídos: idea, proyecto y construcción*, 248. Reproduced by permission from Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco.

The declaration of April 1, 1940 includes a key phrase that would be repeated in propaganda about the monument: “desafío al tiempo y al olvido” (defiance of time and oblivion). The attitude conveyed in this aim reveals Franco’s goal of controlling history to place himself at the top. The Valle was created for this very purpose. Intended to replace the collective memory of both sides of the civil war with his version of it—the war as a crusade—Franco erected the Valle as the site that would defy time and oblivion: “un refugio para las almas sedientas de meditación y silencio y faro para los espíritus atormentados por el ansia de la verdad”—the truth of the Crusade.¹¹⁸ Yet whatever his personal motivations, Franco aimed to proclaim the creation of his Spain through mythologizing the war that put him in power. The stubborn perpetuation of the crusade myth throughout Franco’s reign could not have united the nation; rather, it would only deepen the divide. The Valle was intended to be the locus for the proclamation of this mythology. Just as Giménez Caballero understood El Escorial to be both the cause and effect of the great Spanish Empire of Felipe II,

¹¹⁸ Franco, April 1, 1939, quoted in Cirici Pellicer, *Estética del franquismo*, 112: a refuge for souls thirsty for meditation and silence and a beacon for the souls tormented by the anxiety of the truth.

Franco intended his Valle to be the manifestation of the crusade victory as well as the means with which it would be continue to be proclaimed.

In the 1959 guidebook, Pérez de Urbel did his part to establish this discourse, naturally referring to El Escorial:

Tal es el monumento que el siglo XX ha puesto al lado del que el siglo XVI dejó en El Escorial, una creación sorprendente de la cual se ha podido decir que será proclamada como una de las maravillas de la civilización europea. Tal es el veredicto de los entendidos. Las multitudes han dado el suyo dirigiéndose hacia el Valle en masas compactas para ver, admirar y rezar y sentirse sobrecogidas y conmovidas por la generosidad de la arquitectura y más aún por la solemnidad de las funciones religiosas de que es adecuado escenario el monumento.¹¹⁹

Upon the inauguration of the monument, Pérez de Urbel thus claimed to have foreseen the great importance that the Valle would have. This is a comparison not even of the historical figures of Felipe II and Franco but of *centuries*. It is left unstated, but the allusion here is to the Siglo de Oro (Spanish Golden Age) heralded by the Habsburgs. Thus, Franco's achievement is glorified beyond being positioned at equal status with the monarch—he becomes the twentieth century as history itself.

It is of course the Civil War that was to allow Franco to create such a Golden Age. Following the importance placed by Falangists on the “martyrs” for their cause, the work of architecture that would engender this Golden Age was to be the Valle de los Caídos, in which their two leaders were then entombed. José Antonio, who died on November 20, 1936, had been buried in El Escorial as mentioned above, but Franco decided to move his remains to the Valle in 1959.¹²⁰ While coordinated only weeks before the opening ceremony on April 1, it was apparently carried out personally by Franco, who wrote to the brother and sister of José Antonio—Miguel and Pilar—asking for their consent. The letter places José Antonio as one of the fallen, and it puts the fallen under his spiritual command:

¹¹⁹ Pérez de Urbel, *Monumento*, 35:

Such is the monument that the twentieth century has placed next to what the sixteenth century left in El Escorial, a surprising creation which can be said that will be proclaimed one of the marvels of European civilization. This is the verdict of those who know. The masses have done their part in directing themselves in compact masses to see, admire, and pray and feel overwhelmed and moved by the generosity of the architecture and moreover by the solemnity of the religious functions for which this monument is an appropriate setting.

¹²⁰ The actual tomb of José Antonio is off axis—not under the stone that bears his name—due to the presence of buried air conditioning and heating ducts, perhaps indicating that the decision to rebury him there was not made well in advance.

Pensé en la construcción de un Santuario Nacional que, tras de ofrecer sagrada y digna morada a tanta y tan preciosa sangre española, vertida por la unidad, la grandeza y la libertad de la Patria, se alzase a perpetuidad como el testimonio y garantía de que nuestra victoria significaría la España inmortal que anunciara José Antonio [...]. En aquel Santuario, levantado en memoria de los gloriosos caídos de nuestra Cruzada, entiendo deberían ocupar el lugar más destacado los restos de vuestro hermano, nuestro inolvidable José Antonio; así representaría, para el presente y para el futuro, la capitanía entrañable de la legión de caídos en la cruzada que, simbólicamente, alberguen los muros de aquella basílica.¹²¹

His family agreed, supposedly complying with his wish to be buried among his comrades, expressing the desire for his remains to be transported quietly. Yet on the night of March 29, 1959, despite a moratorium on coverage of his exhumation in the media, and the mobilization of the Guardia Civil to inhibit the converging of masses on El Escorial and the Valle, crowds of Falangists bearing flags and chanting “Cara al sol” appeared on what had started as an intimate ceremony. An enlarged procession then made for the Valle, where they were awaited by “thousands,” and a requiem Mass was held (which according to the presiding priest was no different than that given to the other fallen).¹²² In short, there was a great Falangist spectacle at the Valle in honor of their deceased leader.

Notwithstanding, this move is seen as greatly upsetting many Falangists who felt Franco was appropriating their hero for his own purposes, something that they did not necessarily approve of. On the other hand, the removal of José Antonio from El Escorial did please the monarchists, who had opposed his entombment in the palace. Every year since José Antonio’s death, the Falangists had held a Mass in his honor on the date of his death, and every year Franco attended. However, perhaps to avoid being publicly insulted after moving José Antonio to the Valle, Franco did not attend in

¹²¹ Quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 230. A different letter penned by Franco dated March 7, 1959 is reproduced in Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 304–5.

Think of the construction of a National Sanctuary which, through offering a sacred and worthy home for so much and so precious Spanish blood, spilt for the unity, the greatness and the freedom of the Fatherland, would be raised in perpetuity as the testament and guarantee that our victory would signify the immortal Spain that José Antonio announced ... In that Sanctuary, erected in memory of the glorious fallen of our Crusade, I understand the most outstanding location ought to be occupied by the remains of your brother, our unforgettable José Antonio; thus representing, for the present and for the future, the profound leadership of the legion of fallen in the crusade which, symbolically, are housed by the walls of that basilica.

¹²² Interview with Anselmo Álvarez, quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 234.

1959. Yet the following year, the Caudillo was, in fact, called a traitor by a Falangist at the moment of the elevation of the host, when they turned the lights off in the basilica, leaving light shining only on the Host.¹²³

The Generalísimo's placement in the sacred space behind the altar is of weighty significance: it can be argued that Franco inserted himself in the basilica as a religious figure. However, doubts have been raised as to whether it was Franco's explicit wish to be buried there. Diego Méndez claims that Franco explicitly conveyed to him his wish to be buried in that location:

[Y] entonces, parado allí detrás del altar, exactamente sobre el sitio donde estaba hecho ya el hueco de la sepultura, dice:

–Bueno, Méndez, y en su día yo aquí, ¿eh?

–Ya está hecho, mi general.¹²⁴

Further, Méndez described the position behind the altar “como si fuera el amo de la casa, [...] como la persona que recibe a otros en su casa” (as if [Franco] were the man of the house ... the person who receives others into his house).¹²⁵ A draftsman involved with construction at the Valle also claims that it was he who drew the drawings placing Franco's tomb there at the same time as that of José Antonio.¹²⁶ Additionally, seeing it as a great honor, Pérez de Urbel was interviewed saying that he overheard it being discussed soon after the Benedictine community was installed at the monument in 1958,¹²⁷ and Brian Crozier, a biographer of Franco, wrote that he wanted his own pharaonic pyramid, which one can easily link to his desire to build the Valle.¹²⁸

On the other hand, Franco had constructed a family tomb at El Pardo in Madrid, apparently for himself as well, and Franco's widow and children have consistently maintained that he did not want to be buried in the Valle.

¹²³ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, chap. 26; Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 229–47, 356–59.

¹²⁴ Méndez quoted in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 208–9: and then, standing there behind the altar, exactly above the site where the hole had been made for the tomb, [Franco] says, “Well, Méndez, and when the day comes, I [will be] here, right?” “It is already done, my general.”

¹²⁵ Méndez, quoting Franco, in Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 208–9.

¹²⁶ Antonio Orejas, cited in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 339.

¹²⁷ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 209.

¹²⁸ Brian Crozier, *Franco* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), cited in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 28.

Pérez de Urbel too denied that Franco's tomb in the Valle had been built ahead of his death in 1975. There is also a handwritten note by Franco archived in the Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco that reads,

Para un soldado como yo, una tumba en cualquier lugar de España, con una sencilla cruz de madera, es enterramiento suficiente y honroso.¹²⁹

Furthermore, the American ambassador to Spain wrote that Gabriel Cisneros, then Subsecretary of the Presidency, had said that Franco did not wish to be buried at the Valle but rather in El Pardo.¹³⁰ It was the new king, Juan Carlos I, that ordered Franco buried in the Valle de los Caídos on November 22, 1975. And Franco was buried there the following day. As discussed above, the relationship between architect Méndez and patron Franco may not have been precisely as Méndez has revealed, and thus his account may not be reliable. However, the fact remains that both the designer of the Valle and Franco's chosen successor, who had indisputable power to have him buried there, seem to have known, that is, if one does not view the king as having acted against Franco's wishes. Still, there is also the possibility of Franco having had second thoughts about it as well. The current official guidebook writes that Franco's tomb was prepared in advance of 1959.¹³¹

Aside from Franco and José Antonio, there are thousands fallen in the Civil War buried in the Valle de los Caídos. The April 1, 1940 pronouncement of the Valle dedicates the monument to the war with no mention of the opposing side. Following Falangist thinking, the initial intention seems to have been to only entomb "heroes" and "martyrs" of the Nationalist armies. In time, however, the message of the Valle first proclaimed at the war's end would acquire a tone of reconciliation between the victors and vanquished, to seem as if it had always been so.

Through the 1940s, documents show that the monument was to stand only to honor the victors of the war. In 1946, due to the fact that the Valle had not been constructed as speedily as anticipated, the government issued an order in response to an existing law that limited the time after which they could be exhumed to be reburied to ten years after death. Given that

¹²⁹ Quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 337:

For a soldier like me, a tomb in whatever place in Spain, with a simple wooden cross, is sufficient and honorable burial.

¹³⁰ Horacio Rivero, "Probable funeral arrangements in eventuality of Franco's death," telegram, August 1, 1974, United States Department of State, quoted translated in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 333.

¹³¹ Sancho, *Valle de los Caídos*, 44.

ten years had already passed since the war broke out, an explicit exception had to be made for those intended for the Valle—it was only for the Nationalists:

[E]nterramientos de restos de los caídos en nuestra Guerra de Liberación, tanto si perecieron en las filas del Ejército Nacional como si sucumbieron asesinados o ejecutados por las hordas marxistas en el periodo comprendido entre el 18 de julio de 1936 y el 1º de abril de 1939; o aun en fecha posterior, en el caso de que la defunción fuese a consecuencia directa de heridas de guerra o sufrimientos de prisión.¹³²

That said, there is one mention in the magazine published by the prisoners of the Redención de Penas por el Trabajo, *Redención*, that stated in 1947 that both bands would be entombed.¹³³

By the mid-1950s, the atmosphere in Spain had changed with the end of World War II and the country's opening up to international politics. In the above-cited 1957 interview of Diego Méndez, the mention of both sides again appeared: "los soldados españoles todos tienen apellido ante Dios y ante nosotros" (all Spanish soldiers have a name before God and before us).¹³⁴ Several days after that article is published, Francisco Franco Salgado-Araujo recorded his thoughts on the impropriety of the divisiveness of the monument:

En España no hay ambiente para ese monumento, pues aunque dure el miedo a otra guerra civil, gran parte de la población tiende a perdonar y a olvidar. No creo que ni los familiares de los blancos ni de los rojos sientan deseos de que deudos vayan a la cripta, que si sólo es para los blancos establecerá para siempre una eterna desunión para los españoles.¹³⁵

¹³² Ministerial order, Presidencia del Gobierno, 11 July 1946 (*BOE*, July 15, 1946):

burials of remains of the fallen in our War of Liberation, whether they perished in the files of the National Army or they succumbed assassinated or executed by the Marxist hordes in the period comprised between the 18th of July of 1936 and the 1st of April of 1939; or also on a later date, in the case that the death were a direct consequence of the wounds of war or the suffering in prison.

¹³³ *Redención*, year 9, no. 433 (July 26, 1947), quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 171: reposarán los restos de todos los caídos de la Cruzada, sin distinción de ideologías (the remains of all the fallen of the Crusade will rest [at the Valle], regardless of ideology).

¹³⁴ Borrás, "Novena maravilla."

¹³⁵ Franco Salgado-Araujo, *Mis conversaciones privadas con Franco*, 215:

In Spain there is no [place] for this monument, since even though the fear of another civil war may last, a large part of the population tends to forgive and forget. I do not think that the families of the Whites or of the Reds will feel the desire for their deceased to go to the crypt, that if it is only for the Whites, it will establish forever an eternal disunity for Spaniards.

In addition, the following year, as part of the procedures to declare the Valle a minor basilica, the Vatican noted that the entombed soldiers should not be referred to as “martyrs” given that they are not recognized as martyrs by the Church, also commending the inclusion of fallen from both sides.¹³⁶ Fernando Olmeda argues that Franco appropriated the language of reconciliation from a declaration by the Communist Party the previous year, the twentieth anniversary of the start of the war, calling for reconciliation between both sides.¹³⁷

In any event, by August 1957 the Franco government had decided to entomb both Nationalists and Republicans in the Valle de los Caídos.¹³⁸ However, two restrictions were placed: the fallen had to be both Spanish and have had been baptized Catholic.¹³⁹ That said, there were exceptions with respect to the nationality of the fallen, as evidenced by the inhumation of a number of foreigners who fought under the Nationalist banner. On the other hand, the religious limitation appears to have been respected more strictly, as indicated by the exclusion of a group of thirty Muslims.¹⁴⁰ Apparently, beginning in May 1958, the administration mobilized to find, exhume, and transport cadavers of the war dead to the Valle for entombment, such that by the inauguration of the monument on April 1, 1959, forty-four thousand had arrived at Cuelgamuros. This was at the expense of the government. Though the origin of many is unclear, nearly twenty thousand of these appear to have been from Madrid. They were divided between individual urns for those who could be identified and collective urns for those who could not.

While forty-four thousand may seem a high figure (and twice the number previously thought to have been entombed by 1975),¹⁴¹ it seems that Franco had anticipated more. One reason that can be given for the low count is that, as is perhaps to be expected, many families of Republican deceased refused to consent to the government’s request. There also seem to have been prejudices in the bureaucratic system across the nation

¹³⁶ Transcription of the conversation of Esteban Fernández and Ildebrando Antoniutti, July 10, 1958, Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 173.

¹³⁷ *Mundo Obrero*, year 25, no. 7 (July 1956), quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 172.

¹³⁸ *BOE*, September 5, 1957.

¹³⁹ Letter, Ministro de la Gobernación y presidente del Consejo de las Obras, May 23, 1958; Acta 84 del Consejo, July 9, 1957, Archivo General de Palacio; both quoted in Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 175.

¹⁴⁰ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 175–78.

¹⁴¹ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 188–92.

charged with coordinating the process against Republican soldiers. Furthermore, in cases of unidentifiable remains such as those in mass graves, a great number of Republicans were exhumed without familial consent as “desconocidos” (unknowns). Arguably, these were forced into the crypt in order to increase the number of the entombed. This process continued for some time, though not at the frantic pace that led to the inauguration, amounting to 33,846 identified bodies, in total an estimated fifty to sixty thousand.¹⁴² The exact number will likely never be known, especially due to the fact that among the unidentified, many partial bodies were entombed. The last cadaver was taken to the Valle on June 3, 1983.¹⁴³

In this way, all the dead are forced into one category, and the division of the Civil War is essentially ignored. Though it cannot be generalized that the Nationalists were all fighting for God and the Republicans against, all were fighting for Spain—but for different Spains. Franco presented the Civil War as a crusade between Spain and the anti-Spain, between Good and Evil.¹⁴⁴ While the anti-Spain was demonized as a corruptive force, which needed and continually needs to be extinguished for the benefit of the whole, the Nationalists are justified by carrying out the will of God. But by fusing both sides into one, the monument thus presents the illusion of unity on the surface while in fact highlighting the disunity.

As argued thus far, the Francoist view of history and the role of architecture in shaping that history was imbued into the design of the monument. Yet the inauguration of the Valle came too late: had it been completed during the 1940s, the monument would have likely told a rather different history. By 1959, Spain had been receiving aid from the United States for four years and could not carry on with the same politics with which it emerged from the Civil War. Yet the crusade rhetoric would remain, if translated slightly to fit the atmosphere of the Cold War. A publication put out the following year imagined the Valle itself as having ensured victory over Evil itself, saving not only Spain but half of the world from Communism:

la contemplación de esta obra produce emoción y admiración hacia el hombre que la concibió ... es, sin duda, el templo más importante construido en una época en la que el materialismo invadía el mundo ... la Guerra de Liberación Española fue una Cruzada, como declaró Pío XII. Fue la repetición,

¹⁴² It appears that the first numbered body is that of José Antonio, given that the identified bodies are numbered beginning with 2.

¹⁴³ Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 178–207, 370–75.

¹⁴⁴ See Herbert Rutledge Southworth, *El mito de la cruzada de Franco* (Paris: Ruedo ibérico, 1963).

en el siglo XX, de la victoria obtenida por don Juan de Austria en Lepanto. Si los españoles no hubieran detenido al comunismo, nadie hoy puede dudar de que apartir de 1939 tanto la Península Ibérica como una parte de Europa, y posiblemente de América, vivirían esclavas de una filosofía que antepone el materialismo a la espiritualidad; el ateísmo a la religión y la opresión a la libertad, lo que, en esencia, significa la destrucción de la civilización occidental.¹⁴⁵

Franco held at least his grand spectacle: the opening on April 1, 1959 brought thousands to the Valle to commemorate the victory thirty years prior; the assembled crowd was large but not so large as to not fit in the immense esplanade before the entrance. The Generalísimo emerged from the tunnel and, to the delight of the crowd, spoke of the martyrs of the Crusade commemorated by the great monument.¹⁴⁶ José Antonio was reburied there on November 20 of that year. Franco's events at the Valle were recorded by the *NO-DO* in the dramatic manner of Leni Riefenstahl. They did not have to invent the euphoric crowds who praised the Caudillo at the Valle then, but in short time this sort of spectacle faded into anachronism.¹⁴⁷ Franco would be buried there on November 22, 1975, having died two days prior, on the very day José Antonio had been executed by the Republicans thirty-nine years earlier.

In the first guidebook, Pérez de Urbel describes the Valle literally as a "miracle." Yet within accounts from the time of the opening of the monument, there lies a somewhat different mode of appreciation of it, parallel to the crusade argument. The abbot's guide book and Méndez's monograph make special note that the project of the monumental cross was

¹⁴⁵ *Razones por las que se construyó la basílica del Valle de los Caídos: templo erigido por un gran español*, Madrid: Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, 1976, quoted in Bonet Correa, "Crepúsculo de los Dioses," 317.

the contemplation of this work produces emotion and admiration towards the man who conceived it ... it is without a doubt the most important temple constructed in a time in which materialism was invading the world ... the War of Spanish Liberation was a Crusade, as declared by Pius XII. It was the repetition, in the twentieth century, of the victory obtained by don Juan de Austria at Lepanto. If the Spanish had not detained Communism, no one today could doubt that, after 1939, not only the Iberian Peninsula but a part of Europe, and possibly of the Americas, would live as slaves to a philosophy that prefers materialism to spirituality, atheism to religion and oppression to liberty, something which would essentially signify the destruction of Western civilization.

¹⁴⁶ Sueiro, *Secretos de la cripta franquista*, 191–92. Franco's speech is reproduced therein (239–43).

¹⁴⁷ Rafael R. Tranche and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, *NO-DO: el tiempo y la memoria* (Madrid: Filmoteca Española, 1993), 505–15.

unprecedented in known history and the great difficulty with which it was erected.¹⁴⁸ These publications use long lists of statistics enumerating facts of the construction as a way of validating the significance of the monument: 24650 m³ of concrete, 24850 m³ of prefabricated concrete, 44750 m³ of sand, 14860 tons of cement, 800 tons of steel, 4230 m³ of stone.¹⁴⁹ Throughout his monograph on the Valle, Méndez remarks on countless technical problems encountered during his tenure as lead architect, along with his solutions for them, as well as a laborious explanation of the calculation of forces on the cross and the details of its construction process.¹⁵⁰ This presentation of the Valle as an *engineering* marvel could be seen as clashing with the religious message of the monument, presenting an altogether different aesthetic. It shows an intriguingly rationalist approach to a monument so wrapped in metaphysical discourse, and is perhaps representative of the general ideological shifts from the moment of the Valle's conception and its completion.

The Present

The easy day trip outside of Madrid would take one to El Escorial and the Valle de los Caídos. In years past, a great number of tour buses set out from the capital taking tourists to both sites. The Patrimonio Nacional even sold joint tickets for both sites at a discount, no doubt primarily due to their physical proximity, but the coupling is nonetheless loaded with significance. In 2004, more than four hundred thousand tourists visited the Valle, making it the third most visited tourist site in Spain at the time.¹⁵¹ This, it has been argued may have paid back the cost of constructing the great monument.¹⁵² Such reasoning, however, ignores the grave reality of the conditions during which it occurred. Still, with respect to this point, it should be noted that the deficit in the budget of the Valle that caused the closing of the school in 1982 came at a time when around six hundred thousand

¹⁴⁸ Pérez de Urbel, *Monumento*, 15–18; Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 173–208.

¹⁴⁹ Pérez de Urbel, *Monumento*, 17. These numbers are for the construction of the cross.

¹⁵⁰ Méndez, *Idea, proyecto y construcción*, 178–209. Also, as part of the above mentioned estimate of the cost to build El Escorial, Méndez includes an itemized list cataloging the project according to structural materials and numerous ornamental categories, and explaining the value conversion with the cost of four different kinds of food stock (288–9).

¹⁵¹ Carlos E. Cué and Rafael Fraguas, “Qué hacer con el panteón del franquismo,” *El País*, April 3, 2005.

¹⁵² Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*, 306.

visited the monument annually.¹⁵³ Yet for most of the half-century since its opening, the masses of visitors to the Valle were brought face-to-face with the awesome power of the monument's message commemorating Franco's crusade, but not with the memory it attempted to obscure.

The death of Franco and the establishment of a democratic government for the most part brought little change. For instance, at the gift shop, the tourist has apparently never been able to purchase Sueiro's book, first published in 1977 as *La verdadera historia del Valle de los Caídos*, or any text that explains the human history behind the construction of the monument. The first guidebook written by Pérez de Urbel, as quoted above, mentioned—and refuted—the prisoner status of those contracted, and later editions failed to do so altogether.¹⁵⁴ Historian Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, who, after being imprisoned in 1947 for participating in the anti-Francoist student group Federación Universitaria Española, was forced to work at the Valle but managed to escape, wrote on this in 2003: “los guías oficiales y los folletos descriptivos [siguen] repitiendo en pleno siglo XXI la cantinela franquista” (the official guides and the descriptive brochures continue to repeat well into the twenty-first century the same old Francoist song).¹⁵⁵

Upon the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Francisco Franco in 2005, the Valle was thrust into the public discourse, and previously dormant vestiges of the war and the regime began being forced into the fore. That year, the last remaining statue of the Caudillo in Madrid was destroyed amid some controversy, and many other cities followed suit.¹⁵⁶ The socialist government led by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, formed in 2004, can likely be said to have engaged more aggressively than any previous

¹⁵³ Francisco Mercado, “El Valle de los Caídos, un complejo de difícil despolitización y costoso mantenimiento,” *El País*, July 26, 1983.

¹⁵⁴ The most recent guide does mention this fact, albeit briefly (Sancho, *Valle de los Caídos*). Also, the official Web site of the monastic community now makes reference to the use of prisoners in the construction of the monument (Abadía de la Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos, “Historia del monumento,” 2010, <http://www.valledeloscaidos.es/monumento/historia>).

¹⁵⁵ Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, “Cuelgamuros: presos políticos para un mausoleo,” in *Una inmensa prisión*, 3.

¹⁵⁶ Olga Pereda, “El Gobierno retira la última estatua de Franco en Madrid,” *El Periódico*, March 17, 2005; Luz Sanchis, “Zapatero dice que en España no caben ‘recuerdos a dictadores,’” *El Periódico*, March 19, 2005; Renwick McLean, “Conflict Over Madrid's Last Remaining Statue of Franco Never Dies,” *New York Times*, November 27, 2004. When a similar statue in Santander was removed in 2005, a group of neo-Falangists protested publicly by singing José Antonio's anthem “Cara al sol.” The Santander city government responded by also taking down a statue of the Second Republic (*El Mundo*, “El alcalde de Santander retirará también el escudo de la República por ser ‘símbolo preconstitucional,’” May 18, 2005).

administration with the Francoist past, promoting a reevaluation the Valle, and drawing anger from the opposition. In November 2005, the reform of the site was assigned to a committee headed by then Vice President (Deputy Prime Minister) María Teresa Fernández de la Vega. And for instance on the anniversary of José Antonio's death in 2008, in a clear move demonstrating a shift in policy, the government denied Falangists entry to the Valle to pay homage to him.¹⁵⁷

In 2007, the government's reevaluation of Francoism took shape as the Ley de Memoria Histórica. Claiming to "deja[r] la historia a los historiadores" (leave history to historians),¹⁵⁸ the law makes sweeping changes to the place of historic artifacts of the Franco era, at least in principle:

Artículo 15. *Símbolos y monumentos públicos.*

1. Las Administraciones públicas, en el ejercicio de sus competencias, tomarán las medidas oportunas para la retirada de escudos, insignias, placas y otros objetos o menciones conmemorativas de exaltación, personal o colectiva, de la sublevación militar, de la Guerra Civil y de la represión de la Dictadura. [...]
2. Lo previsto en el apartado anterior no será de aplicación cuando las menciones sean de estricto recuerdo privado, sin exaltación de los enfrentados, o cuando concurren razones artísticas, arquitectónicas o artístico-religiosas protegidas por la ley.¹⁵⁹

However, requiring the removal of Francoist statues and the changing of street names has been said to be more about identity politics for the government to gain support from certain groups, as the vast majority of

¹⁵⁷ *El Mundo*, "La Guardia Civil impide la entrada al Valle Caídos a un grupo de falangistas," November 17, 2008; Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*, 414–17.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Carlos E. Cué, "La ley de memoria se aprueba entre aplausos de invitados antifranquistas," *El País*, November 1, 2007.

¹⁵⁹ Ley de Memoria Histórica (Law of Historic Memory), or "Ley por la que se reconocen y amplían derechos y se establecen medidas en favor de quienes padecieron persecución o violencia durante la Guerra Civil y la Dictadura" (Law by which rights are recognized and expanded, and measures in favor of those who suffered persecution or violence during the Civil War and the Dictatorship) (*BOE*, December 27, 2007).

Article 15. Symbols and Public Monuments.

1. Public Administrations, in execution of their duties, shall take the opportune measures for the removal of shields, insignias, plaques and other objects and commemorative mentions of exaltation, personal or collective, of the military uprising, of the Civil War and of the repression of the Dictatorship. ...
2. The provisions of the above item will not be applicable when the mentions are of strictly private remembrance, without the exaltation of the belligerents, or when there are artistic, architectural or artistic-religious reasons protected by the law.

Further, the document mentions the acknowledgment of works constructed by forced labor.

such statues had already been removed prior to the enactment of the law. Moreover, the attitude conveyed by the law, digging up a vilified past only to *erase* it, holds a danger to destroy the very “historical memory” it emptily claims to protect. Exceptions are made for “artistic value” and religious spaces, but what constitutes artistic value is not defined. Continuing, there is a provision specifically for the Valle:

Artículo 16. *Valle de los Caídos*.

1. El Valle de los Caídos se regirá estrictamente por las normas aplicables con carácter general a los lugares de culto y a los cementerios públicos.
2. En ningún lugar del recinto podrán llevarse a cabo actos de naturaleza política ni exaltadores de la Guerra Civil, de sus protagonistas, o del franquismo.

[...]

Disposición adicional sexta.

La fundación gestora del Valle de los Caídos incluirá entre sus objetivos honrar y rehabilitar la memoria de todas las personas fallecidas a consecuencia de la Guerra Civil de 1936–1939 y de la represión política que la siguió con objeto de profundizar en el conocimiento de este período histórico y de los valores constitucionales. Asimismo, fomentará las aspiraciones de reconciliación y convivencia que hay en nuestra sociedad. [...] ¹⁶⁰

Despite this provision, concretely how the Valle is to become a site of reconciliation (just as Franco’s government proclaimed decades earlier) is not specified. Since then, as is to be expected, a fair amount of controversy surrounding the future of the Valle has surfaced, a testament to the expressive power that the monument continues to exude. Furthermore, the insistence on *reconciliation*, of course, presumes that the Valle can become such

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Article 16. Valle de los Caídos.

1. The Valle de los Caídos will be governed strictly according to the regulations generally applicable to places of worship and public cemeteries.
2. In no place within [its] precincts will be permitted acts of a political nature or adulatory of the Civil War, of its protagonists, or of Francoism.

...

Sixth Additional Provision

The managing foundation of the Valle de los Caídos shall include among its objectives the honoring and rehabilitation of the memory of all persons deceased as a consequence of the Civil War of 1936–1939 and the political repression that followed it, with the objective of deepening the knowledge of this historic period and the values of the Constitution. Likewise, it will promote the aspirations of reconciliation and coexistence that are present in our society. ...

a site—but more significantly that the belligerents of the Civil War continue to exist today in Spain.

Alongside this emergence of the monument as a political problem, the Valle has seen a considerable drop in the number of visitors over the past several years, while at least three accounts of its history by journalists were published, on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the end of the Civil War in 2009.¹⁶¹ In April 2010, the Patrimonio Nacional suddenly closed the Valle “indefinitely”, citing dangerous conditions necessitating urgent repairs of the exterior sculptures.¹⁶² After a tense November 20 in which groups of both Falangists and anti-Fascists held opposing demonstrations just outside the Valle,¹⁶³ it was reopened in mid-December with a protective access tunnel and a wire mesh covering for the entrance sculpture, at a cost of nearly 100,000 euros to the government. Sixteen hundred visitors attended the first two morning Masses.¹⁶⁴

Amid this growing tension, a panel was organized by Minister of the Presidency Ramón Jáuregui, composed of twelve academics and an archbishop, and given the task of examining how to transform the Valle into a site of reconciliation, following the 2007 law.¹⁶⁵ As might be expected, the fields of specialization of the scholars are centered around history, law and ethics; though a social anthropologist was included, an expert on art or architecture of the Franco period is notably absent. Subsequently the Spanish Church barred the appointment of the archbishop.¹⁶⁶ While it was feared for a moment that the cross of the monument could be removed, a

¹⁶¹ José María Calleja, *El Valle de los Caídos* (Espasa, 2009); Olmeda, *Valle de los Caídos*; Blanco, *Valle de los Caídos*.

¹⁶² Carlota Fominaya, “Prohíben la asistencia a una misa en el Valle de los Caídos,” *ABC*, November 4, 2010; “Impiden, por segunda vez, acceder a la misa del Valle de los Caídos,” *ABC*, November 7, 2010; Carlota Fominaya, “El cierre del Valle de los Caídos lleva a los benedictinos a celebrar misa en la puerta,” *ABC*, November 8, 2010.

¹⁶³ Elena Sevillano, “Antifascistas y falangistas se manifiestan sin incidentes,” *El País*, November 21, 2010; Natalia Junquera, “Máxima tensión en el Valle de los Caídos entre neonazis y defensores de la Memoria Histórica,” *El País*, November 20, 2010.

¹⁶⁴ Natalia Junquera, “Lleno total en la misa de reapertura del Valle de los Caídos,” *El País*, December 19, 2010. The repairs to the *Piedad* sculpture apparently cost much less: just over €25,000 (EP, “Reparar ‘La Piedad’ del Valle de los Caídos costó 25.669 euros,” *ABC*, March 3, 2011).

¹⁶⁵ Natalia Junquera, “Un arzobispo y 12 expertos dirán si Franco sigue en el Valle de los Caídos,” *El País*, May 28, 2011.

¹⁶⁶ EFE, “Los obispos de desvinculan de la comisión de expertos que estudiará el futuro del Valle de los Caídos,” *ABC*, May 30, 2011. One of the historians is a Benedictine monk of the abbey at Monserrat.

possibility denied by Jáuregui,¹⁶⁷ among the most controversial issues is the removal of the tomb of Franco from the Valle (perhaps along with that of José Antonio). Franco's daughter subsequently spoke out against this specifically.¹⁶⁸ Parallel to this contention was the issue of the possible exhumations of Republican soldiers from the Valle. But after the government conducted a survey with the intention of allowing those who so desire to have the remains of their ancestors deceased long ago removed, it was decided to be impossible due to their poor state of preservation, and barred this from consideration.¹⁶⁹

Franco is easily critiqued by many (perhaps as fervently as he is supported by others). Yet it is a largely a totally dismissive critique, one which presents Francoism as an isolated phenomenon, rather than the popular movement it was. Intermixed with the now seventy-year-old memories of the war are new fissures in Spanish society, which by no means should be seen as continually existent and unchanged since. Further, for detractors of the Valle, it must be understood that, while Franco may have built his great monument to glorify himself employing Falangist aesthetics, all acts by the government of Franco over its nearly forty years are not necessarily to be condemned.

If the Valle were to vanish as it is, it could only be said that Franco in fact succeeded in erecting a monument to defy time and oblivion, as it would be remembered solely as a monument to exalt him and his crusade. Furthermore, destroying the physical remnants of Francoism is akin to the rewriting of history that Franco himself carried out, denying that his regime ever existed. But regardless of what the current government decides to do with the monument, or what will be come of it beyond that, the ideology built into the Valle will not change—what will continue to change with time are the views and attitudes on the past. The issue of what to do with it has been no doubt contentious particularly in recent years due to the tenuous historical proximity of the Civil War and the Franco regime, no longer viscerally close, nor yet distantly forgotten. What to do for the

¹⁶⁷ Natalia Junquera, "Jáuregui: 'No se va a tirar la gran cruz del Valle de los Caídos,'" *El País*, May 30, 2011; Natalia Junquera, "El Valle de los Caídos mantendrá su gran cruz," *El País*, May 31, 2011.

¹⁶⁸ Natalia Junquera, "La hija de Franco no quiere que su tumba salga del Valle de los Caídos," *El País*, June 15, 2011.

¹⁶⁹ Natalia Junquera, "El Gobierno descarta exhumar a los republicanos enterrados con Franco," *El País*, May 5, 2011. This should also be seen in light of the government's efforts to localize, identify, and exhume Republican soldiers buried in common graves throughout Spain, as part of its compliance with the Ley de Memoria Histórica.

memory of the fallen of the Civil War is, however, far more complicated; but that is a different matter. In order for Spain to come to terms with this period of its history, it is necessary for the Valle de los Caídos to remain, and for its truth to be told without the tinge of polarizing politics, dredged up from past and forced into the service of those of the present.

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POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN FRANCO'S SPAIN:
RECOVERING THE MEMORY OF ECONOMIC REPRESSION AND
SOCIAL CONTROL IN ANDALUSIA, 1936–45

Fernando Martínez López and Miguel Gómez Oliver

Introduction: The Forgotten Repression

In the last thirty years we have learnt a lot about political repression in Franco's Spain. By now, we know approximately how many Spaniards were killed by the dictatorship. We have managed to give the victims some dignity by recovering their names and, sometimes, by giving them a decent place to rest. One of the fruits of the work of researching Francoist repression has been to dismantle the gross misrepresentation made by the dictatorship that only the "Reds" were killers and only the "Blues" were victims. As we know now, three quarters of the victims of the Civil War and the early years of the dictatorship were "Reds." There is, however, a Francoist myth that still remains mostly unchallenged: that while the "Reds" were enemies of property and accordingly stole or socialized property from their rightful owners, the "Blues" were protectors of property and their behavior was very different from that of the Republicans. This chapter proves otherwise. As we shall see, since the beginning of the war and long after the conflict ended, the rebel authorities carried out a policy that massively transferred property from the defeated Republicans to both the "New State" and to its supporters. This policy was one of the instruments used by the dictatorship to destroy its enemies physically, morally, professionally and materially. In sum, the Francoist dictatorship used both force and discriminatory laws to dispossess the defeated from what was theirs, all the while claiming to defend law and property. According to their own values, this policy was in fact theft and robbery, and they were not above committing murder to achieve their goals. Their laws, nevertheless, made these crimes legal.

The Cleaning of Spain's National Body

The use of political violence was one of the Franco regime defining features from its beginnings in 1939 until the end of its existence in 1975. It was

forged in a bloody civil war following a frustrated coup d'état in 1936, whose authors wanted to end the legality of the Republic. From the beginning, the conspirators' objectives were to destroy, on a personal as well as corporate basis, the organizations and the social base of Republicanism and of the workers' movement, and to eliminate the institutions that had given ideological support to the processes of democratization and modernization of Spain. The instructions given by General Emilio Mola, the director of the conspiracy in April and June 1936, ordered that "the action should be extremely violent" in order to eliminate the enemy as quickly as possible and to eliminate the leftist elements without any consideration.¹

The leaders of the military conspiracy demanded that the triumphant coup have as its main objective the launching of a gigantic "surgical operation" designed to do away with the country's Left. This policy took shape throughout the first months of the war, with a whole battery of edicts and decrees that set in motion a great amount of political violence. The control of the repression was the responsibility of the army. Using the defense of the country against its internal enemies as an alibi, military legal advisers gave a semblance of legitimacy to "the action." Falangists and members of the Catholic Right also collaborated in the process. On July 28, 1936, the rebel National Defense Council issued a declaration of war in which it defined as a crime of military rebellion any act, meeting, or demonstration that implied opposition to the military coup and situated judgment thereof within the military jurisdiction via immediate "summary proceedings."

The repression was based on three fundamental procedures: physical punishment, seizure of assets, and economic penalties. As the late Marta Bizcarrondo pointed out, it worked like a set of concentric circles of surgical or prophylactic operations on Spain's national body.² The first circle included executions, prisons, concentration camps, and labor camps. For this purpose the war edicts of the rebel generals were applied systematically, causing a chronic overload in the military courts. However, this "legal" repression did not imply any legal guarantees. It is extremely frequent to

¹ See, among others, Alberto Reig Tapia, *Ideología e historia: sobre la represión franquista y la guerra civil* (Madrid: Akal, 1986); S. Julia, ed., *Víctimas de la guerra civil* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 1999); J. Casanova, ed., *Morir, matar, sobrevivir* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2002).

² See Marta Bizcarrondo's prologue to the book by Manuel Álvaro Dueñas, "Por el ministerio de la ley y la voluntad del Caudillo." *La Jurisdicción Especial de Responsabilidades Políticas (1939-1945)* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2006), 15-28. See also Fernando Martínez López's prologue to the book by A. Sánchez Cañadas, *Memoria y dignidad. Depuración y represión del magisterio almeriense durante la dictadura del general Franco* (Seville: Corduba-colección Istor, 2007), 12-17.

find in the Francoist documentation information such as “shot in application of the edict,” by which an execution without a previous trial was recorded. After the “cleansing” of the war years, the repression centered on Freemasons and Communists, who, according to the ideologues of Francoism, were at the root of Spain’s material and spiritual misfortunes. The Special Court for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism (TERMC) carried out the repression by the Law of March 1, 1940, which was in existence for twenty-three years, until when the Court of Public Order assumed those functions in 1963. The law was abolished in 1964.³

Physical violence was not the only means of repression. Following Marta Bizcarrondo’s metaphor, a second circle of the Francoist surgical operation on Spain’s national body included the purging of professionals from their jobs. This is well known in the case of teaching personnel, but it also affected a broad professional spectrum that included doctors, judges, architects, central, local, and provincial civil servants, post office employees, railroad employees, etc.⁴

The third aspect of the rebels’ surgery and cleansing of Spain was economic repression. From the first moments of the war a policy took shape, complementary to the previous two aspects, of seizing the assets of the defeated. This policy, initially a product of both spontaneous actions and fostered by the edicts of the rebel generals (most notoriously by General Cabanellas’s Decree 108 of September 1936) was finally regulated by Franco’s decree of January 10, 1937. Eventually, its main instrument would be the Exceptional Courts created by the Law of Political Responsibilities of February 9, 1939.

All of the previously mentioned courts—military courts, TERMC, Commissions for the Purging of Professions, Provincial Commissions for the Seizure of Assets, and Political Responsibilities Courts—assumed the

³ On the repression of Spanish Freemasonry by Francoism, see J. A. Ferrer Benimeli, *El contubernio judeo masónico-comunista* (Madrid: Istmo, 1982), 297–302; F. Espinosa Maestre, “La represión de la masonería en la provincia de Huelva (1936–1941),” in *Masonería, política y sociedad* (Zaragoza: CEHME, 1989), 2:697–706; J. Ortiz Villalba, “La persecución contra la masonería durante la guerra civil y postguerra,” in *Masonería, política y sociedad*, 2:649–78; J. J. Morales Ruiz, *La publicación de la Ley de Represión de la Masonería* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1992); F. Martínez López and M. Ruiz García, “La masonería andaluza ante los Tribunales de Responsabilidades Políticas. La represión económica sobre los masones almerienses (1939–1945),” in *La masonería española. Represión y exilios*. (Zaragoza. Gobierno de Aragón, 2011), 1607–1640.

⁴ The status of the matter of the studies of this repression can be seen in J. Cuesta, ed., *La depuración de funcionarios bajo la dictadura franquista (1936–1975)* (Madrid: Fundación Largo Caballero, 2009).

mission of making the real or imagined enemies of the New State pay for their supposed sins and responsibilities in a collective tragedy that, paradoxically, had been provoked principally by those who sat in judgment. The history of these organisms is one of the best examples of the extent, durability, and diverse faces of the Francoist repression, which was not limited exclusively to the brutal physical elimination of those in the opposition and of potential enemies of the faction that had rebelled against the Republic, but also included an infinity of aspects about which we have only fairly recently begun to have exact information.⁵

The following is a preview of how the seizure of assets and the Law of Political Responsibilities affected the Andalusian region. After noting the attempts to legitimize the repression and the application of totalitarian justice in the processes of the national purging of civil and political responsibilities, the intent is to analyze the economic repression and the social control that were set in motion against affiliates and sympathizers of the parties of the Popular Front and of the labor unions, at the same time as they were suffering the physical repression that took them to the prisons, the firing squads, to professional disqualification, or exile. It is part of the "Recovery of Historical Memory" project promoted by the Junta de Andalucía and is the fruit of collaboration among nine Andalusian universities and the Andalusian Ministry of Justice and Public Administrations for the purpose of investigating the actions of the Courts of Political Responsibilities in Andalusia.⁶

Political Responsibilities and Totalitarian Justice

Francoist economic repression had two clearly different phases. The first phase took place during the Civil War, and consisted of plundering and seizing the assets of the "Reds"—"the originators," it was said, "of the material and spiritual harm to Spain." The second phase was deployed when the civil war ended. It set in motion throughout Spain an extensive repressive mechanism with the constitution of Exceptional Courts, which terminated their activity in 1945, although the political responsibilities remained active until 1966.

⁵ L. Álvarez Rey, *Los diputados por Andalucía de la Segunda República, 1931–1939. Diccionario Biográfico* (Seville: Fundación Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2009), 1:92.

⁶ Coordinated by the authors of this article, professors of the Universities of Almería and Granada. It has been operating since 2007 and some thirty-two researchers from nine Andalusian universities participate in it.

For the ideologues of Francoism, the powers of the Popular Front that were the result of the February elections were not legitimate, and the political behavior and attitudes of the Spanish Left were contrary to the essence of the traditional Catholic Spain. The Left constituted the authentic anti-Spain, and it had become the internal enemy which, allied to secret international forces, was lying in wait to destroy not only the *Patria* but also the whole of Christian civilization. Consequently, the military edicts, the decrees and laws that opened the repressive process in the Spain of 1936 and continued through the first Francoist period were simultaneously a repressive and a legitimizing instrument,⁷ Repressing, justifying, and confiscating property were part of the same process. A good example of this was the proclamation of General Queipo de Llano in Seville on August 18, 1936, which included the order to seize the assets of "those who, in their propaganda of a political or social nature, affirmed the disappearance of the Spanish State as an organized Nation, ... and affirmed principles of a universalist character, tending directly or indirectly to weaken or suppress the idea or sense of Spain or its unity."⁸ Shortly afterwards, General Miguel Cabanellas, president of the National Defense Council (briefly the interim government of the rebel side) issued a decree on September 13, 1936 that outlawed all the organizations that constituted the Popular Front and blamed them for all Spain's misfortunes prior to July 18, 1936:

For a long time Spain has been the victim of the political actions of certain parties that, far from cooperating in the prosperity of our country, were satisfying personal ambitions to the detriment of the common good, but never as in the moments prior to the present has anti-patriotism culminated in the formation of entities that, under a political guise, poisoned the people with the offer of supposed social entitlements, an enticement for the working masses to follow their leaders, who took advantage of them to prosper at their cost, spur them to perpetrate all kinds of outrage and crystallize, finally, in the formation of the disastrous so-called Popular Front.⁹

⁷ This provided a reason to prepare the myths justifying the military uprising that were widely disseminated during the Francoist period and that historiography dismantled years ago. See, among others, Alberto Reig Tapia, *Memoria de la guerra civil, los mitos de la tribu* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999); *Anti-Mola. La subversión neofranquista de la Historia de España* (Barcelona: Ediciones B, 2006); Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra civil española* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1996); Enrique Moradiellos, *Los mitos de la guerra civil* (Barcelona: Editorial Quinteto, 2004).

⁸ General Queipo de Llano's Proclamation number 13, August 18, 1936.

⁹ Presidencia de la Junta de Defensa Nacional. Decreto 108. *Boletín Oficial de la Junta de Defensa Nacional de España*, nº 22. Burgos, September 16, 1936.

With the war about to end in February 1939, the process was complete with the passage of the Law of Political Responsibilities and the Law for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism. The former law's authors, aware of the need to justify the outbreak of severe repression and to legitimize the military coup, extended the responsibility to all those who since October 1, 1934 had contributed "with grave acts or omissions to the forging of red subversion, to keeping it alive for more than two years and to obstructing the providential and historically inescapable triumph of the National Movement." This justification was rounded out in the preamble to the Law for the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism, which accused secret societies and international forces, such as liberalism and Marxism, for causing Spain's decadence and the wearing away of its foundations. Thus the Spanish state declared itself to be the victim of the "joint action of Freemasonry and the anarchizing forces, moved in turn by hidden international support," which it held responsible for "the loss of the colonial empire, the bloody War of Independence, the civil wars that laid waste to Spain during the nineteenth century, and the disturbances that hastened the fall of the constitutional Monarchy and undermined the period of Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship, as well as numerous crimes of State."¹⁰ These last two laws complemented each other in their repressive tasks, and in order to secure perfect coordination between them in April 1942 Wenceslao González Oliveros, who had been president of the National Court of Political Responsibilities since December 1940, was named vice-president of TERMC.¹¹

In Western Andalusia the first plundering, prompted by the Legionnaires and the regulars (Moroccan mercenaries), took place at the same time as the murders of known representatives of the trade unionist and political forces of the Left. This indiscriminate plundering was soon endorsed and encouraged by decrees dictated by the rebel military leaders. The aforementioned decree of September 13, 1936 made the process standard for the whole of "liberated" Spain. They also set in motion a repressive mechanism in which immediate economic interests converged with the political determination not to leave any "guilty" person unpunished. These

¹⁰ See the preambles to the Laws of February 9, 1939 on Political Responsibilities and of March 1, 1940 on the Repression of Freemasonry and Communism. *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, February 13, 1939, 324, y March 2, 1940, no. 62, 1537.

¹¹ BOE, December 25, 1940 and April 1, 1941. M. Álvaro Dueñas, "El decoro de nuestro aire de familia." Perfil político e ideológico de los Presidentes del Tribunal Nacional de Responsabilidades Políticas," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 105 (1999):147-73. BOE, December 25, 1940 and April 1, 1941.

decrees became antecedents of the main instruments of economic repression of the Francoist State: Franco's decree of January 10, 1937, and the Law of Political Responsibilities of February 9, 1939.

According to Franco's 1937 decree, both the courts of first instance could order the precautionary seizing of assets and the commanding officers of operational units were given sweeping powers to act against social or political institutions as well as individuals. These commanding officers could adopt measures to avoid concealment or disappearance of the assets of those who "by their actions were logically responsible, directly or indirectly, by action or inducement, for damages of all kinds, caused directly or as a consequence of their opposition to the triumph of the National movement."¹²

The avalanche of processes of seizure of assets initiated in "national territory" was of such proportions and the forms of seizure so chaotic that it became necessary to refine and standardize the process. A unified repressive machinery was created with the establishment of a Central Commission for the Administration of Assets Attached by the State and of the Provincial Commissions for the Seizure of Assets. The former was responsible for the investigation, inventory, occupation, and administration of the assets of the disaffected and of proscribed organizations. The Provincial Commissions were in charge of having the cases heard, issuing the pertinent report of civil responsibility, indicating the amount, and informing the respective general, who pronounced the sentence and fixed the economic amount of the responsibility with no possibility of further recourse.¹³

The Francoists' zeal for seizures soon exceeded the capabilities of the Provincial Commissions, which could not inventory and administer the seized assets because of lack of funding and personnel. These assets consisted of country and urban properties, household goods and animals, audits of bank loans, etc. The Commissions' proceedings were as follows. An investigating judge, a military officer, or a civil servant were appointed by the Provincial Commission. They had the authority to decree the precautionary seizing of the assets of those prosecuted who either had been executed or were in prison or in exile or in the Republican army. At the same time, the person in charge obtained information from the Francoist

¹² See especially articles 2–6 of Decreto 108.

¹³ A good analysis of the legislation on political responsibility can be found in Manuel Álvaro Dueñas, "*Por el ministerio de la ley ...*," especially in chapter 2, 65–121; Antonio Barragán Moriana, *Control social y responsabilidades políticas. Córdoba (1936–1945)* (Córdoba: El Páramo, 2009), 183–87.

mayor of the town, the local commander of the Guardia Civil post, and from persons close to the National Movement.

The task soon snowballed. There were provinces like Vizcaya, where a census classified the entire population into three groups: disaffected, adherents, and uncertain. The volume of assets under control was so great that in provinces like Toledo it amounted to half of the rural land. In 1939, the inability of the rural commissions to calculate the volume, condition, and value of the assets led the Seville Commission to state that "it was not possible to determine the volume of the assets seized, since in the respective cases there was no record of their value, the great majority being small holdings and many urban properties." The Commission added, "There is a great number of those denounced who have had a considerable capital seized, which is represented by rural and urban property whose amount cannot be determined either." In 1940, the Madrid Regional Court of Political Responsibilities affirmed that the Special Jurisdiction was on its way to becoming a "classic mortmain." More than 200,000 civil and mercantile credits were seized belonging to persons and firms established in Republican territory. This caused serious damage to the Francoist zone's own economy, to the point that the Bank of Spain itself requested that the investigations cease. But instead of limiting the seizures and facilitating the resolution procedures, the Francoist government, ignoring these internal warnings, decided instead to formulate a law that would extend political responsibilities.¹⁴

The February 1939 Law of Political Responsibilities made it quite clear that the nascent Francoist state conceived of a policy that included the absolute elimination and control of the enemy.¹⁵ The law's draconian nature aimed at finding as many crimes and guilty people as possible in order to further justify the army's July 1936 rebellion. This, among other things, meant finding new "criminals" as people as young as fourteen could be prosecuted. True to its totalitarian nature, the law was retroactive, punishing acts that dated as far back as October 1, 1934. Actions protected by the democratic Constitution of 1931 were now criminalized.

¹⁴ See Manuel Álvaro Dueñas, "*Por el ministerio de la ley ...*," 665–81.

¹⁵ The discussion of the bill, as Álvaro Dueñas tells it, reveals how the leaders of the Francoist state imposed their logic of repression on the sectors of the government that had drawn attention to the risks of a political purge that would affect tens of thousands of people. The Count of Rodezno, who was the Minister of Justice, unsuccessfully proposed that the law should be called "of civil reparations to the State" instead of "Political Responsibilities" because its main function would be to guarantee the reparation by means of economic penalties and not by punishing political criteria. "*Por el ministerio de la ley ...*," 87–90.

The Law of Political Responsibilities not only sought retribution for the defeated and justification for the victors. It also wanted to extract compensation for the damages to the fatherland. The extensive inventory of political and social groups whose assets reverted to the State included all of those associated with the Popular Front and the nationalist and regionalist parties and extended responsibility to the Masonic lodges and other associations that had contributed to "creating or aggravating subversion of all kinds, of which Spain was made the victim" and had opposed "the National movement with specific acts or with grave passivity":

Acción Republicana, Izquierda Republicana, Unión Republicana, Partido Federal, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Unión General de Trabajadores, Partido Socialista Obrero, Partido Comunista, Partido Sindicalista, Sindicalista de Pestaña, Federación Anarquista Ibérica, Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Acción Nacionalista Vasca, Solidaridad de Obreros Vascos, Esquerra Catalana, Partido Galleguista, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista, Ateneo Libertario, Socorro Rojo Internacional, Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña, Unión de Rabassaires, Acción Catalana Republicana, Partido Catalanista Republicano, Unión Democrática de Cataluña, Estat Catalá, all the Masonic lodges and any other entities, associations or parties affiliated or of a significance analogous to those expressed, subject to an official declaration of being, like those listed above, illegal.¹⁶

Individuals fared no better. The seventeen instances of personal responsibility scrutinized by the law were so broad and vague that any political or social conduct of a progressive nature or anyone suspected of not sympathizing with the National Movement could be prosecuted and fined. As a general rule, investigations were initiated into those who had been condemned by the military for having been an officer or affiliate of the proscribed parties beginning in October 1934, for having held a civil post after July 1936, for having been a candidate, delegate, representative, or disseminator of the ideas of the Popular Front, for being a member of the Freemasons, for having opposed the National Movement, for having remained abroad for two months after July 1936, or for being a director of a company that had given economic support to the propaganda of the Popular Front or of the government.¹⁷

The defeated were subjected to a justice whose totalitarian theory and few juridical scruples were made explicit in the following aspects: a) the retroactive character of the Law; b) the impossibility for the accused to use

¹⁶ *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*, BOE, February 13, 1939, article 2, 825.

¹⁷ The cases in which one could incur political responsibility appear in article 4 of the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*, 826–27.

any means of proof for his defense or appeal against judicial decisions; c) the establishment of clearly political courts, composed of military officers, Falangists, and career magistrates, where judgment of the facts and determination of the penalties was left to their discretion; and d) punishment lost its personal character, so that presumably responsible people who had already died could be accused, judged, and condemned, with the penalty falling on the family and their heirs.¹⁸ This last aspect represented a further burden for women, as their husbands were in prison or had been executed.

The semisecret nature of the proceedings made the defeated even more insecure. Postwar Spain featured a nearly invisible repressive machinery, with provincial, regional, and national courts in which there were no prisoner's docks. Everything was solved bureaucratically in a tangle of papers, where the process of opening an investigation, with denunciations and accusations, reports obtained from mayors, the Falange, the Guardia Civil, priests, and informers, was overwhelming. The economic penalties and punishment of disqualification, even loss of nationality, were efficient instruments of control, a lesson to the dissidents, a neutralizer of future opposition, and effective in demobilizing the populace. The preamble of the Law itself is unequivocal in this sense: it was necessary to liquidate the blame by helping the people "to erase past errors" and "nurture the firm intention not to go astray again."¹⁹

The avalanche of the more than 250,000 proceedings initiated in Spain overwhelmed the courts. For one thing, the frenetic activity of the military jurisdiction was incessantly sending the courts sentences of those convicted, and the massive arrival of accusations of diverse provenance, together with the inherited unresolved cases of seizure of assets, made it impossible to hear and resolve all the cases speedily because of lack of personnel and matériel means. The courts complained. This led the authorities to reform the law in 1942. The suppositions of responsibility were reduced for insolvents with a patrimony of less than 25,000 pesetas, for

¹⁸ On the juridical aspects of the Law see I. Berdugo Gómez de la Torre, "Derecho represivo en España durante los períodos de guerra y posguerra, 1936–1945," in *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Complutense* (Madrid, 1980): 97–128; J. Cano Bueso, *La política judicial del régimen de Franco* (Madrid: Centro de Publicaciones, Ministerio de Justicia, 1985); J. A. Martín Pallín and R. Escudero Alday, eds., *Derecho y Memoria Histórica* (Madrid: Trotta editorial, 2008), 38 ff.

¹⁹ C. Mir Curcó, C. Agustí, and J. Gelonch, eds., *Violencia i repressió a Catalunya durant el franquisme. Balanç historiogràfic i perspectives* (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2001), 31–34.

mere affiliates, for Freemasons not condemned by the TERMC, and for those whose sentence in military courts was less than six years.

The reform was carried out when the exemplary punishments had already been dictated against the main political and syndicalist leaders of the Republic. The presidents of the Republic, Niceto Alcalá Zamora and Manuel Azaña, had been fined 25 and 100 million pesetas respectively. Prime ministers Santiago Casares Quiroga, Francisco Largo Caballero, and Diego Martínez Barrio lost their entire estates. A fine of 100 million pesetas was imposed on Juan Negrín, 75 million on José Giral, and 15 million on Manuel Portela Valladares. The president of the Court of Exchequer, Álvaro de Albornoz y Limiana, was fined 100 million pesetas. The cabinet members who took office after 1936 received very diverse fines or suffered complete loss of their estates: the socialist Indalecio Prieto, 100 million, and Julio Álvaro del Vayo, Augusto Barcia Trelles, Marcelino Domingo, Carlos Esplá and Vicente Uribe, 25 million each. Other political leaders were also fined: Dolores Ibárruri (*Pasionaria*), 25 million, the socialist Luis Araquistáin, 15 million, Margarita Nelken, Pablo de Azcárate, the mayor of Madrid Pedro Rico, 10 million, the jurist Luís Jiménez de Asúa 8 million. According to Álvaro Dueñas, the approximate estimate of the total amount of the economic penalties imposed in Madrid by the Jurisdiction of Political Responsibilities came to 691 million pesetas. The great majority of these penalties against prominent leaders, except in the cases of seized property, were not executed because the condemned persons were in exile or had died, and because they were such exorbitant amounts, imposed with the knowledge that they could not be paid. The penalties that were paid, as we shall see in the case of Andalusia, were the infinite number of lesser economic penalties imposed on small property owners, farmers, skilled workers, and especially people connected with the liberal professions (lawyers, doctors, teachers, civil servants, architects, etc.).²⁰

What happened to the money from the fines and seizures? What was collected was deposited in the Bank of Spain and allotted to the Institute of Credit for National Reconstruction, created for the purpose of facilitating credits to local institutions, companies, and persons to enable them to deal with the repair of the infrastructure damaged during the war. The patrimony of the dissolved labor unions was allocated to the Organización Sindical (Trade Union Organization). The patrimony of housing

²⁰ Manuel Álvaro Dueñas provides various lists of names of the main penalties imposed in Madrid by the Jurisdicción de Responsabilidades Políticas in "*Por el ministerio de la Ley...*," 284–93.

cooperatives belonging to proscribed organizations and the economic buildings owned by persons who had been declared guilty were given to the National Institute of Housing.

Once the exemplary punishments had been dictated, in 1942 the attention of the Francoist dictatorship centered on the court cases that were pending resolution. The decrease in assumptions of responsibility, especially when the accused person's assets did not exceed 25,000 pesetas, resulted in a spectacular increase in the number of cases dismissed, especially those that affected farmers, day laborers, workers, and the lower middle classes. The dismissals did not imply absolution nor did they exempt the person prosecuted from blame. In fact, the civil governors disqualified many of them after their cases had been dismissed.

The Law of Political Responsibilities was repealed on April 13, 1945, at a difficult time for the regime. The defeat of the Axis powers gave rise to many doubts about its survival, and a law like this would not help to improve its image in the eyes of the victors. Francoism now considered "*completed in essence the attributed objective*," and established the Liquidating Commission, which ordered a generalized dismissal of the thousands of cases pending, although the execution of the penalties went on for a long time. It was not until 1966 that there was a general exemption from the unfulfilled penalties.

Although the studies on the economic repression of Francoism, to which the foregoing pages owe a great deal, point out the fundamental coordinates for interpreting it, its impact cannot be assessed until an investigation is undertaken of the functioning of the Provincial Commissions for the Seizure of Assets and of the actions of the Courts of Political Responsibilities in the various provinces and regions of Spain. The following material provides a preview of the research and shows the impact that the economic repression had in Andalusia.²¹

²¹ This research is not entirely new. Similar work has been done in diverse provinces such as Lleida, Madrid, Huesca, Vizcaya, Castellón, etc. See especially the valuable works by C. Mir, F. Corretgé, J. Farré, and J. Sagués, *Repressió econòmica i franquisme: L'actuació del Tribunal de Responsabilitats Polítiques a la província de Lleida* (Barcelona: Publicacions de L' Abadía de Montserrat, 1997); E. Franco Lanao, *Denuncia y represión en años de posguerra. El tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas en Huesca* (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 2005); Glicerio Sánchez Recio, *Las responsabilidades políticas en la posguerra española. El partido judicial de Monóvar* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1984); F. Sanllorente Barragán, *La persecución económica de los derrotados. El Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas de Baleares (1939–1942)* (Mallorca: Miquel Font, 2005); F. Peña Rambla, *El precio de la derrota "La Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas en Castellón, 1939–1945"* (Castellón: Servei de Comunicació i Publi. Universitat, Jaume 1, 2010). The research takes

Andalusia: The Toll of Defeat

Since the first day of the rebellion, the main military figure in the "liberated" Andalusian provinces, General Queipo de Llano, executed the instructions given by General Mola in April and June 1936 with a vengeance. These instructions were aimed at reducing the enemy numbers as quickly as possible and eliminating Communists, socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, Freemasons, etc. This is not the place for an in-depth study of the physical repression carried out in Andalusia from the outset of the war until the mid- 1940s. But it is important to present its general lines because it provides the context to understanding the extraordinary importance that physical repression acquired in the Andalusian provinces and how it mutually complemented economic repression.

In Andalusia about 50,000 executions by firing squad were executed by the Francoist side, as opposed to some 8,143 in the Republican zone between 1936 and 1945. While the figures on the Republican repression are fairly exact and are meticulously recorded by the Francoist-compiled General Cause, the data regarding the rebels' repression still presents significant gaps, which are continuously being filled in with new research. There is still incomplete information for the provinces of Cádiz, Málaga, and Granada. Of the approximately 50,000 executions that took place in this period, between 12 and 14 percent were carried out after the civil war. The great majority of the victims were murdered before any legal proceedings were initiated. The chart (see Figure 3.1) "Executions by firing squad in Andalusia general data (1936–1945)" indicates the distribution of the repression by provinces.

in the entire autonomous community of Andalusia, the most heavily populated in Spain, where the economic repression affected nearly 60,000 people. It has been undertaken with documentation not previously used, located in the provincial historical archives, the courts, the municipal archives, and in the Memory Archives in Salamanca, employing one methodology and a database in which, at this moment (halfway through the investigations) there are more than 300,000 entries. The first fruit of this research is the above-cited book by Antonio Barragán Moriana, *Control social y responsabilidades políticas. Córdoba (1936–1945)*, published in Córdoba in 2009. A preview of this research, corrected and amplified here, can be seen in F. Martínez López, "Los Tribunales de Responsabilidades Políticas en Andalucía". II Coloqui Internacional *La repressió franquista i la revisió jurídica de les dictadures* (Barcelona: Memorial Democràtic de Catalunya, June 2010). A preview of the case of Seville can be found in M. C. Fernández Albéndiz and A. López Villa, "La represión del pasado republicano: el Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas en la provincia de Sevilla," in *Comunicaciones al Congreso El republicanismo ayer y hoy. A propósito del centenario de Nicolás Salmerón y Alonso*, ed. F. Martínez López, and M. Ruiz García (Almería: Almería Universidad (ed. en CD-ROM), 2008), 178–204.

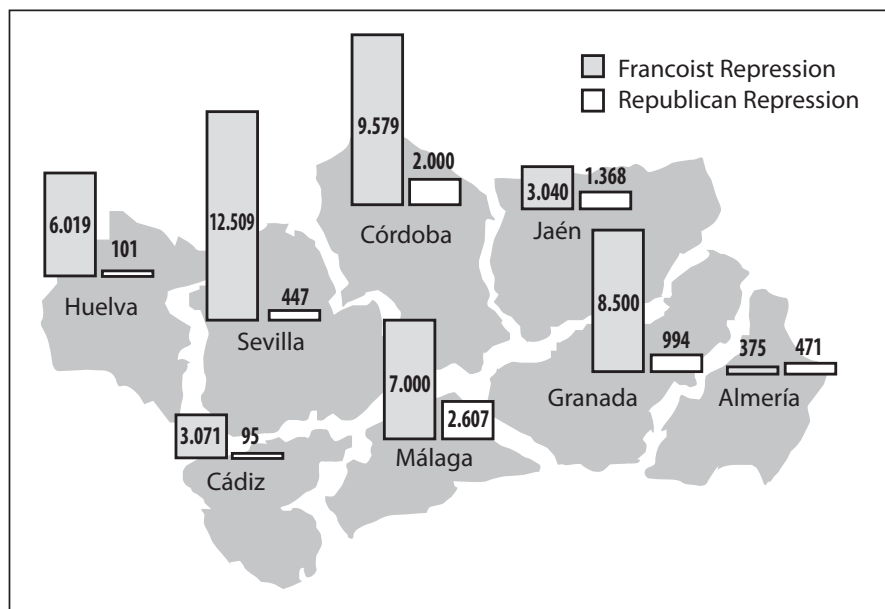


Figure 3.1. Executions by firing squad in Andalusia general data (1936–1945).

The shootings occurred in all the provinces, and on both sides, especially during the first months of the war. Numbers like those of Seville, where 12,509 victims were killed compared to the 447 executions carried out by the so-called “Marxist” repression, reflect the rebel band’s clear intent to kill from the outset of the civil war.²² In Córdoba the massacres carried out by the military insurgents started in July 1936, and totaled 9,579 victims, compared to the approximately 2,000 recorded in the areas of the province that remained in the hands of the Republic. In Granada, the actions of the army and related organizations resulted in about 8,500 deaths, as opposed to some 994 rightist victims. The Granada Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory is producing figures of between 8,500 and 12,000 killings committed by the Francoists, given the great number of people who disappeared. In Huelva, there were a hundred killings of rightists, and more than

²² Of these, 10,590 were killed in application of war sentences, 664 were executed by sentence of court-martial and 1,255 disappeared. Many of them appear in the official lists with the classification “X-2,” indicating that they had been shot. To all this can be added about 465 people who died in prison. The figures were provided by the Sevillian researcher José María García Márquez and are current as of January 31, 2010.

6,000 leftists. In the whole province of Cádiz fewer than a hundred rightists were killed, but the Francoist repression took more than 3,000 lives in just the capital and the towns bordering the bay. In Málaga leftist violence took the lives of 2,607 rightists during the more than six months that Málaga was controlled by the Popular Front government. After the conquest of the province in February 1937, Francoist repression, which has yet to be completely studied, took the lives of no less than 7,000 people. During the Civil War the leftists in Jaén killed some 1,368 people. At the end of the war in March 1939, the Francoists shot no fewer than 3,000 people. The province of Almería, as happened in Jaén, remained Republican during the war. There, 471 rightists fell victim to repression (not counting the people of Almería killed in the town of Turón in Granada). Almería was an exception because Republican repression was more extensive than Francoist repression, which killed 375 people.²³

The explanation for these 50,000 executions by the Francoist side in Andalusia can be found in the rebel authorities' own words. Queipo de Llano's war proclamations and his telegrams to the military commanders show their determination to exterminate their enemies:

The state of war is declared in the whole territory of this Division. The right to strike is strictly forbidden. Union leaders whose organizations go on strike or those in the said situation who do not return to work on time tomorrow will be prosecuted in a summary trial and executed.²⁴

I hereby state that having been informed of the intention of the slaughterer's union to go on strike, and as this conduct constitutes an attack on the purifying movement of the Spanish people, I decree the following: FIRST: In any union where there is a strike or abandonment of services that because of its importance could be considered as such, all those who form the directorship of the union, as well as the same number of its members, selected at discretion, will be executed immediately. SECOND: In view of the minimal compliance that there has been with my orders, I advise and resolve that any person who resists the orders of the Authorities or disobeys the directives of the Proclamations, published or to be published in the future, will also be executed without trial.²⁵

²³ For the state of the question of physical repression see F. Espinosa Maestre, "Informe sobre la represión franquista," in *La gran represión. Los años de plomo del franquismo (1939-1948)*, ed. M. Nuñez Díaz-Balart (Barcelona: Flor del Viento, 2009), 433-43. For the case of Almería, see Eusebio Rodríguez Padilla, *La represión franquista en Almería, 1939-1945* (Mojácar; Arráez, 2005).

²⁴ Edict of Major General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano declaring the state of war in the whole territory of his "Division," July 18, 1936.

²⁵ Telegram from Gonzalo Queipo de Llano, General-in-Chief of the Second Division to the Military Commander of Aznalcazar, July 23, 1936.

The rebels' policies reached big and small towns. The records of the heads of the Guardia Civil posts in small towns like El Arahál or Tocina are sufficiently eloquent to give the dimension of the figures provided for the repression in the province of Seville. In El Arahál, according to the report made on October 18, 1938, 415 people were executed (apart from those executed in Seville). About 100 people had escaped, the "Reds" had killed 24 and the number of people missing was unknown. In Tocina, a similar inventory on November 5, 1938 reported the execution of 125 people, as opposed to "murdered" by the "Red hordes." These numbers are sufficiently indicative of the magnitude of the repression in towns like El Arahál, with a little over 13,000 inhabitants, or in Tocina with a population of 5,200 inhabitants according to the 1940 census.

Where are the bodies of all these executed people? The latest research shows the existence of 620 mass graves in Andalusia (see Figure 3.2) scattered all over the region, in cemeteries and elsewhere, most of them are unmarked.²⁶ The greatest numbers of them are in the provinces of western Andalusia and Granada, which had been controlled by the rebels since July 1936, where the executions were massive and indiscriminate. The provinces of eastern Andalusia, divided between the two sides during the war, or in the Republican zone until the end of the war, have the smallest number of mass graves. Prominent among them all is the grave in the cemetery of San Rafael in Málaga, where researchers have found the remains of 2,840 bodies of the 4,471 persons killed there. Sometimes there are the graves but not the remains. Many mass graves were emptied or razed before researchers could work in them. This may explain why researchers have been unable to locate any human remains of the great mass grave in the cemetery of Seville, where there is a record of 3,034 unnamed burials between July 18, 1936 and February 28, 1937. Likewise, while we know that some 3,720 people

²⁶ The *Mapa de fosas de Andalucía* [Map of the Mass Graves in Andalusia, Seville, 2011] has been supervised by historians from the nine Andalusia universities coordinated by Fernando Martínez López. The project has been funded and sponsored by the Government of Andalusia. The local Associations of Historical Memory studied each of the region's provinces. Granada's Association for the Recovery of the Historical Memory (ARHM) was responsible of the study of the province of Granada; the Citizens' Forum for the Recovery of the Historical Memory conducted the study of the province of Córdoba; the Andalusia Association for Historical Memory and Justice took charge of the provinces of Seville, Cádiz and Huelva; and finally, the Association "War and Exile" was responsible for the provinces of Málaga, Jaén and Almería.

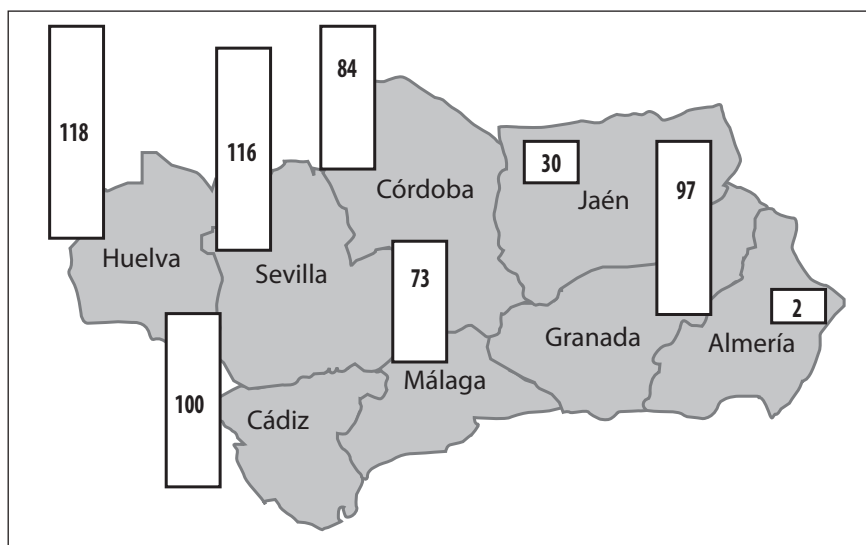


Figure 3.2. Map of the 620 mass graves in Andalusia, Seville, 2011.

were shot against the walls of the cemetery of San José in Granada, beginning on July 20, 1936, it has been impossible to find the victims' remains. The members of the victims' families hope to have it declared a historic site.

Parallel to the physical repression two other circles of repression were activated in Andalusia: the professional purges and the seizure of assets. The former is still the object of ongoing research. We already know, for example, that repression in the teaching profession in Andalusia affected 18 percent of its ranks,²⁷ and we know more about the latter circle of repression—the seizures of assets. Our initial estimates permit us to conclude that the plundering, robberies, and seizure of assets belonging to the so-called “Reds” ran parallel to the development of the uprising itself and to the first murders and executions. The indiscriminate character of the

²⁷ On the purge of teachers in Andalusia see, among others, M. Morente Díaz, “Sociedad y educación pública en Córdoba durante el primer franquismo (1936–1956)” (PhD diss., Universidad de Córdoba, 2009); M. C. Pozo Fernández, *La depuración del magisterio nacional de la ciudad de Málaga, 1936–1942* (Málaga: Diputación, 2001); M. Reyes Santana and J. J. De Paz Sánchez, *La represión del magisterio republicano en la provincia de Huelva* (Huelva: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputación Provincial, 2009); A. Sánchez Cañadas, “Masones maestros de Almería represaliados por la dictadura franquista,” in José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *La Masonería española. Represión y exilio* (Aragón: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 2011), 1037–50.

plundering led General Queipo de Llano to issue a battery of edicts of “confiscation of assets of rebels and Marxists” and of audits of bank loans to firms based in Catalonia, which began on August 18 and reached its peak on December 29, 1936.²⁸ The Army in Granada published similar edicts between August 24 and mid-November 1936.²⁹

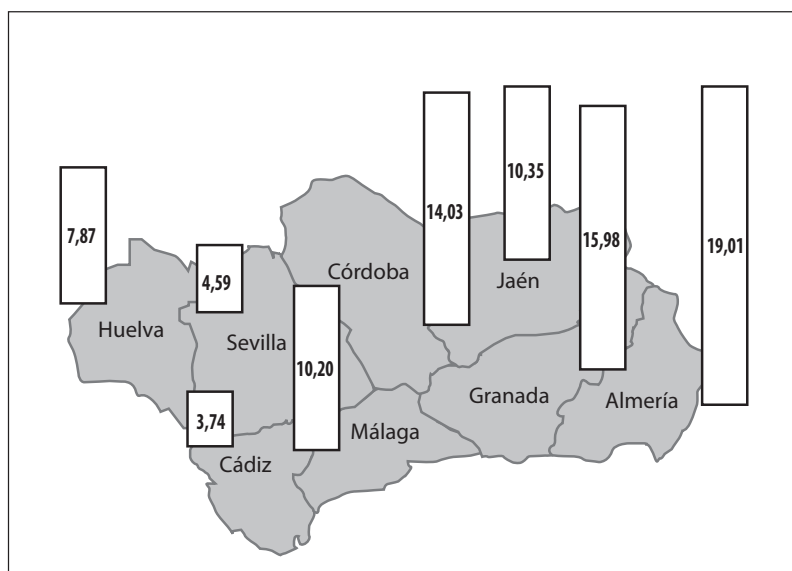
After Franco’s decree of January 10, 1937, the constitution of the Provincial Commissions for Seizure of Assets gave rise to the opening of more than 11,000 proceedings in the provinces of Cádiz, Huelva, Seville, and Málaga, and parts of Córdoba, Granada, and Jaén. Proceedings were initiated for proscribed parties and labor unions, workers’ societies, cultural centers, people’s cooperatives, the press, building commissions, and especially all those who, even remaining silent, were suspected of sympathizing with the Republican cause. The proceedings initiated in Andalusia usually justified the total or partial attachment or seizure of assets based on concepts such as “very bad record,” “dangerous socialist,” “having participated directly and closely in the Marxist political parties,” “escaped,” “having contributed effectively to the success of the Popular Front,” or in the case of women, based on “being more incorrigible regarding the ideas of socialism than her own husband” or “of leftist ideology like all her family,” etc.

The accumulation of a growing number and variety of seizures—urban and rural properties, household goods and furniture, livestock (barnyard, cart, and pack animals), cooperatives of workers’ homes, newspaper presses and their locales, union and party offices, cultural centers, etc.—overwhelmed the Provincial Commissions, which, as already been mentioned in the case of Seville, complained of not having the means to determine the volume or the value of the properties seized.³⁰ The situation worsened as the enforcement of the Law of Political Responsibilities in 1939 massively increased the number of cases in Andalusia. For the entire region, historians have been able to record the existence of 53,722 proceedings initiated between the Provincial Commissions for the Seizure of Assets (11,012) and the Courts of Political Responsibilities (42,710). Although there were overlaps, it can safely be said that ten of every thousand Andalusians were subjected economic repression (the average for Spain is around nine per mil) (see Figure 3.3).

²⁸ *Bandos y órdenes dictados por el Excmo. Señor D. Gonzalo Queipo de Llano y Sierra. General jefe de la Segunda División Orgánica y del ejército del Sur* (Seville, 1937), 15–16, 30–31.

²⁹ See L. Álvarez Rey: *Los diputados por Andalucía de la Segunda República. Diccionario Biográfico* (Seville: Fundación Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2009), 1:92.

³⁰ Archivo General de la Administración, Tribunal Nacional de Responsabilidades Políticas, Caja 385. Cited by Manuel Álvaro Dueñas, “*Por Ministerio de la Ley...*,” 69.



* 53,720 cases represent 10.22 ‰ (1940 census). Values in %.

Figure 3.3. Map of seizure of assets in Andalusia.

The distribution of cases by provinces was not uniform. A greater number of assets were seized in the western provinces—the fruit of Queipo de Llano's edicts. To this must be added the indiscriminate plundering in the early days of the Civil War. In these provinces, however, a much smaller number of proceedings for political responsibilities were opened. In Córdoba, which was divided between the two sides during the war, the number of cases of seizure of assets was about 4,408 and cases of political responsibilities came to 6,454, making a total of 10,862, which means that 14 proceedings were opened for every thousand inhabitants.³¹ In the province of Málaga, after the fall of its capital in February 1937, an overwhelming number of proceedings of seizure were initiated, which increased slightly after the war, reaching a figure of more than ten for every thousand inhabitants. According to the preliminary results of our research, the number of proceedings initiated in the province of Jaén was very similar, although the great majority of them were cases of political responsibilities, since a large part of its territory remained in Republican hands during the

³¹ A. Barragán Moriana, *Control social y responsabilidades políticas. Córdoba (1936-1945)* (Córdoba: El Páramo, 2009), 161, 259. Nearly 1,289 persons were subjected to proceedings of seizure and responsibilities, roughly about 12 for every thousand inhabitants.

war. The number of proceedings opened in Granada was greater—16 for every thousand inhabitants. where the seizures of assets in the zones controlled by the rebel army were mixed with the massive postwar initiation of proceedings for political responsibilities. In the province of Almería there were no seizures of assets because it remained in Republican hands until the end of the war. Nevertheless, the zeal shown in the accusations made by the Francoist authorities of Almería during the first postwar years resulted in the number of proceedings initiated for political responsibilities being Andalusia's highest, reaching nearly twenty for every thousand inhabitants.

The impact of the purging of political responsibilities is different depending on the size of the cities or towns. In the big cities of Andalusia the number of people prosecuted is clearly smaller than the average for Andalusia. Therefore, the effect of this repression was less noticeable. In communities of 6,000 to 15,000 inhabitants the percentage is higher than the average for Andalusia. The small communities, nevertheless, felt the greatest impact, where everyone knew everyone else. Here the process of economic repression affected more than twenty people for every thousand inhabitants. There were towns like Turre in the province of Almería or the mining zone of La Carolina in Jaén where nearly half of the men were prosecuted.

Andalusia: A Society under Suspicion

The edicts and the legislation concerning political responsibilities could be applied to almost all of the members of the 1936 Parliament and to the great majority of members-elect in the Second Republic, but they could also be applied without much difficulty to a considerable part of Andalusian society, whose political sympathies for the Republican parties and for the workers' Left had been clear since 1931. Every trial started with the prior accusations that could come from the Military Courts, from the TERMC in the case of the Freemasons, from the military and civil authorities, from the Falange, from the Courts of Political Responsibilities themselves, or from any private person. In the case of Andalusia, the accusations came mainly from the Guardia Civil and the military courts. The Francoist mayors were also diligent in accusing their leftist fellow townsmen. The military commanders were responsible for dealing with most of the accusations and the control of the cases of seizure of assets. The Andalusian Masons suffered the accusations of the TERMC and the Information Service of the Military Police, which in its special "hunt for the Freemasons" drew up

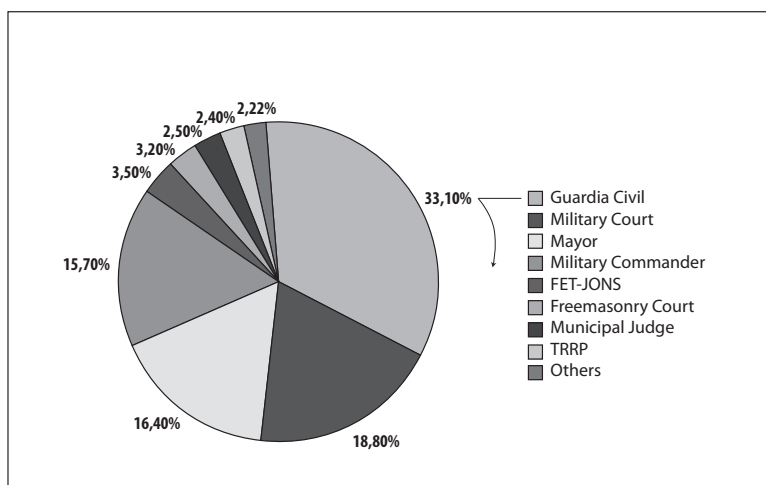


Figure 3.4. Accusations made before the Court of Political Responsibilities.

blacklists. The task of making accusations was mainly given to representatives of the civil and military institutions, but charges made by members of the Falange, local judges, Courts of Political Responsibilities, and even private persons completed the picture of accusations and denunciations (see Figure 3.4).

The assumptions of responsibility for which proceedings were initiated against Andalusian men and women were, in the first place, for having been condemned by military courts (51 percent), second, for being officials or members of the parties of the Popular Front or having represented them (37 percent), third, for having held governmental offices (6 percent), fourth, for having made economic contributions to the Popular Front or having been an officer of a state-owned company (4.54 percent), fifth, for having been members of Parliament for the Popular Front (in this case all those who were alive and a great many of those executed were charged), and finally, for being a Freemason. There are other assumptions, such as having remained in Gibraltar more than two months after July 18, 1936.

Once the proceedings were initiated, the investigating judge set in motion all the repressive totalitarian machinery, in which denunciation played an important part. Publicity was given in the official bulletins of the provinces announcing that anyone who had knowledge of the conduct and assets of the accused should give evidence, with the reminder that neither his death, his absence, nor his failure to appear would detain the

proceedings and the verdict. If the accused was present, the charges were read to him and he was given five days to present exculpatory evidence. Within eight days he would have to present a sworn declaration of his assets and those of his spouse. From that moment his assets were frozen and an amount was fixed that he could have to maintain his family. If he was the owner of a commercial business, an auditor was appointed to inspect the accounts, and if it was suspected that there was concealment of assets or if their value was great, a precautionary attachment of assets was ordered. At the same time, the investigating judge collected information from the Guardia Civil, the mayors, the Falange, the police, the military information service, and the parish priests on the political record and economic situation of the accused. When the investigation was completed, it was sent to the Regional Court of Political Responsibilities, which examined it and dictated the verdict. If the accused was found guilty, he had twenty days to pay the total amount of the penalty or pay it in installments. If this was not done, the assets were seized.³²

The reports submitted during this whole process constitute a rich source for the study of the conduct of the Guardia Civil, the mayors, the Falangists, and the Church with regard to the repression. A common ideological pattern and certain mutual codes of repressive language are present in the reports. They put emphasis on a Marxist past, on criminal acts, and on attacks on the Catholic Church, and there is a systematic identification of Marxists and leftists with mental disorder. The most common descriptions are "a Red," "dangerous element," "extremist," "propagandist for the Red party," "important revolutionary," "committed abuses and outrages," "criminal," "incendiary," "destroyer of churches." On the other hand, when the intention is to exonerate, the attenuating circumstances could be: being a "person of order," "did not commit abuses," having helped the Right in the February 1936 elections and, especially, being a person "of profound religious ideals."

The conduct of the parish priests in the small towns was crucial. As Conxita Mir has pointed out, "the parish priests, from their privileged position of experts in knowing the smallest details of the daily life of the villagers, became necessary agents of the Francoist justice, on the same level as the municipal governments or the local Falangist leaders." Actually, the Catholic Church, thanks to the Law of Political Responsibilities, was turned into a para-police investigative agency, and the conduct of the

³² *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*, Title III, articles 35 to 77. BOE, 13 February 1939, 834-44.

priests in the towns of Andalusia was very similar to that of the other authorities, there being minimal resistance to inform against the accused on the part of those parish priests who had not been in those towns during the war, or a petition for a pardon if the convicted person was to be executed. In their reports we find judgments like the following: "his moral conduct is terrible," "a consummate idler, he is in the confidence of the Red leaders," "a Red, committed crimes of all kinds, including destruction of the Church." Wrath and vengeful resentment are sometimes vented in expressions that reveal fury, such as "canalla" (rabble, scum), "criminal," "incendiary." During and after the civil war the Church in Andalusia was implicated in the repression to the point of staining its reputation. There is no doubt that the persecution and the memory of its martyrs fueled rancor instead of pardon, but at the same time, as Julian Casanova has written, the authoritarian outcome represented by Francoism "turned back, with the stroke of a pen, the important gains of laicism before the military coup of July 1936, and gave it the greatest hegemony and monopoly that it could have dreamed of."³³

Andalusia: Who Suffered Economic Repression?

For the analysis of economic repression we will use as a reference gender and marital status, professional situation, and political and union affiliation. With respect to the gender and marital status of the indicted, the preview of our research indicates that 95.3 percent were men and 4.7 percent women. Two-thirds were married, 21.2 percent were unmarried, and 5.2 percent were widowed. If we consider the women prosecuted, we find that, in the first place, there were few trials, which reflects the scarce participation of women in politics, although the repression of this jurisdiction had a devastating effect on them and their families: the freezing of assets, the precautionary attachment of assets or the fines were a serious reason for anxiety and despair for many families, made even worse by the imprisonment, execution, or exile of the head of household. Second, it is known that the majority of the women indicted were convicted by a court-martial. Half of them were between 18 and 35 years old, the largest number around age 24, which points up the entrance of young women into the

³³ See C. Mir Curcó, *Vivir es sobrevivir. Justicia, orden y marginación en la Catalunya rural de posguerra* (Barcelona: Milenio, 2000), 191; J. Casanova, "Una dictadura de cuarenta años," in *Morir, matar, sobrevivir. La violencia en la dictadura de Franco*, ed. J. Casanova, F. Espinosa, C. Mir, and F. Moreno Gómez (Barcelona: Crítica, 2002), 33–41.

political life of the Republic, which, among other things, had given them the right to vote and recognized them as citizens.³⁴ Third, the informants' descriptions of these women are significant: "the individual in question was a Communist of the first order, belonged to the Popular Front, confiscated clothing and equipment from the nuns' school"; "inflexible propagandist for the Marxist regime," "is very talkative and sympathizes with the Red cause"; "sympathizes with the reds, a lot of talk with no culture"; "talkative without knowing what she is talking about; sympathized with the Reds"; "enthusiastic Communist with evil instincts," "leftist and a Red" or "revolutionary who persecuted orderly persons." These reports are of great importance for future studies on women. The use of the descriptive *habladora* (talkative) applied to the women of the Left in contrast with the virtue of silence and the modesty traditionally identified with women is revealing. Although some women were penalized, most of the cases against them were dropped.

The socio-professional profile of those prosecuted reflects the socioeconomic situation of Andalusia and the rural sectors' support of the Republic. The primary sector had the greatest number of people indicted (64 percent) and the jurisdiction acted especially against the day workers. The world of the trained worker and the trades, present to a lesser degree in Andalusia, was also the victim of severe reprisals (22 percent). And a tertiary sector, still small in Andalusia, especially people of the liberal professions, of the world of education (21 percent of the sector) and salaried and administrative workers, takes on singular importance. The most important economic penalties were imposed on this last sector, since it had the monetary capacity to pay the fines.³⁵

The political and union affiliations of the indicted (see Figure 3.5) shows clearly the very strong presence of the Socialist UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores) current in Andalusia and the importance of the National Federation of Farm Workers. Close to 60 percent of the cases correspond to members of the PSOE (38.8 percent) and the UGT (24.7 percent), followed at some distance by the Anarcho-Syndicalist CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) (10.6 percent). The comparison with the number of UGT members prosecuted indicates the lesser degree of implantation of

³⁴ Mary Nash, *Rojas. Las mujeres republicanas en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Santillana, 1999); Sofía Rodríguez López, *Mujeres en guerra. Almería, 1936–1939* (Sevilla: Arráez, 2003).

³⁵ See Óscar Rodríguez Barreira, "Una Ley que no quiere llevar miseria a los hogares ... El Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas en Almería", in *Historia y Memoria. Todos los nombres, Mapa de Fosas y actuaciones de los Tribunales de Responsabilidades políticas en Andalucía*, ed. M. Gómez Oliver and F. Martínez López (Almería: Editorial Universidad de Almería, 2007).

the CNT in Andalusia, which, nevertheless, had a strong presence in Seville, Cádiz, Córdoba, and Málaga. Although the Law of Political Responsibilities did not penalize members of the unions, a study of the records of proceedings totally contradicts the Francoist legislation, as the investigating judges admitted many accusations solely on the basis of a person's being a member of a workers' society or a labor union. The Communists (PCE) appear with a 7.2 percent of the cases, most of them in the Andalusian provinces and regions of Córdoba and Almería, which remained under Republican control and where the Communists experienced an extraordinary growth during the war. The Unified Socialist Youth also fell prey to the repression, with 3.5 percent of the proceedings. The most heavily punished of the Republican parties was the Republican Left, with 8.22 percent, a higher percentage than the PCE. Actually, this Exceptional Jurisdiction acted with great harshness against the members of Manuel Azaña's moderate, center-left party, people of the liberal professions, teachers, craftsmen, or owners of small businesses, who accounted for a great part of the medium fines that were paid. The moderate Unión Republicana, with 2 percent, was also, without doubt, kept in the sights of the investigating judges. In spite of its low percentage, it is nevertheless important, given the recent creation of the party led by Diego Martínez Barrio.

The elite of the Republican and workers' Left were the preferred target of these Exceptional Courts. The purging of political responsibilities reached the farthest corners of Andalusia and the great majority of the

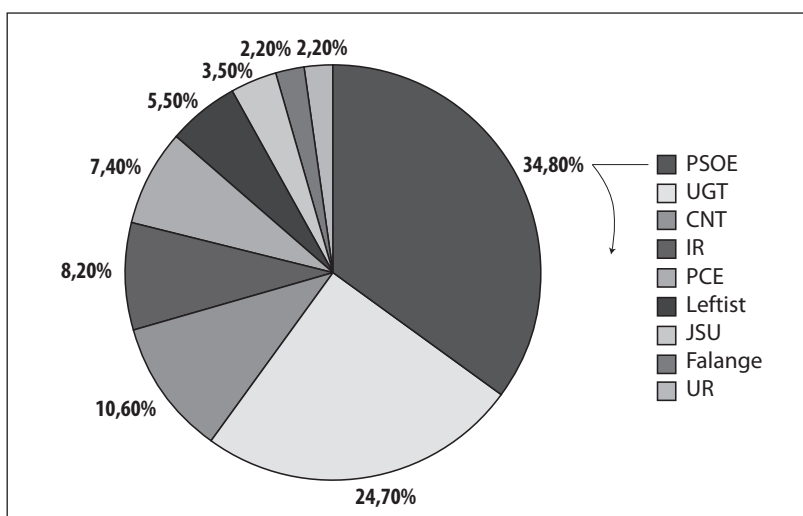


Figure 3.5. Political and trade union affiliation graph.

Popular Front parliamentary representatives, mayors, deputy mayors, and town councilors were indicted. The parliamentary representatives received the heaviest fines and the total or partial seizure of their assets. Among these, the leaders of the PSOE were the main objects of the reprisals. Nevertheless, after 1945, the Liquidating Commission dismissed a considerable number of their cases because their assets did not exceed 25,000 pesetas. The leaders of Republican Left and Republican Union, with very heavy fines, followed them. However, the proceedings initiated against the Radical Republicans, whose party was not proscribed, were generally dismissed. It is most important to note that parliamentary representatives of Derecha Liberal Republicana, like Niceto Alcalá-Zamora or José Centeno González, whose party was not included in the Law of Political Responsibilities either, were put on trial.

In the analysis of the political connections there appears a revealing fact whose numbers may decrease at the end of our investigation: the initiation of proceedings against 2.2 percent of the members of Falange Española y de las JONS. They were councilmen of the Republican municipal governments of the first biennium who later passed to the parties of the right or to the Falange itself. This demonstrates clearly that the retroactive character of October 1, 1934 stipulated by the Law was systematically violated by investigating judges, who initiated proceedings, with all that that entailed, including precautionary freezing of assets against anyone who had belonged to the proscribed parties at any time. Others were indicted in the Courts of Political Responsibilities as a consequence of the accusations of the "camisas viejas" (old guard), of the Falange, who could not tolerate the idea that the newcomers, militants in their day of Republican parties like the Radical Republican Party, the labor unions, or even the CEDA, should hold important positions in the local or provincial Francoist institutions. This is one more side of the battles for power, in early Francoism, between the "old" and the "new" Falange, coming from the traditional rightist parties, now Fascist in nature, which represents a clear utilization of the resorts of the Law to provoke that confrontation. Absolution or dismissal was common to all members of the Falange.

Conclusion: The "Spoils" of War

It is practically impossible to quantify the sum total of the plundering and the indiscriminate seizures of the first moments of the war. Among other reasons, the lacunae in the documents in a large part of the 11,000 cases

with seizure of assets (of some there are only incomplete references in the provincial Official Bulletins) do not allow, at the present time, a precise valuation of its extent. The variety of assets seized, movables, real estate, and livestock, means that their destination was varied. The movables were stored, left in the hands of depositaries, or sold at public auction, with the proceeds being deposited in the Bank of Spain to the account of the Central Commission for Administration of Attached Assets. The sale at auction of movables frequently appears in the trial records in the following way: "There took place the sale of the movable effects seized from indicted person, consisting of a chest of drawers, a dressing table, a bed, six chairs, a child's bed, a cot and a table, which went to a resident of this city ... for 79 pesetas, the same amount as its assessed value."³⁶

The animals remained in judicial deposit in the hands of some resident of the place until they were auctioned. For example, the entire assets of the Socialist mayor of the town of Benacazón in Seville, José Ortiz Garrido, executed in application of the war edict, were seized and disposed of as follows: "Inventory. Livestock: 2 mules, a mare, a sow and 5 month-old piglets ... At the auction, held in 1938, of the livestock held in judicial deposit ... 1850 pesetas were obtained."³⁷

The real estate was disposed of in different ways: in some cases the properties were auctioned, and in others they were rented, with the earnings being deposited in the Bank of Spain. Just as in the other cases above, there are hundreds of proceedings that affected missing and/or executed persons, small farmers, day laborers, craftsmen, people of the liberal professions, mayors, councilmen, and parliamentary representatives. Information like the following is frequently found in the case records: "To be auctioned, a house located on ... Street; the amount of 2,125 pesetas serves as the type for this first auction," or others, such as "Control is taken of the furniture and house belonging to the accused, is appointed depositary and administrator, the house and the furniture are auctioned for the amount of 7,500 pesetas, the buyer being"³⁸

³⁶ This refers to Benito Marín Sánchez, founder of the Partido Republicano Federal of Lebrija, to whom the edict of war was applied and who was executed. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, 4571, Exp. 6421.

³⁷ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, 741, Exp. 6468.

³⁸ In other cases we find a total seizure of assets and also the corresponding fine, as happened to the pharmacist from Antequera, Juan Villodres Cano, a follower of Martínez Barrio, executed when the troops entered the city, his goods were seized and he was fined 15,000 pesetas. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Málaga, Caja 2827.

For now we know the extent of the freezing of credits in the province of Córdoba, thanks to the work of Antonio Barragán. It affected extensively the debts contracted with companies based in Catalonia. Several hundred private firms, especially commercial, industrial, and financial entities in Córdoba, deposited the amount of their debts in a branch of the Bank of Spain, an amount which, according to the Provincial Commission for the Seizure of Assets, reached 2,713,800 pesetas as of June 30, 1939, when the process of reimbursement of credits to entities that fulfilled the requirements of loyalty and adhesion to the National Cause had already begun.³⁹

After February 1939, the Courts of Political Responsibilities inherited the unresolved cases of seizure of assets and all the proceedings in course that had been conducted by the Provincial Commissions for the Seizure of Assets. This meant initiating new proceedings against those who had had their assets attached or their goods confiscated, rented, or deposited in the hands of third parties. These cases, submitted to the new process stipulated by law, had very diverse results, as in some cases, especially after the modification of the Law in 1942, there were dismissals and the return of assets seized because the properties did not reach a value of 25,000 pesetas. In other cases those indicted preferred to pay the fines imposed by the Courts of Political Responsibilities so that their assets could be returned.

The reimbursements were made variously. It was difficult to reclaim goods sold at auction; rented properties or those left on deposit were more easily recovered, sometimes with a complement of money in cash from rental or the equivalent of the profits from crops sold during the time the property was attached. It is usual to find records of proceedings and decrees such as the following: "Reimbursement of goods attached except for the animals, which were sold," "An order is hereby given for reimbursement to the heirs of all the goods and 471.26 pesetas earned from the rental," or "Cancellation of the seizures executed is hereby decreed, except for the automobile, whose loss was declared in a sentence of the Court of Political Responsibilities." There are frequent cases in which family members maintained a permanent claim for their property, with more or less good fortune, especially after having obtained a pardon in the 1950s or early 1960s.

Among the penalties provided for by the Law of Political Responsibilities—exile, professional disqualification, fines, and total or partial loss

³⁹ Antonio Barragán offers an extensive list of the companies claiming reimbursement, 54 percent of which were based in Catalonia.

of assets—there were very few cases of exile in Andalusia, fewer than a hundred, and disqualifications of between two and ten years were on a par with the economic penalties. With respect to these last, they could be exemplary, in the millions, or with partial or total loss of assets, especially in the case of parliamentary representatives.⁴⁰

In any case, the most common penalties that most proliferated were those for small amounts, which in general were paid. They may seem small, but it should not be forgotten that a patch of land that provided food for a family could cost some 100 pesetas and a worker's house in an Andalusian town could run from 300 to 500 pesetas. For this reason, the amounts shown in the chart were very important for the families. And if the breadwinner was in prison or executed the women had to pay the fines or have their goods seized. The most frequent fines ran between 100 and 3,000 pesetas, the greatest number being in the range of 150 to 250 pesetas. They were usually accompanied by disqualifications of between three and eight years for fines of 100 to 500 pesetas. Most of the economic penalties were imposed between 1939 and 1942⁴¹ (see Figure 3.6).

After the modification of the Law in 1942 and especially once it was repealed in 1945, a very large number of proceedings were dismissed. They amount to 60 percent of all the cases (77 percent in Madrid). At first sight one might think that this Exceptional Jurisdiction failed as a repressive instrument. But perhaps it is necessary to reconsider this, because the dismissals came after the exemplary punishments had been dictated against the emblematic figures of the Popular Front in Andalusia. Furthermore, dismissal did not exempt one from the administrative penalty, since the presidents of the provincial high courts informed the civil governor, who usually imposed penalties of disqualification. In provinces

⁴⁰ See L. Álvarez Rey, *Los diputados por Andalucía ...*, Vol. I., 140-148; A. Barragán Moriana, *Control social y responsabilidades políticas...*, 297-309; M. Gómez Oliver, *José Palanco Romero. La pasión por la Res Pública* (Granada: Editorial de la Universidad de Granada, 2007); F. Martínez López. M. Ruiz García, "La masonería andaluza ante los Tribunales de Responsabilidades Políticas...", 1607-1640.

⁴¹ In Córdoba the economic penalties after the modification of the law came to 23 percent, absolvatory sentences 3.5 percent, and dismissals 73.3 percent. A. Barragán Moriana, *Control social y responsabilidades políticas*, 289.

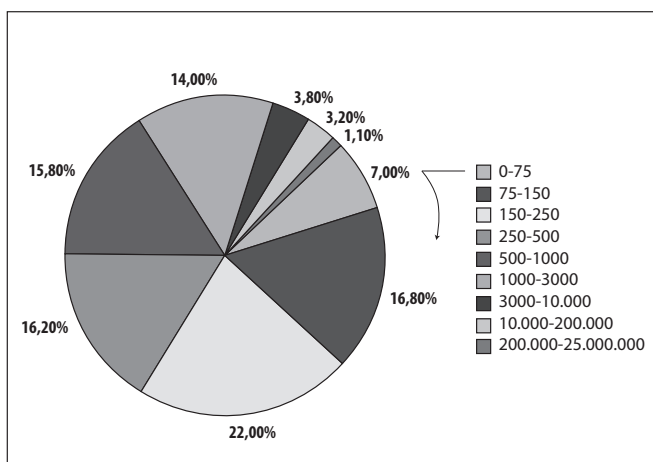


Figure 3.6. Pecuniary sentences.

like Almería there is a file of penalties imposed by the governor on people whose cases had been dismissed, which constituted a real “index of Reds.” The modification of the Law in 1942 provided for the dismissal of proceedings against those insolvent or with modest incomes, simple party members, or those whose sentences were less than six years in length. Finally, as has been pointed out, it must be kept in mind that the mere initiation of proceedings of political responsibility constituted, in itself, a repressive action.

The Andalusian Masons—some 6,000 in the twentieth century—“the cause of all of Spain’s misfortunes,” also suffered a fourfold repression: they were tried by martial court, more than 90 percent of them were sentenced by the TERMC to between nine and thirty years of confinement, they were judged by the purging commissions for their respective professions and their assets were seized or they were fined by the Courts of Political Responsibilities, with proceedings even being initiated against Masons who had died in the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth.⁴²

To sum up, we can conclude, just as Conxita Mir and her team do in the case of Lleida, that the Jurisdiction of Political Responsibilities constituted an efficacious instrument of social control and admonition and that the

⁴² The same research team is doing the study of the repression of Andalusian Freemasonry in two projects directed jointly from the University of Almería and the Hispalense of Seville, and financed by the Consejería de Justicia e Interior of the Junta de Andalucía.

economic penalties, including those of small amounts, could represent a severe punishment. When most of the population of Andalusia was struggling just to stay alive, fear of an economic penalty became a very efficient weapon. The Francoist regime, with this type of repression, provided itself with an instrument for punishment that was, because of its extension, collective, socially effective, and long-lasting. Moreover, beyond its economic function, it contributed to the marginalization and social exclusion of the defeated, and impinged on the personal and social relations of the postwar period, especially in the small towns where the victims of the reprisals and their families had to live side by side with the informers.⁴³

Although it is true that the huge repressive machinery proved to be an unwieldy and inefficient instrument for obtaining the desired economic objective, it should not be forgotten that the purging of political responsibilities was applied in Andalusia mainly to practically insolvent farmers, day laborers, and workers who had suffered executions, imprisonment, seizures, and attachments of their small possessions during the civil war, and little more could be had from them in a monetary sense. Nor should the massive dismissal, but not absolution, applied to those whose economic capacity was not over 25,000 pesetas, hide the fact that initiation of proceedings represented in itself a punishment because of the uncertainty created in the families with regard to their possessions and especially because of the prior freezing of their assets, maintained until a sentence was dictated four or five years later.

This is a repression that thousands of Andalusians suffered in silence. It left barely a tangible mark, except on the accused and on those closest to them, who did not often speak of it.⁴⁴ It was a silent yet dreadful repression in which the indicted did not sit in the prisoner's dock before the bench, but simply presented their declarations of assets and debts to a court (if they were not dead or had gone into exile). They knew that behind their backs information was being gathered from authorities and informers on their political and union affinities, their political activities and their economic situations. And they knew that some distant judge would dictate sentences of seizure of assets or fines or disqualification or exile, which would be added to the sentences of death or imprisonment that they endured and which in the final analysis their families would have to

⁴³ C. Mir Curcó, F. Corretgé, J. Farré, and J. Sagués, *Repressió econòmica i franquisme...*, 13, and 355–56.

⁴⁴ See M. Richards, *Un tiempo de silencio. La Guerra Civil y la cultura de la represión en la España de Franco, 1936–1945* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1998).

contend with. This efficient, invisible repression was borne by more than ten of every thousand Andalusians, considered responsible for the decadence of the Patria because of having exercised the right to express their ideas, support Republican parties of the Left, aspire to a secular society, or be a leader of a union or a democratic organization.

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PART TWO

PAST IMPERFECT: GENDER ARCHETYPES IN RETROSPECT

THE BATTLE TO DEFINE SPANISH MANHOOD

Nerea Aresti

The Spanish civil war was fought on many fronts. The evolution of gender relations during the twenties and early thirties awoke fears and uncertainties among vast sectors of the population, particularly the most conservative who were very alarmed as they perceived a threat to social stability, moral order, and sacred institutions: family, religion, and nation unity. For the rebel generals in July 1936, the war meant, among other things, the search for an authoritarian solution to this threat to traditional institutions but theirs was also a strong attempt to restore gender order. The present paper follows the interpretation of historian Mary Nash, to “include gender fissures, real or imagined, in the recent historiographical analysis to show the complexity of ‘a society beset by many internal fault lines.’”¹ More specifically I will analyze the discourses that built the ideal “Spanish man” rooted in different ideological positions in the two asides of the conflict, and pay special attention to the model constructed in the ranks of the national faction. As was the case with other dimensions of the war, there was no homogeneity within each faction with regard to the ideal masculinity. In the rebel faction, the self-proclaimed nationalists, there were also many views of what the virile archetype of the nation ought to be. The war served as a battleground for the confrontation of ideals on virility that had been building up during the previous republican period and that can only be interpreted in the framework of gender instability characteristic of the roaring twenties worldwide.

The Twenties and the Projects to Restore Gender Order

The First World War initiated a phase of anxiety in gender relationships in Europe that reached even a neutral country such as Spain. The deeply rooted conviction of masculine superiority, a source of comforting certainty for many, suffered a deep blow in the post war era. As José Francos Rodríguez, a physician and liberal democrat pointed out: “After the heroic acts of women, who would dare to assume today that they are inferior to

¹ Mary Nash, “Mujeres en guerra: repensar la historia”, in *La guerra civil española*, coord. Julián Casanova and Paul Preston (Madrid: Editorial Pablo Iglesias, 2008), 67.

men?"² Furthermore, the twenties brought about images of ambiguity, which challenged the limits between sexes. The desire to return to the stability under threat was captured in ambitious projects destined to redefine sexual difference, thus producing an extraordinary proliferation of proposals to restore gender order. Among these restoration projects, and due to the repercussion that they were to have in the context of the civil war, I will refer to two of them. First, I will explain the basic ideas of the liberal proposal, accepted by Left-winged ranks. Second, I will examine the most important features of the project set forth by the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923–30) aimed at restoring "national masculinity."

In the years that followed the Great War, many middle class professionals, liberal in their majority (though some socialists and anarchists also contributed to this debate), many men and some women, doctors and biologists, lawyers, jurists, journalists and authors, joined the voices of the new secular moralists. Modern rhetoric tended to abandon the idea of the inferiority of women and described the sexes as radically different but complementary. It is not necessary to point out that this vision involved a radical dualism that contained a renovated hierarchical relationship between the sexes. However, the changes not only affected the discursive terrain. Relying on science, now considered as an infallible instrument in the knowledge of human nature, social scholars aspired to intervene on society as a whole. With regard to men, this goal was to end some wrongs considered as endemic such as: paternal irresponsibility, "mercenary love," adultery, gambling and drinking, and the absence of male self-control leading to womanizing. Through education as well as through the civilizing effect of suitable legislation, men would learn to be more "manly" and women would discover the meaning of their "real femininity."

The dissemination of the new ideal of masculinity took shape in the struggle against the figure of the womanizer. For the new moralists, it represented an outdated, obsolete masculinity, undeserving of representing a Spanish national type. It was necessary to eradicate that model, so deeply rooted in society, history, and tradition. Regarded as a "great fraud" by Doctor Gregorio Marañón,³ main architect of this discursive renovation, that model should be relinquished along with the concept of its being the ideal "true masculinity." The most effective way of dethroning that "low class myth" was, not surprisingly, its feminization. The theories of Marañón with respect to Don Juan and his lack of sexual definition were cited and

² José Francos Rodríguez, *La mujer y la política española* (Madrid: Pueyo, 1920), 177.

³ Gregorio Marañón, "Psicopatología del donjuanismo," *El Siglo Médico* 73 (1924): 273.

recreated to thousands of times. They were even taken to the artistic realm. For example, an Elías Salaverría painting in 1927 inspired by the theories of Marañón was described in the press is useful to note as it brings us closer to Marañón's medical-biological characterization of the Don Juan myth:

a degenerate, wearing his hair almost in a chignon, about to put the fingertip of his left index finger on his lower lip, almost donning ballerina skirts.

Every successful actor that concurs with this, if he wants to show his integrity and artistic honesty, when playing Don Juan must relinquish the role of the womanizer to the star actress.⁴

In contrast with this fatally feminized image, the proposed model was a monogamous, self-controlled man, hardworking and austere, an archetype associated with the ideas of progress, modernity, and civilization. The Anglo-Saxon male, sober and temperate, appeared frequently as reference. The context of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1923–30) was not, however, the most auspicious for putting into practice this ambitious reform program. Furthermore, the regime had its own views as to what the solution should be to the fears and anxieties typical of a moment plagued by uncertainties. Although the fundamental goal of the gender policies of General Primo de Rivera aimed more at the control and domination of the female body, a reform program destined to the restoration of what was understood as “national masculinity” also existed. The central idea that inspired this project was that society was engulfed in a climate of moral relaxation, increasing sensuality, and degradation. That climate of degeneration posed an important challenge to his regime. In the words of José María Pemán, an intellectual supporter of the dictator, this state of things undermined the entire social order because of its familiar foundations. Thus it proposed,

The defense of public morality attacked at present by continuous assaults in the street, in the entertainment field, in books, forces the State to [apply] intense and active policies.⁵

In addition, the Catholic Church, as a firm pillar of the Primo de Rivera's regime, regarded the moral relaxation of the times as urgent and alert to the need of guiding Spaniards along the path of Christian virtue. The words that Augustinian priest Bruno Ibeas addressed to Catholic

⁴ Melitón González, “El ‘Don Juan’ de Elías Salaverría, en la Casa de Prensa española,” *Blanco y Negro*, November 4, 1927, 4.

⁵ José María Pemán, *El hecho y la idea de Unión Patriótica* (prólogo de Miguel Primo de Rivera) (Madrid: Imprenta Artística Sáez Hermanos, 1929), 218.

youths in a lecture that was published in 1925 under the title of *Virility*, are illustrative of these men of the Church's concern. Ibeas reminded his audience that Spain was undergoing a critical shortage of men and hence, it was appropriate to identify the values that constituted manhood and how to become a real man. Furthermore, he urged them not to forget that Spain was the safeguard of the values that made "man a man," and at the same time, warned them of the danger to Spanish manhood brought on by the acceptance of "foreign ideas." Such ideas would lead to "deficient virility." Against these foreign tendencies, he said, we are in need of patriots who proclaimed "chivalry as a motto, virtue as an emblem, and heroism as the measure of their efforts."⁶

Political and religious authorities coincided in the identification of masculinity with patriotic values, where religion occupied a privileged place. Yet the Church was suspicious of what it considered an unacceptable introduction of the state in a terrain that the ecclesiastical institution claimed for itself.⁷ The Church should be the exclusive educator of souls, guardians of morality and good customs. This conflict of jurisdiction between secular and religious authorities weakened even more the Primo de Rivera regime's scant ability to lead its restoration project to a successful outcome. Therefore, the state initiated a series of repressive laws, exemplary punishments, and specific organizations were unable to end what was regarded as the evils they were fighting against, namely: manifest immorality, blasphemy, the "flamenco" spirit or a misunderstood masculinity, and pornography.

The Second Republic (1931–36) introduced a profound change of the gender rhetoric present in society and achieved a relative social influence. The Republic favored the dissemination and popularization of the dis-

⁶ Bruno Ibeas, *La virilidad. Conferencia pronunciada a las juventudes católicas madrileñas* (Madrid: Bruno del Amo editor, 1925): 8–11, 16.

⁷ For an analysis of the purge between the church and the State for the control of the feminine body, see the work by José Javier Díaz Freire, "La reforma de la vida cotidiana y el cuerpo femenino durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera," ed. Luis Castells, *El rumor de lo cotidiano. Estudios sobre el País Vasco Contemporáneo* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 1999), 225–57. This conflict was also reflected, and in a particular way was stressed, in the education field, in which the Church denounced the process of nationalization of the education system as part of the "invasions of the civil authority." See Alejandro Quiroga Fernández de Soto, "Educación para la ciudadanía autoritaria. La nacionalización de los jóvenes en la dictadura de Primo de Rivera," *Historia de la Educación* 27 (2008): 87–104. See also, by the same author "La idea de España en los ideólogos de la dictadura de Primo de Rivera. El discurso católico-fascista de José Pemartín," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 108 (2000): 197–224.

course that modern moralist laymen had developed in the 1920s. Many of these ideas also inspired Republican legislation and policies on sexuality, marriage, the family, motherhood, and the construction of a new model of gendered citizenship. The beginning of the civil war in 1936, as is well known, shattered the process of change. The war confronted opposite visions of what was understood to be "true masculinity." In these conflicting visions, which did not always respect the dividing line between the two factions, the homeland, history, religion, sexuality, and the family had different meanings and contributed in diverse ways to define the boundaries of normative virility.

War, Masculinity, and Nation

Since ancient times war has played a key role in shaping masculinity, and this affirmation is applicable to the Spanish Civil War as well.⁸ David H. J. Morgan has emphasized "the uniform absorbs individualities into a generalized and timeless masculinity while also connoting a control of emotion and a subordination to a larger rationality."⁹ This does not mean that the values adhered to these masculinities in a warlike context have always been the same. For example, in the words of Sonia O. Rose, in the England of the Second World War, "Hegemonic masculinity was constructed in opposition to hyper-masculine Nazi-like images, and to images of emasculated or effeminate men personified by old men and cowardly pacifists."¹⁰ A virile archetype that emphasized authority and hierarchy adapted more easily to the conservatives' vision of the world. Thus, as George L. Moose adroitly pointed out, if it is possible to affirm that the ideal of warrior masculinity served the right wing better than the left wing, then "war was an invitation to manliness."¹¹

⁸ Brian D. Bunk, *Ghosts of Passion. Martyrdom, Gender and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 91. Regarding the matter at hand, see, in particular the chapter entitled "Grandsons of the Cid: Masculinity, Sexual Violence, and the Destruction of the Family", 88–119.

⁹ David H. J. Morgan, "Theater of War. Combat, the Military and Masculinities," in *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994), 166.

¹⁰ Sonia O. Rose, "Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 177.

¹¹ George L. Moose, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 114, 130.

Moreover, since the beginning of the Spanish civil war the right wing showed itself more vehement and determined to build an image of the national soldier as the defender of the endangered homeland. No doubt, as was pointed out by Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, the patriotic aspect was present in both factions and was in both cases a homogenizing and mobilizing mechanism. But it is also true that the Republican faction sustained greater tension among the different interpretations of what the war meant, in a debate among those who saw it as an expression of bloody class struggles and those who interpreted the battle in nationalistic terms. Those tensions and contradictions contrasted with the nationalist unanimity in the opposing faction.¹² The rebels knew how to take advantage of this breakage and of this relatively less significant emphasis of the national idea among the Republicans, and thus had no doubt in describing the patriotism of their enemies as an exercise in opportunism and impotence. In July 1938 Francisco Franco asked his audience in the city of Burgos:

Does the apparent patriotism of the new Red propaganda not alarm you? Don't you see in them a criminal effort to drag their defeated youth to death, and a new artifice to deceive the world? ... Those cries of "long live Spain." Those invocations to the independence of the homeland are an echo of our victories in the red field ...¹³

In fact, as José Alvarez Junco has emphasized, the civil war was also a conflict between two versions of the nation that had been present since the nineteenth century: the liberal, secular, and progressive nation and the Catholic conservative one, although obviously it was the national conser-

¹² Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas, *¡Fuera el invasor! Nacionalismos y movilización bélica durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006), 22, 23, 166–69. According to some authors, the Second Republic also created a nationalist ideal, a project, according to Sandie Holguín, fundamentally cultural, destined to build a nation of Republican citizens. In Sandie Holguín, *República de ciudadanos. Cultura e identidad nacional en la España Republicana* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003). On the other hand, the historian Pamela Radcliff has emphasized the incapacity of the Republican regime to "articulate a powerful and coherent national identity." In Pamela Radcliff, "La representación de la nación. El conflicto en torno a la identidad nacional y las prácticas simbólicas en la Segunda República," in *Cultura y movilización en la España Contemporánea*, ed. Rafael Cruz and Manuel Pérez Ledesma (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1997), 306. The Republican Project, conceived as the construction of an imagined community of democratic citizens through education, has also received historiographical attention. In María del Mar del Pozo Andrés, "Educación para la ciudadanía democrática en la Segunda República: Un intento de construcción de la identidad nacional desde la escuela," *Historia de la Educación* 27 (2008): 105–35.

¹³ Discurso de Francisco Franco, Burgos, 18 de julio de 1938, en Ramón Serrano Suñer, Raimundo Fernández Cuesta, and Francisco Franco, *Dieciocho de Julio. Tres discursos* (S.L., Ediciones Arriba, 1938), 56.

vative faction that ended up winning this battle.¹⁴ It was also Franco's faction that more flowingly expressed the categories of masculinity and nation.

Thus, the so-called "national" faction totally merged the ideas of the Spanish nation and manhood, creating an emphatic concept of the "Spanish male," which took shape through the three-year period of the conflict. In 1934 José Calvo Sotelo expressed this identification clearly. Upon his return to Spain after remaining abroad since 1931, Calvo Sotelo delivered a heated speech at a banquet in his honor hosted by the right-wing *Acción Española* (*Spanish Action*) magazine. He stated that against the "antipatriotic horde ... there is only one resource and one remedy, and that is to instill in the young generations, a feeling of masculinity, of virility and of obstinacy for Spanish unity."¹⁵ The task of creating a nation and the restoration of a model of national masculinity once again were, during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, one and the same thing, although in the context of the civil war different ways of understanding this initiative had coexisted in the same front and had evolved in an attempt to reach consensus with respect to the main defining features of this model.

The Spanish man and Spain itself were concepts whose meaning was far from being firmly and solidly established in the social sphere when the war broke out. As the Augustinian priest Bruno Ibeas had pointed out in the twenties, everything was halfway done in the homeland, "including the national spirit."¹⁶ The rebel leaders were aware that the task of building Spain was incomplete and that it involved eliciting—and to the extent in which the feelings can be imposed, imposing as well—a feeling of belonging and of pride in being Spanish. "We must awaken among all Spaniards the feeling of homeland, the pride of being Spanish," General Franco would repeat in the speeches.¹⁷ Though the concept of Spain among the rebel faction was radically exclusive, they aimed at creating an illusion of unity, declaring that in the denominated new Spain there would be no room for

¹⁴ José Álvarez Junco, "La Nación postcolonial. España y su laberinto identitario," *Historia Mexicana* 53, no. 2 (2003): 461. See also, by the same author "El nacionalismo español como mito movilizador: cuatro guerras", in Cruz and Ledesma, 62.

¹⁵ José Calvo Sotelo, in a speech given on May 20, 1934, *Acción Española*, 1 de junio de 1934, 608.

¹⁶ Ibeas, *La virilidad*, 42.

¹⁷ Francisco Franco, *Habla el Caudillo* (Burgos: Servicio Nacional de Propaganda, 1940), 47.

rightists or leftists, a division that was presented as the result of mere “local quarrels.”¹⁸

The same authoritarian aspiration, which imposed the concept of nation over the social sphere, was behind the construction of a unique and exclusive model of patriotic masculinity, which would also be imposed by force. However, this did not mean that the discursive matter with which this model was built was homogeneous and responded to a univocal ideological affiliation or cultural tradition. In fact, this gender ideal was a clear expression of the complicated network of themes and ideas that fashioned the nationalist rebel faction under Franco’s leadership. In spite of this, the result was not an inevitably fissured archetype. On the contrary, rivalry and tension among the different visions of gender—and of the world—resulted in the creation of a sturdily armored model, at least in appearance.

Masculine Victory over the Flesh

One of the characteristic traits of the modern Western constructions of masculinity in the world has been the prominence given to the ability for self-control, the rational control over the so-called lower passions. Men should govern their life through reason, imposing it over the pulsation of instincts and feelings generally associated with femininity. The left wing also cultivated this stereotype of the virile man: virtuous and self-controlled, although the emphasis differed somewhat from the conservative rhetoric. In general for the progressive minded, the notion of combative masculinity was less decisive while they emphasized values of protection and sacrifice.¹⁹ In the case of Spain, the left wing that fought in the civil war cherished the doctrines and theories created in the twenties out of the Regeneration aspirations of Miguel Primo de Rivera. The values of austerity, rational discipline, and work were essential to the gender discourse intended to define the Republican soldier. Culture and education appeared once again as the most effective tools to convert the *macho* into a man worthy of such a label.

The concept of discipline is always crucial in the context of war. On the Republican front, this issue was the result of conflicting views about the role of the militia and the government of the army in the war. Not all of the Republican press conveyed the same meaning on the decisive issue of how

¹⁸ Eugenio Montes, “Sangre y profecía,” *ABC*, April 28, 1939, 3.

¹⁹ Bunk, *Ghosts of Passion*, 95.

to fight the war. However, it is possible to affirm that the most importance virtue, defined as virility, was that of a warrior prepared and disciplined, highlighted repeatedly in the Republican ranks. Despite this, the discipline that should have characterized the soldier on the loyal front differed from that which ruled the national front. The Republicans themselves marked a distance with respect to the concept of discipline of the enemy:

Let it be understood that we will not set ourselves up as the keepers of a hardline discipline against which we have waged our most heated dialectic battles. That stupid discipline which consisted of the mechanical exactitude of the salute or the shine of the buttons of the uniform not only does not interest us, but has instead its most implacable contradictor in us. It is useless and annoying. Such discipline does not prove competence in war, but supposes subjection instead.²⁰

It was affirmed that the “new army” was a far cry from the army of the barracks, based on discipline through punishment and on the ignorance of the soldiers. Ignorance and illiteracy were in fact, the worst enemies of an army at the service of the people.²¹ Many were the calls to fight against these scourges on the war front as well. From this point of view, the soldier should become the vanguard of modern ethics to “let the weight of these ignominious vices and prejudices collapse and cooperate in creating a new era of prosperity and work.” In this new era the prototype of the young man who believed that gambling, alcohol, and women were “manly things” was left behind. It was imperative to forever banish the times when the morals of young masters and slaves reigned.²² When the Board of Burgos, on the national front, launched a campaign under the motto “Against Marxism and pornography” in August 1936, the socialist press protested vigorously against these accusations of immorality, declaring that those two predicates were irreconcilable, and that they were unknown to each other.

“Pornographers and drunks,” they decried, “are the generals, not the socialists.” It was no secret, they assured people, that the heroism of the “saviors of Spain” usually ended in astonishing bedroom consequences, or *in extremis* picturesque weddings.²³

The values and masculine attributes defended on the Republican front were in agreement with the model created by the modern secular moralists

²⁰ “Una moral colectiva al servicio de una causa común,” *El Socialista*, September 9, 1936, 1.

²¹ “Liquidemos en analfabetismo en el ejército,” *Mundo Obrero*, May 19, 1937, 2.

²² Manuel Tortosa, “El juego, lacra del viejo mundo que debemos hacer desaparecer,” *Mundo Obrero*, June 20, 1937, 2.

²³ “Marxismo, pornografía y militarismo,” *El Socialista*, August 28, 1936, 1.

during the years that preceded the war, they who intended to put an end to double standards and the vestiges of a decadent virile archetype. Yet the control of passions, austerity, and the struggle against typically masculine vices were not an exclusive legacy of the left. On the contrary, the most conservative right wing and the militant Catholics were always inclined to impose a rigid morality, not only among the female population, but also among men, an ambitious determination that, as we know, did not achieve the success that it pursued. Without a doubt, the men of the Church characterized the practice of moral double standard as implacable with women and very permissive with men. But in the doctrinal terrain, the mandate of the Church and of tradition demanded respect for a single code of conduct of Christian virtue that was effective in the liberating struggle of the spirit against the temptations of the flesh.²⁴

The weight of these orthodox Catholic positions in the national faction was irregular and it is difficult to measure its impact, not so much in the actions of national soldiers, about which we have learned of so many examples that radically refute this moral rectitude, but also in the terrain of the discourses. The approaches of the Falangists and of traditional Catholics in this matter did not always coincide. Certainly, Spanish fascism was characterized with regard to other fascisms by its profoundly Catholic character, even though the Falangists were in favor of keeping the Church and the state on separate and restricted grounds.²⁵ In any case, Falangism rejected the pagan overtones of other European fascisms of the times, and its religious fervor increased during the course of the war.²⁶ This feature, which proved to be useful in achieving common ground between Falangism and traditionalism, also enabled a more fluid negotiation between them in the task of reconstructing a common model of national masculinity. Moreover, this concurrence simultaneously enabled the offer of a discourse profoundly rooted in tradition while disguised with the airs of renovation, airs represented particularly by the young Falangists. Rafael Sánchez Mazas, founding member of the Falange, emphasized that if "Man of the Victorious Spain" was no better than "man of those sad years, the Revolution has wasted its time and man."²⁷ To the more contemplative cries of "Hail

²⁴ A study on the evolution of those conceptions in the 1920s and the 1930s in Nerea Aresti, "La nueva mujer sexual y el varón domesticado. El movimiento liberal para la reforma de la sexualidad (1920–1936)," *Arenal. Revista de historia de mujeres* 9, no. 1 (2002): 125–50.

²⁵ Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas, *¡Fuera el invasor!*, 189, 190, 195.

²⁶ Stanley G. Payne, *Falangism: A History of Spanish Fascism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1961), 127.

²⁷ Rafael Sánchez Mazas, "Certero discurso," *ABC* (Madrid), April 11, 1939, 13.

Spain" linked to the past, they would add the "Long Live Spain" war cry, the cry of blood, the cry of youth." Francisco Franco himself declared:

We don't want an old and corrupt Spain. We want a state where the pure tradition and substance of that ideal Spanish past is entrenched in the new, vigorous and heroic forms that the youths of today and tomorrow contribute to this imperial dawn of our people.²⁸

The ideal of masculinity that was established in the rebel faction stemmed from the conception of the war as a struggle between matter and spirit, meaning the search for a solution to that "frightening problem" or tension forever contemplated by humanity, according of Raimundo Fernández Cuesta, one of the founders of the Spanish Falange. In this centuries-old struggle between matter and spirit, the Protestant reform, Rousseauian naturalism, and Marx's materialist determinism had represented the outstanding threats against the cause of the spirit.²⁹ Social revolutions, in fact, were no more than an overflowing of all the lower passions of the human beast,³⁰ and Communism represented the return to barbarism, that is, to the domination of matter over the values of civilization.³¹ As José Javier Díaz Freire has noted, from the point of view of the rightist political culture, the advent of the Second Republic was perceived precisely as the torrent of passions without restraint of the masses.³² In the Spanish Civil War, the soldier, the paradigmatic expression of national masculinity, would be an example of control and domination over his own body.

Although the Republicans as well as the nationalists emphasized the importance of self-discipline and the control of passions as distinctive traits

²⁸ Francisco Franco, *Habla el Caudillo*, 38 and 18, respectively. In the *Guía Jurídica del Miliciano Falangista* written in 1938 by judge Carlos Álvarez Martínez, the two aspects of the rebellious front would be described thusly: "FALANGE ESPAÑOLA aportó, por su programa, masas juveniles, propagandas con un estilo nuevo, una forma política y heroica del tiempo presente y una promesa del plenitud española; los REQUETÉS, junto a su ímpetu guerrero, el sagrado depósito de la tradición española, tenazmente conservado a través del tiempo, con su espiritualidad católica". In Carlos Álvarez Martínez, *Guía Jurídica del Miliciano Falangista* (Lugo: Biblioteca Celta, 1938), 5.

²⁹ Lecture given by Raimundo Fernández Cuesta for the eighteenth anniversary of July 18 in Valladolid, in Serrano Suñer, Fernández Cuesta, and Franco, *Dieciocho de Julio. Tres discursos*, 27.

³⁰ Lorenzo Quintana, *¡Franco! Al muchacho español* (Barcelona: Librería Religiosa, 1940), 41.

³¹ Manuel Galiño Lago, *¡Viva España! 1936. Hacia la restauración nacional* (Valladolid: Casa Martín, 1937), 255.

³² José Javier Díaz Freire, *La República y el porvenir: culturas políticas en Vizcaya durante la Segunda República* (Donostia: Kruselu, 1993), particularly the chapter entitled "La cultura política de la derecha. El porvenir del pasado," 133–99.

of normative virility, these concepts had different meanings in the different factions. For the Republicans, as we have said, containment and discipline were the result of the exercise of reason, of the internalization of the principle of civilization through education. This notion was saturated with a radical optimism with respect to the natural inclinations of human beings and the capability of rational willpower to guide in their behavior. For the nationals, on the other hand, such optimism was a misconception. From a traditional Catholic perspective, original sin had destroyed God's harmonious masterpiece and had broken the rational dam that held back temptation and the power of the flesh until then; human beings had lost their capability to control their carnal passions. Rousseau imagined man, they asserted, as "a great lie":

Man is evil by nature, and therefore sensual, envious, confused, resentful, prone to vice; and to avoid all this he must use violence against himself if he wants his behavior to be rigorous and irreproachable.³³

The sovereign and intimate exercise of reason in human beings was an insufficient force to guide his behavior along the path of virtue. Only the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church could accomplish this objective. In his *Libro del Soldado* (*Book of the Soldier*), the Redemptorist priest Ramón Sarabia asked the young men "creators of the New Spain" whether in those moments of utmost danger they would have sufficient strength to resist the drive of their passions. He himself declared conclusively: "If you have the habit of going to confession frequently, then yes; if not, no ... My young friend, if you want to depend only on the strength of your willpower and the nobility of your education, you cannot be good ... You can be good, but on the condition that you seek the support of God ... "Confess!"³⁴ According to this rhetoric, freedom—understood as the most glorious gift of man—was not submission to the law of reason, but instead observance of the law of God. Otherwise even he, who thought of himself as free, was in reality no more than a slave to his passions.

The construction of a rhetoric based on the identification of Spanish masculinity with religiousness and the value of discipline was not exempt from obstacles. The process of the feminization of religion had distanced men from the practice of faith, and it did not contribute favorably, and so

³³ Editorial, "Conducta," *Fuero. Órgano de la Central Nacional Sindicalista de la FET y de las JONS* 12, March 15, 1939, 1.

³⁴ Ramón Sarabia, *Libro del soldado. A los jóvenes, forjadores de la Nueva España* (Palencia: Imprenta Merino, 1938), 97, 227.

it became necessary to fight this association of women and the Church. Francisco Franco himself emphasized the idea that religion also concerned men, and that the teachings of Catholicism had to stop being regarded as “fairy tales, things of little angels, related to childish imagery.”³⁵ On the other hand, some traditional features of the typical Spanish man also represented an obstacle to this task of moral discipline. According to some ideologists of Franco’s thesis, it was useless to insist on pretending that the Spanish people were undisciplined. This “tendency towards a lack of focus” and lack of discipline made ironclad training imperative.³⁶ In any case, and in spite of the difficulties derived from the national temperament and from history, the leaders of the rebel faction projected a propagandistic image of the national front as a moral paradise where blasphemy was not consented to, the soldiers said their rosaries on their knees, the presence of women was prohibited, and the sixth commandment was respected as in no other army. “Our war front is a temple,” affirmed the man of the Luis Getino church.³⁷ They wanted to oppose this image with that of the impious enemy, with “those of the other side, where indecency and rudeness contend for respect.”³⁸ The theories of free love, developed previously by left-wing sectors, particularly in anarchist circles, offered an easier target for defamation. According to this propagandistic rhetoric, Republican women did not even know who had fathered their children and for the Reds, rape had lost its meaning entirely and become a common practice. That “holy war” was presented as a crusade against immorality and as a defense against everything that threatened the Christian family.³⁹ Francisco Franco said as much in a radio address in the early hours of July 28, 1936, declaring that it was not only the homeland that made them fight, also the well-being of the family, religion, and the home, because that was what was being destroyed and no one could be indifferent.⁴⁰

³⁵ Francisco Franco, *Palabras del Caudillo. 19 de abril de 1937-19 de abril de 1938* (S.L.: Fe, 1938), 171.

³⁶ José García Mercadal, *Ideario del Generalísimo* (Zaragoza: Tip. ‘Académica, 1937), 11, 41.

³⁷ Luis Getino, O. P., *Tres charlas ante el micrófono* (Salamanca: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Calatrava, 1937), 29, 45.

³⁸ José Emilio Díez, *General Franco. Sus escritos y palabras* (Sevilla: Tip. M. Carmona, 1937), 215.

³⁹ Ignacio G. Menéndez-Reigada, *La Guerra Nacional Española ante la Moral y el Derecho* (Bilbao: Editora Nacional, 1937), 9.

⁴⁰ José Emilio Díez, *General Franco*, 41.

Perceptions of Sexual Difference in the National Faction

In July 1938, Francisco Franco described his plan of authoritarian “moralization” of youths as follows:

We have to educate the people and to distance our youths from liberal vices; ... we have to raise the principles of the Movement, so contrary to those that surrounded them in its adolescence, and therefore, to save Spain, we have to be harsh with the deviations of youths, if someone should wander away from the right path.⁴¹

It was imperative to end “public and almost universal rebellion against divine laws” that reigned in Spain for some time. For example, José Pemartín, the future director of middle and high school education, assured people at the end of the war that this process of demolition had started a century and half earlier, although it had been preceded by the spiritual destruction through reform and rationalism. The healthy customs of Old Castile had to be restored and some uses and mores imported from France and England had to be abandoned. Those foreign ways adopted due to foolish envy had become the “smallpox of feminine beauty and the ruin of Christian, Spanish matrimony.”⁴² As the Falangist Fermín Izurdiaga explained, the restoration of the moral order demanded first an end secular and civil marriages, regarded as simple adulteries and cohabitations, typical of a golden age of nightclubs and taverns.⁴³ Once and for all, drunkenness, gambling, idleness, divorce, and pornography had to be banished so that in a “purified Spain” men would recover the values of discipline, austerity, love of work, and respect for women.⁴⁴

Therefore, the war also adopted the character of a crusade in defense of a sexual order, which had been attacked and needed to be rebuilt urgently. This dimension of the conflict created its own symbolism and revealed significant tensions in the way sexual differences and power relationships between the sexes were understood in the nationalist rebel faction. The figure of the militia woman, with the blue uniform and the rifle at her shoulder, became a symbol of the revolution during the summer of 1936,⁴⁵

⁴¹ Francisco Franco, *Dieciocho de Julio. Tres discursos*, 61.

⁴² José Pemartín Sanjuán, *Reintegración del Espíritu de la Familia Cristiana en España* (Bilbao: Tip. I. Zurimendi, 1940), 20, 21.

⁴³ Fermín Izurdiaga Lorca, *Discurso al silencio y voz de la Falange* (Vigo: Editorial Jerarquía, 1937), 10, 12.

⁴⁴ Luis Getino, O. P., *Tres charlas ante el micrófono*, 29, 30.

⁴⁵ Ángela Cenarro, “Movilización femenina para la guerra total (1936-1939). Un ejercicio comparativo,” *Historia y Política* 16 (2006): 163.

and this image, whose relevance in the war turned out to be relatively fleeting,⁴⁶ also represented a transgression of the gender order attributed to the Republican front.

Symbolic representations are crucial in the war context, and gender has a major significance. As a modern discursive paradigm, the identification of women or femininity is not consistently degrading or uplifting. It is true that from the strictly hierarchic viewpoint of the sexes, the “virile” concept tends to be synonymous with moral elevation, even when applied to women, and the classification of “feminine” has an unequivocal degrading effect. But from viewpoints that stem from the idea of a double standard of virtue for sexes that are radically different, the attribution of a feminine and masculine gender to opposing, binary poles (for example, the war fronts, the homeland and its enemies, virtue and vice, order and chaos, or nature and culture), is especially unstable. Symbolic meanings based on a double nature and on a double scale of perfection depend of the concrete values of each sex utilized in each image.

Thus, the homeland was often represented as a woman, from a code that morally elevated certain feminine attributes, particularly motherhood. The Francoists profusely developed the representation of the motherland, especially as a vital reality, as a victim or with regard to its role as the protector of its offspring, the children of the motherland. Her children, represented as the most loyal and masculine expression—the soldiers—had the duty of defending her because “No son will feel exempted from the duty of defending his mother when he sees her victimized, persecuted and in danger of perishing.”⁴⁷ Facing the true homeland, the pious mother, the Republicans, despicable beings without filial instincts, would have spit on her face and turned Spain into a despotic stepmother deprived of spirituality.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Mary Nash, “*Milicianas* and Homefront Heroines: Images of Women in Revolutionary Spain (1936–1939),” *History of European Ideas* 11 (1989): 237–43. See, by the same author, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver, CO: Arden Press, 1995) and *Rojas: Las mujeres Republicanas en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999), 97–108; by Aurora Morcillo, “Feminismo y lucha política durante la II República y la guerra civil,” in *El feminismo en la España: dos siglos de historia*, ed. Pilar Folguera (Madrid: Pablo Iglesias, 2007), 89–122; and by Lisa Lines, “Female Combatants in the Spanish Civil War: *Milicianas* on the Front Lines and in the Rearguard,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 10, no. 4 (2009): 168–87.

⁴⁷ Ignacio G. Menéndez-Reigada, *La Guerra Nacional Española*, 13.

⁴⁸ Francisco Franco, *Habla el Caudillo*, 37; Ignacio G. Menéndez-Reigada, *La Guerra Nacional Española*, 4.

The national soldier was not only the son of the motherland, but also her betrothed and liberating knight; especially from the ranks of the Falange, from an imaginary with strong romantic tones in turn connected with values and figures from a distant, idealized past. National soldiers became the champions whose mission was to “rescue this princess of our dreams which is Spain, from the Muscovite monster.”⁴⁹ Fermín Izurdiaga called for the return of Don Quixote after “a terrible nightmare of centuries,” to defeat monsters, castles, and flocks “for the honor of a lady: our Lady, Spain.”⁵⁰ José Antonio Primo de Rivera was compared with the legendary Sigmund and with Amadis de Gaula. And more than a few wanted to imagine Spain as mother and lover at the same time; Emilio Mola was defined as “the knight-errant of the lady of his love who was always mother Spain.”⁵¹ From an attitude of disdain for the worldly life, the soldier was also the enamored betrothed of death, represented as a transition to a better life. On some occasions, the traditional dual image of the woman, who could be Eve or Mary, was turned into in a feminine representation of the homeland and of death at the same time. Thus, death became the “evil female” that pursued the soldier, jealous of the pure and good woman.⁵² These mixed views, on occasion more traditionally inspired, more Catholic, with fascist tinges or even influenced by the liberal rhetoric on gender of the twenties, coexisted in the speeches of the right wing during the war. Something similar happened with regard to the different perceptions of what the sexual difference meant.

Sometimes the discourses of the rebel nationalist faction transmitted a more essentialized perception of the sexual difference, which situated gender above any other identity variable and it was, therefore, incompatible with the female exceptionalism. This view coexisted with others framed in traditional misogyny, which conceded less power to the sexual difference to define human beings, and was more inclined to acknowledge the virtues of exceptional women. From this perspective, a woman warrior, a queen, or a saint were examples of excellence in women whose gender condition did not saturate the significance of their acts or of their bodies.

⁴⁹ Cuesta, *Dieciocho de Julio. Tres discursos*, 29.

⁵⁰ Fermín Izurdiaga Lorca, *Discurso al silencio*, 7.

⁵¹ Words by Andrés P. Cardenal and Francisco del Valle Marín in Emilio Mola y Vidal, *Mola. Doctrinal de un héroe y hombre de Estado* (Bilbao: Editora Nacional, 1937), 10.

⁵² José A. Pérez Bowie, *El léxico de la muerte durante la guerra civil española* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1983), 111. According to the author, this figure corresponds to the “Romance de Fernando Zamácola” by Julio Estefanía, published in *Cauces* 21, 1938.

The rhetoric displayed on the rebel side reflected this tension of different views of the sexual difference, which coexisted and strove to prevail. Before a group of women of the Falange in Medina del Campo, Francisco Franco and Pilar Primo de Rivera addressed the audience with two exalted speeches. A comparative reading of both reveals the phenomenon described above.

On the one hand Franco pointed out the heroism shown by women in the crucial plazas in the process of the war effort. He proclaimed that it gave back honor and tribute to those fallen in battle. Although he did not forget the mothers of the soldiers, he extolled the example of bravery and heroism set by women at the front, the role of forty-five Falangists who “gave their life for their homeland” or that of the nurses, whose strength he praised in “the difficult battle” when hospitals collapsed and they carried the wounded on their shoulders.⁵³ He took advantage of the fact that the event was taking place in front of the walls that had contemplated the death of Queen Isabella of Castile to exalt her royal personality and to promise to create a school for the Women’s Section of the Falange there, “where women will be prepared to conjure up and remember that exemplary Queen, that sublime woman that solemnly marked the future of Spain.”⁵⁴ In Franco’s words the traces of a vision of gender that was more characteristic of the societies of privilege, could be perceived—a point of view in which there was room for the exceptionality of women who were considered more like queens or brave warriors than as women, their excellence achieved according to a single code of virtue. Discursive features related to these were frequent in the rhetoric of the Francoist faction. The defense of the unity of the human gender belonged to this cosmic vision; not a natural or biological category but instead a “bearer of eternal values, as a corporal casing of a soul which is capable of saving or condemning itself” that is, “endowed with free will.”⁵⁵ Or the perception of the body not defined strictly by biology but rather linked to the power of the actions and moral inclinations, a perception that made the definition of the legendary warrior Catherine de Erauso “a Spanish man, from the feather of the cocked hat to the tip of the spade.”⁵⁶

⁵³ “Las mujeres españolas, representadas dignamente en la magna concentración de Medina del Campo, rinden fervoroso y patriótico homenaje de gratitud al Caudillo y al ejército”, *ABC* (Sevilla), May 31, 1939, 8.

⁵⁴ “Las mujeres españolas”, *ABC* (Sevilla), 31 de mayo de 1939, 9.

⁵⁵ Serrano Suñer, *Dieciocho de Julio. Tres discursos*, 20.

⁵⁶ Luis Bermúdez de Castro, “El alférez Doña Catalina de Erauso,” *ABC* (Sevilla), October 11, 1941, 3. For a development of this concept of the body and gender, see Nerea Aresti,

This vision of gender and sexual difference was even reflected in science and in the way in which scientists of the Francoist faction understood human nature. As part of the ideological authoritarian disciplinary program of fascist inspiration, Antonio Vallejo Nágera fashioned what he called a "psychological investigation of delinquent female Marxists."⁵⁷ Vallejo Nágera held the post of head of psychiatric services of the national army and by the thirties he represented the most conservative view of the eugenics movement. The improvement of the Spanish genotype demanded, from his point of view, a task of detection, diagnosis, and, depending on each case, therapy or reproductive prophylaxis of the dysgenic elements. His peculiar bio-psychological theory, influenced greatly by the most authoritarian derivations of eugenics' trends of the times, was also respectful of the boundaries imposed by Catholicism and its traditionalism, and was what led him to combine environmental elements with genetic laws. In fact, Vallejo Nágera assured people that the damage done to the race came precisely from the environment "from the intoxications and infections that eat away, corrode, corrupt and degenerate the biotype."⁵⁸ The races, nations, and peoples that did not know how to conserve their spirit in the face of foreign influences were condemned to perish.⁵⁹

Between 1938 and 1939 six reports related to his experiments in the concentration camps of the Francoist front saw the light. Five of them showed the results obtained with prisoners of the International Brigades. The sixth reported the conclusions relative to fifty Republican inmates in the prison of Málaga who were condemned to severe sentences for rebellion and other "political crimes." As stated in the sixth report, it is significant that Vallejo Nágera expressly waived the anthropological study of the inmates, because as he assured, "it was not possible to establish relationships between the corporal figure and temperament, that in the female sex

"The Gendered Identities of the 'Lieutenant Nun': Rethinking the Story of a Female Warrior in Early Modern Spain," *Gender and History* 19, no. 3 (2007): 401–18.

⁵⁷ This program has been analyzed by Rafael Huertas, "La Psico-Biología del marxismo como categoría antropológica en el ideario fascista español," *Llul* 19 (1996): 111–30; and by Javier Bandrés and Rafael Llavona, "La psicología en los campos de concentración de Franco," *Psicotema* 8, no. 1 (1996): 1–11. See also Francisco Sevillano, *La representación del enemigo en la guerra civil* (Madrid: Alianza, 2007).

⁵⁸ Antonio Vallejo Nágera, *Política racial del nuevo Estado* (San Sebastián: Editorial Española, 1938), 7, 8. His position regarding negative eugenics was expressed in "Illicitud científica de la esterilización eugénica," *Acción Española*, no. 2, January 1, 1932, 142–54.

⁵⁹ Antonio Vallejo Nágera, *Eugenesia de la hispanidad y regeneración de la raza* (Burgos: Editorial Española, 1937), 114.

has no purpose due to the impurity of its contours.”⁶⁰ From the point of view entrenched in traditional misogyny and the implicit hierarchy of the sexes, the body of woman, more than being endowed with its own nature, was an impure and flawed version of the male body. Thus, anthropological science was applicable only to men. Oblivious to the dignity of womanhood based on a double source of virtue, women were naturally vile and sinful beings, and therefore in need of discipline. “If woman is habitually of a mild, sweet and generous disposition,” he specified, “it is due to the restraints that act upon her.” If the “restraining inhibitions” that held back women were to disappear, “then an instinct of cruelty that overflows all the imagined possibilities awakens in the female sex.”⁶¹

The theories of Vallejo Nágera were a particular blend of ideas of diverse origin not easily attributed to one only paradigm. This coexistence of arguments of different origin was a continuum in the discourse of the nationalists. If we return to the address to the Women’s Section rank and file to which I referred earlier, we will find a counterpoint to the more traditionalist language of Francisco Franco. Pilar Primo de Rivera offered a view of female nature and sexual difference that was easily compatible with the liberal discourses of the twenties and the thirties. Concerned with ensuring the limits of access by Falangist women to the mainstream public sphere, she emphasized the elements of traditional rhetoric that fit perfectly in a totally sexualized vision of the world, where all women, without exception, remained secluded in the domestic field:

Only to celebrate your victory and to honor your soldiers does the Women’s Section take its members out of their homes. Because the only mission assigned to women in the tasks of the country is in the home.⁶²

Pilar Primo de Rivera insisted on the domestic role of women in the front. “Your quality as a woman relieves you from the virile obligation of bearing arms,”⁶³ was the message that the national Falangist delegate gave to her followers. Actually, the segregation of women in the private sphere, a central element in the Francoists’ gender rhetoric, was a guideline of very long tradition that had been recreated in the theoretical framework of the modern secular moralists, and which would also be redefined in the regime’s

⁶⁰ Antonio Vallejo Nágera and Eduardo M. Martínez, “Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes,” *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 9 (1939): 398.

⁶¹ Vallejo Nágera and M. Martínez, “Psiquismo”, 399.

⁶² “Las mujeres españolas,” *ABC* (Sevilla), May 31, 1939, 8.

⁶³ Pilar Primo de Rivera, *¡Alerta!*, September 2, 1937, inside cover.

ideology. According to a feeble view of the gender category and regarded as inferior beings, women could be isolated at home. Likewise, they could be excluded from the public sphere in the name of their natural female essence and as a complement of the male. The gender mandate that relegated women to the background of the private sphere was reformulated in different contexts, revitalizing its regulatory power. These operations of renewed significance and the tensions that accompanied them were also characteristic of the construction process of the masculine ideal in the rebel nationalist faction.

"The Dead Rule"

In his last speech on national radio in 1937, Emilio Mola assured listeners that Spain was "a nation where the dead ruled."⁶⁴ The rebellion against the Republic was seen, in Franco's words, as "the awakening of a people that didn't know itself."⁶⁵ Therefore, the task of building the New Spain would be a process of recognition or reencounter with the past, after a century and a half of "saying history on a rosary of false beads."⁶⁶ Against the perception of Spain as a decadent nation, the rebel faction defended the image of a revived nation, with the prediction of a rebirth unexpected by many and without precedents since the Golden Age.⁶⁷ Spain had not broken "the thread of glorious continuity" and it reclaimed its position in the community of most illustrious nations.⁶⁸ This comeback would also demand social and political renovation, but the necessary elements for this renovation could be found in the nation's own past. When Franco was asked about the similarities his project for the future and the totalitarian regimes of Italy, Germany or Portugal, in an interview with William P. Carney, he said:

Spain has its own tradition and most of the modern formulas that must be discovered in the totalitarian countries can be found previously incorporated in our national past.⁶⁹

The redefinition and significance of old values did not go unnoticed and it allowed the rebel faction to overcome divisions at its core. The principles

⁶⁴ Emilio Mola y Vidal, *Mola. Doctrinal de un héroe*, 21.

⁶⁵ Francisco Franco, *Palabras del Caudillo*, 223.

⁶⁶ Francisco Bonmatí de Codecido, "Hay que conocer la historia," *ABC* (Sevilla), September 27, 1937, 4.

⁶⁷ Francisco Franco, *Habla el Caudillo*, 51.

⁶⁸ José Emilio Díez, *General Franco*, 79.

⁶⁹ Francisco Franco, *Palabras del Caudillo*, 197.

of hierarchy, inequality, authoritarian domination, a sense of honor, religious intolerance, legitimization of violence, the extolling of nobility and weapons, adapted well to the sensibilities closest to fascism, even more so when this fascism was infused with religious fervor. This was also reflected in the construction of a virile archetype for Spain. In fact, Vallejo Nágera proposed that since the origin of the race virility only needed a correct channeling, the war would provide a good opportunity for the creative recovery of national masculinity: "The war will create a lineage of gentlemen of which the new Spain is in need, and the accomplishments of spiritual nobility will increase in value."⁷⁰

Manuel García Morente dedicated special attention to the discursive creation of the idea of a nation that was, at the same time, a model of masculinity. This right-wing ideologist of ample intellectual background, who was a lecturer on ethics, discovered his religious vocation in the context of the war. As a priest he was designated Counselor for Hispanic Heritage. The concept of Spanishness found in the work of García Morente was a particular development, which turned out to be very useful for the Francoist regime. His work is also significant from the point of view of the construction of an ideal of virility according to the discursive demands of the fascist right wing.

García Morente was aware of the need to create a model of national masculinity, comparable to the English gentleman, to the *kalos kai agathos* of the ancient Greeks, or to the *otium cum dignitate* of the Roman patrician. This model would also be useful as the representation of the idea of the Spanish spirit, an idea that, meaningfully, he defined as a style, a behavior, *doing* more than *being*. The Spanish man, paraphrasing Matthew's gospel, would be well-known by his fruits. His proposal regarding what the ideal that represented the "Spanish style" should be was categorical: "The Spanish man has been, is and will always be the Spanish gentleman."⁷¹ This was, he stated, the "intuitive image" that symbolized the essence of the Spanish spirit in a better way. The reference for the creation of this model came from Spain's glorious past. This grounding in history, he declared, would provide it with a strength that cannot be found in modern models:

Modern man lives like a castaway; he comes and goes, seeking something to hold on to, from one log to the next, from one theory to the next ... A gentleman, on the other hand, believes in what he thinks and thinks about

⁷⁰ Vallejo Nágera, *Eugenesis de la hispanidad*, 6.

⁷¹ Manuel García Morente, *Idea de la Hispanidad* (Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1938), 67.

what he believes. His life goes forward with a particular destination in mind, distinct and clear, supported by serene conviction and certainty, by a fearless and sober spirit.⁷²

On the other hand, García Morente understood the need for that ideal to satisfy the aspirations of ideological renovation found in the rank and file of Falange. His response to this dilemma between past and future was the celebration of a historic coincidence: "The resurgence of today's Spain in the great scene of world history, coincides with a time of deep crisis, in which new perceptions, more consistent with the realistic sense of the eternal Spanish spirit, were becoming visible."⁷³ He claimed that indeed, the Christian gentleman by his very nature favored feudalism, but that did not mean that he was reactionary or conservative. In history, he used to say, there were neither regressions nor setbacks. But the critical time Europe was experiencing offered the Spanish gentleman the opportunity to act and listen once again for his hour's chime in the clock of history.⁷⁴

The spirit of the Christian gentleman had been forged during the centuries of the Reconquest of Spain from the Arabs. Features inherent to his personality derived from this fact; characteristics that had renewed relevance within the context of the Civil War: his religiousness, "instilled to the core," and the conviction that life was a struggle to impose an "outstanding way of being" that the surrounding reality would otherwise never have. Religiousness and authoritarian imposition on others were also the main elements of the view of the struggle in a crusade. It was an ideal of military asceticism symbolized by the "warrior monk." The ideal of the warrior monk, as Giuliana Di Febo has noted, was intended to provide continuity to the hero of the crusade of the Reconquest, in whom the Baroque tradition was incorporated until the Civil War.⁷⁵ The colonial gentleman of imperial Spain would also be an expression of this tradition. The Christian gentleman, conqueror or reconqueror, was vigorous, violent, and tenacious, even arrogant, but also noble, selfless, and generous. Optimistic and impatient, and more driven by foreboding than by reckoning in García Morente's words, he showed great detachment for possessions and life on earth. Noble

⁷² García Morente, *Idea de la Hispanidad*, 77.

⁷³ García Morente, *Idea de la Hispanidad*, 110.

⁷⁴ García Morente, *Idea de la Hispanidad*, 116.

⁷⁵ Giuliana Di Febo, "El 'Monje Guerrero': identidad de género en los modelos franquistas durante la Guerra Civil," in *Las mujeres y la guerra civil española*, III Jornadas de Estudios Monográficos, Salamanca, 1989 (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales e Instituto de la Mujer, 1991), 204.

spirituality was his distinctive trait. All the values associated with the Christian gentleman were incorporated into the idea of nation and into the model of patriotic masculinity.⁷⁶

The leaders of the uprising against the Republic were depicted as an updated version of the Christian gentleman, emphasizing the perfect continuity of these values in the passage of time. The following description by Queipo de Llano illustrates this historical continuity of the ideal:

[The Christian gentleman was] an interesting exponent of the immortal race. In the 15th century he would have gotten on board the 'Santa María' caravel. In the 16th century, he would have fought in Otumba and in Peru. In the 20th century he is like Franco, like Mola... crusaders of the honor and the glory of the homeland.⁷⁷

Some representations emphasized the warlike and conquering aspects of the Spanish gentleman. Others, logically, extolled his Christian virtues, deifying the image of the *caudillos* of the uprising faction. Franco was not God, but he was shown as the spokesman of God's word: "Wake up! Get up and start walking," he told Spain. Franco's apologist and author of this scene, Lorenzo Quintana, clarified that, although the *caudillo* was speaking "in the name of God, he was not God, and therefore, the response of Spain to his voice was not immediate, like that of the cripple who immediately got up and started walking.⁷⁸ Thus, that natural and sacred leader did not force the people to follow him; "his voice alone is enough to lead men spontaneously to join his cause."⁷⁹ Franco was also described as the Moses of the new Sinai, and the Ten Commandments would be delivered through

⁷⁶ Mary Vincent has analyzed important dimensions of this ideal in the Civil War, fundamentally in the values of piety, virtue, and martyrdom. In Mary Vincent, "The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade," *History Workshop Journal* 47 (1999): 69–98. Regarding the evolution of this ideal in the seventeenth century, see Elizabeth A. Leffeldt, "Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2008): 463–94. In this sense, the work by Francisco Vázquez García is also very useful, "Historia de la sexualidad en España: problemas metodológicos y estado de la cuestión," *Hispania* 56, no. 194 (1996): 1007–35.

⁷⁷ Galiño Lago, *¡Viva España!*, 96.

⁷⁸ Quintana, *¡Franco!*, 103. The posters of the national faction reproduced this image of Franco through "una postura rígida, cohibida y una mirada 'lacónica' e indefinida", just as Raquel Flores has noted in "Género en los carteles del bando nacional en la guerra civil española", in *Las mujeres y las guerras. El papel de las mujeres en las guerras de la Edad Antigua a la Contemporánea*, ed. Mary Nash and Susanna Tavera (Barcelona: Icaria, 2003), 212.

⁷⁹ Francisco Franco, *Los combatientes y el Caudillo* (Bilbao: Imprenta Moderna, 1938), 10.

his hands.⁸⁰ Although he was, of course, the most extolled leader, others were also described in a similar way, especially the “martyrs of the crusade.” This happened to José Antonio Primo de Rivera, “el Ausente” (the Absent One), who was represented as a martyr and as a redeeming Messiah,⁸¹ and whose end in the prison of Alicante was described as a “suffering of agony and torment.”⁸² Emilio Mola had died “like Moses when he saw the Promised Land,” and his blood was for Spain the “Jordan of its purification.”⁸³

The image of the Francoist leader was not always the image of the Christian gentleman or the warrior monk. Although the mystical and military ingredients often played a leading role, they were frequently described as fathers, exemplary men in their private life, and especially in the way they treated their wives and children. Ángela Cenarro has emphasized that the presentation for the feminine audience underlined the ability of these leaders to combine political and emotional aspects of Francoism.⁸⁴ In fact, the Falangist magazine *Y* described several scenes that showed, for instance, a romantic and affectionate José Antonio Primo de Rivera with his friends’ children,⁸⁵ an “intimate Mussolini” capable of understanding the spirit of children better than anyone else,⁸⁶ or a Führer surrounded by little children who touched his feelings.⁸⁷ There were also plenty of biographical portraits that made Franco look like “a man who loves family life.”⁸⁸ He liked to project an image of self-control and austerity, emphasizing that he didn’t smoke or drink alcohol, and that his favorite entertainment was playing with his children.⁸⁹ José Pemartín used to say that for all Spanish people, Franco was “The father of a typical Catholic family.”⁹⁰

These images were well related to a more intimate and domestic ideal of masculinity, less hierarchical and sacred, more human; in short, a model closer to the one designed by the liberal reformists. This does not mean

⁸⁰ José García Mercadal, *Ideario del Generalísimo*, 5. This aspect has been emphasized by Giuliana Di Febo in “El ‘Monje Guerrero’”, 206.

⁸¹ See Ángela Cenarro, “Movilización femenina,” 180.

⁸² Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Casticismo, nacionalismo y vanguardia (antología 1927-1935)*, (Madrid: Fundación Santander Central Hispano, 2005), 11.

⁸³ Emilio Mola y Vidal, *Mola. Doctrinal de un héroe*, 4.

⁸⁴ Cenarro, “Movilización femenina,” 180.

⁸⁵ *Y*, November 1938, 24.

⁸⁶ *Y*, September 1938, 6, 7.

⁸⁷ *Y*, July-August 1938, 48.

⁸⁸ Louis Moure-Mariño, *Perfil humano de Franco* (S.L.: Ediciones Libertad, 1938), 50.

⁸⁹ Francisco Franco, *Palabras del Caudillo*, 189. In statements to the correspondent of the Japanese newspaper *Asahi*, November 25, 1937.

⁹⁰ José Pemartín Sanjuán, *Reintegración del Espíritu de la Familia*, 30.

that these paternal figures were exempt from religious and nationalist connotations. On the contrary, these values were often recreated in terms of the sacred mysticism or patriotic mission. The scenes of the fascist leaders surrounded by children were also related to the holy image of Jesus Christ allowing the children to come to him. The figure of Saint Joseph, as well, provided this kind and affectionate paternal model that forgets and forgives everything, with a religious expression on his face.⁹¹ This kindly image, however, generated misgivings among those who were more concerned with preserving patriarchal authority intact. Ernesto Giménez Caballero, for example, attracted attention regarding the significance of Saint Joseph as a complement of the “matriarchal complex” dominated by the Virgin Mary.⁹² If religious concepts were always present and gave new meanings to images of diverse origins, something similar happened with nationalism. Suffice it to remember that Franco would be shown as the father of the country, worthy of the love of his subjects; a father concerned for all his children, always willing to comfort the wounded soldier—the most sacrificed of all—at his bedside.⁹³ As José María Pemán recalled, the words patrimony, patriotic, and patriarch had “the great essential, everlasting, and unshakeable word, *padre* (father)” concealed in their etiologic root, as a reminder of their origin and foundation.⁹⁴

In conclusion, fatherhood, like masculinity, acquired different meanings that cooperated and also competed in order to prevail in a tense but productive relationship. The relationship of forces between these ways of understanding virility outlined the profile of the new Spanish man. The reaffirmation of the patriarchal authority, in the family and in the social group, was a solid reference when it came to discriminate, which values could fit in this ideal. But in the end, the order of gender was not the only non-negotiable element. The process of mandatory nationalization of the country, an authoritarian project and, like José Álvarez Junco has noted, the lack of a conciliatory attitude, also became the imposition of a model of national masculinity. Gregorio Marañón’s political evolution and his reappraisal of the proposal made in previous years are helpful in order to define the limits imposed by the new context.

⁹¹ Giménez Caballero, *Casticismo, nacionalismo y vanguardia*, 169.

⁹² Giménez Caballero, *Casticismo, nacionalismo y vanguardia*, 161.

⁹³ Quintana, *Franco! Al muchacho español*, 14, 25.

⁹⁴ José María Pemán, *El hecho y la idea de Unión Patriótica*, 224.

The "Spanish Man"

During the 1920s and until the beginning of the Civil War, Gregorio Marañón swelled the ranks of progressive liberalism. During those years he was the main architect of the discursive renovation in terms of gender, and later, he became critical of the regime of the dictator Primo de Rivera; he also played an outstanding role in the political process that led to the establishment of the Second Republic. On one occasion, he did not conceal the fact that he supported the socialist cause,⁹⁵ and José Bergamín claimed that Marañón had even asked to join the CNT.⁹⁶ Francisco Franco himself expressed his terror, because the famous physician was part of the Madrilenian "Liga de Amigos de Rusia" (League of Friends of Russia).⁹⁷ However, the first months of the battle and the revolutionary atmosphere that invaded the streets of the country, caused a change of attitude toward the Republican regime. In his Parisian exile, this open opposition was captured in works like *Liberalismo y comunismo*, in which he declared that he had found that the liberal must overcome his "blindness of colors, which only allowed him to see the black anti-liberalism, but not the red one."⁹⁸ This ideological turnaround that placed him on the side of the rebel faction, provoked judgments such as that of a member of the Parliament of Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya and the physician José Antonio Trabal y Sans, to whom Marañón had become an "intemperate fascist, impolite and violent."⁹⁹ This information is useful in order to understand the possible conditions of Marañón's new speeches on the subject of masculinity.

In 1940 Marañón published *Don Juan. Ensayo sobre el origen de su leyenda*. Here, he returned to a main theme of his work during the 1920s, although this time he approached it from a different ideological point of view. In his new book, Marañón admitted that in the past he had written "some harsh things" about the myth of the Tenorio. Since then, he said, he had had been meditating on certain matters. The context, he warned, had changed. "Haven't I changed too?" he asked himself. "I might have," he

⁹⁵ See his foreword to the work by Marcelino Domingo *¿Adónde va España?* (Madrid: Diana, Artes Graf., 1930).

⁹⁶ In an interview to *Vendredi*, March 19 1937, published in José Antonio Trabal, *Los nacionales. Réplica a Marañón y otros corifeos desatinados* (Barcelona: Imprenta Clarosó, 1937), 40.

⁹⁷ José Emilio Díez, *General Franco. Sus escritos y palabras*, 94.

⁹⁸ Gregorio Marañón, *Liberalismo y Comunismo. Reflexiones sobre la Revolución Española* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones O.P.Y.P.R.E., 1938), 15.

⁹⁹ José Antonio Trabal, *Los nacionales*, 23.

answered.¹⁰⁰ In spite of the changes, those of the context as well as his own, the fundamental premises of his analysis of the figure of Don Juan regarding the normative masculinity remained intact: "I must declare that my interpretation of Don Juan's equivocal virility seems more accurate every time."¹⁰¹ Then, once again, he stressed the fundamental premises of his argument, aimed at proving that Don Juan and his indefinite desire, his "blurry virility," placed him as the antithesis of the "real man."¹⁰² The new essay included the results of a study made by Alonso Cortés, which declared that the Conde de Villamediana, a supposedly historical character who inspired the legend, was involved in a litigation for commission of sodomy, "which then was called the abominable sin."¹⁰³ Those findings confirmed his argument. Why, then, did he write a new book about that subject? What he defined as the object and main concern of his work was elucidating "Don Juan's Spanishness. Is Don Juan, in fact Spanish, like everyone supposes—both the people and the critics?" In 1940, Marañón was determined to prove that, in spite of having been the origin of the legend in Spain, and the fact that for "the masses" it was impossible to separate this model from the Spanishness, the myth was not Spanish at all.¹⁰⁴ In the new approach Don Juan was an "exotic importation, without tradition and without national roots." It was particularly "infinitely unfair," in his opinion, "to compare Don Juan, as we often do, with the Spanish conqueror."¹⁰⁵ That anti-Spanish and anti-religious monster had nothing to do with the instinctive attitudes typical of race. Don Juan had come to Spain from other countries in Europe, driven by the renewed and cynical humanism of the Renaissance.¹⁰⁶

Searching for references that could define the "purely national modality" of the Spanish male, in contrast with the womanizing aspect, Marañón directed his gaze toward the Spain of Austria. He decided to build bridges between his own proposal of a renewed ideal and the idealized view of this period of the past, greatly valued in the Francoist ranks. The chosen reference was the male head of the family of the traditional "Castilian home, monogamous, austere to the point of bordering on mysticism." Thus, he

¹⁰⁰ Gregorio Marañón, *Don Juan. Ensayo sobre el origen de su leyenda* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1940), 71.

¹⁰¹ Marañón, *Don Juan*, 74.

¹⁰² Marañón, *Don Juan*, 77.

¹⁰³ Marañón, *Don Juan*, 110.

¹⁰⁴ Marañón, *Don Juan*, 84.

¹⁰⁵ Marañón, *Don Juan*, 96.

¹⁰⁶ Marañón, *Don Juan*, 113.

pointed out: "The autochthonous Spanish male is represented not by Don Juan, but by 'The keeper of her virtue; that is, by the husband, the lover, the father or the brother who entrust the conjugal and family honor in the virtue of the woman.'"¹⁰⁷ This Calderonian model would be linked to what he called the psychological relationship typical of the Spanish male, derived from a deep sense of honor, capable of provoking violence and extreme sacrifice. That reconciling adaptation was not free from renunciations. The model of the Calderonian man was distant from the self-controlled and civilized male for whom Marañón had stood for several years. But some of the features of the Spanish male were similar to the model of virility that he had always defended: austerity, monogamy, and responsibility for the family. Even more importantly, this reference overcame the patriotic conflict provoked by Don Juan. The Calderonian ideal was free from the slightest suspicion of ambiguity and therefore could be a worthy bearer of the values of the race and a model of national masculinity.

Gregorio Marañón's detailed description of Don Juan, always controversial, was not, however, shared by many ideologists of the Francoist regime. Manuel García Morente, for instance, coming from a deeply religious, hierarchical, and traditional viewpoint, defended the figures of Don Juan Tenorio and Santa Teresa as milestones of the history of Spain, along with Felipe II or Saint Ignatius of Loyola. García Morente's idea of the genders was very different from that of Gregorio Marañón. Both, however, contributed to the creation of an ideal of national masculinity that stemmed from the patriotic exaltation of the former Spain. Both of them must have also respected that which ended up being non-negotiable when it came to building this ideal. Along with the harsh defense of the gender order, the victorious Spain, the perception of the concept of the nation created by the victors became an unavoidable tool to sculpt the "Spanish man." Once the Francoist dictatorship had begun, responding to this definition implied obeying and respecting the narrow limits of an exclusive model of identity. As Francisco Franco himself declared, after the victory, only those who would serve their country "in the political discipline of the State" could consider themselves true Spaniards.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Marañón, *Don Juan*, 88.

¹⁰⁸ Francisco Franco, *Habla el Caudillo*, 47.

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FROM MILITIA WOMAN TO *EMAKUME*: MYTHS REGARDING FEMININITY DURING THE CIVIL WAR IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY

Miren Llona

The year 1937 put an end to the civil war in Euskadi. It was in that year that Basque artist Aurelio Arteta painted *Tríptico de la Guerra*—a symbolic work for the reconstruction of the memory of the conflict in the Basque country. This triptych, which was executed when Arteta was exiled in Biarritz, consists of canvases of great dimensions and is intended to globally represent the heroic actions of the war. The paintings offer an unusual vision of the conflict, which integrates the front line and the rear guard. The canvas on the left, which represents the *Frente* (*Front*), organizes the entire scene around the figure of the *gudari*.¹ Two soldiers are dead and one, still alive, heroically confronts the enemy airplanes with his rifle. The painting on the right, called *Retaguardia* (*Rearguard*), is structured around the figure of the dead mother, a woman lying beside a baby unable to reach his mother's naked bosom and lies dead in her arms. The center canvas, larger than the other two, is called *Éxodo* (*Exodus*), and shows the figure of the living mother who lifts her child in her arms as a sign of hope. This appears at the center of a sad scene in which the men bid farewell to the women. The *Tríptico* has come to us as the iconic representation of the civil war in Euskadi. Thanks to the incorporation of the female presence in the rear guard scenes, the paintings manage to increase the dramatic and emotional dimension of war.

This emotional impact is achieved by the incorporation of the Basque mother into the scene and of the complex chain of connotations associated with her in the Basque nationalist imaginary. It's an indisputable fact that the Basque nationalist project influenced Arteta in the 1920s.² The synthesis of the mythical Basque mother by the nationalist imaginary and cultural elements associated with it has to do with the organization of the concept of the Basque solar house, the hamlet, as the origin of the nation and its identification with motherhood. Through the idealized body of women,

¹ A word in Euskera that refers to a Basque soldier.

² Nerea Aresti and Miren Llona, "Símbolos para una época. Género, clase y nación en la obra de Aurelio Arteta," *Ondare* 23 (2004): 491-95.

Aurelio Arteta wished to signify well-being, a safe haven, and the home. In the *Tríptico* of 1937 the chain of symbols, embodied by the dead mother with her naked breast, occupies the foreground of the *Retaguardia* (see Figure 5.1), confirming, in a dramatic code, the devastated homeland, the ruined dream of an entire nation and, finally, defeat.³ But the polisemy associated with the figure of the mother in Basque nationalist imaginary made it possible to convey hope.

The *Éxodo* (see Figure 5.2) once again makes the mother into the mythical point of reference; with the baby in her arms breathing life into the future. The scene emphasizes the figure of the mother as the symbol of the nation's stability: in the painting, women are on the side of the land and guarantee the continuity of the nation; men are associated with movement represented by the sea, with farewell, with contingency.⁴



Figure 5.1. *La retaguardia*, 1937, 160 por 120 cm., Aurelio Arteta, Colección particular, Bilbao. Aurelio Arteta. *Una mirada esencial 1879-1940*, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, BBK, Bilbao, 1998, pág. 168

³ The naked breast of Liberty guiding the people is a recurrent theme in art.

⁴ McClintock maintains that the representation of time by nationalism is based on a natural division of gender: the women representing atavism and continuity and the men, as agents of modernity, giving impulse to discontinuity. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 359.



Figure 5.2. *El éxodo*, 1937, 177 por 166 cm., Aurelio Arteta, Colección particular, Bilbao. Aurelio Arteta. *Una mirada esencial 1879-1940*, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, BBK, Bilbao, 1998, pág. 168

Finally, the figure of the *gudari* in the *Frente* (see Figure 5.3) ends up balancing the preeminence of the mother in the other two images. The front line is unquestionably a male space. It represents death in all its aspects: men capable of killing and dying in defense of their country. The symbolic sense of giving up life in the imaginary of Basque nationalism has a supreme value. From the perspective of Basque nationalism, the dead *gudaris* and the spilled blood are also symbols of life and of the future.⁵

Arteta's painting is significant because he imprinted the meaning of the civil war in Euskadi in terms of gender. The painting sacralizes the figures—the soldier facing the battle in the front line and the mother giving meaning to the rear guard. The iconic nature of these paintings has concealed the conditions of that historic moment. The symbolic and cultural limits in which the actions of men and women developed during the civil war in Euskadi were more extensive, more contradictory, and more polemic than

⁵ Aurora Morcillo proposes that, in the organic representation of the project of a nation, both men and women participate in it by means of shedding blood in the battlefield and by giving birth, respectively, in Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politics* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2010).



Figure 5.3. *El frente*, 1937, 161 por 120,5 cm., Aurelio Arteta, Colección particular, Bilbao. Aurelio Arteta. *Una mirada esencial 1879-1940*, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, BBK, Bilbao, 1998, pág. 168.

those that the stereotyped representation of Arteta presents us with. What we can perceive through this representation of war is the power of paradigmatic gender or patriarchal order accomplished even in war. The imposition of a strict gender order seems to offer security in situations of instability and a guarantee of victory in moments of confrontation. This can provoke the unilateral strengthening of gender values and ideals of a traditional nature in societies in conflict.

The *Tríptico* likewise reminds us that war is an entire in which life and death, often represented in gendered terms, constitute binary opposites with an enormous coercive power. War should not be analyzed exclusively from the point of view of military combat and the dynamics of the front line, as is customarily done, but also as a conflict that implies and mobilizes the entire population and which, as we will be able to corroborate, only permits intervention in an extremely standard way, transferring to the war setting, as in a continuum, the conditions that reproduce gender, class, and

national differences typical of the society in which the armed conflict breaks loose.

The war in Euskadi lasted from July 18, 1936 until June 17, when Franco's rebellious army took Bilbao. Although it was a brief period of time, it nevertheless constituted a far-reaching moment in the history of Basque society, not only because of the tragedy experienced, but because for the first time it was possible to test the imagined Euskadi community as an sovereign state.⁶ The birth of Euskadi and the organization of the first Basque government, as a product of the Statute of Autonomy agreed upon in the Parliament of the II Republic, which was already at war, meant the materialization of national aspirations, which had been dreamed of since the end of the nineteenth century by Basque nationalists. This political and historical context offers us two different moments for the analysis of female identities: the summer of 1936 which, as in many other places in Spain, meant the immediate organization of civil resistance against the military uprising; and the space that opened in the beginning of autumn of 1936 until the summer of, the period in which the development of the war coincided with the first experience of construction of a Basque national state.

It is particularly important to analyze the Basque case within the context of the civil war in Spain due to the interest in the studies on the so-called "peripheral nationalisms"—the Catalanian, the Basque, and the Galician. These nationalisms are crucial when it comes to understanding both the evolution of Spanish nationalism itself and the crisis of the idea of Spanish national unity during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Since the last decade of the nineteenth century, Basque nationalism had been constructed in true opposition and contrast to Spanish nationalism. As Justo Beramendi suggests, the backbone of some nationalisms is constructed by means of "denial-opposition transfer."⁷ This is particularly true for Basque nationalism, which constructed its cultural, political, and moral imaginary in terms of antagonism with regard to Spanish national substance. In the Basque case, it is possible to perceive that "the 'new' national intensity is directly proportional to the denial of the old national belonging," and that Spanishness came to be conceptualized as the *other* national.⁸ Thus, both

⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

⁷ Justo Beramendi, "El partido galleguista y poco más. Organización e ideologías del nacionalismo gallego en la II República," in *Los nacionalismos en la España de la II República*, ed. Justo Beramendi and Ramón Máiz (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1999), 136.

⁸ Beramendi, "El partido galleguista y poco más," 136.

Spanish and Basque nationalisms mutually constructed each other. Therefore, the true understanding of both phenomena requires studying them in intimate relation with each other.

The acknowledgment of different realities and settings of the war within the Spanish context also has its importance for the debate on the historical memory of the Spanish conflict and the ensuing Francoist repression. The reopening in Spain of public opinion in the early twenty-first century of that memory of the war has constituted a clear experience of what Marianne Hirsch has defined as post-memory; that is, a memory that remains alive in the generations who did not directly witness the traumatic events themselves.⁹ In the Spanish case, the traumatic recollection of the experience of the war, and not its oblivion, was what inspired the lessons for the transition to democracy that laid the foundations for the Spanish political new era, according to Paloma Aguilar.¹⁰ However, this consensus has been interpreted by the third generation of survivors' grandchildren as a "pact of silence" necessary to reconsider. This way, what Julio Aróstegui has called the *memory of restitution*¹¹ has been reactivated. This new form of collective memory requires the revision of the past from ethical proposals more than from discussions and arguments that respond to purely political logic.¹² Within this context, the acknowledgment of diversity, and of the existence of different meanings of the past regarding the civil war turn out to be indispensable requirements for the construction of a more democratic memory and body politic. The significance of the civil war in the Basque country, which I present below, intends to contribute to this debate and

⁹ Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Post-memory," *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 103.

¹⁰ This is the argument proposed by Paloma Aguilar in *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra civil española* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1996). We also recommend her recent work *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2008).

¹¹ Julio Aróstegui proposes the co-existence of three different memories regarding the civil war, which furthermore are coincidental with three successive generations of Spaniards: the *memory of confrontation*, whose main bearers would be the protagonists of the war, the *memory of reconciliation*, belonging to the generation that agreed on the transition and the *memory of restitution*, which coincides with the generation of the grandchildren of the war. Julio Aróstegui, "Traumas colectivos y memorias generacionales: el caso de la guerra civil," in J. Aróstegui and F. Godicheau, *Guerra Civil, Mito y Memoria* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006), 79 and 80.

¹² Regarding the political logic that guided the drawing up of the memory of the civil war and of Franquism during the Transition and the sense of the amnesty, as an act which meant forgetting what happened in the past, see Santos Juliá, "Echar al olvido: memoria y amnistía en la transición a la democracia en España," in *El otro, el mismo: Biografía y autobiografía en Europa (siglos XVII-XX)*, ed. J. C. Davis and I. Burdiel (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2005).

bring new insights that will help new generations to carry out their *work of memory*, as proposed by Paul Ricoeur.¹³

This chapter analyzes two myths regarding femininity within the context of the civil war in the Basque country; the myth of the militia woman and of the *emakume*.¹⁴ During the first phase of the war, in the summer of 1936, the figure of the militia woman became a symbol of the social revolution and of the way in which the popular defense of the II Republic managed to alter the established social and political order, in a class and gendered-transgressing sense. We will analyze the public repercussion of women's participation in the front lines, an experience that was interpreted as the most complete realization of equality between the sexes. As a matter of fact, the symbolic disorder that the figure of the militia woman provoked was directly related to the mythical nature it acquired as the embodiment of the modern woman and of the ideal of equality between the sexes. The anger unleashed against militia women shows the degree of the extraordinary level of social anxiety and unrest that the changes in gender relations aroused.

By autumn of 1936, the reestablishment of the sexual order at the front line and the new transmission of the attitude of militia women became symbols of the retaking of control of the situation by the government. The submission of the militia women to the new military discipline and their distancing themselves from the front line constituted certifying proof of the capacity of the government for putting a restraint on the social revolution and restoring order once again. In Euskadi, that moment of reestablishment of order coincided with the proclamation of the new Basque government and in the process introduced a series of peculiarities.

For the Basque Nationalist Party, the new setting established as a consequence of the approval of the Statue of Autonomy constituted a qualitative change of the situation. For the first time the possibility of establishing a Basque state with its own institutions, its own government, and its own international projection was envisioned. José Antonio Aguirre, first *Lehendakari*¹⁵ of the Basque government, organized the autonomous territory as a semi-independent state, endowed with its own army.¹⁶ The situation of women in this new autonomous project changed. During the

¹³ Paul Ricoeur, *La memoria, la historia, el olvido* (Madrid: Trotta, 2003), 109.

¹⁴ A word in Euskera that means Basque mother.

¹⁵ A word in Euskera that means president of the government.

¹⁶ Josu Chueca, "Gerra Euskadin," in *1936ko Gerra Euskal Herrian: Historia eta memoria*, ed. Mikel Errazkin and Juantxo Agirre Mauleon (Donostia: Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea, 2009), 39. José Luis de la Granja, "El nacimiento de Euzkadi," *Historia Contemporánea* 35

1930s, Basque nationalism had interpreted the II Republic's lack of acknowledgment of Basque national reality as a situation fraught with latent hostility, which warranted the mobilization of the entire Basque country, including its women, in defense of Euskadi. However, the juncture of the war against Fascism had provoked a total change of parameters: a period of acknowledgment of the specificity of Basque matters and of legitimation of establishing a state in Euskadi. The new situation then produced a paradoxical event. Although it was a moment of generalized disorder, the government had to convey the sense of control of the situation and gain authority. The Basque government worked eagerly to achieve a national narrative and therefore it managed two images with strong gender content: the gudari—as the vertebrate of the front line; and the emakume—reorganizing the rear guard.

My contention in this chapter is that the reestablishment of an order of gender in connection with the two figures—the gudari and the emakume—constituted a fundamental element in the task of legitimation of the Basque government and in its main mission: the constitution of the Basque state.¹⁷ Within this context, sexual disorder and the militia woman as its clearest representation were to be combated, as much as anticlericalism, the attacks on private property, or the abuses against political prisoners. The work that the Basque government was intent on performing was not only to demonstrate its capacity to maintain order, but also its capability to create a reality—that of a new state in control; of the new nation Euskadi. This project would be in harmony with the moral idiosyncrasy attributed by nationalism to the Basque people.

The figure of the Basque mother or emakume was at the center of the moral construction of the Basque state in the juncture of the war. Through

(2007): 437–38. Ludger Mees, *Nationalism, Violence and Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 20.

¹⁷ For an in-depth approach to the national construction process in terms of gender, see: Aretxaga Begoña, *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Mary Condren, "Work-in-Progress. Sacrifice and Political Legitimation: The production of a Gendered Social Order," *Journal of Women's History* 6, no. 4/ 7, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1995): 160–89; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997); Ozlem Altan-Olcay, "Gendered Projects of National Identity Formation: The Case of Turkey," *National Identities* 11, no. 2 (2009): 165–87; Hill Vickers, Hill and Athanasia Vouloukos, "Changing Gender/Nation Relations: Women's Roles in Making and Restructuring the Greek Nation State," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13, no. 4 (2007): 501–38; Patriarca Silvana, "Indolente and Regeneration: Tropes and Tensions of Risorgimento Patriotism," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 2 (2005): 380–408.

her role as a nurse, an effort was made to neutralize the figure of the militia woman and to establish the natural order of things: from the point of view of standard femininity, the nurse demonstrated a clear superiority over the militia woman, since in her essence the nurse constituted a clear representation of sexual and gender difference; that very difference that the figure of the militia woman made questionable. The former as caregiver, the latter as fighter. From the point of view of class, the nurse was a feminine model compatible with the middle-class *young lady* and constituted a key gender prototype in the process of social differentiation and hierarchy of modern urban societies developed during the preceding decades.

The Summer of 1936, The Militia Woman: The Myth of Disorder

The triumph of the military uprising in Álava limited the experience of organization of the Popular Front parties in the Basque country to Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa; defense committees were organized in the capitals of Bilbao and San Sebastián. General Emilio Mola organized the immediate offensive on San Sebastián and the frontier city of Irún and this established the setting of the war during the summer of 1936 in Guipúzcoa. San Sebastián fell on September 13 and the rest of the territory of Guipúzcoa managed to resist only until the end of that month. The anti-Fascist social mobilization in Guipúzcoa was organized during the weeks after July 18, 1936, and was mainly structured in militias by the parties and unions allied with the Popular Front. As in other places of the Spanish geography, the popular defense of the Republic was driven both by the desire to protect the economic and social reforms reached and to preserve the expectations of change that the Republic inspired in a revolutionary or national sense.

Political and union organizations tried to coordinate efforts to involve civil society in the military defense of the II Republic, then the reorganization tasks of the rear guard gained momentum. Inasmuch as the military coup failed and the uprising acquired the nature of military offensive, the call to participate in the defense tasks meant civilians' militarization. In that context, militia women surfaced, comprised of young women from lower classes who joined party and union militias and who actively participated in the war initial combats.

During the social mobilization of the first weeks of the war some changes were observed in gender relations, provoked both by the arrival of women at the front, and due to the reorganization of the public space and its reconversion into the rear guard. As pointed out by historian Giuliana Di

Febo, one of the most significant changes was women's incursion into public speaking, something that had been noted during the II Republic, but which was transformed during the conflict in the mobilizing of the multitudes.¹⁸ Surely the war had a catalyzing effect on prescriptive feminine behavior. Some women's stands were considered disturbing, but would accelerate a process of redefinition of gender identities that had already been set in motion in the decades preceding the II Republic. Helen Graham has pointed out that during the 1930s what she calls *wars of culture* in Spain had been developing during the Republic, and continued during the years of the civil war.¹⁹ The process of questioning and giving new significance to the gender system constituted a substantial part of those culture wars. The intense redefinition of the gender boundaries resulting from the social disorder caused by the war aggravated old fears and anxieties, which unleashed violence against women in an attempt to reestablish a conventional sexual division within the scope of the war.

In the report published in *Frente Popular* by a North American journalist in August 1936, we observe the way the defense of the Republic catapulted the figure of the militia woman and defined the characteristics that would give her a mythical character: youth, courage, generosity, and altruism, and spontaneous revolutionary awareness. In the report, the actions of the young anarchist Maximina Santa María, who left San Sebastián for Peñas de Aya to confront the Navarra columns in her advance towards the French frontier, are outstanding.

Es una brava muchacha. Creí que estaba ahí para atender a los heridos o para cuidar de los muchachos. Pero no. ¡Lucha! Lucha como un hombre.

Así es la verdad. Lucha como un hombre. O mejor dicho, con más temple y decisión y serenidad que muchos hombres. He aquí lo que no esperábamos haber visto. ...

Pero hasta ahora no habíamos visto una mujer en los mismos puestos de vanguardia ... ¿Sería posible que un hombre sintiera el miedo junto a la decisión de esta mujer que pone sobre la cumbre más elevada de la Peña de Aya tal ejemplo de heroísmo femenino? ...

– ¿Por qué está usted aquí? ...

– Porque tenía que estar. ¿No luchan también mis compañeros? No había razón para que yo me quedara en casa

– ¿Sabía usted manejar las armas?

– Ahora, sí, claro; a todo se acostumbra uno. Hasta a ver cómo caen los hombres, que es el espectáculo más triste que hay. Pero antes de que esto

¹⁸ Giuliana Di Febo, "Republicanas en la Guerra civil," in *Guerras Civiles en el siglo XX*, ed. Julián Casanova (Madrid: Pablo Iglesias, 2001), 68.

¹⁹ Helen Graham, *Breve Historia de la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2009), 39.

empezara, yo no había tenido en mis manos ni una detonadora. Ni había intervenido en nada político. Hasta que se sublevaron los militares y los fascistas y se dijo que todo el pueblo debía de alzarse para defender la República democrática. Pedí un arma y aquí estoy.

—Y ahora—interviene uno de los del grupo—es la mejor tiradora de nuestro grupo. Y la más valiente. Es lo mejor del “Grupo de la Dinamita.”²⁰

This narrative shows the spontaneous incorporation of Maximina into the militias. Her immediate support turns this woman and the militia women in general into symbols of popular unity in response to the provocation of the Fascist uprising and in defense of the Republic. Although the incorporation of this young woman is not the product of a conscious project questioning the social order in a feminist sense, the scope of her action from the point of view of gender relations was deeply destabilizing. Somehow, the figure of the militia women reactivated the phantom of equality of the sexes and the entire sequence of prejudices that had inspired the figure of the modern woman during the 1920s and 1930s was thrust onto the figure of militiawomen.

The fact that Maximina's spontaneity overcomes the cultural barriers and she joins the front lines has to be viewed in relation to many working-class women's common experience. In their habitual passing through the public sphere in the factory, in the workshop, or on the street, working-class women challenged the strict gender restrictions of the times. Although it

²⁰ “She is a brave young girl. I thought that she was there to tend to the wounded, or to take care of the young men. But no. She fights! She fights like a man. That is the truth. She fights like a man. Or better yet, with more courage and decision and serenity than many men. This is what we did not expect to see. ...

But, up to now, we had not seen a woman in the same vanguard positions ... Could it be possible for a man to feel fear, near the determination of this woman who places on top of the highest summit of Peña de Aya such an example of feminine heroism? ...

— Why are you here?

— Because I had to be. Aren't my friends fighting too? There was no reason for me to stay home.

— Did you know how to handle weapons?

— Now I know; of course, you get used to everything; even watching men fall, which is the saddest sight there is. But before this started, I had never even had a detonator in my hands. Nor had I ever intervened in political matters. Until the military and fascist uprising and we were told that the entire town should rise to defend the democratic Republic. I asked for a weapon and here I am.

— And now—someone from the group intervenes—she is the best marksman of our group and the bravest. She is the best of the “Grupo de la Dinamita.”

“Una mujer lucha por la libertad y la justicia en la avanzadilla de las Peñas de Aya,” *Frente Popular*, August 10, 1936.

is difficult to generalize, the information we have for Guipúzcoa seems to confirm the popular social origin of the militia women. They were mostly young women who worked as dressmakers, secretaries, seamstresses, cooks, or servants.²¹ During the 1920s and 1930s, working women had experienced the severity of their integration into the deeply asymmetrical context of gender relations in Spanish society. Typists and clerical employees were treated as authentic intruders by their male fellow office workers, in what was considered a sort of profanation of a long-time, deep-rooted masculine territory. These pioneer women's audacity earned them the derogatory epithet of "modern woman" and the questioning of their respectability.²² Dressmakers, seamstresses, servants, and factory workers had to develop skills and dexterities, a "special self-assurance," with which to safeguard their respectability in the streets and in their respective work environments. A woman's respectability and her level of poverty were inversely proportional, which led women to develop strategies to deal with the dual burden of determination along gender and class lines.²³

Therefore, those who became militia women were used to confront situations in which their respectability was compromised. However, the disgracing offensive that these women had to confront went beyond customary practice. As Mary Nash has pointed out, the positive image of the militia woman was circumscribed exclusively to the initial phase of the war and to the enthusiasm produced by the revolutionary and anti-Fascist fervor. By December 1936 there was hardly any propaganda showing militia women and by the beginning of 1937 the campaign shaming these women was carried out by intensely identifying them as prostitutes.²⁴

What does the public rejection of militia women explain? What threat might these women pose from a social and cultural point of view? As the story of Maximina points out, the presence of women soldiers in the front lines unlocked the possibility of establishing comparisons between male and female bravery. Actually, the narrator tells us that Maximina "Fights like a man. Or, better yet, with more courage and decision and serenity

²¹ Guillermo Tabernilla and Julen Lezamiz, *Cecilia G. de Guilarte CNT reporter* (Bilbao: Beta Editions, 2007), 22.

²² Miren Llona, *Entre señorita y garçon: historia oral de las mujeres bilbaínas de clase media (1919-1939)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2002), 110–33.

²³ Miren Llona, "Los otros cuerpos disciplinados: relaciones de género y estrategias de autocontrol del cuerpo femenino (primer tercio del siglo XX)," *Arenal* 14, no. 1 (2007): 79–108.

²⁴ Mary Nash, *Rojas. Las mujeres republicanas en la Guerra civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999), 96–97, 169–70. For the evolution of the image of women and of the militiawomen during the entire conflict, see also Carmen Grimau, *El cartel republicano en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1979), 209–15.

than many men." Therefore, what was at stake was the system of meanings and differentiation that led to the natural association of courage and bravery with manhood. Women's courage and nerve endangered the fundamental binary opposition on which the organization of the war scenario rests: on the one side, the figure of the soldier and his permanent defiance of death as supreme expression of masculinity; on the other side, the figure of the mother, life giver and caretaker, responsible for the community's survival and for restoring to health to the men's bodies, as the most complete expression of femininity.

Some historians have pointed out that the liberalization of gender norms that war provokes is usually addressed in parallel with the reinforcement the soldier/mother binary opposition, on which the cultural and mythical universe of war is supported.²⁵

In order to avoid the symbolic destruction of the figure of the soldier that the militia woman threatened, the propaganda offensive was carried in a twofold manner. On the one hand, attention was called to masculine collectivity "Could it be possible for a man to feel fear, near this woman's determination ...?" we have read in the pages of *Frente Popular*. There was also an appeal to men's manliness and the necessary bravado of the soldier. Meanwhile, the figure of the militia woman was finally used as a means for in shaming men into volunteering.²⁶ The image of the militia woman and implicit in it, the idea of women occupying the place of men at the front, projected shadows over masculine dignity, which could only be cleared away with a display of hyper-masculinity proven by fighting at the front lines.

On the other hand, a dissuasion device to discourage women from enlisting in the militia was to identify those who joined as prostitutes. This same identification constituted a conventional means of stigmatization flung against women of working origin. The figure of the prostitute became a powerful symbolic element in shaping working-class women's identity and transferred its load of symbolic violence and misogyny on them. In many cases this narrative led them to be highly susceptible to having their virtue compromised, and made them display an excessive zeal to assert their respectability.²⁷

²⁵ Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 2–7.

²⁶ Nash, *Rojas*, 98, and Graham, *Breve Historia*, 86.

²⁷ Miren Llona, "La prostitución y la identidad de la clase obrera en el tránsito del siglo XIX al XX. Un análisis de género a la obra literaria de Julián Zugazagoitia," *Historia Contemporánea* 33 (2006): 719–40.

Even though workingwomen were accustomed to dealing with the stigmatizing figure of the prostitute, the militia women experienced the general devaluating, discrediting offensive on them as an especially unjust assault. The testimony of Casilda, a militia woman of San Sebastián who also marched to Peñas de Aya, to fight early in August 1936 reveals after forty years the depth of the moral wound inflicted on her: "Fue un duro aprendizaje de la guerra. Y que haya habido gente del campo republicano diciendo que las mujeres en la montaña éramos poco menos que ramera, eso es mentira, y no les perdonaré nunca. Es echar una mancha a la mujer nada más que por el hecho de disminuirla".²⁸ As we know, the reconstruction of gender boundaries by the government of the Second Republic demanded, besides the moral condemnation, the legal prohibition of female recruitment, mandated, as the regular Republican army was officially established.²⁹

However, the militia women's challenging attitude fits within the 1930s' aspirations to gender equality associated with the ideal of the modern woman. Between February and June, when the weekly publication *Mujeres*³⁰ of Bilbao was published, those expectations for change by some republican women became explicit. Although the reports and articles of the weekly publication decisively contributed to the reconstruction of gender balance in terms of what historian Mary Nash has proposed: "the men to the front, the women to the rear guard,"³⁰ there were also articles that claimed the figure of the militia woman. Thus, this periodical glorified the self-sacrificing role of women and their duties as sisters, brides, and daughters, encouraging men to fight, but there was also in the same pages praising for the figure of the militia woman, treated as the archetype of female questioning of gender oppression.

Para muchos camaradas, la mujer sigue siendo una simple prenda ... Es verdaderamente lamentable que en la actualidad haya gentes de mentalidad tan atrasada. ... Esa muchachita colocada en la cumbre de una montaña mirando serena al enemigo, nos ofrece el ejemplo más palpable de que la

²⁸ "It was a hard lesson of the war. And to think that there were people from the Republican countryside saying that we, the women in the mountains, were little less than whores; that is a lie, and I will never forgive them. That is putting a stain on a woman just to belittle her." Luis María Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Kasilda, Miliciana* (San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1985), 44.

²⁹ Ángela Cenarro reports that on October 29, 1936 a decree by the government of Largo Caballero established that the requirements for recruitment were males between the ages of 20 to 45. Ángela Cenarro, "Movilización femenina para la guerra total (1936-1939): un ejercicio comparativo," *Historia y política* 16 (2006): 164.

³⁰ Nash, *Rojas*, 90-98.

mujer no vale sólo (y no debe ser) para fregona de una casa o para adorno de un hombre.³¹

Mujeres used to refer to militia women as heroines, thus contributing to strengthening their positive image. The war code grants immortality to the soldier in exchange for the giving of his life. The fallen were acknowledged in public mourning ceremonies, and commemoration acts. In its own way, *Mujeres'* acknowledgment of the militia women by publishing a series of small reports, legends, and references to their valor managed to keep those women's image alive. One example of this is the homage dedicated by Olga Zubizaola to María Elisa García, killed in the hills of Múgica in May 1937: "Una bala la alcanzó en la cabeza ... y cayó la miliciana sin pronunciar palabra. ... Tu sangre, la noble sangre de la heroína ovetense, será fructífera".³²

Similarly, the presumption of having been victims of sexual violence at the front at the hands of the rebels allowed the raising militia women to the category of martyrs.³³ During the summer of 1936, Republican sources spread the news of the shooting of some forty militiamen/women captured while defending the Pikoketa hill in Erlaitz before being assassinated, the militia women had been raped and their breasts mutilated.³⁴ There is a clear identification of the image of the body of the militia woman with the image of the martyred body of Saint Agueda, with her breasts cut off. The suffering of sexually charged martyrdom, as women, added bravery to the death of the militia woman. From the propaganda point of view this emphasized the monstrous nature of the enemy, while simultaneously

³¹ "For many comrades, a woman continues being a simple object ... It is truly regrettable that at present there are people with such backward mentality. ... That young woman at the top of a mountain, looking serenely at the enemy, offers us the clearest example that a woman is not only good (and should not be) at scrubbing the house, or being a decorative object for a man." "La Mujer en el Frente," *Mujeres*, March 20, 1937.

³² "A bullet pierced her head... and the militia woman fell without a word. ... Your blood, the noble blood of the heroine from Oviedo will be fruitful." "Nuestras heroínas," *Mujeres*, May 5, 1937. Other articles with similar themes are "Nuestras heroínas en la guerra civil," *Mujeres*, February 20, 1937; "La noche del 18 de Julio," *Mujeres*, February 6, 1937; "Andrea," *Mujeres*, March 20, 1937; "Pedimos un puesto en la lucha contra el fascismo," *Mujeres* April 17, 1937.

³³ See Yannick Ripa regarding the subject of sexual violence in the civil war, "Armes d'hommes contre femmes désarmées: de la dimension sexuée de la violence dans la guerre civile espagnole" in *De la Violence et des Femmes*, ed. Cécile Dauphine et al (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997), 131–44. Sofía Rodríguez López, "Gender Violence in the Civil War and the Postwar Period: The Bodies of the Crime," in this volume.

³⁴ In Luis María Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Crónica de la Guerra en el Norte 1936* (Donosita: Txertoa, 200), 51.

raising militia women to the pantheon of heroes—a nationalist sanctification of sorts.

By the autumn of 1936, the figure of the militia woman would be attacked and eventually substituted at the front by the tamed female figure of the nurse, in an attempt to reestablish gender and class order, as well as to strengthen the foundations of the new national state.

Autumn of 1936, The Emakume, and the Nurse: The Myth of Order

As of October 7, 1936 (the date of the constitution of the first Basque government), the war monopolized all of the political centrality. The nationalist lehendakari, José Antonio Aguirre, and his new government, in their haste to legitimize the Basque state, strengthened the creation of a general staff of their own with 45 battalions of militiamen from the different parties and unions. As of that moment, the war in Euskadi was inseparable from the experience of the construction of a national state. For the Basque nationalists, the war against Fascism acquired a sense of national liberation, which added to the idea of the defense of the Republic.³⁵ The Basque Nationalist Party led the new government with the impulse of a new political rationale imbued with signs of national identity for the new Basque state. What was called the *Basque oasis* included opposition to social revolution, containment of anticlerical hostility, and public order.³⁶

The government's intent was to create a sense of normalcy that utilized traditional discourse on gender stability. The Statute of Autonomy established a new opportunity for state construction from the nationalist perspective, perceived as a step forward with regard to the previous phase of the national conflict. In this sense, the rejection of the different projects for a statute of autonomy of the Second Republic was presented as a crisis, expressed in the idea "the nation is in danger." This argument served to validate women's participation in the national mobilization during the 1920s and 1930s.

The new phase of national construction, even at the juncture of the war, demanded quite a different attitude from men and from women. The priority now was to show power. As the lehendakari proclaimed in his speech as head of the new government: "This government is born to govern, to

³⁵ Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas, "Los nacionalistas vascos," *Historia Contemporánea* 35 (2007): 591.

³⁶ José Luis de la Granja, "El nacimiento...", 442–43.

inflexibly impose the law ... we come to introduce and maintain order".³⁷ This disposition to command must be implemented in all the areas of civil and political life and also required the restitution of some clear definitions of gender. Government power meant not admitting gender ambiguity, and the war juncture mandated clearly that young men went to the trenches and women were to follow as nurses, or to be of service on the front lines.

During the conflict, the Basque Nationalist Party espoused gender stability based on the figures of the *gudari* (or soldier), and of the *emakume* (or mother). In the nationalist imaginary of that time, Euzkadi, the homeland of the Basques, was symbolized as a mother.³⁸ Her sons sacrificed their lives defending her; the daughters, regarded as mothers themselves, must know how to let go of their own sons to defend the Motherland (see Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4. *Ofensiva para Euzkadi*, 1937, 100 por 140 cm., Carmona, Comissió Oficial D'Ajut a Euzkadi. Ubierna, Jabi, *Euskal Herriko Kartelak. Askatasunaren Irudiak, 1793-1979*, Txalaparta, Tafalla, 1997.

³⁷ "Constitución del Gobierno de Euzkadi," *Euzkadi*, October 8, 1936.

³⁸ The Virgin of Begoña is the representation of Euzkadi as mother "Invocación a la Virgen de Begoña," *Euzkadi*, October 11, 1936. "We have felt the tender emotion of the son who bids farewell to his mother, when, moments before parting for the battlefields we have knelt before our Andra Mari de Begoña" in "La religiosidad de nuestro gudari," *Gudari*, November 4, 1936.

The gudarís demonstrated their courage by loving their country more than their own lives; in turn emakumes demonstrated it by loving the country more than their sons. For both of them, the love of country was the supreme value, and the narrative sustaining it materialized in gendered terms.

Basque nationalist gender paradigm acquired its defining features in the 1920s and 1930s. As José Javier Díaz Freire has suggested, nationalist founding father Sabino Arana (1865–1903), believed that an indispensable tool in the nationalization process was the construction of a *Basque body politic* differentiated from the Spanish one. From his perspective, the most visible expression of the existence of that differentiated body was Basque peasantry: “the true sons of our race,” in Arana’s words, bodies saturated with virility.³⁹ Walter Benjamin suggests that the paradox of modernity consists in reinventing images of archaic times to identify them with historically new processes. Basque nationalism demonstrated once again Benjamin’s characterization of modernity with the creation, during the early decades of the twentieth century, of the masculine figure of the *mendigoxale* (or Mountaineer).⁴⁰ This figure represents the absolute modern recreation of the ancestral Basque villager and is regarded as the most perfect representation of the authentic *Basque body*. Alongside stands the figure of the village woman or *etxekoandre*, representing the home and the land, whose role in the production of the national Basque uniqueness lies through her discretion and reserve.

During the 1920s and the 1930s, nationalist rhetoric emphasized the culture of sacrifice and suffering for the homeland as a way toward the liberation of Euskadi. It was that context which strengthened and gave leadership to the figure of the mendigoxale, whose associations were

³⁹ José Javier Díaz Freire, “Cuerpos en conflicto. La construcción de la identidad y la diferencia en el País Vasco a finales del siglo XIX,” in *El desafío de la diferencia: representaciones culturales e identidades de género, raza y clase*, ed. Mary Josephine Nash and Diana Marre (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2003), 74–77. For a reflection on the nationalization of emotions regarding the Basque body and its importance in the process of foundation of the Basque national community, see José Javier Díaz Freire, “El cuerpo de Aitor: emoción y discurso en la creación de la comunidad nacional vasca,” *Historia Social* 40 (2001): 79–96. For an approach to the utilization of the figure of the mother in the construction of different nationalisms, see Aretxaga Begoña, “¿Tiene sexo la nación? Nación y género en la retórica política de Irlanda,” *Arenal* 3, no. 2 (July–December 1996): 199–216. Deniz Kandiyoti, “Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20, no. 3 (1991): 429–43; Anne McClintock, “Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family,” *Feminist Review*, no. 44 (1993): 63–80.

⁴⁰ Word in Euskera that means mountaineer.

organized with a discipline akin to the military, forming small groups commanded by leaders. The ideal of masculinity they represented shows young men as the embodiment of the nationalist ideal, who know and employ their Euskera language, know Basque history and geography, are practicing Catholics, and take care of their physical health through sports, especially mountain hiking. The mendigoxales were urban young men who wore the attire of the rural villager: beret, blouse, and *gerriko* (or girdle).⁴¹ But the most defining feature was their predisposition to sacrifice for the country.⁴² In the words of Manu Sota, one of the leaders of the Jagi Jagi, the radical wing of Basque nationalism that favored independence, "We, the mendigoxales of Euzkadi, yearn for prison We are willing to suffer the greatest martyrdoms ... to spill our blood in the cells, or wherever necessary, as long as we obtain absolute liberty for our only and exclusive country, Euzkadi."⁴³ In fact, from the nationalist point of view, the suffering endured results in the confirmation of national oppression itself.

As Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas has pointed out, a line of continuity existed between the war culture of Basque nationalism of 1936 and 1937 and the line of exaltation of sacrifice for the country, characteristic of the previous nationalist trajectory.⁴⁴ The mendigoxales were the basis of the Euzko Gudarostea, the Partido Nacionalista Vasco's army, also called the PNV. In August 1936, some 5,000 assembled, as many as had participated in the march held in 1932 for the celebration of the *Aberri Eguna*—the Day of the Basque Country.⁴⁵ These militarized mendigoxales became soldiers during the war: "Enthusiasm, discipline and serenity are the characteristics that stand out immediately in the barracks of the mendigoxales ... sobriety

⁴¹ Word in Euskera that means belt. It is a colored girdle (black, red, green) that the village people wear as a habitual garment.

⁴² José Luis de la Granja, "Los mendigoizales nacionalistas: de propagandistas sabinianos a gudaristas en la Guerra Civil," in *Los Ejércitos*, ed. Francisco Rodríguez de Coro (Vitoria: Fundación Sancho el Sabio, 1994), 299–300.

⁴³ Manu Sota, "Every true nationalism has to accept persecution in order to grow," quoted in José Luis de la Granja, "The mendigoizales," 305.

⁴⁴ Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas, "Los nacionalistas vascos...", 571.

⁴⁵ Data contributed by José Luis de la Granja in "Los mendigoxales...", 310. It must be pointed out that the Mendigoxale Movement was separated, from the organizational point of view from the PNV when the civil war broke out and that it sustained a more radical project than the PNV, the creation of the Independent Basque Republic. However, I agree with Ronald Fraser in that a unity existed beyond those differences, based on the deep sense of religion and Basque patriotism, which allows me to consider them as only one national movement, with its differentiated currents, in Ronald Fraser, *Recuérdalo tú y recuérdaselo a otros. Historia oral de la guerra civil española* (Barcelona: Ed. Crítica, 1979), 335.

is not improvised, but the result of patriotic education that turns sacrifice into something present" highlighted the *Euzkadi*⁴⁶ newspaper.

The war constituted the right moment for the conversion of the mendigoxale into a gudari and allowed for the Basque ideal of masculinity he represented to become the backbone of the new Basque state gender order during the war. When a gudari took on the signs of identity of the mendigoxale, he also embodied the Basque native: "Pastoral wealth, decency, honesty, dignity, and courage ... men with no flaws, without pain and without fear ... he is a conscientious Basque, an organized and virile avant-gardist. Manhood is the uniform of the gudari."⁴⁷ But some of the particularities of the gudari masculinity were re-created again in the course of the war with the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) rationalized use of violence during war.

The Basque Nationalist Party presented the civil war as an especially unjust conflict, due to the support of the Catholic Church given to the Fascist party. The defense of God and of Catholicism was an essential part of Basque identity that was made coincident with the celebration of the country's national holiday (the Aberri Eguna), and the Easter Sunday celebration of Christ's Resurrection. The approval by the Vatican of Franco's uprising betrayed the feelings of the Basque nationalist community and reaffirmed in the new Basque government the need to demonstrate that Basque people were the true representatives of Catholicism. Lendakari José Antonio Aguirre declared this in the parliament of the Second Republic, regarding the approval of the Statute:

estamos enfrente del imperialismo y del fascismo por nuestro espíritu cristiano ..., estamos a vuestro lado por dos motivos: primero porque Cristo no predicó la bayoneta; y segundo porque en vuestro movimiento proletario ... existe ... una dosis formidable de justicia.⁴⁸

Basque nationalism considered itself a movement inspired by social Christianity, and admitted war only as an act of legitimate national defense. The message was that war was contrary to the principle of peace and love preached by Jesus Christ and could be salvaged only by the legitimacy that

⁴⁶ "Visita al cuartel de Loyola," *Euzkadi*, August 28, 1936.

⁴⁷ "El gudari vasco. Su segunda salida," *Euzkadi*, October 9, 1936. For a general view of the models of masculinity predominant in this period, see in this same volume Nerea Aresti, "The Battle to Define Spanish Manhood."

⁴⁸ "[W]e oppose of imperialism and fascism because of our Christian spirit ..., we are on your side for two reasons: first, because Christ did not preach about bayonets; and second, because in your proletarian movement ... an enormous dose of justice exists." "Discurso del Señor Aguirre en las Cortes el 1 de 1936," *Euzkadi*, October 2, 1936.

the fallen give to the use of violence. The gudari had to be the bearer of another war culture: "Nuestra ética, no puede ser la ética bélica y salvaje de los del yugo y las flechas: somos cristianos y reservamos nuestros puños sólo para defendernos, como el día de hoy sucede."⁴⁹ The virility of the gudari was also concentrated not only in the courage of the struggle, but also in the willpower to maintain an irreproachable Christian moral conduct.

The perception of war as an act of persecution against the Basque people legitimized their participation in it as a valid act of defense. The ideal virility of the gudari was reinforced in the act of resisting the assault on his country. The nationalist press represented the gudaris as victims and martyrs of the Fascist crusade and in the act of giving their lives for the country they were made in the image of Jesus Christ, and their sacrifice the means to the supreme act of Christian redemption. In the same manner that the death of Jesus Christ had given origin to the Church, the death of the gudari contributed to the rebirth of the Basque nation. The exclusive identification of the gudari with the front line was indispensable for the gender culture that the new Basque state wanted to introduce. Not only was it necessary to legitimize its authority, but also was useful for the country's delivery.

One of the first measures that the Basque government took at the beginning of its command was the liberation of 113 women who were imprisoned due to their ideological sympathies with the Francoists. A measure was carried out under the sponsorship of different delegates of international institutions in the early days of October 1936. The gesture was intended to provoke a response in the same terms by the Francoist party. From the perspective of the Basque government, the release of prisoners was intended to humanize the war. Its objectives were at least twofold: first, to strengthen the image of Basque people as morally superior to the Fascists in the international scene, and second, to make a clean start and depart from the early presence of women at the front lines. With the hypothetical return of the Republican prisoners, the Basque government was trying to turn back the clock with the restoration of gender boundaries. With the exchange of women prisoners theirs was a symbolic move to keep women out of a purely masculine war. The Basque Nationalist Party justified the government's gesture as follows: "nosotros consideramos que la lucha actual, por fuerte, por duradera y por sangrienta debe circunscribirse a los

⁴⁹ "Our ethics cannot be war and savage ethics of those of the yoke and the arrows: we are Christians and we reserve our fists only to defend ourselves, as is happening today." "El gudari vasco. Su segunda salida," *Euzkadi*, October 9, 1936.

hombres solamente. Así lo hemos creído siempre, abogando por la eliminación total, absoluta de las mujeres en la lucha, y por esta causa nos parece admirable la decisión de nuestros gobernantes que han iniciado su gestión.”⁵⁰ This is admirable. Although the release of the Basque and Republican prisoners was never carried out, basically because the Francoists did not negotiate in good faith with the Basque separatists, the unequivocal intent of the Basque government was to establish gender boundaries, to impose a serious discipline in this sense, and to make the return of militia woman impossible.

Since the beginning of the war, the mothers or emakumes of the Basque Nationalist Party prepared themselves to carry out the tasks of the rear guard, making the figure of the nurse their maximum bulwark. In 1934 they created the *Euzko Gexozak* (Basque Nurses) organization. During the summer of 1936 this association joined the Group of Basque Physicians, creating the *Euzko Gexozain-Bazpatza*, with the intention of contributing to the sanitary services in the war.⁵¹ During the summer of 1936, the Association of Nurses collaborated with the defense councils, but once the Basque government was constituted the Association worked directly under the War Department and was responsible for the sanitary infrastructure of field hospitals and the support of refugees. Furthermore, the *Emakume Abertzale Batza* organization, associated with the Basque Nationalist Party, worked, through female volunteers in arranging the assistance to refugees, making clothes and preparing food for the *gudaris*, organizing popular dining rooms, giving attention to mothers in labor and to the sick in the rear guard. They also became responsible for guaranteeing the religious services for the *gudaris* at the front lines. To this end, they built portable altars; they printed cards with brief illustrated religious texts of contrition and offered their assistance to the chaplain corps.⁵² The extraordinary

⁵⁰ “We consider that the present combat should be circumscribed to men only because it is hard, it is long-lasting and it is bloody. We have always believed this, advocating for the total, absolute elimination of women in the struggle and this is why we think that the decision of our governors who have initiated this step.” “Medidas de buen gobierno,” *Euzkadi*, October 13, 1936.

⁵¹ Until September 1936, the *Euzkadi* newspaper had articles on the creation of eleven model field hospitals in Ondarreta, Algorta, Bilbao, Güeñes, Balmaseda, Gordexola, Villaro-Amurrio, Sondika, Leioa, and Erandio. In mid-August, the activity of some seventy nurses was recorded. “La labor social y de caridad de Emakume-Abertzale-Batza Bilbao,” *Euzkadi*, August 19, 1936. With the establishment of the Basque government, the *Gexozak* came to be some 300, between regular nurses and auxiliaries, in Policarpo de Larrañaga, *Emakume Abertzale Batza. La mujer en el nacionalismo vasco* (San Sebastián, Auñamendi, 1978), 4:20.

⁵² Policarpo de Larrañaga, *Emakume*, 34.

organizational capacity that the nationalist women demonstrated during the war had been shaped in the previous decades.⁵³

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Basque Nationalist Party finally defined the role of Basque women in the national construction process. In 1908, and as of the emblematic supporting slogan *Jaungoikoa eta Lege Zarra*,⁵⁴ nationalism proposed the limits and the contents of female actions. According to the *Jaungoikoa* term, women were the custodians of religious purity: they were expected to care for the moral well-being of the nation through charitable institutions and Sunday schools. With regard to the term *Lege Zarra*, women were charged with watching over tradition, through the preservation of Euskera, the Basque language.⁵⁵

These specific areas of female action reinforced the nationalist figure of the village woman or *etxeakoandre*⁵⁶ in the ancestral imaginary of the Basque country: guardians of the land, the solar house. The association of meanings allowed women to participate in patriotic activities but not in politics. Women's patriotism pursued the defense and construction avenues of the nation, and in the preservation of national sentiment, Basque emotion, and love of country. Political action, on the other hand, was reserved exclusively to men and was identified with qualities such as intelligence and reason, which had been regarded as exclusively male. This cunning separation between patriotic and political actions forced the Nationalist Basque Party (PNV) to carry out a permanent redefinition of the boundaries between the two sexes in order to disqualify as political any public activity nationalist women carried out during the 1930s.

When the first organization of nationalist women, called *Emakume Abertzale Batza* (EAB), was created in 1922, it became involved in the diffusion of patriotic ideas and sentiment,⁵⁷ in addition to more traditional welfare tasks. During the Second Republic young female propagandists

⁵³ Miren Llona, *Entre señorita*, 159–99. Miren Llona, "Polixene Trabudua, historia de vida de una dirigente del nacionalismo vasco en la Vizcaya de los años treinta," *Historia contemporánea* 21 (2000): 459–84.

⁵⁴ These words in Euskera mean "God" and "Tradition," respectively.

⁵⁵ In the case of Catalonia, Mary Nash suggests that the *dona moderna* maintained her cultural identity as lady and mother and that it was that affirmation of domesticity that legitimized the role of those women in the public sphere. Mary Nash, "La dona moderna del segle XX: la 'nova dona' catalana a Catalunya," *L'Avenç* 112 (1988): 7–10.

⁵⁶ This word in Euskera used to refer to the lady of the house.

⁵⁷ For an in-depth study of EAB, the feminine arm of Basque nationalism, see Mercedes Ugalde Solano, *Mujeres y nacionalismo vasco. Génesis y desarrollo de Emakume Abertzale Batza (1906-1936)* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 1993). Miren Llona, *Entre señorita*, 159–99.

occupied an outstanding place in the vanguard of the nationalist struggle. Polixene Trabudua, an important female propagandist in the 1930s, was put on trial twelve times for her political activities in her role as a speaker in meetings. Trabudua was imprisoned with Haydée Aguirre in 1933 for not paying the fine imposed to them for the radicalism of the content of her speeches. The party did not consider these young women's activism as a political activity. When they were released from jail, a mass demonstration took place to pay homage to these women as mothers, not as political activists. The Basque Nationalist Party gave a different significance to their actions, removing politics from their activism and trying to weaken their political experience with a maternal rhetoric. The nationalist *emakumes* then began to be aware of the limits that their female sex represented within nationalism. The "Homage to the Basque Mother," celebrated on February 5, 1933 at the Euskalduna of the Bilbao main wall, showed both the tension existing between the Basque Nationalist Party and a sector of women whose patriotic activism crossed the gender divide.⁵⁸ In remembering her participation in the *Homage to the Basque Mother*, Polixene Trabudua recaptured the transgressive significance of her actions: "Nosotras no éramos madres," acknowledges Polixene Trabudua. "Fue una especie de camuflaje de la verdadera dimensión que tenía ese homenaje, que era homenaje a la mujer audaz, a la mujer valiente, a la mujer participativa, a la mujer que luchaba junto al hombre. En realidad, ese era el verdadero homenaje, que luego lo adornaron para darle una cosa un poco más conservadora... más acorde con las ideas de la mayoría del Partido Nacionalista Vasco."⁵⁹

During the 1930s, and despite the party's intentions, the *emakumes'* political activism redefined the frontiers between political and patriotic spaces and managed to modernize the image of nationalist women. The figure of the young propagandist was different from the prevailing monolithic image of the mother in the Basque nationalist imaginary. The impact of the nationalist *emakume* of the 1930s reveals itself in the Spanish press of the times as a woman representing a new feminine ideal. In a column

⁵⁸ Miren Llona, "Polixene Trabudua," 459–84.

⁵⁹ "We were not mothers," acknowledges Polixene Trabudua. "It was a sort of camouflage of the true dimension that the homage had; that it was a homage to bold women, to brave women, to activist women, to the women who fought beside the men. Actually, that was the true homage, which they later embellished to give it something a bit more conservative ... more in accordance with the ideas of the majority of the Basque Nationalist Party." Ahoa, Ahozko Historiaren Artxiboa, Archivo de la Memoria, Colección "Mujeres de las clases medias." Miren Llona, "Polixene Trabudua," entrevista 2, January 17, 1999.

regarding the growing political awareness of Spanish women, Josefina Carabis commented: "In Bilbao, all of the women wear political badges in their coats' lapel, or in the ribbon of their hats, peculiar detail, doubtlessly not observed in any other Spanish capital. It is not strange because Bilbao is perhaps the place where women have hurled themselves into the political struggle more decidedly and belligerently."⁶⁰

What happened to the transgressive attitude of a sector of the women of Emakume Abertzale Batza during the war? Was it possible to redefine gender boundaries while remaining faithful to the new Basque government's priority of winning the war? We have shown how the fundamental message, launched by the Basque government since its constitution, was articulated in terms of the reestablishment of order and to affirm its institutional legitimacy. We have also explained how the figure of the gudari was produced simultaneously with the foundation of the new state. Through the gudari icon, the government expected to accomplish a dual objective: to encourage the discipline of the army, and to correct gender instability, which had come about during the summer of 1936.

The new state push to control the participation of women in the war effort according to the traditional gender order became the utmost priority. The government of José Antonio Aguirre established at its outset that women were the heart of the rear guard and that the restoration of normality required them to not only watch over the religious practices, the defense of property, and the integrity of prisoners of war, but also to watch over the reestablishment of the equilibrium between the sexes. A proliferation of two types of war narratives appeared in the nationalist press: one in which the invaded country represented by the mother figure (*etxekoandre*) was defended by the son (*gudari*), and another in which the daughters (*emakumes*) repressed their grief over the departure of the soldiers. The weekly publication *Gudari*, created by the Nationalist Party during the war, allows us to appraise the limits imposed on women's war efforts. In an article addressed to Basque women as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, or brides of the gudari, the primary role of women was described in terms of knowing how to "overcome pain" and letting the man go off to war without "upsetting the brave gudari." In addition to the moral conduct of the emakumes the article circumscribed their work exclusively to the rear guard:

⁶⁰ Josefina Carabias, "¡Mujeres a votar!," *Estampa* 27, April 22, 1933.

A todas vosotras, mujeres vascas, que prestáis vuestros consuelos en los hospitales de sangre, que trabajáis a deshoras confeccionando prendas de abrigo para mitigar el frío del "gudari" que lucha, a todas vosotras mi admiración y respeto. El triunfo será nuestro porque vosotras sois los ángeles que nos guiáis al sendero de la victoria. Yo estoy seguro que repudiaríais al que fuera cobarde en la lucha, porque no sería digno de vuestro cariño.

El día de la victoria os lanzaréis a la calle para colmar de flores a los vencedores, para mostraros orgullosas de vuestros seres queridos, que han salido a la lucha por defenderos.⁶¹

During the war, female decorum was attainable only through the submission to strict gender discipline. Both the success in the war and the strength of the morale of the gudari seemed to depend on the subjection of women to the dictates of standard heterosexual femininity. As a matter of fact, the sexual division of tasks in the front lines and rear guard is proposed as a key reality in the text, as the essential ingredient in order to achieve victory. Likewise, the existence of a standard femininity appears as the necessary instrument to encourage men's attachment to a model of masculinity based on courage and bravery, and capable of responding to the necessities of the war.

In the face of this discursive avalanche, the emakumes seem to have returned to the secure stronghold offered by the rhetoric of the mother symbol. Three articles published in the weekly periodical *Patria Libre* by Polixene Trabudua at the beginning of 1937 show an approach to the rationalization of the war made by a woman representative of the emakumes who, during the 1930s, had challenged the gender boundaries of Basque nationalism. In these articles, Polixene Trabudua salvages the figure of the mother as the only dimension through which the Basque women can act in the war effort. From the perspective of Polixene Trabudua, the projection of the mother accomplishes three choices of response and combat. The first is the mother who gives up her son to the country. This act is interpreted as a sacrifice comparable to the gudari giving up his life:

⁶¹ "To all of you Basque women who provide comfort at field hospitals, who work overtime making garments to protect the "gudari" who fight from the cold; to all of you, my admiration and respect. Triumph shall be ours because you are the angels who guide us in the path of victory. I am sure that you will repudiate whoever is a coward in the struggle, because he would not be worthy of your love. The day of victory you will rush to the streets to heap flowers on the victorious, to show yourselves proud of your loved ones, who have gone out to fight to defend you." "A ti Emakume," *Gudari*, November 11, 1936.

Pero entre todos estos dolores y angustias [se refiere a los del soldado], hay uno, más grande quizá, por ser oculto, más profundo por ser el único verdadero; el dolor de la madre al ver partir a su hijo a la guerra.⁶²

Permeated by the rhetoric of the sexual equilibrium, this argument could be interpreted as an attempt to place the value of the *gudaris* and of the *emakumes* on the same scale.

The second choice is that of the mother who is an educator. Polixene Trabudua again took up the mission entrusted by Basque nationalism to women as conveyors of the true patriotic sentiment. This task gave the *emakumes* the responsibility of channeling the horror of the war and turning that experience into a learning experience that would mesh with the Christian idiosyncrasy of Basque nationalism:

¡Odio! ¡Odio! Sólo un odio profundo y verdadero debemos esculpir en el fondo de sus corazoncitos para que no se borre jamás de él: el odio a las cadenas, el odio a la esclavitud. Así los formaremos para vivir una verdadera libertad.⁶³

It is necessary to relate the value of this female task of hatred rationalization with the need of Basque nationalism to justify the use of violence. We have proposed previously that only from the legitimacy of being the victim of aggression was the Basque nationalism able to defend its participation in the conflict. During the war, the Basque government always saw itself as representative of civilization and Christian values and considered the action of the uprising army as an primitive and instinct drive.⁶⁴ The *emakumes*, as depositories and preachers of the Christian values, should help to rationalize barbarism and soften the devastating effects of war in moral terms.

⁶² "But among all of these pains and anxieties [she refers to those of the soldier], there is one, greater perhaps because it is hidden, deeper, because it is the only true one; the pain of the mother when she sees her son going off to war." Polixene Trabudua, "Amatxu," *Patria Libre*, January 14, 1937.

⁶³ "Hate! Hate! Only a deep and true hatred is what we must engrave at the bottom of our hearts so that it will never be erased from it: hatred of chains, hatred of slavery. This is how we will form them to live in true freedom." Polixene Trabudua, "Futura generación," *Patria Libre*, January 21, 1937.

⁶⁴ It could be read in the pages of *Euzkadi*: "In those dispositions of yielding to the Christian and civil life; in those dispositions of inexpressible aversion to armed violence, revered as ideal by fascism, the Basque youth was surprised by this war." "Emakumes y *Gudaris*," *Euzkadi*, October 29, 1936. For a perspective of the Spanish II República from the point of view of the cultural significance of the different political cultures, see José Javier Díaz Freire, *La República y el porvenir: culturas políticas en Vizcaya durante la Segunda República* (Donostia: Kriselu, DL, 1993).

The third setting contemplated by Polixene Trabudua is an extension of the previous two; the biological mother and the teaching mother. It is the universe of the nurse, the caregiver, who represents the paradigmatic femininity, who complements the masculinity of the gudari completely.

En nuestras manos está el mañana de los hombres, pero también el endulzar las amarguras y los dolores de la actualidad. Mientras el hombre con gesto viril defiende la libertad de la Patria, que es la libertad de sus hijos. La mujer, como blanca ilusión, debe curar sus heridas. Las del cuerpo, producidas por frías balas, pero también las del alma ... ser la mensajera del amor ... ¡Sembremos el amor! Es lo único que salvará a la Humanidad. Y nosotras las mujeres dejando a un lado las doctrinas feministas, nuestras "reivindicaciones" y nuestros "derechos" seamos menos ajenas de lo más hermoso que existe en la tierra. Seamos mensajeras del amor.⁶⁵

Regression becomes evident. Polixene Trabudua carries out an exercise, conscious of renouncing the questioning of gender hierarchy, and prioritizes the return of traditional gender harmony, instead of female emancipation. This abdication allows for two conclusions: that progress achieved by the emakumes in the previous stage had been sufficiently significant, and that the war turns out to be a tremendously hostile setting for the defense of in the defense of gender equality.

The figure of the nurse restored harmony, demonstrating the efficiency of the complementary gender hierarchy. The figure of a nurse stands on the paradigm of maternal femininity and came to reinforce the unilateral women's unilateral destiny as mothers. The conditions of the war, along with the construction of a national state, left no room for questioning the boundaries between the sexes; much to the contrary, the emergency conditions of the conflict required faithfulness to the primal qualities of the emakumes.

The maternal figure of the nurse turned out to be the most appropriate tool to counteract the disturbing effect of the militia woman.

During the 1930s, nursing had already been shaped as a profession perfectly fitted for the ideal femininity. Since the origin of nursing, a nurse's

⁶⁵ "The future of men is in our hands, but also sweetening the bitterness of the pains of our times. While man, with a virile gesture defends the Country's freedom, which is the freedom of his sons and daughters, the woman, as a white illusion, must cure the wounds; those of the body, produced by cold bullets, but also those of the soul ... must be the messenger of love ... Let us plant love! It is the only thing that will save Humanity. And we, the women, leaving aside the feminist doctrines, our 'vindications' and our 'rights.' let us be less alien to the most beautiful thing that exists on earth. Let us be messengers of love." Polixene Trabudua, "Misión de la mujer," *Patria Libre*, January 28, 1937.

tasks had incorporated both the physical and spiritual care of the sick.⁶⁶ Within the context of war, the nurse carried out the work of helping both the doctor and the priest. The hospital stories of the emakumes show to what degree the nurse was present and helped the dying in their final passage. The religiousness inherent to the nurse's identity, especially, to the maternal role she embodied, gave consolation and relief to the soldiers before they died.⁶⁷

The work of the emakumes represented women's special contribution socially and politically to the reestablishment of order through instilling gender equilibrium in the war effort. On the one hand, by their mere presence, the nurses drove away the anxiety represented by the militia woman who had unleashed the danger of dissolution of gender boundaries. On the other hand, thanks to their management of the religious rites, nurses engaged in the final battle against anticlericalism, helping the militiamen to die in a Christian manner. The nurse thus managed to heal many of the wounds opened in the social body by the disorder of the war. Women were only accepted socially at the front as nurses. The field hospital was the nearest place to the battlefield where women were allowed. The possibility of having a different experience, such as the militia women had, had been banned and the nurse came to embody unilaterally the honorable public expression of femininity within the context of the war. The rhetoric of motherhood saturated the sense of femininity, managing to restore gender order in the figure of the nurse.

But the restoration of order reincarnated by the nurse not only was gendered but also had a social class connotation. The paradigm of femininity that gave life to the nurse tried to reproduce the ideal of the "angel of the home" in the public sphere. This was an ideal created by and for middle-class women in the nineteenth century; therefore, not all women could acquire and represent that imaginary. Class barriers also became apparent among the women who participated in the front lines and those in the rear

⁶⁶ María de Maeztu had said it in 1933 "your work should be tinted with a religious tone, a link of the mortal with the eternal, where the sick, defeated in the fight for living, finds calmness and support." María de Maeztu, *El trabajo de la mujer, nuevas perspectivas* (Madrid: School for Nurses of the Red Cross Central Hospital, 1933), 27. For a development of nursing in relation with the construction of middle class feminine identity, see Miren Llona, *Entre señorita y garçon: historia oral de las mujeres bilbaínas de clase media (1919-1939)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2002), 92–105.

⁶⁷ "Informe nº 47. Informe de Jone Bustinza," in *La Guerra Civil en Euzkadi. 136 testimonios recogidos por J. M. Barandiarán*, ed. José María de Gamboa and Jean-Claude Larrondo (Milafranca-Villefranque: Editions Bidasoa, 2005), 300–301.

guard. The lack of identification of the emakumes with the militia women was manifested in every way and provoked both their moving away from the organizations of anti-Fascist women as well as maintaining differences between them throughout the war.⁶⁸ In fact, nationalist women wound up using the term “militia woman” to designate working class women specifically. The following anecdote, told by Haydée Aguirre, an important propagandist of Basque nationalism, gives us an idea of the abyss that separated one group from the other:

Yo estaba en el Hospital de Basurto, éramos enfermeras de estudio y entraron unas milicianas a aprender a vendar. Eran pocas pero con mucho odio hacia nosotras. Dijo unas palabras incorrectas el médico, que nos estaba enseñando a vendar. Se fue para otro lado, una emakume le contestó y hubo un jaleo allí. Las milicianas nos querían pegar. Enseguida se echaban a pegarte, no a razonar. Yo llevaba siempre una pistolita del 65, que no valía mucho. Pero me valió muy bien, porque, cuando nos vimos acorraladas ... y ya nos veíamos perdidas, saqué la pistola y tiré unos tiros al aire. Las milicianas corrían.⁶⁹

The social differentiation with regard to class origin had been an active element in the construction of modern mass society in the Basque country. The middle-class *señorita*, in the context of the development of urban society during the early decades of the twentieth century, constituted an essential piece of social stratification and the creation of modern class limits. The pre-war social hierarchy would also be reproduced in the war scenario, achieving the separation of two universes; that of the militia women and that of the emakumes. Furthermore, the latter felt motivated by the unprecedented progress of the national construction process and were especially committed to the new Basque government in its needs for legitimation. The figure of the emakume managed to reestablish the gender order, representing the ideal complement to the gudari, but also the

⁶⁸ One difference, which had more repercussion than any other was the petition for pardon by the EAB for some women condemned by the Popular Tribunal for the crime of espionage. The granting of forgiveness by the Basque government unleashed the fury of the republican women, who denounced the case in an article, “Que se cumpla la Ley,” in *Mujeres*, March, 20, 1937.

⁶⁹ “I was at the Hospital of Basurto; we were student nurses and some militia women came to learn how to apply bandages. They were few, but they showed us much hatred. The doctor who was teaching us how to apply bandages said some incorrect words. He went elsewhere; one emakume talked back to him and turmoil broke out there. The militia women wanted to hit us. They immediately wanted to strike us, not to reason with us. I always carried a 65 pistol, which was not very expensive. But it was worth it because, when we were cornered ... and we thought we were lost, so I took out the pistol and fired some shots into the air. The militia women ran.” *Protagonistas de la Historia Vasca, 1923-1950* (San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 1985), 179.

national and class orders, establishing clearly defined social limits, which ran the risk at the beginning of the war of becoming blurred.

Conclusions

Throughout this chapter, we have approached the tragic moment of the outburst of the civil war in the Basque country. Our tools for approaching the conflict have been the figure of the militia woman and that of the nationalist emakume. They allowed us to recognize the gendered nature of the war both in the front and in the rear guard. The figure of the militia woman has served to verify the level of social anxiety and unrest generated by the gender disorder that they caused. The violence and disorientation unleashed against the women who fought in the front lines demonstrate the challenges that criticism to traditional gender discourses had to face during the 1930s in general and especially during the Spanish civil war.

The figure of the emakume, on the one hand, served the new Basque state nationalist agenda in the autumn of 1936 by utilizing specific symbolic gender figures for its legitimization. The gudari/emakume duo constituted a fundamental element in the task of strengthening the Basque government and in the more advanced stage of national construction. Furthermore, through their actions as nurses, the emakumes managed to neutralize the disturbing effect of the militia woman and reestablish the supposed harmony of gender relations. An analysis of the civil war from the gender perspective has demonstrated the complex nature of war conflicts. On the one hand, the social disarticulation produced by the organization of the battlefield and the restructuring of the rear guard opens new possibilities in the public sphere for women, in many cases regarded as open challenges to sexual and gender orders. Thus, alternative social and political proposals in the emergency of conflict resolution block the opportunity of expanding new gender and social leadership. On the other hand, social and institutional pressure in favor of normalization, proposed as the essential requirement in order to win the war, became the priority. The reaction against the gender disorder provoked the reaffirmation of some traditional and culturally deep-rooted models of femininity and masculinity, which were reactivated in a desperate attempt to provide trust and appease the feeling of insecurity and impotence caused by the war. To this end, the figures of the woman mother and of the man soldier are used as icons, capable in themselves of modifying the social perception of the war situation and transforming discouragement into certainty. Within this context,

the final result is a significant strengthening of the most conventional gender stereotypes and a closing of ranks around an order that will dispel doubts and calm the anxiety aggravated by the changes in sexual and gender identities.

From the point of view of national construction, the experience of the Basque government shows how gender stereotypes turn out to be recurrent propaganda devices in the search for legitimation pursued by emerging national states. In the case of Euskadi, through the *gudari/emakume* binary, the intent was not only to guarantee the victory in war, but also to demonstrate that the government was capable of maintaining order and, thus winning credibility in the international concert of nations. Through this case study is possible to understand to what degree national developments are processes in which gender, class, and ethnic-national determinants are utterly interrelated and support each other in achieving the new state aspirations. In addition to showing the tragedy of death and defeat, the X-ray of war painted by Aurelio Arteta helps us decipher the instruments furnished by the Basque society at the time to confront the conflict. The *gudari* and the *emakume* were the two pillars of social and gender orders with which winning the war was believed to be possible. But these figures also constituted the insignias from which Basque nationalism tried to make their "imagined community" a reality. The new national state had been preconceived with some defined gender and class models and their initial materialization tried to adjust rigidly to them.

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THE REPUBLICAN MOTHER IN POST-TRANSITION NOVELS OF HISTORICAL MEMORY: A RE-INSCRIPTION INTO SPANISH CULTURAL MEMORY?

Deirdre Finnerty

After the Spanish civil war (1936–39), those who found themselves on the losing Republican side were subjected to severe repression, and public memory was manipulated in order to marginalize them even further and exclude them from the nation-building project. However, Falangist ideology also attempted to regulate the Republican private sphere through the targeting of the Republican mother. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the state realized the importance of the mother as the transmitter of cultural values. Second, the state believed that by indoctrinating women in the ideologies of the dictatorship its power could be sustained as women would transmit Francoist values and beliefs to their children. Therefore, to prevent the transmission of the values of the Republic, the Republican mother had to be targeted and punished. The objective of this chapter is to consider the place of this silenced Republican mother in Spanish cultural memory of the civil war and Francoist dictatorship today.

Beginning with a brief historical background of the visions and discourses of motherhood in civil war and postwar Spain, this chapter will examine the representation of Republican mothers in postwar Spain as recorded in testimony and fictional representations about the recovery of historical memory. Post-transition literature of the recovery of Spanish historical memory of the civil war and repression foreground the domestic sphere and the mother-child relationship, highlighting the paradox that Republican motherhood represented in the postwar period. Testimonial narratives of resistance suggest that, rather than accepting the Francoist maternal ideal, some Republican mothers continued to be influenced by the Republican ideal of motherhood.¹ By comparing fiction to testimonial

¹ For the purposes of this chapter, my definition of a Republican mother is any mother who opposed the Franco regime, or who was involved in a social or family circle contrary to the regime and suffered for it. A Republican mother is a mother with left-wing ideals, be they socialist, communist, or anarchist, or a woman immersed in a left-wing environment. There are many differences between communism, socialism, anarchism, and even Marxism, but due to the extent of the Francoist repression, the lines between the various dissenting

texts, this chapter will explore whether the representation of the Republican maternal figure in a selection of post-transition historical novels makes a valuable contribution to the recovery of their experience and historical agency.

Motherhood in Civil War and Postwar Spain

Motherhood was a powerful symbol with which Spanish women identified, and women's maternal role was exalted in Spanish society in the first part of the twentieth century.² Both right- and left-wing political groups traditionally addressed this extended into the political arena even before the war, women as mothers.³ During the war, both sides appealed to women's traditional role as wife and mothers to encourage female participation. Francoist groups seized the opportunity to integrate women in the rear guard with *Auxilio Social* (Social Aid), under the supervision of the *Sección Femenina de Falange* (Women's Section of the Falange) being the main outlet for women's mobilization on the insurgent side.⁴ In 1937, a six-month term of *Servicio Social* (Social Service) became compulsory for Spanish women in the nationalist zone to aid the war effort.⁵ Women's main role was to provide food, make uniforms, and care for wounded soldiers. A conservative discourse, strongly influenced by Catholicism, was central to the Francoist vision of women's role in the war effort and appealed to women's sense of abnegation and sacrifice, as is illustrated in this example

groups blurred in the postwar years. See Giuliana Di Febo, *Resistencia y Movimiento de Mujeres en España 1936–1976* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1979), 55–56.

² Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver, CO: Arden Press, 1995), 54.

³ Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, 54–55.

⁴ *Auxilio Social*, originally called *Auxilio de Invierno*, was an aid organization largely based on the German *Winterhilfe* in Nazi Germany. Set up in 1936, *Auxilio Social* offered assistance to those most affected by the war in the Nationalist zone and after 1939, to the whole of Spain. It was influenced by a conservative Catholic ideology and led by Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, wife of Onésimo Redondo, founder of the Falange Española. Ángela Cenarro-Lagunas, *La sonrisa de Falange: Auxilio Social en la guerra civil y en la posguerra* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), xi–2. *Auxilio Social* became an official branch of the Sección Femenina de Falange in 1936. Founded in 1934 by Pilar Primo de Rivera, sister of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the Women's Section of the Falange existed for more than forty-three years and exerted considerable power over Spanish women. The organization is credited with playing a major role in the postwar construction of Spanish femininity. See: María Teresa Gallego-Méndez, *Mujer, Falange y Franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1983).

⁵ Aurora G. Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 24.

from the Falangist magazine *Ecos* of July 19, 1937: "God and the Blessed Virgin have granted me my most ardent desire. My son has died for God and for Spain, in the good Christian way."⁶

The Republican camp also used a discourse appealing to traditional feminine nurturing qualities in order to incorporate women into the rear guard anti-Francoist resistance and frequently employed images of motherhood to do so.⁷ While focusing initially on women's desire to protect their children from the nationalist forces, as the war progressed the Republican vision of motherhood increasingly took on "combative" and sacrificial connotations.⁸ This can be clearly seen in the Republican literature, particularly Communist literature, intended for women:

Victory...will be forged by the sacrifice of those sons whom you had such difficulty bearing, and from whom you have so much hope. This blood, which flows so generously, is yours; it is the blood of the most generous of our women.⁹

"Combative" motherhood equated heroism with maternal sacrifice; implying the active participation of mothers in the war effort and the moral authority to encourage their sons to fight, linking women's identity as mothers to a Republican political identity. Nash affirms that:

The social projection of motherhood and maternalism constituted an important characteristic of women's historical experience during the war ... Motherhood became politically charged, while women's traditional roles and skills were attributed a new content, higher status, and firmer purpose.¹⁰

Anarchist policies on "self-conscious" motherhood were strongly influenced by Neo-Malthusianist principles,¹¹ and birth control was considered

⁶ Gallego-Méndez, *Mujer, Falange y Franquismo*, 193.

⁷ Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, 58. Miren Llona's excellent contribution to this volume also highlights the fact that, in wartime, traditional notions of gender roles are reinforced in order to foster a sense of order in times of political unrest. By examining the myth of the *emakume*, Llona notes how this image replaced that of the *miliciana* during the civil war in the Basque country, as it was more compatible with the traditional mother/soldier binary opposition, on which gendered wartime myths are based.

⁸ Nash, *Defying Male Civilisation*, 54–56.

⁹ "Primera Conferencia Nacional de l'Aliança de la Dona," *Companya*, August 15, 1937, as cited in Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, 56.

¹⁰ Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, 58.

¹¹ In the 1920s the anarchist Neo-Malthusianism movement was a minor branch of the Spanish libertarian movement, which incorporated issues of birth control, eugenics, sexual reform, and women's emancipation into global anarchist strategies. Primarily intended for working-class women, the movement was considered fundamental to improving living conditions, sexual life, and responsible motherhood. See Mary Nash, "Pronatalismo y

to be an important element of women's liberation.¹² Although the anarchist women's group *Mujeres Libres* took issue with the identification of all women with motherhood, they recognized that motherhood was a reality for many Spanish women at that time. They emphasised the importance of developing women's social conscience in order for them to become better mothers.¹³ Despite *Mujeres Libres* questioning of the conflation of motherhood and womanhood, its literature for women frequently addressed women's maternal identity.¹⁴

On the whole, there was little difference between the tasks carried out by women on either side of the civil war, but there were differences in the ideological underpinnings and conflicting visions of society that motivated their participation. Discourses of women's motherly and nurturing duties continued to be very important with the instauration of the Franco regime. The new regime set about glorifying the traditional role of women in society and highlighting the importance of women's place within the home. Franco entrusted the Women's Section with the teaching and training of Spanish women. Their purpose was to educate Spanish women in domestic and Catholic values and prepare them for marriage and motherhood.¹⁵

Motherhood became essential to the Francoist nation-building project. Franco's regime linked motherhood to patriotism and bearing a child and raising him/her in the Francoist mold was the greatest expression of patriotism to which a woman could aspire. As Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, founder of *Auxilio Social* (Social Aid) declared to Spanish mothers in 1939: "everything that you do for those children, you do for Spain."¹⁶ The new regime recognized mothers' importance as the transmitters of historical memory and cultural values. By aiming an aggressive ideological regeneration project at women¹⁷ they could ensure the regime's permanence, as mothers

maternidad en la España franquista," in *Maternidad y políticas de género: La mujer en los estados de bienestar europeos, 1880-1950*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 290.

¹² Morillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 22-23.

¹³ Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 128-32.

¹⁴ Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, 58.

¹⁵ Beginning in 1941, *Servicio Social de la Mujer* was a period of social service to the new state. It became compulsory for Spanish women and was controlled by the Women's Section. See Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 32-33.

¹⁶ Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, *La mujer y la educación de los niños* (Madrid: Ediciones del Auxilio Social, 1939), 54.

¹⁷ Ricard Vinyes, *Irredentas* (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2002), 67-69.

would transmit the directives of the 1939 New Order.¹⁸ Women's important maternal function, however, was to be in a secondary and subaltern role to men's role in the Fatherland, and was to be carried out within the parameters of the domestic sphere. As Pilar Primo de Rivera stated, "the only mission that is assigned to women in the fatherland is the home."¹⁹ Although instrumental in perpetuating and maintaining Francoist values, women were expected to submit to the hierarchy of the patriarchal state, as illustrated by this second quote from Women's Section leader Pilar Primo de Rivera: "as women we don't have to be the leaders in politics, but we do have to experience it and know about it to transmit it to future generations."²⁰

Republican motherhood, on the other hand, was far from cherished. *Rojos* (Republicans) were a sickness or virus that plagued Spain and needed to be eradicated.²¹ Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, a prominent Fascist psychiatrist, set out to prove the mental inferiority of the Francoist political enemy, and promoted a policy of positive eugenics to eliminate these weaker elements of society from the Spanish race.²² He believed that "total separation of these subjects from infancy can free society of such a frightening plague."²³ Vallejo-Nágera warned of the danger that a Republican upbringing represented for Spanish children. Thus, by limiting children's contact with "Red" parents, the new state found another way in which they could improve the "hygiene" of the race and prevent them from being tainted with Red ideas. Vallejo-Nágera strongly recommended that children should be sent to Falangist or Catholic-led centers where positive Francoist racial qualities were exalted and environmental factors, such as opposing belief systems, which contribute to "degeneration of the race," were eliminated.²⁴

As such, the regime went to great lengths to punish and silence the Republican mother in order to prevent the transmission of Republican beliefs. The most active Republican mothers who remained in Spain were imprisoned, and many were executed. On March 30, 1940, a law was passed that allowed children to stay with their mothers until they reached the age

¹⁸ Cinta Ramblado-Minero, "Madres de España/Madres de la Anti-España: La Mujer Republicana y la Transmisión de la Memoria Republicana," *Entelequia* 7 (2008): 129–37.

¹⁹ Pilar Primo de Rivera, as cited in Nicolas Sartorius and Javier Alfaya, *La memoria insumisa: Sobre la dictadura de Franco* (Madrid: Huertas, 1999), 331.

²⁰ Pilar Primo de Rivera, "Discurso de Pilar Primo de Rivera en el X Consejo Nacional de la Sección Femenina," *Consigna* 62, no. 3 (1955): 51.

²¹ Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 45–66.

²² Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 59–60.

²³ Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, *La locura y la guerra. Psicopatología de la guerra española* (Valladolid: Librería Santarén, 1939), 52. Also cited in Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 59.

²⁴ Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 60.

of three.²⁵ This order allowed children to be sent to the appropriate child-care center created by the state in order to combat the perceived detrimental effects of Republican environments on children.²⁶ As children were allowed to stay with their mothers only until the age of three, special procedures had to be put in place for the care of these children after they were taken from the prisons. Records from the *Patronato de San Pablo*²⁷ show that between 1944 and 1954, 30,960 children became wards of the state and the very high number of children taken by the state shows that the “re-education” of the children of Republican parents had become a priority. The most common destination for the children was Auxilio Social centers.²⁸ Family ties were sometimes forcibly cut and testimonial narratives reveal that a number of children were taken away from their imprisoned mothers.²⁹

However, it was not only imprisoned mothers who were kept under watchful supervision. The *Patronato Central de la Merced para la Redención de Penas por el Trabajo*,³⁰ assisted by *Acción Católica*,³¹ the *Patronato de San Pablo*, and the *Patronato de Protección a La Mujer*³² created a network of intense observation and surveillance of the families of Republican prisoners and prisoners who were released from prison. Members (usually women) of this network were under strict instructions to investigate the

²⁵ Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 79.

²⁶ Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 59–60.

²⁷ This was a Catholic organization created by the Ministerio de Justicia in 1943 charged with the responsibility for the care of the children of prisoners. See: Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 81.

²⁸ Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 82–87.

²⁹ In 1940, a prison especially intended for breast-feeding mothers and small children was set up in San Isidro, directed by María Topete Fernández. Topete Fernández was heavily influenced by the ideas of Vallejo-Nágera and reports reached the other prisons of how mothers were separated from their children and were permitted to see them for only one hour a day. See: Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 74–77. In addition, recent testimonial narratives also reveal that a number of children were taken away from their parents and given up for illegal adoption. See: Ricard Vinyes, Montse Armengou, and Ricard Belis, *Los niños perdidos del franquismo* (Barcelona: DeBolsillo, 2003).

³⁰ Central Council for the Reduction of Penal Sentences through Work. This organization was set up in 1938 and in 1942 was renamed the *Patronato Central de Nuestra Señora de la Merced para la Redención de Penas por el Trabajo*. It was presided over by the Director General of the Prisons and had a strong Catholic ethos. See: Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 204.

³¹ Created in 1923, *Acción Católica* is a conservative Catholic lay movement that promotes the spread of Catholicism in the public realm. See: Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 141.

³² The Council for Women's Protection was created in 1942 to watch over the moral conduct of Spanish women and was led by Esteban Bilbao Eguía. See: Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 204.

living conditions and religious practices of the families they visited.³³ The fact that mothers and children were the main targets of these groups proves that the Franco regime had a vested interest in controlling behavior within the family. Many families lost the legal guardianship of their children through the intervention of this network.

However, for the women who found themselves on the losing side, motherhood became charged with conflicting meanings after the war. In addition to the new regime's glorification of the maternal, there is some evidence to suggest that the Republican notion of "combative" motherhood extended into the first decade of the Franco regime. A maternal political identity was constructed by underground Republican political groups in exile, such as the French-based *Unión de Mujeres Españolas* (Union of Spanish Women [UME]), to encourage women to aid the clandestine resistance.³⁴ Similar to the wartime appeal to "combative" mothers, motherhood was once again used as a legitimizing discourse for women's political activity, encouraging them to act out of a "female consciousness."³⁵

The following example from a 1946 edition of the Communist magazine *Nuestra Bandera* demonstrates the call for women to participate actively in the resistance movement while continuing to exert their traditional nurturing functions. The author, exiled Communist leader Irene Falcón, first cites Ibárruri's criticisms of the attitude of male politicians who do not facilitate women's political activity and view it as insignificant. She later states that:

Precisely in the clandestine resistance, women can play, and are playing an extremely important role. On the other hand, women who have already played an active part in workers or mass organizations are an important

³³ Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 204.

³⁴ Previously the civil war anti-Fascist women's group *Agrupación de Mujeres Antifascistas* (AMA), the predominantly Communist *Unión de Mujeres Españolas* (Union of Spanish Women) was set up after the Second World War and was renamed the *Unión de Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas* in 1947 (Union of Antifascist Spanish Women). The Union of Spanish Women was the most important, most representative, and most active women's organization founded in exile, forming an active network within France. For the most part, anarchist women's groups did not reform until the 1960s and socialist women did not regroup after the war. See: Mercedes Yusta, "The Mobilization of Women in Exile: The Case of the *Unión de Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas* in France," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1, 2005: 43–58, 43.

³⁵ Temma Kaplan, "Female Consciousness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona, 1910–1918," *Signs* 7, no. 3 (1982): 545–66.

support to their partners and children who choose the heroic path of resistance, the one that helps the guer[r]illa movements.³⁶

In this way, the maternal stereotypes utilized by the new Francoist regime were the opposite of those employed by underground resistance groups. The Francoist maternal ideal envisioned a submissive and subservient mother figure that was content to carry out domestic duties within the private sphere, leaving the public sphere as an exclusively male arena. On the other hand, the Union of Spanish Women (UME) wanted mothers to use their maternal role in order to legitimize their participation in the public sphere and aid the resistance.³⁷

The organization's official magazine, *Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas*, acted as a link between Republican women who remained in Spain and exiled women, informing them of resistance activities being carried out in France or in Spain. Although it was difficult to maintain contact with Spain, a more or less constant communication existed between women prisoners who remained in Spain and UME members, as illustrated by the numerous photos, letters, and other documents that were published in *Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas*.³⁸ The magazine made constant allusions to women's combat as a means to achieve a better life for their children, and also made persistent appeals to the authority that their status as mothers gave them in the struggle against the dictatorship. The following example taken from the editorial of the May 1947 edition of *Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas* clearly demonstrates this fact. Referring to support for the Franco regime, the author states that:

We, as mothers and as women, will use all of our strength to prevent it! If the Republican cause is sacred to all Republicans, it is much more so to the mothers who lost their sons to defend it. And in honor of the thousands of widows and orphans of our country, the Union of Spanish Women declares today, like yesterday, that it supports those leaders who help the interior resistance, who support our people's mandate to reestablish the Republic.³⁹

A similar discourse can be seen in this next quote from prominent UME member Rosa Vilas: "And we understand that as women we must have our

³⁶ Irene Falcón, "La participación de las mujeres en la lucha por una España democrática," *Nuestra Bandera*, August 9, 1946, 57. Irene Falcón became national secretary of the Union of Spanish Women in August 1946.

³⁷ Mercedes Yusta, *Madres coraje contra Franco* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009), 260.

³⁸ Yusta, *Madres coraje contra Franco*, 134.

³⁹ "Editorial," *Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas*, May, 1947, 2. Also cited in Yusta, *Madres coraje contra Franco*, 268.

say when it comes to our children's future. It is women's right and duty to contribute to creating and achieving this future for them."⁴⁰ Therefore, while this maternal collective identity constructed for Republican women in the postwar period does not challenge traditional gender roles, to a certain extent it blurs the boundaries of the political arena, affording women a political identity and encouraging their political participation in the public sphere.⁴¹ Women's important role as educators of the future generation of soldiers, exerting moral influence over their children to encourage them to resist or desist is also suggested in the magazine. An article in the June 1948 issue states that: "Spanish mothers won't give their sons to the war that the imperialists are preparing."⁴²

As such, Republican mothers were confronted with conflicting models of identity in the early postwar period. Women's descriptions of motherhood and responses to these conflicting maternal stereotypes as described in original testimonial narratives of resistance collected by Tomasa Cuevas⁴³ will be examined in this article. The testimonial texts will subsequently be compared the representation of Republican motherhood in fictional narratives. All of the women authors/speakers of the testimonial narratives of resistance had been detained as Republican political prisoners in Francoist jails. Their testimonies document the strong political commitment of Republican women and suggest that some women appropriated the maternal political identity constructed by Republican groups as their own, leading to differing responses as to their choices about educating their children. The fictional texts explored in this article include Dulce Chacón's *La voz*

⁴⁰ Rosa Vilas, "Rosa Vilas informa sobre propaganda y cultura," *Unión de Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas*, 1947, 90. Also cited in Yusta, *Madres coraje contra Franco*, 271.

⁴¹ This subversion of the meaning of motherhood and its insertion into the public political arena is comparable to movements such as the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo in Argentina. See Mary Nash, *Mujeres en el mundo: historia, retos y movimientos* (Madrid: Alianza, 2004), 200–209.

⁴² *Mujeres Antifascistas Españolas*, June 1948, 8–9. Also cited in Yusta, *Madres coraje contra Franco*, 280.

⁴³ Tomasa Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres en las cárceles franquistas* (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses), 2004. Tomasa Cuevas (1917–2007) was born in Guadalajara, and was an active member of the Communist Party in Republican, wartime, and postwar Spain. Cuevas spent a total of six years in Francoist prisons including Les Corts, Santander, Ventas, Segovia, and Durango. She travelled the length and breadth of Spain collecting hundreds of testimonies of fellow women political prisoners in Francoist jails and are an extremely valuable source for the study of women's experience of the Francoist repression. Extracts from two oral interviews conducted by Vinyes, and from a further interview by Nash are also included in the testimonial section. See: Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 77–78; Nash, "Pronatalismo y maternidad en la España franquista," 305.

dormida,⁴⁴ Ángeles Caso's *Un largo silencio*,⁴⁵ and *La cuarta derrota*, a short story included in Alberto Méndez's prizewinning collection, *Los girasoles ciegos*.⁴⁶ All three authors admit that the question of the recovery of historical memory is central to their work, with Chacón and Caso professing a desire to recuperate women's voices in particular.⁴⁷ The fictional works make a commendable contribution to the growing corpus of postmemorial⁴⁸ literature of the recovery of historical memory and draw attention to women's experiences of the war, which have not received significant critical attention. However, in some cases, when attempting to represent politically conscious Republican mothers, the fictional representations focus primarily on maternal anguish and sacrifice, denying the political motivation that was also underlaid women's actions and their historical agency as political actors. This chapter investigates whether the portrayal of Republican motherhood in fictional narratives is sometimes closer to the familiar image of the suffering mother/self-effacing Francoist mother, rather than the "combative" Republican mother that occurs so frequently in testimonial narratives.

⁴⁴ Dulce Chacón, *La voz dormida*. (Madrid: Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2002).

⁴⁵ Ángeles Caso, *Un largo silencio*. (Barcelona: Planeta, 2001).

⁴⁶ Alberto Méndez, *Los girasoles ciegos*. (Madrid: Anagrama, 2004).

⁴⁷ See for example the following interviews conducted with the authors: Marta Iglesias, "Entrevista: Ángeles Caso, escritora por convicción" *Fusión: Revista Mensual* (2001), <http://www.revistafusion.com/2001.mayo/entrev92.htm>. César Rendueles, "Alberto Méndez. La vida en el cementerio," *Ladinamo* (September 2004), <http://www.ladinamo.org/ldnm/articulo.php?numero=12&id=298>. Santiago Velásquez Jordan, "Dulce Chacón: 'La reconciliación real de la guerra civil aún no ha llegado,'" *Espéculo: Revista Electrónica Cuatrimestral de Estudios Literarios*, 22 (Noviembre 2002) <http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero22/dchacon.html>. Cinta Ramblado-Minero and Sara Leggott have also analyzed the connections between Chacón and Caso's work and the movement for the recovery of historical memory. See: Sara Leggott, "Memory, Postmemory, Trauma: The Spanish Civil war in Recent Novels by Women," *Fulgor* 4, no. 4 (2009): 25–33; Cinta Ramblado-Minero, "Novelas para la recuperación de la memoria histórica: Josefina Aldecoa, Ángeles Caso y Dulce Chacón," *Letras Peninsulares* 17, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 361–81.

⁴⁸ Marianne Hirsch defines postmemory as "a powerful form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation ... Postmemory characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are displaced by the stories of the previous generation, shaped by traumatic events that can neither be fully understood nor re-created. See: Marianne Hirsch, "Past Lives: Postmemories in Exile," *Poetics Today* 17, no. 4 (1996): 659–86, 662.

Mothers in Testimony

Testimonial “memory texts” of Spanish Republican women reveal the processes of identity formation utilized by Republican women and their positioning according to the dominant cultural discourses of the time.⁴⁹ Testimonial narratives also offer an illuminating insight into the differing choices made by Republican mothers faced with conflicting models of maternal identity. For the most part, the women who testified do not openly challenge women’s role in wartime. However, they describe themselves as very politically committed women. While reference is made to a number of women with no prior political involvement who were imprisoned due to the actions of their husbands, brothers, or sons, many women were deeply committed to their political ideals in their own right. With the exception of a small number of women included in Cuevas, a significant proportion of the women who appear in the testimonial narratives were active participants in the civil war, i.e., they took on specific political duties in the activities associated with the conflict. The following example is the testimony of Pilar Calvo, a Communist from Talavera de la Reina who spent various years in Francoist prisons in Durango, Barbastro, Santurrán, and Amorebieta. It illustrates the extent of her political commitment. When being questioned by the Francoist authorities, she ardently defended her leftist beliefs in spite of the consequences she would have to face. “I responded that I had never killed anyone, that I had my ideals, I had them and I would be that way all my life, I couldn’t deny it because I felt it deep inside of me.”⁵⁰

Many Republican women realized that under the new regime, a woman’s role was reduced to motherhood, or at least, the type of motherhood acceptable to Francoism. A quote from the testimony of Nieves Waldemar, born in Guadalajara and arrested in May 1939 for belonging to the *Agrupación de Mujeres Antifascistas*, clearly illustrates this. After she gave birth to a baby boy in prison, she recalls that the doctor remarked, “Don’t keep this woman here after she’s just given birth, not for her sake, but for the sake of her child who will one day be a man.”⁵¹ Some women identified the Francoist perception of Republican women as potential transmitters of a Republican ideology completely unacceptable to the new regime.

⁴⁹ Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women’s Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 56–59.

⁵⁰ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 159.

⁵¹ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 91.

Communist activist and writer Juana Doña, who spent a total of twenty months as a political prisoner, affirms that the regime wished to re-educate Republican children in Francoist ideology. "They wanted to educate the children in a different ideology than that of the mother."⁵²

In addition, testimonial narratives of resistance show that a significant number of Republican women continued to identify with a "combative" maternal political identity. Some activist mothers asserted that their children were their sole motivation for their political involvement, as illustrated in the following quote taken from the testimony of Teo Pérez, imprisoned in Les Corts in Barcelona for her political activities and a participant in the clandestine resistance; "This young son is precisely the reason why I have to resist, so that when he is older, he doesn't have to put up with what I had to."⁵³ In an interview conducted by Mary Nash, Communist Party and Unión General de Trabajadores member Petra Cuevas, who was imprisoned for almost eight years in various Francoist prisons, including the maternity prison where her daughter died due to inadequate medical care, explains why many Republican women refused to have children in the postwar period. In their view, remaining childless constituted a form of resistance, given that these children would have to live in a Fascist regime. Accordingly, they would not give their children to Francoist Spain, demonstrating the extent to which Republican women had conflated the idea of motherhood and political duty. "Spain didn't deserve for women to give them their sons."⁵⁴ When CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo)⁵⁵ member Carmen Casas recounts the experience of Isabel Bailó and María Alcoy, fellow prisoners in Zaragoza prison whose Communist sons had been tortured and killed by the regime for their wartime and postwar activities, she draws upon discourses of "combative" motherhood, as can be clearly seen in the following example:

Two old women who loved the Party dearly and gave the best thing that they had to the struggle for freedom, their sons. These women deserve that their names be remembered in the history books, women who fought for the freedom and democracy of our country.⁵⁶

⁵² Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 77–78. See also: Juana Doña, *Desde la noche y la niebla (mujeres en las cárceles franquistas)* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1978).

⁵³ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 543.

⁵⁴ Nash, "Pronatalismo y maternidad en la España franquista," 305.

⁵⁵ Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, a trade union associated with anarcho-syndicalism. See: Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, 230.

⁵⁶ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 656. The dates of the men's executions are not provided.

Francoist and Republican models of motherhood envisioned women playing an important role in educating the next generation and transmitting the appropriate ideological values to create the next generation of loyal soldiers. This corresponds to Sara Ruddick's theory of "maternal thinking," which proposes that mothering is shaped by a need to rear children "acceptable" to the social environment in which the mother finds herself.⁵⁷ Interestingly, the testimonies reveal that Republican mothers responded to this function as perpetrators of cultural values in two ways. Some Republican women perceived it as their duty to prepare their children for the return of a Republican Spain, transmitting a "counter-memory"⁵⁸ or opposing vision of the past in sharp contrast to Francoist discourses. Strongly influenced by "maternal thinking," these women chose to rear children acceptable to Republican society, covertly subverting the Francoist ideal of motherhood. Nonetheless, by transmitting the values and beliefs that would lead to their children's social acceptability in Republican circles, this would lead to their social *unacceptability* in the dominant Francoist social order. For this reason, other mothers chose not to subvert the Francoist maternal ideal in order to prevent the possible negative consequences this might have meant for their children. This is not to say that they actively educated their children in Francoist values, but that they consciously chose not to transmit opposing Republican values.

A number of examples of mothers who wish to covertly raise their children in Republican values are provided in Cuevas's collection of testimonies. Former JSU (Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas)⁵⁹ member Adela (no last name provided) who spent time in Zaragoza and Ventas prisons, in addition to participating in the clandestine resistance in Toulouse, describes the clandestine activities carried out in her house in Zaragoza and in which she also involved her children. She and her family recorded broadcasts of the illegal Communist radio station *Radio España Independiente*, broadcast from Moscow, and fashioned a makeshift Communist newspaper, *Mundo Obrero*, which she and children would distribute in the post:

⁵⁷ Sara Ruddick, *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 347.

⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, *Language, counter-memory, practice: Selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977), 136–64.

⁵⁹ Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas, a unified communist and socialist youth movement. See: Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, 232.

We recorded what we thought was interesting from Radio Espana Independiente, like the editorials from *Mundo Obrero*, declarations or appeals from the Party, speeches from our comrade Dolores, well, everything that we considered interesting and we made a *Mundo Obrero* supplement. Between the children, who were small, and ourselves, we distributed it by post.⁶⁰

Some mothers outwardly refused to allow their children to be taken from them by the organizations of the *Patronato* in order to avoid their being educated in Francoist values. In a testimony collected by Ricard Vinyes, Marina Comellas describes the reaction of her mother to two *Patronato de la Mujer* nuns who had come to take Marina into their care. She responded that she would not let her child be taken by them. “Mi hija con ustedes no se va. Ustedes lo que harían es que la mentalizarían para cambiarle el sentido de la vida, por tanto, marchen”.⁶¹

Madrid native Cecilia Cerdeño participated in both wartime and post-war Communist activities. Cerdeño states that the women had explained to the children collectively the political reasons for their mothers’ imprisonment. “A los niños ya les habíamos comentado muchas veces por qué estaban en la cárcel, por la mamá, y “ya veréis cuando esto cambie, que venga una democracia, ya veréis como los niños vais a tener colegios y muchas cosas de comer.” Imprisoned with her child, Cecilia recounts a situation in which the children of Ocaña prison were asked to sing the Falangist hymn *Cara al sol*, for a visiting Francoist prison official. Instead of making the appropriate accompanying Fascist gesture, they raised their fists in the air, a gesture associated with the Left, indicating a “counter-memory” transmission within the prison. The mothers had their heads shaved as punishment for their children’s behavior. The prison guard believed that it was the mothers’ fault that the children had not made the appropriate gesture. Cerdeño’s recollection of the reaction of the mothers to this punishment is also quite intriguing. Some of the children began to cry as they felt it was their fault that their mothers were being punished in such a manner. Some mothers angrily reprimanded their children while others explained that their shaved heads were not the fault of the children, but of the Francoist political apparatus that expected them to educate their children in a manner that they approved of, saying, “It’s not really your

⁶⁰ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 466.

⁶¹ Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 211. Marina’s father was a political prisoner in the postwar period. No further details are provided about Marina Comellas’s life, or that of her mother.

fault at all, my child. It's the fault of Fascism, and that is why we are locked up here."⁶²

For many mothers, the decision to raise their children with Republican beliefs was motivated by the desire to transmit the memory of a deceased father, fulfilling the traditional role of the mother within patriarchal societies. Carmen Díaz Fernández, activist and member of the Communist Party of Cartagena, became a mother after her release from prison and was left to raise her daughter alone after her partner, a Communist Party official, was sentenced to death and executed in Yecla. Carmen's partner left a letter in which he outlines his dying wish that his daughter would be raised with his ideals. Carmen succeeded in carrying out her partner's wishes, as is demonstrated in this next quote:

My child, who already knows lots of things, is starting to get involved in clandestine activity. I raised her, and with me she only saw the Party and got good advice. This was the legacy that her father left her. I have a letter from him, written before he died, in which he tells me that he wishes for her to be educated in the spirit in of love for all mankind, like him ... He would be proud to see that she follows in our footsteps.⁶³

Other mothers who testified in Cuevas proudly state that their children have followed their political footsteps. Carmen Campos, a former JSU member detained in Valencia prison, also asserts that her son is a member of the left-wing trade union *Comisiones Obreras* and that their political convictions are "in the blood," suggesting the conflation of family life and political leanings.⁶⁴ Carmen Casas expresses her satisfaction that her children have similar political beliefs to her own. "We have suffered a lot but we have seen our Party legalized; and it wasn't easy, we achieved it with our struggle. Personally I am very proud of that, and of the fact that my sons, both of them, are also Communists."⁶⁵ For these "subversive" Republican mothers, motherhood was inextricably linked with political activity, the transmission of values, and the preparation of a new generation to take on the political struggle against Francoism.

Other mothers consciously chose not to raise their children in Republican beliefs or transmit a "counter-memory." These mothers were influenced by "maternal thinking" in the sense that they chose to rear children who would be acceptable to the dominant social group and did

⁶² Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 720.

⁶³ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 678.

⁶⁴ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 808.

⁶⁵ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 656.

not wish them to be stigmatized by Republican ideals in a Fascist regime. They also decided not to get involved in political activities after they were released from prison in order to protect their families, thus rejecting the Republican maternal ideal that they perceived to be incompatible with the reality of postwar life. The testimonies of these mothers tend to be much shorter than the other testimonies and all of the examples provided below are taken from Cuevas' three-volume collection. They are often fractured and incoherent in places, suggesting the difficulty with which these women narrated their experiences after keeping them a secret for so long. Furthermore, their decision not to reincorporate themselves into political life meant that they were not immersed in a social group within which they could articulate their personal experiences and memories.⁶⁶

Cuevas describes a situation in which she hides her tape recorder in her handbag while she records the testimony of Domi Rojo, a woman who spent a total of six years in a number of Spanish prisons including Amorebieta and Santurrán. Tomasa's editorial note to Domi's testimony reads "I speak with Domi. She is very afraid and I get the impression that she is looking forward to my departure." When her husband and children enter the room, Tomasa stops the recorder and changes the subject so that Domi's family does not become suspicious. Her testimony is fractured and tense and she did not re-involve herself in political activity after her release due to her fear of further punishment, describing herself as "cowardly."⁶⁷ Cecilia Abad did not want her family to discover that she had spent seven years as a political prisoner in Guadalajara prison for being the daughter of a Republican official. In the postscript to her collected testimony, Cuevas remarks: "I don't take the tape recorder out of my bag here either; she doesn't want her family to find out. The repression was so brutal that the fear continues; she says, 'Not for my sake, but I don't want my family to suffer.'"⁶⁸

Blasa Rojo, who describes herself as the first female member of the Communist Party of Guadalajara and was imprisoned for eight years, maintains that after she was released from prison she didn't get involved in clandestine political activity for fear of further reprisal and the consequences this would have on her family. She remarks that her children

⁶⁶ Halbwachs suggests that personal memories are shaped by, and indeed, are indistinguishable from the social groups to which an individual belongs. See: Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 38.

⁶⁷ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 81.

⁶⁸ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 83.

suffered greatly as a result of their parents' beliefs. However, she describes herself as "selfish" for not thinking about the needs of others and of the Party, suggesting that her non-compliance with the "combative" maternal ideal was unfortunately accompanied by a high personal cost and feelings of guilt.

After being released from prison, I didn't get involved in anything; I only cared for my children. I have been selfish, I know, I didn't respond to the needs of others, I only cared for my own and all because I was afraid, afraid of returning to prison because I suffered a great deal while I was there.⁶⁹

Clearly, Domi, Cecilia, and Blasa are all acting out of "maternal thinking" in the sense that they wished to protect their families from the negative consequences that Republican associations would mean for them in early postwar Spain.

Cuevas's three-volume collection also reveals a number of examples of mothers who would have liked to rear their children according to Republican beliefs but who were unfortunately unable to do so due to the regime's intervention. Ángeles Mora, a Communist activist imprisoned in Ciudad Real, describes how fellow inmate and Communist Party member Elena Tortajada, mother of a nine-month-old baby, was sentenced to death. While they were taking her away to be shot, she handed over her son to the other prisoners and declared loudly and firmly "Aquí os confío y os pido que le eduquéis y le inculquéis mis ideales, y que nunca olvide por qué murió su madre" further illustrating the notion of politics, motherhood, and sacrifice internalized by many Republican women.⁷⁰ Some imprisoned women came to the conclusion that as they were unable to care for their children due to their imprisonment, they would be raised by the state. Consequently, they would be indoctrinated with Fascist ideology, and they would not be present to transmit their values or their vision of the world. Their obvious disappointment that their right to raise their children according to the ideals that they had fought so hard to defend had been taken away is evident in the testimonies and was incredibly difficult for some mothers to accept. JSU activist María Salvo, who spent time in various prisons including Ventas, remembers the plight of her cellmate Santi in Segovia prison whose children were under the care of the Francoist state due to her imprisonment and her husband's execution. In their letters to her, her children expressed their belief that they should dedicate themselves

⁶⁹ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 80.

⁷⁰ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 165.

to God to save their souls, sullied from the stigma of having “Red” parents. When Santi heard of the news of her husband’s death, Salvo remarked that she held her hand very tightly and told her that she wished to learn to read and write as quickly as possible so that she could write letters to her children and explain the circumstances and reasons for their father’s death.⁷¹

Whether released or imprisoned, for some mothers their political activity meant that they were unable to rear their children and have the type of mother-child relationship society would have expected of them. However, these women believed that their political activity would one day benefit their children, thus identifying strongly with the Republican vision of motherhood. María Blázquez del Pozo gave the posthumous testimony of Communist activist Manolita del Arco who was first arrested in 1939 and who spent lengthy detentions in various prisons including Segovia and La Coruña until 1963. Blázquez del Pozo, a fellow Communist Party member, recalls how Manolita’s children would not forgive her for what they perceived as her abandonment of them. For Manolita, however, her children were her motivation for her political involvement:

When she was released, she immediately contacted her sister and her children. They reproached her for abandoning her children for her political life, but she always replied that when the Party told her to do something, she always did it for her children. But they wouldn’t forgive her and that was her struggle: the Party, which wasn’t easy in those days, and the misery of having lost her children.⁷²

Clearly, Republican women identified strongly with a political identity based on motherhood and responded to the dominant and contrasting maternal stereotypes available to them in very different ways. This chapter next explores whether the complexity of Republican motherhood and the political connotations of the Republican maternal ideal are adequately recovered in the three chosen novels, in order to investigate whether the historical agency of Republican mothers are effectively represented in fictional texts.

Mothers in Literature

La voz dormida, published in 2002 by the late Dulce Chacón, centers its story on both the experiences of imprisoned women in the infamous Ventas

⁷¹ Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 429.

⁷² Cuevas Gutiérrez, *Testimonios de mujeres*, 146.

prison in Madrid as well as their families. Chacón's text was written out of a desire to "give voice" to survivors of Francoist repression whose stories had not reached the public domain, and is dedicated "to all those who were forced to remain silent."⁷³ *La voz dormida* is an ambitious text that is pieced together by the use of original testimonies, either collected by the author or published by others, which becomes evident only in the long list of acknowledgments provided at the end of the book. Motherhood is of central importance in this novel. However, this is not to say that Chacón is entirely successful in representing the complexity of Republican mothers' experiences in the postwar period. Regrettably, Chacón falls into discursive conventions of the suffering mother when describing the experiences of Tomasa, whose maternal anguish becomes more important than her political convictions. However, Chacón's representation of Hortensia effectively negotiates both motherhood and political commitment.

Sister of protagonist Pepita, Hortensia is an obvious example of a mother who desires to raise in her child according to the Republican maternal ideal discussed above. Hortensia's character is given prominence in the first half of the novel in which we learn of her entry into political life, her activities as a Communist militant, her relationship with ardent Communist activist Felipe and the circumstances that eventually led her to join the guerrilla movement and actively participate in armed combat. Hortensia was later arrested, tortured, and sentenced to death. Pregnant with Felipe's child at the time of the trial, her execution was postponed until the birth of her baby.

Hortensia's unshakeable belief in her Communist ideals is demonstrated at various stages in the novel, in which she reiterates Communist rhetoric that lifts the spirits of her like-minded cellmates. Her sister Pepita repeatedly speaks of Hortensia's bravery, which she contrasts with her own perceived cowardice. Hortensia tells her fellow cellmates that they must do everything in their power to survive their prison ordeal so that they can live to tell the tale, implying a desire for intergenerational transmission.⁷⁴ In Hortensia's view, the prisoners will not lose their dignity until they die, and by struggling to survive the miserable prison conditions and resist death, they will continue to resist their political enemy. "We won't have lost until we are dead, because we are not going to make it easy for them

⁷³ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 7.

⁷⁴ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 122.

... Resisting is winning.”⁷⁵ Hortensia continued to resist until she faced the firing squad, shouting “Long live the Republic!” just moments before her death.⁷⁶

Hortensia’s political commitment is inextricably linked to her motherhood, but is not overshadowed by it. Hortensia views motherhood and politics as two sides of the same coin, echoing the discourses of “combative” motherhood analyzed in the testimonial section above. This is evidenced in her singing of a Republican song to her unborn child⁷⁷ and her previous wartime declaration that when the conflict ended she and Felipe would have a child.⁷⁸ The night before she was due to be executed, the prison chaplain explained to Hortensia that he would allow her to breastfeed her baby one final time if she confessed and took Communion. Even though she would not be allowed to feed her baby, Hortensia refused to co-operate with the chaplain, as this would mean renouncing her beliefs.

The priest wanted to convince her to confess and take Communion. He said that his duty was to save her soul and if she made peace with God, he would allow her to breastfeed the baby. But she didn’t confess or take Communion, she refused.⁷⁹

This is interpreted by the other prisoners as further proof of the extent of Hortensia’s political commitment and even in the face of her political enemy she is never stripped of agency.

In the hours leading up to her execution she wrote letters to her daughter in a blue notebook in which she urged her to join the Communist Party and continue fighting, suggesting that she was strongly influenced by the principles of “maternal thinking.” “Fight my child, keep on fighting, like the way your mother fights and your father fights, it is our duty, even if it costs us out lives.”⁸⁰

In her letter to her younger sister Pepita, to whom she entrusted the care of her baby daughter Tensi, Hortensia instructed her to read aloud the notebook she had written for Tensi. She also requested that the letters written by Felipe be read aloud and given to the young Tensi, as this next quote clearly shows:

⁷⁵ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 220.

⁷⁶ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 220.

⁷⁷ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 47.

⁷⁸ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 75.

⁷⁹ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 219.

⁸⁰ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 357.

Yes, in the Ventas prison chapel, on her last night, Hortensia wrote the letter that would coax Pepita out of her introversion. In it she begged her to look after Tensi and to read the notebook aloud to her, so that her daughter would know that she was always with her. She also asked her to read Felipe's notebook to her, "that way the little girl would get to know her father," and to give her her earrings when she got older.⁸¹

In fact, the similarity of this passage in the book to Carmen Díaz Fernández's description of the execution of Elena Tortajada, who handed over her newborn child to her cellmates and requested that they raise him according to her principles, poses the question of whether Chacón had purposely intended to recuperate these particular stories. Hortensia's character also represents the extensive research carried out by the author and the value of Chacón's work to the recuperation of forgotten voices in Spanish cultural memory. Through Hortensia, the reader is introduced to a woman who identified strongly with the dominant discourses of wartime and postwar Republican Left as regards women's role in the anti-Fascist resistance. Nevertheless, although Hortensia sees herself according to the conventional discourses of a maternal political identity, her political commitment and agency is highlighted, and she is not defined merely by her motherhood.

On the other hand, the representation of Tomasa does not manage to communicate her political conviction in any major way. Instead, Chacón focuses on her suffering as a mother. Few details are given about her political activities before her imprisonment. Another member of Hortensia's prison family, Tomasa, is a sharp-tongued woman who refuses to cooperate with the prison guards, resulting in her spending long periods of time in solitary confinement in a prison cell. Although rumors circulate in the prison that Tomasa had participated in a strike in which four members of the Guardia Civil had been brutally killed, precise details of the degree of Tomasa's political involvement are not given, though it can be safely assumed that she had participated in the anti-Francoist movement in a very active way. This is evident in her staunch refusal to participate in the sewing workshop that allows prisoners to reduce their prison sentences, as she does not wish to make uniforms for the "enemy." On another occasion, when forced by a prison guard to kiss the hand of a statue of the baby Jesus, Tomasa bites the statue's finger clean away, resulting in yet another long period of confinement in the punishment cell. Tomasa also refuses to accept that the war is over, and offers very little information about her past

⁸¹ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 232.

to her fellow cellmates. Consequently, she becomes the subject of much speculation among the other prisoners.

The only clues to Tomasa's past are her repeated references to the sea, which she has never seen. Later on it becomes apparent that Tomasa's obsession with the sea is the result of a previous trauma. Tomasa had witnessed the deaths of her four sons and daughter-in-law, who had been thrown off the edge of a cliff into a river before her eyes. When they reached the water, they were shot by nationalist insurgents. Tomasa was later thrown into the river. However, she was not shot by the soldiers, who mockingly told her that she would survive to tell the tale.⁸² Tomasa had learned that all rivers eventually lead to the sea, and her obsessive wish to the sea masks a desire to mourn the loss of her children. Thus Tomasa's inability to tell her story is partially due to the shock of trauma she endured and which she is unable to articulate, but it is also a result of her refusal to comply with the wishes of the Fascist soldiers who ensured that she would survive to communicate her fate to others. However, her political background is never explained to us by the author. Even though Tomasa describes herself as a "roja" ("Red") Chacón focuses on her suffering as a mother rather than on her political convictions. Upon her release, Tomasa goes to live with former cellmate Reme and her husband Benjamín instead of re-involving herself in Communist Party activities, as would have been expected. Tomasa's sole preoccupation is to go and see the sea. As such, Chacón unfortunately reiterates discourses of maternal suffering to describe a character whom she wished to represent as very politically committed. Tomasa is afforded little selfhood outside her motherhood, and her political voice is completely overshadowed by her suffering as a mother.

Despite Hortensia's clear desire to become a "combative" mother, she is not allowed to survive in Chacón's tale. Instead baby Tensi will be cared for by Pepita, who will act as a mother figure for the child and will try to ensure that her niece will not follow in her mother's footsteps and get involved in politics. "And she says that the child gets bored, so she doesn't have to say that she is very young to get mixed up in politics. And she is not going to let that happen."⁸³ As such, Pepita's character corresponds to the mothers who chose not to rear their children according to the Republican maternal ideal as "maternal thinking" means that she is afraid of the consequences that political involvement might mean for the child.

⁸² Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 216.

⁸³ Chacón, *La voz dormida*, 338.

However, by reading aloud the notebooks written by Hortensia to Tensi and by giving her Hortensia's earrings, Peptia performs an act of memory transmission that is outside the dominant hegemonic discourses of Francoism and as such constitutes a "counter-memory." Accordingly, while she may not be affiliated with any political party, Pepita arguably fosters a different form of "counter-motherhood," though this cannot be described as "combative" by any means.

While Chacón represents Elvira and Amalia as brave political activists and participants in the guerrilla movement, her representation of motherhood seems to be incompatible with a strong political conviction in the case of Pepita and Tomasa. She resorts to traditional representations of the maternal subject within patriarchy, where she is defined solely by her maternity. In addition, the political lives of the female characters are not described in nearly as much detail as those of the male characters of the book. Nevertheless, through the character of Hortensia, *La voz dormida* does perhaps evoke the notion of a maternal political identity with greatest regard for the political connotations that this entailed.

Our second of the three chosen novels, *Un largo silencio* by Ángeles Caso, offers an account of the experiences of the female members of the Vega family who struggled to come to terms with their poverty and alienation after the civil war as a consequence of their association with the Republican movement. Caso maintains that *Un largo silencio* was in large part informed by the experiences of older family members who had survived the war. Shortly after the war, the women in the novel return from exile in France to their hometown of Castrollano. Although Merceditas is Alegría's child, Letrita, who is Merceditas's grandmother, and Alegría's sisters María Luisa and Feda all play a mothering role towards the child and share the same living space. By focusing on a smaller number of characters, Caso succeeds in making them more credible to the reader. That is not to say that Caso completely succeeds in portraying the plurality of experiences of Republican mothers or their political activism. In addition, none of the women she portrays demonstrates the depth of political commitment that Chacón sought to represent in Hortensia.

Letrita is portrayed as a courageous figure who, while not affiliated with any political organization, is true to her leftist ideals but is conscious of the consequences this may bring for her granddaughter Mercedes. On the other hand, Alegría is a passive figure with little strength of character, while María Luisa and Margarita are very politically committed women. The family's predicament about Mercedes's education offers a lengthy reflection on the

difficult predicament posed by postwar Republican motherhood and the decision not to educate the next generation according to Republican principles.

Letrita valiantly attempts to keep the family together at all costs despite the hardships they endured. Although her political leanings were undoubtedly leftist, Letrita was not very politically active. However, Letrita did identify with the idea of “combative” motherhood, as can be clearly demonstrated in her attitude to her son’s decision to fight on the side of the Republic. While she did consider the possibility that Miguel would never return, she did not try and influence his decision and she bravely refused to shed a tear when saying goodbye to him at the station.

And she still put on a brave face when she said goodbye to Miguel, who left in a train full of smiling, noisy men, who were more like happy holidaymakers than soldiers, except for the guns slung across their shoulders ... Many would never return. Letrita knew it, but she said nothing, and even gave Feda a light smack when she saw that she had raised her hand to her face to cover her tears.⁸⁴

Nonetheless, Letrita is concerned about what to tell Mercedes about the war and is worried about the consequences that transmitting an alternative view of the recent Spanish past will hold for the child. She does not wish the young girl to become bitter at such a young age and would prefer not to explain political issues to her until she is older and can decide for herself.

María Luisa, Letrita’s oldest daughter is portrayed as an intelligent and well educated young woman with very strong political convictions. María Luisa trained as a primary school teacher and enjoyed her work immensely. Through her work, she felt that she had the opportunity to improve the circumstances of the less fortunate by providing them with the education and skills they need to improve their lot. Therefore, although she was not a mother, through her teaching María Luisa extended a “combative” mothering role by transmitting Republican values to the next generation. In addition to working at the school, she drove trams on weekends during the war to participate in the Republican war effort.

María Luisa’s attitude to Merceditas’s education echoes that of her previous role as a teacher. She believes that Mercedes should be educated with the same ideals that they had been educated with themselves. She refuses to accept that the new regime will last and is of the opinion that they should prepare the next generation to continue the fight. She asks: “If we don’t

⁸⁴ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 42.

prepare our children for the future, what will become of them and of the world?"⁸⁵ Thus María Luisa is a "combative" mother who reiterates discourses of social maternalism and continued to identify with this notion in the postwar period.

The representation of Alegría returns to traditional discursive conventions of motherhood that ignore political identity and portrays her as a suffering mother with little personal identity of her own. Although Alegría participated in the anti-Fascist movement before the war, distributing propaganda and participating in the Republican rear guard, scarce attention is paid to her political activity, and instead, Caso focuses on her passivity and victimhood in her marriage to an alcoholic abuser who repeatedly beat and raped her. Unfortunately, Alegría is more of a martyr than a woman capable of making her own decisions. "And above all she leaned that she should never ask or protest about anything."⁸⁶ Alegría is also very confused as to what to do about Mercedes's education as she does not wish her daughter to suffer. However, although Alegría is Mercedes's mother, it was up to Letrita to take the situation in hand and finally encourage the family to make a decision as to what to do about Mercedes.

In the final chapter of the book, through Letrita's impulse, the family discusses the dilemma about how to educate the young Mercedes, the first and only member of the third generation of the Vega family. Their dilemma also represents the dilemma of intergenerational transmission of the Republican past. The Vega women fear that if they do not send her to the local school but educate her at home in their Republican values, Mercedes will have to face the same discrimination that they have suffered. However, if they allow her to go to the local convent school, she will be educated in the values of the new Francoist state, to which they are totally opposed. After much discussion, they come to the conclusion that they will have to give up their Republican ideals for the moment and allow Mercedes to attend the school. "We have to make a choice. Either our ideals, or Merceditas."⁸⁷ Thus the Vega family as a whole corresponds to those mothers who wished to protect their children from the stigma of leftist ideals in a fascist regime. Through the Vega family, Caso manages to effectively represent the personal cost felt by those who consciously made the difficult decision to delay, or in some cases, not transmit their vision of society at all.

⁸⁵ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 103.

⁸⁶ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 75.

⁸⁷ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 215.

However, the novel's conclusion suggests the possibility of deferring memory transmission until a later date, when circumstances are more favorable to the reception of stories like those of the Vega family. Letrita remarks that "There is plenty of time, and with the blood in her veins, I am sure that she will rebel sooner or later,"⁸⁸ suggesting that Mercedes will one day reject the Francoist values she will learn in the school and hinting that the Vega women may decide to become conscious transmitters of a Republican "counter-memory."

Caso's novel also illustrates the experience of Margarita, the sister-in-law of the Vega women and widow of their brother Miguel. Margarita was very politically active in the Communist Party movement and even considered the possibility of armed combat. She also strongly identified with "combative" notions of Republican motherhood. She encouraged her husband Miguel to go to war and took her two children to see him off at the train station, raising her fist and those of her children in a traditional leftist gesture and loudly singing leftist anthem *La Internacional*.⁸⁹ Her children also accompanied her to Communist Party meetings, demonstrations, and parades.

After the victory of the nationalist forces and the entry of the Fascist troops in Castellano, Margarita chose to flee her hometown and move to another city in order to escape torture and imprisonment, leaving her two young children in the care of her mother. The agony of her separation is demonstrated in the following quote:

It was so hard for her to leave her sleeping children, who were curled up so tightly beside her that she almost stayed. But she thought about those who had been executed, about Miguel, about her comrades who were probably being tortured at this very moment, and she managed to free herself from their small hands ... She wanted to live.⁹⁰

Therefore, Margarita's tragic experience effectively reiterates that of mothers who were unable to rear their children due to the consequences of their political activity.

Margarita later had two more children with a new partner. However, she never stopped thinking about the two little boys she had left behind. Haunted by what she had been forced to do, she could never enjoy her new life and felt alienated from her children. She realized she would never be at peace unless she was reunited with her other children. She yearned for

⁸⁸ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 214.

⁸⁹ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 151.

⁹⁰ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 175.

them to realize that she was forced to leave because of the war and the consequences she would have had to face. However, on her return, she met with her youngest son Publio, who greeted her with contempt. He does not wish to get to know his mother because of her political ideas. He retorts, "You want to say sorry? You left us in the lurch and you come back now after thirty years to say you're sorry ... I'll tell you this much, I don't want to know. I'm not interested in the past, the war, the Reds, none of it."⁹¹ As a result of her political involvement, Margarita is despised by her children who cannot understand her actions. Thus, Margarita's situation accurately reflects the anguish and distress suffered by mothers in a similar position in the testimonial texts.

Caso's novel presents a careful and thought-provoking deliberation on the predicament that many Republican mothers found themselves in during the postwar period. Nevertheless, the Vega family sacrifice their beliefs for the sake of Mercedes and Margarita is not allowed to continue to be a "combative" mother. As such, there is still room for a maternal narrative that allows mothers to be both politically active and fulfilled as mothers. However, as we shall see, this will not be provided in *Los girasoles ciegos*.

La cuarta derrota, the fourth short story in Alberto Méndez's prizewinning collection entitled *Los girasoles ciegos*, illustrates the struggle of a family with Republican leanings to cope with the oppressive daily life of the new regime. Méndez admitted that the stories included in *Los girasoles ciegos* were tales that he had heard in his youth, events that he had a strong desire to narrate in fictional form.

Méndez's tale recounts the experience of Elena, a seamstress and mother of two children. Nonetheless, although Elena resists the ideal of motherhood as promoted by the new regime, it cannot be argued that Méndez is perpetuating the notion of the Republican maternal ideal as Elena does not illustrate any personal political beliefs, or participate in any clandestine political activity at any point during the story. While immensely effective in communicating the oppressive daily life in postwar Spain for those on the losing side, Méndez reiterates the traditional apolitical maternal subject in his portrayal of Elena, who is capable of making endless sacrifices for the sake of her family but with little sense of selfhood outside her motherly duties.

Elena's husband Ricardo was previously a teacher of literature and a former mason with communist leanings. Due to his ideological convictions,

⁹¹ Caso, *Un largo silencio*, 181.

Ricardo has been forced to go into hiding and spends his days in a cubbyhole behind a wardrobe in the couple's flat, emerging only when it is dark and all of the windows have been shut. All outward traces of Ricardo's existence had been erased, and only Elena and Lorenzo's names appear on the family's ration card. When Hermano Salvador, a deacon at Lorenzo's school, questions him about his family background, Lorenzo replies that his father is dead, he has no siblings and that his mother does not wish to speak to him about the circumstances surrounding his father's death.

Elena leads the outside world to believe that she is a war widow, left to rear her youngest child, Lorenzo, alone. For the sake of her family she must pretend that their Republican past is a distant memory, and that she is a model Spanish citizen rearing her child in an "acceptable" manner. In the first part of the story she manages to keep up appearances. She works from home as a seamstress to earn some extra money and pretends that she is the translator of German texts that Ricardo translates from his cubbyhole. It also becomes apparent that Lorenzo is very well accustomed to keeping the family's many secrets and the importance of this is impressed on him by his mother who reminds him that he must remain strong to help his father. "We have to be strong to help papa. He needs us."⁹² Although Lorenzo attends the local Catholic school, his parents do not really reinforce the religious and ideological aspects of his education at home. Lorenzo does not know the words to *Cara al Sol*, the official anthem of the Falange Española. When Elena realizes that this has come to the attention of the members of the teaching clergy at his school, she quickly intervenes and says that Lorenzo doesn't understand the words because he doesn't want to die, he wants to live for his mother. "My son doesn't want to die for anybody, he wants to live for me."⁹³ Thus, Elena outwardly pretends to be a good Catholic mother who complies with the social norms expected of her, while behind closed doors she has developed clever strategies of resistance.

Throughout the entire story, Elena offers endless support to both her husband and son, never once despairing in her situation or resorting to self-pity. When Ricardo's desperation becomes too much for him to bear, and he suggests that he must leave for France immediately, Elena gently reminds him that this is not yet possible while the Vichy government still exists. She explains to him firmly that if they are to escape, they will leave together as a family "if they were to escape, they would do it together, they

⁹² Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 120.

⁹³ Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 113.

and the child. Never again would she separate herself from what was left of the family."⁹⁴ After the departure of her daughter Elenita, whom they have not heard from since, she refuses to be separated from another member of her family. While Ricardo worries that the Hermano Salvador's persistent prying into Lorenzo's family background in the schoolyard will become too much for the young boy to tolerate, Elena assures him that with her help, Lorenzo will be able to cope. "Together we will tolerate that smarmy man, don't worry."⁹⁵

Elena withstands the pressure that the Guardia Civil place on her when they visit her in her home to ask about her husband. They insult her husband and daughter, and make lewd sexual comments to humiliate her. Elena answers monosyllabically, reacting only when they wake the young Lorenzo and drag him out of bed by the ear.⁹⁶ When Ricardo becomes increasingly disillusioned, tortured by the fact that the new regime wishes to kill him not because of his actions, but because of his ideas, Elena decides to no longer tell him about the world outside their apartment.⁹⁷ She remains voiceless and stoic, accepting her fate and the suffering it brings her. Thus Elena's silent struggle is reminiscent of the most silent and most revered of all mother figures, the Virgin Mary.

Further psychological pressure is placed on her when Hermano Salvador becomes obsessed with her, threatening the safety her family's secrets. Nevertheless, Elena also withstands this without complaint. In her exchanges with the deacon, Elena keeps up the pretence of her husband's disappearance in the war. She maintains polite conversation and pretends to take his suggestions about Lorenzo's upbringing. This pretense serves to fuel Hermano Salvador's attraction to her, even though this is precisely what Elena is trying to avoid. The deacon becomes increasingly persistent in his advances and suggests that he could help Lorenzo enter the seminary. Although Lorenzo's parents are clearly unsympathetic to the new regime, they do not openly transmit their political beliefs and values to their son, helping him to complete his homework for religion class. Reflecting on his past, the adult Lorenzo feels that they were unable to vocalize what they truly believed, afraid of the consequences that belonging to the losing side may hold for him in the future. "That makes me think that my parents were

⁹⁴ Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 114.

⁹⁵ Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 119.

⁹⁶ Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 127.

⁹⁷ Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 132.

afraid to tell me what they thought and I was afraid to discover what they thought.”⁹⁸ Later in the text we discover that, on occasion, Ricardo does try to oversee his moral education, and transmit a “counter-memory” to Lorenzo. He vaguely remembers that his father tried to alleviate the young Lorenzo’s confusion about the past by trying to explain things simply and by using expressions such as “different points of view when it comes to viewing things.”⁹⁹ A close reading of the text reveals that Elena never openly voices her political opinions at any point and it is unclear whether her attempts to ensure Ricardo’s safety have anything to do with her own personal beliefs or are solely the result of her impossible love for her husband. While we are provided with details of Ricardo’s political and intellectual life, the books he is reading, the translations he is working on, and his futile idealism that is gradually replaced by a mounting despair, Elena’s personal identity seems to be solely defined by her need to protect her family from further tragedy. While she cleverly develops strategies to protect her family from the intrusions of a hostile outside environment, the main character trait that Elena represents is silent suffering. She does not speak or express anything that does not involve her family life or her fear. While she wished to protect her son from the negative consequences of belonging to the losing side, there is no evidence to suggest that she identified with the Republican ideal of “combative” motherhood. Indeed, were it not for her communist husband, the character of Elena would conform to the Francoist model of motherhood, as she has little identity of her own outside her motherhood. Accordingly, while Elena is not passive, she is a silent victim of the new regime, wishing only for her family to survive, and to protect Lorenzo from further suffering out of the principles of “maternal thinking.” *La cuarta derrota* then, bears little relation to women’s testimonial narratives of resistance, as the voices of “combative” mothers who develop resistance strategies within the private sphere express a commitment to their political beliefs which they desire to transmit to their children.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Republican mothers were confronted with contrasting models of maternal identity in the postwar period. Although both Francoist and Republican visions of motherhood reinforced mothers’

⁹⁸ Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 138.

⁹⁹ Méndez, *Los girasoles*, 118.

traditional caretaking role, the Republican vision required women to use their mothering role as a legitimizing discourse to actively participate in public political life, while the Franco regime wished to confine women to the home. Testimonial narratives of resistance of Republican women show that many women identified with a maternal political identity. In addition, testimonies illustrate that they responded to the conflicting maternal identities available to them in two different ways; by preparing their children for the return of a Republican Spain or by protecting them from the stigma that Republican beliefs would have meant for them in the Franco regime. Ruddick's notion of maternal thinking helps us to explain these choices.

Fictional novels of the post-Transition period highlight women's experience of the civil war and postwar clandestine resistance that has not received the critical attention it deserves. However, while the fictional representations provide many examples of Republican mothers and their different experiences, at times they fail to include the political connotations of the Republican maternal ideal and the political agency of Republican women that emerges so clearly in the testimonial narratives. Hortensia, the sole representation of a truly "combative" mother, does not survive to continue her motherhood. Accordingly, there is still space for the representation of a "combative" maternal narrative of Republican women's experience of the Spanish civil war and dictatorship in post-Transition memorial fiction.

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PART THREE

THE MANY LANGUAGES OF DOMESTICITY

EMBROIDERING THE NATION: THE CULTURE OF SEWING AND SPANISH IDEOLOGIES OF DOMESTICITY

Paula A. de la Cruz-Fernández

The smile on her face has turned almost white,
Like a delicate flower pressed on lace.
She ought not to meddle in such plots and schemes,
Nor bother her mind with things of the street.
If sew she must, then why don't make dresses?
For one day her daughter will be a lady.
And if the King's no good, then so be it;
A woman's mind should turn to other things.
—Federico García Lorca, *Mariana Pineda*, 1925

In the midst of revolutionary Granada in the early 1830s, Mariana Pineda sewed a tricolor flag to wave while celebrating the wished-for fall of Ferdinand VII. For embroidering clandestinely, authorities imprisoned Mariana and sentenced her to death. A century later, she became a symbol for Republicans during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) as a courageous and brave woman who sacrificed her life by sewing the words “Liberty and Fraternity.”¹ Purple, yellow, and red were the colors of the nineteenth-century Spanish liberals’ flag and remained a symbol of anti-monarchism during the Second Republic (1931–36). The symbolism remains with modern-day celebrations of the Republican anniversary on April 14.

Mariana Pineda embroidered a flag that stood for political liberalism and the ideals of the French Revolution. In 1941, Pilar Primo de Rivera delivered a flag embroidered by women of the *Sección Femenina* to the Navy School, symbolizing the submission of this Falangist organization to the National Movement and the success of the new fascist state.² Pineda’s rebellious actions against the Spanish Crown, viewed by authorities as lacking morality and responsibility, landed her in jail and then led to her execution. In the case of Pilar Primo de Rivera, the embroidered flag and the creation of women involved in the state party, symbolized a return to

¹ Federico García Lorca, *Mariana Pineda*, trans. Robert G. Harvard (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1925; 1987). *Mariana Pineda*, first played in Barcelona in 1927, became one of the poet’s main theatrical works.

² Luis Otero, *Nacional Movimiento, La Sección Femenina* (Madrid: EDAF, 1999), 12.

their traditional domestic responsibilities and as such were aligned with and willing to sacrifice their lives for Francisco Franco's regime.

Women participated in revolutionary processes and war in Spain during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, fighting on the battlefield and performing female-appropriate activities while supporting armies. Domestic chores became important during wartime to provide armies with food and health services as well as to maintain the rear guard. Women cooked, sewed, and did the laundry in the trenches and at home. During the Spanish Civil War, women on both the Republican and National sides sewed uniforms for the male-only fighting forces, since after 1937 women on the Republican side were not allowed on the battlefield. Women headed aid stations and took care of wounded soldiers as well as provided hygienic environments for their children at home. The war environment, or at least the contemporary perspectives of that environment, reflected the gendered aspects of the society at large, including the notions of male/public and female/private spheres. The binary public/private has been challenged by studies that examine women's roles in spaces usually reserved for men. Although performing traditional domestic chores, women were visible through their assigned domestic labors in the public realm—most noticeably during revolutionary periods or in wartime.³

The cases of Mariana Pineda and Pilar Primo de Rivera's flags belong to this approach in that, while performing traditional duties, both women created important national symbols, and as such became part of the nation-building project. While the flag itself became the fundamental public image of nationalism, women's sewing remained private. Sewing needs to be examined as a powerful equalizing activity as it homogenized women's participation in the nation-building project without necessarily divorcing the image of women from the domestic sphere. While flags were highly visible public symbols, sewing at home, predicated as appropriate and compatible within domesticity ideologies, became an empowering symbol

³ See Rafael Abella, *La vida cotidiana en España bajo el régimen de Franco* (Barcelona: Argos Vergara, 1985); Ana Aguado and M. Dolores Ramos, *La modernización de España (1917–1939)* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2002); Mary Nash, "The Construction of Gender Roles: Women in Contemporary Spain," in *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver: Arden Press, 1995). For other regions see, for example, Margaret Poulos's "Gender, Civil War and National Identity: Women Partisans during the Greek Civil War 1946–1949," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 46, no. 3 (2000): 418–27. The author explains how women in the Greek Civil War sought to gain voice and participation in politics by becoming partisans but that, as usual, "women's wartime contributions are rarely rewarded in the postwar distribution of rights and obligations." 419. See also Jocelyn Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

of women's participation in the nation, yet also served to reinforce traditional gendered spaces. The spaces, in which women sewed, as well as the products that resulted from this activity, are today direct links with a recent past and thus locations to access the public memory of women's experience during the Civil War and the postwar period. This article seeks to contribute to a well-grounded scholarship on domesticity ideologies as well as to challenge studies that analyze the process of nation building, which have made relatively small efforts to incorporate gender as a category to understand the ways in which identities have been shaped.⁴ This article also asks how the past is remembered and seeks to bring to the surface everyday symbols and images that represented female-centered day-to-day activities during the 1940s and 1950s.

The historicization of sewing and home sewing in particular, and not only when it became spectacular during revolutionary or wartime periods, reveals the significance of this practice in Spanish households beyond the nineteenth century. Today the practice has been romanticized, and has become a symbol of women's individual historical agency and endowment to the nation, whether it is part of the nineteenth-century appraisal of motherhood or the twentieth-century revival of the domestic.⁵ Few studies have considered women's critical contributions in shaping national ideologies, as might be the case of Pilar Primo de Rivera as head of the female-based *Sección Femenina*, which attempted to promote state-driven gendered national ideologies. This study is concerned not only with how home-sewing practices and products became traditions and symbols of women's endowment in national projects, but also with the practice and production of the teachings and reiterative ideologies.⁶

Women's histories in the 1970s assumed that the domestic sphere lacked significance and denounced women's lack of voice in the public and the objectively defined political realm. The domestic sphere signified marginality and denoted men's purposeful exclusion of women from politics and other activities considered public. Male suffrage, within the historiography of women's rights, curtailed women's expectations of political participation during the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth century.⁷

⁴ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).

⁵ Carl Becker. "Everyman His Own Historian," *The American Historical Review* 37, no. 2 (1932): 221–36.

⁶ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁷ Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 7. Women are part of the foundation and transformation

Challenging this feminist approach, later historians argued that women participated, and usually very actively, in public issues such as education. A number of women's historians, within studies of educational institutions and mainstream political history, have highlighted the presence of women in the public realm. In the case of Spain, Theresa Smith exemplified how "as artists, writers, and reformers, Spanish women took up pens, joined academies and economic societies, formed literary circles, and became active in the burgeoning public discourse of the Enlightenment."⁸ Women in Spain actively participated by editing and directing women's magazines, founded and taught at girls' schools, and developed a long tradition of popular literature, as the women in Pilar Folguera's *Historia de las Mujeres en España* demonstrate.⁹

The semibiographical studies of notable women have been valuable for their contributions, yet the domestic domain continued to be undermined. The study of Mariana Pineda and Pilar Primo de Rivera, as well as other remarkable women, from late eighteenth-century reformers to Spanish Civil War (1936–39) combatants, reinforced the historiographical notion of separate spheres and the greater role of the public in historical processes. Studies of women's participation in the battlefield, for instance, identify that women usually performed sex-appropriate activities but that gendered social roles were not part of the debates for radical reform once the war was over.

The domestic sphere as a private and passive space has been challenged both by historians of women and those involved in gender studies. The approach by gender scholars has questioned the validity of the division between the public and the private and has suggested that Republican motherhood appraised domesticity as part of the nineteenth-century public domain. Jennifer Popiel, studying eighteenth-century France, argued that women in revolutionary France were excluded from the public sphere but not necessarily from the body politic, given the importance of mothers as child raisers, and further contests that women were absolutely debarred

from the Old Regime yet through another contract—marriage—which was not considered political. Joan Landes, in accordance with Pateman, considered the triumph of the bourgeois society after the French Revolution as a new source of patriarchal discrimination. Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988).

⁸ Theresa Ann Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

⁹ Pilar Segura Folguera, *Historia de las mujeres en España* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 1997). See also, Pilar Folguera, ed., *El feminismo en España. Dos siglos de historia* (Madrid: Pablo Iglesias, 2007).

from notions of freedom and individuality.¹⁰ Popiel notes that the eighteenth-century origins of republican educational legislation needs to be understood within the context of the importance given by theorists to “natural” mothers and children’s education, rather than from the perspective of patriarchy and liberalism.

The argument that women were part of the foundational discourse that facilitated the transformation and modernization of society is a focus of current studies, particularly women’s participation within authoritarian regimes. In this sense historians have examined gendered national identities and how within nation-building projects social roles were not universally defined but rather as male and female. Aurora Morcillo, for example, illustrated the standardized civic gender roles under Franco’s dictatorship, imposed primarily through education, government legislation, and everyday life. Spanish women were charged with teaching a gendered national identity, in essence to “achieve the ideal Catholic womanhood of the imperial past,” through the creation of civic and educational organizations under the direction of the official pseudo-fascist *Sección Femenina* of the Falange.¹¹ Kathleen Richmond assigns a fundamental role to the Women’s Section of the Falange in the fascist national project. Spanish women’s activism that began in 1934-formed part of the National Movement, in part concerned with the “return to patriarchal society and restoration of gender roles.”¹² Women’s role within the National Movement was to create a separate sphere of mothers and housewives representative of the well-being of the Spanish nation.

¹⁰ Jennifer J. Popiel, *Rousseau’s Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008), 105.

¹¹ Aurora G. Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 45. Since the 1980s, studies on the *Sección Femenina* have emphasized women’s participation in politics and the consequent great influence in women’s everyday life from the late 1930s. María Teresa Gallego Méndez sees the *Sección Femenina* as a special agent for women’s political indoctrination. Gallego Méndez’s concentration on Pilar Primo de Rivera, the head of the organization, is also the focus of many scholars’ accounts of the *Sección Femenina* such as Carmen Domingo’s *Cosery cantar* that focuses on Falangist women and the organization’s prominence in high government affairs; and *La sonrisa de Falange*, by Ángela Cenarro, that studies Falangist women in power leading important institutions during the Franco regime. See Ángela Cenarro, *La sonrisa de Falange. Auxilio Social en la Guerra Civil y en la posguerra* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), María Teresa Gallego Méndez, *Mujer, Falange y Franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus, 1983); Carmen Domingo, *Cosery cantar. Las mujeres bajo la dictadura franquista* (Zaragoza: Lumen, 2007).

¹² See Kathleen Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism* (London: Routledge, 2003).

In a similar fashion, Rebecca Balmas Neary's study of the Soviet wife-activist movement of the 1930s demonstrates that giving a stay-at-home wife a job meant more than simply providing a comfortable and well-run house. The wife-activist movement elevated the "work" output of the stay-at-home mother/wife to that of creating and developing a nation of good socialist comrades (their husbands and children) as well as to serve as role models for other women to do the same in their homes, thus spreading the socialist order. Their success as domestic homemakers was essential to building the new Russia.¹³ Nancy Reagin, a historian of twentieth-century Germany, proposes that domesticity ideologies composed a large part of the national identity formation, from the beginning of the century to the Nazi period. She analyzes German nationalist and imperialist discourses and notes that "some of the most successful aspects of the shared national community were those that were rooted in the private sphere."¹⁴ As part of the public, the domestic, defined as female, served to enrich women's participation in national projects and everyday practices. European nation-building projects during the early nineteenth century utilized ideas of the domestic and thus incorporated women as national subjects. Institutions and government-driven organizations have been the main focus of nation-building studies, and have reinforced the notions of the ephemeral woman within the public sphere.

The works of moralists, novelists, the press, and public school advocates demonstrate the significance of sewing within the development of different ideologies of domesticity. The consideration of women's social roles was in most cases based on their abilities with needle and thread. The very private activity of sewing became a national symbol in the 1940s and the 1950s. In the early 1500s sewing became a dignifying practice within the home, especially through the writings of Juan Luis Vives, specifically his 1523 treatise *The Education of the Christian Woman*, which was commissioned by Catherine of Aragon for the education of her daughter Mary Tudor. Humanist Vives believed in the power of education for both men and women. Women's education, however, "was only to preserve their honesty and chastity, for their lives rotated around the protection of their physical and spiritual virginity."¹⁵

¹³ Rebecca Balmas Neary, "Mothering Socialist Society: The Wife-Activists' Movement and the Soviet Culture of Daily Life, 1934–41," *Russian Review* 58, no. 3 (1999): 396–412.

¹⁴ Nancy Ruth Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁵ Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 38. Juan Luis Vives, trans. Charles Fantazzi, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual (The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

In the sixteenth century embroidery became a specialized activity that men and women undertook to decorate religious buildings and festivities. Church linens, priests' and bishops' garments, especially prepared clothing for Holy Week processions, and tapestries in cathedrals, were filled with religious symbolism. *Bordadores* (embroiderers), mostly men, received great appreciation for this textile art and maintained specialization and professionalism within the walls of the guilds. Manuel Pérez Sánchez demonstrates that women embroiderers were not necessarily *bordadores'* family members although they must have been immersed in the job by living with it—but members of either sex who came from other professions such as shoemaking, or who were familiar with urban guilds, became engaged in this artistic activity. It was unusual for *bordadoras* (women embroiderers) to be part of guilds. Only after the 1779 Royal Decree women were allowed to participate in guilds, and their participation was limited to perform more “womanly” activities, such as sewing and embroidering.¹⁶

Home economics manuals and magazines in the nineteenth century, such as *El Ángel del hogar* and *La Guirnalda*, as well as twentieth-century newspapers, such as *Estampa* and *Crónica*, illustrate the place of domesticity in Spanish society. Toward the end of the Spanish Civil War, the *Sección Femenina* had already begun opening female schools, summer schools for girls and young women, and other establishments to educate women on domestic chores such as sewing, cooking, and childrearing. Domesticity itself, even without public demonstrations such as flags, enhanced women's incorporation in the twentieth-century national project as it provided the means through which they imagined themselves as part of a single set of ideas and values.¹⁷

Between the 1930s and the 1950s, home sewing reverberated as a national symbol and one through which women demonstrated their commitment to the national project. Domestic chores were not the only sex-appropriate activities outside conventional notions of labor per se, but these activities were also fundamental within the nation-building project without neglecting caring for the family welfare. During the 1930s, sewing, as well as other domestic activities, expressed women's dedication to the armies and the various political victories. In the 1940s and 1950s, Spanish women were

¹⁶ Manuel Pérez Sánchez, *El arte del bordado y del tejido en Murcia: siglos XVI–XIX* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999), 16–20.

¹⁷ Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2003).

once again called to commit to the national project by investing in their domesticity.

Domesticity Made in Spain?

Spanish ideologies of domesticity can be traced to the sixteenth century, along with the idea of the household as a space of female governance. Christian moralists and reformers, both male and female, understood the household and the family as an extension of the nation's welfare. Education reformers and women's magazines—at times directed by middle- and upper-class women—also promoted the home as a space of female agency up to the end of the nineteenth century. Domesticity valued motherhood and wanted women to be well-grounded in household-management issues, and as such women protected the integrity of the Christian family.

The home (in Spanish *el hogar*) was designed to be the proper place for women. Until the end of the nineteenth century, popular literature reaffirmed that “the essence of the ideal woman is not that she is modest, industrious, thrifty and, in the nineteenth century, *ilustrada* [educated], but that she embodies all these virtues in and only in the house.”¹⁸ In the sixteenth century, Luis Vives' *The Education of a Christian Woman* served largely to spread his ideas of what type of education children should receive, and maintained that sewing traditionally honored women and provided guidance on how to educate girls and boys:

If the mother knows literature, she should teach her children when they are small so they have the same person as mother, nurse, and teacher. They will love her more and learn more readily with the help of the love they have for their teacher. As for her daughters, in addition to letters, she will instruct them in the skills proper to their sex: how to work wool and flax, to spin, to weave, to sew, and the care and administration of domestic affairs.¹⁹

Upon reaching puberty, girls received a separate education from that of boys. Vives's writings advised on the minutest details, even to the extent to change the type of toys that girls played with, such as replacing dolls with objects that resembled household items, so that in this way, young females would get initiated in their “natural and sacred” duties. For “her early training,” Vives recommended, “at the age when the girl seems ready

¹⁸ Bridget Aldaraca, *El Ángel del hogar: Galdós and the Ideology of Domesticity in Spain* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 14. Luis de León, *La perfecta casada* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1938).

¹⁹ Juan Luis Vives, trans. Charles Fantazzi, *A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, 70–72.

to learn letters and gain some practical knowledge, let her begin by learning things that contribute to the cultivation of the mind and the care and management of the home."²⁰

Popular narratives reinforced women's education and their proper behavior. The writer and historian Carmen Martín Gaité explains how in the eighteenth century women were "destined to keep the 'well-being of men' and their obligations centered around needlework and children."²¹ Although intellectual ideas and trends were not strictly kept from women, the home was considered the space toward which women were naturally inclined. During the eighteenth century, debates on education included the extent of female participation or inclusion. Intellectual and politician Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811) "believed in the power of education to successfully regenerate the country."²² The *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos* by the statesman Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes (1723–1802), shows the then-current concern on how education should be institutionalized and how women formed part of public projects. In the *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria*, Campomanes advocated for an industrious rural family in which men and women performed different activities toward the acquisition of income. For Campomanes, women may work textiles as their husbands worked the land or pursued businesses. The writer developed an extensive treatise explaining the different fabrics and activities that women could work with, depending on their status. For this purpose, Campomanes detailed the different industries they could work in and hence contribute to the family's economy without disturbing Christian morals that were so embedded in women's public and private lives.²³ Reformer Josefa Amar y Borbón believed women's education to be necessary and advocated for a rather gendered instruction, that is, one that focused on household maintenance and governance, as well as the particular training of females for their participation in economic institutions.²⁴

²⁰ Vives, trans. Charles Fantazzi, *A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, 55, 57–58, 72.

²¹ Carmen Martín Gaité, *Love Customs in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 156.

²² Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 9.

²³ Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1775) and *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha, 1774), 28–32. See also Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 9.

²⁴ Margarita Ortega Lopez, "'La defensa de las mujeres' en la sociedad del Antiguo Régimen, Las aportaciones al pensamiento ilustrado," in *El feminismo en España. Dos siglos de historia*, edited by Pilar Folguera (Madrid: Pablo Iglesias, 2007), 36, 40–42.

Eighteenth-century Spanish reformers and writers, highly influenced by French Enlightenment philosophers and writers, designated a particular education for girls that could prepare them to be caring and responsible mothers. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile* (1762) highly valued mothers' education at home and clarified that this process signified women's contribution to the general social welfare. Rousseau's theory on how to change society into a civil one calls for a change of the family and of the role of the mother, one in which she had to be loving and the teacher of autonomous and capable decision makers. The home, and fundamentally the mother as the head of it, was necessary as an ordered social system for the smooth operation of public setups.²⁵ The designation of different types of education for boys and girls was rooted in gendered notions of citizenship. Spanish education advocates proposed "womanly" and domestic tasks for girls to learn, such as sewing and child rearing, and a separate education when young girls were preparing themselves for married life.

Education in Spain has been regarded as lagging behind that of other European countries, yet discussions about it since the second half of the eighteenth century were vivid. For example, legislation for universal schooling preceded England's 1870s' schooling projects.²⁶ Education projects reinforced gender norms as they designed different curricula for girls by incorporating household tasks in the instruction. In 1814 the Informe Quintana attempted to open public and primary education for girls and added *labores* (household chores) to their curricula. Fernando VII hampered these reforms and just a few succeeded, such as the 1825 Plan y Reglamento de Escuelas de Primeras Letras y del Reino and the 1838 bill that invested in building schools and training teachers.²⁷ The curriculum for girls' and boys' education remained different and thus the building of gendered education was a result of existing cultural constructions. Carmen Sarasúa observes that education, supposedly universal since 1857 with the enactment of the Moyano Bill, was never a high priority for the Spanish government during the nineteenth century. However, the nineteenth century was a period of profound changes among Spanish intellectuals who progressively accepted and activated debates beyond theologians' puzzles. Usually attached to the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza, Spanish intellectuals

²⁵ Jennifer J. Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters*, 51, where she argues how "the family [became] the source of political regeneration."

²⁶ Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London, 1870–1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996), 3.

²⁷ Folguera, *Historia de las mujeres en España*, 428–33.

and reformers engaged in the same positivism as their European neighbors. The coupled with German thinker Frank Krauze provided the institution's students with particular interests, who concentrated on humane capabilities that were rooted in modern instruction and progressive education.

Handwork, Sarasúa notes, was prevalent in the texts for girls' education. Until the 1820s, girls were not taught to read as *labores* were thought more important. The 1857 Moyano Bill mandated the instruction of girls, and established that curricula include Christian history and doctrine, grammar, writing, reading, and arithmetic. Lessons on agriculture and industry were designed for boys in higher levels of education, around eight or nine years old, and for girls:

First. Handwork appropriate to their sex.

Second. Notions on drawing to use in hand-sewing.

Third. Notions on domestic hygiene.²⁸

Embroidery was one of the most important teachings and remained so throughout the nineteenth century. Garment production was a highly specialized activity, and tailor guilds resisted female membership within their ranks. The limits imposed on women within the sector led female garment artisans to remain unofficial within guilds' membership or to pursue their occupations at home. During the nineteenth century, home-based production was identified as female, and later, by incorporating it into public education, it became part of the national identity of womanhood. Girls also learned other household tasks such as cooking and laundering. Girls could continue their education after public schooling—mainly through private institutions that concentrated on sewing and were often run by widows or unmarried women.²⁹

Women's magazines gave instruction on home maintenance, mothering skills, and moral values. Excerpts and teachings from Fray Luis de Leon's *The Perfect Wife* (1583) reappeared in women's magazines such as *La Guirnalda* and *El Ángel del hogar* during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Women had to be literate as part of their preparation to be good mothers, as they had to educate their children of either sex. They also discussed the role of women in society and how knowledge and experience

²⁸ Moyano's Bill, 1857. Public Education Law, second and third articles in the section on primary education.

²⁹ Carmen Sarasúa, "Aprendiendo a ser mujeres: las escuelas de niñas en la España del siglo XIX," *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 24 (2002): 291–92. See also Consuelo Flecha García, *Las mujeres en la legislación educativa Española. Enseñanza primaria y normal en los siglos XVIII y XIX* (Sevilla: GIHUS, 1997).

in domestic tasks demonstrated women's contribution to society's welfare. *El Ángel del hogar* was first published in 1859 with the novelist María del Pilar Sinués de Marco as the director of the magazine. The first section of every publication of *El Ángel del hogar* gave recommendations to recently married women. In one such missive, Melida, an upper middle-class woman, was the protagonist in a serial account over several months in 1865. She had recently married a man of a lower class and while living in his house, her mother-in-law expressed resentment because of their different social status. Melida, honest and stern as the Christian norm mandated, tried everything to get along with her mother-in-law. Finally, she succeeded by waking up before her mother-in-law, and cooked, cleaned, and fed the farm animals as well as the maids. While describing Melida's experience, the narrator usually made comments on how Melida would spend time sewing if she did not have any other pending home duties. Melida sewed in her silent and calm bedroom or under a shady tree. In an ultimate sign of reconciliation, Melida gave her mother-in-law a handkerchief that she had embroidered herself.³⁰

The descriptions of the ideal married woman, such as the case of Melida in *El Ángel del hogar*, are the same as found in *The Perfect Wife* in the sixteenth century. Like the statesman Campomanes, moralist Fray Luis de León encouraged women to pursue activities and support the family's economy as part of the expression of Christian values and hence the rejection of idleness. Women's working possibilities were limited as the tasks considered appropriate for them were usually attached to the domestic sphere. However, moralists reaffirmed the importance of home-based production and the idea that women should keep their hands busy:

And, as if sailing to the Indies, carrying needles, pins and other things that are worth little here but are held by the Indians in high esteem, bring rich gold and precious stones ... as the ship, which without appearing to wiggle never rests, and while others sleep, it navigates and moves faster with the air, moving, thrifty women are seated, not sleeping, but working and almost without feeling, to get the product done.³¹

Sewing was also recommended as an activity for women to be chaste wives. In 1865, "modesty, hardworking [in the home], prudence, and good will, were preferred to beauty" for a married woman.³² A married woman's

³⁰ *El Ángel del hogar*. Hemeroteca Nacional de España, Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter, HNE).

³¹ Fray Luis de León, *La Perfecta casada* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1786), 65.

³² *El Ángel del hogar*, num. 11, 1865.

highest priorities were her husband, her children, and the home with its housework.

In *El Ángel del hogar* and in *La Guirnalda*'s descriptions of women's domestic duties, hand sewing was part of the final section of each edition. *La Guirnalda*, a biweekly publication "dedicate[d] to the beautiful sex," made clear that contemporary debates on the "woman question" should not influence the proper behavior of women who subscribed to the magazine. In the magazine, articles on saints and Christian history formed a large part of the content. Housework was considered an honorable task as the 1867 excerpt from *La Guirnalda* shows, the needle was considered one of the most useful tools of the beautiful sex:

[The needle is] a small and modest tool in her agile fingers, that serves both for work and for distraction, which provides for needs of the house and for charity, *distracts from impious thoughts*[my emphasis], and produces fantastic results of needlework.³³

Education associations, as well as individual women, began publishing home economics and domestic manuals. They appeared as legislation promoted public schooling and professional development. Women were not necessarily excluded from these regulations, yet the productive practices that reformers recommended women might occupy usually regarded and protected their domesticity (read their chastity). Although home economics manuals were issued for, and generally written by, members of the upper and middle class, the teachings served a wide female population. Given that domestic work was extensive, household customs and standards were widely known and learned without the need of being literate. Women belonged to the home, regardless of status, an 1862 *Tratado de Economía y Labores* for girls stated. Without the knowledge of home issues and how to effectively organize and run a household, women risked the chance of not getting married, which threatened the well-being of future citizens and the nation as a whole. Like in other places, domestic economy became instituted as intrinsic to women's education and role in society. In a revised edition of the textbook *A Treatise of Domestic Economy* (1856) Catherine Beecher connected women's domestic responsibilities of proper household governance and family well-being with the republic's founding principles

³³ *La Guirnalda*. January, 1867. HNE. For journalist Juan Ramón Sanz the family and the home made the female a woman, and those domestic chores were the signs of God's recognition of them.

of democracy, Christianity, and individualism.³⁴ The family's happiness and its progress, so embedded in the country's men pursuit of opportunity, rested in part on women's ability to maintain an harmonic family life based on Christian values that she needed to be knowledgeable of, as well as on her capacity for domestic tasks such as cleaning, clothing-making, and cooking.

Home economics manuals substituted for the lack of public education as these brief outlines taught the basics of hygiene, cooking, and home sewing. Religious education was recommended for girls, yet usually only well-to-do families could afford it. In a like manner, non-domestic education was valued as useful for household duties: "to read, to write, and to do arithmetic, all are very convenient subjects for women to be able to govern the home." At a certain age, however (six years in the case of the *Tratado de economía y labores*), girls were thought to be better off if they were well trained in domestic tasks. Housewives, mothers, and governesses in charge of female servants were regarded as teachers of domesticity in both the moral and the household governance senses. The rationalization of household administration through detailed guides and treatises reaffirmed women's responsibilities within society as attached to the home. The industrious mother's duties were to teach daughters and other girls "morality, order, intelligence, economy, and hygiene," in order to be able to satisfy husbands when they grew up.³⁵ Married women were in charge of the family well-being and in the home women organized everything concerning the food, the rooms, cleaning, and child rearing. Women of every class learned or taught other female family members to be austere and efficient, never to be ostentatious, yet always getting the maximum out of the family's and the environment's possibilities. Industriousness, as in Vives's and León's writings, made the idea of women's work compatible with family values. Home economics manuals guided female instructors at home and school. Family order symbolized public welfare and thus the role of the wife within the institution was significant beyond the private realm.³⁶

Through the *Tratado de economía doméstica*, women learned food's nutritional aspects, as well as the ideal way to clean a house and efficient methods for cleaning clothes. Fabric cutting and hand sewing of *ropa*

³⁴ Catharine Esther Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy: For the Use of Young Ladies at Home and at School* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1856).

³⁵ *Tratado de economía y labores: para uso de las niñas* (Madrid: C. González, 1862), 11, 31.

³⁶ Juan Luis Vives, *Instrucción de la mujer christiana*. trans. Juan Justiniano (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1793), 8–9, 11, 26, 383.

blanca (casual clothes) as well as children's clothing and female and male underwear, were activities all women needed to know to be *de provecho* (respectable). Fashionable clothing was left for professional seamstresses and tailors. The treatise taught how to make bed sheets accordingly to different styles, *a la española* (the Spanish way), *a la francesa* (the French), or *a la inglesa* (the British), depending on the seamstress's ability, interests, and economic possibilities. Men's and women's blouses and other clothing could also follow one of these styles. Girls and young ladies learned basic fabric cutting, how to sew hems, and make button openings. At the same time women became familiar with different fabrics and their possibilities. Cotton, for example, was recommended for blouses as it resisted frequent use and it was soft and good looking. For jackets and more tough clothing, as well as underwear or non-visible clothing, women could use *percal*, a low-quality cotton, yet equally soft to work with. An important section in the clothing chapter of the *Tratado de economía doméstica* reminded women, mainly low-income women, that alterations and repairs were as important to know as other stages of sewing. *Repasos* (alterations), *zurcidos* (repairs), and *remiendos* (repairs and replacements) were simple weaves in torn or worn clothes. The focus on the different ways to make these stitches signified both the lack of constant access to fabrics as well as the high value of *ropa blanca*.³⁷

A Modern Spanish Domesticity

By the early twentieth century, an increasing number of women were employed in different branches of the developing factory system. This development created a fear of the diffusion of immorality and deprivation due to overcrowded cities, as well as bigger workshops and factories. In Spain, women were employed in sugar and tobacco factories. The garment industry registered the higher amount of female workers.³⁸ Mechanization, in its peak during the first two decades of the twentieth century, both in the tobacco and the garment sector, created new fears among Spanish reformers and journalists as it opened new employment opportunities for women outside the private sanctity of the home. In a 1901 article in *Iris*,

³⁷ *Tratado de economía y labores*, iv, 7, 35, 47–57.

³⁸ Jordi Nadal et al., *La cara oculta de la industrialización española. La modernización de los sectores no líderes (Siglos XIX y XX)* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994). See also Luis Alberto Cabrera Pérez, *Mujer, trabajo y sociedad (1839–1983)* (Madrid: Fundación Largo Caballero, 2007).

journalist Eusebio Galdós reminded women that the thimble was the “symbol of virtue, peace, and humility.” Female attachment to needle and thread was historical, the journalist recalled, and was the base for the “tranquility of the family.”³⁹ Galdós encouraged young women to work outside the home in sewing rooms, yet warned that these skills were to be used within the home after marriage.

The revival of domesticity in the first two decades of the twentieth century was connected with then-current contexts of social unrest—in the case of Spain a result of the identity crisis after the Spanish-American War in 1898 as well as the regional industrial growth push by temporarily successful liberal policies. Domesticity remained central to Spanish social relations during the first half of the twentieth century and much more so after the Spanish Civil War in the form of “social domesticity.” Following European trends, Mary Nash argues that to modernize and transform the Christian-based and conservative form of domesticity discourses from the nineteenth century moved to a more science-based discourse on motherhood. This set of gendered social and cultural values that defined women’s roles in society was not exclusive to highly developed countries as neither was specific to Spanish industrialized areas, such as Catalonia, where the majority of studies on female labor have concentrated.⁴⁰

The notion of home economics in Spain, as a gender-specific science and space, came from female journalists and modernist women writers. Carmen de Burgos, journalist, modernist novelist, and instructor at the Normal School for women in Madrid at the beginning of the twentieth century presented the science of *economía doméstica* as most important for women because it was essential for the proper functioning of the family—which was considered a reflection of the society as a whole. De Burgos considered, as Vives and León did centuries before, women’s commitment and diligence to household chores as the ultimate female contribution to society. This position reaffirmed women’s place in society and rather than

³⁹ *Iris*, 1901, 11–12. HNE.

⁴⁰ Adrian Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 22. The term “social domesticity” appears, for example, in Nancy Reagan’s study on how domesticity remained a fundamental aspect within the building of Germaness from the turn of the twentieth century up to the Nazi state. Nancy Reagan, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 18. Mary Nash, “Un/Contested Identities: Motherhood, Sex Reform, and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain,” in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood. Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (Albany: State University of New York, 1998), 26–30.

being inferior, she argued, female devotion to the family and the home dignified women and helped the "nation's prosperity."⁴¹

Economía doméstica in the twentieth century included an array of activities that ranged from child rearing and nursing, to cooking and sewing, and women were assumed to be naturally inclined to these tasks. De Burgos explained that the well-being of the family and the households were women's responsibilities. Men and husbands, although an integral part of the family, are not the only members seen as breadwinners in Burgos's writings. Women, de Burgos explained, shall "administer the family" and this "consists of providing all means to maintain the welfare of the family in the present and for the future." The home and its functioning is the reflection of women's proper administration which includes, along with other matters, a proper structuring and decoration of the rooms. De Burgos was not necessarily referring only to elite women, however as her main purpose was to teach the basics of household hygiene, such as ventilation, not overwhelming decoration, and appropriate furniture for a healthy family life. The kitchen was the "domestic laboratory" *par excellence*, a space that needed to be even cleaner than other spaces in the home, and there, women were the absolute leaders. *Economía doméstica* emphasized cooking and embroidering as fundamental activities.⁴²

Liberal governments during the first half of the twentieth century promoted normal schools, state-driven educational institutions for technical formation. Normal schools formed future teachers in instructing technical and "modern" occupations, industrial jobs and specialty activities, bureaucratic capacities and rationalized chores, such as household administration. Normal schools offered programs for future female teachers and they concentrated on household chores such as cooking and embroidering. The curriculum included courses on embroidery, along with Spanish grammar and Christian doctrine. The *programa de labores* (domestic chores program) included hand-embroidered and machine-sewn clothing, taking into account the multiple economic possibilities within each family. The development of this type of gendered education also resulted in an increase of women workers in textile-related jobs. From 1910 to 1920, women registered as dressmakers increased from 2 percent to 94 percent in the province of Madrid and female dressmaking increased from 1914 to 1925 in the majority of Spanish provinces. Barcelona, Granada, and Madrid registered the

⁴¹ Carmen de Burgos, *La mujer en el hogar: Economía doméstica. Guía de la buena dueña de casa* (Valencia: Sempere, 1918), 20–21.

⁴² de Burgos, *La mujer en el hogar*, 20, 52.

largest increases, from 12,533 *modistas* in Barcelona in 1914 to 16,269 female workers occupied in dressmaking in 1925. In Granada in 1914, 2,393 women were registered as seamstresses, and this number increased to 3,469 in 1925.⁴³

Professional schools trained young females in activities such as sewing and design, and thus this labor, which women were already doing at home, became their entrance into the public sphere. The prescriptive gender ideologies from the state and educational reformers denote the extent to which ideals of domesticity and proper femininity were not only structures to follow within the home and the private sphere but rather that gender ideologies formed part of the whole socioeconomic process of industrialization. In Spain, different actors affirmed and reaffirmed ideologies of domesticity throughout the years in order to adapt and ground ideals of proper womanhood to changing political and economic contexts. Ideals of proper domesticity continued to be prevalent, yet women, either out of necessity or because of personal choice, worked outside the home.

The late nineteenth-century emerging labor movement and early twentieth-century prompts for people's public voice and individualism, as well as the increasing incorporation of women in the labor force, awoke debates on women's direct participation in politics and government affairs. With the advent of the Second Republic (1931–36) and the enactment of the 1931 Constitution some of the "radical feminism" claims for gender equality were realized. The Republic's constitution made suffrage universal, for example, satisfying a growing demand for political participation.

*Embroidering the Nation: Domesticity to Win the War
and to Rebuild Spain*

Both right- and left-wing organizations created female-based associations in the 1930s. "Catholic feminism," as historian Aurora Morcillo called it, claimed that women belong to the home and promoted marriage as the ideal enclave for grown women. In the 1930s, ideas on the emancipation of women in terms of sexuality, marriage, and working independently, were also integrated into women's associations' agendas. Women worked in government and held high positions in the 1920s, but only with the advent of the Second Republic were women able to vote. As several authors have considered, although the struggle of Spanish feminists achieved some

⁴³ Capel Martínez Rosa, *El trabajo y la educación de la mujer en España (1900–1930)*, 87, 162.

success in legal matters—the equal consideration of women and men appeared in the Constitution of 1931 and divorce was legalized in 1932—many other advances were frustrated when the Civil War broke out in 1936. Women on the Left, however, were not necessarily in favor of widespread female participation in politics. Resistance to universal suffrage on the side of congresswomen developed as they doubted that the majority of Spanish women could decide to transgress traditional values without education or political formation.⁴⁴

Not only were feminists' agendas limited, but also gendered notions of women's work were far from being questioned or eliminated. An example is women engaged in the textile sector, where thousands were recorded as dressmakers.⁴⁵ Increased employment numbers for women reflected timid openness to women becoming wage earners. However, 78 percent of the nation's female dressmakers were unmarried, and although many continued working after they were married, considering that this census includes work in the house in the category of family members, marriage was not always compatible with jobs outside the home. The majority of Spanish women had usually learned sewing basics at home or at school. Sewing abilities allowed women to prepare their own wedding trousseau. Household manuals recommended that home clothing and sewing men and women's basic clothing were a fundamental task that women should know before marriage. In the home girls created their charter to leave the parent's home and participate in the publicly valued institution of marriage in which women could demonstrate their affiliation to society's gendered relations. Embellished bed sheets and tablecloths, as Federico García Lorca's *La casa de Bernalda Alba* (1936) illustrated, represents the fluid connection between the private and public worlds. While sewing an *ajuar* (trousseau) the recently widowed Bernalda Alba, her five daughters, and the housekeeper discussed the town's social relations and the daughters' opinion of marriage. The ladies gossiped and told one another of the latest engagements in the town while criticizing one another's lack of effort in making the most beautiful embroidery for their matrimonial *juego de sábanas* (bedsheets).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Aurora G. Morcillo, "Feminismo y lucha política durante la II República y la Guerra Civil," in Pilar Folguera, *El feminismo en España*.

⁴⁵ The 1930s' census shows that 43,222 women were employed as dressmakers in comparison to 13,613 men dressmakers in the nation. Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Censo de Población de 1930, Resumen de la Nación, Capitales, Posesiones del Norte y Costa Occidental de África.

⁴⁶ Federico García Lorca, *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

The popular consideration of sewing as a private activity, however, and considering how widespread the sewing machine was by the 1930s and a tradition of home-based *modistas* (seamstresses), shows the importance of home sewing as an activity through which women provided a supplemental income. To a certain extent, a feminized chore such as sewing allowed a number of women to achieve a *sui generis* independence.

During wartime, Spanish women performed an array of tasks in support of both armies. Female domestic activities that were learned in multiple spaces—in the home, at school, and through private lessons to become professional dressmakers—continued to be crucial during the Spanish Civil War. In the rearguard women sewed uniforms and bags. Well-developed ideologies of domesticity encouraged home-based production, yet these practices were usually considered routine and as such part of women's "private" role in society. Furthermore in times of war domestic tasks took on new meaning as women "special" war effort, though this implied unpaid work.⁴⁷

The large incorporation of women as economically active in the 1930s did not necessarily correspond to a change in the consideration of home-based labor as a socially uplifting kind of labor, but rather one done when there was no other option, a recourse to earn money for the family. Activities such as sewing were considered alternatives that women could use to feel more feminine and respectable than domestic service, for example, or factory work. In 1932 the magazine *Estampa* commemorated a hundred years of the sewing machine's invention by the French tailor Barthélemy Thimonnier. The article compared the sewing machine with the typewriter and contemplated the latter as a legitimate source of income and an alternative to leave the home behind:

Of course the women of today would rather use the typing machine, which not only constitutes a source of income but is also the easiest way to escape the home—those four walls that used to consume a woman's life thirty

⁴⁷ The role of women during the Spanish Civil War (1939–39) has been largely considered in the historiography, as they were present at both the home front and the warfront; usually women have been depicted as being active in hospitals, dining halls, and sewing for their families and the soldiers. Both the Republicans and the rebels emphasized the need for women to become active in the struggle. Women's required participation in the Spanish Civil War was little different from previous gendered roles, thus sewing and cooking were familiar practices for women in their households. Studies of everyday life in the home front have underlined women's fundamental role in the war. While men were in the trenches, children and women kept on with their lives in order to survive economically, as well as to develop leisure and diverse activities during the difficult times. See Mary Nash, "Un/Contested Identities" and Abella, *La vida cotidiana en España bajo el régimen de Franco*.

years ago. However, there still are times late at night, when the noise of the *riquiqi* from the sewing machine needle, along with a feminine figure, continue while the rest of the city is silent and sleeping. Sometimes a mother does not take the necessary time for her eyes to rest while sewing the dress that she could not buy for her daughter ... Other times, the young female resists her seamstress's design and produces her own dress.⁴⁸

In 1925, the Spanish company ALFA launched its own line of sewing machines. Sewing machines had formed a large part of Spanish households since the 1870s when the United States-based company, the Singer Sewing Machine Company, introduced their sewing machines for domestic use. Half a century later domestic sewing machines were still in demand and messages incorporated into propaganda emphasized the savings women could achieve by acquiring their own sewing machine.⁴⁹

In 1934 the magazine *Crónica* devoted part of its subject matter to how well and stylishly women in Madrid dressed and emphasized how they made their own dresses. The journalist explained that there were a number of sewing academies in the city where young women, typically non-married, went to learn how to sew. Private academies were usually run by women and seamstresses ran their own business if sewing at home. The *Crónica* writer explained that these were seen as enjoyable and sometimes-frivolous workshops where women went who only cared about their appearance. The notion of sewing was also more like a whim, an activity that women could do during their spare time from other domestic duties.

During the Spanish Civil War, Republican propaganda emphasized the value of female domestic roles while living at home. Mary Nash has investigated the importance of maternal images in Republican propaganda utilized to engage women in the home to support the soldiers.⁵⁰ Many female-based associations organized their members in support of the Republican cause, including providing childcare and communal cooking. Propaganda in the streets of Madrid sought to enlist as many soldiers as

⁴⁸ José Romero Cuesta in *Estampa*, 1932. HNE.

⁴⁹ The sewing machine was praised in Spain at the turn of the twentieth century. Catalan inventor Miquel Escuder developed a machine for industrial textile work at the end of the nineteenth century and a domestic machine, the Aurora, whose use became widespread in the beginning of the twentieth century. See Conxa Bayó i Soler, "Miquel Escuder i les màquines de cosir," *Terme* 23 (2008). See also Andrew Godley, "Selling the Sewing Machine around the World: Singer's International Marketing Strategies, 1850-1920," *Enterprise and Society* 7, no. 2 (2006): 266-314.

⁵⁰ Mary Nash, *Rojas: las mujeres republicanas en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999), 99.

possible. Images on the city's walls displayed weapons and political slogans such as *¡Adelante, Luchadores de la Libertad*" (Go Ahead, Freedom Fighters) and "*¡Los fusiles para el frente, un fusil inactivo es arma enemiga!*" (Weapons to the battle front, an inactive weapon is an enemy weapon). Propaganda for agricultural workers urged them to continue to work the land and provide the necessary food supplies to cities and armies. The different political parties, however, also created images of mothers and distributed them around the nation. Images of women sewing were widespread in support of Republican soldiers and their victory. Posters displayed sewing machines and cutting tools under mottos such as "*¡Mujeres, trabajad en la retaguardia!*" (Women, work in rearguard). Among images of weapons, military aircraft, and representations of Madrid's important sculptures such as *Cibeles*, the hands of women were dedicated to knitting.⁵¹ The needle, once again, became women's weapon, women's exclusive tool to participate in Spanish society's conflicts and crossroads.

Beginning in 1936, cadres of women of all ages began sewing as much military clothing as possible along with other clothes to be prepared for the war. Like in the Republican side, pro-National women organized *lavaderos* (washing spaces) for the soldiers' laundry and hygienic necessities while fighting for a New Spain. In a 1939 *Sección Femenina* commemorative publication, Pilar Primo de Rivera referred to the *lavaderos del frente* (battlefront laundry spaces) as "silent and humble work places, symbols of unrewarded heroism; to these activities we owe the splendid resurgence of Spanish women, so strong and prepared for life, and at the same time so feminine."⁵²

Although there were Republican women in the battlefront for a short time (former president Largo Caballero ordered them leave in 1937) the study of women's roles in the Spanish Civil War needs to further consider their contribution on the home front, not only as mothers, but also as pursuing the multiple jobs and economic opportunities that the conflict opened up to them. Furthermore, these activities acquired new meanings when charged with patriotic symbolism. Particularly, sewing was filled with symbolic value and through this activity domesticity found space within nation building on both sides of the conflict.

⁵¹ España. Ministerio de Cultura. Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), FC CAUSA GENERAL, 1814, C.5, S.1.

⁵² Sección Femenina de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas Ofensivas Nacional Sindicalista (J.O.N.S.). *Sección Femenina de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S.*: Delegación Nacional y Centro de Prensa y Propaganda de la Sección Femenina de la Falange Española, ca. 1939, 104.

As Nationalists and Republicans began loosening restrictions to provide with food and other essentials to soldiers, forms of rewarding soldiers diversified. Idealism, as Michael Saidman demonstrated, was not necessarily the main reason that many soldiers enrolled in the militia. Since the mid-1930s militia enrollment had been the source of a job and income. In the war between the Popular Front army and the *sublevados* (rebels) both offered distinctive rewards for enlistment. While nationalists and loyalists enlisted, both armies struggled to pay the salaries of their recruits and meet their basic needs, facing enlistment shortages and being forced to establish a draft.⁵³ Women working as volunteers on both sides, equipping the men with clothing and serving as nurses in emergency hospitals became the norm.

Women's domestic chores were performed in the name of the army and the government that was elected in 1931. With these goals the practices uplifted the meaning of so-called "traditional" female work. In the magazine *Estampa*, the journalist Jacinto Arias reported that many women had begun to prepare winter clothing for the soldiers in the streets of Madrid and that this activity, although the "easiest and the most feminine one," symbolized that the "Spanish women had broken the mold" by taking the streets in support of the soldiers, their husbands, and sons.⁵⁴ Academies and schools that previously prepared women to be proper housewives now became caught up in the war economy and began preparing women intensively for the war effort. These schools previously trained women in an array of different tasks such as embroidery, dressmaking, and lace, for their future domestic live as mothers and wives. Doña Melchora Herrero, a home-school teacher interviewed by Elena Fortún for *Crónica* in 1937 affirmed: "women's true state is marriage, and the home, her sanctuary. She taught her students to use the same precision with the needle as they would while making a sauce, and the same delicacy to fold a tablecloth as if the whole family happiness depended on it."⁵⁵ After the summer of 1936, more and more home schools received orders directly from the military and the Ministry of War to send the materials and also ready-made clothing such as coats, pants, pajamas, underwear, and shirts, and other items such as bags made with hard material that required experience and specialization from the seamstresses.

⁵³ Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

⁵⁴ *Estampa*, 1936. HNE.

⁵⁵ *Cronica*, 1937. HNE.



Figure 7.1. Republican women and *milicianos* in Madrid, ca. 1936. The Escuela Hogar was converted for the war effort. Courtesy of the National Archive in Madrid.

The triumphant Popular Front in the elections of February 1936 sent party members to female schools to create patriotic sentiment among the workers. All *economía doméstica* courses were suspended and their students were allocated to make clothing for the army. Popular Front propaganda on the streets, called women to work in the rearguard while men were fighting. The former consideration of sewing as a feminine activity and the overall notion of the home as private and a place in need of protection hindered women from participating on the front lines, yet made their “traditional” activities public and significant to the welfare of the nation. Republican propaganda redefined domesticity while making women’s traditional domestic chores materially useful for the nation.

Meanwhile, since its founding in 1934 the Female Section of Falange had developed a similar discourse and portrayed “traditional” and domestic female tasks as symbols of women’s devotion to the nation. During the Spanish Civil War other charitable organizations were founded as well, such as *Auxilio Social* (Social Assistance), that Javier Martínez de Bedoya and Mercedes Sanz Bachiller established in 1936. They were like other European authoritarian regimes—*dopolavoro* (afterwork) in Mussolini’s Italy and *Winterhilfe* (Winter relief) in Germany (founded in 1933). Spain,

with its Catholic peculiarities, experienced the emergence of different charitable organizations that also were interested in leisure time when the country stabilized. In 1936 the project covered the creation of *Auxilio de Invierno* ("Winter Assistance" patterned after *Winterhilfe*), a non-permanent organization funded by credit and "patriotic donations." Two years later the *Consejo Superior de Beneficiencia y Auxilio a Poblaciones Liberadas* (Council for Charity and the Relief of Released Populations), under the rebel state, financed the creation of *Auxilio Social*.⁵⁶ The formation of these kinds of associations was a response to the precarious situation that a large numbers of Spaniards were left in during the war, but also a political opportunity to establish and support a regime that promoted the return to traditional values in response to the rapid emergence of left-wing governments throughout Europe. A gender analysis of these formations shows that middle- and upper-middle-class women's participation within society became fundamental once again in that they became agents and direct promoters of state-sponsored domesticity.

Sanz Bachiller, whose *Auxilio Social* disappeared in 1938, contributed to the nation's ideological construction. With her *Mujeres de España* (Women of Spain) in 1940, a textbook for schools in which she explained the administrative role played by women such as Queen Isabel the Catholic.⁵⁷ Traditionalism, also part of the National Movement discourse, rejected any liberal revolution or progressive development during the nineteenth century, yet perpetuated the gender ideology behind the concept of women as "angels of the home."

Historical symbolism was constantly present in the *Sección Femenina* with the 1941 creation of the *Escuela Nacional de Instructoras "Isabel la Católica"* (National School for Female Teachers, "Isabel the Catholic") in the El Pardo area of Madrid.⁵⁸ In the inaugural celebration, Pilar Primo de Rivera emphasized the purity of this land that was originally donated by the Duke of Arcos to the king Philip V in 1740 and then donated by the National Movement in 1940. Scholar Victoria Enders has shown how the *Sección Femenina* used the historical figures of Isabel the Catholic and Saint Teresa of Avila to signify both nationalism and feminism. Isabel the Catholic represented how Spanish women had been "good administrators"

⁵⁶ Cenarro, *La sonrisa de Falange*.

⁵⁷ Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, *Mujeres de España* (Madrid: Afrodisio Aguado, 1940) Biblioteca Nacional de España (hereafter BNE).

⁵⁸ *Escuela nacional de instructoras "Isabel la Católica,"* ed. Sección Femenina (Madrid: s.n, 1944).

while Saint Teresa of Avila symbolized women's altruistic social responsibility.⁵⁹

Pilar Primo de Rivera quoted Franco regarding women's responsibility within the New Spain:

Your fight did not end with your contribution in the front, with your assistance to the liberated populations; neither did it end with your work in rivers and frozen waters while washing our combatant's clothes. Now is time to educate the children and the women of Spain. *Delegada* (to Pilar Primo de Rivera) it is time to re-conquest the home and build a Spain of healthy, strong and independent women; it is your duty to build a character representative of the Castilian, full of ideals and prophecies that again today represents Spain.⁶⁰

The *sublevados* regarded the civil war as a *cruzada* (crusade) against the devils of the Left and secularism. After the war, the *sublevados* reinvigorated and reinvented an imperial, Catholic past that became the regime's ideological legitimization. The Republic's enactment of the 1931 Constitution and the proclamation of religious freedom prompted an extreme reaction against Catholic imagery and rituals. During the years of the Second Republic the Catholic Church represented a threat as leftist politicians considered it a conservative institution. The Catholic Church connected their efforts with right-wing agendas during the Republic but mainly throughout the war in order to maintain their influence. Christian values and imagery connected to the Spanish colonial period became the regime's main source for ideological inspiration and thus for its material representation. As Alex Bueno explains in this volume, the regime's fidelity to tradition through the building of monuments that represented the Nationals' victory while they were directly related with the Spanish imperial architects such as Juan de Herrera. The regime recovered sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sacred forms, images, and individuals, to stress continuity and thus delegitimize the government of the Republic.

The *Sección Femenina* revived the nineteenth-century discourse on Catholic and pious domesticity. Combining the historical female figures of Isabel the Catholic and Santa Teresa of Avila (patron saint of the

⁵⁹ Victoria Lorée Enders, "Nationalism and Feminism: The Sección Femenina of the Falange," *History of European Ideas* 15 (1992): 677–79. See also Giuliana Di Febo, *La Santa Raza. Teresa De Ávila: Un Culto Barroco En La España Franquista, 1937–1962* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1988).

⁶⁰ Sección Femenina de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S. *Sección Femenina de Falange Española*, 128.

organization), the *Sección Femenina* related the sixteenth-century imperial and Catholic past, along with a return to the Christian-based domesticity from the end of the nineteenth century, to redefine women's contribution to the new state and the new society after the Civil War. Through the institution of marriage women expressed their devotion to Christian doctrine (as Juan Luis Vives and Fray Luis de León preached back in the sixteenth century) the *Sección Femenina* teachings in magazines and in primary schools in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century reminded young women of their destiny as wives and how much an appropriate domestic education was needed. The *Sección Femenina*'s return to these values contributed to the regaining of domestic stability after the war and reinforced Catholic women's submissive role. Women's employment levels decreased tremendously in the 1940s while the numbers of family members dedicated to *sus labores* (domestic chores) was the census new category.⁶¹ As part of *sus labores*, women had to know the basics of sewing to allow them to dress the house and the family members, re-embroidering the image of the Spanish family that had supposedly been diverted by the subversion of gender rules during the Second Republic.

Sewing knowledge, and thus the values that society expected of women, was passed from mothers to daughters in the household. Mothers were carrying out the task of educating their daughters to be proper mothers, which united the various skills related to the welfare of the home and the institution of the family. Once again, after the war, sewing becomes meaningful in shaping women's identity. Young women had learned to sew before marrying and sewing became women's unique practice within the home. A woman's embroidered and home-sewn goods reflected familiar unity and thus was a symbol of the regime's order. Girls and young women learned to embroider tablecloths and bed sheets at homes and in schools. Over the years, more girls would learn to embroider in the schools where the decorative patterns were practiced in class with other girls. Outside of school notebooks were distributed with patterns for embroidery designs.⁶²

⁶¹ In the 1950 census, 15 percent of women were registered as economically active. Out of this number, 15 percent performed jobs in the textile sector, mainly dressmaking. Twenty-three percent of women economically active were agricultural workers.

⁶² *Labores publicadas en la página femenina de Escuela Española V* (Madrid: Escuela Española, 1959) BNE.



Figure 7.2. Embroidered tablecloth, part of the bride's *ajuar* (trousseau). Made around 1945. Author's private collection.

The making of the trousseau within the family had social and cultural implications. Household linens were material proof of gendered domestic ideologies and lifestyles, which were endorsed in the public realm. Embroidered sheets and tablecloths, as goods that last for years, symbolized the domestic as part of the national identity of womanhood. Today they are part of individuals' memory and material life of their own recent past. Women finished off their work by stitching their initials, which represented continuity and the welfare of the family. Towels and bed linens were marked with the initials of the conjugal partnership women entered into when they married. Although the order of the husband and wife's initials depended on the region, these were included in any sort of item. Women specifically learned to make lace and embroidered their initials in bed sheets. These represented the eternity of their dedication, both to the home and to their husband. Embroidered linens, tablecloths, linens and other décor, made a home socially respectable and established a class hierarchy inserted into the corporatist regime.

With the advent in the 1950s of the National Catholic agenda that rehabilitated the dictatorship internationally, women also learned to embroider altar cloths to be donated to parishes. After the war, sewing recovered the various symbolic values related to the family and the Church—thus not a symbol of women's work—as both institutions were symbols of national unification. Spanish women embroidered matrimonial symbols in the home to represent family welfare, signifying their devotion to the unity of the nation. The climate of poverty and economic harshness after the war,

which did not recover until the late 1960s with the opening of Spain to foreign investments, helped forge domesticity as a crucial element of female identity. As it occurred during the Civil War, to ensure welfare and national progress, a special appeal to women was made, encouraging them to perform domestic tasks.

Sewing was a recurrent theme in the *Sección Femenina* propaganda machine, and represented as a female's natural dedication. This bit of propaganda was easy because women had learned to sew in girlhood. Sewing also eased the dramatic economic situation in which thousands of Spaniards had been left after the war. In another essay in this book, Óscar Rodríguez Barreira illustrates the extremely precarious situation experienced by the people during the war. In 1939 the regime developed a discourse on "misery liberation" and spread an image of the new state benevolence. In like manner, the women of the *Sección Femenina* arrived in devastated towns showing off the state's charitable actions while seeking new members. The achievements and progress of the *Sección Femenina* in terms of female members are debatable yet the diffusion of its mission through different images as well as the state political support was appreciable.

Since the end of the Civil War the *Sección Femenina* developed a system of *Escuelas de hogar* (schools for domestic chores training). They were exclusively for women and were a place where they could learn how to be proper housewives while voluntarily contributing to help the Francoist regime solve the situation of poverty that many Spanish families were going through after the war. These activities were transformed into patriotic propaganda while in reality women were working. For example, in the *Sección Femenina's Anuario* of 1941 women knitting clothing for newborns from economically depressed regions as well as "mothers in need" was considered as a patriotic act and an offering to the *caudillo* than work. These activities also helped to establish a hierarchy of womanhood within the regime. During the dictatorship images of degenerated *vencidos* (defeated) played an important role in legitimizing the coup d'état and the cruelty of the civil war. Republican women were imprisoned and seen as betrayers of Spanish traditional morality and domesticity principles. In 1941, the *Sección Femenina* magazine *Medina* reported the improvement of former Republican women in the prisons who were taking advantage of the *Escuela hogar* integrated in these institutions.⁶³ In these locations women sewed and embroidered to help rebuild the nation, which could

⁶³ *Escuela Hogar de la Sección Femenina* (Madrid: Anel, 1958). 17, 168.

not be done other than by rebuilding social values that strengthened the Christian family.

The *Sección Femenina* of Falange developed a powerful propaganda apparatus that consisted of streets posters, national contests, village visits, boarding schools, summer schools for girls, and schools for female teachers who would either be mothers and could teach their daughters or who became teachers in the schools. Along with all the upgrading of women's national duties, certain activities historically related to the home were once again reinforced as female and consequently, as these were tasks that had to be performed in private and without much effort, kept being chores not worthy of either an official salary nor granted official labor recognition. The discourses on how sewing was almost divinely destined to women reappeared during and after the Civil War through the *Sección Femenina's* propaganda:

Women and the needle, "What would a woman be without her needle? With it, she is a fairy; she sews, embroiders, weaves, and creates all the fantasies of her imagination. In every time in History the needle has triumphed: the shrouds of the tombs of Egypt, the tapestries of the Middle Ages, the works of the Renaissance; these wonderful laces and embroideries are the result of the skill and female fantasy. Today, the needle has been abandoned; but we are here to restore its prestige. Think in all the fine things that make up the basket of newborns and the baby clothes that every woman, even the not dexterous ones, can make; women can do it, without going over our budget. Women make thousands of cheap accessories in such detail and cheap scarves, bags, jackets, flowers, belts, etc., and all that relates to our home. Rich coloring linens, simple and practical rugs, it is all part of our Spanish embroidery. The needle is therefore the best companion of women and with it we will achieve the best of our homes."⁶⁴

Women within the *Escuela hogar* were taught how to be proper mothers. An important task women should be able to develop was the ability to provide for the family without exceeding the family budget, even more considering the limits established for married women to pursue a wage-based job. As Carmen de Burgos explained in her work as a normal school teacher in 1920s, the *Sección Femenina* emphasized in their textbooks and pamphlets that one of women's principal roles within the family was in the kitchen and within it, she had to lead. The *Sección Femenina's Escuela nacional de instructoras* developed courses on Christian tenets and morality, along with domestic chores and the formation of national ideology. Future wives and future teachers studied the history of the Falange. For girls and young women, the *Sección Femenina* founded *Escuelas nacionales*

⁶⁴ *Escuela Hogar de la Sección Femenina*, 177.

to assist at daily and/or boarding schools. These institutions taught gymnastics, childcare, and child rearing, the history of national syndicalism, home economics, Catholicism, and dressmaking. Summer schools were also offered. In these, girls and young women were instructed in domestic tasks and at the same time they were surrounded by patriotic symbols, national emblems, and phrases of the *caudillo* that supported female-appropriate *labores* (chores) and their fundamental contribution to the well-being of the nation.⁶⁵

Although the *Sección Femenina* promoted a female's right to education by creating educational institutions, study programs, and textbooks, female instruction was only intended for family life and not for girls to have a "surfeit of books" to be able "to be an intellectual."⁶⁶ The image of women sewing became a powerful symbol to signify women's respectable national mission. In the *Sección Femenina* workshops, women sewed for other children and thus promoted a singular identification among women that embroidered for the welfare of the whole nation. At home, mothers and daughters embroidered and comprised a singular female contribution to the society's welfare.



Figure 7.3. Women of the *Sección Femenina* sewing in *Escuela Hogar*. Courtesy of the Archivo General de la Administración, Madrid.

⁶⁵ Departamento Nacional de P.P. y P. de la Sección Femenina del S.E.U., *Albergues femeninos S.E.U.* 1941, ed. Departamento Nacional de P.P. y P. de la Sección Femenina del S.E.U (Madrid Rivadeneyra, 1941) BNE.

⁶⁶ Excerpt from the girls' textbook *El libro de las margaritas* (1940), by Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S. Delegación Nacional de Organización Juvenil. In Luis Otero and Nacional Movimiento, *La Sección Femenina* (Madrid: EDAF, 1999), 91.

In 1967, data collected from a series of surveys of non-married females in Madrid revealed that the mothers of more than 70 percent of those interviewed worked at *sus labores* (their domestic chores). María Campo Alange supervised this project and while comparing mothers' and daughters' occupations noted that younger female generations had increased their "active participation in society."⁶⁷ Although the scope of Campo Alange's work is hard to prove, until the 1960s housekeeping, laundry, cooking, child rearing, and sewing, were part of *sus labores*. Because these were done inside the home, the males of the household population were the ones assumed to be working and supporting the economy. Another study in 1966, undertaken with the approval of and in collaboration with the *Sección Femenina*, admired the steady progress that women had made in trades outside the home. Another essay in this book shows that husbands were primarily expected to provide for the family economy while wives' contribution to the home was grouped in the category of "affectionate behavior and household care."⁶⁸ The *Sección Femenina*, however, maintained the Fuero del Trabajo (Labor Charter) regulation and premises to retain women from pursuing work outside the home. The definition of home-based production as unofficial as well as being considered gender specific, generally determined its low wages. However, the shift toward a market economy in the late 1950s changed perceptions toward women working outside the home and although just light industries and services were recommended for women on the premise of their biological fragility, official active female participation continued to increase.

Household chores gradually became redefined to be traditional—mainly dressmaking and embroidery work. Gendered notions of work established and conceptualized the home as the passive sphere. The over amplification of the significance of work outside the home and the continuous public enhancement of domesticity contributed to institute male-performed activities as the active sphere. Although the Spanish Civil War was a national and a political event, it profoundly and fundamentally transformed Spaniards' lives in a relatively short period of time, a continuity based on gender roles defined women's lives during the 1930s and 1940s. In this article, I have shown that more than a return to traditional female activities, the *Sección Femenina* reshaped the female's eternal private

⁶⁷ María Campo Alange, *Habla la mujer: resultado de un sondeo sobre la juventud actual* (Madrid: Edicusa, 1967), 49–52. BNE.

⁶⁸ Francisco Santos Cabezuolo, *Manual de oficios de la mujer* (Madrid: Afrodísio Aguado, 1966), 2. BNE.

sphere using the notion of outside work pejoratively for women. Domesticity ideologies have been transformed and reinvented over time. A gendered type of education driven from the state as well as from cultural and economic environments from the turn of the twentieth century, buttress the different instruction men and women received. By the end of the 1950s the *Sección Femenina*'s zeal for "traditional domesticity" was rather a new stage of the definition of a Spanish ideology of domesticity. The main female occupations over the course of more than fifty years suggest a reciprocal interference between ideology and practice. Thus women's economic opportunities were subject to changing notions of female work as these activities informed ideals of domesticity and women's overreaching role within society.

The ways Spanish society as a community has remembered the past, particularly the last eighty years, have been highly controversial and proposed different challenges to contemporary historians. As historian Carl Becker has reminded us, "it is impossible to divorce history from life," and life at home, with its material components, have grounded over time and carry in the present significant components of the past, essential to individuals' public identities.⁶⁹ In recent works to build up collective memories of the Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship (1939–75), cultural productions emerge as essential sources that signify a common past as well as represent historical responsibility for those subjects concealed by politics of previous historians' ideologies. Cultural historians, as well as social historians, not only examine the material and the visible, but also seek to identify collective identities, not dual ones, through cultural performances. Gender historians have contributed toward this perspective, understanding power relations and social hierarchies constructed not only among men and women, but also the ways in which this category emphasizes power functioning among institutions, life experiences, and identity formation.

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THE MYTHOPOEIA OF DOLORES IBÁRRURI, *PASIONARIA*

Mary Ann Dellinger

Probably no other historical figure of Spain's twentieth century, with the obvious exception of Francisco Franco himself, remains to this day the object of both adoring fanaticism and unequalled disdain as Dolores Ibárruri, also known as *Pasionaria*. A gifted orator and a fervent Marxist, she headed the Spanish Communist Party (*Partido Comunista de España*, or PCE) from Moscow for the greater part of her thirty-eight-year exile, and continues to be loved by millions while despised by many others and hailed by such irreconcilable soubriquets as the "Lady of Elche" of Spanish Communism¹ and "Stalin's Carmen."²

Ibárruri's implacable commitment to Communist dogma and the Party, overshadowed only by her powerful oratorical style and unmitigated audacity, helped her rise swiftly in ranks of the PCE, and she was elected to the Spanish Congress in 1936 representing the northern provinces of Asturias. Her visibility in the Popular Front during the final years of the Second Spanish Republic, as well as her leadership during the Civil War on behalf of the Loyalists, forced her into exile at the conclusion of the conflict, where she remained until two years after Franco's death.

During the nearly four decades of her exile, Ibárruri continued to play a major role in Spanish politics through the clandestine anti-Franco movement: publishing articles in the underground press, giving speeches to exiles around the world and, most importantly, on the Kremlin-financed *Radio España Independiente* (Independent Spanish Radio). Her popularity remained intact throughout the dictatorship, so much so that when she returned to Spain in 1977, she was elected again to represent Asturias in Congress.

For the most part, the legendary figure of *Pasionaria* has passed unscathed through the portal of this new millennium while other vestiges

¹ The Lady of Elche is an Iberian bust dating back to the 5th century BCE. Although scholars debate her identity—goddess, priestess, or princess—the *Dama de Elche* clearly represents the single most important ancient Spanish icon.

² Federico Jiménez Losantos, "Dolores Ibárruri, 'Pasionaria': La 'Carmen' de Stalin," Federico Jiménez Losantos, <http://www.arrakis.es/~corcus/losnuestros/laPasionaria.htm> (accessed Feb. 25, 2001). All translations in this chapter are by Mary Ann Dellinger unless otherwise noted.

of Western European Communism remain buried beneath the cultural rubble of the twentieth century, best forgotten except by political scientists and scholars of history. In contrast, Dolores—as she preferred to be called—continues to be not only the subject of biographers and popular documentaries but also the muse of leftist poets and Third World revolutionaries. Her bigger-than-life shadow looms over literary plots written in multiple languages, while her story—historical and allegorical—has been dramatized, filmed, choreographed,³ and in 2001 debuted as a production titled *Pasionaria* that synthesizes dance, dramatic interpretation, puppets, and song.⁴ Indeed, since her role in the defense of Madrid in 1937, a mythical aura has come to surround the persona of Dolores Ibárruri—*Pasionaria*—converting her into a cultural icon recognized not only within the Iberian Peninsula, but also around the world, in two diametrically opposing versions.

The purpose of this study is to explore the way in which different representations of the Communist leader converge in Western literature to preserve neither the biography of the woman Dolores Ibárruri nor her place in history, but rather to promulgate the image of *Pasionaria* as a mythical figure, defined within a classical context as well as the modern paradigm theorized by the French semiotician Roland Barthes.

Establishing a Literary Framework: Legends, Myths, and Metonymies

While the adjective “legendary” has certainly been used accurately used to describe the historical deeds of Dolores Ibárruri the woman, the term falls short of portraying the larger- than-life *Pasionaria* persona, created by her detractors as much as by her admirers. Universally, myths and legends pertain to oral traditions; that is to say, neither originates in written form. Myths and legends, in the literary sense, are handed down intergenerationally as part of cultural inheritance. Both focus on dramatic deeds or abnormality, but they are neither synonymous nor interchangeable. Real people and authentic events (for the most part) provide the basis for legends, although the recounting of these tales over the course of several

³ Julia Pascal, “Jane Dudley: Contemporary dancer and choreographer Who Brought New Ideas to Britain.” *The Guardian*, September 9, 2001. <http://web6.infotrac.galegroup.com> (accessed July 5, 2002).

⁴ “Teatro-Pasionaria. Obra recuerda vida Dolores Ibárruri a través de títeres y danza.” *Spanish News Service*, April 19, 2001, Lexis Nexis via LIAS, <http://www.LIAS.psu.edu> (accessed July 5, 2002).

generations usually transforms the everyday occurrences into not-so-ordinary episodes. The legend of “the Crying Woman” (*La Llorona*) of Southwestern and Mexican folklore, for example, concerns the ghost of a murderous mother who roams each night in search of the children she drowned. The circumstances that supposedly motivated her crime vary from one version of the legend to another. Some versions maintain that she drowned her children because she lacked the resources to feed them; others cite a husband who ignored her but lavished attention on her children.⁵ The reality of the event, regardless of the circumstances, has converted *la Llorona*’s story into legend because an errant, moaning specter falls beyond the realm of human reality, but murder does not.

Myths, to the contrary, originate in superhuman feats performed by magical beings. Classically, they serve to explain natural phenomena—such as sunrise/sunset, hurricanes, or fire—and often delineate the various aspects of a cultural belief system. Ancient Greek and Roman mythologies credit aspects of nature to the deeds of their gods, while Native American myths honor animals as the purveyors of natural bounties and disasters. As illustrations of cultural ideals, myths often become associated with a person, institution, or occurrence.⁶ The mythical Adonis, for example, said to have been born by a mother transformed into a myrrh tree by the goddess Aphrodite, continues to be associated with youthful, masculine attractiveness in Western cultures. When the noun “Adonis” is used to describe a person, we automatically conjure up a mental vision of a strong, handsome young man.

Roland Barthes, in his volume *Mythologies*, which is a series of essays in which he analyzes contemporary cultural phenomena from wrestling to Einstein’s brain, proposes that myth is “a type of speech chosen by history.”⁷ Ancient or contemporary, Barthes maintains a myth can be founded only in history and disseminated by different modes of discourse: oral, written, and/or pictorial.⁸ Myth, he affirms, “is not defined by the object of its message, but by the way in which it utters this message ...”⁹

⁵ Kathy Weiser, “La Llorona-Weeping Woman of the Southwest,” *Legends of America. A site for the Travel and Historic Minded*, <http://www.legendsofamerica.com/gh-lallorona.html>.

⁶ S. E. Schlosser, *American Folklore*, <http://www.americanfolklore.net/myths-legends.html>.

⁷ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 110.

⁸ Schlosser, *American Folklore*, 110.

⁹ Schlosser, *American Folklore*, 109.

The opposing versions of the *Pasionaria* myth that have evolved illustrate Communist ideals as aspiration (leftist versions) or calamity (patriarchal and anti-leftist accounts) support Barthes's analysis. The most romantic versions of the myth, as we will see later in this chapter, even credit her with miraculous powers. But in both editions, her name has been converted into metonymy,¹⁰ which is used to describe a politically committed woman, regardless of ideology or cause. The American weekly *Newsweek* refers to Nancy Pelosi, the left-wing Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives as "Liberalism's Dolores Ibárruri, a.k.a. La Pasionaria"¹¹ and *Paris Match* calls Sarah Palin, the 2008 Republican nominee for Vice President of the United States, "La Pasionaria come in from the cold."¹² Within the parameters of contemporary American politics, there are few more strikingly different perspectives than those of Nancy Pelosi and Sarah Palin, yet the respective journalists chose the same epithet for both women. Similarly, on the other side of the Atlantic, Denis Healy is reported to having referred to the Conservative Dame Margaret Thatcher, the former Prime Minister of Britain,¹³ as "La Pasionaria of Middle Class Privilege" while Labour Party leader, Lord Kinnock, hailed his fellow Party member Harriett Harman as "The Pasionaria of Peckham" in her bid to succeed Gordon Brown for the same office held by Dame Thatcher.¹⁴ As seen in these examples, "Pasionaria" employed as metonymy is devoid of ideological connotation; the signifier *Pasionaria* denotes the strength of political conviction put forth by a public female figure (but not necessarily feminist) of mythical proportions. None of the four above-cited journalists, for example, explain their use of the "Pasionaria" designation or draw direct parallels between their subjects and the historical figure Dolores Ibárruri.

Over the course of the years and as evidenced by these four journalistic pieces, the iconographic representation of "Pasionaria" has steadily come to prevail over the historical figure of Dolores Ibárruri. Through the mythopoetic process that converted the Communist leader into a political icon,

¹⁰ *Merriam-Webster* defines metonymy as "a figure of speech consisting of the use of the name of one thing for that of another of which it is an attribute or with which it is associated (as 'crown' in 'lands belonging to the crown')." *Merriam-Webster Online*.

¹¹ George F. Will, "Mitch McConnell Smiled? The President is CPR for the GOP," *Newsweek*, Sept. 21, 2009, 26.

¹² .Qtd.in Erlanger, "Gazing at America, the French Still See a Wild Frontier," *The New York Times*, October 1, 2008, 10.

¹³ Mike Harris, "Quizopedia," *The Western Mail*, May 15, 2010, 53.

¹⁴ "As Kinnock Hails Harriet 'La Pasionaria' of Peckham," *Mail on Sunday* (London), October 18, 2009.

Dolores has erroneously been labeled a feminist and attributed as having both intellectual prowess and as pure evil, neither of which label she deserves. Leftist versions completely disregard the memory of her admiration for Stalin and her staunch support of Soviet aggression throughout Eastern Europe as well as the “political cadavers” she left in her wake,¹⁵ while divergent editions barely fall short of describing her as Lucifer in feminine form.

Dolores Ibárruri Gómez: The Woman

There was certainly nothing mythical about the first years of *Pasionaria*'s life. From her birth in the small mining town of Gallarta, Vizcaya in 1895 until 1919, the life of Dolores Ibárruri resembled that of most young Spanish women from working-class families. She completed her compulsory education in the small public school in Gallarta where she excelled in her studies and developed a passion for reading. She hoped to become a teacher, but her parents could afford neither the cost of formal studies nor the loss of the extra income she could contribute to the household, so she became a seamstress. With neither patience nor enthusiasm for sewing, Dolores turned to domestic service, the only other trade available to young, uneducated Spanish women. She worked first in a private home and later in a café.

All these experiences undoubtedly contributed to her concerns about the condition of women's life in Spain, but it was the totality of her experiences within the mining communities of northern Spain that would definitively lead her to embrace Marxism as the universal solution to the plight of the working class:

I am the product of a mining family. My father, a miner; my mother, a miner; my brothers and sisters, miners; my husband, a miner; and me, I'm a Communist, as a consequence of all that accumulated mining . . .

[Yo soy el producto de una familia de mineros. Mi padre, minero; mi madre, minera; mis hermanos, mineros; mi marido, minero; y yo, comunista; como consecuencia de toda esa minería acumulada...] ¹⁶ (*Dolores*)

¹⁵ Santiago Carrillo and Ángel Maestro, *Dolores Ibárruri, Pasionaria* (Barcelona: Cara & Cruz, 2004), 180.

¹⁶ Qtd. in Francisco Umbral, *Dolores*, videocassette, dir. Andrés Linares y José Luis G. Sánchez, 110 minutes.

In 1916, Dolores married Julián Ruiz Gabina with whom she would have a less than idyllic marriage and six children: five daughters and one son. Their life together brought considerable suffering to both parents, including the death of four of five daughters—all within two years of their respective births—and the economic misery commensurate with a miner's salary of the times. For the most part, only the potatoes Dolores grew in her small garden provided daily food.¹⁷ But in spite of their ill-fated domestic life, Julián would prove a pivotal figure in the formation of *Pasionaria*, as he was the person who introduced her to Marxism.

The same year she married, Dolores began her independent study of Marxist thought, reading every book on the subject available in the small library housed in the *casa de pueblo* (people's house) in Somorrostro, where she had moved with her husband after their wedding. The "people's houses" were established by the Left in small towns throughout Spain in order to teach socialist values and traditions to the masses. In the Somorrostro *casa de pueblo*, Dolores began with the writings of Marx and Engels, which helped her contextualize "revolutionary socialist literature" (*literatura socialista revolucionaria*).¹⁸ In addition, she virtually memorized *The Communist Manifesto* and studied a summarized version of *Das Kapital* that was written by a Frenchman. She credited these books with the clarification of Marxist thought within her day-to-day reality.¹⁹ After two years of independent study, she began her own literary career as a contributor to the Socialist publications *La lucha de clases* and *El minero vizcaíno*, signing her first article with the pseudonym *Pasionaria* (Passion Flower), as her essay was published during Passion Week, the week that falls between Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday.²⁰

During these years Dolores, like her husband, belonged to the *Agrupación Socialista de Somorrostro*, the local organization of the Spanish Socialist Party. In 1920 the *Agrupación Socialista* became the *Agrupación comunista*, coinciding with the establishment of the *Partido Comunista de España* that year and its adhesion to the International Communist Party.²¹ Dolores became one of the first members of the PCE and was elected as a delegate to their first Congress (1922) and several that followed. But almost fifteen years passed before she would take the Party's center stage, first as an

¹⁷ Amaya Ruiz Ibárruri, personal interview, Madrid, June 22, 1999.

¹⁸ Dolores Ibárruri, *Memorias de Pasionaria 1939–1977* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1984), 26.

¹⁹ Dolores Ibárruri, *El único camino*, ed. María Carmen García-Nieto París and María José Capellín Corrada (Madrid: Castalia, 1992), 145.

²⁰ Carrillo and Maestro, *Dolores Ibárruri, Pasionaria*, 18.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

elected official of Parliament and later with her famous "They shall not pass!" (*¡No pasarán!*) speech (July 19, 1936, one day after the coup), which would convert her into the spokesperson for the Loyalist cause. "*¡No pasarán!*" became the slogan for the resistance of Madrid throughout the three-year conflict.

In order to understand Dolores as an iconic figure within the context of Spanish Civil War, we must remember the role of the PCE and the support the Republican cause received from the Kremlin. Unlike its allies with whom they signed the "No Intervention" pact at the onset of the conflict, the Soviets began supplying the Loyalist side with equipment and advisors in October 1936. This factor, along with the PCE's organizational structure, contributed to the Spanish Communist Party becoming the leading political faction on the Republican side of the war, which did not occur with the consent and support of the other anti-Fascist contingencies fighting for the Republic. The ensuing divisiveness among the Republican forces weakened the resistance and facilitated Franco's advance, much like the political disintegration of the Popular Front in the final year of the Second Republic had laid the foundation for the July 18 putsch.

By both the merits both of her oratory and her loyalty to Stalin, Dolores became the leader of the Republican masses. Dolores's children Amaya and Rubén had been sent to Moscow in 1935 along with the children of other PCE leaders. Now separated from her husband²² and thus having no domestic responsibilities, in September 1939 Dolores went to Moscow, and devoted herself completely to her political activities, especially wartime propaganda.²³ She visited the front and military posts. She gave speeches to crowds of thousands in public meetings organized by the PCE. She addressed the national population on the radio. "It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees," she instructed her fellow countrymen, and to their wives: "It is better to be the widow of a hero than the wife of a coward." These two taglines, along with "They shall not pass!" would begin to mold her image as a political heroine, on one side, and a heartless propagandist on the other.

By 1938, the imminent defeat of the Spanish Republican forces had become a reality to be faced and Dolores, the "Godmother of the

²² Dolores does not write about her separation from Julián Ruiz in either of her autobiographies, nor do any of her multiple biographers. The only explanation offered by her daughter Amaya during my 1999 interview with her was that her parents "didn't get along."

²³ Rafael Cruz, *Pasionaria. Dolores Ibárruri, Historia y Símbolo* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1999), 245.

International Brigades,” delivered a stirring farewell speech to the departing troops. Four months later, on March 6, 1939, she left Spain for Moscow where she would remain in exile, but hardly out of sight, for nearly four decades. On the twenty-first day of *La Victoria*, April 21, 1939, the Franco régime sentenced her to death *in absentia* on the criminal conviction of *rebelión*²⁴ and in a civil trial to 15 years of exile, loss of Spanish nationality, and repossession of all her property,²⁵ thus stripping her of all personal and juridical identity within the peninsula.

In Moscow, however, she was hardly *persona non grata*. Dolores represented a one-of-a-kind asset both to the Soviets and worldwide Communism. Commandant Stalin, like the PCE before him, fully appreciated the charismatic force of her oratory and the *Pasionaria* persona. He ensured she received all the perks of status within the Soviet Party: a centrally located apartment, a *dacha* in the countryside, and an office near the Kremlin where she could follow the Spanish situation as part of her duties within the *Komintern*, the International Communist Party.²⁶ She dedicated her first years in the Soviet capital to what she cited as “systematic and organized labor, study, theoretical discussion, and deepening consciousness concerning the international problems during a tense and complicated era” [una labor ordenada y sistemática, de estudio, de discusión teórica, de conocimiento y profundización de los problemas internacionales en una época tensa y complicada].²⁷ In addition, she oversaw the activities of the Spanish exile community in Moscow.

Meanwhile, Hitler’s occupation of Western Europe advanced as World War II progressed in favor of the Axis. Stalin, who had broken with the “No Intervention” policy during the Spanish Civil War, not surprisingly remained attentive to the political developments in Spain. In 1941, he established *Radio España Independiente* (REI), one of four Soviet-sponsored clandestine stations broadcasting to Axis-occupied Western Europe during World War II,²⁸ and named Dolores the director. Subtitled *La Pirenaica* for the benefit of its listening audience in Spain, REI put itself forth as “the voice of the anti-Franco resistance, broadcasting from the inaccessible

²⁴ *Rebelión* (rebellion) or *Auxilio a la rebelión* (aiding the rebellion) were the charges the Franco régime used to convict those enemies they considered war criminals.

²⁵ “Cargas contra ‘La Pasionara,’” *La Prensa*. Madrid, April 21, 1939. N.p.

²⁶ Ibárruri, *Memorias de la Pasionaria 1939–1977*. *Me faltaba España*, 26.

²⁷ Ibárruri, *Memorias*.

²⁸ Lawrence C. Soley and John S. Nichols. *Clandestine Radio Broadcasting. A Study Revolutionary and Counterrevolutionary Electronic Communication* (New York: Praeger, 1987), 144.

peaks of the Pyrenees" ["la voz de la Resistencia antifranquista"; "desde la cordillera pirenaica, entre sus montañas inaccesibles"],²⁹ "the only Spanish radio station not censored by Franco" [la única emisora española sin censura de Franco].³⁰

The founding of *España Independiente* proved to be a turning point in Dolores's exile and cemented the iconic image of *Pasionaria* for the anti-Francoists, both in exile and within the Peninsula. As Luis Zaragoza Fernández points out, as soon as *Pasionaria*, the leader of Spanish masses, lifted her second foot off Spanish soil, she became a leader of the masses without the masses.³¹ Over the clandestine airwaves, when not blocked by the Francoists, she regained the throngs of listeners who enabled her to resume her role as the unifying, anti-Franco voice of hope. She composed and delivered radio broadcasts almost daily to address common problems within Spain on the basis of information obtained through *Komintern* sources. She kept her radio audience up-to-date on the events of the war raging in Europe. Later on, following the Pact of Madrid (1953) that sealed the military and economic agreement between the Franco régime and the United States, and international recognition of the Francoist dictatorship, it became patently evident that a Communist-led insurrection could not succeed. Therefore, *Pasionaria* designed the PCE's "National Reconciliation Plan" (*Plan de Reconciliación Nacional*, 1956), a peaceful alternative to the Franco dictatorship.

Dolores took full advantage of the REI airwaves to outline the plan for her radio followers. She specifically addressed different segments of the population, even active military anti-Franco sympathizers, outlining their duties and future role within a post-Franco, democratic Spain. The conciliatory tone of these broadcasts that urged Spaniards of all political ideologies to come together under the umbrella of their collective anti-Fascism was quite unlike the timbre of her earlier broadcasts, coinciding with the first Francoist period (1939–53). Most significantly, she re-conceptualized the Civil War, and even the Republic, in the preterit in order to open the door to Spain's future. She even assumed a different persona to deliver her message, informing her listeners that she is reading from a document penned and submitted to her by "Juan de Guernica":

²⁹ Soley and Nichols. 31.

³⁰ "La Pirenaica," *¿Te acuerdas?*, <http://www.teacuerdas.com> (accessed June 25, 2010).

³¹ Luis Zaragoza Fernández, *Radio Pirenaica. La voz de la esperanza antifranquista* (Madrid: Marcel Pons, 2008), 38.

To continue is to perish. To resist fighting against this [current] situation is an historical responsibility that no honorable Spaniard can accept.

We do not face any political or social problem like we did in 1936, nor in 1931. The situation in Spain has changed, the feelings of Spaniards have changed, the shape of Spanish politics should change in tone with these changes.

[Y luchar contra lo actual no quiere decir retorno a lo pasado reciente ni a lo pasado anterior. Ningún problema político o social se plantea hoy como en 1936, ni como en 1931.

Ha cambiado la situación de España, han cambiado los sentimientos de los hombres, deben cambiar las formas políticas a tono con estos cambios.]³²

Unlike the other duties she performed at the command of the Party, REI provided Dolores daily contact with the realities in Spain and open lines of communication with the Spanish people, even though they could not respond, even asynchronously, from within the peninsula. Asked by her biographers Andrés Carabantes and Eusebio Cimorra whether she feared being a stranger in her own land once her exile ended, she said:

Those of us who have had the radio, *Radio España*, through which we have had constant contact with Spain, working for Spain, will not be strangers [upon our return] because we have always received information and news from Spain, and the sole purpose of all our activity here has always been to benefit our country.

[Pero los que hemos tenido una radio, Radio España Independiente en la que constantemente hemos estado hablando a España, trabajando cara a España, no seremos extraños, hemos recibido los informes y las noticias de España y toda nuestra actividad está ligada a nuestro país].³³

This quote helps us infer that there was a deliberate intent to maintain a continuity of memories and actions for those excluded from the political reality of Spain, whether they had remained in the country as the vanquished enemy or awaited repatriation from the country that gave them refuge after the war.

Dolores's exile would not end with the death of the *Caudillo*, however, or even when Spanish political leaders from opposing ideologies came together to craft the transition to democracy. Fearing the polarizing effect that her return might have on the fragile reconciliation process, Spanish authorities denied her 1975 and 1976 requests to return. Her request was

³² Ibárruri, *Memorias de la Pasionaria 1939–1977. Me faltaba España*, 152.

³³ Andrés Carabantes and Eusebio Cimorra, *Un mito llamado Pasionaria* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1982), 61.

granted in 1977 when the legalization of the PCE opened the door for her return. As mentioned above, the voters in Asturias reelected her to the first post-Franco democratic *Cortes*, the historical proceedings of which she called to order with her friend and fellow Communist, the poet Rafael Alberti, who had been elected to the *Cortes* representing Cádiz. During this time, she remained a figurehead for the most part, a symbol of reconciliation. Her age and her health, not to mention the restructuring of Spanish Communists under the rubric of Eurocommunism, relegated her to a position of public relations rather than political power. She would not run again for office in the national elections held two years later and dedicated the final years of her life to public appearances as the president of the PCE.

Many point to Dolores as an anomaly in Spanish politics, especially considering the times in which she lived and worked. Spanish women did not separate from their husbands, even if they were in an abusive relationship. It is important, however, to put Dolores's situation in context. We must understand that Dolores received the Communist equivalent of Roman Catholic dispensation for the "sin" of leaving the home for the political arena because the Party became her surrogate husband. As previously pointed out, she never went against the Party or the Kremlin except in the matter of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. She did what she was told to do without question, "cherishing, honoring, and *obeying*" her superiors within the Communist ranks. In Spain once again, she tacitly opposed Eurocommunism, which makes it logical to infer that even if her health had not failed and her age had not slowed her down, she would not have regained her position as more than a symbolic Party leader.

Dolores Ibárruri Gómez, *Pasionaria*, died only a few months after the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, marking the end of the Soviet era. The international press reported her death in tandem with the diametrically opposed images of her persona throughout her political career. Reporters maximized the journalistic space provided by her obituary to editorialize the *Pasionaria* figure as seen and/or interpreted by opposing Spanish political views. Paul Hoffmann, reporting Dolores's death in the *New York Times* noted: "While the Franco regime never forgave her for her role before and during the civil war, which ended in 1939, Spanish anti-Communists would reluctantly acknowledge that she had shown courage and determination. Some backers of Franco would even say privately that *La Pasionaria*, though in error, was 'a great Spaniard.'" ³⁴

³⁴ Paul Hoffmann, "Dolores Ibárruri, 'La Pasionaria' of Spanish Civil War, Dies at 93; An Indomitable Leftist," the *New York Times*, November 13, 1989, page 15, column 1.

The *Times* in London, however, took a less gentle approach to her memory in their obituary:

Dolores Ibárruri was one of the 16 members of her party elected to the Cortes in February 1936. There she frequently urged the Popular Front Government to pursue extremist policies, and defended the revolutionary actions of the Left, such as the occupation of rural estates. She made no secret of her contempt for parliamentary democracy and frequently interrupted the speeches of opponents. She must therefore be credited with a major share of the responsibility for the disorderly conduct of the proceedings in the Cortes, which preceded the outbreak of the Civil War.³⁵

In Spain, *El País* dedicated four pages to Dolores's memory, which included an abbreviated biography and tributes to her unparalleled stature in Spain's history rendered by Communist colleagues. Even the then Right-leaning *ABC* acknowledged the importance of *Pasionaria* within the annals of recent Spanish history, calling her among the greatest of Spaniards ("una grandísima española"), but not without noting: "... Dolores Ibárruri fought for everything except freedom. 'Pasionaria' defended, lived, and died, with all her might, for a system that sacrificed man's freedom for the sake of an unachievable utopia of equality" [Dolores Ibárruri luchó por todo menos la libertad. Defendió, vivió y murió, con toda su fuerza, por un sistema que sacrificaba la libertad de los hombres en aras de una igualdad utópica e inalcanzable].³⁶

Pasionaria/La Pasionaria Mythical Signifiers

Dolores's unyielding commitment to the proletariat cause—for which she was incarcerated nine times during the years prior to the Civil War³⁷—together with her historical profile as a Republican leader throughout the armed conflict as well as the memory of her passionate speeches broadcast on the clandestine *Radio España Independiente* throughout the Franco years, have all contributed to the making of the *Pasionaria* myth. Within the context of the Spanish Civil War, the defamatory campaign against *Pasionaria* initiated by the Spanish Right who portrayed her as a violent and dangerous woman, as well as the exaltation of her person as "*Madre*

³⁵ "Dolores Ibarruri; Obituary." The *Times* (London), through LexisNexis, <http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/>

³⁶ Alfonso Ussia, "Un roble tronchado," *ABC* (Madrid), November 15, 1989, 18, Column 1.

³⁷ Cruz, *Pasionaria. Dolores Ibárruri. Historia y símbolo*, 244–45.

Dolores" (Mother Dolores) on the part of the Spanish proletariat together helped define the image of *Pasionaria* as either a negative or a positive symbol.

The antonymous concept of woman as saintly/fiendish is deeply rooted in Spanish cultural tradition—consolidated by Roman Catholic doctrine—and manifests itself in Spanish literature across the ages. Franco restored the patriarchal model of "two archetypal models of the feminine: Mary and Eve." Eve—sinner and the origin of perdition, and the Virgin Mary—gentle source of intervention and salvation. Throughout the ages, feminine identity in Spain has been linked to that of a woman's husband and children within the context of her marriage vows: fidelity, obedience, and the fruit of conjugal love.³⁸ For her followers, Dolores was "Madre Dolores," who sacrificed for all Spaniards. To her detractors, she represented the root of national perdition; she was the "strange" woman who dared to walk the streets of the world as Carmen Martín Gaité proposed.

Interestingly, the binary opposites around the *Pasionaria* persona tend to be signified either by the use or absence of the definite feminine article *la* before her pseudonym, so that one finds Spanish admirers refer to her simply as *Pasionaria*, while critics call her *La Pasionaria*. The use of the article can be partly contributed to the role of oral tradition, specifically the *Romancero de la Guerra Civil* (Popular Songs of the Spanish Civil War) and the *coplas*³⁹ of the era, passed on through the generally uneducated masses of the working classes whose knowledge of formal linguistic registers is limited and for whom the addition of the definite article before someone's name is common grammatical practice. However, the intentional use of the Spanish definite article before a person's name among educated Spanish speakers denotes condescension and/or denigration. In my interview with her, Amaya Ruiz, Dolores's only surviving child, adamantly insisted that her mother be referenced as either Dolores or *Pasionaria*, but never *La Pasionaria*,⁴⁰ which she considers the pejorative version invented by their political enemies.

³⁸ Mary Ann Dellinger, "El espacio arquitectónico como el origen de la tragedia en la trilogía lorquiana" (master's thesis, Arizona State University, 2000), 33.

³⁹ *Coplas* here refers to songs pertaining to oral tradition. They are original works of everyday people and passed on from person to person. Many times they are never published and, therefore, tend to have different versions.

⁴⁰ References to *Pasionaria* and Dolores in this paper are not intended to suggest personal bias, but rather is used at the personal request of Ibárruri's daughter, Amaya Ruiz Ibárruri.

The 2003 Cara y Cruz publication, *Dolores Ibárruri, Pasionaria*, co-authored by Santiago Carrillo, former Secretary General of the PCE and Ángel Maestro, a conservative journalist and political analyst. The book presents two opposing interpretations of Dolores Ibárruri, *Pasionaria*, the woman and the myth. Carrillo titles his twenty-four-chapter section “Dolores Ibárruri,” throughout which he refers solely to “Dolores” or “Pasionaria.” Mestre’s section, entitled “Leyenda de La Pasionaria” (La Pasionaria Legend) and contains twenty-six chapters exclusively about “La Pasionaria.” Other examples abound in the plethora of studies on the figure of Dolores written by Spaniards.⁴¹

The same binary opposites constructed around the definite article are not perceived in the works of those writers whose native language is not Spanish. Ernest Hemingway, for example, extols her mythical persona, passing randomly from Pasionaria⁴² to La Pasionaria⁴³ in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), the work that introduced Dolores as a literary figure. The 2003 photo documentary and exhibition *Les Brigades Internationales; images retrouvées* by the French journalist and historian Michel Lefebvre and Rémi Skoutelsky, a French historian who specializes in the Spanish Civil War also refers to *La Pasionaria* [the emphasis is mine] with apparent unawareness of the linguistic ramifications beyond surface meaning.⁴⁴ Their tribute to Ibárruri as symbol of the Loyalist movement preserves the iconic image of the Communist leader that has transcended her era: the tall woman dressed entirely in black, a tight bun pulled at the nape of her neck, her right hand raised above her head, her fist resolutely formed, with thousands of people at her feet.

Pasionaria as Text: The Mythopoeic Process

This iconic representation of Dolores as a militant revolutionary, symbol of the Marxist struggle on one hand and prototype of the politically committed woman on the other has created an international corps of disciples who have created themselves in her ideological image. Many of them have

⁴¹ Some scholars have questioned my *Pasionaria/La Pasionaria* hypothesis, citing *El Quijote* as an example. This argument is invalid as the term *El Quijote* does not refer to the figure of Don Quijote, but rather the literary work itself. For further support of my hypothesis, I refer the reader to other primary source biographies and memoirs in comparison with Right-wing press release and commentaries produced by Spaniards.

⁴² Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (New York: Scribner, 1940), 309.

⁴³ Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, 358.

⁴⁴ Michel Lefebvre and Remi Skoutelsky. *Las Brigadas Internacionales*. Exhibition. Madrid, July 25, 2003.

also assumed the identity of the authentic *Pasionaria* native to their respective lands, including Magda Portal, the *Pasionaria* of Peru, whose biography has been written by Daniel Reedy,⁴⁵ and Andrée Blouin who titles her memoirs *My Country, Africa: Autobiography of the Black Pasionaria*.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, it is by far the proliferation of *Pasionaria* as text, metonymy, subject, and symbol in the artistic representation of her person and persona more than the historical documentation of her political struggle per se from which the mythical and universally recognized figure of *Pasionaria* has emerged.

Dolores as the personification of democratic ideals and revolutionary spirit beyond a mere symbol of Marxism as an ideology prevails in the representation of *Pasionaria* as a literary figure and muse. As a mere symbol, her image would most likely never have reached mythical proportions, relegating it to the status of chronotope⁴⁷ within the iconography of the Spanish Civil War. It is precisely because the depiction of Dolores as a political figure transcends the temporal boundaries of the conflict—and ironically the ideological restrictions of her personal belief system—that the myth remains intact.

The Chilean Nobel Laureate Pablo Neruda, for example, compares Dolores to the great Latin American liberators in his poem “Dicho en Pacaembú” from Part IV of his *Canto general* entitled “Los libertadores.” In the poem, originally recited for a Brazilian audience and dedicated to the Brazilian liberator Luis Carlos Prestes, Neruda evokes the memory of a night in Paris where he had gone to raise money for the Spanish Loyalists:

and I said to them: The new heroes, those who fight in Spain
are dying. Modesto, Líster, Pasionaria, Lorca,
they are children of America's heroes, they are brothers and sisters
of Bolívar, O'Higgins, San Martín, and Prestes.

[y les dije: Los nuevos héroes, los que en España lucha
mueren.

Modesto, Líster, Pasionaria, Lorca,
son hijos de los héroes de América, son hermanos
de Bolívar, de O'Higgins, de San Martín, de Prestes.]⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Daniel R. Reedy, *Magda Portal, la Pasionaria peruana: biografía intelectual* (Lima: Flora Trista, 2000).

⁴⁶ Andrée Blouin, *My Country, Africa: Autobiography of the Black Pasionaria* (New York: Praeger, 1983).

⁴⁷ A chronotope is an occurring image (object, place, or person) that identifies a particular period.

⁴⁸ Pablo Neruda. “Los libertadores.” *Obras completas* (Buenos Aires: Lozano, 1957).

Pasionaria is equally the strength of the warrior and the sentiment of the poet, reconciling arms and letters for the betterment of those whose freedom lay threatened, representing as much the power of armed revolt as that of the written word. Two generals—Modesto and Lister—Dolores, and the martyrdom of the poet Federico García Lorca⁴⁹ form the deity of Neruda's "new heroes of Spain" and a lyrical standard for the ensuing battle, which the Nobel Laureate suggests represents nothing less than the continuation of the battle fought for South American independence.

Within a more contemporary context, towards the end of the last century, Ibárruri became the protagonist of two theatrical works in Europe: one in England and the other in Spain. In both cases, the playwright removes her from the spatial and temporal delineations of the Spanish Civil War, trusting in her legendary leadership abilities to resolve pressing political issues of the day. The image of *Pasionaria* as spokeswoman for the oppressed masses and symbol of International Communism remains firmly intact as she is textually transported to other times and spaces in both dramatic productions.

Pam Gems's unpublished play *Pasionaria* employs the image of Dolores's experiences to comment on the 1985 miners' strike in Britain and other issues of the time.⁵⁰ The 1985 British strike is largely comparable to that of the Spanish miners in Asturias more than fifty years before, and it was precisely her involvement in the strike and her subsequent incarceration that brought Ibárruri to the forefront of the Spanish political arena. But the choice of Dolores as dramatic heroine is far more significant than the similarities between the two labor disputes. Gems places *Pasionaria* at the center of her work and in juxtaposition with the extratextual figure of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher the definitive opposite of *Pasionaria* on the political spectrum, and who of course was at the epicenter of the 1985 British labor conflict. Far from being the logical choice of heroine, Dolores represents the only viable choice among the grande dames of the twentieth-century Left, strong enough in her own right to confront the "Lady of Iron," even if only in the literary annals of recent history.

Although no less politically charged than the Gems's piece, *¡No pasarán Pasionaria!*, by the Basque playwright Ignacio Amestoy Eguiguren, foregoes

⁴⁹ The poet Federico García Lorca was executed in 1936 by a Fascist firing squad. During his lifetime, however, he often stressed his non-affiliation with any ideology. The insinuation that Lorca was a Communist is pure license on the part of Neruda.

⁵⁰ Katherine Burkman, "The Plays of Pam Gems." *British and Irish Drama Since 1960*, ed. James Acheson (London: St. Martin's, 1993), 198.

the austere realism of the former in favor of a more mystical leitmotiv.⁵¹ In this play, Dolores and her son Rubén, both resurrected from the dead, trek across Europe to save Communism. Amestoy depicts mother and son, together with Irene Falcón—Dolores's personal secretary and lifelong companion—as members of a modern road show passing through a dramatic trajectory that parallels the *Via Crucis* of Jesus Christ in search of the lost utopia in which all three had so fervently believed.⁵² The play is set in 1993, four years after the death of Dolores and the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the three characters—Rubén bearing his cross throughout the play—travel the long road from Russia to *Pasionaria*'s native Euskadi (Basque country) so that her son can die in his native land.

On their journey from Moscow to Vizcaya, the American TV reporter, William Veronica, who will later place a crown of thorns on Rubén's head, interviews them in Strasbourg:

(*putting on his headset*) ¡San Francisco! Bob. Can you hear me? Are you watching Ruben? ... It's great. "The last tentation" [*sic*] in life. No, I didn't see Pasolini's, but I saw Scorese's version with Jean. Guy, it was really good! (*turning to Falcón*) My grandfather photographed Hemingway during the war in Spain. My father followed Che and Castro in the Sierra Maestra. And here I am with Rubén Ibárruri on his passage from Russia to Spain ...⁵³

Of course, Amestoy's reference to Ernesto "Che" Guevara establishes a deliberate parallel to highlight the perpetuation of the Argentine's image as the guerrilla archetype in juxtaposition with the iconic representation of Dolores as it has developed through the mythopoeic process. As a representation of *Pasionaria*'s male counterpart within romantic Communist legend, Che remains a symbol of Marxist revolution even now, four decades after his death. Unlike *Pasionaria*, however, Che's image has yet to transcend the mundane to be venerated as a divine figure, such as in the case of Amestoy's play that unequivocally portrays Dolores as the Virgin Mary, the ultimate example of a mother's sacrifice, who would sacrifice her son—in the case of Dolores, yet for a second time—for the good of the people.

⁵¹ A leitmotiv is a reoccurring theme in a literary work.

⁵² César Oliva, "Prólogo," in *Una pasión española. ¡No pasarán Pasionaria!* (Madrid: Fundamentos, 1994), 19.

⁵³ Ignacio Amestoy Egiguren, *Dionisio Ridruejo: una pasión española. ¡No pasarán!* Pasionaria (Madrid: Fundamentos, 1994), 123–24.

Amestoy's conceptualization of Dolores as Virgin Mary is more socio-cultural comment than impiety. Catholic Spaniards are above all Marian Catholics, so the exaltation of the earthly *Pasionaria* as substitute for the celestial Mother of God would seem easily realized in the collective unconscious of those who willfully sought social justice in the promise of Marxism, even without the help of party propagandists. Political doctrine could effortlessly substitute for holy catechism because man created both, but a mere mother figure could not replace *Santa María, Madre de Dios*. Dolores in her humble garb and perpetual mourning symbolized by her black dresses and austere figure, coupled with the authority of her voice and the promise of her message, merge to create her mystical aurora. Her story itself was somewhat miraculous; a Spanish woman at the forefront of national politics and international Communism when female suffrage had barely become a reality in Spain, a country in which a woman's life traditionally depended on the decisions made first by her father and then by her husband. It is little wonder that the transference of faith from *Virgen María* to *Madre Dolores* hardly represented a major leap of faith.

The image of Pasionaria as blessed mother with supernatural powers appears in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* as well. The significance of the limited but adulatory passages that underscore the blind faith with which the masses followed her and convert Ibárruri into a character of the novel should not be underestimated given the publication/circulation history of the book as well as, to some degree, the attention drawn by the cinematographic version. The few references to Dolores reflect the secular idolization of her persona on the part of Republican supporters and fighters. The first reference appears in the narrative passage critically known as "El Sordo's last stand."

"El Sordo" leads a band of Republican guerrilla fighters who die at the hands of a Fascist infantry patrol that has been alerted to their whereabouts by Nazi aviators flying over the area. Trapped on the mountainside that has for so long served as both home and headquarters, El Sordo resigns himself to death, but not to surrender. As the men reposition themselves for their imminent death, the Communist Joaquín invokes the name of *Pasionaria* and her reminder that "it is better to die on your feet than live on your knees." Two of the ambushed men with him question the faith he has in her:

"I wish I were in Russia," another of Sordo's men said. "Will not thy Pasionaria send me now from here to Russia, Communist?"

"If thou believest so much in thy *Pasionaria*, get her to get us off this hill," one of the men who had a bandaged thigh said.⁵⁴

Although he has Joaquín revert to learned habits, passing quickly from his adulation of Dolores to fervent prayer directed at a very Roman Catholic Virgin Mary, Hemingway does not abandon the image of Dolores as celestial mother figure to the masses, emphasizing the cosmic aura they attributed to her, which without a doubt reinforced by the power of her oratory:

Dolores brought the news herself. She was here with the news and was in such a state of radiant exultation as I have never seen. The truth of the news shone from her face. "That great face—" he said happily. ... If you could have heard her ... The news itself shone from her with a light that was not of this world. In her voice you could tell the truth of what she said. I am putting in an article for *Izvestia*. It was one of the great moments of the war to me when I heard the report in that great voice where pity, compassion, and truth are blended. Goodness and truth shine from her as from a true saint of the people. Not for nothing is she called La Pasionaria.⁵⁵

Other secular references to Pasionaria as *magna mater* are just as exalted and no less devout for their telluric nature. Neruda envisions her face on the winds of liberty that he assures will once again bluster in our "never dying Spain"⁵⁶ while other poetical references point to her as "The Great Iberian Mother," "Mother Earth," "Mother Valor," "womb of the mining people," "wife of the mighty oak," and "Queen Mother."⁵⁷

As with the representation of Dolores as the Virgin Mary, this role of Earth Mother, attributed to her principally through the verses of the comrade/poets, *Pasionaria's* powers transform from the merely political to the divine. The Cuban Poet Laureate, Nicolás Guillén, in his poem titled "Pasionaria," entrusts a dove with a message for Dolores, affirming in the same that she alone will be responsible for healing the suffering of her homeland:

That it will be Dolores, she,
dove, tell her,
she who from the heart of Spain
takes away all suffering

[Que será Dolores, ella,
paloma, dile,

⁵⁴ Hemingway, *For Whom the Bells Toll*, 309.

⁵⁵ Hemingway, *For Whom the Bells Toll*, 357–58.

⁵⁶ Neruda, "Dicho en Pacaembú," verses 241–57.

⁵⁷ Qtd. in Gina Herrmann, "The Hermetic Goddess: Dolores Ibárruri as Text," *Letras Peninsulares* 11 (1998): 194.

quien al corazón de España
dolores quite.]⁵⁸

The Spanish poet, Miguel Hernández, who died imprisoned in Franco's dungeons, evokes a very different image in his poem, also titled "Pasionaria" (1982). Unlike the gentle albeit omnipotent figure portrayed by Neruda and Guillén, from Hernández's empyreal "Pasionaria" emanates all the hellfire and brimstone of an irate Judeo-Christian God. "Fire ignites her, fire feeds her" [Fuego la enciende, fuego la alimenta]; "Your fingers and your nails burn red like coals / threatening fire to even the stars" [tus dedos y tus uñas fulgen como carbones / amenazando fuego hasta a los astros]; "Burning still you will remain ablaze / above the clouded archway of oblivion" [Ardiendo quedarás enardecida / sobre el arco nublado del olvido].⁵⁹ But nothing is as mighty as the power of her speech, Hernández claims, dedicating one complete verse to the voice of *Pasionaria*.⁶⁰

Auditory images of Dolores's legendary voice are ubiquitous in both the prose and poetry in which Ibárruri participates as either character or muse. Hers, after all, represented the voice of the anti-Franco rhetoric that blasted through loudspeakers during the Civil War and across the airwaves of *Radio España Independiente* throughout most of the dictatorship. In sharp contrast to the high-pitched effeminate voice of the *generalísimo*, hers belled from deep within, echoing the revolutionary tone of her populist discourse.

Indeed, the strength of her oratory propels the mythopoeia of Dolores Ibárruri, and in the process has itself acquired magical powers. In fact, one of the most popular anecdotes about Pasionaria concerns her speeches in non-Hispanic countries. As her daughter recounts, when non-Spanish-speaking crowds assembled to hear her were asked if they would like an interpreter, they consistently rejected any need for such service; the sincerity and humility of her message rendered formal translation superfluous. "Proof" of the same came when these masses of non-Spanish speakers jumped to their feet, applauded, and cheered after the pronouncements that had triggered the very same reaction in Spain.⁶¹ Recalling her childhood trips with her father to Europe, Indira Ghandi remembered hearing Pasionaria speak: "Dolores Ibárruri gave a speech that day, and we were

⁵⁸ Nicolás Guillén, "Pasionaria," in *Obra poética* (Havana: Arte y Literatura, 1974), 151–52.

⁵⁹ Miguel Hernández, "Pasionaria," in *Obras completas*, ed. Leopoldo de Luis and Jorge Urrutia (Madrid: Alianza, 1982), 363–64.

⁶⁰ Hernández, "Pasionaria," in *Obras completas*, 364.

⁶¹ Ruiz Ibárruri, interview.

moved by its tragic tones and strength, even though we hardly understood anything she was saying in Spanish" [Dolores Ibárruri pronunció ese día un discurso cuyos trágicos acentos y fuerza nos impresionaron a pesar de que no comprendíamos casi nada de lo que decía en español].⁶² Clearly, the power of her voice, more than her message, helped in no small way to shape the *Pasionaria* myth.

Rafael Alberti venerates the mesmerizing voice of the Communist leader, comrade, and his own personal friend in the copious verses he wrote in her honor. His poetic tributes to Dolores, rarely less lyrical for their intensity, underscore the fanaticism of *Pasionaria*'s followers and the deification of her persona:

Who does not hear her? From the plains
her voice arises to the mountaintops
and men are more brotherly
and the crowds stand taller

[¿Quién no la escucha? De los llanos
sube su voz hasta las cumbres,
y son los hombres más hermanos
y más altas las muchedumbres.]⁶³

Even Jorge Semprún, the expelled party member, in his scathing revelations about the Spanish Communist Party (PCE)—especially its unquestioned obedience to the Kremlin and Stalinist tactics—treats Dolores benevolently, almost deferentially, in his book, *La autobiografía de Federico Sánchez*. Although Ibárruri never ascribed to the concept of Eurocommunism⁶⁴ and in spite of her adoration for the man to whom she referred as "Papa Stalin" until 1956, Semprún's treatment of the Mother of Spanish Communism and her key role in his expulsion from the PCE is, to say the least, forgiving, very much unlike his portrayal of Santiago Carrillo, *Pasionaria*'s successor as Party leader. Throughout his memoirs, Semprún inserts verses from his unfinished epic poem "Canto a Dolores Ibárruri" in tribute to the person who had incarnated Marxist ideals for so many years:

Your smile, Dolores,
I remember.
It was a warm March afternoon in exile.

⁶² Qtd. in Ibárruri, *El único camino*, 28.

⁶³ Rafael Alberti, *Obras completas*, ed. Luis García Montero (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), 449.

⁶⁴ Eurocommunism was a political doctrine, conceived and promoted by Santiago Carrillo, that attempted to separate Western Communism from the Soviet model.

Sleeping in the sage, the whispers
 of a thousand green leaves and the flowers
 prepared their imminent entrance
 from the depths of their closed buds [...]
 The door opened. You came in. We anxiously arose
 from our seats. You held out your hands, you smiled.
 And then Spring was born.

[Tu sonrisa, Dolores.
 Yo me acuerdo.
 Era una tarde tibia de marzo en el destierro.
 Dormían en la savia los rumores
 de miles de hojas verdes y las flores
 en la profundidad de los capullos preparaban
 su negación airosa ...
 Se abrió la puerta. Entraste. Nos alzamos
 de nuestras sillas. Fuiste estrechando manos,
 sonreías.
 Y entonces estalló la primavera.]⁶⁵

In spite of Semprun's unrealistic and overly romantic portrayal of *Pasionaria* in his book, one can hardly disregard Pasionaria's implacable fidelity to Party principles and mandates. In the memoirs of her years in exile, published in 1977, she laments (albeit halfheartedly) her own unquestioning of Party authority that so often separated her from the only two children she had left after burying four daughters. But the struggle consumed her life, as she explains in her autobiography entitled *El único camino*. The book poignantly illustrates this struggle in the account of her little son, Rubén, who presented himself at the Madrid jail where she was imprisoned, looking for his mother and something to eat.⁶⁶

The Three Pillars of the Pasionaria Myth

On the world's political stage and as a part of the International Communist Party, Dolores never questioned any Kremlin decision, fully supporting Soviet aggression in Eastern Europe with the sole exception of the 1967 invasion of Czechoslovakia. She visited with Fidel, Mao, and Ho Chi Minh, often referring to their exemplary practice of Marxism in her speeches and her articles. Poets and comrades will not have her remembered that way,

⁶⁵ Qtd. in Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *Pasionaria y los siete enanitos* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1995), 202.

⁶⁶ Ibárruri, *El único camino*, 225.

however, portraying her as a symbol of the Communist ideal never realized, a personification of proletariat struggle, and a mother of the oppressed. These verses come from Rafael Alberti's poem entitled "Una Pasionaria para Dolores," which he composed for her on her 60th birthday:

Who does not love her?
 She is not sister, nor girlfriend, nor comrade
 But something else—the working class.
 Mother in the morning sun,
 Soul of our reconquest,
 The open sea, hope,
 The highest revolution,
 She is the Communist Party.⁶⁷

The literary tributes paid to Ibárruri attest to the success of the Party's vision for her role as far as *Komintern* public relations were concerned, so it can hardly be considered coincidental she is most often portrayed as a mother figure. Such representation is not limited, however, to that of Earth or Celestial Mother such as in the examples discussed earlier in this chapter, but also to human motherhood. Cast both in her own reality of having given birth to six children, five of whom she buried, and the symbolism of her role as surrogate mother to troops, comrades, and fellow exiles, *Pasionaria* accepted the part in her usual abnegation of self and deference to Party interests.

Pasionaria is referred to as a maternal symbol of Communist ideals in Antonio Tabucchi's short story entitled "Dolores Ibárruri versa lacrime amare," which makes historical references to *Pasionaria* within the context of the Spanish Civil War. Through the title and the theme of the bitter tears therein expressed, Tabucchi identifies Dolores with the elderly mother who, as co-narrator of the text, relates the story of her late son's life and his intense political involvement. Dolores represents, as Leonardo Cecchini points out, the alter ego of the mourning mother and the rude awakening of both brings the story to its climax; the mother to the reality of her son's legacy and Dolores to the crude truth about Stalinism.⁶⁸

[. . .] Rodolfo died in December of sixty-one, and from what they told me, his last days were stressful, not because of the illness, it was anguish about what was happening in the world, especially in Russia, I wouldn't know exactly, something about Khrushchev having revealed the atrocities

⁶⁷ Robert Low, *La Pasionaria: The Spanish Firebrand* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 21.

⁶⁸ Leonardo Cecchini, "Così atroci e lacrime amare. Un'analisi di 'Dolores Ibárruri versa lacrime amare.'" (*Pre)Publications* 137 (1992): 57.

committed by his predecessor, and he was tormented, he didn't sleep much, the sleeping pills didn't help him, then one day a letter arrived for him, the return address said: La Pasionaria, Moscow. And inside was written: Dolores Ibárruri sheds bitter tears.

[Rodolfo morì nel dicembre del Sessantuno, lo so che l'ho già ditto, passò gli ultimi giorni molto agitate, ma non per la malattia, era angosciato per quello che stava succedendo nel mondo, cioè in Russia, no saprei esatamente, so che Krucev aveva rivelato le atrocità commesse dai suo predecessori, e lui si tormentava, no domiva più anche I sonniferi no gli facebano effetto, pòin un giorno arrivò una lettera per lui, il mittente diceva: La Pasionaria, Mosca. E dentro c'era scritto: Dolores Ibárruri versa lacrime amare.]⁶⁹

The image of *Pasionaria* as a mother figure was certainly fomented by her physical appearance. She was tall and striking, and the austerity of her black dresses coupled with the tightly knotted bun on the nape of her neck emanated maternal authority. The role of this maternal image in the mythopoeic process should not be underestimated, as Barthes explains in his analysis of mythologies: is more significant than it appears at first glance.

... the sign [Dolores's black dress] is quite ready to separate itself from the function and operate freely on its own, the function being reduced to the rank of artifice or alibi: the *ten-gallon hat* (rainproof, sun proof) is nothing more than a sign of what is "Western"; the sport jacket no longer has an athletic function, but exists only as a sign, opposed to the dressy; blue-jeans have become the sign of leisure, etc.⁷⁰

In Spanish cultural tradition, austere black garb has traditionally symbolized mourning—sadness and pain caused by someone's death—and, of course, *Pasionaria's* appearance of mourning surpassed the parameters of political or social metaphor, given the death of five of her six children. But as Cruz observes, Spaniards also identified the black dresses with sacrifice and anguish as they pertained to her and her namesake ["el negro de sus vestidos se identificaba con el sacrificio y el dolor de su portadora y de su nombre"].⁷¹

This image of consoling mother, teacher, and role model projected by her followers, however, does not defy the behavioral parameters for women set forth by patriarchal standards; rather it conforms to them. It is certain that Dolores would have enjoyed the unconditional support of the Party

⁶⁹ Antonio Tabucchi, "Dolores Ibárruri versa lacrime amare," *Il Giosco del Rovescio e altri racconti* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1988), 57.

⁷⁰ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 265.

⁷¹ Cruz, *Pasionaria. Dolores Ibárruri. Historia y símbolo*, 38.

had her behavior not reflected those values considered “feminine,” not only as they pertained to her role as biological mother of six children and spiritual mother to the masses, but also in relation to her views on the role of women, which even by the standards of the time could not be considered “feminist.” Indeed, the writer and Communist militant, Margarita Nelken, although formally educated and far more eloquent than Dolores, never received the same support from the Party that *Pasionaria* enjoyed. Nor did her personal secretary, Irene Falcón, who had also received a formal education.⁷²

The issue of feminism brings us to the third facet of the *Pasionaria* myth, and that is the popular concept of Dolores as champion of women's rights. Although before the Civil War she often wrote about women's right to work and to receive equal pay, to enjoy parity in the home, and to have access to childcare, from the siege of Madrid until her final speeches and articles she addressed women principally to urge their abnegation and sacrifice for a common cause. She rarely separated women's issues from those of the proletariat, convinced, as Enders and Radcliff point out, “[...] that the ‘woman question’ was irrelevant until after class liberation.”⁷³ In an article published in the Spanish magazine *Interviú* in 1982, Dolores rejected the feminist label on the basis of her opposition to abortion.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, the concept of a feminist Ibárruri represents the third pillar sustaining the icon, and so it has become imperative that the mythmakers perpetuate this distorted image of Dolores, champion of women's rights.

A striking example of this iconic representation appears in the 1999 DVD release of Dziga Vertov's cinematic production *Three Songs about Lenin*. This film pays tribute to the Soviet leader as seen by the people and represented in the three songs. The third song, entitled “In a Big City of Stone,” shows the accomplishments of Lenin's rule. The song ends dramatically with the subtitle “If Lenin could see our family now,” along with a ten-second clip of Dolores in which she is first shown giving a speech and then reviewing the female militia brigades as they march to defend the Second Spanish Republic. It is obvious that this clip did not form part of the original film, first released in 1934, given that the Movement did not begin in Spain until two and a half years later. Although the editing of films for

⁷² Federica Montseny, qtd. in Shirley Mangini, *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 29.

⁷³ Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, *Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 230.

⁷⁴ Qtd. in Cruz, *Pasionaria. Dolores Ibárruri. Historia y símbolo*, 250.

propaganda purposes regardless of historical accuracy was not unusual in Soviet filmmaking,⁷⁵ it is not the question of when or who inserted this particular clip, but rather the fact that it featured Dolores, first at the feet of an enormous monument of Lenin and then in the long shot of the *militianas* (women militia fighters) receiving their blessing at the hands of *Madre Dolores*.

Indeed, when the Party needed to rally women, they called first upon Dolores to do the job. In the pamphlet "Women Against Hitler," published by the Communist Party of Great Britain and co-authored by Isabel Brown and Ibárruri, Dolores directs her words to the women of the world, including Soviet women, German mothers, and British wives:

Be worthy of your husbands! Speedily and enthusiastically fulfill all tasks placed before you by the war. Let the factories, industrial plants, the mines and fields, all places left by the mobilized men, feel the warmth of your presence and your creative work. In the days of the war of liberation, every woman must be an active fighter at the front or in the rear ...⁷⁶

As in this essay entitled "Pasionaria Speaks to the Women of the World," Pasionaria's communications beginning with her famous "They Shall Not Pass" speech (July 19, 1936) address the question of women almost always within the parameters of matrimony and motherhood. Yet the mythopoeia of Pasionaria has evolved in part through this misrepresentation of Dolores as a crusader for women's rights rather than an advocate of women's domestic responsibilities and abnegation of self; indeed, this distortion plays a key role in the maintenance of the myth. As Barthes explains:

The relation which unites the concept of the myth to its meaning is essentially a relation of *deformation* ... Just as for Freud the manifest meaning of behavior is distorted by its latent meaning, in myth the meaning is distorted by the concept.⁷⁷

Thus the misrepresentation of Dolores as a feminist has been crucial to the perpetuation of the *Pasionaria* myth. The leftist historian and novelist Manuel Vázquez Montalbán provides a good example in his fictional *Autobiografía del general Franco*. In the voice of Franco, he makes the following observations:

⁷⁵ Graham Roberts explains the Soviet manipulation of film text in his book, *Forward Soviet!: History and Non Fiction Film in the USSR* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1989).

⁷⁶ Pasionaria and Elizabeth Brown, "Women against Hitler," Pamphlet, Communist Party of Great Britain, c. 1941, 7.

⁷⁷ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 122.

the small but very active Communist Party directed by that woman that was the symbol of all the counter virtues of the Spanish woman according to the prototype I had accepted from my childhood reading and the behavior of my mother: merciful queen of the home. In the place of that sweet, kind, and benevolent queen of the home appeared Dolores Ibárruri, Pasionaria, a common woman inflaming the masses, preaching feminism and rebellion and inciting the Spanish woman to leave the kitchen for the revolution. They called her Pasionaria, but I don't know if it because of the passion she put into her harangues, or for the flower called Pasionaria, although any semblance between that woman and a flower could only be in the eyes of her most fanatical cohorts.

el pequeño pero activísimo Partido Comunista dirigido por aquella mujer que era el símbolo de las contravirtudes de la mujer española según aquel prototipo que yo había aceptado en mis lecturas infantiles y a través de la conducta de mi madre: reina y misericordiosa del hogar. En lugar de aquella dulce reina amable y misericordiosa del hogar aparecía Dolores Ibárruri la Pasionaria, mujeruca inflamando a las masas, predicando feminismo y revolución e incitando a que la mujer española dejara las cocinas y se pusiera a hacer la revolución. La llamaban la Pasionaria, no sé si por la pasión que ponía en sus arengas o por la flor que se llama Pasionaria, aunque cualquier parecido entre aquella mujer y una flor solo estaba al alcance de sus más fanáticos correligionarios.⁷⁸

Of course, the historical *generalísimo* Franco headed the list of Dolores's detractors and slander mongers on the Spanish Right. Ironically, they too have played an important role in the prolongation of the *Pasionaria* myth, calling her a cold-blooded murderer of clergy and woman of loose morals. This part of the *Pasionaria* "Black Legend" was borne of Ibárruri's alleged rebuttal to her political adversary, José Calvo Sotelo, in the parliamentary session of July 16, 1936: this will be your last speech ["Esto será tu ultimo discurso"], she told him, and barely one month later, he was assassinated.⁷⁹

The vision of Dolores biting a priest to death, reported by Franco's National Radio⁸⁰ and passed down to the second generation, has also played an important part in shaping a different version of the *Pasionaria* myth as was the litany of derogatory remarks that interlaced the radio speeches of General Gonzalo Quiapo de Llano on *Radio Sevilla*.⁸¹ Then there is the popular oral urban myth passed on to this day about her visits to the Republican front lines for the purpose of morale building, which she

⁷⁸ Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *La autobiografía de Francisco Franco* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1995), 278.

⁷⁹ Qtd. by Cruz, *Pasionaria. Dolores Ibárruri. Historia y símbolo*, 158.

⁸⁰ Manuel Vázquez Montalbán, *Pasionaria y los siete enanitos*, 296–97.

⁸¹ Cruz, *Pasionaria. Dolores Ibárruri. Historia y símbolo*, 138.

purportedly achieved by her lifting of her own skirts and consequently revealing her panty-less female genitalia to the battle-fatigued troops. Indeed, while today's younger Spaniards will dispassionately admit their limited knowledge about Dolores Ibárruri, *Pasionaria*, their elders are not as objective in their assessment of her role in Spain's Civil War and the forty-five years that have followed. It might be logically speculated that such attitudes are mirrored cross-generationally throughout Europe and both American hemispheres where few historical accounts of twentieth-century women neglect to make mention of Dolores Ibárruri. But as we have seen and as theorized by Roland Barthes, the *Pasionaria* myth is a "mode of signification"⁸² founded in history but shaped by political discourse.

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán explores this intersection of history and literature in his book *Pasionaria y los siete enanitos* (*Pasionaria and the Seven Dwarfs*) in which he approaches the *Pasionaria* myth using fairy tale theory and the Disney film version as primary text (1938). In this principally biographical account, Snow White symbolizes Dolores, hyperbolically, naively, or reverently, depending on his reader. Vázquez centers his analysis on the Disney dialogue, specifically the astonishment of the dwarfs who first find Snow White asleep in one of their beds: "¡Es una niña!" [It's a little girl]. His interest in the fairy tale as an allegory of Ibárruri's story, he explains, is the female protagonist in relationship to the dwarfs, that violent yet sweet surprise provoked by the arrival of a woman in a realm monopolized by men ["es la relación con los enanitos, esa violenta y dulce sorpresa que provoca la llegada de una mujer a un ámbito monopolizado por los hombres"].⁸³ Vázquez's seven dwarfs, who include her beloved son Rubén and her arch nemesis, *el generalísimo* Franco, her political ally turned backstabber, Santiago Carrillo, her biographer Andrés Sorel, and the poet Rafael Alberti serve to separate Dolores Ibárruri, the woman, from the *Pasionaria* myth, much more successfully than historians have done. Even in the most recently published biographies, *La mujer y el mito. Pasionaria* (2005) and *Dolores Ibárruri La Pasionaria: comunista* (2008), written respectively by the historians Juan Avilés and Laura Cistaro, often lapse from historiography to narratology, trapping their analyses in the binary clichés of the *Pasionaria* myth, thus strengthening it to no lesser degree than have the multiple artists in their creative productions.

⁸² Barthes, *Mythologies*, 109.

⁸³ Vázquez Montalbán, *Pasionaria y los siete enanitos*, 26.

Conclusion

The legacy of Dolores Ibárruri is not traced to the reams of her written words, buried under the dust-laden innermost stacks of the *Biblioteca Nacional* or the transcripts of her radio broadcasts safely housed in the Historical Archives of the PCE, but rather in the immortalization of her mythical stature through verse, musical scores, choreography, fictional narrative, drama, and even puppet shows. She has outlived Santiago Carrillo in the collective memory of Spain even though he has yet to be buried, and that of Eurocommunism, which never reached maturity.

If, indeed, the defeat of the Spanish Republic in 1939 marked the starting point for the eventual fall of Communism in Europe, as many historians assert, there is an inescapable irony in the homage still paid *Pasionaria*. Undeniable, however, is the key role of both intellectual and popular cultural activity in establishing the mythical aura that surrounds the persona of Pasionaria, and which over the course of the years has not only come to overshadow the historical identity of Dolores Ibárruri, the woman, but more significantly those political tenets to which she dedicated her life's work.

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PART FOUR

REALMS OF OBLIVION: HUNGER, REPRESSION, AND VIOLENCE

FRANCO'S BREAD: *AUXILIO SOCIAL* FROM BELOW, 1937–1943

Óscar Rodríguez Barreira

"I understand that they were terrible years, years of famine, but at the end of the World War, we even ate herbs. It was criminal..."

It was the echo on the road that brought the rumor of the yearning for news: Madrid is ours! Madrid has been taken! It was March 2, 1939. After some Asturian dynamite workers blew up a wall near the Gal Perfume Shop the national troops went in, under the midday sun, through Calle Princesa, up the Gran Vía to the heart of Madrid: Callao, with its strategic Palace of the Press and the emblematic, already crowded Puerta del Sol. There, military discipline was lost among the crowd.

All the people from Madrid poured out, with their hearts to their lips, and in their hearts a cry: "Franco!" Men, women and children carried bows and flags, and everywhere, passion for the general. In the Ministry of Government, on the grand balcony the Spanish flag waved to all the citizens who waved back showing their admiration.¹

Although on that warm Tuesday Madrid awoke timidly and expectantly with white flags on the capitol or telephone company buildings, enthusiasm grew on the streets as the hours went by. Houses began to don the national colors while blue shirts and improvised bands rehearsed the "Cara al Sol" hymn. The occasion surely deserved it. As the headlines of Sevilla's *ABC* announced Spain had taken back its capital city. It had taken three years, but at long last, the insurgents had recovered Madrid, their Castilian, their zarzuela fan, Catholicism, and the national city. The urban mob and the intellectuals with foreign tendencies had drowned the capital in the most absolute misery, turning it into a *Madridgrad*. The Russianization was carried out conscientiously; never was more poverty or desolation seen. Malasaña's daughters would come to the national troops when they entered, carrying their starving children, imploring the soldiers, who gave them what they could out of their rations. But it would not be charity, even

¹ *ABC* (Sevilla), March 29, 1939, *ABC* (Madrid), March 29, 1939 and *El País*, March 28-3-2009.

from the troops, that would take charge of liberating the people of Madrid from their misery. At two o'clock Auxilio Social (Social Aid) arrived at the martyred city. Social justice was coming.

Many of those blessed women of the crusade that composed the Auxilio Social were carrying bags of bread on their shoulders along with tins of condensed milk, bars of chocolate, and other foods. They were cheered with delirious frenzy. Concealing the exhaustion that they must have felt, the women joyfully sang "Cara al Sol" and the crowd cheered, applauded, and cried ... They all deserved it. Not only did they bring bread to the homes, as the Caudillo ordered; they brought joy and enthusiasm, and that blessed faith of which the Spanish woman was, is, and will always be the loyal reservoir—educated in sacrifice and abnegation, and fused into the life of the new state through the forceful will of the Caudillo.²

The new government was aware that no country had suffered as harsh and terrible a famine as had the people of Madrid. It was the proper occasion to show and reveal the generosity of the Caudillo, the solidarity of other regions of the New Spain everywhere, and the cheerful style that the Auxilio Social of the Falange imprinted on its social work. Under heavy rain and only a few hours after claiming victory, trucks and buses arrived at backyards everywhere in the fatherland with food and volunteer Falangists; from Cádiz the wine, the chickpeas, *chacina*, sugar, and cognac ... from La Coruña, potatoes, string beans, and preserves. Even the Spanish colony of Lisbon wanted to send four truckloads of foodstuffs. It was *Franco's bread* making headway. As the famous writer Carmen de Icaza, who was responsible for the radio propaganda of Auxilio Social, said: the bread of Castille, the vegetables from Navarra, meats from Galicia and León, fruits from Aragón and Levante ... the proof of brotherhood among the peoples of the New Spain.³

On the day of Victory, April 1, 1939, Auxilio Social took stock of their work in hunger-stricken Madrid. Figures speak for themselves, or so they understood. On March 29, they gave out 366,877 rations and on the following day, 800,000 rations of bread, 600,000 of cold food and 100,000 warm meals. On March 31, the date of the inauguration of the first dining hall,

² *ABC* (Sevilla), March 29, 1939. Zira Box, *España, Año cero* (Madrid: Alianza, 2010). Javier Ugarte, *La nueva Covadonga insurgente* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1998). Mechthild Albert, ed., *Vencer no es convencer* (Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, 1998). *ABC* (Sevilla), March 29, 1939, *ABC* (Madrid), March 29 and 30, 1939.

³ *ABC* (Sevilla), March 30 and 31, 1939, 1939 and *ABC* (Madrid), April 1, 1939. Michael Seidman, "Individualisms in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War," *The Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 1 (1996): 63–83, and Javier Cervera, *Madrid en Guerra* (Madrid: Alianza, 1999).

860,000 rations of cold meals and 178,000 warm meals were served. That same day the first cooperative in charge of distributing the cold rations to the families of the prisoners or those who were in hiding opened its doors. On April 1, 860,000 cold rations and close to 200,000 hot meals were distributed. One week later, the grand total was seven million meals distributed in the capital city. This was the balance that the Auxilio Social could offer to the people of Madrid and the neighborhoods of Chamartín de la Rosa, Vallecas, Vicálvaro, Canilleja ...⁴

Soon the emergency measures that came with the Liberation ceased to be necessary. If on Friday, March 31, one could already see fresh bread in the bakeries, and the free sale of eggs was allowed, as well as meat and fish without ration cards, on the following day the shops could deal with articles available in the past. General Moreno Calderón, the Commissary General of Supplies and Transportation, estimated that by the second week in April supplies would be totally normal, wanting to make it clear that any abuse by tradesmen with regard to the prices of articles would be severely punished. Furthermore, the goal was that in a brief period of time, people could have access to the majority of products without the need of ration cards, and normal, private trade activity could take place. Auxilio Social would then focus on the main goal of its program: "obliterating the traces of social distress in Spain by elevating the spiritual and material level of the economically weaker classes." In order to carry out this task, "social aid would be organized in a totalitarian manner," living proof of national brotherhood.⁵

The promised re-establishment of normality did not happen in the second week of April; nor was overpricing and the black market punished or abolished; the ration cards certainly were not eliminated. Spaniards would have to live with them long after the eternal decade of the forties. It would be in an environment of exhausting poverty that Auxilio Social had to fight for propagating a creed soon to be left to the ideological debate of few people: ending a dying liberal welfare by bringing together well intentioned individualisms in a totalitarian social action:

⁴ AGA. Cultura. AS. Propaganda. 2164. Boletines de propaganda sobre la entrada en Madrid. X-4-1939 and *ABC* (Madrid), March 30, 1939.

⁵ Auxilio Social, *Normas y orientaciones para delegados provinciales* (Valladolid: Afrodisio Aguado, 1937), 22. Auxilio Social, *Ordenación de Auxilio Social* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1939), 5. *ABC* (Madrid), March 30 and April 1, 1939.

Madrileños! We want to banish from the streets those hunger-stricken faces, those pauperized people. We need your support, your help.

Your duty, Madrileños, is to contribute with all available means to the normalization of life in Madrid. By subscribing to a BLUE CARD at AUXILIO SOCIAL you help to solve the distressing problem of hunger and misery left by the Reds.

The joy of peace cannot reach those who are excluded from national coexistence. AUXILIO SOCIAL is the work that the Caudillo has entrusted to help us all.⁶

Despite the optimistic and triumphant language, radical speeches and inflammatory populist proclamations, we must not be deceived. Auxilio Social was incapable of taking care of the terrible needs of all people, so it concentrated on covering the necessities of those close to its networks of influences.

In 2003, an influential historian, Carme Molinero, wrote a critical paper on this issue of the historiography of Franco's social policies. She argued that the study of political policies of the Francoist regime was a pending issue. The evaluation of this work, though harsh, was not misguided, although today we would have to be more magnanimous. In any case, the recipe she proposed to further the study of Franco's social policies in general and of Auxilio Social in particular was, in our judgment, not so wise. Molinero's interests in the social policies of the dictatorship were not aimed at learning about the living conditions of the lower classes, as much as characterizing Francoism and its social policies. Given the chosen issue, the author tended to abandon the analysis of the Traditional Spanish Falange and National Syndicalist Offensive Juntas (FET-JONS) of the base to focus on a study of them from the top, analyzing their ideology, propaganda, and the role they played in the nationalization of Spaniards. Her approach was quite influenced by the intellectual and cultural history of fascism in its more Italianized version, that is, by *consensus studies*.⁷

The approach of the present chapter is the opposite. In our opinion Auxilio Social and the social policies of Francoism not only *can* but *should*

⁶ AGA. Cultura. AS. Propaganda. 2164. Propaganda en Madrid, April 4, 1939.

⁷ Carme Molinero, «El reclamo de la justicia social en las políticas de consenso del régimen franquista», *Historia Social* 56 (2006): 93–110 and «La política social del régimen franquista. Una asignatura pendiente de la historiografía», *Ayer* 50 (2003): 319–31. Roger Griffin, «The Primacy of Culture: The Current Growth (or Manufacture) of Consensus within Fascist Studies», *Journal of Contemporary History* 37 (2002): 21–43. Yong Woo Kim, «From *Consensus Studies* to History of Subjectivity: Some Considerations on Recent Historiography on Italian Fascism», *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions* 10, nos. 3–4 (2009): 327–37. See also the chapter by Antonio Cazorla in this book.

be studied from the bottom up. The success or failure of the social policies, including their proselytizing capabilities, should be evaluated by analyzing their ability to minimize the deficiencies suffered by the economically weak classes as well as their responses offered both to social institutions as well as to Francoism itself.⁸ By and large, Francoist social policies accomplished two goals through *Auxilio Social*. In the first place, they increased the gap between victors and vanquished, forcing the latter to publicly renounce their ideology in exchange for the meager material aid that the dictatorship offered them. In the second place, it created visible opportunities where Franco's supporters could convince themselves of the worthiness and efficacy of the party and of the dictatorship. These spaces acted like the walls in the *Abadía de Thélème* by Rabelais; they diverted the gaze of the rest of the world, making it impossible to see the other side, the side of the vanquished, those of the Anti-Spain, while at the same time the New Spain was being built and rebuilt. As Peter Fritzsche explains, the daily public signs of collaboration with the dictatorship were not only signs of collective participation but they also contributed to promoting it. Public acceptance of *Auxilio Social* was a question of daily strategies. The instrumental use of the falangist delegation by apathetical persons or by dissidents from Francoism should not only be interpreted as violence to the soul but also as a vehicle that contributed to popular acceptance in the collective imagination of the lower classes. It also offered tools for the development of resistance to *Auxilio Social* and/or Francoist social policies. We refer to actions like the immediate Foucauldian struggles or if preferred, the weapons of the weak, by James C. Scott.⁹

Although our proposal is among the least rooted in the multidisciplinary approach of this volume, it does have to do directly with post-Thompsian cultural history. The following pages not only intend to provide a voice to subaltern classes, but also to broach some of the problems that post-social history and hermeneutics deal with: the influence of materiality in a world ruled by semantic codes and an interpretation of the semantic realm as a

⁸ Ángela Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2009) and "Memories of Repression and Resistance. Narratives of Children Institutionalized by *Auxilio Social* in Postwar Spain," *History & Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 39–59.

⁹ Peter Fritzsche, *Life and Death in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2008). Zygmunt Bauman, *Libertad* (Losada: Buenos Aires, 2007). Michel Foucault, *Historia de la sexualidad* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2005). Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

conflictive field of force between the discourses of power and those of the lower classes.¹⁰

The harsh reality of daily life prevented the FET-JONS and Auxilio Social from capitalizing on popular support. While in Nazi Germany the population was able to perceive the economic situation improve with regard to that under Weimar, a direct result of the robbery perpetrated on occupied nations, in Spain the miserable situation of 1939 only got worse during the early forties, creating a great gap between the official discourse and the reality of everyday life. The contrast between what the regime and the FET-JONS taught and what Spanish society saw, in the opinion of the repented propagandist Dionisio Ridruejo, was sufficient to explain the state of ambiguity and confusion. Furthermore, the complete lack of coordination of postwar society made the people, especially women, as Sofía Rodríguez shows in this volume, seek refuge in their daily and most immediate microcosm. It was there that the social proclamations of the FET-JONS and Auxilio Social entered most frequently in abrupt contradiction with their perception of reality. The “imperial” successes in economic or social issues that they published in their journals and propaganda bulletins were powerless to persuade a population that perceived them only as another form of coercion and social control. This perception was entrenched with the pre-war political culture of important sectors of the popular classes, and above all with the belligerent attitude of the Falange with the outburst of World War II. Thus, if during the forties people lived in a state of “daily uncertainty in which rejection, resignation and passive acceptance of the regime was mixed within the same person mind,” the FET-JONS, and their delegations did not benefit from that ambiguity, but became in the eyes of the majority of the people, those most responsible for the cruel repression and above all, for hunger and corruption.¹¹

That failure to gain popular support does not disassociate the social policies established by Auxilio Social from those of the fascists. In any case,

¹⁰ See the introduction to this volume by Aurora Morcillo and also the debate on this topic published in *Social History* between 1995 and 1996 and more recently—2008—in num. 113-2 of the *American Historical Review*. William Sewell Jr., *Logics of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, *The Future of Class in History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

¹¹ Francisco Sevillano, *Propaganda y medios de comunicación en el franquismo* (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1998), 136. Dionisio Ridruejo, *Entre política y literatura* (Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1973), 118. Götz Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War and the Nazi Welfare State* (New York: Henry Holt. & Co., 2005). Richard Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

the Auxilio de Invierno (Winter Aid), the name adopted at first by Auxilio Social, emerged in Valladolid at the end of October 1936 fostered by a radical sector—the Jonsista—and clearly inspired in the political practices of the Nazi *Winterhilfe*. In any case, Spanish fascism did not employ biological criteria in the development of its social policies, although it did espouse the opinion, according to sociocultural criteria, that dissidents and socially ill persons should be controlled and re-educated by welfare institutions in order to be redeemed. Social policies were no longer understood as a general right of the citizens in the face of unfavorable conditions, but rather to be used as an instrument of control by the state on families, and a way to ensure that they would comply with their obligations to the nation. The two leading political instruments used to invade the private sphere were precisely the Auxilio Social and the Sección Femenina, which, however, soon abandoned eugenicist, even cultural views, in order to adopt positions that were closer to Catholic piety and charity.¹²

A Padlock For Hunger

Evidently, it is not possible to hold the dictatorship responsible for the socio-economic situation of April 1939, but it is responsible for the dire situation that ensued, which not only did not improve, but also got seriously worse. During the forties, a situation of profound depression and desolation was experienced, fundamentally caused by the economic policy

¹² The birth of the Auxilio de Invierno was the result of the initiative of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, widow of Onésimo Redondo, the leader of the Jonsista party (Traditionalist Spanish Falange of the Assemblies of the National Syndicalist Offensive), and Javier Martínez de Bedoya, a young lawyer and party member who early in the uprising returned to Spain from Nazi Germany, which had seduced him. In those days Sanz Bachiller, who was the provincial delegate of the Sección Femenina of Valladolid, was concerned about the situation of neglect that the civil war was imposing on important sectors of the population. That is how the development of a project that encouraged Martínez de Bedoya began: to create an organization similar to *Winterhilfe*. Javier Martínez de Bedoya, *Memorias desde mi aldea* (Valladolid: Ámbito, 1996). Mónica Orduña, *El Auxilio Social (1936-1940)* (Madrid: ONCE, 1996). Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History* (London: Macmillan, 2000). Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap: Press, 2003). Fátima del Olmo, *La infancia de Auxilio Social* (Madrid: UAM, 2000). Ángela Cenarro, *La sonrisa de Falange* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006). Helen Graham, «Mujeres y cambio social en la España de los años treinta», *Historia del Presente* 2 (2003): 9–23. Sofía Rodríguez López, *El patio de la cárcel* (Sevilla: CENTRA, 2010). Kathleen Richmond, *Woman and Spanish Fascism* (London: Routledge, 2003). Inbal Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue* (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2009). Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism* (New York: The New Press, 1998).

that was implemented: autarchy. The regime based this policy on two pillars: self-sufficiency and authority. In its view, Spain was a rich country in terms of natural resources that did not need to rely on imports for its economic development. With closed frontiers, the only thing needed to flourish was order and discipline of the economic agents. In the military mentality of Francoism, economic agents, just like soldiers in the barracks, would obey the regulations of economic activity imposed by the state. The blunder was astronomical; the success in rebuilding an economy as dependent on foreign issues as the Spanish, depended precisely on developing an economic policy that would guarantee the import of raw materials, energy products, and equipment. Thus, autarchy severed any possibility of recuperation. While Spain took a decade to recover its main economic indicators, European countries needed three or four years after the much more destructive World War II.¹³

The impact of this policy on macroeconomics and on the day-to-day life of the people was overwhelming. During the forties, the real salary of the Spaniards approached half of what it was in 1935 (see Figure 9.1 Chart Agricultural Wage Index). Moreover, the GDP of 1935 proved unattainable until 1951 while the income per capita would take two more years to reach that point. If we add to this the economic repression inflicted on the lower classes that Fernando Martínez and Miguel Gómez Oliver describe perfectly in this volume on the Court for Political Responsibilities, and the fact that the acquisition of basic daily products was more often than not done on the extremely overpriced black market, the situation became absolutely dire.¹⁴

¹³ Tony Judt, *Postwar* (London: Penguin, 2005). Jordi Catalán, *La economía española y la II Guerra Mundial* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1995). Leandro Prados and Vera Zamagni, eds., *El desarrollo económico en la Europa del Sur* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992). Informe económico del Ministerio de Industria y Comercio para el Gobierno en defensa de la autarquía in Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, *Documentos inéditos para la Historia del Generalísimo Franco* (Madrid: Azor, 1992-I): 572–83. Antonio Cazorla, *Las políticas de la victoria* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000), 67–81. Michael Richards, *A time of Silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁴ Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, *Historia económica de la España contemporánea* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 278–83 and *Estadísticas históricas de España* (Bilbao: BBVA, 2005).

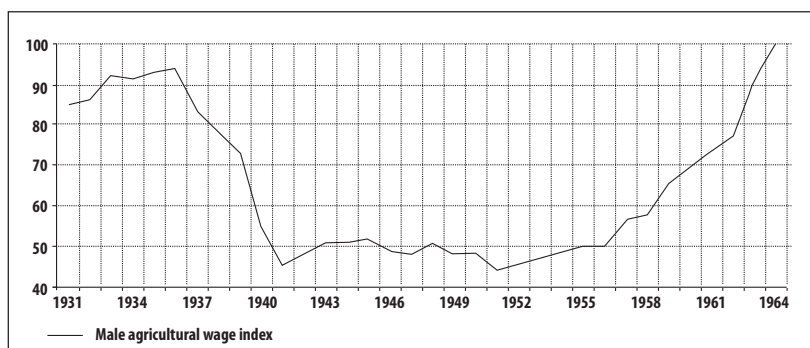


Figure 9.1. Male agricultural wage index, 1931-1964.

Roughly, the explanation for the advent of contraband would be the following: The dictatorship believed that the prices of products and production factors could be set by decree, regardless of what the market established. So it imposed a policy of discipline for prices by establishing the prices of supplies according to the levels of July 1936. Wheat was the first agricultural product on which there was an intervention. A capital error of the government was evaluating the situation of the wheat market with an upward trend in 1937. The National Wheat Service (*Servicio Nacional del Trigo*) (SNT) was created on the premise that Spain was self-sufficient in terms of wheat, and that there was even a danger of surpluses; so, fearing overproduction, low prices were fixed, with the aim of obtaining cheap bread. The reaction of the wheat growers was to substitute that crop with others that were free from control, which led the authorities to adopt new regulating measures and more controls. The spiral was unending. Instead of rectifying a policy that was not working, the government opted for repression, or if preferred, for applying the law, in a discretionary fashion. But the law could not prevent a flourishing black market that was the consequence of the logic of the market. Given that the state established rate prices below their levels of equilibrium, the producers avoided intervention activities and lowered exploitation expenses, which brought about a decrease both in production as well as in yields. At the same time, consumers tried to increase consumption of rationed products. The market imbalance was evident since the offer was reduced while demand grew. The solution to the situation of unsatisfied demand was a black market that grew exponentially in step with the unbalance of the official market (Table 1). The intervention of ever-undersupplied markets made it imperative to resort to food rationing. Rationing was officially established on

May 14, 1939, with the creation of the General Commissary of Supplies and Transportation (*Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*) (CGAT). The ration system also received feedback, and if at the beginning it only affected a few articles, by June 1941, the sale and distribution of practically all consumer goods was controlled, and in addition these goods only reached the consumers through the black market.¹⁵

Table 1. Consumer price index in the official and black markets (Bilbao 1939-49) (1936=100).

Years	Bread (kg)		Cooking oil (l)		Sugar (kg)		Potatoes (kg)	
	Official	Black	Official	Black	Official	Black	Official	Black
1939	154,5		232,2		127,2		183,3	
1940	200		235,2		112,1		233,3	
1941	198,1	1818,1	250	3235,2	154,5	1818,1	283,3	1000
1942	254,5	3272,7	288,8	1470,5	164,8	1818,1	350	750
1943	272,7	2181,8	288,8	1470,5	178,7	1090,9	310	800
1944	318,1	2181,8	288,8	970,5	204,2	848,4	290	466,6
1945	363,6	2181,8	329,4	1761,7	424,3	1575,7	300	583,3
1946	400	2181,8	329,4	2941,1	303	3636,3	366,6	1333,3
1947	509	3272,7	562,5	1937,5	393,9	1878,7	366,6	1000
1948	636,3	2909	558,8	1882,4	424,2	2121,2	383,3	833,3
1949	665,4	3272,7	558,8	1705,8	424,2	1333,3	416,6	750

Source: Sánchez Recio & Tascón, eds (2003:242).

This is how the dictatorship promoted illegality among a great part of the population. Furthermore, as Martínez and Oliver explain in this volume, many of the people could not use their assets as they were held while waiting for the resolution of the Political Responsibilities Court. All this enabled the lower classes that behaved passively in the political field to become radical and insurgent in the economic arena, the realm of daily subsistence. And so the practice and perception of economic transgression was seen as something customary and moral. Robbery, theft, speculation ... and an instrumental submission that made them approach Auxilio Social or to the Youth Front, despite the fact, as reports on public opinion stated, the Falange was seen as the main culprit for high prices. Thus, the authorities explained how the low and middle classes in Palencia said nothing due to fear of punishments, but privately in small crowds, they were desperate

¹⁵ Thomas Christiansen, «Intervención del Estado y mercado negro en el sector oleícola durante el primer franquismo», *Historia Agraria* 27 (2002): 221-46. Carlos Barciela, ed., *Autarquía y mercado negro* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003). Carlos Barciela, «Franquismo y corrupción económica», *Historia Social* 30 (1998): 83-96.

“because of the impossibility of developing their lives.” In Castellón opinions were similar and in addition, pointed to the single party as “primarily responsible for the situation.” In Valencia, the environment was even worse. The provincial head of the FET-JONS reported how the population was openly hostile, hating “without any pretention, everything that means or comes from the New State.” The reason for the hostility in Valencia was clear; it was none other than the “deplorable and mistaken policy on supplies.” If this was a reason for dissatisfaction, an even greater one was the fact that the efforts made by the comrades to appease the situation and raise the morale of the people were not rewarded by a population that was fed up with promises.

The environment, I repeat is sour to the maximum degree. Animosity grows by leaps and bounds; and the worst of it all is that the Falange that sees its efforts nullified and its work destroyed is involved in this vicious circle and hated as much as everything else.¹⁶

Meanwhile, the reports on public opinion by the Head of General Security (Dirección General de Seguridad) (DGS) not only repeated that the only concern of the working class was supplies, but also showed how the Spaniards connected their shortage to the World War II and Fascism. But lack of supplies was so overwhelming that the people did not care where the food came from. In Ohanes, a small village in Almería, the mayor spoke desperately about how his neighbors had to resort to eating grass, cooked without oil and bread, because the monthly quantity distributed by Abastecimientos y Transportes did not cover the needs even for five days, and

[S]urely there would have been many cases of death due to hunger among children and disabled older citizens if it weren't for Auxilio Social, with the aid of a few wealthy people in this area and the active work of the delegation of this benevolent organization; but this does not solve the acute crisis and the needs that this vicinity is suffering.¹⁷

¹⁶ AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20511, 51-20508, 51-20594. Parte mensual de Palencia, junio de 1940. Parte mensual de Castellón, diciembre de 1940 y Parte mensual de Valencia, septiembre de 1941. Óscar Rodríguez Barreira, *Miserias del Poder* (Valencia: PUV, 2013) and *Migas con miedo* (Almería: UAL, 2008). Ana Cabana, «Minar la paz social. Retrato de la conflictividad rural en Galicia durante el primer franquismo», *Ayer* 61 (2006): 267–88 and conxita Mir, *Vivir es sobrevivir* (Lleida: Milenio, 2000).

¹⁷ AMO. Actas del Ayuntamiento. 20-1-1940. Pesimista informe de la DGS. 16-1-1941 in Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, *Documentos inéditos para la Historia del Generalísimo Franco* (Madrid: Azor, 1992, II-2): 19-22 (2002); Antonio Cazorla, “Surviving Franco's Peace: Spanish Opinion during the Second World War,” *European History Quarterly* 32, no.3 (2002), 391–411 and Francisco Sevillano, *Ecos de papel* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000).

Liberation from Extreme Poverty

On July 24, 1939 the provincial delegate of Auxilio Social in Alicante sent a crude report to his national delegation. If the scene described by Max Aub in *Campo de los Almendros* is heartbreaking, those narrated in the report did not fall far behind. The two hundred Falangists sent from Málaga to aid Alicante found “the entire population of the province in a state of dire poverty.” There they were, “alone, facing hunger in plain sight of non-believers.” Just as in Madrid, Auxilio Social had prepared remission of aid to liberated towns, but despite the propaganda, not everything was foresight and success. Many of the foodstuffs that had been prepared were expensive and were expired merchandise. Although enough to motivate even the most cowardly, the extreme poverty of the postwar Levantine region exceeded its capability for action.

[T]here were really dramatic moments where ill-contained hunger of the thousands of individuals in the presence of foodstuffs so generously offered by Franco's Spain constituted a real risk for the women of AUXILIO SOCIAL, on whom crowds of starving human beings fell; driven by the terrible urge, they acted like angry cattle and not like rational beings ... After a struggle of more than five hours in these conditions, and after distributing no less than “one hundred tons” of various articles on that first day, we decided to stop this type of rationing and since that very moment, to prepare dining halls.

On April 4 the dining halls of the old social republican institutions had already been branded with the logo of Auxilio Social. That day, three dining halls were opened; two days later a new one was added, while four days later there were six in operation. During the first week, up to fifteen thousand rations per day were distributed, clearly an insufficient number to take care of an entire population, which was converted into provisional beggars. The despair of the Alicante comrades was visible in every line of their report. They could briefly take care of the most urgent needs, but there was no solution in sight to this terrible situation. Three months later there was a relatively significant infrastructure in the province, but it still was not a solution. There were 95 dining halls for 17,536 children and 2,245 adults with an average of 281,524 rations for the former and 82,546 for the latter. In the capital city up to 15,919 cold rations were served and 4,800 more hot ones in its eight dining halls. Figures were significant but out of context. Not one line was dedicated to the real scope of the needs to be covered. In any case, and given that it was an internal report, the delegate for Alicante could afford to have a realistic tone. In his opinion it was

impossible to correct the deficiencies seen in the homes that needed the most basic elements: furniture, clothes, medicines, and food. But they had committed to working every day, at all hours so that “some fruit will come from our effort.” This tone of resignation was destined for internal reports; in the propaganda intended for the rest of the population, reports were completely different. During the first few days of April, any person from Alicante could read or hear on the streets the following messages:

ALICANTINOS. The day on which to the tune of peace, the peaceful unity of Spain begins, the brotherhood of all Spaniards under the leadership of el Caudillo and with the same drive for greatness, that day shall contemplate what “AUXILIO SOCIAL” has obtained during the years of war as something awesome and firm, and everything that bears the seed of enormous labor will be felt to improve the race of Spaniards.¹⁸

This is the daily attitude of Auxilio Social; a delegation with a serious bipolar syndrome, aware of its incapability, and at the same time, the loudest in terms of the propaganda of the party. As Ángela Cenarro has concluded, the delegation “had more to do with propaganda and the denial of social divisions than with the true integration of the vanquished.” It could be said that it was more of an ineffective placebo that sought arguments for those who were already convinced rather than a solution for reigning poverty. And it didn’t take them long to give it this approach. Even as early as the summer of 1939, that vocation was already clear in internal correspondence

With the purpose of obtaining the maximum efficacy in the propaganda of the work of Auxilio Social ... I pray that you communicate to this Central Department as many news items, activities, statistics, projects, etc. related to your Department that you consider convenient to divulge, as well as the publicity campaigns that you deem necessary with the purpose of studying and preparing them conveniently.¹⁹

The symbolic cases of Alicante and Madrid were not exceptional. Internal correspondence of Auxilio Social shows that hunger, poverty, and the inability of the Falange delegation were a daily occurrence throughout the country. Moreover, these problems not only affected the conquered zones, but the entire rebel side. Despite the fact that supplies in the national rear

¹⁸ AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia. 2124. Informe entrada de Auxilio Social en Alicante, July 24, 1939. Roque Moreno, *La autarquía en Alicante* (Alicante: Juan Gil-Albert, 2004).

¹⁹ AGA. Cultura. AS. Propaganda. 2084. Escrito a la Asesoría Técnica Nacional. 20-7-1939. Auxilio Social, *Normas administrativas provisionales para Delegaciones Locales* (Valladolid: FET-JONS, 1939), Cenarro, *Sonrisa*, XXVI.

guard worked out much better than on the republican side, the lack of coordination and internal strife were common on Franco's side. All these conflicts undoubtedly affected Auxilio Social that, in addition, had the responsibility of alleviating hunger in the rear guard of the areas that were being liberated. On the front of the Ebro, for example, villagers died of starvation, without the military authorities or Auxilio Social being able to do anything about it. As explained by the provincial delegate of Tarragona in the villages of Villalba de los Arcos, Puebla de Masaluca, Ascó, Fatarella, Gandesa ... people starved, and blamed Auxilio Social for the situation. The drama was of such magnitude that it no longer was about the delegation of the FET-JONS being inefficient in its services to the needy; there were just no supplies at all, even for the few wealthy people to purchase.²⁰ In Granada the situation was not only severe; they lacked the necessary infrastructure to work. Its provincial delegate, José Palacios, explained to the national secretary that local delegations could not be supplied with food because the truck requested from Valladolid still had not arrived. The pleas, petitions, and lamentations did no good at all. Two weeks later, the national secretary responded that they did not have sufficient vehicles although they promised to send a lorry as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the needs that Auxilio Social was supposed to cover continued to increase. Close to the liberation of Albacete, Mercedes Sanz Bachiller assigned the delegation from Granada to take charge of the aid for that province. José Palacios took on the responsibility, although he could not conceal his despair; he not only had to take care of Albacete but of 102 villages soon to be liberated in Granada itself, "some quite important, and where poverty was daunting." In March 1939 Granada obtained the long-awaited lorry, but the joy was short-lived. By the middle of the month the national authority urged them to give the van to their colleagues in Murcia. The delegate was willing to cooperate, although he could not hide his frustration and disappointment.²¹

In Asturias the situation was not much better. A few days after the liberation, the delegate issued a report about the condition of the province. In Oviedo the Falange was still unable to open the dining halls of Auxilio de Invierno so the situation was not normal. In the villages, the situation was even worse. In Salas there were "many needs, among children as well

²⁰ AGA. Cultura. AS. Informes. 2218. Informe de la visita a la delegación de Tarragona. 20-12-1938.

²¹ AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia. 2219. Escrito del delegado provincial de Granada a la Secretaría Nacional, January 7, 1939. Respuesta de la Secretaría Nacional, January 23, 1939. Escrito del delegado provincial de Granada a la Secretaría Nacional, March 11 and March 14, 1939.

as among the old," while in Castropol "needs were enormous although the town tried to see to them in part, because it would be impossible to take care of them all." In Puerto de Figueres and in Tapia de Casariego precariousness was unsustainable as the livelihood of these localities was fishing and, because of the ban, the fishermen could not go out to sea, and so lived in the greatest poverty. In neighboring Vizcaya towards the end of January 1938 needs became so great that a report was issued on the causes of rising poverty.²²

If that was life in the developed northern part of Spain, what could have been happening in the pauperized south? In April 1938 a delegation of Auxilio Social had been created to deal with Morocco and the sovereign locations in the African colonies; the seat of the delegation was in Tetuán with a sub-delegation in Melilla. According to internal reports, the conditions of the delegation were not ideal, although the situation in Ceuta was even worse. There, the price of a meal for a child was extremely costly due to the scarcity of food in the market. In addition, the delegation barely collected enough to cover the expenses. In neighboring Melilla things were no better. The nursing home in the town looked quite deplorable and the delegation held a kind of lottery, known as the Charity Raffle, in order to cover the upkeep.²³ However, by spring in 1938, the most important concerns of the delegates of Auxilio Social were twofold: first, to obtain the desired annexation of the rest of the welfare institutions, and second, to be victorious in the struggle with la Sección Femenina.²⁴

²² AGA. Cultura. AS. Several Reports. 2218. Informe sobre Oviedo y pueblos. Sf. and Informe de Auxilio Social de Vizcaya relacionado con las causas que motivan el crecido número de indigentes en esta provincia, January 31, 1938.

²³ AGA. Cultura. AS. Informes. 75/25497. Viaje de inspección por las provincias del Sur y Marruecos, April 1938.

²⁴ Auxilio Social, *Normas y orientaciones*, 19. Although Auxilio de Invierno began as a service of the Sección Femenina, in January 1937 it became another delegation of FET-JONS. From that very moment, the relations between the leaders of both delegations, represented at the senior level by Pilar Primo de Rivera, sister of José Antonio, and Mercedes Sanz Bachiller—were tense and competitive. At stake were not only different conceptions of women's participation in the new state but their own leadership of such hand labor that grew exponentially with the creation of Social Service. Other factors to consider in this rivalry, not because they were spurious were they less important: personalism, envy ... Broadly speaking, the vision of female participation of Sanz Bachiller was closer to the Nazis; she also defended women working with men in the political sphere and not only in the Sección Femenina, while Pilar Primo de Rivera was inspired by the most conservative Italian model and the discourses of her absent brother. María Teresa Gallego, *Mujer, Falange y Franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus, 1983), 59–66. Paul Preston, *Palomas de guerra* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 2002), 21–95 and Cenarro, *Sonrisa*.

The "Unification" of Charity

Reports pay special attention both to the different institutions to be absorbed as to the attitude of the Sección Femenina of FET and of the JONS. In Larache, it was reported, there were some dining halls that could be very useful if it could be convinced of the great benefit they would render the institution if it were to cede them. The same report stated that in Melilla, the comrades of the Sección Femenina had very little discipline and that the attitude of their director was one of great hostility towards Auxilio Social. But it wouldn't be the Sección Femenina which would hinder the delegation more efficiently. The auditors, for example, were a much more powerful enemy, as they were reluctant to submit their management accounts for the benefit of the Protectorate. They behaved like "Kings with all the levers of power in their hands." The purpose of the report was clear. Auxilio Social needed more cooperation from the authorities, and above all, it should absorb all the services of the city. In its view, it wasn't logical for particular entities to receive official grants when Auxilio Social, as an official entity, could carry out those same services appropriately. This same policy had been made explicit half a year earlier in a report on Tetuán.²⁵

Regardless of the fact that the provinces of the south of the peninsula were better off than those of Northern Africa, the situation revealed by the inspection made in March 1938 was not precisely agreeable either. In Huelva, Auxilio Social had the support of the civil governor, but the mayor of the city was against the expansion of the agency. In addition, there were no vehicles for distribution. The food from the capital was distributed by carts to the dining halls in the provinces in the south or in Morocco. We have seen how in Granada they had no transportation either. Similarities did not end there. There was also resistance by the City Council and supplies were scarce, both in the capital and in the provinces.

They don't have their own kitchens. Everything is prepared in a central kitchen from where the food is distributed to the different dining halls all over Granada in thermal containers. It is necessary to open some more, not only in the capital but also in every province.

The sociopolitical situation in the provinces was not exactly good. The Falange had lost prestige at the hands of the Carlists. With respect to the

²⁵ AGA. Cultura. AS. Informes 75/25497. Informe de la Secretaría de la Comisión Local De Acción Benéfica-Social De Tetuán, October 30, 31937 y Viaje de inspección por las provincias del Sur y Marruecos, April, 1938.

unification of the rest of the charity institutions, the importance of obtaining the assets of the Asociación Granadina de la Caridad was paramount. The exception that confirmed the rule in the south was Málaga. Both the FET-JONS and the Sección Femenina as well as the government authorities cooperated so that the development of Auxilio Social would be exemplary. Notwithstanding, the social situation was not ideal; there were still “too many Reds” and inspections had revealed that in the province it was necessary “to care for too many women and old people.” Nearby, in Almería, fights for absorbing the charity organizations were repeated. On one hand, the civil authorities—city hall and civil government—who supported the notables and the traditional concept of charity, and on the other, the Auxilio Social. The main scenario of the conflict was the Provincial Charity Board. At the end of September 1939, the Provincial Secretary of Auxilio Social let the board know the desire of the Falange delegation to absorb the assets of the former republican charity institution—Asistencia Social. At the following meeting, the conflict exploded. The civil governor presented the project of a wealthy lady of “funding an orphanage in the old facilities of Asistencia Social.” The representative of Auxilio Social protested energetically as his delegation had already made plans for those furnishings. After a tense meeting at which the rest of the board was pleased with the offering of the wealthy benefactress, it was established that the assets of the republican institution had become the property of the Almería City Hall, which was willing to donate them so that the orphanage could be created. It was of no use for the Falange representative to take the floor and insist that Auxilio Social was making arrangements to occupy all the buildings of the former Asistencia Social. The maximum authority of the province decided to turn the building over to Doña Soledad and had already begun the necessary paperwork. The battle was momentarily lost, although one year later, Auxilio Social attained its objective.²⁶

During 1937, and the early months of 1938, the Valladolid group gave it all it had. First, it obtained autonomy from the Sección Femenina, with its separation on May 24, 1937 and its restitution as the delegation of Auxilio Social. With the creation of the delegation, it was divided into several sections: Obra del Hogar Nacional-Sindicalista (National Trade Union Work),

²⁶ AHPAL. GC. Secretaría Particular. GCB-287. Actas de la Junta Provincial de Beneficencia, September 28, 1939. AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia. 2165. Viaje de inspección realizado por las provincias del Sur y Marruecos, April 1938. Encarnación Barranquero and Lucía Prieto, *Así sobrevivimos al hambre* (Málaga: CEDMA, 2003). Rodríguez Barreira, *Migas con miedo*. Miguel Ángel del Arco, *Hambre de siglos* (Granada: Comares, 2007).

Auxilio Social al Enfermo (Social aid to the sick), and Obra Nacional-Sindicalista de Protección a la Madre y al Niño (National Syndicate for the Protection of Mothers and Children). Later, they played their cards to gain control of the Beneficencia. What happened from 1936 to 1939 is the first phase of the nationalization process of the old welfare institution. The Jonsistas from Valladolid managed to destroy the outdated welfare operation and included it in the orbit of the national health care revolution, which strengthened the monopoly of Auxilio Social. A second step was the nomination of Javier Martínez de Bedoya as head of the Servicio Nacional de Beneficencia (National Welfare Service). Once promoted to the position, the objectives of Auxilio Social seemed easier to each, although with time, a conflict would arise between Martínez de Bedoya and Ramón Serrano Súñer, who at the end decided to exclude the Valladolid *jonsistas*. Regardless of the progress made, there was never a thought of the Fascists taking over. Neither the Falange nor the Auxilio de Invierno intended to act in any way that could be construed as “taking over the Government.” What they wanted precisely was a place in the administration. And for that to happen they needed critical reports from below, from the provinces.²⁷

These reports arrived. In Las Palmas de Gran Canarias, for example, we find criticisms again. There was a report explaining the need to create new dining halls and to merge all existing dining halls under the name of Auxilio Social. Only then “the attention of the truly needed and neglected” could be rigorously guaranteed. It seemed ironic and tragic that the same person who categorically affirmed the need to unify the welfare on the island also admitted “a total ignorance of the operation and of the different sections of Auxilio Social.” At the time, in addition to famine the island had a high percentage of tuberculosis among children.²⁸

These denunciations and the work of the Valladolid group added to the glittering star of Fascism both in Spain and in Europe and brought with them a new standard for welfare. The new legislation granted many privileges to Auxilio Social. As Ángela Cenarro has explained, the Act of March 19, 1938 guaranteed funding of the delegation from the Budget of the Fondo de Protección Benéfico Social (Social Beneficiary Protection Fund) giving

²⁷ Cenarro, *Sonrisa*, 9 Conxita Mir et al., eds.), *Pobreza, marginación, delincuencia y políticas sociales bajo el franquismo* (Lleida: ULL, 2005), 97. Pilar Folguera, comp., *El Feminismo en España* (Madrid: Pablo Iglesias, 1998), 80–81, and Burleigh, *Third Reich*, 251–61.

²⁸ AGA. Cultura. AS. Informes. 75/25496. Informe-Memoria que lleva a la delegación nacional de Auxilio Social la provincial de Las Palmas, September, 1937. The unification of welfare institutions of Gran Canaria took place in September 1939. AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia. 2124. Escrito de la delegada provincial de Auxilio Social, September 13, 1939.

the Falange delegation a clear advantage with respect to entities that had existed before July 18, 1936. Furthermore, the Decree of May 28, 1938 created the Welfare Superior Council, and finally, in view of the forthcoming end of the war, the regime created the Aid to Liberated Populations Service. These new provisions opened a heartening panorama for Auxilio Social although there would soon be problems; the most difficult was the struggle for Servicio Social.²⁹

How is the Service Working

When this conflict is explained, some authors have focused on personal differences of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller and Pilar Primo de Rivera in addition to their different conceptions when it came to understand female political mobilization. The reason that sparked the conflict was the Decree of October 7, 1939 that established national mandatory social services for women between 17 and 35 years of age. The decree, which was claimed as its inspiration the twenty six points of national syndicalism, established a parallel between mandatory military service and the new tasks assigned to women, although it stated that the services that these women would provide would be “consistent with their female aptitudes.” The text linked this measure to the tragedy of the war, although it clarified that this action would continue afterwards in order to relieve “social postwar anxieties.” The justification of the decree also designated the delegation that would manage the enormous human contingent that, as of that moment, would be in the hands of the government: Auxilio Social. The text of the decree explained not only who would be affected and who would be exempt but most importantly, that the service was compulsory in order to get any type of job or official accreditation such as an academic degree, a position or a job in civil services ... The appearance of the decree in the Official State Gazette (BOE) on November 28, 1937 caused the outbreak of hostilities between the Sección Femenina and Auxilio Social over the control of social services and the task of “the Spanish woman in the task of rebuilding Spain.”³⁰

With the advent of the decree there was a manifest desire of the Sección Femenina to head the institution. The conflict escalated in the summer of

²⁹ Cenarro, *Sonrisa*, 10. Auxilio Social, *Normas*, 19.

³⁰ This Decree established Social Service as a mandatory duty of women between 17 and 35 years of age. Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE), nº 379, October 11, 1937.

1938; Auxilio Social needed abundant cooperation to bring to fruition its work in aiding liberated populations, while the Sección Femenina began to defend voluntary political participation. According to the majority of scholars, the conflict over social services erupted mainly at the senior level of both organizations, but its echo reached the base as well. Thus, personal conflict overrode other factors, although admittedly, the need for labor was decisive in the struggle. From our perspective this event will be fundamental, not only because of the need of personnel as the troops advanced, but because personal conflicts were also occurring in the base. Additionally, Auxilio Social required many hours from the lost and tired militants of the Sección Femenina, exhausted by their double role. An example of how these conflicts were reproduced from the lower to the senior levels transpired in Zaragoza. The struggle between the delegations exploded with the refusal of the local delegates of the Sección Femenina to collaborate with the applications of Auxilio Social. The provincial delegate sent a message to Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, with the accusation that in some villages the Sección Femenina had refused to collaborate with the applications and the collection of the Blue Card fees. In Burgos Auxilio Social's delegate denounced an even more conflictive situation. It seems that the girls of Sección Femenina had been refusing for some time to work with the applications for Auxilio Social. The conflict, rather than decreasing, grew; in the "local delegation of Briviesca they refuse to wait tables in the dining hall." If the problem persisted, they were going to have to close it. In Huesca the provincial delegate of the Sección Femenina ordered its militants not to comply with Servicio Social, using the argument that they did not need it since they were working in the framework of Sección Femenina. The event caused a crisis in both delegations. Finally, Mercedes Sanz Bachiller herself had to intervene, asking of her subordinates to act with intelligence and caution. In Huelva the inspector commented that relations between the Sección Femenina and Auxilio Social were barely civil. The girls under Pilar Primo de Rivera not only refused to work in Social Services; they demanded to be paid for their labor as seamstresses. The same happened in Granada where, apparently, the delegate of Sección Femenina was excessively domineering and wanted total authority over Auxilio Social. In Jérez de la Frontera and Algeciras the situation was quite similar. In Almería, however there was little conflict over Servicio Social although this does not mean that the feminine delegations of the FET-JONS didn't take advantage of the labor that the government put at their disposal. In 1939 Sofía Rodríguez López revealed that of the 246 women registered in Servicio Social, 231

were assigned to the units of Auxilio Social. Furthermore, even at the end of 1944 the Central Personnel Department of Sección Femenina arranged to keep twenty places available in all national courses to train affiliates who could render services in different institutions of the entity.³¹

The end of the conflict over social service materialized during Christmas of the first Triumphant Year. On December 28, the Generalissimo decided to modify the decree of October 1937 and to award Pilar Primo de Rivera her cherished prize. The reasons for this modification were the falling from grace of the Valladolid Group and Franco's own conservative perspective. The typical contradiction of interwar gender policies of conservative, fascist, and fascist-leaning dictatorships was established by decree law. Servicio Social opened the doors that were crossed by the type of woman that Sección Femenina was against: a self-sufficient and independent woman. Whatever her function was to be, transferring this service to the Sección Femenina meant the admission of a great quantity of affiliates that gave way to the creation of opportunities for a select number to exercise power and find self-fulfillment in manners that differed from the feminist model. In any case, this empowerment and self-fulfillment come about to the detriment of other women who were educated for submission to their male counterparts and to dictatorship. Female political mobilization of the Republican period was substituted by an elitist organization with the vocation of guiding capabilities, supposedly innate in women, towards the service of a state that insisted in regarding them as angels in the home.³²

The conflict between Pilar Primo de Rivera and Mercedes Sanz Bachiller and the quarrel about Servicio Social played an important role in the fall from grace of the Valladolid Group, and even of Auxilio Social, but it wasn't the most important. There was something else that together with the rise

³¹ Rodríguez López, *Patio de la*, Inmaculada Blasco, *Armas femeninas para la contrarrevolución: la Sección Femenina en Aragón* (1936–1950) (Málaga: Atenea, 1999): 147, Orduña, *Auxilio*, 202–8, Cenarro, *Sonrisa*, 93–100. AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia. 2124, 1933, 2165. Escrito del delegado provincial de Auxilio Social, September 27, 1939, Escrito de Mercedes Sanz Bachiller al delegado provincial de Auxilio Social. And Viaje de inspección realizado por las provincias del Sur y Marruecos. X-4-1938.

³² Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000). Sofía Rodríguez López, «La Sección Femenina: *Paños calientes* para una dictadura», *Arenal* 12, no. 1 (2005): 35–60, Victoria de Grazia, *How Fascism ruled Women. Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Atina Grossman, «Feminist Debates about Women and National Socialism», *Gender & History* 3, no. 3 (1991): 350–58. Pilar Rebollo, *El Servicio Social de la Mujer en la provincia de Huesca (1937–1978)* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 2003). Inmaculada Blasco, *Paradojas de la ortodoxia* (Zaragoza: PUZ, 2003) and Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization* (Denver, CO: Arden Press, 1995).

of Ramón Serrano Súñer was crucial: corruption. Let us contemplate corruption as another way of explaining the crisis and ulterior transformation of Auxilio Social.

A Powerful Gentleman among Young Ladies

On July 8, 1939 the provincial delegate of Auxilio Social in Valencia sent an extensive and angry report to Mercedes Sanz Bachiller. In it, he not only explained all his actions with regard to the delegation but also defended himself against the accusations of corruption that weighed heavily on him and his collaborators. According to comrade Aznar, in Valencia there were cliques and lobbies bent on discrediting Auxilio Social. According to his story the liberation of Valencia was extremely costly for his delegation, as the aid from Palencia and Valladolid never arrived, nor did the aide destined for Liberated Populations comply with the work that was expected. Only luck and the untiring work of his colleagues alleviated the situation. An additional problem was that after the war, Valencia doubled its population. Taking care of the needs of the people in these circumstances turned out to be an insurmountable and Herculean task. Although the delegation had 400 tons of food, they didn't have a single gram of bread, which was basic in feeding the hungry. In these circumstances they had to rely on the national command, but Aznar preferred not to do so believing that it was not the best moment to escalate demands and concerns among his superiors. Instead, and with the experience of other delegations, "he managed to fill a warehouse with provisions and so Valencia and its Province were supplied."

Regardless of the noble mission and the unquestionable merit of this task, there were irregularities that caused suspicions among the people of Valencia, and these reached Madrid's ears. National directors became involved in the matter and assigned the provincial administrator of Auxilio Social the task of scrupulously auditing the figures of the provincial delegation. This order implied a dilemma for comrade Aznar: "How could he possibly hold a post with dignity if he did not have the trust of his superiors?" Criticisms and rumors affected all the politics of the delegation. It was necessary to explain the actions of the dowry section, the acquisitions of wheat, and the management of the provincial warehouse ... Given the magnitude of the suspicions Aznar did not want to leave any stone unturned. He even sent two of his subordinates to Madrid to give his version of the wheat issue. This case shows a paradox inherent to Auxilio

Social. On one hand, it was a delegation with an enormous workload and scarce social and economic compensation, but at the same time, and as a consequence, access to its resources and the innate arbitrariness of the dictatorship provided so many loopholes and so little transparency that corruption ended up by invading everything. Finally comrade Aznar admitted to irregularities in his delegation, although he made it clear that he had nothing whatsoever to do with them.

If all the Falange partisans who work under my orders in this Provincial Delegation had done their duty according to the discipline imposed, and reported the abnormalities as they saw them, I would have punished the guilty in a timely fashion, and avoided having the reputation of *Auxilio Social* on everybody's lips.

Harm had already been done and the only thing left was to diminish the damage caused by, among other things, by the disappearance of the wheat. The prestige of the delegation depended on its honesty and that was in the hands of the administrators. Everything should be in place, and corruption, although pervasive, could not be publicly acknowledged without at least taking some sort of countermeasures.³³

The accusations made in the province of Ciudad Real were even more crude and radical. In Miguelturna leaflets circulated with accusations blaming *Auxilio Social* of being “a bunch of ... reds.” The text warned against opportunists and climbers, and explained how a group of this ilk had been embedded in *Auxilio Social*. The provincial delegate, comrade Canales, was accused of being a Red climber. According to an anonymous leaflet, Canales could have switched sides during the war although he did not do so because he preferred to become secretary of the Contributions Syndicate of Ciudad Real. It was not until a few months before the end of the war that he decided to go over to Franco's side and reappeared in the city as Provincial Delegate of *Auxilio Social*. The sole obsession of the delegate was to “approach all sorts of politicians to see if he further his career.” But it wasn't the provincial delegate who had the most to hide. The warehouse manager was the former provincial president of the Contributions Union. The manager's cousin, Julián Martínez, who also worked in *Auxilio Social* and had been a member of the Contributions Union, had been the founder of the Casa del Pueblo as well. It followed that he was an illustrious socialist. The message of the leaflet was clear: *Auxilio Social* was riddled with

³³ AGA. Cultura. AS. Informes 75/25496. Informe de la delegación provincial de Valencia, July 8, 1939 and Escrito de la delegación nacional a la provincial de Valencia, July 19, 1939.

Red upstarts that not only wanted to succeed with their political responsibilities but in addition, wanted to enrich themselves illicitly.

These are people of a daring and unimagined cynicism, with great people skills, eager to make money ... and accustomed to all kinds of businesses. They will try, and they know how to defend themselves, but true and varied public verifications must be made. Look well into their operations, watch them and tally the input and output of supplies (sugar, etc.) because they have sold a great deal to their friends, etc. Audit the income, the rations that they have been serving to the adults of Ciudad Real, etc. etc....

At the time there were 6.000 fatherless families in Ciudad Real. Auxilio Social assisted 20,000 individuals, while the estimates of the Falange calculated a figure of 35,000 needy people. The FET-JONS party was aware that in the counties of Infantes, Alcázar, Manzanares y Puertollano the people were "really starved and had no means to appease the hunger." In the meantime, more complaints about the irregularities in the administration of firewood and food by Auxilio Social in La Mancha had come to the attention of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller. These rumors sparked a letter where those responsible explained their unimpeachable integrity. The letter sought to reduce the seriousness of the facts based on the alleged lack of money that was involved: "the benefits obtained so far from this wood approach the sum of three hundred pesetas, plus one thousand and some that we hope to get."³⁴

And so, management irregularities and disloyal political competition in Auxilio Social and among its members and the rest of Falange delegations were the daily norm. A report on the inspection of Auxilio Social in Logroño explained that there was a clear divorce between the administration and the Falange delegation. This division was even more evident with Servicio Social, which operated on its own and was not held accountable for expenses and income. Inner struggles and bad management could only be the fruit of "cravings for control" of the local bosses. The inspector thought it necessary to carry out a thorough reform of the delegation and substitute the entire staff. Moreover, the cravings for control, the economic issues, and the shady dealings were also on trial. In Logroño, rumors circulated about shady business in Auxilio Social.

There is an issue that is still not clear about some fabric that the former Governor gave to "Auxilio Social," and that it handed over, at night and

³⁴ AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia. 2124. Hoja clandestina, Sf. y Escrito del delegado provincial de Auxilio Social, September 28, 1939. Damián González, *La Falange manchega (1939-1945)* (Ciudad Real: Diputación, 2004), 105.

surreptitiously to a business person of the city (I think it was “Ballesteros”) who in turn had given or planned to give “Auxilio Social” some trousers and boots for the boys.

The version of events that the former provincial delegate offered was quite different. He explained his untiring struggle ever since he had held the post of chief of the FET-JONS militias as well as in *Auxilio Social*, to obtain supplies for the liberated populations initially and for Logroño later. Furthermore, he was proud of having expanded the delegation throughout all the localities of the province. And the truth was that things had improved under his management; the inspector sent from Soria at the end of January explained how, before the arrival of the delegate “disorganization was rampant in terms of the aspect of the office and its operation.” Even the dining halls had been criticized by the inspector; they were poorly installed and in inadequate facilities. The inspector underscored a radical change in the offices that “four months ago were a kind of ramshackle warehouse and today have been brought over and installed comfortably in the center of the capital.” However, the inspector took notice of the beginning of a problem that would be full-blown a couple of months later—and it was the lack of union among the provincial departments. It is obvious that on many occasions accusations were fundamentally political maneuvers. As Antonio Cazorla has shown, very early on it was customary for the Falange to use venality, hunger and corruption—in short, despotism—as a political tool to unseat its adversaries. In any case the true problem was that the complaints more often than not were true, and reflected crude reality although the intentions and actions of the accusers lacked ethics as much as the those of the accused. This type of strategy gained much success in the short term but was soon aborted by a dictatorship that was incapable of enduring the least significant public sign of political discrepancy or moral questioning. The solution offered by the regime to abort the scandals was the concentration of power among civilian governors and mayors, turned into small Falange caudillos, and local administration.³⁵

³⁵ Antonio Cazorla, “Dictatorship from Below: Local Politics in the Making of the Francoist State, 1937–1948,” *The Journal of Modern History* 71, no. 4 (1999): 882–901. Óscar Rodríguez Barreira and Antonio Cazorla, «Hoy Azaña, mañana... Franco. Una microhistoria de caciquismo en democracia y dictadura. Berja (Almería) 1931-1945», *Hispania* 229 (2008): 471–502. Ángela Cenarro, *Cruzados y camisas azules* (Zaragoza: PUZ, 1997). AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia. 2165. Informe del estado de Auxilio Social en Logroño, March 14, 1939, Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS. ‘Auxilio Social’. Delegación Provincial, January 21, 1939 y Anteynforme sobre la delegación provincial de Logroño, January 24, 1939.

As we have seen, the rarefied atmosphere, infighting and corruption were rife in almost all provinces. A transcendent element was added to these circumstances: religion. Despite the fact that Mercedes Sanz Bachiller could see the problem and wanted to give her policies a religious approach, the conflict among the FET-JONS was already full-blown and the vagaries of Ramón Martínez Bedoya against the almighty Serrano, together with allegations of corruption, were sufficient to condemn the group of Valladolid. In the III National Conference of Auxilio Social, Agustín Muñoz Grandes was intransigent. He explained that FET-JONS would fight those who tried to tear apart those who had triumphed together. The most exacerbated issue of his speech focused on the suspicion of irregularities in the books of Auxilio Social. It wasn't only Muñoz Grandes who wanted to show a change of attitude during the III Conference. The future national delegate of the institution, Manuel Martínez Tena, explained the need for renovation for this new era, the time of peace. But the most radical and intransigent of all was that of his brother-in-law, who was not satisfied with depriving Auxilio Social of its content, turning all social action prerogatives over to the state; he even went so far as to insinuate that the national delegate, Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, was guilty of embezzlement.³⁶

The III Conference generated a great deal of work for Mercedes Sanz Bachiller who demanded an audit of the books of the delegation, and on January 12, 1940, when she found out that Servicio Social had been transferred to the Sección Femenina, she presented her resignation. Five days later, the leading Falange newspaper, *Arriba*, published a very harsh editorial that identified Auxilio Social as an organization of mendicant students (*sopistas*). The official acceptance of her resignation was delayed until May of the same year, when Manuel Martínez Tena and Carmen de Icaza took over the old positions formerly held by Sanz Bachiller and Martínez Bedoya. The Catholic approach was also gaining force in the party that evolved from Jonsista radicalism to Catholic-state paternalism. Social justice had to be reinvented based on Catholic fundamentalism.³⁷

³⁶ In 1938 The Catholic Confederation of Parents and Family and other Catholic circles started a campaign against Auxilio Social accusing them of attacking traditional family values. Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, replied she had created the Commission for Moral and Religious Issue at the end of 1937, showing a Christian and Catholic mission of Auxilio Social. Preston, *Palomas*, 83 y Cenarro, *Sonrisa*, 64 AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondence. 2148. Informe de la Asesoría Técnica Nacional de Auxilio Social. Réplica a una falsa acusación. 1938.

³⁷ *Arriba*, January 17, 1940. Pedro Carasa, «La revolución nacional-asistencial durante el primer franquismo (1936-1940)», *Historia Contemporánea*, 16 (1997): 89–140. Cenarro, *Sonrisa*, 66. Ismael Saz, *Fascismo y franquismo* (Valencia: PUV, 2004) and Joan María Thomàs,

And Franco's Bread?

The chain of events brought on by the resignation of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller was not confined to the gossip of the political elite. It reached the street, damaging even further the image of a delegation increasingly challenged by the lower classes. A report on popular opinion in Barcelona in April 1940 told of a rumor that circulated in the Red districts that stated that Muñoz Grandes had demanded the shooting of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller and that in view of the discredit of *Auxilio Social*, the regime contemplated ending the nominations and the Blue Card, and levying taxes on bread. In popular imagination, Franco's bread had not only ever arrived; it was going to be taxed.

The national delegation of *Auxilio Social* and through its delegate, comrade Mercedes Sanz Bachiller has embezzled ten million pesetas; upon learning about this General Muñoz Grandes demanded that she be shot, and in view of the opposition of our Minister of the Interior, Mr. Serrano Súñer, he presented his resignation as Secretary General of the Movement.³⁸

The social situation faced by the new directors of *Auxilio Social* could not be more exasperating. If until then difficulties with the supplies had been excessive, during the triennium of 1940–42—the years of hunger—they overflowed to grotesque extremes. During the winter of 1940 reports from the Balearic Islands constantly repeated that they had not seen lentils or sugar for months, while other indispensable articles like chickpeas, cooking oil, rice, or beans were seldom available. At the time, in Zaragoza the authorities were quite worried by the “havoc caused by malnutrition among the poor” with many, “evident cases of anemia” in the work places. A few months later, in spring of 1941, Huelva reported the lack of foodstuffs—vegetables, rice, oil, and flour, and warned that if this was not remedied at once, the cases of vitamin deficiency would increase, to the point of “having this province go through the most tragic and desperate of situations.”

Lo que fue la Falange (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1999). See the importance of religion in the memories of those held in *Auxilio Social* in Ángela Cenarro, “Memories of Repression and Resistance: Narratives of Children Institutionalized by *Auxilio Social* in Postwar Spain,” *History & Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 39–59. See also the incorporation of Catholic charity in the official discourse in *Auxilio Social. Cáceres 1936-1943* (Cáceres, Imprenta Moderna: 1943) and *Actividades de la delegación provincial de Lérida* (Lérida, Artis, 1950). The vision of *Auxilio Social* of José Luis Arrese, responsible for the evolution of the FET-JONS, in AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20556. Concepto nacional sindicalista de la beneficencia española, November 28, 1940.

³⁸ AGA. Presidencia SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20524. Informe relacionado con la provincia de Barcelona, April 4, 1940.

To complete this view, late in 1942 in Valladolid, cradle of social assistance, the provincial chief of FET-JONS reported that there was no other way to get vegetables than by the distributions of the supply board, although these were quite insufficient to meet our needs.³⁹

Given the prevailing poverty, the action of Auxilio Social was imperative, but due to the supply problems of the delegation itself, it was forced to reduce assistance. From 1940–41 the distribution of food at the centers of Auxilio Social not only did not increase but diminished. Fátima del Olmo has shown how in Madrid in May 1940 the number of children fed at the children's dining halls was cut in half, while in Lleida, cuts occurred in the summer of '41. It was not only happening with children's dining halls. In Almería, in May 1941, they decided to close numerous dining halls in the province because of the lack of supplies. Months later, in January 1943, the province informed Auxilio de Invierno that they had to close a children's dining hall and a food distribution center in the capital. At the other corner of the country, in La Rioja, they had to cut by half the number of assistances and therefore, they temporarily shut down some children's dining halls and Hermandad kitchens in 1941. Even in model delegations such as Santander or Salamanca, they admitted to facing enormous challenges in taking care of their charges as they were not receiving supplies from the national delegation. The same was happening in Valencia, where not much was needed for the total discredit of Auxilio Social.

As oil and flour are basic elements of the food of our charges, and since we have no supplies of these elements, we are continually borrowing from his excellency the Civil Governor because the amount that the National (delegation) sends us is completely ridiculous. If the supply of flour fails, all our efforts in the institution will be lost.⁴⁰

³⁹ AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20523, 51-20542, 51-20600. Parte mensual de Baleares, septiembre de 1940, Parte mensual de Baleares, mayo de 1941, Parte mensual de Zaragoza, octubre de 1940. Informe del Gobernador de Huelva al Comisario de Abastecimientos explicando la situación. 29-3-1941 y Parte mensual de Valladolid, noviembre de 1942.

⁴⁰ del Olmo, *Infancia de Auxilio Social*. Antonieta Jarne, «Niños vergonzantes y pequeños rojos. La población marginal infantil en la Cataluña interior del primer franquismo», *Hispania Nova* 4 (2004) (On-Line). AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20564, 51-20592, 51-20504, 51-20514, 51-20516. Parte mensual de Almería, abril de 1940. Informe de la delegación provincial de Auxilio Social de Logroño. 11-3-1942. Parte mensual de Santander, septiembre de 1940. Parte mensual de Salamanca, octubre de 1940 y Parte mensual de Valencia, noviembre de 1940. AGA. Cultura. AS. Correspondencia Auxilio de Invierno. 1273. Escrito del delegado provincial de AS al jefe del Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno, January 18, 1943. Julián Sanz, *La construcción de la dictadura franquista en Cantabria* (Santander: UC, 2008).

The lower classes were forced to commit crimes in order to survive, rushing in droves to the fields and the street. Felonies against property—theft, the black market, and robbery—reached the highest number during the years of famine (see Figure 9.2); many of these were a clear example of the weapons of the weak against the inefficiency and cruelty of Francoist autarchy. There were no political upheavals but, as in Huelva, the people assaulted the property of others in order to subsist. In the Balearic Islands robbery of poultry and food became more common every day, while in the districts in Zaragoza “robberies of fruit and orchards were common.” The Guipuzcoa case was especially symptomatic, where people were awed by the propagation of “a vice not formerly rooted in this country: thievery and robbery committed by youngsters of both sexes and even by older people.”⁴¹

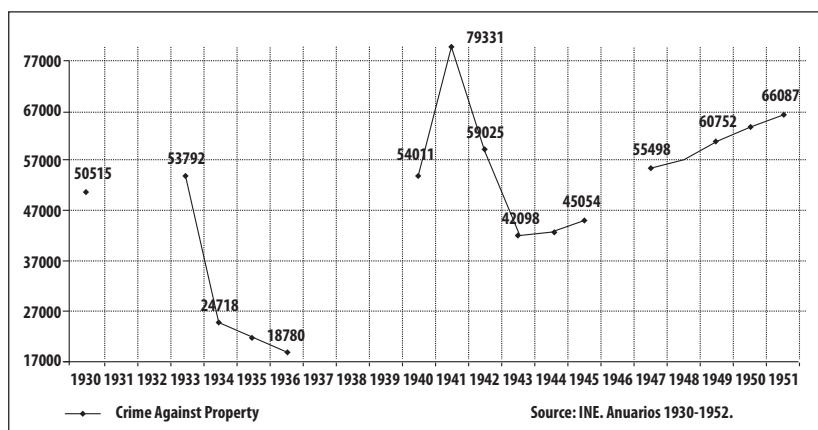


Figure 9.2. Chart evolution of crimes against property in Spain, 1930-1951.

In effect, studies on subsistence strategies used by the lower classes in the forties show that in general, those arrested for transgressions against property were young people between 18 and 35 who belonged to the less fortunate population—laborers, peasants, construction workers, and craftsmen. They also show the high percentage of women who were involved in the black market or went out to the fields with their children and relatives to steal fruit or farm animals and children who broke shepherding rules, and

⁴¹ AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20501, 51-20523, 51-20579, 51-20551. Parte mensual de Huelva, diciembre de 1940, Parte mensual de Baleares, abril de 1941, Parte mensual de Zaragoza, enero de 1941 e Información sobre la situación en la provincia de Guipúzcoa, October 30, 1940.

stole light bulbs and wire fencing to sell to money lenders and thus help out with the subsistence of their families. A large percentage of these practices were manifestations of daily resistance movements against autarchy and price controls. These actions were generally characterized because they discriminated against the victims in terms of social class; they had a moral legitimization of their acts as they were understood by the lower classes as being a fair form of redistribution in times of dire scarcity, and they were a recurring but not organized practice. One of the clearest examples of the persistence of moral economy as the weapon of the weak was the extended practice of gleaning. Another form of instrumental vengeance against autarchy were the assaults on the warehouses of the regime or of the FET-JONS delegations.⁴²

But it wasn't just the poor who transgressed legality in the forties. One of the main characteristics of those years was the significant accumulation of capital in the hands of rural proprietors and of the middle classes and officials linked with the regime. Corruption and black market activities offered these sectors huge profits at the expense of the hunger of others. Even more outrageous were the cases of corruption in Auxilio Social, which were so widespread that its image was mortally wounded. In the Alava locality of Amurrio, for example, there was proof that the local delegate of Auxilio Social diverted up to 2,125 pesetas during the month of March 1940. A similar situation took place in nearby Lasarte (Guipúzcoa) where the tradesmen did not supply Auxilio Social because they would not get paid later. A case discovered some months later in Albacete was even more scandalous; those in charge of the provincial warehouse of Auxilio Social falsified the weights and doctored the books of the warehouse in order to secretly sell 125,000 kilos of flour in Alicante for which they got more than 180,000 pesetas. It wasn't surprising that in January 1941 reports on popular opinion in Albacete still described the delegation as "a center of constant discredit because of its terrible organization, worse distribution and scandalous waste." Meanwhile, in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz) and Huelva investigations were initiated to discover those involved in Auxilio Social in irregularities in the distribution of food and justification of purchases.⁴³

⁴² Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*. Edward P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 76–136. Mir, *Vivir es sobre-vivir*. Conxita Mir, ed., *Jóvenes y dictaduras de entreguerras* (Lleida: Milenio, 2007). Rodríguez Barreira, *Migas* Ana Cabana, *La derrota de lo épico* (Valencia: PUV, 2013).

⁴³ AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20506, 51-20517, 51-20585, 51-20552. Correspondencia relativa con el asunto de Amurrio, May 25, 1940, Informes sobre San Sebastián del Delegado Provincial Sindical, 1939. Informe que eleva desde Albacete al

In view of this situation, the apathetic animosity against the Falange described in the Galicia reports in the summer of 1942 was only logical. The people refused to collaborate with the applications or the Blue Card and the assaults against Auxilio Social's facilities could not be stopped by the Guardia Civil because the population refused to collaborate. At the Children's Home of Auxilio Social in Buñol (Valencia) there were a series of successive thefts where

[I]n addition to taking large quantities of food, 800 pesetas were taken as well as blankets and towels ... and after every robbery, posters were left with insulting remarks about the Caudillo's party and hails to the FAI. The Guardia Civil of the area has tried to discover the authors but perhaps due to the lack of means of the town, or to the shameless impunity and protection that the wrongdoers enjoy, the case is still unsolved.⁴⁴

And if we take note of the reports on public opinion of the DGS, in 1943 Auxilio Social lacked even the slightest support from the people. It was a totally discredited delegation. In León the people refused to contribute to the Blue Card because "there was no reason to continue paying when the concepts of the investment had disappeared." Something similar had happened the year before in Ronda (Málaga). There was a massive withdrawal of the contributions of the wealthy classes. In November of the same year, the provincial head of the FET-JONS in Toledo explained to the National Delegation of Provinces how the population refused to collaborate with the applications and even their local delegates were requesting the acceptance of their resignations "*so that they did not have to listen to the series of accusations and insults addressed to them.*" Further north—in the Basque country, La Rioja and Navarra—the people felt distaste for Auxilio Social because of its languid behavior, which was lacking in dynamism. Around the same time, in February 1943 on the island of Menorca the evaluation was the same. Auxilio Social in the Balearic Islands was reviled, not only

Delegado de Auxilio Social, June 3, 1940. Parte mensual de Albacete, enero de 1941, Se pide informe sobre causa de la destitución del Jefe Local de Auxilio Social de Jerez de la Frontera, October 30, 1941, Remite copias de oficio y denuncia presentada a instancia del Jefe Provincial del Movimiento por el Secretario Técnico de AS. October 30, 1941 y Parte mensual de Huelva, octubre de 1941.

⁴⁴ Rodríguez López *Patio de la y Blasco, Armas*, AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20570, 51-20563, Parte correspondiente al estado de opinión en Lugo, September 1, 1942 y Parte mensual de Valencia, July 1941.

by its charges, but also by the bulk of the people because of its carelessness and lack of zeal.⁴⁵

Epilogue and Conclusions

With flags of victory Auxilio Social has entered Madrid, in a long caravan of convoys, from all the roads of Spain, doing the will of the Leader of bringing to the martyred capital the silent effort converted into gifts, from the entire national territory.

Thus began the propaganda of Auxilio Social regarding its action in the Liberation of Madrid. The narration at the beginning of this essay emphasized the efforts made in the districts of the Capital. In Tetuán de las Victorias 1,800 children ate, seated at the table; in Carretera de Chamartín they served 6,000 rations of milk a day; in La Latina they opened a vitamin deficiency center and another child care center, while in the districts of Chamberí and Vallecas 51,433 and 40,830 hot, respectively meals had been served. The intent was to project an image of active organization locally, in the districts and municipalities, and therefore to the population. However, with our view offered throughout this paper, this idyllic image is open to question. Approaching Auxilio Social by analyzing its propaganda, the ideological debates, and the political actions of the elite presupposes an organization that is quite different than that endured by the Spaniards and the districts of Madrid during the years of famine. To be exact, a poor neighborhood such as Vallecas would suffer in its own flesh, the lack of efficiency and corruption innate to the delegation only a short time after the arrival of the victorious flags. At the end of April 1940 the provincial Information and Investigation delegation of Madrid was scrutinizing Auxilio Social's secretary and delegate for the Vallecas Pacífico district. This district had already been investigated by Auxilio Social because the number of persons assisted had been inexplicably diminished by half. The results of the findings could not be more discouraging. The delegate not only was dedicated to taking products from Auxilio Social's warehouse, but also together with his secretary, had engaged in the

⁴⁵ AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondencia, 51-20600. Parte mensual de Toledo, octubre de 1942. Informe de la DGS sobre la situación interna de España. October 10, 1943, Informe de la DGS sobre la situación interna. October 20, 1943 in Fundación, *Documentos* (IV), 124, 146, 692 e Informes de la DGS sobre la situación interior in Fundación, *Documentos* (III), 274.

predatory sale of the furnishings of the town hall. Corruption was not limited to a delegation where the leader asked for loans from his subordinates; to complete the circle of impunity, it also affected the Information and Investigation delegation. In February, 1940 the Investigation delegate of Puente de Vallecas approached the district delegate of Auxilio Social to announce that they had searched or requisitioned over a thousand kilos of beans and three hundred pounds of chocolate, and he had decided to turn the mover to Auxilio Social, which he did, and demanded to be given 30 percent of the goods; the declarant agreed and therefore gave him three hundred and some kilos of beans and ninety or one hundred pounds of chocolate. ... Several days later, the Investigations approached him again saying that he was going to be appointed Supplies delegate and that he could count on the protection of Auxilio Social. He then asked for a loan of one hundred kilos of sugar.⁴⁶

The sugar was never returned, of course nor did it reach its lawful recipients—the needy. The Investigations delegate instead offered 300 pesetas, which naturally were divided between the delegate and the Secretary of Auxilio Social in Vallecas. The conclusion of the investigation could not be clearer. Those responsible for investigating had been dishonored. They had become corrupt in order to sustain their vices, discrediting the good name of Auxilio Social and the FET-JONS. There was, then nothing else to be done except to expel them from the organization. This determination appeared to be the result of a of the FET-JONS leaders to end corruption although in reality it was only to focus attention on one case to simulate the reform of an organization that shamelessly allowed many other cases as serious or worse than the case mentioned above. They were, therefore, nothing more than a scapegoat for widespread fraud.

Supplies timidly began to be normalized beginning in 1943, and slowly the reports on disorganization and corruption in also began to disappear from internal communications of the FET-JONS National Delegation of Provinces. They were substituted by figures and data, and from time to time, by triumphal proclamations. Were poverty and corruption eradicated? No; the process of concentration of power among civil governors squashed the critical voices in the Falange. Official reports on corruption ceased, although they continued to be the star topic of the rumors that circulated from district to district, in the Spain without Franco's bread.

⁴⁶ AGA. Cultura. AS. Propaganda. 2164. Informe sobre la entrada en Madrid. 12, 19 y 20 de Octubre de 1939. AGA. Presidencia. SGM. DNP. Correspondence, 51-20510. Expediente abierto contra varios camaradas de Auxilio Social, May 3, 1940.

If there is a recurrent judgment in English and fundamentally in North American Hispanicism about Spanish historiography of the Civil War and Francoism, it is an appreciation which points to our incapacity to abandon the classical anti-fascist paradigm and thus creates a somewhat traditional political history. Although a recurrent and why not—an irritating appreciation—it is nonetheless accurate. With the change of the millennium, our historiography on the Civil War and Francoism began a renovation, adopting slowly the language and perspectives that approach new socio-cultural history and even the linguistic slant. The result, with regard to knowledge about Auxilio Social, was a series of papers focused mainly in its propaganda and ideological postulates. However, and with excellent exceptions, these analyses were not distant from the anti-fascist paradigm as basically they were interested in linking Francoism to fascisms through the analysis of its efforts to nationalize the masses.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, in the international historiography there is a debate around the linguistic turn. It is more and more accepted that we still need to take into account concrete and the material. In this sense, some authors propose a material turn that revisits the economic structures from the theoretical contributions of the linguistic turn.⁴⁸

This chapter has examined the evolution of Auxilio Social and the subaltern resistance to the organization using as backdrop the misery of the post war context. To reclaim the significance of the material does not necessarily take us to the anti-fascist paradigm and does not abandon the cultural interpretation either. Therefore, the use of a concept of the arms of the oppressed has allowed us in this chapter to unite social and cultural history with political history. According to Geoff Eley and Keith Nield we do not need to choose between cultural or social history “for us there does remain a viable structuralist register.”⁴⁹

Hence, the context of devastation and need is vital to better understand the difficulties faced by the Auxilio Social discourse in reaching the population. On the other hand, it helps explain the situation that led to some

⁴⁷ The critical view in the chapter by Antonio Cazorla in this volume. Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). Examples of *culturalismo* in antifascist perspectives en Francisco Cobo and Teresa Ortega, «Pensamiento mítico y energías movilizadoras: la vivencia alegórica y ritualizada de la Guerra Civil en la retaguardia rebelde andaluza, 1936-1939», *Historia y Política*, 16 (2006): 131–58. Good cultural approaches in Ismael Saz, *España contra España* (Madrid, Marcial Pons: 2003) y Box, *España, Año cero*.

⁴⁸ Geoff Eley, *A crooked line* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005). Patrick Joyce, “What is the Social in Social History?” *Past & Present* 206 (2010): 213–48 Sewell, *Logics of History*.

⁴⁹ Eley and Nield, *Future of Class*, 156.

people to approach the Francoist institutions and the infrastructural limitations of the agency and the corruption within the dictatorship. It reveals, finally, not what the regime did to end corruption, but rather what it actually carried out to cover it up.

Our rich and always questioned local history helps to rethink the successes and failures of Francoist proselytism, not so much from the traditional perspective that links the single party structure to the permanent mobilization of the population—an active role—but rather in its role as administrator of misery and need. This is a passive role. In this sense, the case of *Auxilio Social* is emblematic and may have had some success in certain social circles. However, we cannot forget its contradictions, difficulties, and failures. Moreover, the successes are related to the passive popular support of the regime—social demobilization, Catholicism, *caudillismo*, and banality indiscriminately—rather than any kind of modernizing goal attached to a non-existent social justice.⁵⁰

The lower ranks were conscious of something they would get used to with time, and eventually would learn to *manage*. That is how Ramón, a humble peasant from a small village called Benamira in Soria, recommended to his son in a letter to offer white bread to the Falangists, “¡vaya con ellos!” Those days there was no bread anywhere and it was hard to get the ration cards products. *Auxilio Social* closed the dinning halls not because they were not needed but because they could not keep them open. Meanwhile, the discourse of social justice continued on the graphic propaganda about the fight against children’s hunger in magazines and newspapers. That was *Auxilio Social*, a useless placebo that with its propaganda preached to the choir but had no real solutions for a population in despair. It was an overwhelmed agency, corrupt and unable to carry out its program with very rare exceptions and only in the circles closest to power.

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CORPUS DELICTI:
SOCIAL IMAGINARIES OF GENDERED VIOLENCE

Sofía Rodríguez López

Sexual violence is a weapon of war and a symbol with political connotations. Place and time are relative, no matter where or when, we will always find conflicts where women's bodies are crushed. In military campaigns women are part of the plan of conquest and their abuse becomes a means to subjugate the enemy. Rape represents the ultimate victory.¹

The coverage of the Spanish Civil War in the international press disclosed the apocalyptic dimension of the conflict. A "total war" in which women's bodies turned into means of mobilization. Pamphlets fell from the sky with images of war-torn lands and trampled bodies to announce the passage of the enemy hordes. Older women of childbearing age and young girls appeared naked in monstrous photographic compositions to incite hatred and the desire for vengeance.

The subtext was a blatant attack on the enemy's manhood and their honor. If those who were to preserve the family honor fell into disgrace, their cause was lost. If those who became the support of the rear guard were killed, the resistance was futile. If gender roles were shattered, the social order would be destroyed.²

This chapter is organized in three parts corresponding with different Spanish war conflicts of identifiable gendered repression in the modern era. It intends to be an interpretation of the symbolism of key war experiences and the impact in the collective imaginary. To this end, we will put iconography and iconology in conversation by examining paintings, photographs, and oral testimonies, with their ideological context. First, we

¹ Morcillo, Aurora G. *The Seduction of Modern Spain. The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010).

² Holguín, Sandie "National Spain Invites You: Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War", *American Historical Review*, n° 110/5 (2005):1399-1426; García, Hugo. *Mentiras necesarias*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva (2008) and "Seis y media docena: Propaganda de atrocidades y opinión británica durante la Guerra Civil española", *Hispania*, n° 226 (2007): 671-692; Gil, Antonio. "La violencia contra las mujeres en la historia. Algunas reflexiones metodológicas", *Historia, Antropología y Fuentes Orales*, n° 39 (2008): 137-155 and "La violencia contra las mujeres. Discursos normativos y realidad", *Historia Social*, n° 61 (2008): 3-21.

will examine the parallels between the representation of women during the War of Independence from 1808-14 and the Spanish Civil War from 1936-39. Next, we will analyze explicitly violent photographs, portraying rape victims to appeal to the rage of the viewer. Finally, we will look at the effects of the culture of war on sexual politics and private life in the aftermath of conflicts. The ultimate objective is to understand the symbolism of sexual aggression; an act that goes beyond *brutalization* because it does not trivialize death, but rather turns the paradigm of humiliation into a trigger for mobilization. It creates a “framework of injustice” which justifies total war in and of itself. It is a means of “hegemonic male supremacy” over women, over other men, and over those values that cast doubt on honor: whether they are an enemy, a foreigner, a neighbor, a rumor.

The Image of Women in War Iconography

The artistic representation into oil paintings or silver nitrate of femininity is often essentialized as meek, as subordinate. The Spanish Civil War pictures by the most celebrated photographers of the time like Robert Capa, Gerda Taro, Kati Horna, or the Mayo Brothers show different aspects of the civilian population in the rearguard experiences. In those snapshots women are present; it could not be otherwise. There are portraits of well-equipped militia women wearing workers' overalls; young women with nervous smiles because of their recognizing the audacity of transgressing gender barriers by bearing a weapon for the first time; young blood hospitals nurses, caretakers in children's canteens, and rather desperate mothers. These are intimate as well as roadside scenes where hundreds of women from Madrid and Málaga flee the bombs with a bundle on one shoulder and a child on their hips.

It is not intended here to speculate on the authorship, the technique, or the efficiency of these images as part of the chronicles of war. But rather to illustrate the propaganda use of an iconography that represents how both sides of the conflict utilized violence perpetrated against their women as a weapon of war against the enemy.

Yugoslavian art historian Peter Merin, exiled in Zürich from Nazism, analyzed in the midst of the war the similarity of the reports broadcast around the world by news agencies, and the representation of a Cain-like Spanish past in some of their masterpieces. In his *Spanien Zwischen Tod und Geburt* [*Spain between death and birth*], written in 1937, there are illustrations of armies, battlefields and human prototypes, in complete

action or in restful position that show the civilian war heritage and its human prototypes, past and present.³

Merin's book has not been studied extensively in Spain despite its enormous interest. On the contrary, there is a legend about it since Herbert Southworth published *El mito de la cruzada de Franco* in 1963 where he alluded ironically to the use that some of Franco's historians made of that title, by wrongly transcribing it as *Spanica Zwischen Todnu Gabriet*. Translated into English in 1938 [*Spain between death and birth*] it was never translated into Spanish. When the war ended, the Barcelona police added it to the blacklist together with other works devoted to the International Brigades. Not until 1940, Falangist Adolfo Lizón included the book with the same title in a monograph about the brigades.⁴



Figure 10.1. Images from Peter Merin, *Spanien Zwischen Tod und Geburt*. Zürich: Genossenschaftsdruckerei Press, 1937. The Wolfsonian Museum-FIU Miami, Florida.

³ Merin, Peter. *Spanien Zwischen Tod und Geburt* (Zürich: Genossenschaftsdruckerei Press, 1937). See Ucelay, Enric. "Tristes tópicos: supervivencia discursiva en la continuidad de una cultura de guerra civil en España", *Ayer*, nº 55 (2004): 83-105.

⁴ Southworth, Herbert. *El mito de la cruzada de Franco* (París: Ruedo Ibérico, 1963).

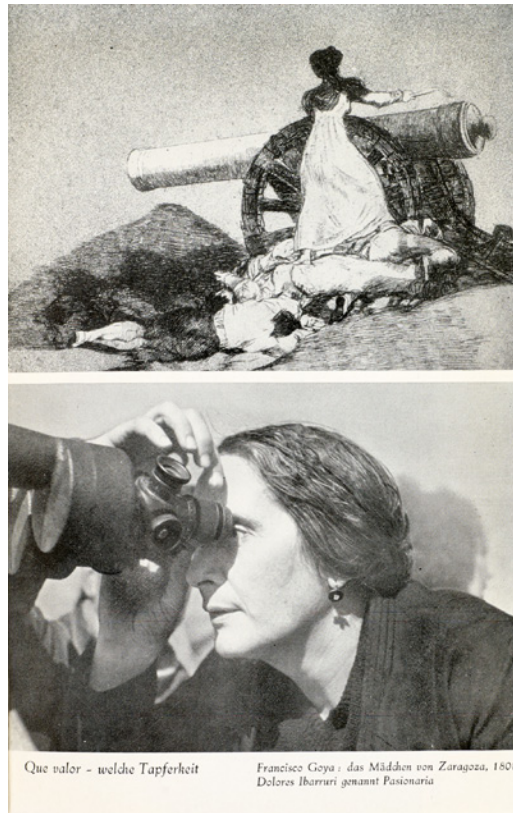


Figure 10.2. Images from Peter Merin, *Spanien Zwischen Tod und Geburt*, op. cit. The Wolfsonian Museum-FIU Miami, Florida.

The truth is that Oto Bihalji Merin's work (see Figures 10.1 and 10.2), the real name of the author, used photos of the period and compared them with works of art and, through them, conducted a brief study of the Spanish Republic.

The parallels established between the War of Independence and the Civil War he argued was more than evident. In addition he saw the linking of images of village women with Velázquez's *costumbrismo* (*Cristo en casa de Marta y de María*, 1618-1620), he made a plea for the heroines of the resistance. The figure of Agustina de Aragon portrayed from the rear by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (*¡Qué valor*, 1820), is directly associated with Dolores Ibarruri, *mater dolorosa* of the Communist Party; a symbolic appropriation of the Zaragoza's female patriot by the antifascist movement, whose symbolic value was disputed by the nationalist cause.

The Falangist Women's Section of FET-JONS also had this "Queen of the Hispanic Heritage" among its historical female archetypes, as symbol of the so-called "Christian feminism" tracing its genealogy from medieval Queen Doña Urraca and Isabel I of Castile to Agustina de Aragón, with Santa Teresa de Jesús, anointed saint patron of the falangist organization.⁵

Merin sees a common thread in his interpretation of both conflicts that he identifies as a salvation code, "between life and death" as the title of his book explains. The narrative of the images is deeply rooted in popular movements against social injustice, in a glorification of an alliance between "throne and altar", and a resistance against foreign invasion. But he failed to connect the Spanish war with the so-called "European civil war", with the rise of Nazism, and the legitimacy crisis of Western democracies.⁶

The work is a combination of art booklet, photojournalism, and archeology, which disclosed a "hidden imagery" rooted in the birth of Iberian contemporary national identity. This explains in Merin's analysis the iconographic similarity between Goya's brush and a snapshot in 1936 as the evidence of an unresolved historical conflict in Iberian soil: The tensions between liberal and conservative forces, religious oppression versus the secularization of the state, a praetorian-like military, and the unresolved land reform that resulted in an unequal distribution of land.

More than the terror unleashed by the "total" nature of the war inherited from WWI, Merin's analysis of images basically shows the Republican power; its social forces, its army (symbolized by the famous battleship Jaime I), and its political and military tactics. Guerrillas and besieged legendary cities such as Toledo and Zaragoza, people with faces hardened from laboring from dawn to dusk, and scenes similar to the Old Regime subsistence riots. Indicators that link his work to the historiography of the war as a radical reaction to social modernization along with the religious issue, the absence of parliamentary culture, and finally, another "nationalist" struggle (or crusade) against the foreign forces the anti-Spanish reds.⁷

⁵ Di Febo, Giuliana. *Ritos de guerra y de victoria en la España franquista* (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 2002) 89-106; Rodríguez, Sofia. "Referentes históricos de la mujer falangista", in Forcadell, Carlos *et alii* (coords.), *Usos Públicos de la Historia* (Zaragoza: PUZ, 2002): 565-581; Barrachina, Marie-Aline. *Propagande et culture dans l'Espagne franquiste* (1998); Grenoble, Ellug and Box, Zira. *España año cero. La construcción simbólica del franquismo* (Madrid: Alianza, 2010) or Cruz, Rafael. *Pasionaria: Dolores Ibárruri, Historia y Símbolo* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1999).

⁶ Traverso, Enzo. *A ferro e fuoco: la guerra civile europea, 1914-1945* (Bologna: Il Mulino 2007).

⁷ Canal, Jordi "Guerra civil y contrarrevolución en la Europa del sur en el siglo XIX: reflexiones a partir del caso español", *Ayer*, n° 55 (2004): 37-60 and Ranzato, Gabriele. "Guerra

Franco as a fervent admirer of the Baroque and imperial past of the Catholic Kings himself viewed the armed confrontation as such as the greatest example of Africanist battle in the image of his involvement in the Rif against the infidels:

La mayor fatiga para restaurar aquél momento genial de España se dio en el siglo pasado, con las guerras civiles, cuya mejor explicación la vemos hoy en la lucha de la España ideal, representada entonces por los carlistas contra la España bastarda, afrancesada y europeizante de los liberales; esa etapa que, localizada y latente en las breñas de Navarra, como embalsando en un dique todo el tesoro espiritual de la España del XVI.⁸

In Merin's book, the 1937 unresolved conflict left an opportunity for "rebirth", an open ending where women would play a role between martyrdom and redemption. In reality, such view may be extended to Goya's work and in particular the series "Disasters of War".

As a "minute man", the War of Independence placed the great painter in the battlefield. At the end of the siege of Zaragoza in 1808, General Palafox invited several artists to visit the ruins of the city for propaganda purposes. In contrast to the rapid "inspiration" of his contemporaries, Francisco de Goya took twelve years to complete the 82 copper plates. He used the female figure as a symbol of national resistance in the face of the invader; an embodiment of the people abused by the French, who prostituted her body, condemning it to hunger and physical violence. However, it is also a warning about the power of motherhood when the survival of the offspring is endangered, as Temma Kaplan notes, to mothers *sui generis* strength and combativeness; heroines, allegories of "truth", Goya's artistic definition of "female consciousness".⁹

civil y guerra total en el siglo XX", 127-148; Núñez, Xosé Manuel. *¡Fuera el invasor! Nacionalismo y movilización bélica durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006).

⁸ "The greatest effort to restore Spain's moment of genius occurred in the last century—with the civil wars, the best explanation of which we see in today's struggle for the ideal Spain—then represented by the Carlists against the bastard French-file and Europeanized Spain of the liberals; that stage, located and latent in the bushes of Navarre, that seemed to retain in a dam the spiritual treasure of the Spain of the 16th century." Franco, Francisco. *Colección de sermones y arengas del Excelentísimo Señor General don Francisco Franco, Jefe del Estado y Generalísimo del Ejército Salvador de España* (Sevilla: M. Carmona 1937).

⁹ Kaplan, Temma. *Red City, Blue Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) and "Female Consciousness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona, 1910-1918", *Signs*, n° 7/3 (1982): 545-566; Cruz, Rafael. *En el nombre del pueblo. República, rebelión y guerra en la España de 1936* (Madrid: Siglo XXI 2006); Saz, Ismael. *España contra España: Los nacionalismos franquistas* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003).

Goya's works not only denounced the barbarity unleashed by weapons, but thanks to the interlude that elapsed until its publication in 1863, he was able to draw attention to postwar frustration. The return to absolutism with Ferdinand VII demonstrated the manipulation of the lower classes patriotic sentiments by the social elites in the nineteenth-century. A disappointment experienced by the French sympathizer artist—a disappointment exonerated through the “Black Paintings” at the end of his life.

Faced with the usual complacency of commissioned works, Goya gave the elite an air of disgrace, a brush guided by social and political satire particularly sharp in his portraits of the royal family. The use of war as an object of denouncement had no precedent amongst court painters, and only two seventeenth-century engravers showed civilian repression during the Thirty Years' War. These were the Frenchman Jacques Callot, who completed two series of etchings on “Les Petites Misères” and “Les Misères et Malheurs de la Guerre” (1632-1633), and the German Ulrich Franck (1656), who focused on army attacks against unarmed people.¹⁰

The interpretation of the “Disasters” by art critics was almost contemporary to its publication and Goya's last years. Even today virtually all critics have agreed on how he highlighted women's participation in Madrid's uprising of May 2nd. He shows a direct involvement of women in the events of Puerta del Sol, and the violent charge of the Mameluks (*The Women Give Courage*). As in almost all armed conflicts, men are painted carrying bayonets while women fought with their children attached to their breasts. Women reacted spontaneously with sticks and stones, and although they experienced violence and physical pain, they stood out for their courage, thrashing against the threat to their offspring.¹¹

Even more surprising is the resemblance of some of Goya's etchings with photographs of sexual violence of the twentieth-century war propaganda. Compositions, anatomies and nearly identical complaints will be analyzed as part of the political strategy, military campaigns, and the female experience in all wars.

¹⁰ Bordes, Juan et alii. *Goya: Cronista de todas las guerras* (Las Palmas, CAAM, 2009).

¹¹ Matilla, José Manuel & Aguilar, Isla. *El libro de los desastres de la guerra. Volumen II* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2000).

Gender Repression as Political Violence

The “Disasters of War” series as well as the “Caprices” and the “Proverbs” unleashed Goya’s personal ghosts, from the most intimate and poignant readings of Spanish society of his time, to their passions and fears. In these works, women represented absolute otherness. Portrayed as mothers and heroines, or acting as lewd witches, personifying the unknown and untamed, the nation’s sublimation and the most corrupt body, in so far as it was deemed vulnerable; the sacred and the profane, the symbolic and the quotidian. His commissioned paintings show the human profile of the women portrayed, their physical beauty, their psychology, their attitudes and social position, but also the degree of sympathy that the artist professed them. However, it is in his notes, prints and murals that Goya’s aesthetic impressionism is exacerbated to the point of finding an ethical and expressionist effect.¹²

In 2002 the Prado Museum and the National Gallery of Art in Washington dedicated an exhibition to the female image in Goya’s work. As the curator stated, the engravings included therein did not elude “the terrible scenes of banditry, cannibalism and war, in which women are subjected to such unusual violence, including rape and murder.” However, that Goya treated the reality of war crudely does not mean he approached these scenarios of repression with a realistic lens. His allegations of death and abandonment of the most destitute are an exaggeration intended to accentuate war’s moral perversion. His figures turn into categories, vices and virtues, in which women go from myth to flesh seamlessly. According to Anna Reuter, Goya “is a witness who observed closely, discarding the tamer panoramic view, of Jacques Callot’s *Misères de la guerre*, with which “The Disasters” are often compared. Violence distorts the faces, leaving no trace of classical beauty; contorted corpses are piled like rag dolls; the bodies of women who can no longer fight their oppressors squirm in defeat”.¹³

The Disasters use photographic frames of unusual modernity, literally copied by the Spanish Civil War propaganda of 1936-39. The placement of the figures intimating their sexuality, violation and deindividuation refers to a most ruthless outrage. They are an attack on the honor of the entire nation. In the photographic frames we do not recognize women’s subjectivity as citizens, or their political affiliation; only their symbolic significance

¹² Seseña, Natacha *Goya y las mujeres* (Madrid: Taurus 2004).

¹³ Calvo, Francisco *et alii* (Coord). *Goya. La imagen de la mujer* (Madrid: Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2001): 18-51 and 117-293.



Figure 10.3. "Communist Ferocity". Francoist pamphlet "Red Spain". The Wolfsonian Museum-FIU Miami, Florida.

as a unit, which gives them a great driving charge: the *pathos* of "the people". They are mothers who leave their children in complete abandonment. They embody that same homeland that drafts an uncertain future. Their bodies are the invaded land, raided by the enemy; little does it matter if in the War of Independence all Spanish women were united against a foreigner, or in the Civil War when they find themselves well differentiated as pro-Franco or Republican partisans. When they are affronted, disgrace falls equally upon the victims and on the perpetrators of such violence.

Both in Goya's etchings and in the images of the pamphlet on Republican repression *Red Spain*, the victim's wounded genitals take the foreground. The impossible foreshortenings show samples of the torments suffered and are the result of a tendentious staging. The intention is to condense a national mourning in them: all of the pain and barbarity, the humiliation and domination, in hostile territory, by the most primitive abuse of the flesh (see Figure 10.3).

A women's morgue where the smell of blood and the warmth of the skin is intuited, is only comparable to a Nazi's death pit.¹⁴

¹⁴ Bartov, Omer. *Hitler's Army. Soldiers, Nazis and war in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) and "Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust", *American Historical Review*, n° 103/3 (1998): 771-816.

These images were conceived to provoke and mobilize men. Not only for the humanitarian and fraternal sentiment of avenging the death of innocent people, but for the more visceral sensuality that accompanies their cadavers. It is not compassion, which incites the pathos of those compositions, but anger and indignation, a sexual drive related to masculinity. *Ghosts of Passion* as Brian D. Bunk called the background of martyrdom and of concealed gender in the Civil War.¹⁵

Female annihilation is not the purpose of the 1808 and 1936 conflicts. Only the industry of death triggered by Adolf Hitler saw in the extermination of Jewish mothers the end of the Semitic race. To guarantee the Aryan supremacy they had to care for the wombs of the nation, while annihilating the “inferior” genesis of life. Ravensbrück symbolizes the holocaust of the women but the gas chambers and the ovens are the “song of the swan” of Nazi *brutalization*; destruction methods that don’t contemplate either human nature, or the sexuality of the victims. The piled debris in the fiery pyres has lost any semblance of identity; only malnourished flesh, a shapeless mass, shorn of awareness or voluptuousness. Those Jewish women do not adorn themselves with the classic attributes of femininity and motherhood, because they are mere, inert bodies.¹⁶

The killing of women in the war situations with which we are dealing, does not reveal a trivialization of death, neither are they indicative of the expiatory efficacy in the struggle against the enemy. They reveal the maximum degradation of its perpetrators, and were used in the most selective manner as provocation or warning. Their political value is multiplied by national symbolism of the female body.

Even during the Third Reich and WWII, women’s concentration camps were separated and less publicized than those of men. Revealing images of these camps was a more compromising matter and, if the security forces and allied intelligence services used them during the conflict, they preferred to keep them from international public opinion. The same was not done with the gray literature and the supposedly objective sources of the Spanish Civil War.¹⁷

¹⁵ Bunk, Brian D. *Ghosts of Passion. Martyrdom, Gender, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); González, Eduardo “La violencia y sus discursos: los límites de la “fascistización” de la derecha española durante el régimen de la II República”, *Ayer*, nº 71/3 (2008): 85-116.

¹⁶ Mazower, Mark. *Dark Continent* (London: Allen Lane, 1998); Claudia Koonz. *The Nazi Conscience* (Belknap: Harvard University Press, 2003).

¹⁷ Tilles, Daniel. “Inadmissible Evidence? Newly Discovered Archival Photographs of Nazi Atrocities Received by the British in March, 1942”, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, nº 8/3 (2007): 661-661 and Joly, Maud “Las violencias sexuadas de la Guerra

Palafox asked Goya to depict the horrors of war, and Franco's informers, as well as the Republican partisans did the same at the League of Nations. Thus, photography served as naked demagoguery for the legitimacy of gendered violence of both sides.

The American League against War and Fascism published in October 1936 an interview with senior representatives of the Popular Front government such as Marcelino Domingo, Antonio Lara, and Dolores Ibarruri, titled *Spain's Democracy Talks to America*. In it, they exposed their political agenda, the campaign of terror unleashed by the rebel Francoist forces and the external help they were getting to prevent the celebrated nonintervention pact. That text was abundantly reinforced by several photo essays.¹⁸

In 1937 the International Labor Defense or Red Aid, published *It's happenings in Spain*, a chilling tale of destruction, which focused on children. In its preface it emphasized that those orphans were the criminal stain of the rebels: "evidence of the wounds this passage has left in the body of the Spanish people". Again, the rhetorical figure of national *embodiment* used to underline "the imprint of anguish and horror which the crimes and sadistic, bestial tortures committed by the jury of reaction, have left on them". The call for help was well aware of the haunting power of the image and stated that the truth about what was happening in Spain could only be grasped through photographs. Children's tears, the faces of distressed mothers, and a sample of government mechanisms displayed to alleviate such pain.¹⁹

It was the illustrated magazine *Estampa*, newspapers, or the various propaganda agencies of the republican political parties, which had greater impact on the unacceptable repression of Republican women: photos of fugitive women in the national camp, shaved, publicly humiliated and in a submissive attitude premonitory of the French *tondues*.²⁰

Franco's Spain was not far behind in the use of the most perverted propaganda weapon. The entities supporting the nationalist cause showed the Republican side and the militia women as a barbarous and cruel enemy, which transformed rape into "collective orgies". Macabre staging with

Civil española: paradigma para una lectura cultural del conflicto", *Historia Social*, nº 61 (2008): 89-107.

¹⁸ Graham, Helen. *The Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and Moradiellos, Enrique. *El refugio de Europa* (Barcelona: Península, 2001).

¹⁹ Wolfsonian Museum, Miami, *It's happening in Spain*. New York, International Labor Defense, 1937 (XC2001.02.2.3) and *Spain's Democracy Talks to America*. New York, American League against War and Fascism, October 1936 (XC2001.12.3.22).

²⁰ http://www.foroporlamemoria.infoimg22006a3483_MujeresRepublicanasRapada or El Popular, 16/10/1936.

abandoned girls and women in the fields of Castile, with the purpose of exposing grossly the sexual perversion of the enemy, often associated with homosexuality too.

Insisting on the impartiality of the images considered “sad documents of bloodshed and human cruelty,” the publishers of *Red Spain* pressed all men, generically ‘*macho*’, to fight against anarchy before it was too late. It was they who should feel aggrieved by the offense committed against their women. They had to mobilize in the name of dignity and testosterone, “for there is not a man alive who has not something to lose.” For this reason it was necessary to expose the “truth”, focus on the genitals and then show them to the world. Faced with the hesitation of the British Council regarding Poland’s camps, “these photographs should and must be looked at”.²¹

Perhaps the concept of “brutalization” raised in Europe to designate the culture of “total war” did not reach Spain as the dehumanizing limits of Nazi terror did. But barbarism is quite present in these chilling images so clearly inspired by Goya’s “Disasters”. In fact, their publishers named them as such: “beastliness [...] and the call of the beast in man”. The peoples of the western half of the Iberian Peninsula where “long nights of red orgy (Arahal, Puente Genil, Talavera la Real, Mérida, Málaga o Bilbao) were staged, lived during the first six months of the struggle wrapped in blood, rapes, and sacrileges. The victims were clearly identified with women, the clergy and children, while the executioners were described as communist murderers rather than soldiers. What was never suggested by Franco’s propaganda was the clear parallel between the practices of sexual violence of the Maghreb troops and the kind of torture experienced with the sacrificed bodies. Scalping, extraction of dental pieces, breasts and genitals amputated, clearly related with the rituals of the colonial wars. That evidence would not only question the authors of the crimes portrayed, but revealed a transfer of beastliness to the foreign element, so common in the nationalist conflicts we are analyzing (see Figures 10.4 and 10.5).²²

²¹ Wolfsonian Museum, Miami, *Red Spain* (RARE DP.269.53R4). Vincent, Mary. “The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade”, *History Workshop Journal*, n° 47 (1999): 68-98.

²² However, many cases of castrated priests are associated with the initial antifascist “gangsterism” of the civil war. It also showed a morbid fixation with the genitals that should be placed in the context of a “macho” culture, as well as with an old anticlerical obsession because of the clergy’s sexuality. Seidman, Michael. *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (University of Winsconsin Press, 2002); Rodríguez, Sofía “Los secretos de la memoria. Guerra Civil, Franquismo y fuentes orales en Almería”, *Pasado y Memoria. Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, n° 7 (2008): 263-283.



Figure 10.4. Women's corpses. Francoist pamphlet "Red Spain". The Wolfsonian Museum-FIU Miami, Florida



Figure 10.5. Dead bodies of workers. Francoist pamphlet, The Wolfsonian Museum-FIU Miami, Florida.

Again, the parallels that exist between the threat of the "Moors" in the Civil War and the Mameluks in the War of Independence are blatant. They were always represented as disciplined legionnaires, well versed in handling

bladed weapons; they became the scapegoats for the most authentic offensive and reprehensible practices. The proximity of a Tabor (Regiment) of Regulars spread alarm among the population. Young women and teenagers became coveted targets, and their presence alone would spread fear.²³

The fact that it was the French army in 1808 and Franco's army in 1936 that had help from the Turks or Rifs would justify the Nationalists' condemnation and international interference. This would exacerbate hatred for outsiders who raided Spanish women, and would steer the conflagration to a point of no return. The fight against foreigners who also took advantage of "our" women created a "horizon of legitimacy" similar to a religious war against infidels. "Tales violencias eran un símbolo en sí mismas, el más irrefutable rito de paso que balizaba el inicio de la guerra y la revolución y un inequívoco acto fundador de la misma que emitía el mensaje de la imposible marcha atrás."²⁴

Moorish and Mameluk iconography contained all the satirized elements of an Eastern male for the supporters of the Spanish Constitution of 1812, the highland Carlists, and the most conservative sectors of the National Movement of 1936. Their Cossack uniforms, hats and mustaches defined the Asian enemy, a foreign communist alien to the true values of the nation and the Hispanic race.

Cada vez el mundo es más sencillo, amigos. Pues se parte en dos mitades perfectas: el Bien y el Mal. [...] En ese "todo", ¡qué cantidad de maldad! Desde la maldad pedante y consciente de aquellos amigos de la URSS, a la maldad maravillosa—científica—de los cerebros directores de la propaganda. En medio, amigos, el "snobismo"—los "sine nobilitate", los sin ninguna nobleza—la moda, el cine, la Editorial Cenit, la República, la FUE, las Misiones Pedagógicas, las novelas proletarias, con su pleita escatológica y sus poetas entre invertidos y negroides, bogando a la vela de la falsa virilidad de las blasfemias.²⁵

²³ Barranquero, Encarnación & Lucia Prieto. *Población y Guerra Civil en Málaga: Caída, éxodo y refugio* (Málaga: Cedma, 2007): 21-28 and Sánchez, Francisco. *Islam y Guerra Civil española. Moros con Franco y con la República* (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2004).

²⁴ "Such violence was a symbol in itself, the most irrefutable rite of passage buoying the beginning of war and revolution and an unequivocal founding act of war which sent a message of impossible retreat." Ledesma, José Luis, "Qué violencia para qué retaguardia o la República en guerra de 1936", *Ayer*, n° 76/4 (2009): p. 102 y *Los días de llamas de la revolución* (Zaragoza: Instituto Fernando El Católico, 2003); Pavone, C., *Una guerra civile. Saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza* (Turín: Bollati Boringhieri, 1991).

²⁵ "Each time the world is simpler, folks. For it is divided in two perfect halves: Good and Evil [...] In this "whole", there is so much evil! from the pedantic and conscious evil of those friends from the USSR, to the marvelous evil—scientific—of the brains of the propaganda directors'. In between, friends, the "snobbery"—the "sine nobilitate", those

They represented the enemy allowed “to wander around the house” and “play with dolls”; a macabre delirium that left a trail of blood and spoiled bodies as evidence of the crime.²⁶

Victims and Perpetrators of Franco's or Republican Violence

Beyond the usurpation of honor and “scorched land” tactics of the foreigners, we should ask ourselves whether during the Civil War all women were subjected to sexual violence, and whether the treatment given to them was homogeneous on the two sides; because while gender repression was used and condemned by pro-Franco groups, Popular Front groups and anarchists, there were ostensible differences between victims and perpetrators on each side.

The propaganda analyzed above shows women as armies' right of conquest. And in spite the imagery of “*pasionarias*” fighters on either side, the traditional figure of stakhanovist or fascist motherhood always triumphed. Thus, reprisals were inextricably linked to that projection of every woman as a mother. That past, present or future category was maximized if she was pregnant, as the enemy used the ritual of gender violence to expiate sins. Imprinting their bodies like animals, they would publicly show “the penal scar”.²⁷

That scar was much more visible if the woman's ideological affiliation was public and manifest. What we must assess at present is how feminine prototypes of each political option were used by litigating factions to legitimize their appropriation of women's bodies as a war spoil; a hostage and a victim in which nevertheless, the sexual charge always prevailed.²⁸

In areas of the country that maintained their loyalty to the Republican government, Catholic nuns and Falangists bore the brunt. Hundreds of religious women were retained by militias and offensively frisked, amid

without nobility—fashion, movies, the Editorial Cenit, the Republic, the FUE, Pedagogic Missions, proletarian novels, with their eschatological plots and its poets—homosexuals and Negroid—sailing to the winds of false manhood of blasphemies.” Fernández Barreira, “Niños y mujeres de la URSS”, *Medina*, Año I, nº 25 (Madrid, 7/09/1941).

²⁶ Mosse, George. *Fallen Soldiers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Balfour, Sebastian. *Abrazo mortal. De la guerra colonial a la guerra civil en España y Marruecos (1909-1939)* (Barcelona: Península, 2002); Sevillano, Francisco. *Rojos. La representación del enemigo en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Alianza, 2007) and Martín, E. *La imagen del magrebí en España. Una perspectiva histórica (siglos XVI-XX)* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2002).

²⁷ Brossat, Alain. *Les Tondues, un carnaval moche* (Paris: Manya, 1992).

²⁸ Barreto, Juanita. “La apropiación de los cuerpos de las mujeres, una estrategia de guerra”, *In other words* (Especial Mujeres, *Cuerpos y Prácticas de sí*), nº 9 (2001): 86-100.

shouts of abject expressions and forcing them to scrub while cheering communism; a dialectic attack that constituted the most remarkable expression of the ideological combination of anti-clericalism and sexism.

On the other hand, fifth columnists, “Socorro Blanco” administrators and undercover agents claimed their collaborationism with arrests and tortures in the dungeons of the SIM, as well as in trials by the popular tribunals.²⁹

All sorts of abuses complement the violations committed against women: solitary confinement, permanent male surveillance and humiliating verbal aggressions with the sole purpose of ridiculing them.

After the war, Margarita Rodríguez was charged with convicting two priests and taking direct part in the burning of several churches and convents in Almería. In the profanation of one of these convents she dragged the exhumed remains of a nun, and dancing with her clothes chanted: “Look how the nun carries a child between her legs”. The same would happen with union women from the Socialist UGT (Unión General de Trabajadores) and the Anarchist CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), denounced to General Franco’s Cause for inciting the murder of “people from religious orders” shouting, “Let’s burn the saints!” ... “San Sebastian will not sleep any more with young ladies!”³⁰

When harassing the inmates, the guards used to take pleasure in the nudity of women prisoners, feeding their morbid curiosity with pregnant women, whom they beat to provoke them abortions. Conversely, some men were coerced under threat to “open the bellies of their wives” and take out the children they were breeding. Nothing different from what they would live in Franco’s prisons at least until 1943.³¹

The abuse was not as lethal as that doled out to men; it avoided the “garrote”, but managed certain “measures of grace” which also served to torture them. A kind of martyrdom related to their “womanhood” and hence, forms of gendered violence. The lack of hygienic infrastructure

²⁹ Rodríguez, Sofía. *Quintacolumnistas*. Almería, IEA, 2010 y “La violencia de género como arma de guerra”, en Barranquero, Encarna, *Mujeres en la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo. Violencia, silencio y memoria de los tiempos difíciles* (Málaga: CEDMA, 2008): 23-46.

³⁰ Togado Militar de Almería (Military Court of Almería) Legajo 314, Sumaria 10.169; Legajo 254, Sumaria 45.846 y Legajo 6, Sumaria 20.828.

³¹ Archivo Histórico Nacional (National Historical Archives), Causa General de Almería (General Cause of Almería), Pieza 4 “Checas”, Caja 1161-1. Vinyes, Ricard *Irredentas. Las presas políticas y sus hijos en las cárceles de Franco* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2002); Romeu, Fernanda *El silencio roto... Mujeres contra el Franquismo* (Oviedo: Autor-Editor, 1994) and Rodríguez, Sofía *Mujeres en Guerra. Almería (1936-1939)* (Sevilla-Almería: Fundación Blas Infante-Arráez, 2003): 151-178.

became a daily humiliation. The looting of households headed by a “prisoner’s wife” would amount to a death sentence, and emotional blackmail. If physical and economic punishment became suffocating, the threat to the integrity of the family exceeded, particularly for women, any threshold of pain, making this practice the worst aspect of repression.³²

In nationalist Spain militia women represented the non-woman par excellence. Dressed and endowed with an inappropriate military authority, they were criticized, beaten and shot, because they were going against nature, rather than for actions committed in the ranks of the Popular Army. These women constituted an alien counter-model, on which the evils of the homeland could be projected; a focus of perversion and venereal diseases in the battle front:

las falangistas, mostrándose más mujeres y más cristianas de día en día, en Auxilio Social, en Frentes y Hospitales, en la Hermandad de la Ciudad y del Campo, y en todas las demás secciones, y las milicianas, haciéndose más horrendamente hombrunas y convirtiendo los campamentos rojos en burdeles.³³

And then, there were propagandists women, authentic “violators of gender law” tacitly imposed by social convention. Virtuous women were defined by silence, and the expression of revolutionary ideas represented an infringement of that maxim, it was a threat to the historical reference of the “perfect wife”:

Prescindiendo, como es lógico, de las arpías que superaron sacrilegios masculinos y que hicieron de la emulación hombruna y de la blasfemia marxista un constante ejercicio, la mujer, la esposa del perseguido, la hija del encarcelado, la hermana del que estuvo escondido, ha sido, en rigor, el coeficiente más elevado de todas las aportaciones a la Causa [...] ha evidenciado para siempre—para la Historia— la posesión de este factor moral que es el silencio [...] era forzoso mezclar el silencio y la resignación con los insultos y las vocinglerías de las mujeres del marxismo soez y dominante.³⁴

³² Puig, Angelina. “Rojas. Militancia antifranquista a través de la literatura testimonial femenina”, *Historia del Presente*, n° 4 (2004): 93-123; Al-Saadawi, Nawal. *Memorias de la cárcel de mujeres* (Madrid: Horas y Horas, 1995), and Ginard, David. *Matilde Landa. De la Institución Libre de Enseñanza a las prisiones franquistas* (Barcelona: Flor del Viento Ediciones, 2005).

³³ “the Falangists women, displaying themselves more womanly, more Christian in the day to day, in Social Assistance, in the fronts, and Hospitals, and in the Brotherhood of the town and country, and in all other sections, and the militant women, becoming more horrendously mannish and converting the red camps in brothels.” *El Correo de Mallorca*, 9/01/1939.

³⁴ Logically, with the exception of the harpies who outdid male sacrileges, and who made a constant practice of mannish emulation and Marxist blasphemy, those women, the wife of the persecuted, the daughter of the prisoner, the sister of the hidden soldier, have

The martial law coupled with the misogynist fascist and national-Catholic ideology would soon identify women who were *red, lost, fallen and sick with Marxism* with the *corpus delicti*; the sins of the enemy would be expiated on the bodies of these women through physical flagellation and moral redemption.

The women accused of collaborating with the Popular Front bore the weight of gender repression channeled by the New Francoist State. "Evil Women" characterized as such for their secularism, were punished, made to clean churches and then baptized with that dirty water over their heads. Relatives of leftists, such as María Antonia Gutiérrez, whom the priest of her town did not hesitate to describe as having "criminal instincts ... She was always evil." Perverse women, in the worst of cases, because they displayed an appearance characterized with all sorts of ideological connotations:³⁵

La tomaron con nosotras, porque decían que éramos de izquierdas y si había algún trabajo que hacer, pues nos lo encargaban a nosotras... Que había que barrer la plaza, pues nos lo decían a nosotras... a mí y a otras compañeras más... Yo tenía entonces una melena de pelo rizada, y había otra compañera mía que también tenía el pelo rizado... once. Once estábamos, once muchachas y querían pelarnos a las que teníamos el pelo rizado.³⁶

Shaving women's head, stripping them of their feminine attributes, especially if it was sensual curly hair, was the symbol, par excellence, of gender violence during the civil war and its aftermath.³⁷

embodied the highest coefficient of all contributions to the Cause [...] and have shown forever—for History—the possession of that moral factor that is silence [...] It was mandatory to mix silence and resignation with the insults and rowdiness of the women of the vulgar dominant Marxism." Casares, F. "Las mujeres nacionales y las retaguardias rojas", *Revista "Y"*, nº 15 (April 1939).

³⁵ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Almería. Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas. Caja 3790, Exp 1.314.

³⁶ "They were against us, because they said we were leftists, and if there was any work to do, we were ordered to do it ... The square had to be swept, we would be told ... me and other women... At the time, I had a curly hair, and there was another woman who also had curly hair ... eleven. There were eleven of us, girls, and they wanted to shave off our curly hair... " Interview with María Beltrán Gutiérrez (Born in 1916, Alicún (Almería), 18/06/2006).

³⁷ Joly, Maud, *Represión "sexuada" y memoria; las republicanas rapadas por los franquistas durante la guerra y el primer franquismo*. Memoria de Licenciatura inédita, Universidad Pompeu Fabra, and Ripa, Yannick. "La tonte purificatrice des républicaines espagnoles pendant la guerre civile, *Les Cahiers de l'IHTP*, nº 31 (1995).

The Andalusia provinces *penetrated* by rebel troops were marked during the “hot summer” of 1936 by a depraved use of scissors. Two Civil Guard officers and two Sevillian Falangists amused themselves with “La Trunza”, whereby a young woman was forced to strip on the floor in order to shave her pubic hair and then her head. Just in El Gastor, another village in Cádiz, forty women were abused, and one of them, Fraternidad Hidalgo, 21 years old and daughter of a Socialist councilman, was beaten until she lost the child she was expecting and then she died. Early in August 1936, in Montilla, Córdoba, twenty other young women would be shamed at the Town Hall. They were ridiculously shaved, forced to ingest castor oil and finally made to pose with their arms raised “Facing the Sun” showing their submission.³⁸

Beyond the humiliating spectacle of skinheads and purges, there were charges and convictions that exhibit more subtle features of gender violence. María Beltrán, the woman with curly hair, personally experienced all aspects of physical, psychological, and symbolic repression. For three years, she had to go twice a week to Canjáyar prison, in Almería, to bring food and clean clothes to her two brothers. Like so many other women with family members in prison she had to communicate through a prison grid, with guards in attendance who often extorted her to assure her that the basket would be delivered to the rightful owner.

The denial of employment or working on public arduous tasks, constituted an exercise in authority supported by heterosexual cultural values. Another sign of negation of individuality and symbolic violence was grant women the political identity of their men of whom they depended, turning them into eternal minors.³⁹

Juana Alcaraz Salas, born in 1927, saw two of her eight brothers incarcerated after the war, one of them was executed and another exiled in France. The rest of the family suffered severe repression because of their socialist ideas. The employment boycott forced their parents to sell their furniture to buy food. They had no shoes or clothing; but when waiting in line for Social Aid, those who were barefoot would be thrown out because they were “Reds”. Juana had to clean the Falangist Women’s Section headquarters and,

³⁸ García, José María *La represión militar en la puebla de Cazalla, 1936-1943* (Sevilla: Ateneo Cultural Morisco, 2009) and Bedmar, Arcángel *Los puños y las pistolas: la represión en Montilla (1936-1944)* (Córdoba: Juan de Mairena Editores, 2009).

³⁹ Ruiz, Rosario. *¿Eternas menores? Las mujeres en el franquismo* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2007) y Femenías, María Luisa “Essencialized Identities/Activated Violences”, *Isegoría*. n° 38 (2008): 15-38.

like so many Spanish women, she had to trade in the black market to survive.⁴⁰

This was a real and terrible postwar period experienced by the families of some of those responsible for the repression in the Republican rearguard. It was the case of the daughter of the “Cartagenero”, born in 1936. Although she never knew her father, who was executed, she had to suffer the scorn since childhood of being a “Red’s daughter.” She and her three sisters were constantly summoned to the Civil Guard barracks for questioning, and endured a latent fear of abuse. As a young girl, if she wanted to eat, she had to bring lunch to the officers; and not only that; she was forced to join the Falange and to go from door to door collecting membership fees. As part of her punishment, she was forced to ring the bells for Mass and collaborate with the Church. In the end, She received powdered milk in exchange for complying with the symbols of the regime her father had fought against.⁴¹

Despite the suffering and sacrifice of daughters and sisters, it was against the “denaturalized” women, the mothers, that the regime sharpened its condemnation. Since “they spawn the Reds” and deviated from religion (a feminine mystique of sorts), they lost their basic privileges as mothers under Franco’s regime. In the province of Granada, the partisan camp escapees recalled their sixty years old mothers, with their head shaved. However, the worst thing for them was the emotional blackmail that they endured.

A la madre le decían que como su hijo no se presentase la matarían, así es que lo más seguro es que la hayan matado, esto son los temores de este compañero ya que la habían maltratado en varias ocasiones.⁴²

In Motril, according to another testimony, “more than thirty women had their heads shaved and were abused because their spouses belong to left-ist organizations.” In the Rincón de la Victoria, fifteen women from Málaga suffered the same fate because they had aided militant men. And in the capital city, the scenes in the El Palo district bordered the gruesome.

⁴⁰ Interview with Juana Alcaraz Salas, born in 1927, Gádor (Almería), 27/07/2006. See: Cenarro, Ángela “Memories of Repression and Resistance. Narratives of Children Institutionalized by Auxilio Social in Postwar Spain”, *History & Memory*, n° 20/2 (2008): 39-59 and *Los niños del Auxilio Social* (Madrid: España, 2009).

⁴¹ Interview with A.C., Born in 1936, Adra (Almería), 14/11/2006.

⁴² “The mother would be told that if her son did not show up she would be killed, so it is more likely that they killed her; those are the fears of this comrade, since his mother had been repeatedly abused.” Archivo del Juzgado Togado Militar de Almería, Expediente 453-31534.

Restrained, “alongside men” they fell under the bullets, after suffering their particular *ordeal*:

[C]ortaron el pelo a todas las que ellos creían de izquierda, dándoles un gran vaso de aceite de ricino, y a la que no se lo tomaba de una vez, la daban doble ración, dice que no las afeitaban toda la cabeza, sino que dejaban un tufo en la coronilla y luego las hacían desfilar dando vivas al fascio, una mujer que se negó a desfilar porque no quería servir de risión a los canallas fue fusilada en el acto, todos estos actos de salvajismo los hace la guardia civil, los cuales tienen un vergajo en la mano, dándoles más palizas a la que se resiste a cumplir lo que ellos ordenan. A una mujer que estaba en el último periodo de gestación le sacaron el feto, y al grito de *un revolucionario menos*, le mataron, matando después a la madre.⁴³

Does this mean that Spanish women were just passive victims of violence? No, pacifism was not an essential quality or standard behavior during the war. Even less, can we see in women the quintessential non-belligerence. To ignore the female initiative in political acts and factions associated with the use of violence, not only exonerates them from blame, but denies their historical presence. This impunity was not shared or assumed by the women protagonists themselves. They were, in many cases, members or leaders of trade unions, organizations and anti-fascist parties. Women, aware of the dangers they were exposed to and the weapons they used, believed in a project of social transformation and were absorbed in the culture of war. As expressed by Encarna Magaña, a young anarchist processed in 1939 for her ‘revolutionary’ activity:

Ya sabéis que poseo un carácter alegre, al parecer frívolo, pero de este, a otra cosa, media un abismo. [...] tengo una conciencia casi forjada ya, causa que me capacita para comenzar de nuevo esta lucha titánica contra los que luchan, precisamente, porque pensemos que no se debe pensar.⁴⁴

⁴³ “... They shaved the heads of all the women believed to be leftists, and gave them a glass of castor oil; the woman that did not drink it at once would get a double ration. They didn’t shave the head entirely but left a little section on top and then were made to march, cheering the fascist regime. A woman who refused to march because she did not want to serve as an object of ridicule for the rogues was shot on the spot. All these savage actions were perpetrated by the civil guard. With a whip in their hands, they beat whoever refused to obey their orders. They removed the fetus of a woman in the last period of gestation while shouting ‘one less revolutionary’; they killed it, and then killed the mother.” Archivo del Juzgado Togado Militar de Almería, Expediente 453-31534.

⁴⁴ “You know that I have a cheerful, almost frivolous disposition, but this is far from something else. [...] I have almost created an awareness that enables me to begin again with this titanic struggle against those who fight, precisely because they think that we should not think.” Archivo del Juzgado Togado Militar de Almería, Expediente 443-5915. Letter from Encarnación Magaña Gómez to José Hernández Ojeda (1939).

Even when she was sentenced to death in 1942, for being part of an anti-Franco resistance network, she wrote a letter of farewell and self-affirmation to her fellow member of Free Women:

Yo por mi parte estoy conforme, como debéis suponer; en la plenitud de mis facultades os escribo estas letras y en esta hora tan solemne ni se puede mentir ni albergar vanos pensamientos. Estoy conforme con mi fin, quizás porque repartiendo afectos, como dije una vez, he cosechado desengaños, pero “quiero ser como el sándalo que perfuma el hacha que ha de hendir”, y perdono porque quiero ser perdonada. [...] dile a quien por mi te pregunte que soy “tan valiente como agradecida en estos mis últimos instantes” [...] en momentos que los hombres me juzgaban “muy mala” y yo, agradecida en mis postreros momentos, no acuso recibo.⁴⁵

The arguments on which other women based their defense were of a different nature. Several women charged by the Court of Political Responsibilities countered the allegations denying any activity in that regard. The dynamic was similar in most cases: dignifying a more or less militant past at the beginning of the cause, and gradually forgetting it as the trial progressed without satisfactory results. So much so, that they came to abjure of any ideology, saying only what Franco's judges wanted to hear. For many young women who were aware for the first time of local politics in the 30s, the gender model to which they must adapt became abundantly clear.

That was the case of Communist Librada Arcos, who after being accused by the Civil Guard, went from declaring herself a member of Red Aid, the Popular Front and JSU-PCE councilor, to make statements like this:

Es mi caso, señor juez, uno de los más singulares que puedan ofrecerse a la consideración de un juzgador. Soy mujer y como tal nada había mas ajeno de mi, que haber figurado en la política activa de mi pueblo, tanto por la educación recibida como por mis costumbres y el medio en que me desenvolvía y crié. Pertenezco a familia piadosísima en la que figuran dos sacerdotes de la religión católica, un hermano de mi madre y un primo

⁴⁵ “I, for one, am satisfied, as you may suppose; with my full capabilities, I write these words and in this solemn hour, one cannot lie or harbor vain thoughts. I am satisfied with my ending, perhaps because in the sharing of my affections, as I once said, I have reaped disappointment; but “I want to be like sandalwood which perfumes the ax that wounds it” and forgive, because I want to be forgiven. [...] Tell whoever asks for me that I am “as brave as I am grateful in these, my final moments” [...] when men judge me as “very evil” and, grateful in my final moments, I do not acknowledge that judgment “Letter from Encarnación Magaña Gómez to several friends of *Mujeres Libres* (1942).”

hermano. Este ultimo, cura que ha sido de esta villa hasta los días de la Liberación.⁴⁶

If we pause to analyze this first part of the hearing the accused excuses her political participation by the fact that she is a woman, indeed being educated in the Catholic doctrine. That is, she uses a gender education in separate spheres to justify being “apolitical” and modest in public life, typical of pious women. In that sense, Librada Arcos represented a model of a young single woman devoted to the care of the men in her family who were dedicated to the highest endeavor: being ministers of the Church.

He vivido constantemente en el seno de nuestra Santa Religión y sin haber concebido, ni en sueños, que yo podía figurar en política alguna, ni roja ni de otro color. Pero es el hecho y esta es la singularidad de mi caso, que en el último año de la dominación roja, individuos a los que jamás había conocido empezaron a influir sobre mí, diciéndome que había llegado la hora de que las mujeres tomaran parte en los negocios públicos para evitar que los hombres se desviarán del buen camino.⁴⁷

The clarification introduced in this paragraph is particularly interesting because, in addition to using religion and Franco’s terminology (“*Liberation*”, “*Red Domination*”), to dissociate herself from the Republican affections, she identifies anti-fascist as responsible of female immersion into the public life. Thus, she grants women an unusual political agency as the arbiter of men’s decisions, averting them from errors by the inherent virtue of women.

Yo protestaba de ello y no cedí a esas propagandas, pero algunos me significaron de una manera indirectamente amenazadora, que precisamente era yo la más obligada, por ser sobrina de dos sacerdotes. Y tanto y tanto insistieron y de tantos atropellos tuve noticia, algunos con mi propio tío Don Sebastián el cura, a quien intentaron llevarse del pueblo en dos ocasiones, que me llené de terror y fui concejal porque se le antojó al Sr. Gobernador Civil de la provincia con carácter obligatorio.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ “It’s my case, your honor, one of the most unusual to be offered to the consideration of a judge. I am a woman and as such nothing is more alien to me than being politically active in my village, both because of the education I received as because of my traditions and the environment in which I evolved and was raised. I belong to a devout family which includes two Catholic priests, my mother’s brother and a cousin; the latter, which has been the priest of this town until the day of its liberation.” Archivo Histórico Provincial de Almería, Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas, Caja 3781, Exp. 959.

⁴⁷ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Almería, Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas, Caja 3781, Exp. 959.

⁴⁸ “I protested against it and I did not give in to that propaganda, but some of them indicated indirectly to me that precisely I was the most obliged, because I was the niece of

In this case she defined the authorities of the town as raging anti-clericals, matching her entry into politics with a new surge of violence against the Church. Faced with the secularization project of the Second Republic, she would represent the feminine piety. And it was precisely the fear of the threat to her family, the "legitimacy horizon" that coerced Librada's mobilization.

y creo que hubiera sido cuanto quisieran, creyendo mi vida y la de los míos amenazada, hasta el punto de que perdí el sueño y procuraba pasar todo el mayor tiempo escondida y sin salir de casa. Hice todo lo humanamente posible para no asistir a las sesiones huyendo de aquellas gentes, pero algunas veces iban a mi propio domicilio y conociéndome y explotando mi miedo me llevaron a algunas, muy pocas, en las que volvían a ovacionarme diciendo: "que si es que temía a los fascistas y que al fin era sobrina de dos curas". Muchos terrores y sinsabores me ha costado.⁴⁹

She concluded by stating that, as a woman committed to caring for her family, she would have been capable of anything. As a martyr, she is exonerated, and as a woman, subject to a genuine "social maternalism" that compelled her to save the life of her own family, even if she had to pawn her soul ... becoming a politician. In any case, and precisely because she was a woman, her resistance to power would be to safeguard herself from the street, staying at home and "domesticated". The hearing of Librada Arcos would be no more than a representation of the symbolic violence exerted against those who, wanting to defend their traditional role of "the angel of the home", are obliged to go out into the public sphere to take over the local government because they are exempted from going to war. The dictatorship would then charge her with this same activity, allegedly taken up against her will, to finally condemn her to isolation and to redeem her mistakes and notions as a "public woman" by paying an economic amount.

two priests. And so they insisted and I was told of so many abuses, some with my own uncle Don Sebastian, the priest, who they tried to evict from the town twice; I was filled with terror and so I became a counselor because it fancied the Civil Governor of the province; it was mandatory." Archivo Histórico Provincial de Almería, Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas, Caja 3781, Exp. 959.

⁴⁹ "... And I think I would have been whoever they pleased, believing my life and that of my loved ones to be threatened to the point that I lost sleep and tried to spend as much time as possible hiding without leaving the house. I did everything humanly possible not to attend the sessions, fleeing from these people, but sometimes they would go to my own home and knowing me and exploiting my fears they took me to a few, very few, they would come back asking "if I feared the fascists, that in the end I was the niece of two priests." I had to endure many terrors and sorrows." Archivo Histórico Provincial de Almería, Tribunal de Responsabilidades Políticas, Caja 3781, Exp. 959.

In both cases she would have to assume the prevailing gender ideology, adapting her exculpatory speech accordingly. And using a similar logic for survival we have to register other profiles and biographies of women who suffered Franco's gender repression.

Josefa Collado Gómiz was a JSU propagandist and one of the most popular young women in Almería's political circles during the war. On May 1, 1939 she was imprisoned with her son, who was barely five weeks old, and accused as an agitator of the Antifascist Women movement. In her defense, and facing twelve years of imprisonment, she justified her affiliation with the need to work and to the influence of certain leaders who, like Edmund Peña, deceived and impregnated her. Without a doubt this was to be the thread from which was woven the image of a "*Marxist style concubine, who culminated by becoming the mother of a child just a few months old, breast-fed with libertarian propaganda activities ...*"⁵⁰ An argument that, paradoxically, was also used in her defense by witnesses who described her as a young woman "*lacking in evil*", but deceived and disgraced by Marxists lies.

Pepita, as she was known by the worker's press, would be transferred several times until she arrived at the Basque prison of Saturrarán, one of the most notorious due the terrible discipline of the Mercedarian nuns. Many women were released, bruised "as lilies", and others were raped until they got pregnant. Franco's gender violence itself came when they were shaved, de-wormed and purged in order to declare ... But Pepita's ordeal did not end there; after leaving the prison, her return home was soiled by insults from her own neighbors; shameless, ex-convict, communist ... that was the repression by rumor under a self-vigilant society.⁵¹

*Sexual Politics and Symbolic Violence:
From the Public to the Private Sphere*

Beyond the partisan political use of gender violence, the symbolic dimensions that we are defining continued during the postwar period, invading

⁵⁰ Archivo del Juzgado Togado Militar de Almería, Legajo 460, Sumaria 19.368, contra Josefa Collado y Juana González, entre otros.

⁵¹ Rodríguez, Óscar. "Cuando lleguen los amigos de Negrín... Resistencias cotidianas y opinión popular frente a la II Guerra Mundial. Almería, 1939-1947", *Historia y Política*, nº 18 (2007): 295-323; Anderson, Peter "Singling Our Victims: Denunciation and Collusion in the Post-Civil War Francoist Repression in Spain, 1939-1945", *European History Quarterly*, nº 3/1 (2009): 7-26.

the entire life of Spanish women. A widespread repression that affected even those who, although they did not belong to the clergy or have a union, institutional or family history that would betray them, were socially condemned for transgressing the limits of new “decency”. A Catholic concept, so common and shared by leftist and conservative forces, that it was indissolubly joined to a “well understood” femininity. Adjusting to this morality, as understood at the time, meant limiting the opportunities and mobility of women to such an extent that it exerted an enormous social power, such as self-inflicted violence.⁵²

If we investigate the nineteenth-century imagery of femininity and the violent effects of its presumed decomposition, a turning point is the controversy surrounding the equality measures of the Second Republic. The dividing line between the cannons and the new expectations unleashed by the *belle époque* would delimit the already antagonistic positions between supporters and opponents of social change. If the laws of divorce or the investigation of paternity threatened to break the “divisions of spheres” of the Catholic confessional state, all defenders of the patriarchal family would undertake their own particular counterrevolution.

In peacetime, the reaction of the lay apostolate took the streets, on the pulpit and in the galleries. Catholic organizations collected signatures, conducted propaganda campaigns and sermons as means to speak of “guilt” and guilty women. Meanwhile, anticlerical *pistolerismo* focused all their anger and frustration on the Church. But it was in times of war, where the model of a “new woman,” a republican “mother of the revolution”, would virulently face the Marian Spain, celibate Falangists and fertile “margaritas”. However, on the Republican side misogyny was more than evident, from the denial of women’s suffrage and the constituents’ debates in 1931, to the culpability for the victory of the Right in 1933 and the coup itself. In this regard, refer to the couplets that young women from Free Women movement and the CNT would sing during the “Black Biennium”:

El gabinete de Azaña muy bien presente ha de tener/ el voto que le dieron/
a la mujer/ Que para los partidos de izquierda ha sido un fracaso tan mon-
umental/ y sirvió de triunfo rotundo para los agravios de Acción Popular/
Pero todo se debe a haberse abstenido la Confederación/ y al voto femenino
a Clara Campoamor/ Las Cortes Constituyentes no saben que la mujer/

⁵² Bordieu, Pierre. *La domination masculine* (Paris: Seuil, 1998); Fisas, Vicenç (ed.) *El sexo de la violencia. Género y cultura de la violencia* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1998) and Rius, Rosa *Sobre la guerra y la violencia en el discurso femenino (1914-1989)* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 2006).

visita el confesionario siete veces cada mes/ Y ellos todo lo aprobaron creyéndose invulnerables/ y de todos sus fracasos ellos han sido culpables/ Han sembrado la discordia entre el obrero español/ y han recogido desprecios de todo el campo trabajador.⁵³

Although, in the first instance, military operations did not discriminate, selective violence was carried out in the rearguard by law enforcement and paramilitaries against the individuality of women distraught by conquest. They were assisted by several neighbors who indicated where sin was to be found. Accusations were plentiful, made by those who bowed to Catholic morality and gender prejudice, against under-aged girls as adulterers and prostitutes, both in the republican People's tribunals and in the francoist General Cause. The accusations and slander against these young women, labeling them as "Free spirited", placed them in serious physical danger, turning them into the "internal enemy" and condemning them to live isolated from society.⁵⁴

Among Spanish women it was easy to find who would personify the "dynamics of exception." Even though there have been years of social change, the predominance of a traditional female model fixated a rigid code of conduct in the collective imaginary, so much so that any deviation would point out at the "others" with an inquisitorial finger. And the ultimate expression of otherness was not exactly because of the ideology, but because of the use and abuse of sexuality.

The model of femininity was the same before, during, and after the Second Republic, despite legal advances and social progress channeled by the Constitution of 1931. The identity of the Spanish women continued to be defined as daughters, wives, and mothers of the men in their family.

Based on the reference of the Virgin Mary as a woman, the Christian doctrine was implicit as being responsible for raising their social condition,

⁵³ "Azaña's cabinet must be aware/ the vote they gave / to women / that has been such a monumental failure for the leftist parties / and served as a resounding victory for the wrongs of Popular Action's / But this is because the Confederacy abstained / and because of the female vote for Clara Campoamor / Constituent Assemblies do not know that women / visit the confessional seven times each month / and they approved everything believing themselves invulnerable / and of all their failures they have been responsible / They have sown discord among the Spanish workers / and have received contempt from the worker's realm". Interview with Petra Álvarez Rodríguez (Almería, 9/06/2006) and Azaña, Manuel. *La velada en Benicarló. Diálogo de la guerra de España* (Madrid, Castalia, 1974 [ed. or. 1937]), p. 97.

⁵⁴ Sánchez, Pura. *Individuas de dudosa moral* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2009) and Rodríguez, Sofía "Mujeres perversas. La caricaturización femenina como expresión del poder entre la guerra civil y el franquismo", *Asparkia. Revista de Investigación Feminista*, nº 16 (2005): 177-199.

elevating the mother of Christ because of her abjection, redeeming and dignifying her as an ideal in terms of behavior, against the Republican counter-example:

¡Cuan amable es el hogar integrado por la dulzura y los afanes maternos y los afanes viriles del padre! Así pensaba y solo así querían a las mujeres nuestros mayores, hasta que el marxismo se fue infiltrando en nuestras costumbres, la fue apartando poco a poco del verdadero ideal, siendo los forjadores de esas pobres dementes, que hemos padecido durante el periodo rojo y que no más volverán a resurgir, pues tenemos a la organización de Falange dispuesta a crear el tipo de aquellas mujeres que han deslumbrado a las gentes, con su talento. Tened en cuenta que hoy la única misión que se le asigna a la mujer de Falange en las tareas de la Patria es el hogar.⁵⁵

For a woman to be considered “decent” she had to be and look the part. According to this logic of “respectful people”, it was more difficult for single women because they were presumed guilty. The few young emancipated women in the 30s were generally described as untamed forces of concupiscence. Even worse were married women with absent husbands. Many nurses in military hospitals were in either of these circumstances. Although nursing was considered one of the most feminine occupations because of the legitimacy of public assistance as “social motherhood”, those in white uniforms took the darts of criticism for humiliating their men and indulging in promiscuity with wounded males.⁵⁶

In post-Vichy France, women who were exposed for maintaining relationships with Germans were dreadfully punished and humiliated because of “sentimental collaborationism”. The mere fact that they disposed freely of themselves and their bodies implied the need for a thorough depuration after WWII, which affected 25 percent of the repressed population. Besides capital punishment for betraying and degrading the nation, most would succumb to the “parades”, cheered by other women, their heads shaven as a form of de-sexualization. Considered “perverted” women, their miscegenation with

⁵⁵ “How dear is a home built on the sweetness and the care of a mother and the virile concerns of the father! That is what our elders thought and the only way they loved their women, until Marxism infiltrated our customs, slowly luring women away from the true ideal, creating those poor demented [creatures] whom we have endured during the Red period and who are not going to re-emerge again, because we have the Falange organization ready to create the kind of women who have awed people with their talent. Be aware that today, the only mission assigned to Falange women within the nation’s tasks is the home.” “Las mujeres de Falange”, *Yugo*, 18/07/1939, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Archivo del Juzgado Togado Militar de Almería, Legajos 6, 78, 238 y 417, Sumarias 20.828, 11.142, 20.634.

the enemy was seen as a breach of national unity, a crime of high treason, demanding their immediate ostracism.⁵⁷

What, then, could be said of the Spanish women who paraded in the war with foreign legionnaires? These women provoked a popular scandal and confused some rulers who, as the mayor of Zaragoza in 1938, decided to end the wave of immorality that lashed through his city, by prohibiting flattery in and around the Aragon front:

De hoy en adelante, el piropo es pecado: es una mala costumbre [...] Los alemanes, los italianos y singularmente los moros esos, no pueden tampoco piropoear a las muchachas, pero tienen otras ventajas que les da el derecho de conquista; en los pueblos es obligatorio para las muchachitas acudir lo mejor arregladas y compuestas posible a la plaza del lugar durante la tarde, por si los señores invasores, si son servidos honrarlas bailando con ellas a los sonos de las bandas militares. Y aún parece que esta obligación y estas cooperaciones a los sacrificios de la guerra en su curioso matiz “terpsicoresco” [sic?] va a ser difícil traducir esta palabra se prodiga igualmente a las casadas de buen ver...⁵⁸

Gender violence displayed a larger symbolic dimension when the gaze was diverted from the genitals to focus on other equally condemnable attributes. Verbal aggression against women because they were provocative, loquacious or learned, used to be accompanied by insulting flattery or jokes always made from positions of power. There were more subtle representations than a beating, which marked all bold, different or un-canonical women as “evil”.

⁵⁷ Virgili, Fabrice. “Víctimas, culpables y silenciosas; memoria de las mujeres rapadas en la Francia de la posguerra”, in Aróstegui, Julio & Godicheau, François, *Guerra Civil. Mito y memoria* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006): 361-372 and Capdevila, Luc & Virgili, Fabrice “La depuración y el rapado de las colaboracionistas ¿Es antifeminismo?”, in Bard, Christine (ed.), *Un siglo de antifeminismo* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2000): 217-226.

⁵⁸ “From now on, flattery is a sin: it is a bad habit [...] The Germans, Italians and particularly those Moors, are not allowed to compliment young women, but they have other advantages given by their right of conquest; in the towns it will be mandatory for young women to go to the town square the afternoon looking beautiful and composed, in case that the gentlemen invaders wish to honor them with a dance to the sound of military bands. Furthermore, it seems that this obligation and this cooperation with the sacrifices of war in such curious “terpsichorean” manner is extended equally to proper married women ... “The young women of the invaded zones are object of ridicule and derision by the Italians, Moors and Germans” *Diario de Almería*, 14/01/1939; “Fascists have prohibited complements. A man may only compliment a woman in privacy,” *Emancipación*, 14/08/1938; “The meeting of the fascist Council degenerated into a matrimonial agency.” *Emancipación*, 8/10/1938 and “And with their hands up the British parliament approved a Labor Party motion against Germany” *Emancipación*, 23/11/1938.

Contempt for adulteresses was mixed with hatred for celibate women, and both would be entangled in the anticlerical discourse in the tendency to lash out against the bodies of religious women. For all practical purposes, pious women were the same as were the suffragettes or the Falangists: a threat to the social order of the nuclear family. Thus, they were mocked as ugly androgynous spinsters, and became targets of that symbolic non-coded violence.

In its broadest sense, sexuality would be seen as a threat; so mixing political prisoners with common prisoners and prostitutes became part of the punishment imposed on the former. According to Mirta Núñez, this was one more penalty from the dictatorship, which forced political prisoners to continually define their identity in contrast to others. An even a more valuable affirmation because it allows us to observe the moral condemnation from both sides of the women who flirted with fatuous ideals, and those who had to be trampled on because of their vanity.⁵⁹

We may conclude that at the end of the 30s, female sexuality was the perfect excuse for political misogyny and gender violence against women. All those women who broke with the prototype of the “señorita” suffered the stigma of the “new woman”. First, there were the suffragettes, then the militia women and later, the Falangists. A “hot potato” full of contradictions that found in the Civil War enough radicalism to trigger the most primitive revenge: that of a threatened “masculinity”.

After the victory, the *national* women would make the “mission of submission” their own, a historical purpose sustained by the family. However, Spanish society was imbued into a “culture of war” that would not facilitate this change towards privacy and seclusion at home, without violence or victims.⁶⁰

Many women experienced an authentic “internal exile” when, after having experienced certain wartime sexual liberation and the practice of free love, had to come home again to their husbands, returning from the fronts or prisons. Not only did they have to recover a lost intimacy, but to return to the starting point and give up all the advantages that they had acquired in public life:

⁵⁹ Núñez, Mirta. “Tríptico de mujeres. De la mujer comprometida a la marginal”, *Historia del Presente*, nº 4 (2004) 47-60; Llona, Miren. “Los otros cuerpos disciplinados. Relaciones de género y estrategias de autocontrol del cuerpo femenino (primer tercio del siglo XX)”, *Arenal*, nº 14/1 (2007) 79-108 and kaplan, Temma. *Red City... op.cit.*

⁶⁰ Rodríguez, Sofia. *El patio de la cárcel* (Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2010) and Ofer, Inbal. *Señoritas in Blue* (Sussex Academic Press, 2009).

Millones de mujeres endurecidas por la guerra, apasionadas por la aventura, enérgicas por el valor adquirido, tendrán que dejar sus uniformes, su rígida disciplina, sus panoramas extraños vividos febrilmente, por la monótona oficina, la disciplina de los estudios, la tranquilidad del hogar y el romanticismo de unos amores. [...] Creemos que durante mucho tiempo la mujer seguirá haciendo notar en su vida íntima la fuerza adquirida en esta guerra, y en más de una ocasión es posible que una esposa le diga a su marido: “¿A mí, a mí me vas a gritar tú, que no has llegado ni a cabo, a mí, a un coronel del Cuerpo Auxiliar Femenino?”⁶¹

Women who had been propagandists had to be silenced; those who had been distinguished in the exercise of public work had to be restored to the solitude of the housewife, and had to confront a partnership they believed had ended. During the conflict, women gained status as heads of the family by delegation and without an alternative. When the conflict ended, the father's reintegration to the family could be traumatic and, indeed, the “increase in male divorces” in France, 1945-47, had something to do with the return of prisoners of war.⁶²

There are many stories about the private life in the United States or Europe after WWI and WWII. Stories tinted with fatalism and disappointment, the loss of values and the brutalization of human beings. These cases affected both physically and psychologically maimed veterans, as well as, women forced to survive, who bore the “burden” of illegitimate children in a Puritanical postwar society. These scenarios reflect changes in attitudes above all. It was a home-coming of someone who had left forever; the man, and the conjugal and moral obligations. Civil war would thus move to the domestic sphere, where, after the varnish of *Franco's peace*, husbands imposed the authority they perceived questioned, with their own dictatorship behind closed doors.⁶³

⁶¹ “Millions of women, hardened by war, passionate for the adventure, strong by the courage acquired, had to leave their uniforms, their rigid discipline, their strange panoramas feverishly experienced, for the monotonous office, the discipline of studies, the tranquility of the home, and the romanticism of love. [...] We believe that for a long time women will continue to show, in their personal life, the strength acquired in this war, and on more than one occasion a wife will tell her husband: “At me, are you going to shout at me? You, who haven't even made corporal, shouting at a colonel of the Women's Auxiliary Corps?” Tato Gumming, Casar, “La desmovilización de las mujeres”, *Y. Revista para la Mujer*, n° 85, Febrero, 1945. Also in: “Una consecuencia imprevista. La mujer y la guerra”, *Medina*, n° 106, Marzo, 1943.

⁶² Eck, Hélène. “Los valores familiares ante la experiencia de la guerra” in Duby, Georges & Perrot, Michelle (dir). *Historia de las Mujeres. Siglo XX* (Madrid: Taurus, 2000): 262-264.

⁶³ Cazorla, Antonio. “Surviving Franco's peace: Spanish opinion during the Second World War”, *European History Quarterly*, n° 32/3 (2002): 391-411 and Cabana Ana. *Xente de*

If the values of the Left had been destroyed, the national-Catholic gender policy reaffirmed male supremacy, and even those who were most nullified by years of imprisonment, craved such empowerment. Many men, overcome by frustration, channeled their defeat through male violence. Many women, defeated by the vanquished, fell again to the parable of abuse.

Since 1932, the first divorces in Spain essentially showed that claims were initiated to end an ordeal of aggression, which were not always easy to prove. Psychological abuse was described as “slander”, and rapes often went unpunished in courts composed entirely of men. In fact, the period following a separation was and is the most dangerous for women’s safety. Only after the implementation of trial by jury, sexual assault began to be judged behind closed doors in order to allow that court to intervene before the Provincial Court, where the trial cases arrived. High levels of daily violence were reflected in these cases, bringing before the magistrates crimes of serious injuries, with the aggravating circumstances of kinship.⁶⁴

According to these data the moral imperatives of Catholic organizations which advocated a return to the “courtesy and good taste” of men in the New Spain were of little use. Faced with “vulgar coarseness” of the Republican and the “resentment of the militant mob”, true gentlemen would show due respect to women “as an imperative of old Spanish courtesy, [...] thus initiating the restoration of *racial values*, that should not be taken away by the pressure of modern times.”⁶⁵

Many of the trials that reached the courts derived precisely from a question of honor, closely linked to the concept of masculinity and the “Spanish male”. The ancient tradition of the “abduction of the bride” and the problems that this practice brought with it, including suicide, show the importance of preserving honor. A glaring example of gender violence stemming from that cultural manifestation was triggered in 1946, in the locality of Rodalquilar, Almería. The Civil Guard found Encarnación Flores Montero’s lifeless body. The young eighteen years old woman, had committed suicide by hanging herself from a tree, and results from the investigations to establish the motives of this decision showed that:

Orde. O consentimento cara ao franquismo en Galicia (Santiago de Compostela: tresCtres, 2009).

⁶⁴ Velasco, M^a Luisa. *Mujeres en la Segunda República. Una mirada sobre la violencia de género en Logroño* (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2006).

⁶⁵ “Por el decoro de las buenas costumbres”, *Yugo*, 4/08/1939, p. 3.

la mencionada muchacha que residía con su padre en Rodalquilar, trabajaba por las tardes en el citado Barranco de Juan Arias en la extracción de tierra blanca para platos de unos hoyos existentes en dicho punto en unión del también vecino de ésta Ramón Felices Hernández, de 60 años de edad, al que ayudaba y al llegar sobre las 15 horas a dicho sitio y pasar por la puerta del edificio de la mina Avellán donde residen tres familias fue insultada por Iluminada Alias Ruiz, de 48 años, esposa de Juan Arias Alias, de 52, llamándola ‘marranilla y putilla’ y otras frases por el estilo, alegando que al pasar le había hecho señas a su marido con la mano para que se fuera con ella al hoyo.⁶⁶

After the fight, Encarnación who was upset, went to work with her partner, and explained to him what had happened. After a while the young woman said she was going for a drink of water, walked away and with a rope, she hanged herself.

The protection of honor was not only the cause of suicides, but the reason of innumerable incidents: homicide, infanticide and abortions. The most publicized case in the 40s, in a small city like Almería was “The Crime of the Supplies delegate”: a story of passion, rage and death that stirred the highest political levels. And the importance of the case was due to the identity of the victim, secretary of the Supplies and Transport delegation, and second provincial authority.

In 1949 an official of that delegation appeared visibly shaken at the office of his superior. After exchanging a few strong words with him, the latter took a pistol from his pocket and fired two shots at close range for assaulting his wife with whom the subordinate maintained a “passionate affair”. The truly serious matter for both men was the obvious infatuation and the public rumors that the relationship provoked. At that point, the husband believed his honor had been offended and precipitated the events, exposing the power of appearances and the impact of rumors in the lives of women. As explained by Óscar Rodríguez Barreira, social pressure was so great, and atavisms so accepted, that the authorities felt entitled to

⁶⁶ “The young woman in question lived with her father in Rodalquilar, and worked in the evenings at the known Barranco quarry of Juan Arias helping her neighbor Ramón Felices Hernández, 60 years old, extract white clay to make stones for existing holes at that location. Arriving at 15 hours (3 o’clock) at the site after passing through the door of the of the Avellan mine where three families lived, she was insulted by Iluminada Alias Ruiz, 48 years old, wife of Juan Arias Alias, 52 years old, who called her a ‘sow and slut’ (marranilla y putilla) and other similar names, claiming that when she passed through, she signaled her husband to go with her to the quarry. “Archivo Histórico Provincial de Almería Gobierno Civil. Secretaría General. GC-834. Partes Guardia Civil (Civil Guard). Rodalquilar, 21/05/1946.

intervene in the private life of others, ordering employment shifts to avoid “the inevitable.”⁶⁷

Another version of gender violence pertaining to this code of honor would be the practice of abortion and infanticide, typified as genuinely female crimes. The dictatorship went above and beyond in their condemnation based on the Fascist pro-birth policy. In fact, they sublimated motherhood as a patriotic duty, punished celibacy with Social Service and condemned abortion as a “crime against the state because it was an attack on the race.” The Law of January 24, 1941, repealing Articles 417-420 of the Penal Code, established in its first article as punishable “all non-spontaneous abortions.” The established convictions punished not only the women but everyone else who aided this practice, with particular emphasis on medical personnel, midwives and practitioners.⁶⁸

The persecution of these professionals placed women in such difficult situations that they often were doomed to knock on the door of unqualified midwives. Thus, the abortion was limited to clandestine networks and silent sororities, and as much as it was persecuted, 125,000 cases were detected yearly in Spain. In the province of Zaragoza alone, most of the abortions practiced in the forties were for single women and widows intimidated into protecting their honor.⁶⁹

The scarce knowledge, means and hygienic conditions in which abortions took place, often also resulted in tragedy. On November 29, 1941 Dolores López Román died in Almería; she had wanted to elude:

[L]a vergüenza que sufría diariamente el saberse embarazada y ser de dominio público que su marido Andrés Alonso Palenzuela se hallaba en la Cárcel Provincial de esta ciudad desde la Liberación y que fue conducido el pasado mes a Pamplona condenado a 12 años y un día de prisión, si bien tanto los familiares de la víctima como ésta y aún su propio marido reconocían que el embarazo lo era de su marido al que le habían facilitado medios de

⁶⁷ Rodríguez, Óscar. *Migas con miedo. Prácticas de resistencia al primer franquismo. Almería, 1939-1953* (Almería: UAL, 2008); Mir Conxita. *Vivir es sobrevivir. Justicia, orden y marginación en la Cataluña rural de posguerra* (Lleida: Milenio, 2000) and “La violencia contra uno mismo: el suicidio en el contexto represivo del franquismo”, *Ayer*, n° 38 (2000): 187-210.

⁶⁸ *Ley del aborto in Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE)*, 2/02/1941. Nash, Mary. “Pronatalism and motherhood in Franco’s Spain”, in Bock, Gisela & Thane, Pat (eds.). *Maternity & Gender Policies. Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States 1880s-1950s* (London: Routledge, 1991): 160-177; de Grazia, Victoria. *How Fascism ruled Women. Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁶⁹ Blasco, Inmaculada. “Actitudes de las mujeres bajo el primer Franquismo: La práctica del aborto en Zaragoza durante los años 40”, *Arenal*, n° 6/1 (1999): 165-180.

poderse ver a solas y verificar el coito cuyo extremo hasta la fecha no se ha comprobado.⁷⁰

Whether it was true or an invention to silence the rumors, the reality was that many women like Dolores decided to end such “embarrassing” situations by risking their own lives. In fact, the operation was a disaster and, as a result, she died of tetanus. Gender violence was omnipresent: in the criminal act of abortion itself, in the punitive legislation against abortion, in the way in which was carried out on the woman’s body, and in a society that condemned her dishonor “a priori”.

Other times, young women hid the “shame” for nine months and waited for the child to be born to dispose of him/her, avoiding the inquisitive eyes of a postwar society, entertained in overseeing the lives of others. During the Second Republic there were cases such as the “Crime of Trubia”, in which the solidarity of the Asturian town with a girl, pregnant and abandoned by her boyfriend, would respond to a discourse as much related to masculinity as to motherhood. The fact that the young woman Josefa Menéndez ended the life of her ex-boyfriend was defended in this case as a weapon of resistance to the injustice perpetrated against her. The abandonment of a pregnant woman was the “context of injustice” that justified the murder beyond a crime of passion. The rights and obligations code in gender relations had been ignored, so that “the radical biology” had obscured the social dimension of the case, to the detriment of the main argument of the defense: Josefa’s position as mother.⁷¹

In the final paradigm to be analyzed, three elements of gender violence in interwar private life will be studied: crime, abortion and the absence of a husband / father. As mentioned above, in the 30s and 40s in Spain sex-gender education and social order continued to consider the virginity of marriageable women, chastity of widows and faithfulness of married women, inalienable moral ground. Maintaining that code of conduct guaranteed their inclusion in the community, and women transgressors

⁷⁰ “The daily embarrassment she suffered knowing herself to be pregnant and to be publicly known her husband Andrés Alonso Palenzuela was in the city’s Provincial prison since the Liberation, and that he was transferred last month to Pamplona, sentenced to 12 years and one day imprisonment, although both the relatives of the victim, herself, and even her own husband acknowledged the pregnancy was her husband’s, since it had been allowed for them to meet alone and verified there had been intercourse, the extreme results’ of which have not been proven to date” Rodríguez, Óscar. *Poder y actitudes sociales durante la postguerra en Almería (1939-1953)* (Almería: UAL, 2007).

⁷¹ Aresti, Nerea. “El crimen de Trubia. Género, discursos y ciudadanía republicana”, *Ayer*, n° 64/4 (2006): 261-285.

supposed disgrace for them and their families. Therefore, as explained by Ranahit Guha, relatives expressed fear and apprehension towards those members of the group who posed a shameful threat. As noted at the beginning of our essay, in that sense, all women would be potentially dangerous, as well as, complete strangers for the males in the family. The dialectic established between family solidarity and fear would make female sexuality subject to a control that could only be eluded by subterfuge and stealth, or what amounts to the same thing, small everyday rebellions of those who knew themselves to be subordinate.

As already noted, the only means of escaping the determinism of a pregnancy and, by extension, dishonor, were suicide and abortion. Along with these, monasticism represented a sort of “limbo” governed by its own rules, and for many young women with no way out would amount to their own death or “social destruction.” During the postwar period two historical solutions were created; secular celibacy of the Women’s Section of the FET-JONS and the redemption of misguided women in the Board for Women’s Protection, two organizations created precisely to monitor and punish.⁷²

All these elements appear in an anonymous case of a small court in an insignificant village of Almería. In 1946, María Domínguez López went to the Civil Guard headquarters of Viator to denounce her husband, Francisco Cruz César, for attempted abortion and making death threats. The underlying cause was none other than the illegitimate son she had with a Falangist while her husband was imprisoned for “assisting the rebellion.” Since his release, the presence of the four-year-old child caused continuous abuse. The daily coexistence with the proof of dishonor prompted “Francisquitico’s” abandonment and the administration of four doses of sodium sulfate to Mary, so that she would abort a new offspring from the same man. In order to avoid responsibility for the ingestion of the abortive solution, the complainant alleged several bruises from a beating to make her swallow the solution without water. Moreover, to ensure that her case was declared admissible in an offense trial a political motive was introduced, explaining how “when his people come to govern Spain they will have influences, constantly attacking Spain’s current regime and saying that someday they will avenge their opponents and her, who was also a fascist”. The other extreme of the case, the death threat came from her eldest daughter, who was also educated in “Marxist theories”:

⁷² Foucault, Michel. *Surveiller et punir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Richards, Michael. *A time of silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Richmond, Kathleen. *Woman and Spanish fascism* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Te vuelvo a escribir Mariquita y te digo que hoy más que nunca necesito hablar contigo hazme ese gusto y ese favor, de no hacerlo así habrás dado de cumplir con tu deber entonces yo no seré responsable lo que pueda suceder de un momento a otro adios.⁷³

The disgraced husband's defense, who justified his violence, was as revealing as the indictment. According to him the abuse was due to Mary's "speak ill of him in public" so the threatening note was only intended to "scare" her. She symbolized the *corpus delicti*, and the drama that her body was enduring, bruised by the blows and the effects of laxatives in a pregnant woman, were all her own doing. First with her adultery, then by her "wicked tongue" and, finally, by trying to impose herself on the will of her husband, who did not want to return to that family. His male authority was called into question and he felt threatened by that pregnancy. According to Guha, the family's solidarity fell apart the moment the "patriarchal hegemony ordered her to terminate the pregnancy [...] their relationship is one of domination and subordination. No other experience, aside from violation, clarifies so vigorously before a woman's eyes the character of sexual politics."⁷⁴

Attempting against masculinity must be, after all, the primitive origin of the most primitive manifestation of human nature: violence. Only confronting dialectically two instincts such as ethos and pathos—the impulse of the love-sex drive with pain and death—can we understand the use and abuse of irrational gender repression in times of war and peace, under democracy and under dictatorship, in the public and private realms, between the defenders of freedom and social change, and the guardians of chivalry and order.

Conclusions

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, war imagery established gender roles and was useful in reinforcing dominant virility. In fact, according to Brian Bunk, the division of the struggle into two litigant camps

⁷³ "I write to you again "Mariquita" and I tell you that now more than ever I need to talk to you; do me the favor, if you do not do it, you will not have done your duty and I will not be responsible for what might happen suddenly. Goodbye." Archivo del Juzgado de Paz de Viator, Expedientes de Juicios de Faltas, Sumario 253 (1946-1948).

⁷⁴ Guha, Ranahit. "The Chandra's Death", *Subaltern Studies V* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press (1995): 135-165.

symbolizes the separation of spheres between public-masculine and private-feminine. From this contrast the enemy would be “effeminate” and only by transcending the honor code and using gender repression, would he be transformed into a beast. Masculinity therefore arose within the conflicts as a moral quality, characterized by violence. Political and military power were ultimately based on their capacity to defend women and the family.

The use of images and discourses in this study did not attempt to explain anything but the symbolic charge of sexual aggression; a symptomatic act of brutalization of contemporary societies, even before European interwar periods. However, gender violence would not be just one more weapon, but rape, torture and female humiliation constituted a sacrilege or rite of passage.

Attacking women's bodies is a mobilizing provocation or trigger, in order to demonstrate the existence of total war. And, in turn, it is the reaction of “masculinity” when threatened by the emergence of sociopolitical women. This was especially visible in the context of revolutionary changes such as those in 1808 and 1936, misogynist reactionary supporters in the six years of the absolutism of Fernando VII, and Franco's dictatorship.

That the forms of violence were so similar in opposing factions only responds to the deep traditionalism of religious roots of Spanish society; a generation that elevated women to the icon of the Marian or Trotskyite “mother”.

Finally, that the private scope was perceived to be so contaminated by chauvinistic aggressiveness is only a reflection of the culture of war that would linger, as long as, the state of martial law in 1949. In fact, domestic terrorism was merely a particular manifestation of sexual inequality, structural violence, and the institutionalization of Franco's patriarchy.

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LOCKS OF HAIR/LOCKS OF SHAME? WOMEN, DISSIDENCE, AND PUNISHMENT DURING FRANCISCO FRANCO'S DICTATORSHIP

M. Cinta Ramblado Minero

To my mother, Concha and my grandmother, Adela

When attempting to approach the effects of the Spanish Civil War on Spanish women, there has been a tendency to explore the way in which the dictatorship shaped gender roles and models of femininity during its nearly four decades of rule. Therefore, the most obvious themes that come to mind are related to the shaping of Spanish womanhood according to the precepts of *Sección Femenina* and its strategies in the nationalization of women,¹ which led to the establishment of a gender model aimed at shaping the role of women as perpetuators of National Catholicism. However, one of the issues that seems to have been missed, or at least disregarded until recently in the study of Francoist womanhood, is connected to the politics of exclusion exercised by the regime from the very first moment of the July 1936 coup and rigidly applied throughout the dictatorship, especially at times of instability, such as the first postwar (1940s) and the late Franco period (*tardofranquismo*).²

¹ In the Spanish context, Ángela Cenarro defines the nationalization of women as the imposition of traditional gender roles for the benefit and resurgence of the Francoist state. In this way, women's roles as mothers and wives were revalued and resignified as duties that would contribute to the construction of the new state. Ángela Cenarro, *La sonrisa de Falange: Auxilio Social en la guerra civil y la posguerra* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), 91.

² Although the works of Giuliana Di Febo (*Resistencia y movimiento de mujeres en España, 1936–1976* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1979)) and Shirley Mangini (*Recuerdos de la resistencia. La voz de las mujeres de la guerra civil española* (Barcelona: Península, 1997)) are pioneering in this respect, there is still a need to further explore women's experiences of repression and strategies of resistance. In the last decade, a number of essential contributions have appeared, such as Mónica Moreno Seco, "Las mujeres de la república y la guerra civil desde la perspectiva democrática actual," *Pasado y memoria. Revista de Historia Contemporánea* 6 (2007): 73–93; Claudia Cabrero, "Espacios femeninos de lucha. Rebeldías cotidianas y otras formas de resistencia de las mujeres durante el primer franquismo," *Historia del presente* 4 (2004): 31–45. and Mercedes Yusta, "Rebeldía individual, compromiso familiar, acción colectiva. Las mujeres en la resistencia al franquismo durante los años cuarenta," *Historia del presente* 4 (2004): 63–92.

Apart from the nationalization of women to become part of the state project—what Aurora G. Morcillo called “True Catholic Womanhood”—the regime also enforced a number of measures that would determine the exclusion of dissident women from such sociopolitical projects. Within this politics of exclusion, the conjunction of morality and politics would be crucial as women’s political agency would be judged morally and would lead to their demonization and marginalization in a clear exercise of what Sofía Rodríguez López explores under the heading of “state gender violence” in this same volume.³ An essential tool in this strategic dislocation of dissident women would be exercised by means of public punishment in all its varieties, from physical punishment in the form of head shaving, torture, and public humiliation, to social punishment by means of the active exclusion of these women from Spanish society in terms of restricted access to the labor market and their forced dependence on the charity and assistance of the regime, mainly through *Auxilio Social*. In fact, the social control exercised by the Franco regime was primarily based on two strategies: repression and charity. The first was aimed at the physical annihilation of dissidence; the second had as its primary objective the construction of a conforming society dependent on the state.⁴

Accordingly, the aim of this chapter is to examine the repressive strategies of the Spanish dictatorship against women. It is my contention that the Francoist regime of violence and exclusion of the vanquished was inherent. This work will analyze the meaning and purpose of the nationalization and repression of women in the Francoist state, especially at times of instability, by offering a socio-historical overview of the different methods of repression against women. Furthermore, it will also focus on their relevance in the present day by means of the exploration of the chapter’s central issue in two short films: *Pelonas*⁵ and *A golpe de tacón*⁶ in order to illustrate the importance of remembering these marginal/subaltern experiences of exclusion. In this sense, what I aim to explore is how dissident/excluded women coped with the punitive politics of the regime and in which ways they rebelled against it in order to maintain a sense of identity that the dictatorship wanted to erase and which has survived, strongly, to this day. The reasons for this are twofold. First of all, the Francoist

³ See chapter 10 by Sofía Rodríguez López, in this volume.

⁴ See Ángela Cenarro, *La sonrisa de la Falange*, XIV.

⁵ Dir. by Laly Zambrano and Ramón de Fontecha (RdeF Producciones Audiovisuales, 2003).

⁶ Dir. by Amanda Castro (Por Tantas Cosas Producción Audiovisual, 2007).

dictatorship put the dissidents' resistance, courage, and dignity to the test, and it did so in a much greater degree with women, as they were attacked from different angles: as women, as (potential) mothers, and as political dissidents. The active exclusion to which these women were subjected meant that survival was based on the subversive and subtle contestation of the dominant gender discourse within the private sphere, the same realm that the regime aimed to penetrate by means of *Sección Femenina*. This contestation was exercised through the remembrance and transmission of experiences of marginalization, repression, and exclusion, and by means of the subtle transmission of the democratic (in some cases revolutionary) legacy of the previous era. Second, due to these strategies of subversive contestation, the role of women in the construction and transmission of a cultural memory of resistance has been essential for the recuperation of experiences of dissidence and rebellion, from the resistance within the private sphere to the survival within the punitive (and penitentiary) system of the regime.

However, in order to understand fully how the Francoist dictatorship developed its politics of exclusion against women, it is necessary to turn back to existing gender discourses before the civil war and how these developed during the conflict.

Gender Discourses in Spain in the 1930s

It must be stated that the patriarchal tradition was obviously not invented by Francoist culture. Because of its existence for centuries, a patriarchal society was reassured as the social model in the nineteenth century and, consequently, the Second Republic of 1931 would illustrate a number of contradictions directly connected to the conflict between tradition and modernity, especially with regard to the situation and role of women in Spanish society at the time.

Discrimination against women was a constant issue, continuously present in the agenda of the Left since the beginning of the labor movement in the nineteenth century.⁷ Therefore, one of the most important issues of debate of the 1931 Constitution was the understanding of gender difference based on motherhood, which was extended to women's political opportunities:

⁷ "A complementary idea of the female political subjectivity as one who defends moral values and political outlook from a more human center perspective due to the experience of motherhood." Mary Nash, *Rojas: las mujeres republicanas en la guerra civil* (Barcelona: Taurus, 1999), 52–68.

“una idea complementaria de la subjetividad política femenina definida como defensora de unos valores morales y políticos más humanos debido a la experiencia de la maternidad.”⁸ Furthermore, the political elite largely considered women inferior to men, as illustrated by the debate about the women’s vote, and the use, abuse, and later discredit of the figure of the *miliciana* by the Republic itself in the early stages of the civil war. In this same regard, the juridical and political advances of the Second Republic had prepared the scene for the emancipation of women in several fields, especially in relation to their position in society and the work force, and their right to control their own sexuality and reproduction. However, the intended advances of the Republic, a necessary part of the modernization project, did not find their equivalent in social dynamics, as “la situación social de las españolas en la práctica seguía marcada por la desigualdad,”⁹ and, in general terms, gender equality was a project whose implementation failed. This was not exclusively due to the instauration of Francoism, as patriarchal values were equally strong in all political groups, both on the Right and on the Left. Thus, despite the access to the public sphere of an elite, women’s contribution to the war effort, and later to the resistance (in the case of the vanquished) or to the construction of the new state (in the case of the victors) was conceived in terms of domesticity from the rearguard. Nevertheless, as Cabrero and Yusta have already noted, for many women the Republic (and the revolution) represented a unique opportunity for emancipation and liberation that would be truncated by the war and finally buried by the dictatorship.¹⁰

With the beginning of the civil war and its three long years of conflict, women on both sides were asked to contribute to the war effort in very similar ways. Despite the mythical figure of the militia woman (the *miliciana*), and apart from the obvious exceptions of political leaders, the role of Spanish women demanded from both the Republic and the rebel side was very much dominated by the functions assigned to them according to traditional models of gendered behavior and labor. On the rebel (Francoist) side, there was never any attempt at social change for women, as Francoism “recogía la tradición patriarcal y la hacía plenamente suya” (Francoism appropriated and enhanced the patriarchal tradition).¹¹ This nationalization

⁸ “Spanish women’s social condition was in practice one of inequality” Nash, *Rojas*, 82.

⁹ Nash, *Rojas*, 281–82.

¹⁰ Claudia Cabrero, “Espacios femeninos; Mercedes Yusta, “Rebeldía individual”.

¹¹ Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart, “Tríptico de mujeres. De la mujer comprometida a la marginal,” *Historia del presente* 4 (2004): 49.

of domesticity and of traditional gender roles would, in turn, give access to the public sphere to an elite, the women of *Sección Femenina*, which as early as the civil war was in charge of promulgating the subordination of women and their fate as perpetuators of Spanishness.¹²

During the civil war, apart from the short political life of the *miliciana*, understood by defenders of the Republic mainly as an instrument for the mobilization of its defenders in the war efforts,¹³ the feminine figure fostered by the Republic (and which would remain as such during the postwar years) was that of the “madre combativa,”¹⁴ The combative mother was characterized by courage and sacrifice. The Republican mother had to be brave to protect her children but also had to be ready to sacrifice them for the greater good: the fight against fascism.¹⁵ Thus, women’s role was defined in terms of their mothering potential, and since mothers are to ensure the perpetuation of the social (and in this case political) values of their society, Republican mothers became repositories of the democratic legacy threatened by the rebels. At the end of the war, when the Republic was defeated, these women (whether Republican, communist, socialist, or anarchist) had to continue their task of transmitting a legacy and an ideology that were the primary targets of the repressive strategies of the Francoist regime. Consequently, women, whether actual mothers or potential ones, were to resist a regime that unified them under the label “anti-Spanish” and excluded them from the gendered social project carried out in practice by *Sección Femenina*, a project aimed at the institutionalization of motherhood as a tool in the perpetuation of state ideology.¹⁶

The dictatorship’s notion of femininity was based on the same foundations as that of the Republic: motherhood. But this definition of women in terms of the maternal would be used for different purposes by each side during the civil war and the dictatorship. The ideological project of the Francoist regime would aim to guarantee “la perpetuación del Estado, de la tradición judeo-cristiana y de la definición de la mujer exclusivamente

¹² Helen Graham, “Mujeres y cambio social en la España de los años 30,” *Historia del presente* 2 (2003): 13.

¹³ Nash, *Rojas*, 94.

¹⁴ Nash, *Rojas*, 99.

¹⁵ Nash, *Rojas*, 100.

¹⁶ In this sense, dissident women would attempt to behave in a similar way to that of conscious or responsible motherhood as proclaimed by *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women): mothers were responsible for making the world a better place for their children. See Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2004), 162.

en su dimensión como madre y esposa, como ángel del hogar y perpetuadora de la hispanidad.”¹⁷ Despite the brutal repression, and in its clandestine resistance against the authoritarian regime of General Franco, the opposition continued to maintain the model of “madre combativa” (combative mother) developed during the war, with two main consequences for the role of dissident women in the resistance to the dictatorship: the rise of a “female consciousness” (clearly connected to women’s historical and political agency),¹⁸ and the emphasis on a “maternal genealogy” that would be responsible for the transmission of the democratic legacy.¹⁹

Although there is an extensive body of work on the nationalization of women of the Francoist regime and its fostering and enforcement of the traditional role of women in society, there seems to be a gap as regards the behavior of Republican women in this respect. The scant attention devoted to women as political subjects in the anti-Francoist struggle can be partly explained, apart from the pact of deferral (of oblivion for some) intrinsic to the transition to democracy, by means of what Carme Molinero defines as “el éxito de la política de género franquista” (the success of the gender politics under Franco)²⁰ This gender politics was based on two main principles: the politics of feminization and the exclusion of dissident women from the gender discourse of the regime. Another reason for this marginalization of women’s political agency can be found in the patriarchal and therefore masculine tradition of anti-Francoist resistance itself, since women’s agency in the practice of dissidence has until recently remained marginalized because “las organizaciones antifranquistas no requirieron a las mujeres para tareas de responsabilidad, reservándoseles tareas logísticas y de solidaridad, que eran esenciales pero que no suponían inscribir el nombre propio en la historia, ni siquiera con minúsculas” (the anti-Francoist organizations did not recruit women for leading roles, rather they performed tasks in solidarity or logistical, which were essential but did not

¹⁷ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, “Y a ti te encontré en los libros,” in *Construcciones culturales de la maternidad en España: La madre y la relación madre-hija en la literatura y el cine contemporáneos*, ed. by M. C. Ramblado Minero (Alicante: Centro de Estudios sobre la Mujer and Universidad de Alicante, 2006), 23.

¹⁸ See Temma Kaplan, “Conciencia femenina y acción colectiva: el caso de Barcelona, 1910–1918,” in *Historia y género: Las mujeres en la Europa moderna y contemporánea*, ed. by James S. Amelang and Mary Nash (Valencia: Alfons el Magnánim, 1990), 267–95.

¹⁹ Nash, Rojas, 101.

²⁰ Carme Molinero, “Mujer, represión y antifranquismo,” *Historia del presente* 4 (2004): 9.

inscribe their names in the historical record).²¹ According to patriarchal values, the woman as mother is in charge of transmitting traditional values. In the case of the Spanish dictatorship this was extended to the transmission of the main directives of the new order established in 1939. However, Republican women, as anti-Spanish, were excluded from this. Despite this exclusion, the role of these women was immensely important in the transmission of that other legacy, the utopian legacy of the Republic, and of that other memory, the memory of the vanquished of the Spanish Civil War.²²

La Roja: Female Deviance during the Dictatorship

With the establishment of Franco's regime in 1939, the traumatic event of the Spanish Civil War was utilized in different ways by the dictatorship to promote an official view of the conflict and resulting regime as the necessary means to save Spain from foreign enemies represented by the Second Republic, associated with left-wing parties and organizations. As part of this strategy, the ideology developed by the dictatorship was based on the dichotomy between Spain and anti-Spain, between the victorious and the vanquished, between good and evil. The development of this ideology was also marked by the creation of a notion/theory of Marxist evil that was aimed at the exclusion and erasure of the past: the Republic was an unpleasant accident that had to be forgotten in favor of the Hispanic values of former prosperous times. In connection with this, the construction of Francoist society as a conservative Catholic and patriarchal society was not only based on the development of a concept of femininity defined by motherhood and self-sacrifice, among other principles, but also on the erasure and eradication of the Republican legacy. If, according the tradition, mothers are the perpetuators of patriarchal ideology, Republican women, as potential mothers, would have been the repositories of

²¹ Carme Molinero, "Mujer," 9. Claudia Cabrero also argues that the lack of visibility of women in the traditional historiography of anti-Francoist dissidence is due to the underestimation of everyday acts of resistance and solidarity ("Espacios femeninos," 44).

²² Even though I acknowledge the existence of different political groups within the Spanish Left and within the collectives that supported the Republic in its fight against fascism, I refer to the "Republican legacy" to imply two things: first, that the Republic was identified with democracy, and the Second Republic is the closest democratic referent in contemporary Spain; second, with Franco's victory in 1939, the repression strategies of the new regime united all different collectives of the Left under the category of "enemy of Spain," and the survival and opposition to this repressive regime became the common goal of all those who had fought against Franco during the civil war.

Republican memory and active agents in the transmission of its utopian legacy. Following this line of thought, it is useful to refer to Odile Jansen, who considers that women are “the ‘storekeepers of memory,’ not because of their genetic structure or some other innate quality, but as a result of a lifelong, trans-generational training in caring for and nurturing others and a lifetime of unequal power status.”²³ Despite the quasi-essentialist position of Jansen as regards nurturing, this capacity can be understood in terms of social learning, not innate characterization. Thus, the Franco regime would promote nurturing as part of its politics of legitimization. Consequently, if women were to use this capability for transmitting the memory of the victors, dissident women, on the other hand, would utilize it to subvert and resist such hegemonic memory. Moreover, within the limits of their own ideology, they would use their role as storekeepers of memory for vindicating their own dissident experience of Francoist oppression and repression, as illustrated in women’s testimonies.²⁴

Because of the traditionalist foundations of the dictatorship, further strengthened by a theory of Marxist evil, the Francoist regime vilified to the extreme the behavior of Republican women, thus creating thus a stereotype of “female deviance” that the dictatorship sought to rectify with the establishment of the new order. Although Mary Nash did not consider the repressive unification of national identity as part of racial politics in her outstanding 1996 article on motherhood during the dictatorship,²⁵ recent contributions by Ricard Vinyes show that the “regeneration of the Spanish race” had been part of the political project of Francoism since the war, and was amply based on the pseudo-theories of Antonio Vallejo-Nágera.²⁶ Vallejo-Nágera fostered and reassured the division between Spain and anti-Spain through pseudoscientific arguments that equated political

²³ Odile Jansen, “Women as Storekeepers of Memory: Christa Wolf’s Cassandra Project,” in *Gendered Memories*, ed. by John Neubauer and Helga Geyer-Ryan (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 35.

²⁴ See. M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, “¿Compromiso, oportunismo o manipulación? El mundo de la cultura y los movimientos por la memoria,” *Hispania Nova: Revista de Historia Contemporánea* 6 (2007), n.p. <<http://www.hispanianova.rediris.es>>, and M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, “Madres de España / Madres de la anti-España: La mujer republicana y la transmisión de la memoria republicana,” *Entelequia. Revista Interdisciplinar* 7 (2008): 129–37.

²⁵ Mary Nash, “Pronatalismo y maternidad en la España franquista,” in *Maternidad y políticas de género. La mujer en los estados de bienestar europeos, 1880-1950*, ed. by Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, trans. by Jerónima García Bonafé (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), 279–307.

²⁶ Ricard Vinyes, *Irredentas. Las presas políticas y sus hijos en las cárceles franquistas* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2002).

dissidence with social and physical disability and, consequently, with the “otherness” of anti-Spanish character.²⁷

All in all, the Republic and those in favor of it were the enemies of “los valores definidores de la Hispanidad ...: religiosidad, patriotismo y responsabilidad moral, vinculados a ideales éticos, estéticos y al ‘yo ideal’ ” (The defining values of Hispanidad ...: religious fervor, patriotism, and moral responsibility, linked to ethical ideals, aesthetic and to the ‘ideal I’).²⁸ In Vallejo-Nágera’s view, Marxism was a psychopathological disease, inherited and transmitted from generation to generation. Marxists were physically and mentally ill, and, furthermore, they were immoral, rebelling against “natural” laws of social division and Catholic doctrine. Thus, they had to be treated, re-educated, and more importantly in religious discourse, redeemed.²⁹

I have explained the treatment of dissident womanhood and mothering elsewhere,³⁰ but what I would like to explore in the following pages is the

²⁷ This ideology dominated the prison system and, by extension, the treatment of political dissidence during the Spanish dictatorship. Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, captain of Franco’s army and psychiatrist of the regime, established thus the parameters of how Spain and Anti-Spain were to be defined. Vallejo-Nágera was the director of the Gabinete de Investigaciones Psicológicas (Psychological Research Unit), and was also responsible for the racial policies of the new regime and for the training of prison employees, who were instructed to act as guarantors of “the spiritual health” of the new Spain. The political treatment and repression of dissidence was based precisely on his theories concerning the psychopathology of Marxism. These theories determined the reconstruction and control of Spanish society after the war and were the pillars of Francoist morality and social acceptability. His ideas were developed from the concept of Spanishness defended by Ramiro de Maeztu and others, and were founded on “la elaboración de una idea pura del Mal, un arquetipo que argumentó la inferioridad y perversidad de la naturaleza mental del disidente” (Vinyes, *Irredentas*, 47). According to this definition of evil, the Republic was heir to the disruptive behavior of the conversos, who over the centuries had devoted their efforts to “la difusión de la impiedad, del racionalismo, del materialismo, del marxismo” (Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, *Divagaciones Intranscendentes* (Valladolid: Talleres Tipográficos Cuesta, 1938), 97–98).

²⁸ Ricard Vinyes, Montse Armengou, and Ricard Belis, *Los niños perdidos del Franquismo* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 2002), 37, quoting Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, *El factor emoción en la España Nueva* (Burgos: Federación de Amigos de la Enseñanza, 1938), 13.

²⁹ In order to guarantee the improvement of the Spanish race, Vallejo-Nágera considered that it was essential to apply “una disciplina social muy severa” (*Divagaciones Intranscendentes*, 12), a measure that was ensured in Franco’s victory in 1939 by the implementation of the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas*, later changed into the *Ley del 1 de marzo sobre la represión de la masonería y el comunismo* in 1940. The amendments to the law eliminated only the retroactive character of the 1939 version. Still, all political parties or anti-Francoist organizations were banned and punished accordingly (BOE, 2nd March 1940, A01537 <<http://www.boe.es/datos/imagenes/BOE/1940/062/A01537.tif>>).

³⁰ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, “Madres de España / Madres de la anti-España,” 129–37.

ways in which the above concept of female/political/moral deviance became, and remained, the core component of the punitive strategies of the state against women who did not comply with the sociopolitical project of the dictatorship.

To illustrate the construction of female deviance during the dictatorship, it is useful to look at some examples of the gendered discourse developed not only during the dictatorship but even during the war. Two interesting, yet shocking, pieces can be of use. The first is taken from one of General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano's radio broadcasts, on July 23, 1936:³¹

Nuestros valientes legionarios y Regulares han enseñado a los cobardes de los rojos lo que significa ser hombre. Y, de paso, también a las mujeres. Después de todo, estas comunistas y anarquistas se lo merecen, ¿no han estado jugando al amor libre? Ahora por lo menos sabrán lo que son los hombres de verdad y no milicianos maricas. No van a librarse por mucho que forcejeen y pataleen.³²

The second, by José Vicente Puente, was published in *Arriba. Órgano de Falange* on May 16, 1939:

Eran feas. Bajas, patizambas, sin el gran tesoro de una vida interior, sin el refugio de la religión, se les apagó de repente la feminidad y se hicieron amarillas por la envidia. El 18 de Julio se encendió en ellas un deseo de venganza y, al lado del olor a cebolla y fogón, del salvaje asesino, quisieron calmar su ira en el destrozo de las que eran hermosas. Y delataron a los hombres que nunca las habían mirado. Sobre cientos de cadáveres, sobre espigas tronchadas en lozana juventud, el rencor de las mujeres feas clavó su sucio gallardete defendido por la despiadada matanza de la horda. Y Dios las castigó a no encontrar consuelo en su rencor.³³

³¹ During the civil war, every night at 10 p.m., Queipo de Llano would come on Unión Radio Sevilla to encourage the violence within the citizenry against the loyalists and to undermine, terrorize, and vilify the defenders of the Republic.

³² Our brave soldiers have taught the cowardly reds what it means to be a man. And also to their women. After all, this communist and anarchist women deserve it. Haven't they been playing at free love? Now at least they will have experience a true man and not those queer militiamen. They won't escape even if they kick and scream. Quoted in Pelai Pagès i Blanch, *Cataluña en guerra y en revolución* (1936–1939) (Barcelona: Ediciones Espuela de Plata, 2007), 100.

³³ "They were ugly women, short, crooked-legged, without the treasure of an inner self, without the solace of religion, their femininity disappear instantly and they turned yellow of envy. On July 18, a thirst for revenge ignited in them, and with the smell of onion and stove, of the savage murderer, they tried to quench their wrath with the destruction of those other beautiful women. They turned in those men who had never noticed them. Over hundreds of corpses, over broken young lives, the rancor of these ugly women stabbed its filthy dagger defending the hordes of murderers. And God punished them to never find solace in their rancor." Reproduced in *Catálogo de la Exposición Presas de Franco*, ed. by

In both of them, we observe that there is a clear dehumanization of Republican women in terms of both their sexualized bodies and their intellect. In the case of Queipo de Llano's text, the "rojas" (reds) are treated like animals by means of sexual aggression, which is aimed at dispossessing them of control over their own bodies and their sexuality. In this sense, rape, as it is, becomes not only a display of violent control of men over women, but also of the Spanish against the anti-Spanish.³⁴ In the second fragment, women's political agency is simplified and transformed into debasing emotions: hate, envy, and revenge. Therefore, the "rojas" are demonized and thus dispossessed of their humanity. Consequently, those who consider themselves to hold the truth and the salvation of Spain must punish them.

The main objective of this strategy, followed by the regime in its exclusion of dissident women, was the absolute dispossession of their humanity and their womanhood. This discourse was in stark contrast to the propagandistic discourse of national womanhood, according to which women were the mothers of Spain in their role as maternal transmitters of the values of the regime. In fact, "la madre era el puntal propagandístico que identificaba el papel más excelso de la mujer para el franquismo en abierta contradicción con la acción programada sobre las familias de los vencidos y las mujeres presas" ("motherhood was the ultimate role and the main propaganda icon in the Francoist imaginary. This was in sharp contrast with the action programed against the vanquished families and imprisoned women").³⁵ Obviously, from this point of view, motherhood was a "sacred" emotional and political tool for the dictatorship, but only that type of motherhood that complied with the state project. What I have called "dissident motherhood" elsewhere was to be controlled, as these women were the ones that could transmit this disease identified with the legacy of the

Sergio Gálvez Biesca and Fernando Hernández Holgado (Madrid: Fundación de Investigaciones Marxista and Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2007), 183.

³⁴ In this sense, rape was not only exercised as a violation of the woman's body, but also as an attack on her partner and family and, by extension, on the Republic (Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart, "Las mecánicas de la infamia," in *La gran represión. Los años de plomo del franquismo*, ed. by Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart (Barcelona: Flor del Viento Ediciones, 2009), 185). Furthermore, it must be noted that this practice has been common in armed conflict and repressive regimes as a way of showing the annihilation capability of the aggressors. By raping women, the specific side is making a point about their intention and capacity to eradicate resistance and their strong lack of respect or empathy for the enemy. Examples of this can be found in the cases of the Chilean and Argentine dictatorship, in the Balkans, and in civil conflict in African countries.

³⁵ Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart, "Las mecánicas de la infamia," 137.

Republic. In this context, dissident women were to receive treatment in different ways to guarantee the eradication of any vestiges of the democratic past and, in this way, ensure the legitimization of the Crusade and of the new order. Consequently, the dissident mother had to be erased and silenced in an attempt to erase the values of the Republic and of the left.³⁶ Also, due to the historical understanding of the anti-Spanish character, the Republic, as representative of this enemy in the twentieth century “debía ser extirpado de raíz” (had to be severed from the root) and the most efficient way of doing this was by means of purging society and targeting women in order to disable their capacity as storekeepers of memory.³⁷

Therefore, within this “national deviance” psychiatrist Vallejo-Nágera especially singled out women,³⁸ for they were more prone to evil and degeneration due to their obvious mental inferiority. In fact, in an article that discussed the results of his research on women political prisoners in Málaga, the infamous psychiatrist use the conclusions reached to establish the parameters of female deviance that were to prevail during the dictatorship:

Si la mujer es habitualmente de carácter apacible, dulce y bondadoso se debe a los frenos que obran sobre ella; pero como *el psiquismo femenino tiene muchos puntos de contacto con el infantil y el animal*, cuando desaparecen las inhibiciones de los impulsos instintivos, entonces se despierta en el sexo femenino *el instinto de crueldad y rebasa todas las posibilidades imaginadas*, precisamente por faltarle las inhibiciones inteligentes y lógicas.³⁹ (my emphasis)

This quote connects clearly with the dehumanization of women already observed in the texts by Queipo de Llano and Puente. Furthermore, it makes explicit the need to control women and inhibit their animal instincts.

³⁶ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, “Madres de España / Madres de la anti-España: La mujer republicana y la transmisión de la memoria republicana,” 129–37.

³⁷ Manuel Álvaro Dueñas, “‘Por derecho de fundación’: la legitimación de la represión franquista,” in *La gran represión. Los años de plomo del franquismo*, ed. by Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart (Barcelona: Flor del Viento Ediciones, 2009), 67.

³⁸ See, for instance, Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, *Divagaciones intrascendentes* (Valladolid: Talleres Tipográficos Cuesta, 1938), and *Eugenesia de la Hispanidad y regeneración de la raza* (Burgos: Editorial Española, 1937).

³⁹ If women are usually nurturing, sweet, and caring is because of the limitations imposed on them, but due to the fact that female psychology has many points in common with children's, when those limitations disappear the instinct of cruelty arise in the female sex reaching unimaginable possibilities, precisely because they lack the inhibitions set by reason and logic. Antonio Vallejo-Nágera and Eduardo M. Martínez, “Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes,” *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 9 [anno II, 1939]: 399, emphasis mine.

In Francoist society, National Catholicism guided women's education, which meant two things: on the one hand, the regime's educational system led women to adhere to traditional notions of femininity, which dictated "their duties as mothers and daughters of the fatherland," what Aurora Morcillo has defined as "True Catholic Womanhood";⁴⁰ but on the other, it would treat badly those who had gone astray from the national project. This treatment was conceived in terms of punishment and exclusion. Anchored on the theories of Vallejo-Nágera, the regime believed firmly in "la necesidad social del castigo" in order to reconstruct the damaged and degenerated national identity.⁴¹ Under the strong influence of Catholic ideology, the punishment of dissidence was understood as a way of purifying and redeeming the deviant. The regime's political manipulation and implementation of the concept of sin was to justify the punishment and stigmatization of dissident women. There was not so much an interest for the redemption of the sinner as for the indoctrination and control of Spanish society, both during and after the war. In this respect, the discourse of the dictatorship was, as in many other aspects, highly contradictory. On the one hand, punishment was considered necessary for three main reasons: "porque a la autoridad le incumbe inexcusablemente el deber de vindicar la justicia ultrajada; ... porque el dolor es inherente esencialmente a la naturaleza moral del castigo, y ... porque sólo un castigo de esta clase engendra escarmiento y ejemplaridad" ("Because the authority is responsible to vindicate the violated justice;... because the pain is inherent to the moral nature of punishment, and... because only a punishment of this sort generates exemplar repentance and redemption").⁴² On the other hand, the regime's propaganda portrayed the penitentiary system (the prime organ of the punitive measures of the dictatorship) in terms of charitable social work by which the state gave the dissident (criminalized by the legislation of 1939) the opportunity to rejoin Spanish society as an individual converted to the true values of the New Spain. In another turn of the screw however, as Hernández Holgado elaborates, Franco made a clear distinction between the unredeemable criminals, who should not be allowed to re-enter society, and those who were "capaces de sincero

⁴⁰ Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 3.

⁴¹ Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, *Psicosis de guerra. Estudio clínico y estadístico* (Madrid: Morata, 1942), 90.

⁴² *Redención* 84 (November 2, 1949), quoted in Fernando Hernández Holgado, *Mujeres encarceladas. La prisión de Ventas: de la República al franquismo, 1931-1941* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003), 185.

arrepentimiento, ... redimibles, ... adaptables a la vida social del patriotismo" (capable of sincere repentance... redeemable ... adaptable to the social life of patriotism").⁴³ Thus, penance was understood in terms of purification and, in this way, punitive measures were considered necessary for atonement. Dissidents had to pay for their actions, which were criminalized in a turn of justice.⁴⁴ Public and exemplary punishment was seen as necessary in order to emphasize the regime's power and the force of their new order. Furthermore, in the case of women, it was conceived of as a tool that would ensure the prevalence of the traditional notion of womanhood, actively enforced by *Sección Femenina* in its indoctrination program.

In all, for these punitive tactics to be effective, it was essential that they had public resonance and could be identified as such. This applied not only to the penitentiary system and the exercise of justice by the regime, but also to the preventive punishment, taking place outside the prison walls.

Consequently, and before going any further, I would like to make a distinction between what I call "penitentiary punishment" on the one hand and "punitive social strategies" on the other. Even though the two modes were directed towards the same objective—the cleansing of Spanish society—the first was determined by the need to eradicate political dissidence, considered foreign by the regime, while the second was conceived as a preventative measure. In fact, penitentiary punishment (from detention, torture, and imprisonment to execution outside the cemetery walls) served, the double purpose of extermination and prevention in the 1940s. It would eliminate active dissidence and would prevent the development or re-awakening of resistance. As I have explained elsewhere, "Social resistance was futile; the vanquished had to focus on surviving in a society that would condemn them to exclusion and perpetual humiliation, and had to abandon

⁴³ "Inquietud y preocupación por los presos. Incorregibles y redimibles por la vía del trabajo," *Redención* 1 (April 1, 1939): 2, quoted in Hernández Holgado, *Mujeres encarceladas*, 121.

⁴⁴ This is what Ángela Cenarro calls "justicia al revés," which was implemented by the declaration on behalf of the rebels of the state of war in 1936: "Con un mecanismo tan simple como dejar fuera de la ley a quienes se mantenían leales al gobierno republicano, los sublevados expulsaron de la sociedad y del Estado a millones de españoles. Todos ellos quedaron incurso, de la noche a la mañana, en el delito de rebelión, que posteriormente se denominó 'delito de rebelión marxista'" (Ángela Cenarro, 2003, "La institucionalización del universo penitenciario franquista," in *Una inmensa prisión. Los campos de concentración y las prisiones durante la guerra civil y el franquismo*, ed. by Carme Molinero, Margarida Sala and Jaume Sobrequés [Barcelona: Crítica, 2003], 134).

even the thought of any systematic or organized dissidence.”⁴⁵ Mirta Núñez explains the importance of the visibility of punishment:

La gran masa de población que no era tocada de forma directa por la acción violenta, también estaba en el punto de mira. A ellos se dirigía una operación preventiva de carácter disuasorio, no *porque hubieran hecho*, sino justamente lo contrario, *para que no hicieran*. A ellos se dirige la visibilidad del castigo que se aplica a los vencidos, para que entendiesen que, si no querían sufrirlo debían entrar en el limbo de los que no veían, no hablaban, no oían pero sobre todo, callaban.⁴⁶ (2009, 25; emphasis in the original)

In the combination of these two types of punishment and social/political control, we can observe the complexity and effectiveness of the repressive machine of the regime, but at the same time, the influence that the dictatorship's punishment would have in the construction and permanence of a subaltern memory. In the case of women, the connection between the experience of repression and punishment and the reactive construction of a memory of it which will last and be transmitted to future generations can be explained in terms of what Temma Kaplan has defined as “female consciousness.” According to Kaplan, female consciousness erupts in the realm of the public when women see their gender roles being threatened by external forces.⁴⁷ In the case of anti-Francoist women, they saw the values that they had fought for and that they would want to transmit to their

⁴⁵ M. Cinta Ramblado Minero, “The Shadow of the Dissident: Reflections on Francoism in Carlos Ruiz Zafón's *The Shadow of the Wind*,” in *Clues: A Journal of Detection* 26, no. 3 (2008): 77.

⁴⁶ “The great mass of the population not affected by direct violence was nevertheless under surveillance. Those people were the target of a preventive propaganda operation with a dissuading content. They were not guilty of anything but they were to be prevented from falling. They are the receiving audience and the target of the exemplary punishment of the vanquished. They understood that in order to avoid such punishment they had to enter a limbo-like space of those who pretended they did not see, or hear, but above all they remained silent.” Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart, “El porqué y el para qué de la represión,” *La gran represión. Los años de plomo del franquismo*, ed. by Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart (Barcelona: Flor del Viento Ediciones, 2009), 25, emphasis in the original. Also, Michael Richards, in his seminal work *A Time of Silence*, explains this situation in a very accurate manner: “The defeated’ struggled for mere survival and pretended not to hear the firing squads, not to notice the queues outside the prisons, or the systematic destruction of their own identities. The rhythm of daily life, family, work, childhood and old age was dictated by virtual slavery. National material self-sufficiency was mirrored at the level of the individual, ensuring a retreat into the domestic sphere. Social solidarities were thereby broken down and the physical energy necessary for resistance dissipated” (*A Time of Silence. Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)), 24. See also Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939–1975* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 4, 53.

⁴⁷ Temma Kaplan, “Conciencia femenina.”

children jeopardized by the regime. They saw, in public displays of state punishment, how the dictatorship was attempting to eradicate their value system; they would experience, even in the realm of the private, the different strategies of Francoism for the social and political control of dissidence (from the need for political guarantors in order to get employment to the invasive strategies of *Sección Femenina*, which would penetrate the private sphere to ensure that the values of the new state were transmitted within Spanish households). In many cases, it is precisely thanks to this reluctance to forget and this resistance against the imposition of the dictatorship's dominant memory that we can reconstruct many of the experiences of women, especially as regards punishment and exclusion. In order to explore the nature and aims of punishment on women in a more structured manner and how it is translated into dissident counter-memory, I would like to divide the next part of this chapter into two main sections. In the first one, I will look at the punitive measures of the regime in terms of imprisonment, using as case study the execution of the group of women called "las trece rosas" (the thirteen roses); in the second, I will explore the preventive measures together with the punishment that took part outside of the confinement spaces of the regime with especial attention to two recent short films which elaborate on the need for remembrance.

Punishment Behind Bars: The Dictatorship's Penitentiary System

The Spanish penitentiary system was reformed by Victoria Kent during the short years of the Second Republic. The changes to the system were based on the idea of social reinsertion and education as an essential tool in the correction of criminality. Under her guidance, the objective was to give prisoners the opportunity to successfully rejoin society as useful citizens who could contribute to their social milieu. This was achieved by means of training, so that prisoners would have a number of skills that would allow them to join the workforce at the end of their sentence, and by the humanization of the prisoners in terms of hygiene, diet, space, and personal relations.⁴⁸ As seen above, this was all to change, and not just with the establishment of the dictatorship. During the war, *checas* (prisons in the Republican side) were used as spaces of arrest and confinement in territories occupied by the Francoist troops and also in those areas loyal to the Republic. The Francoist penitentiary system, despite its discursive

⁴⁸ Hernández Holgado, *Mujeres encarceladas*, 42–43.

contradictions, meant a devolution in the understanding of punishment and the nature of the prisoner. The humanization implemented by the Republic turned to further dehumanization, especially if the convict was accused of political dissidence. Furthermore, there was a distinction between common prisoners and political prisoners, which was to be blurred toward the end of the 1940s in order to make a case for the concept of peace as opposed to the concept of victory, forced by the international climate after the end of the Second World War.

However, the end of the Spanish Civil War involved the institutionalization of a program of political cleansing that had started during the war. This was implemented by means of legislation and by the annulment of all Republican dispositions (legal, social, and cultural). The consequences of Franco's victory can be clearly grasped from the *Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas* (Political Responsibilities Bill) promulgated by the rebel side in February 1939, shortly before the end of the war. The bill retroactively established that anybody who participated in the attempted revolution of 1934 or who, from 1936 onwards, opposed the National Movement, actively or passively, was committing a crime against the state. Accordingly, all political parties and organizations that were part of the Popular Front (which formed the last Republican government elected democratically on February 16, 1936) were declared illegal and could be prosecuted. With this all-encompassing law, who would survive the Francoist peace?

With the application of this legislation, prisons throughout Spain were being overcrowded with prisoners. The system collapsed and led to a number of general pardons so that the prison system could hold those who were considered serious enemies of the New Spain.⁴⁹ At this point, it is necessary to adhere to the distinction made by Ricard Vinyes as regards political prisoners in the dictatorship, especially in the first postwar period. According to Vinyes, there were two types of political prisoners: early and late convicts. The former were detained and incarcerated by application of the retroactive character of the Political Responsibilities Bill; the latter were detained during the dictatorship itself and would suffer the most severe sentences (from 30 years to death) due to their political significance and motivation. The group of early prisoners were people who had identified with the Republican cause during the war (soldiers, intellectuals,

⁴⁹ Ricard Vinyes, "El universo penitenciario durante el franquismo," in *Una inmensa prisión. Los campos de concentración y las prisiones durante la guerra civil y el franquismo*, ed. by Carme Molinero, Margarida Sala, and Jaume Sobrequés (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 157.

professionals such as teachers, journalists, and doctors), or their families (including their mothers, wives, and daughters); these people could end up in prison as a result of claims by their neighbors but had no time to willingly participate in the re-organization of any sort of resistance to the regime. The latter group of prisoners were members of political parties active in the reconstruction of resistance; for them, the war was not finished and, as far as they were concerned, the regime did not consider it finished either.⁵⁰

All in all, the main objective was to segregate those regarded as infected with the Marxist virus and to dispossess them of all human qualities. It is pertinent to reiterate that the dictatorship understood punishment in terms of dispossession and dehumanization; that is, “la desposesión integral, material y moral, una desposesión cotidiana, de defensas físicas y de voluntad” (“the total dispossession, material and moral, a daily deprivation of will and physical defenses”).⁵¹ This process started with the arrest and questioning in police stations, detention centers, and Falange headquarters. During the interrogation, physical punishment was taken to the extreme, with regular beatings until the person was sent to prison, where the beatings could continue if the prison director granted entry to police officers and members of Falange. Prisoners could also be called to “diligencias” for further questioning, where they would be tortured again and returned to prison. The detention and questioning process was also almost ritualistic, as “al maltrato físico se sumaba el dolor psíquico” and “El tratamiento también incluía, en la mayor parte de los casos, no sólo sufrirlo en primera persona sino también oírlo o verlo en los demás” (“to the physical mistreatment was added the psychological pain. The treatment also included in most cases, not only endure it personally but to hear it and see it inflicted upon others”).⁵² In this regard, the distinction between the two types of prisoners also translated in the degree and type of pain that was inflicted. In the case of the early prisoners, “Aquella brutalidad no buscaba otra cosa que el escarmiento o a lo sumo la delación, para expandir las capturas y dejar bien claro quién mandaba y de qué manera lo hacía” (“such brutality looked for nothing more than punishment to expand the captures

⁵⁰ Ricard Vinyes, “El universo penitenciario durante el franquismo,” 157–59. Even though, in its official discourse, the Franco regime prided itself in the establishment of peace, the existence of armed resistance in the 1940s, in the form of the anti-Francoist guerrilla movement, obviated the illegitimacy of the new regime. See Secundino Serrano, *Maquis. Historia de la guerrilla antifranquista* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2003).

⁵¹ Ricard Vinyes, “El universo penitenciario durante el franquismo,” 170.

⁵² Mirta Núñez, Díaz-Balart, “Las mecánicas de la infamia,” 148.

and establish clearly who had the power”);⁵³ the later prisoners were to suffer more sophisticated torture methods, such as electric shock, uncomfortable, painful postures, drowning, etc. In this instance, the objective was not just to teach a lesson but also to obtain as much information as possible for the dismantling of any sources of resistance.⁵⁴

The experiences of women within the penitentiary system differed from those of men. The type of punishment that women were subjected to, both during detention and in prison, illustrates some gender specificities. It was mentioned earlier that the dehumanization of the dissident was the primary objective of the punitive tactics of the regime. In this sense, there were two main implications of the animalization or bestialization of both men and women who were considered enemies of the state. On the one hand, their vilification was aimed at justifying the punitive measures of the repression; and on the other, it fostered “una inmunización emocional que bloquee cualquier sentimiento de empatía hacia el otro” (“a sort of emotional immunization to blocked any feelings of empathy with the other”).⁵⁵ The reduction of the dissident to the animal level justified revenge and cruelty as the right measures to regenerate and protect Spanishness. With regard to women, this meant that torture would involve attacks on their identity as women, as mothers, and as dissidents. As part of the physical aggression suffered by women detainees, their heads could be shaved, they could be raped, and all of this was to be accompanied by an aggressive language that insulted them not only as political dissidents, but as female ones who “se habían comportado de forma perversa, no sólo como individuos que toman opciones políticas, sino también como mujeres” (“they behave in a perverse fashion, not only as individuals with certain political positions, but also as women”).⁵⁶

Accordingly, due to women’s role within the patriarchal system and within the regime’s social project, female dissidents were a primary target, for “la mujer era el eje central para la desprogramación de la población. En ella descansaba el primer eslabón de la desmemoria, aquél que llevaba a los hogares el silencio y la pérdida de identidad. Sobre la mujer recaía aún más la vergüenza que el régimen quería hacer recaer sobre sus potenciales—o verdaderos—opositores” (“women were the central axis to

⁵³ Vinyes, “El universo penitenciario durante el franquismo,” 157.

⁵⁴ Vinyes, “El universo penitenciario durante el franquismo,” 158.

⁵⁵ Núñez Díaz-Balart, “Las mecánicas de la infamia,” 149.

⁵⁶ Frances Lannon, “Los cuerpos de las mujeres y el cuerpo político católico: autoridades e identidades en conflicto en España durante las décadas de 1920 a 1930,” *Historia Social* 35 (1999): 79.

de-program the population. They were the first step of the des-memory, which brought silence into the homes along with the erasure of identity. Women were to carry the shame that the regime reserved for the opposition").⁵⁷ Thus, penitentiary punishment upon women was this: women would be executed with no special treatment, they would be sentenced to long periods in prison, going from one uninhabitable Spanish jail to another, and they would be separated from their children or left sterile so that the Marxist virus would be contained, in an acute contradiction with the pro-natalist discourse of the regime.

Overall, dissident women's suffering had to be prolonged and/or exacerbated, which was accomplished by the execution of their comrades, motherhood in prison, the separation from their children due to the child's death or the mother's execution, or because of the introduction of their descendants into the regime's orphanage system. However, it must be said that the will of those who survived the experience of imprisonment was not annihilated by the repressive tactics of the penitentiary system. In fact, the reconstruction of the identity that the dictatorship attempted to erase was exercised by means of the remembrance of precisely that traumatic experience, and its transformation into a form of political praxis.⁵⁸

One interesting example that epitomizes both the cruelty of the regime and the reactive remembrance of women dissidents is that of *las trece rosas* (*the thirteen roses*).

The women who came to be known as *las trece rosas* were members of one of the organizations criminalized and persecuted in the first postwar era, the *Juventud Socialista Unificada* (Unified Socialist Youths/*JSU*),⁵⁹ with the exception of Blanca Brissac, who had no known political affiliation and who was, in fact, a very conservative and devout Catholic. Seven of them were underage (the legal age in Spain at the time was 21), and they were all part of a group of 57 people executed on August 5, 1939. Most of *las trece rosas* played an essential role in the reconstruction of the *JSU* in Madrid, as a continuation of the work carried out during the war.⁶⁰ Hernández Holgado elaborates on this, stating that at least ten out of the thirteen

⁵⁷ Núñez Díaz-Balart, "Las mecánicas de la infamia," 138.

⁵⁸ Hernández Holgado, *Mujeres encarceladas*, 26.

⁵⁹ The *JSU* was created in 1936 as a result of the amalgamation of the socialist and communist youths. It had more than 500,000 members and epitomized the unity of the Left, although it was more influenced by communist ideology. As the first organization to attempt reconstruction in the 1940s, the *JSU* became an obvious target of Francoist repression.

⁶⁰ Fernando Hernández Holgado, "Las trece rosas, agosto de 1939: Un diálogo entre el documento y la fuente oral," in *Els camps de concentració i el món penitenciari a Espanya*

women executed had some political responsibility within the *JSU*, whether in managerial or assistant positions. Pilar Bueno Ibáñez was responsible for the *PCE's* (*Partido Comunista de España*) Provincial Organizing Committee of Madrid; Carmen Barrero Aguado had been in charge of developing a political work plan for women within the Communist Party; Joaquina López Lafitte had different positions of responsibility within the *JSU*, related to organization and membership; Virtudes González was organizing secretary of the *JSU* provincial committee; Julia Conesa was Secretary for Sport of the West Sector; and Luisa Rodríguez de la Fuente was group leader in the Chamartín de la Rosa sector. Overall, twelve of the women who were part of the group were active members of a political organization criminalized during the dictatorship.⁶¹ Originally accused of plotting the assassination of Franco during the first Victory Parade, this hypothesis was disregarded in the final verdict.⁶² The stated criminal charge against this group of women fell under the aforementioned Political Responsibilities Bill, as it accused them of re-organizing the *JSU* and *PCE* “para cometer actos delictivos contra el ‘orden social y jurídico de la nueva España.’”⁶³ However, what precipitated their trial and execution was the July 27 assassination of Isaac Gabaldón, commander of the Civil Guard and keeper of the Freemasonry and Communism Archives, which would become an essential tool in the repressive apparatus. In an exercise of “exemplary” punishment, the State delivered swift “justice” in a manner similar to the one exercised during the war itself: public and merciless retribution.⁶⁴ Thus, the story of *las trece rosas* survived because, according to the testimonies of many of the women who were in prison at the time, their case was the most irregular even given the irregularities of Francoist justice: they were not given the opportunity to ask for clemency, as their petitions to the dictator never left the office of the prison director Carmen Castro, and Franco’s authorization for their execution arrived eight days after their

durant la guerra civil i el franquismo, ed. by Jaume Sobrequés, Carme Molinero and Margarida Sal (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 653.

⁶¹ Hernández Holgado, “Las trece rosas,” 653–55.

⁶² Hernández Holgado, “Las trece rosas,” 650.

⁶³ Hernández Holgado, “Las trece rosas,” 650.

⁶⁴ In fact, the *JSU* became the scapegoat of Gabaldón’s assassination. To this day, it is not clear who killed Gabaldón, and even his own family suspected that he had been eliminated by the dictatorship’s intelligence service itself, as he was in charge of archives which may have proven the “perverse” past of some important actors in the construction of the Francoist state (Mirta Núñez in *Que mi nombre no se borre de la historia*, dir. by Verónica Vigil and José María Almela (Delta Films, 2006)).

deaths.⁶⁵ Their execution became the patrimony of the women prisoners of *Las Ventas* women's prison in Madrid and was transformed "un mito de ... resistencia contra la opresión, necesario para la supervivencia de las presas políticas del franquismo" ("a myth of resistance against oppression, necessary for the survival of the women political prisoners under franquism").⁶⁶ They represent what Fernanda Romeu calls a paradigm of Francoist repression, for they symbolize the effects of repression on women during the postwar years, as no discrimination was made in this respect: men and women were treated in the same way and they were tortured, humiliated, and executed without distinction. The alleged fragility and innocence of women, which were part of the official discourse, were not applied in the case of political dissidents.⁶⁷ As Hernández Holgado and Linhard point out, the fact that the Roses become part of the collective memory of the prisoners is indicative of a reluctance to give in to the repression of the regime.⁶⁸ For the prisoners, the thirteen represented a reason to continue the fight, to resist and to remember, not only because they were young and innocent, wrongly accused and executed, but because they died for a worthy cause. This meant that the most important task ahead of the prisoners of *Las Ventas*, and in all prisons around the country, was to survive and remember so that they could share their stories with whoever wanted to listen.⁶⁹

Shame and Punishment outside Prison

After this brief journey through the prison experience, I want to turn my attention to the punitive measures for social control that were exercised outside prison. This is of great relevance for two main reasons: first, because, even though numerically there were fewer women prisoners than men, women were the primary target of the "other repression," the one exercised

⁶⁵ Hernández Holgado, "Las trece rosas," 656.

⁶⁶ Hernández Holgado, "Las trece rosas," 660.

⁶⁷ Fernanda Romeu Alfaro, *El silencio roto: Mujeres contra el franquismo* (Madrid: El Viejo Topo, 2002), 213.

⁶⁸ Linhard also considers the myth of the roses "not only as a means of resistance against Francoism itself but also as a way to establish a counter-narrative that bears witness to women's violent deaths in the early years of the Francoist dictatorship" (Tabea Alexa Linhard, *Fearless Women in the Mexican Revolution and the Spanish Civil War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005), 137.

⁶⁹ Hernández Holgado, *Mujeres encarceladas*, 26; Ricard Vinyes, "El universo penitenciario," 173.

at social, cultural, and economic levels.⁷⁰ Second, because this external experience of punishment also played an essential role in the reactive construction of counter-memories of the dictatorship, as will be illustrated by the two short films which will be briefly explored in the following pages.

The origins of the punishment of women outside of prison commenced during the war, when women who were left in the rearguard were subjected to the pressure of the enemy in order to neutralize them and their community in any attempt at resistance. Interestingly, this idea is also connected to the development of the model of the combative mother during the war. The women who were left to take care of the family while the man was at the front or in hiding were to be the targets of the rebels, not only while the conflict lasted but also with the establishment of the dictatorship. These women would also fall prey to the demonization of the Republic and would be treated and stigmatized accordingly. This did not only happen during the first postwar period, but went beyond that time and reappeared with new vigor in the last decade of the dictatorship, when sociopolitical pressure was exerted on the regime. The social control of the punitive measures outside of prison took on different forms, from economic deprivation to actual public punishment and shame. All of them aimed, once more, at dehumanizing, humiliating, and intimidating the vanquished.

One extended practice, which will feature prominently in the two short films analyzed later on in this chapter, was the ritual of head shaving, which was part of a full “ritual of humiliation” in Hernández Holgado’s words.⁷¹ Rituals of this sort were primarily directed at women, as the symbolic load of the process itself was conceived as an attack on women’s identity by the destruction of their femininity.⁷² The shaving of the head was accompanied,

⁷⁰ Núñez Díaz-Balart, “Las mecánicas de la infamia,” 138–39.

⁷¹ Head shaving is a practice that has been used as punishment for centuries. It was used as a way of stigmatizing and labeling the deviant, whether the deviance was mental or sexual (as it was common practice used on mental patients and on people with syphilis). Later on, it came to be used in the twentieth century as a way of marking the different, whether in political terms (as it happened in Spain and in post-World War II in France) or in racial/ethnic terms, as was the case with the Jews in Nazi concentration camps. In the case of women, head shaving acquires an extra meaning connected to the violation and mutilation of the female body, and with the dispossession of femininity. As regards processes of national identity construction, the violation and appropriation of the female body is conceived as the appropriation and control of the nation (Aurora G. Morcillo, *The Seduction of Modern Spain: The Female Body and the Francoist Body Politic* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2010)).

⁷² In fact, Hernández Holgado notes that “los rituales de humillación que sufrieron numerosas mujeres republicanas en el mundo rural—consistentes en el pelado al cero, la

especially during the first postwar era, by the ingestion of large quantities of castor oil, the use of violent language (both verbal and physical), and intimidation. Thus the victim, when paraded/displayed among the population of their village or town, would be marked not only by the dispossession of her locks of hair (a feminine attribute according to traditional gender models) but also by the humiliation of defecating helplessly in front of her peers, thus emphasizing the aforementioned *bestialización* (turning into animal) of women. The consequences of the head shaving lasted until the hair grew back, as a mark of sin and subsequent penitence. Hernández Holgado accurately summarizes the symbolic meaning of this practice:

El pelado al cero ... privaba a las mujeres de lo que secularmente se consideraba el atributo femenino por excelencia: el cabello largo. En los cuerpos de las mujeres republicanas así castigadas quedaba de este modo encarnada, con fines de escarmiento, la imagen antitética del modelo ideal de feminidad preconizado e impuesto por el régimen ... La purga con ricino desempeñaba, asimismo, un papel de alta capacidad simbólica, esta vez a través de la contradicción 'pureza-impureza', inserta en la terminología al uso de la 'purificación', 'regeneración' e 'higienización' de la patria.⁷³

The importance of this ritual (which was not invented by the rebels or by the dictatorship) is connected, once more, to the moral judgment of women's political agency. Head shaving had been a common practice for centuries, used to mark the mentally insane and the sexually diseased. Thus, head shaving under the dictatorship had the added connotation of moral (and mental, according to Vallejo-Nágera) stigma on dissident women, fully connected to the definition of female deviance developed by the regime. Furthermore, this model of female deviance was very broad, as women, for the simple fact of being part of a loyalist family (as mothers, wives, sisters or daughters) were subject to the regime's purification. This would, however, have an inverse reaction during the dictatorship, for it would be women who would organize and maintain solidarity networks

purga con aceite de ricino y el desfile y exposición al escarnio public—no tuvieron una correspondencia semejante en el caso de los hombres, a al menos en los mismos términos de importancia" (*Mujeres encarceladas*, 122).

⁷³ Shaving the head of women deprived them of their ancestral feminine attributes par excellence: long hair. In the bodies of the republican women punished in this way was imprinted the exemplary model of the anti-feminine the opposite of the ideal femininity the regime sponsored. The purges with castor oil carried a highly symbolic meaning related to the binary pure-impure as utilized in the labgue of 'purification', 'regeneration' and cleansing of the motherland. Hernández Holgado, *Mujeres encarceladas*, 123–24.

within and outside prison, and their role would be of primary importance in the clandestine resistance against the Francoist project.

What I would like to focus on in the final part of this chapter is how the regime's punitive measures have been represented in two contemporary short films which concentrate on this type of punishment and the effect that it has on the women who experience it. For this, there are a number of important concepts that I want to touch upon briefly in order to understand the significance of the object of study and how they are representative of the construction of the reactive counter-narratives aforementioned.

The two short films that will be explored in these final pages are *Pelonas* and *A golpe de tacón*. The first one is a fictional short film in which there is a clear exercise of trans-generational transmission of memory. The second is a fictional film based on real events, in which the trans-generational transmission occurs in a very interesting manner both within and outside the film. In this sense, we are not witnesses to an exercise of memory per se in the same manner, as it would occur in testimonial narratives, oral history, or testimonial documentaries.

The term that Marianne Hirsch describes as the process of "post-memory"—"the response of the second generation to the trauma of the first" is shown in these films.⁷⁴ At this point, it is necessary to note that the Spanish case is a peculiar one, for in most cultural representations of this sort, it is the third generation, the generation of the grandchildren, that responds to the trauma of the first generation. The second generation, brought up during the dictatorship and successfully subjected to the politics of silence and compliance of the regime, does not seem to feel ready to confront a past that had obvious consequences for their development as members of society; moreover, the transition to democracy in the late 1970s also implied that the possible remembrance of the past had to be deferred until the time was right. In fact, deferral becomes a useful term to explain the special circumstances of the Transition and the relationship between past and present in contemporary Spain, for it can "offer temporary relief in the sense of suspending time in order to gain awareness and distance."⁷⁵ Now, seventy years after the end of the Spanish civil war, the period of deferral seems to have come to an end. Clearly it is the time of

⁷⁴ Marianne Hirsch, "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Post-memory," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14, no. 1 (2001): 8.

⁷⁵ Raffaella Baccollini, "Sometime, between Memory and Forgetting," *mediAzioni* 1 (2005). <http://www.mediazionionline.it/english/dossier/baccollini_eng.htm> (para. 16 of 37).

postmemory, giving the generation of the grandchildren the opportunity “to come to terms with the past,” providing the necessary “perspective and distance ... to get to remember, and not forget, the past, and to reconcile with, and not forgive, past wrongs.”⁷⁶

Therefore, the two short films that occupy these pages offer us an exercise of postmemory, for memory is accessed through representation. In Hirsch’s words:

Postmemory is a powerful form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through representation, projection, and creation—often based on silence rather than speech, on the invisible rather than the visible.⁷⁷

Films, both fictional and documentary, seem to echo society’s yearning for knowledge of the past. Despite the prejudices that we may have against the media, cultural production can be considered what Nancy Wood calls “a vector of memory,” for “the media [and cultural representation] are credited ... not only with stimulating many of the public debates about memory ..., but with giving representational form to cultural memories that official vectors have largely ignored or treated only within the confines of conventional historical narration.”⁷⁸ In fact, the media are one more “vector” of memory, and in the Spanish case, the media, old and new, have contributed immensely to the re-inscription of the defeated, as well as to the debate and the contestation of versions of the past.⁷⁹

In our specific case, and as Magí Crusells rightly notes, “El cine, como medio de comunicación, no es sólo puro entretenimiento sino que transmite una serie de ideas. ..., cualquier película es una fuente instrumental de la ciencia histórica que refleja, mejor o peor—depende de los casos—las mentalidades de una determinada época” (“cinema as a means of communication, it is not only pure entertainment, but it also transmits ideas.

⁷⁶ Rafaella Baccollini, para. 3 of 37. Or, in the words of Aguilar and Humlebæk, “After almost four decades of dictatorship, and twenty-five years of democracy, time has come to reflect on the constraints that the legacies of the dictatorial regime imposed on the Spanish transition and on the impact that some of those still have on today’s democracy” (Paloma Aguilar and Carsten Humlebæk, “Collective Memory and National Identity in the Spanish Democracy: The Legacies of Francoism and the Civil War,” *History and Memory* 14, nos. 1/2 (2002): 121.

⁷⁷ Hirsch, “Surviving Images,” 9.

⁷⁸ Nancy Wood, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 9.

⁷⁹ There is an abundance of webpages devoted to history, memory, and debate about the past: ARMH, *Memoria y libertad*, *Foro por la memoria* on the Left; *Falange*, *Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco*, *La Razón Española*, *Libertad Digital*, on the Right.

Any film represents a source of historical science, which reflects better or worse, the mentalities of a particular period").⁸⁰ Consequently, the work of the camera can be understood as complementary to the transmission of knowledge about the past from the point of view of the present, but always with certain moderation that will avoid the risks associated with this age of ours in which memory, remembrance, and museum display can become syndromes⁸¹ that can lead either to the excessive sacralization or to the trivialization of the past, as recently noted by Todorov.⁸²

Pelonas, a short film by Laly Zambrano y Ramón de Fontecha, offers a parallel portrait that will explain and contextual both the past and the present. This short 13-minute film is structured in a very interesting manner. The main setting is a hairdresser's in Vallecas, Madrid, and, as the title indicates, the haircut is of great significance. Lola, a retired secondary school teacher, goes to the hairdresser's in her neighborhood to get her hair done every week. There she will meet Elena, a young reader of Jean-Paul Sartre, who has decided she wants to shave her head. This statement on behalf of Elena will take Lola on a journey to the past, to her own youth, when herself and her sister suffered punishment for the guerrilla activity of their father. As can be seen from the secondary setting, when the past takes over the film, Lola and her sister are taken from their home in the middle of the night wearing their nightdresses, to a barn where the local leader of *Falange* and two members of the party shave their heads so that they will regret being their father's daughters. In an interesting montage, the film offers a succession of images that establish an intricate relationship between past and present, as the same action, shaving someone's head, acquires completely different connotations depending on the period when it is occurring. Elena's haircut will make Lola remember hers, under completely different circumstances. The way in which the punishment suffered by Lola and her sister is portrayed in the film makes reference to the symbolic meaning of the head shaving (the dispossession of Lola's identity) and illustrates the characteristics of the "ritual of humiliation" that the

⁸⁰ Magí Crusells, *Cine y guerra civil española: imágenes para la memoria* (Madrid: Ediciones JC, 2006), 22.

⁸¹ Andreas Huyssen, *Presents Past. Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

⁸² T. Todorov, in J. Rodríguez Marcos, "Todorov propone 'la razón' frente a 'la sacralización de la memoria'." El pensador disecciona el desorden mundial en su libro *El miedo a los bárbaros*," *El País*, October 8, 2008. http://www.elpais.com/articulo/cultura/Todorov/propone/razon/frente/sacralizacion/memoria/elpepicul/20081008elpepicul_2/Tes (October 8, 2008).

head shaving represented. Lola is verbally abused, her hair is pulled and violently cut with shears; and when the punishment is completed, she is slapped on the head and pejoratively called *pelona* (*bold*). Elena's experience presents an absolute contrast with Lola's experience, as her hair is methodically cut by the experienced hairdresser, who explains to her how he is going to proceed, uses a trimmer to finish the job, and finally rubs her head, affectively calling her *pelona*.

In this fragment of the film, the viewers are enticed to recognize the connections between both temporal frames and to consider how the discourse around something as simple as a haircut has changed in Spain and beyond. The hairdresser's gentleness on Elena is juxtaposed with the violence of Lola's punishment. It is at the end of the film, in the only conversation between the two protagonists, Elena identifies the past when she sees it embodied in the retired teacher:

Lola: ¿Por qué? ¿Por qué te has desprendido de tu pelo, hija?

Why? Why did you get rid of your hair?

Elena: Lo mismo me va a preguntar mi madre, seguro, la estoy viendo. ¿Usted se ha rapado alguna vez la cabeza?

My mother will ask me the same, I am sure. I can see it. Have you ever shaved your head?

Lola: Sí, una vez, hace ya mucho tiempo; nunca lo he olvidado. Más de una pasamos por la misma experiencia. Pero a nosotros no nos daba un sentimiento de orgullo; nos daba vergüenza, y miedo, mucho miedo. Jamás lo he olvidado. Eran tiempos en los que la libertad sólo estaba en los libros.

Yes, once a very long time ago, I never forgot. More than one of us experienced it. But we did not feel proud; we were ashamed, scared, very scared. I have never forgotten. Those were times when freedom existed only in books.

Pelonas is a tribute to women's dignity and to the transmission of memory. "No te preocupes, hija, estás muy guapa" ("don't worry dear, you look beautiful") says Lola to Elena, repeating her sister's words in the postwar era. Lola has resisted and fought for her dignity throughout the period that we do not see in the film, but she hasn't forgotten, because she doesn't want to, because memory is an integral part of her identity. If for Elena, shaving her head is her choice, for Lola the choice consists of remembering and sharing her memory of an experience in which she didn't have a choice. Thus, the value of this film not only lies on the representation of the regime's punishment on women but also on the recognition of women's capacity to react to it and rise from the darkness the dictatorship wanted to impose on them. The fact that Lola's sister tells her that she looks

beautiful illustrates the strength of these women in resisting the punitive strategies of Francoism and in keeping their memories alive.

A golpe de tacón is also a short film that deals with women's experience of punishment during the dictatorship, but with a number of differences. The film tells an episode of the story of Ana Sirgo and Constantina Pérez, two women who were heavily involved in the mining strikes in Asturias in 1962. Since most of the men involved in this protest against the dictatorship had been in prison, it was up to the women to stand up and protect the strike, preventing any attempts to enter the mine and work. Ana and Tina were part of a group of women who stood together to keep pressure on the state. Especially Ana, whose husband had already been imprisoned due to the strike, is very much at risk of being detained and punished for her involvement in dissident action.⁸³ Both Ana and Tina will be detained and tortured, and their heads will be shaved as punishment for their rebellion against the state. Thus, the first difference that can be identified in relation to the previous short film is the fact that these women are politicized, while Lola and her sister are victims of punishment by default. The most outstanding difference, however, is related to the nature of the memory exercise presented in the films. While *Pelonas* is clearly an exercise of postmemory, as the past is accessed by means of representation, that is, the story being told is based on an item of cultural memory that has been passed on within a certain social group, in *A golpe de tacón* the story being told is based on the recollections of Ana Sirgo herself, who not only collaborated in the writing of the script by opening her memories to the director and scriptwriter but also plays a role as an extra in the film. This is highly significant, for Ana, the one who remembers, is made to co-exist with the one who experienced the story. In this sense, the fact that Ana Sirgo herself is part of the representation of her own experience gives further legitimacy to the story being told and to the "poetic license" that may be taken in its representation.⁸⁴

⁸³ For a detailed account, see Claudia Cabrero Blanco, "Las mujeres y las huelgas del 62," in *Homenaje a las mujeres de las huelgas del 62* (Oviedo: Secretaría de la Mujer de CCOO Asturias, Por Tantas Cosas Producciones, and KRK Ediciones), 19–31.

⁸⁴ In fact, Amanda Castro, in the presentation of the film at the University of Limerick on February 4, 2010, commented that the reality of the punishment suffered by Ana and Tina was far more violent than what appears in the film. However, there was no need to fall prey of morbidity in order to tell the story of these women, as the focus was not their victimization but their courage and dignity in the fight against the regime and in the production of a counter narrative of dissidence.

As regards the punishment itself, the characters of Ana and Tina are subjected to a higher degree of castigation, for they are arrested and questioned, with all the expected consequences. Furthermore, even though their experience takes place in the 1960s, Ana and Tina are subjected to an almost ritualistic repressive treatment, characterized by verbal, physical, and psychological violence. They are insulted, and intimidated and not only do they suffer pain on their own bodies but also see and hear it being inflicted on others, as happens when Ana's husband, Alfonso, who is also being detained on the same premises, is taken for more questioning. Both protagonists and the viewers can hear the violence exerted upon him. When Ana is taken for questioning, she is violently beaten so that she will give the authorities the information they require. She succeeds in keeping silent, but her silence, conceived as an act of defiance both by herself and the state, is punished not only with punches but also with the cutting of her hair. Tina, for her part, also suffers the same fate, and we learn at the end of the film that she actually died as a consequence of the torture she suffered during her interrogation. However, as happens in *Pelonas*, despite the torture that these women are subjected to, they are not victimized at all in the film. In fact, as Lola does in Zambrano's film, Ana and Tina rise from the pain and trauma of their experience. It is pertinent to note that when the women arrived at the police station and were confined in a cell, Ana takes off one of her shoes and begins hitting the wall with its heel in order to attempt to communicate with her husband, whom she assumes is in the next cell. When Ana is brought back to the cell after having been tortured, she collapses on the floor, but again takes her heel and communicates with Alfonso, to let him know that she is still alive and that she has not given up. At this point, Tina, who is lying on the ground, weakened by the guards' beatings, smiles at the response from Alfonso, who hits the wall three times, the same as Ana has just done. This is the last image of the film, which is followed by a summary of the consequences of the strike and of the fate of the two characters. In these credits, it is stated that Ana is still a member of the Communist Party, which illustrates, once more, the reactive capacity of dissident women to transform their experience of trauma into a political weapon used to construct and transmit an alternative/ clandestine memory of repression, not aimed at retribution or revenge but at the completion of the repressive spectrum (both in terms of diversity and in terms of unfinished business) of the dictatorship.

Conclusion

My aim in this chapter has been to explore the different punitive strategies of the Francoist dictatorship with a special focus on the targeting of women in their potential role as storekeepers of memory and as transmitters of the values of democracy at times of authoritarianism. Despite the strict, cruel measures that were imposed on dissident women during the dictatorship, from imprisonment and execution, separation from their children, rape, torture, and humiliation, to economic repression and social ostracism, women transformed their exclusion and marginalization into a reactive reconstruction of their identity, both in terms of gender and in terms of politics, which included the elaboration of counter narratives of the past that voiced the experiences of the vanquished. In this sense, if the primary objective of the dictatorship was the eradication of the utopian legacy of the Second Republic and the trivialization of their own repressive strategies, this also had a further consequence, as it reinforced the need to remember, not to accuse, not to avenge, but to help us understand the past from the present. In this respect, I believe that the three examples used in these pages to illustrate the reactive capacity to construct counter-memories of the past are testament to the effort of all those anonymous women who transformed the memories of traumatic experiences of repression, both their own and of others, into a means of survival.

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PART FIVE

STRANGERS TO OURSELVES: AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIES

CHELO'S WAR: LATE MEMORIES OF A FALANGIST WOMAN

Victoria L. Enders

The Franco Dictatorship, 1939–75, is known for its repression of the defeated forces and sympathizers of the Republic and the suppression of their voices. Only in the past few decades have the stories of the vanquished emerged, aided by the broadening of historiographical frontiers and methods to include women's history, oral history, and other new techniques to access the history of the marginalized. Recent studies of the Civil War have focused on the quality of memory and its relationship to the formation and understanding of identity and the role of agency—or the perception of agency—in such a process. Oral testimony provides the opportunity to explore these questions. In their pioneering work, historians Alessandro Portelli and Luisa Passerini have explored the possible deepening of our understanding of historical events through the contribution of oral histories. Individual case studies also offer a challenge to rigid binary concepts of gender, racial, and national identity as one seeks evidence of agency at the individual level. In this spirit, this chapter offers segments of an interview with Consuelo, or Chelo, Muñoz Monasterio, a former member of the *Sección Femenina* (the Women's Section, abbreviated here as SF) of the Falange. It took place on January 13, 1989, when Spain's first elected socialist government was in power. It is not surprising that Chelo voices some bewilderment at the new experience of being marginalized from the mainstream as a former member of the Falange living under the very changed political and social circumstances of post-Franco, democratic Spain.

I interviewed Chelo in her home in Madrid. She had been an important functionary in the Women's Movement of the Falange during the 1930s and later in the Francoist government. Influenced by my liberal teachers Gabriel Jackson and David Ringrose, I was prepared for an uncomfortable, forced dialogue with someone with whom I had nothing in common. I found a charming, intelligent, reflective woman of 89 years of age who openly talked with me about her life during Spain's years of ordeal, during and after the Civil War, and of her reflections. Chelo spoke at length and her account of her life challenges certain common assumptions: that as a member of the SF she was politically a member of the Spanish "far Right"

and opposed the coming of the Republic; and that as a religious Catholic she was a "traditional" Spanish woman who opposed women's progress. It is through her own words that we sense the ambiguities of her empirical situation in the early 1930s in Spain and the choices open to her; and her account of her experiences expresses her belief that her life was full of agency and her pride in a fully developed self-identity, further challenging common stereotypes.

The interview with Chelo was one of a series I had with former members of the Sección Femenina, nearly all of whom have passed away.¹ The interview was organized around several main themes. In a discussion of her family background, Chelo described what kind of youth were attracted to the Falange and why. Then, as she recounted how she came into contact with the Falange and its women's support group, the Sección Femenina, she repeatedly underscored the importance of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange, and his sister Pilar, as models for youth. As she described the loss of her *novio*, or fiancé, who was a member of the Falange, it becomes clear that this traumatic, but also catalytic, event fixed those youthful values for the rest of her life. They inspired her work with the Sección Femenina, which she describes in detail. Through her words, the true extent of Spain's devastation during and after the war became tangible. These years were followed by her long years of work in social services for the Franco government. Chelo clarified that she worked in the SF from 1937 until 1940 as a teammate, then with a post within the SF until 1950. She was with Social Security from the 1950s until her retirement in 1984, just four years prior to our conversation.

Finally, some fifty years after the war, and after Franco's death and her retirement, she pondered about these experiences. Her reflections were

¹ I have published fragments of these interviews in previous publications: "And We Ate Up the World: Memories of the *Sección Femenina*," in *Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives to Extremists*, ed. Paola Bacchetta and Margaret Power (New York: Routledge Press, 2002), 85-98; "Problematic Portraits: The Ambiguous Historical Role of the *Sección Femenina* of the Falange," in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. Victoria L. Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (New York: SUNY Press, 1999), 375-97; Victoria L. Enders, "Nationalism and Feminism: the *Sección Femenina* of the Falange," *History of European Ideas* (Netherlands: Elsevier BV, 1992), 15 4-6: 673-80; Victoria L. Enders, "Women's History, Political History: The *Sección Femenina* in 1937," in *La Mistica Spagnola: Spagna, America Latina*, ed. Gaetano Massa (Rome: Dowling College, 1989), 129-39. The tapes of my interviews are currently in my possession and eventually will be deposited in the Herbert W. Southworth Collection on the Spanish Civil War at the University of California, San Diego in La Jolla. In addition to my own interviews, other scholars have published interviews in English with former members of the SF. See the work of Aurora Morcillo, Inbal Ofer, Kathleen Richmond, Annie Brooksbank Jones, and others.

unexpected, astute, and poignant. Chelo died four years after our interview. In editing the interview with Chelo, I have tried to present large blocks of her narrative to preserve the substance and flavor of her life story, while allowing its significance to emerge.

Family Background

Chelo proudly emphasized her family's middle-class background: hard-working, Catholic, and concerned about social issues. Her father was from Málaga and her mother was from Madrid but "on my mother's side we're Castilian, from the province of Burgos." Her father was a legal adviser and a lawyer, a clear sign of belonging to that middle class she is proud to claim. She recounted:

I'm very proud that my grandmother, my father's mother who had to find a job due to the long illness of her husband—so my grandmother had to go to work at the age of 29, something that for a woman at that time was ...well, people in this small province didn't think too highly of her. She was from Marbella, from that Marbella that's so famous today and that at that time was a lovely village but not touristy, of course, back then. She had to come to Madrid with her little kids, not knowing anyone, with no chance of anything, and she worked making men's shirts and underwear for shops, and at night. ... He came too, sick as he was, to see the doctors; he had TB that lasted many years and ... the night my grandfather died, my grandmother had to work all night so she could bury him the next day, because ... they didn't have any money. My father was the oldest of the brothers; he was 11 when his father died, he had to quit school, which was free at the time; he had to forget about everything and get a job as an errand boy in a store ... to help his mother who was working, and his brothers. My father worked so much, so hard ... just an aside when people say Andalusians are not hard workers. ...²

Chelo emphasized that her father and grandmother often worked 14 hours a day without taking a vacation; nothing mattered but work to keep the household going, and his children. So he became a legal adviser and a lawyer; he married Chelo's mother, and there were three children. For Chelo, both male figures in her life—her father and her brother—were truly admirable. Her brother, she tells me, "was an excellent artist. He became a very famous architect in Spain." Conscientious of his family's economic hardship he would study in the National Library to save on buying books, and because he was an A student his tuition didn't cost anything either.

² Chelo interview, recording by author, January 13, 1989.

My brother, well, later he was the architect for the Bernabéu Stadium and for Madrid's Plaza de Toros, and he was the National Director of Urban Development. He traveled all over the world, gave conferences, designed urbanizations for various European countries; he was very devoted to his profession, completely dedicated to his work. I helped him a little as his secretary.³

Chelo also had a sister; both girls finished high school. They did shorthand, typing, a little art, "a little of ... the things women studied at the time, you know?" Her sister "was interested in, it seems, child care. She couldn't study much; I studied a bit more,"⁴ Chelo recalled. The turning point in her life seems to have come when she went to work in her brother's architectural studio. It was there she met her fiancé, who also worked in the studio, and where she was exposed to the Falange.

José Antonio

Chelo described first being exposed to the ideas of José Antonio Primo de Rivera in her brother's studio where she and her fiancé worked. She described the high level of political disenchantment they all experienced and explained why José Antonio's ideas appealed to young people like herself to be a unique answer to the problems of the new Spanish Republic (1931–36), caught between a revolutionary Left and an intransigent Right.

[T]here were already some people who had become Falangists, I am talking about 1934 ... So they talked to us about meeting José Antonio. We were politically disenchanted, we weren't of the Right nor were we of the Left; we thought the right was guilty of many things that had happened in Spain. We didn't have anything in common with the Left because Communist ideas didn't agree with us; in general, we had a Catholic concept of life, and a sense of respect for the family, for traditional family values and customs but not for the silly nonsense; we didn't like the things of the close-minded Right. We didn't agree.⁵

³ Manuel Muñoz Monasterio's career spanned from 1929, when he finished the chapel in the Monumental Plaza de Toros in Madrid, through the Second Republic, for which he designed the first public swimming pool and artificial beach in Spain in the rational, International style of the time, the Playa de Madrid (1932–34)—destroyed during the Civil War. Later, during the Franco period he designed the Santiago Bernabeu Stadium home of Real Madrid soccer team, stadiums in Sevilla and Cádiz, and urbanization projects.

⁴ Chelo interviewed by author January 13, 1989.

⁵ Chelo interview.

Chelo told me that her father had been good friends with the dictator Don Miguel Primo de Rivera. She reflected on the fact that he was also the father of José Antonio, founder of Falange, and of Pilar, head of the women's section within the Movement. So there in the studio:

They talked to us about José Antonio's ideas, which, on one hand were progressive socialist but within the framework of fatherland, family, and religion, which was how they differed considerably from Fascism; they can't categorize us as Fascists because there was that big difference ... Inserted in the tradition of a Catholic concept of life, *man as bearer of eternal values, this was one of José Antonio's phrases, very lovely; respect for man as bearer of eternal values, the sense of family and the sense of the fatherland, of course, but inserted by way of family and religion and all our history. So we became Falangists, and I also had my fiancé there, he worked with my brother ...* (my emphasis)

The political and the personal thus intertwined seamlessly in the life of the young Chelo, at the age of high emotional idealism when activism is profoundly engraved in the heart and above all when loved ones are killed and imprisoned.

In the same office, yes. And well, we made propaganda about the Falange in the villages; we tried to convey José Antonio's concept of progressive socialism and at the same time, well, the Catholic concept of life, those were the two fundamental pillars. I was in Madrid when the war broke out, the Communists killed my fiancé right here in Madrid, they assassinated him fourteen days into the war; my brother and my father were imprisoned by the Communists almost the whole time even though they were just common people.⁶

Sección Femenina

Chelo described how she, her mother, and her sister were allowed by the Republican government to leave Madrid in 1937. They entered the Nationalist zone and there Chelo joined the SF.

Then my sister, my mother, and I ... everybody was starving around here, we couldn't eat, there was absolutely nothing to be had; well, my mother got sick and thanks to the Romanian embassy, as "Romanian citizens," we could escape from the Communist zone. They let the women get out but not the men. Because, well, there was nothing to eat and it meant fewer mouths to feed, you know? So we left, crossing in and out of France, we entered the National zone. There my sister and I became nurses and we

⁶ Chelo interview.

went to the Front, in Madrid, to work for free. To survive, we knit sweaters for shops. My mother also came to the Front with us; we lived in forsaken villages, but she helped by washing clothes, ironing the soldiers' uniforms, doing everything that had to be done. And I had already joined the SF: first in San Sebastián, which is where we stayed, and then later at the Front in Madrid, which is where the SF's Provincial Delegation for Madrid was. I was at the Front ... in the most remote village of the National zone, which was closest to the Front's Communist zone, so I could get into Madrid as soon as it was all over, as soon as Madrid was liberated. We lived there in that village, it was called San Martín de Valdeiglesias, and that's where all of Madrid's provincial organizations were, the Women's Sec ... that is, the Falange along with the SF, the Civil Government, the Council, City Hall ... everything was organized in that village because it was the closest to the National zone, closest to Madrid. There we worked; I specifically was the one in charge of the public health services; we organized infirmaries for the Front, first-aid stations, urgent care hospitals, which we visited almost daily. Well, we went through a lot; they almost captured us because the Front was not one line this way and another line that way; so, maybe we went into a Communist trench here and into a Nationalist one there, and we went from one village to another, and we ended up in a Communist zone and ran out fast ... ha ha. This is how we lived for a year and a half until 1939, March of '39, March 28th, when they liberated Madrid. Then I entered Madrid with three friends from the SF: we were the first ones to enter. I found my father and my brother, alive, thank goodness; well, my brother had gone to the Front earlier, had escaped and crossed over a few days earlier. And we were already organizing the SF's Provincial Delegation for Madrid.

I wondered how the family had come through this experience.

My mother stayed in Vitoria, near San Sebastián, with a sister she had there and she entered a month or so later, when life in Madrid was already a bit more normalized. We were all reunited at home. So this means I spent more or less 16 months in the Communist zone and 17 months in the National zone, and part of that time, at the Front. That is, I saw a little of all the ... the aspects of the two Spains.

Despite the hardship and the devastating loss she had suffered, Chelo credited this experience for providing meaning and purpose to her life. And she credited the SF with enabling a more mature and independent woman to emerge from the experience.

It's a difficult experience but, in the long run and seen in perspective, it's an experience, a very interesting experience, inwardly very enriching. But with the death of my fiancé—we were about to get married—I was completely destroyed; then, thanks to my work in the SF, and to being able to work for the idea for which he had died, and to work for my fatherland, and to be able to talk to someone as wonderful as Pilar, and with the SF's

extraordinary atmosphere—and we weren't led by any lucrative idea of making money because we charged practically nothing—but it was working to build up a Spain that was materially and morally destroyed. So I think that a new woman emerged in the SF. It was a new woman who was no longer her parents' little girl from before the war, a bit sheltered by her parents, ... in a country that's more or less *machista*, you know what I mean? ... where you were still a bit the parents' little girl and you had certain restrictions on your freedom, not in my case because my mother—my grandfather had taken part in the war of the Philippines and had gone to the Philippines with his father—my mother was a very open-minded woman because she had lived in the Philippines, in the United States, and in Japan when she was 17, and that wasn't so easy either in those times, right?

José Antonio and Pilar: Social Justice

José Antonio Primo de Rivera founded the Falange in 1933, was captured by Republican forces in July 1936, and was executed the following November. His early death at age 33 transformed him into an eternal martyr in the minds of his followers. To his sister Pilar and the women she organized—especially those recruited in the early days when they were young—José Antonio remained the fundamental inspiration of their movement to the end of their lives. Dionisio Ridruejo, a former Falangist, referred to the Sección Femenina as “the collective vessel of the ancient cult” of José Antonio.⁷ My interviews with Pilar and a number of other members of the SF confirms this enduring commitment, in particular to José Antonio's doctrine of social justice. Pilar claimed that their father had passed on to José Antonio, indeed to both of them, “that we had to have justice for the social being,” and that José Antonio had possessed a “tremendous disquietude, a restlessness, for justice.”⁸ Having been recruited as a teenager, Chelo clung all her life to José Antonio's ideas as the fundamental inspiration of their movement and the answer to Spain's problems. It was José Antonio's political position, which she saw as located between the Communist Left and the parties of the traditional Right, that is the key to understanding both her political choice and her life's work.

⁷ Dionisio Ridruejo, as quoted in Carmen Martín Gaité, *Usos Amorosos de la Postguerra Española* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 1987), 56.

⁸ I interviewed Pilar Primo de Rivera at her home in Madrid on June 2, 1987, and January 9, 1989. She died in 1991.

José Antonio was marvelous. The whole Primo de Rivera family. It's amazing ... it's a race (*raza*) ... the father was a marvelous person. The dictator ... Even though they called him a dictator, oh, my God! Here in Spain he built all the highways, established all the health services and the rest. He changed Spain from top to bottom. That was the era of Primo de Rivera. According to what Pilar always told us, [he was] a person who adored his profession; being a lawyer, law, defending causes, you know? Justice. The sense of justice dominated everything. It was something ... But, uhm ... since politics treated him so ungratefully—they criticized him a lot after the King dismissed him—he left; he lived and died in Paris, very poorly and far removed from everything, from his children, from everything. So when José Antonio became a parliamentarian like his father, he felt the need to defend the memory of his father. For me, the first thing I realized about José Antonio, when I was still very young ... was ... we were really disgusted, let's say, with the politics of the Right and the politics of the Left, and suddenly there was a small poster in the streets of Madrid that said: "A place in Parliament to defend the holy memory of my father." He was asking for a place in Parliament to defend the holy memory of his father. That's how he started, to defend what his father had done. And of course by then he had immersed himself completely in politics.

When I asked what José Antonio was like, Chelo replied:

"Well, I didn't know him. I only met him twice, that's all. Physically he was very handsome, very attractive, serious, rather shy, not really open; Pilar can tell you more about that than I can, of course, and ... with a great sense of responsibility and justice, with outstanding intelligence, he was also a poet, eh. One of his sayings is: "People have never been stirred by anyone but poets, and woe to him who is not able to counter the poetry of destruction with the poetry of promise." He was magnificent. His doctrine a poetry of ... very entrenched in Spanish tradition, eh, in everything that Spain has meant in the history of Europe and the world.

I asked if this is what attracted people to José Antonio, his poetry or what?

Everything. His whole personality. His personality was something extraordinary, he was socially progressive, a defender of the simple and humble classes in the face of his peers, because he was titled, he was the Marquis of Estella, and in the face of ... how he defended himself when they killed him, he mounted his own defense when they condemned him to death, ... and he said: "I am here to impose many sanctions and punishments on many of my peers in your defense, and you don't want to understand that." I mean, they have never understood him. For many of the lower classes ... because he was a privileged member of the aristocracy, but the aristocracy rejected him because he was socially progressive and defended the workers. So, he struggled between two negative forces, but many people followed him, many. If only he had lived a few more years! ...

At this point, I asked Chelo about the quotation from José Antonio about the need for “puños y pistolas” (fists and guns) that often is referred to by his detractors. Chelo dismissed the words as misrepresenting the body of José Antonio's work, and being repeated out of malicious intent.

Well, look, it's a little ... I'll tell you about this phrase with its malicious intention because José Antonio said, books, books, and books of wonderful things, all positive. But this sentence was said in one speech and at a given moment. Falangists had just died, they had been killed, the fatherland was being insulted, crucifixes were being removed from the schools, all of Spain's historical values were being betrayed, then, in the middle of this powerful lecture, he said, “When there is an offense against the dignity of the fatherland, there is no other response except fists and guns.” You have to consider the moment when he said that ... In which speech he said it and at what moment. And they only picked out this sentence when there were so many other positive sentences to be picked.

The Republic and the Outbreak of War

Historians pore over the murky ambiguity of reality in an effort to clarify the clash of historical forces: at times individual experience can be lost in the employment of preexisting categories. Chelo and her family had welcomed the advent of the Republic and its promise for a better future for Spain. Dismayed by the increasing disorder, they lost faith in the Republic. In their case, as in that of countless other families in Spain, geographical location at the outbreak of war determined to a great degree what they would experience. Chelo described her father's admiration for General Primo de Rivera, the whole family's anticipation of the Republic as the answer to Spain's problems, and their subsequent disillusionment with the events under the Republic.

It was another ... a different type of crisis than the one we have today. But it was a very strong crisis. But especially as a result of ... well, it came from before, as a result of Alfonso XIII's departure, when he left and the Republic came. Notice that I say the Republic, and I tell you José Antonio was glad, and at home we were all glad about its arrival. We were not at all monarchists; we weren't in favor of Alfonso XIII. Besides, well, there was the aristocracy. He was a very likeable king, very affectionate with the people, very popular, but the people had many needs, many differences, many problems. And it really was an atrocious crisis because as soon as the Republic arrived, we all hoped that it would equalize things, would bring justice, would ... Among the first things that were done was to burn all the convents in Spain, they started to do all this, and there was already disillusion, it was

already clear that it wouldn't ... They changed the government, every fifteen days one came, the other went, ah, well ... There were good people, such as Indalecio Prieto, a man who even tried to save José Antonio because he regarded him as worthy. There were people ... but, in general, the whole Republic was a disaster, for all of us who believed in it. At home, of course, we were all more Republican. This is why later we all welcomed the Falange because we couldn't ... we weren't of the right, but neither were we Communists. So then we had to look for a balance, take the good part of communism, the sense of a social program and ... and ... well, the good part of the right, with its sense of fatherland, religion, family, and tradition, of course. It was a matter of fusing the two things.

I then said, "And your father was also ..."

My father adored General Primo de Rivera and when the king dismissed Primo de Rivera, it was a tremendous disillusion for him, with the king; and he was very happy when the Republic arrived. Yes, he was happy. Later we had to change our minds quickly because the Republic arrived on April 7, 1931, and in May they started burning the churches, they started committing atrocities. I am telling you these aspects because they are some of the most striking, but anyway, there were already plenty of other things, things were falling apart already, well, anyway ... it was clear that things weren't going well; jobs didn't increase, unemployment increased, there were political battles, horrendous personal clashes. Spain was falling down, it was bad. It was very bad. Clearly it was degenerating into communism. This could be seen clearly as time went on. I met her [Pilar] later. I remember very well when my fiancé and my brother joined the Falange, I told them, I would like ... yes, if you join, I too want to join, I like this idea, I like ... So then, to avoid having me join, well, to keep me from getting into trouble, danger, they told me, no, there are no women in the Falange. Then I said: but what about the sister of José Antonio, because I know that she ... Well, she helps him like you can help us. And well, I didn't sign up but I helped them in everything just the same. No, Pilar I didn't meet until ... when I crossed into the National zone, when I went to Burgos, and then I met her.

I asked Chelo what she did to help her brother and her fiancé in the early days of the Falange:

Well, we went to the villages to spread the word about the Falange, we talked to the people and told them what the Falange was all about; we encouraged them to hear José Antonio's lectures, urged them to sign up, and build a movement that was neither of the Right nor of the Left but was really a national type of movement that could truly defend Spain's historical values, and well, we couldn't do anything more than this, make propaganda. Later, when ... when the war came to the Communist zone, yes, then we even took pistols to the young fellows in the jails, we smuggled them in, we visited them, brought them food, we had connections with the Nationalist

zone—spying. Because there were people who crossed over... like at the Front ... there was a time in Madrid ... do you know the Ciudad Universitaria, the university campus? Well, there was a time when in several buildings in the Ciudad Universitaria, some of the floors belonged to the Nationalists and others to the Communists. And they fought ... then it was easy for the people to cross over at night, knowing the places, and they came to find out and we gave them information about what was happening here, and about all that. My brother, who was an architect, he worked as an architect in City Hall, they mobilized him to the trenches; the Communists told him, well, we know that you ... as they said, you are a Fascist, at that time that's what they called us, but we need you because you are a technician, because they were short of technicians, that's a fact, but if you go over to the other side or something, we'll kill your mother and siblings ... your parents and siblings. Well, that's why we had to leave, too, so they could go to the other side. But afterwards they couldn't because they were arrested. But my brother designed trenches, as he said, paper trenches, very badly made, so they wouldn't ... and all the blueprints he ... he sent them to Burgos with spies and things like that.

The Indelible Memory of her Fiancé's Death

Like so many others across the political spectrum and across social classes in Spain, Chelo lost her fiancé in the conflict. For some people, such a loss meant the destruction of their lives. For others, as in her case, a life given solidarity and purpose sometimes is the result of traumatic loss. Chelo never married; she maintained a lifelong association with the SF.

I asked Chelo if she would talk to me about her fiancé.

Yes, but I'm afraid I'll talk too much. My fiancé also came from a modest family, from the middle class. My fiancé's parents were from the province of Burgos, and they were a modest family, and they emigrated to South America, to Argentina. There they made money. That's where the father and mother met. He was born there, in Buenos Aires. He came to Spain when he was 11 years old. He was an only son. He studied. He had an inheritance from his grandmother and he traveled all over the world when he was 20. He saw the world. He was very well educated. He was ... he wrote marvelous verses. He was a poet. He was very cheerful, very charming, very nice. A lot of fun. But with a tremendous depth of ... I don't know, call it romanticism—sentimental, poetic—that mixture. He was very Republican. He fought against the monarchy, with the Republic, to bring the Republic. When he became disillusioned, he joined the Falange and became a follower of José Antonio.

Out of curiosity I asked Chelo how her fiancé had found the Falange.

Well, all of us found the Falange about the same way. Because of disillusion with ... with the way, more or less, with the idea, more or less, that we followed, toward the right, in general, being happy with the Republic, being disillusioned with the Republic, and suddenly people started talking about José Antonio ... I've already told you about the small poster in the streets of Madrid ... You know how elections are: propaganda, propaganda, the right, the left ... and suddenly this, it was like ... something different from the two extremes and it talked about the sense of the fatherland, the family, of ... in favor of the worker, a little against capitalism, some of its aspects, in what it has in...well, let's say, in excess, the capitalism of ... So then people talked to each other, one friend joined and said to another: listen, come to the speech of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. You'll see what an outstanding person he is, you'll see some new ideas. And there was a speech, in '33, in the Teatro de la Comedia—there were many young people—and, if you have a chance to read it, it was marvelous. Even if you don't read anything else by José Antonio except this speech and his last will, you'll get a good idea about who José Antonio was, already at that time. A marvel. I didn't go, unfortunately. But well, I have it in writing and all of us practically know it by heart, more or less. That marked the founding of the Falange, because he outlined the points that had to be achieved politically to save Spain from the chaos in which it found itself, between the right and the left. He always said, I'm neither of the right nor of the left; a sense of fatherland, of religion, a sense of family, a social sense, total social politics, social progress. And, of course, all this stirred those of us who were beginning to know him and were beginning to be molded.

Chelo then described the event in which her fiancé lost his life. She further described the atmosphere in Madrid and the terror of those early days in the war.

My fiancé, as I told you, was overjoyed, but he was very persecuted because ... he talked, saying he was a Falangist, as was natural, everywhere, he wanted to enlist many people in José Antonio's cause. He lived in what at that time was a bad neighborhood in Madrid, a very Communist neighborhood, and once, in the year ... when they burned the convents, they dragged the naked nuns through the streets in the neighborhood where he lived. So, he asked his mother for some blankets and he went out by himself with the blankets to free those women. When his mother told him, "Son, they're going to kill you! they're going to ...," the phrase he used was: "In front of me, not even a woman of the street, excuse me, you know?" No one should be allowed to drag one single nun. And he covered them, took them up to his apartment. He faced the mob. He was very strong. He fought with them, like that. And I think from that moment on they had it in for him. They had him on their hit list.

I said, "Yes?"

Do you understand what I'm telling you? That then ... they didn't forgive him for that. Besides, since he was Republican, they considered it a betrayal ... in the neighborhood and all that. And well, we often went to the villages to hold rallies, my brother and I were involved in many ... we went to José Antonio's rallies and all that. And well, they caught him one day. He went out to ... take care of my passport because he was an Argentinian national, ... he had dual nationality, he had kept it. He went out to look for a possibility of ... because he was being persecuted. He had to flee from home. And to see if he could also get a passport for me, to leave on a ship that was sailing on August 12th, an Italian ship that had a stopover in Italy, so we could enter into the Nationalist zone. Naturally, he told me: well, let's get married and leave on that ship, but I'll return to Nationalist Spain, pick up a rifle, and go to the Front. I told him: if you didn't do that, you would disillusion me. This wasn't the moment to escape from Spain but to fight, right? But there was no chance. The day he went out, they caught him in a bar. He had arranged a meeting with some friends to see if they could give him some passports and I think a friend of those friends betrayed him, he heard about it, and they went after him. He disappeared. He had said he would come for me at 5:00 o'clock. I never knew anything more about him, and two days later we found him, assassinated with seven bullets. We don't know where he was during those two days. They found him in the fields, assassinated.

"Seven bullets?" I said

Yes. He had seven bullet wounds. Everywhere. They used to grab them and take them to the countryside and ... five or six people. They shot them. This went on all the time. A knock on the door ... I didn't care about anything, not the bombings, or the bombs, and barely about hunger, what terrified us was the knock on the door. Because the militiamen, the Communists entered and they took us away and ... well, I have seen people killed right there in the stairway ... and two-year old infants ... and ... I don't know what they were doing in the Nationalist zone ... people say that in the National zone ... when I was in the Nationalist zone, since I went to the Front to work, I didn't see those things. I cannot form an opinion, and historically they say that in those places they did things, possibly. But what happened in Madrid, and what I've lived through, that was horrendous.

I asked Chelo when this occurred. She replied that it was right after July 18, 1936. Her fiancé died on August 4, 1936.

Yes, at the beginning of the war. Because of course something happened here. When the Republican government realized that there was a military uprising, and, well, that General Franco, who at that time was a prestigious general, had been chosen as a leader, and that there were army units in various provinces where the Nationalist movement had already triumphed, then what they did was to arm the people, they gave pistols ... shotguns to

everybody, to all the workers, and to everybody they gave pistols so that they could go to the Front and defend without ... because they didn't really have an army, the army was in the Nationalist zone and they weren't imprisoned, right? But of course, there were people who had suffered hunger, who were uneducated, and who hated privileged kids (*señoritos*), who searched, for example, they searched our home 24 times, while I lived there, they searched us 24 times. They took everything, absolutely everything. If they ever had seen us with a medallion, they would have fired 4 bullets into us.

When I asked about a search (a *registro*), Chelo recalled the searches carried out in her home and the homes of her friends and family members. She interpreted these actions as the playing out of long-accumulated class hatred. She specified that she had heard that the same things happened in the Nationalist zone, but she could not attest to it from her own experience. She also insisted that as Falangists they were mistaken for allies of the extreme Right and that this misapprehension was the basis for José Antonio's death.

Well, it was to enter in the houses, place a gun here, and carry off everything, and seize a vase here, that—there were no TVs at that time—everything, and arrest you if they found any incriminating document, or an image of the Virgin, or they found a medallion, or they found ... they killed a cousin of mine, who was 18 years old, simply because he didn't have calluses in his hands, because he wasn't a worker, he was a privileged kid, right? It was a horrendous hatred between classes, open class warfare. Precisely this was the undoing of José Antonio. This, this was the contradiction. And we Falangists didn't want this class warfare, this hatred between classes; we wanted a better life for the worker. Yes, we fought for this, this was our main purpose. Every home have every ... everything. What did José Antonio say? A worker's home should not lack anything that the wrongly called privileged kids enjoy. They should have everything and live comfortably. Well, there will always be distinctions. Because in the construction of a house there is a worker and there is an architect, but independently of that, a worker should live well, having all available conveniences, even if others have better ones. More possibilities, right? But of course this idea, which was that of the Falange and that of José Antonio, and yet they killed us Falangists. When they knew you were a Falangist, they killed you because they assumed we were associated with the extreme Right. I don't know why, but we were never with them. But, look, the Right, even ... maybe Pilar didn't tell you this because it's a little personal, even the fiancée of José Antonio, because he was (?), her father forced her to put an end to her relationship with José Antonio and not marry him because she had become a Falangist, because the Right considered us a notch below the Communists. People socially progressive, and, and it cost me many friendships to have joined the Falange and it finished with ... The Right didn't like us one bit.

I asked Chelo if she had experienced similar disapproval from the parents of her friends.

No, it didn't reach that point, no. Also because, personally, when I joined the SF for real, my life and my friends were already from the SF. And before, I was very close to my cousins, my family. Well, my cousins, some more, others less, but all of us thought more or less alike, right? There were no big differences. I've never had friendships from high society, the aristocracy, none of that, because it wasn't my circle. It wasn't my circle.

With the Sección Femenina: A New Woman

The combination of extreme circumstances and the charisma of José Antonio and of Pilar attracted girls to a life of unaccustomed activities and a freedom previously unknown to traditional families. Lula de Lara, one of the original seven girls clustered around Pilar, expressed this dynamic: "In those moments, all the women, even those who had not done anything, were full of enthusiasm, of the necessity of doing something, of contributing, sacrificing, of whatever was needed. And then, if there was a call from Pilar, well, *claro*, many came who never before had dreamed of having these activities, of doing anything."⁹ Their experiences with the SF opened new paths, a new way of life, to them and they became, in Chelo's words, a "new woman."

Well, then, the general family atmosphere in Spain before '36 was like that, a young girl couldn't go out alone, only with her mother, and if you went with your fiancé you had to be accompanied, etc. The SF broke all these taboos, all these prejudices. A new woman emerged who was brave, open, free, but with a great respect for religion, fatherland, and duty; I think this is the mixture that formed us ... The SF formed us, all of us who have been part of it. We couldn't look back on the past nostalgically and cry for the dead, however sad that was, because there was a long road ahead, there was much to be done, and we had to dedicate ourselves to the task, to offer a different Spain to the next generation. Well, I kept working for the SF, first for the Provincial Delegation, then later for the National Delegation as the Central Manager of Health and Social Assistance;¹⁰ we organized social services, social workers, assistants, hospitals, infirmaries, nurses; we collaborated fully with the government and undertook a public health campaign to improve life in the villages, offered health education in the most forsaken villages, those with the greatest need and the least education. We fought

⁹ I interviewed Lula de Lara in Madrid on June 2, 1987.

¹⁰ Regiduría Central de Divulgación y Asistencia Sanitaria.

against infant mortality; the American embassy provided us with anti-diphtheria vaccine free of charge ...

Chelo described the early efforts of the nascent SF to combat the devastation left by civil war as well as the poverty, disease, and infant mortality ubiquitous in rural areas. The Rural Social Assistant, the outreach workers, and the Teaching Mobiles were among the functions devised by Pilar and her collaborators to combat these ills. In addition to the material challenge, these young women faced the not inconsiderable challenge of changing the traditional mentality of rural populations in order to bring about the needed changes. Again, Chelo linked her life within the SF to the loss of her fiancé and to the values they shared.

There wasn't a lot of diphtheria in Spain but there were many sicknesses and infant mortality was high, in part because of a lack of means, lack of food, also a lack of education on the part of mothers at times, especially in rural areas. We had an extensive campaign of anti-diphtheria vaccination, health education, and the drop in infant mortality was amazing; all this in collaboration with doctors, with the National Health Services. Then I think it's important to emphasize that it was Pilar who had this really good idea and we carried it out with great success. We found that these continuous visits to villages were expensive, that infant mortality there was very high, and the problems after a war—the villages destroyed, people clashing, families too, because of the war, because a civil war is very cruel in this aspect, brother pitted against brother and ... we couldn't send a group of assistants or social workers to the villages because it cost a lot and ...they didn't have that mentality, they weren't used to living in the villages. So then Pilar's beautiful idea, which we carried out, was to bring girls from the villages, well, the ones who stood out because of their education, who had a grade school education, the mayors selected the girls for us, we asked them for one, and then in all the provinces of Spain we trained these girls in our Vocational Training Schools, in groups of 30 and 40, each one from a different village, we trained them in public health education, hygiene, the basics of childcare, rural crafts, information about Social Security ... uh, all this for free. When she returned to her village, she was a rural social assistant, you understand? With a few accelerated courses, because the courses lasted 40 days, but they were repeated every two years, the outreach workers (*divulgadoras*) were very dedicated and they did a wonderful job. They gave us great results. Because they knew the families and people knew them, they knew the surroundings, they taught, they took the kids to be vaccinated, they did sanitary work, educational work ... Sorry, I interrupted you.

Asked if there were courses like that in the larger towns, Chelo replied:

No. In Madrid, the towns in the province of Madrid; in Burgos, the towns in the province of Burgos, in the capital, in the capital's Vocational Training

Schools. I myself ran the first four. Doctors came to give us classes, they came, but, well, we also made it fun with songs and dances, with music, everybody brought some songs from their village, then there was a music teacher and when we finished around 8 at night, we had one hour of class in music, also in religion, decorative art, and art; there were public health campaigns ... it was wonderful work because we were changing the psychology of the villages and... even the physical aspect of the villages.

At this point, I asked Chelo how they changed the physical aspect of these rural villages and where they found their resources.

Well, for example, once we arrived at a village, I remember it was in the province of Avila, the people had suffered a lot in the war, the houses were in very bad shape, very dirty, people had tried to fix things up as well as they could; there was only one mattress, all the families piled up, then our outreach workers taught them how to use orange crates or whatever to make little cribs; to make bedspreads, to separate ... we led hygiene campaigns and we told them you have to clean your house, whitewash it, plant flowers; we gave them flower pots, flowers, we brought them cleaning materials, all this, and we got them for free from the businesses, stores. We went to ask for these things and they gave them to us. So we told them: we'll be back in a month. The cleanest house, the cleanest kids, and so on, will get a prize from us. Then we gave them shoes, pots and pans, kitchenware, blankets, all things we had asked for in the stores in the capital. Then the people made an effort, the young men from the Youth Front (*Frente de Juventudes*) showed up and whitewashed the houses, planted the flowerpots, and when we arrived the village had changed, it was a lovely village, all clean, and all the women made ... Do you know what a paper chain is? They're colored papers that are hung like this ... It felt like a fiesta, all the villages received us and we arrived loaded with blankets and other stuff. And the change ... little by little they were catching on, well, to these other habits, this other way of living. Later there were also Teaching Mobiles (*Cátedras Ambulantes*), you've probably heard about them ...

I acknowledged that I had and asked her to describe them.

Ah, they were great. They were these big buses, big cars. One was used by the people as living quarters, that is, there were 5 or 6 beds where they lived, a small dining room, kitchen, shower, you know? OK. That was fundamental, of course. The other was a mobile clinic, it had X-ray machines, scales for weighing babies, it carried medications, all that. Another was a mobile library, books and teaching materials for home schooling ... let's see what else was there? Well, yes, rural crafts, for example, learning how to make cheese, learning to make ... how they could make blankets out of rabbit pelts; cutting and sewing, cooking classes and nutrition, and all that. Then we left them in the villages ... I'll explain this to you ... and the cars did this ... one car here, another car there, and then they used a canvas, like in a

circus... they covered them, exactly like a traveling circus, you understand? Then they set up chairs, borrowed from the Town Hall, and there they taught classes to the women every day. They explained what the teaching program (Cátedra) was all about; this teaching program took around 15 to 20 days, or a month; in every village, they taught these classes. They took X-rays of the kids, called the doctor, left medications, gave shots, taught classes in preventive medicine, in rural crafts, and how to make the best use of waste materials, homemaking, cooking, nutrition, infant care, a little bit of decoration, for all of this we were in contact with the resident outreach worker, the doctor, the priest, and the mayor, it was fabulous.

Chelo explained that the outreach workers came before the teaching program:

We told her when the Teaching Mobile would arrive and then she told the people, she got the word out; we distributed flyers explaining the teaching program. Well, the most important contact, which I haven't mentioned yet, was with the teacher; we taught people to read and write; it was a huge literacy campaign. And the villages changed ... people still remember this ... there was a change in the way of life, and, well, when the caravan left ... ah, we also taught them regional dances, the choirs sang, everything was organized ... ah, gym, sports, physical education ...

Unfortunately, we didn't have too many of them (Teaching Mobiles). In the end, we managed to have one in every province, but, of course, there was the province of Burgos, for example, which had 1,500 villages. So imagine what it meant for one Teaching Mobile to go from village to village. Well, later, we ended up doing it another way, which was not to take the vehicles but to live in the villages for a while and teach classes in the schools, helping the teacher and the instructors, and helping ... But, of course, the real thing was to take the Teaching Mobile, set it up, and well, there was enthusiasm in the villages, and we taught classes, special classes for mothers. We gave a diploma to the mother who was the best in taking care of her son, the best in preparing his food, and the best in keeping him clean; we gave them ... we distributed baskets, baskets with everything the little ones need, baby clothes ... for the newborn ...

She pointed out, however, that she did not go in the Teaching Mobiles to the villages. Instead, she said,

Actually, I accompanied the outreach workers, the nurses—the sanitary part—and also the social services and social workers in the provincial capitals. Other comrades were in charge of the Teaching Mobile, but we collaborated and were very close, of course. Conchita del Pozo knows a lot about the Teaching Mobiles. I don't remember if she...she ended up working in the teaching department. I think she did. But, anyway, she comes from the province of Guadalajara, and they had Teaching Mobiles there for a long time. Well, we did the public health work of nurses, we taught nursing

courses and they took our exams in the School of Medicine; we set up dispensaries in every district of the provincial capitals because the panorama in Spain after the Civil War was a disaster, as after all wars, of course. But in addition to that, a civil war brings so many moral problems, family problems and ... and so we did intensive public health work. There were a lot of deaths, lots of sicknesses. The public health authorities helped us very much.

I asked if she was referring to the national government authorities and she pointed out that the SF had a reciprocal relationship with the government.

From the Government. Yes. We helped them too because wherever there were hospitals that were badly organized, they called us so we could organize them, we were already known as being good organizers ... Because we did this pretty much in the spirit of volunteer work, ...we didn't do it to make money. There was no other motive ... although this is a good thing and I'm not complaining about it, but I want to say that at that time, for example, we worked non-stop. I ate a sandwich in the office and returned home at midnight; no, we didn't even have a vacation or anything

I commented that she must have been referring to a calling, a reason to live.

Exactly. It was a reason to live. Because my case, which I've told you, of having my fiancé killed, having been at the Front, having suffered deprivations, I was also imprisoned for a while by the Communists, my brother offered to go in my stead ... When they arrested me, my brother said, No! She is sick, eh, I'll go in her place, take me.

Then, of course, for me it was horrible until my brother was released again that time; all that leaves you with great sadness and a tremendous wound, you know, at age 19, which is how old I was, for example, but then life was completely fulfilled, life was fulfilled.

Work with the Government

Chelo's trajectory through the Sección Femenina into another career with the Franco government resembled that of other women whose achievements within SF opened opportunities for further career moves. In her case, Chelo was sent as the public health representative of the Franco government to the United States to confer with the American government about health care policy. What follows is a moving discussion about her memory of her experience.

I'll tell you something about my case. When they organized health insurance in Spain, a health insurance that still exists today; it's mandatory. In other words, all the workers pay part of their salary into Social Security and in

exchange they receive public health services. They thought highly of this when I explained it in Washington and in New York because they told me this didn't exist in the United States, at least in those ... in those districts ... in Washington and in New York; there were no mandatory public health services. We have them here. They were started in '45. At that time the leaders I had collaborated with in health matters asked me to organize all these services of nurses and social workers, and Pilar told me, yes, it should be me because I had ... well, more or less, some experience. I took the idea of the SF to these places; and I stayed many years organizing all the hospitals, the services of nurses ... well, together with my team, you know, there were 14 of us. But even though this work was so wonderful and even though I worked so hard, I wasn't in the spirit of the SF. This is why I can speak so impartially because I have worked both in the Government and in the SF.

Chelo clarified that she was working for the Franco government and not as a functionary of the SF at this time.

Yes. In the Government. This was not part of the SF. Well, naturally we collaborated very closely, especially since I was there and I came from the SF. In other words, if I had to do a course for nurses, hospital directors or instructors or supervisors, I asked the SF for schools, we trained them there and ... well, we also offered the curriculum designed by Pilar, which included religion, a sense of the fatherland, you know? The Government never gave me a bad time about this, on the contrary. This is why I was called, so I could transmit the spirit of the SF and ... to the Government. The Government is something colder, more traditional and, well, there I was for many years, up until four years ago when I retired ... ha ha. But I always collaborated with the SF. I was on the Consulting Board (*Junta Consultiva*), Pilar's consulting unit, and ... I was always in contact with her for everything, and consulted her about all those things, of course.

Reflections on Spain after Franco

Finally, Chelo contemplated her youth in the 1930s and 1940s. She compared it with what she perceived of the experiences of contemporary youth. In all, she preferred her life, despite its anguish and hardships, because of the meaning and purpose that she felt enriched her life immeasurably.

The [civil war] lasted three years, Victoria, and what three years they were ... When they catch you in your youth, full of illusions, full of projects, wham, it cuts deeply into your life. It opens your eyes to so many things.

I asked Chelo how those ideas that had such a great attraction in those years could still be so alive to her and to her SF contemporaries today?

Because of the imprint; that era left an imprint on us. Anyway, I'm going to tell you something, Victoria, I feel it the way I explain it to you, alive within me, and you could say I live in part from it, from ... the illusions of that era. It formed me and it gives me strength for many things, but nowadays I don't talk to people about this; I'm not inclined to talk about it and much less to the young people. No, because they wouldn't understand me, and besides they wouldn't come to see me, and they could ... and they would say, what a pain my aunt is with those stories, hah, ha. Do you understand? I don't talk to them about it. I do try, whenever I can, to lead them to the way of life that I have followed, but I don't talk to them about politics, or of what I have done, or, or about José Antonio or Franco or anything because, because I understand that for them this stuff is ancient history, half of them hate it, right?

I remarked that for young people today, twenty years ago is something ancient.

Completely different, of course. However, I'm not ashamed of it either. Quite the contrary, that is to say that ... when I'm asked, I tell it the way I feel it and I'm proud to talk about it and I'll talk about it anywhere. Because after all democracy brings us this freedom of being able to talk, and to say whatever we feel like, right?

I remarked to Chelo that having met her friends Conchita and Soledad,¹¹ I perceived them to be women—just as Chelo was—full of life and contentment. And yet academic works on the Sección Femenina claim that women in the SF taught that women must be closeted. It's an apparent contradiction. Chelo agreed with my impression of her friends, but rejected the claim that the SF aimed to confine women. She thinks that much of that negative opinion has been generated by those who view the SF as enemies.

No, no, no. I think it's the opposite. We came to break molds. What happens is—excuse me—that when you read things that outsiders have written about us ... well, a tremendous campaign is being waged against the SF by today's women who are in more or less high positions. For example, there is someone, I don't know, I don't know her personally, eh, I have no reason to speak well or badly about her, but from what I've heard on TV, from what I've heard her say—she is now in charge of the cultural activities of women—her name is Carlota Bustelo, I don't know if you've heard about her or if you've had the chance ... Well, she is someone who ... one day she said on TV: "Don't talk to me about the SF, I hate them, I hate them, I hate them." But do you think someone can say ... I've never said anything like this—not even during war time, right after my fiancé died—against La Pasionaria, for

¹¹ I interviewed former SF members Conchita del Pozo and Soledad Santiago on June 20, 1989 in Madrid.

example. No, no, I didn't say it. I respect her as a human being. I don't share her ideas but ... This is a campaign to make us look like silly girls, but no ... but, well, we all left our homes to go to work! And we all ... left ... the one thing at the time was that after marrying, it's true—but it was something from that time, a little of that mentality—that when a woman got married, she stopped working so she could dedicate herself to her husband and her children. We have to remember that the economy was bad, there was no household help, and the children's education was regarded as ... and that the core of the family, the core was the woman, and that her place was in the family. Yes, this is true, eh. And this was deeply ingrained in all of us; that after getting married, the way to fulfill our mission to serve Spain better is at home, with our children, with our husband, and educating our children, and being the core. That's right. This is true. But it's not the same as being silly or closeted, no. But later that was also modified, with time. Married women were accepted the same, they worked the same, right? But in the early years, it's true, when you got married, you stopped working. Because at that time, unlike now, it was considered demeaning for a woman to work, you know. The idea was that the center, a woman's greatest pride was her home, educating her children, and being the foundation of her family. Yes, we did have that idea. Later it evolved, naturally. But with this purpose: not to demean women but, on the contrary, to give them the place that was ... that was the most appropriate for them and which was tremendously important, her children's education. Well, maybe it's also what we had seen with our parents ... at that time it was very difficult for a woman to work outside the home, very few ... But, of course, she was ... the mother, the one in the family who paid constant attention to everything, to the children, to the husband. It wasn't just cooking and washing and cleaning. She was the soul of the household, she was the one who gave the family its personality. We had to bring our personality into the family. But this evolved soon, this evolved. I don't remember the exact date but I know that later this evolved. No, no. What happened is that, well, later some liberties arrived in Spain that weren't liberties but dissolute behavior. The Spanish woman has lived through an era and now things are settling down a little but in the first moments of the transition, the Spanish woman has undergone ... well, then, she wasn't at home, because we all worked outside the home. As for me, if I had gotten married, I would certainly have kept on working, right? But there is a difference between working in something—more or less feminine, or not, whatever you want—and dissolute behavior; or to go from having a concept of morality, ethics, private life, dedication to one man, family, loyalty and all the rest, to a horrendous dissolute behavior. Because for them there were no constraints; at one point there was nothing but pornography, drugs and sex. There was nothing else. And of course, these are all the ones who sneer at us.

Chelo continued to reflect on the progress of democracy in Spain, its responsibilities, and its social consequences.

I think things are changing a little, too. Because, of course, democracy is too recent, it's been a very abrupt change, and life in Spain has suffered a lot. But, well, it's settling down although in our politics things are going badly, it seems to me, but in spite of that, people are assimilating all the democratic ideas a little more, and all that liberty implies, which in my understanding, Victoria, and I don't know if I'm mistaken, is that your liberty stops where somebody else's liberty starts. So, liberty had tremendous responsibilities. Maybe more than the ... political ideas ... or the cities where there is no democracy. Because where there is a dictatorship, they give you everything sort of ready-made. But in a democracy, you have to do it yourself, day by day, moment by moment. And earn your liberty and respect that of others. So this is what hadn't been assimilated. For example, I was waiting for a bus, so there was a line, right? So then you take your place and here comes a modern young thing, and she gets ahead of you, and you say, Listen, your place is behind me because I'm here; "I'm a free being"; "and my freedom," I say, "what about mine?" Of course, this happens all the time, you understand? Yes, yes, that's how it is. I think it's still changing. It's also settling down a bit. Now, our view hasn't been assimilated, this generation hasn't understood it yet. I think what's needed is ... more years have to pass before the work, our work, can be seen historically. The trees are too close and we can't see the forest. Or because of the forest we can't see the trees.

Chelo then thought about the core ideas of José Antonio's work and its relevance to current problems. This raised the question of whether it is timely to reintroduce his political doctrine.

Like José Antonio's work; we've asked ourselves many times if we should organize conferences and studies and seminars about José Antonio's political ideas, which have been distorted in many aspects; so much has been distorted. Because today the real essence of his political doctrine continues to be valid. But ... we've seen that it's too soon. Well, it was a very progressive social program, a social program in which, naturally, there aren't so many rich or so many poor, right? With a respect for human values, for liberty; at the same time, an idea of the historical moment in which we live, in every fatherland, in every instance, this has been lost. A sense, a human sense of life that's tremendous. Respect for a person as a human being. And well, for those, for those who live with it, a Christian idea of life, of course.

I repeated that it is this core of ideas that has shaped her life:

Yes, yes, I feel completely identified with them, I mean, I'm true to myself, to my ideas and to what I've done and to what I've been. I also realize that I joined when I was 19, I was a young girl, we could say, without any experience, without having worked, well, I had studied something, but I had worked little, privately only, with my brother and my fiancé, helping them somewhat, and for me all that work was new, and, of course, at the beginning, you make a lot of errors, you make many mistakes in many things,

right? But maybe, thinking back on it, I ... maybe I would change some things, but nothing substantial, maybe some minor aspects, let's say, right? Nothing fundamental, I wouldn't change anything.

I asked if there is anything she would like to change if she could:

Well, I would change it now, but maybe in that moment it was necessary. For example, we had a very ironclad idea of discipline. But it was a product of those times, especially during the war and also in the post-war years, in all our work. We had an idea of discipline. We didn't disagree too much among ourselves, but if we ever disagreed about something, Pilar's idea prevailed, she was the boss and she had to be obeyed. Do you understand? She didn't force her ideas on us but rather we discussed them in our meetings and each of us could express an opinion, but we didn't have a democratic vote, you understand what I'm telling you? In the end, Pilar's criteria prevailed. But she persuaded us and in the end we were all convinced. But even if this hadn't been the case, we would have done it out of a sense of discipline. But maybe it was necessary at that time.

At this point I asked Chelo if Pilar had a very firm idea about what José Antonio would have thought in that moment:

Yes. We were stirred by politics, completely. We were stirred by José Antonio's political ideal. That's what stirred us the most. And she believes, as I do, that José Antonio would have evolved a lot because, of course, history and events make you evolve. But not in what's fundamental, eh. Not in those ideas that I told you about, their essence, in authentic values. What happens is that there is more than one way of applying them, according to the moment, according to circumstances.

In terms of working with the other women of the SF, I asked Chelo if the women who worked together were friends and what sort of friendship she would ascribe to them?

Yes. We all ended up being friends. And I'll tell you the proof. I worked more years in Social Security than in the SF but my friends continue to be from the SF, through all these years. Well, we were more friends with some than with others, of course, that's logical. Within this whole group, there were separate friends, some saw each other outside of work and others didn't. There were some, maybe I could go out ... not, let's say, with Conchita Pozo, who was in Guadalajara, but I could go out with Solís Santiago, who was a close friend of mine, you know? And I had my group. After work, we went out on Sundays, or we went on excursions or whatever. One ... but almost all of them were from the SF. Outside of the SF, I had many friends, from school or my career, or wherever, but later we didn't get along if they didn't come to the SF with us, if they didn't agree with our ideas. It fulfilled us completely. So then, there was no room for different ideas or criteria. Because for us, our work, our ideas, molded our lives.

Then I asked if there was a type of woman who was attracted to the SF? Are there characteristics that all of them had, or that differentiated them?

We all have a stamp; we're all slightly marked. Look, this has happened to me at times, and to many others, we've commented on this, you arrive at some place that has nothing to do with you, and even afterwards, you talk about any topic, whether art, the weather, or something, and somebody will stare at you and: you're from the SF? or you were from the SF? Yes, it's noticeable.

Asked how one could tell, Chelo answered, "Well, I don't know. I think maybe we're very straightforward, we feel great love for everything, we're concerned about everything, I don't know, I can't tell you. I know that it's noticeable. Very open. Very self-assured.

And she looked back on her "very full, inwardly very enriching life. I have reached retirement age, my health is not the best, I have poor eyesight, but I have my memories. They're not nostalgic; life has brought everything that has been meaningful in my life in all of these aspects. Besides, we continue being very close and, I don't know, we have this eagerness to know, to learn; as for me, I do all I can, I take courses, go to art shows, to ... I am always eager to know things like that."

When I asked if it was this eagerness to know that brought her to the SF. She answered,

Yes. I found my center in the SF. I have asked myself many times if I joined the SF because I carried this inside of me, and it was like a pull, like a magnet, you understand? Or if within the SF I actually got this from the outside. Maybe both things, they complemented each other.

I noted that in the 1930s and 1940s, the SF must have presented opportunities that are very difficult to understand today. And Chelo pondered the differences in circumstances of Spain's youth today and the circumstances of her youth and the risk that the meaning of her life will be lost to historical memory

Well, today's young people...but I'm delighted that you are a young person and from another country, and that you can understand it, because I have nephews, and I love them as if they were my children, but I've never had this conversation with them, they wouldn't understand it, it doesn't interest them ... It's a shame. It's been lost: well, it's been lost, relatively speaking. It's not been lost for each one of us; it's not been lost during all the years it lasted ... it was very strong during Spain's reconstruction. It's been lost ... for history; maybe with time it won't have been lost after all, but for right now, of course, it's lost. It's sad, it's bitter, eh, for us ... And I'll tell you

something that makes me feel sad—that they're not happier than we had been. Their lives are not as full.

The young people of today, here in Spain. There is a huge wave of disenchantment, of not finding the way. And I'm not talking about drug addicts ... Of materialism that exists in all aspects. I'm talking about normal people. For example, I have a nephew that I love like a son, my brother had died, and I practically brought up this child. Alright, this fellow is pretty progressive, pretty much a Communist, he is in the CNT, which is the National Syndical Center (Centro Nacional Sindicalista),¹² and he is anxious to find a social program to ... to eliminate poverty, to equalize people, but his way of going about this is completely different from the way I did it and it's causing him more bitterness than it had caused me, in spite of all the sadness that we endured, you know? I don't see myself, I don't know, I don't see them as centered. They search, they want to do things ... In Spain right now, there is a wave that's very ... a period of transition, that I think will pass; it's very disorienting, very ... For young people it doesn't hold out a lot of appeal. I understand perfectly well that history can't go backwards, I'm not nostalgic, in the decadent sense of my era, no, I think we've gone through a very good period, and, well, and then there is this one. Well, if we were of this era, we'd be products of this era. We're products of ours, right? But it makes me sad that they don't have what we found, a ... an ideal, an illusion. They've lost the sense of the fatherland a bit. It even seems a little ridiculous to them. They have a great deal of social anxiety, and maybe political. They don't know where to locate it. There's satisfaction ..., I don't know, I find they're not that happy, in spite of everything.

I confided to Chelo that in my youth we were inspired by what President Kennedy said, "Ask not what your country can do for you, . . ."

"Can do for you, but what you can do for your country." The saying is very lovely. Yes, I was in Washington during the Kennedy years, and also it had a tremendous impact on me that just 7 days after my visit to the White House, Kennedy was assassinated. I was already back in Spain and it was all so recent ... I went there to learn about the social services in the hospitals. I was sent by the Government, by my organization, the Spanish Social Security sent me there to learn about the social services in the hospitals and implement them in Spain. I mean, to study them, not to learn them because the situations were so different, but it surely was a very interesting experience. I studied them in Washington, Baltimore, and New York. And I really noticed an uplifted spirit under Kennedy. I was really very upset about his death, it affected me very much.

¹² C.N.T (Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo), or National Confederation of Labor, is a confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalist labor unions affiliated with the International Workers Association. It's not clear what Chelo is referring to here.

Chelo suggested similarities between our two countries and ends our conversation on a humorous note.

It was very hard. And also since nothing was ever known exactly, nothing and ... it's awful, eh? Yes, awful. All countries go through some tough crises. I have an American friend and we continue writing to each other; he spends some time here, and I lived in his mother's house in Washington, and I have some Chilean friends there as well. Well, they say it was political. There is nobody with an outstanding personality. The thing is that the United States is ... it's your country and I am happy to be able to tell you with all my heart, I admire the Americans and I think they have a great love for the United States, their fatherland ... Even though the president may be a more or less mediocre person ... More or less ... the country keeps on going, keeps on going. First, because people love their fatherland, they feel a responsibility toward its history and what's more, I think, if I'm not mistaken, you have a strong economy, of course, that also helps.

Conclusion

This small contribution to oral history reveals the direct linkages among history, memory, and agency. At nineteen years of age, Chelo's life course was abruptly truncated and her choices radically altered. Her youthful ideology provided meaning for that transmuted life and, not surprisingly, she remained dedicated to its guiding precepts—as she understood them. Chelo's story confirms what Alessandro Portelli has pointed out in "The Peculiarities of Oral History":¹³ that oral history "tells us less about events as such than about their meaning." Throughout our conversation, Chelo Muñoz Monasterio elucidated what various events had meant to her and to her companions. Her explanations of why she and her family first supported, then turned away from the Republic, and why they followed José Antonio and his sister Pilar, require a more complex interpretive formula than is offered by the binary oppositions imposed by formal histories. In her account of specific details of her life at the time of the outbreak of civil war, we can see that the immediacy of events had compelling power to force decisions from a limited field of choices. Portelli points out that oral sources can tell us "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, what they now think they did." Chelo's narrative is noteworthy in her retrospective clarity: she never doubted the

¹³ Alessandro Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History," *History Workshop* 12 (Autumn, 1981): 96–107, 100.

choices made early in her youth. The attacks on what she perceived to be essential fibers of Spanish identity—tradition and her religion—and the brutal and traumatic death of her novio resulted in her irrevocable commitment to the ideology of the Falange. Further, Chelo believed that these ideals infused her subsequent long life with profound meaning and were the source of her agency.

Chelo's fractured life is not unique, of course; its disruptions were multiplied exponentially not only during Spain's upheaval but repeated worldwide. As historical critics such as the late Edward Said and Tony Judt have reminded us, the twentieth century was one of the worst centuries for Europe in terms of human death, severe dislocation and trauma, loss for those who survived and also for those who—apparently—prevailed. Understanding how those who suffered came to terms with their experiences and then came to remember them is a task for the cultural historian. Oral history is a tool that enables us to approach the subjectivity of those who lived through determining historical events. The credibility of an oral source is not at issue here. Indeed, "what the informant believes is indeed a historical fact (that is, the fact that he or she believes it) just as much as what 'really' happened."¹⁴ In addition, life stories can show us the multitudinous facets of a life lived in the tangle and demanding immediacy of competing forces. They act as checks to too-easily-applied categories such as "left" and "right" or "traditional" and "progressive." They can contribute to a more comprehensive historical consciousness as badly needed in this century as in the last.

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¹⁴ Portelli, "The Peculiarities of Oral History", 100.

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MEMORIES OF WAR AND EXILE: TWO AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES OF EXILED WOMEN

Pilar Domínguez Prats

Since the nineties, there has been an intense social debate in Spanish society concerning what happened in our recent history. According to Paloma Aguilar, this increased interest in the past is due to questions that have resurfaced in a new generation regarding the desire to know more about the role of their ancestors in the Civil War and its aftermath.¹ There has also been an interesting historiographical debate: some historians believe that there was no forgetfulness or silence about the Civil War and that it has been researched at will, while others try to demonstrate the need to recover the war memories and to continue to investigate today.²

The Franco regime, like other totalitarian political systems, tried to silence the memories of those defeated in the civil war with a long period of repression. Many of the victims of the dictatorship in Spain died without being able to tell their stories and, more than seventy years later, are still buried in mass graves or in ditches along the roadside. According to historian Julián Casanova, the number of those executed from 1939–50 totals to “no less than fifty thousand people,”³ both men and women who were part of the wide range of Republican organizations in the Civil War. The political transition ignored these individuals’ traumas; among the various political forces, there was a “pact of silence” about the Civil War, which also included the period of the Franco regime, since the legitimacy of the regime was subject to the official interpretation of the struggle.

In the last ten years, we have seen a widespread process undertaken by civil society intended to favor the recovery of memories and the oral testimonies of men and women repressed and exiled after the war and the

¹ Paloma Aguilar, “Evocación de la guerra y el franquismo en la política, la cultura y la sociedad españolas”, in Santos Juliá, ed., *Memoria de la guerra y el franquismo* (Madrid: Taurus, 2006), 315.

² This debate took place between Santos Juliá and Francisco Espinosa in 2006 in the newspaper *El País*. The position of Santos Juliá, reluctant to use memory sources, is explained also in Juliá, *Memoria de la Guerra*, 17.

³ Julián Casanova, “Historia social de los vencidos,” *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008), 30:161.

subsequent Franco regime. The importance awarded to all of their life stories by the so-called “oral history,” the stories of anonymous women, the leftist or anti-Franco militants, has had a clear influence on the publication of their memories.

The proclamation of 2006 as the “Year of Historical Memory,” on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the proclamation of the Spanish Second Republic, is an example of social progress in this regard. It was a tribute to all the victims of the Civil War, or of the subsequent repression of the Franco regime, for their defense of democratic principles and values. It was also intended to acknowledge those who made the establishment of a democratic system created with the 1978 Constitution possible by the defense of civil liberties and reconciliation among the Spanish people. The “Historical Memory Law,” approved at the end of 2007 by the Congress of Deputies, advocated *the recovery of personal and family memories*⁴ of those persecuted for political and ideological reasons during the Civil War and the Franco regime. This was a fundamental step towards the expansion of the writing of this type of memory accounts, leaving behind a lengthy public amnesia of those times in our recent history.

In Spain, historical studies of the Civil War and the Franco regime have outpaced the collective memory of these events, which has been slowly recovered in recent years. As Enzo Traverso points out,⁵ referring to the frequent mismatch between the historical and the collective views that occurs in contemporary societies, the paths of history and collective memory were divergent, as were their time frames. When referring to the collective memory of a society, a concept coined by Maurice Halbwachs, we refer to memories placed in various institutions that create a social legacy that individuals encounter since birth; it is a community’s memory of its own history and the lessons and teachings thereof.⁶

Contemporary historiography of the last decade has paid more attention to the analysis of autobiographical stories due to their great potential for the study of subjectivity in history; something that had been implemented since the second half of the last century by the misnamed “oral historians,” “that is, those of us who work with oral sources. On the other hand, the term “ego documents” was coined in the field of written cultural history to

⁴ Enzo Traverso, *El pasado, instrucciones de uso. Historia, memoria y política* (Madrid: Ed. Marcial Pons, 2007), 42.

⁵ Traverso, *El pasado*.

⁶ Paloma Aguilar, *Aproximaciones teóricas y metodológicas al concepto de memoria histórica*. Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea del Instituto Ortega y Gasset (Madrid: Instituto Ortega y Gasset, 1997), 5.

refer to personal stories of an autobiographical nature: letters, diaries, narratives, etc. From the analysis of these personal written texts interesting contributions have emerged in relation to the Second Republic, the Civil War, and exile, such as those made by Antonio del Castillo, Verónica Sierra, and Antonio Viñao, among others. These contributions analyze popular and marginal writings by children in exile, repressed teachers, or those condemned to death.⁷

The participation of women in political life and in the workplace during the Second Republic and the Civil War has been a theme addressed by gender historiography, especially since the nineties.⁸ In this chapter we analyze female public activity from two autobiographical narrations. In Spain, since the eighties, the use of women's personal testimonies of this troubled period in our recent history has been widespread; however, it has experienced a peak in the last decade. Autobiographical narrations, whether oral or written, penetrate history hand in hand with daily life and the subjective view of memories. Women of very different characteristics have been interviewed: Falangists, Basque nationalists, or Republicans.⁹ In this paper, two exiled Republican women narrate their individual female perspective of their experiences during the Republic and the Civil War. They particularly highlight specific episodes of their experiences as played out in the public arena, and the recently conquered liberties during the Republic, the harsh experiences of the Civil War and their departure from Spain in 1939 to a long exile after Franco's victory.

⁷ Antonio del Castillo, ed., *La conquista del alfabeto. Escritura y clases populares* (Gijón: Ed. Trea, 2002); Antonio del Castillo y Feliciano Montero, coord., *Franquismo y memoria popular. Escrituras, voces y representaciones* (Madrid: Ed. Siete Mares, 2003); Verónica Sierra, *Palabras huérfanas: los niños y la Guerra Civil* (Madrid, Ed. Taurus, 2009); Antonio Viñao, "Memoria escolar y Guerra Civil. autobiografías, memorias y diarios de maestros y maestras," *Cultura Escrita & Sociedad*, 4 (2007): 171–202.

⁸ See Marta Ackelsberg, *Mujeres Libres. El anarquismo y la lucha por la emancipación de las mujeres* (Barcelona: Virus, 1999); Mary Nash, *Rojas. Mujeres Republicanas en la guerra civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999); Giuliana Di Febo, "Republicanas en la guerra civil," in *Guerras Civiles en el siglo XX*, ed. Julián Casanova (Madrid: Pablo Iglesias, 2001); Aurora Morcillo, "Feminismo y lucha política durante la II República y la guerra civil," in *El feminismo en España: dos siglos de historia*, Pilar Folguera, Ma Isabel Cabrera Bosch; et al. (Madrid: Ed. P. Iglesias, 2007), 89–122.

⁹ See also in this volume Miren Llona's "From Militia Woman to *Emakume*: Myths Regarding Femininity during the Civil War in the Basque Country," and Victoria L. Enders' "Chelo's War: Late Memories of a Falangist Woman." Also Pilar Domínguez, *De ciudadanas a exiliadas: Republicanas españolas en el exilio en México* (Madrid: Ed. Cinca, 2009).

The memories analyzed here are the oral interview of painter Juana Francisca Rubio ("Paquita"), conducted in Madrid in 1984,¹⁰ along with the chronicles written by the exiled Dolores Martí, and published by her daughter María Luisa Broseta.¹¹ These are stories with very different characteristics, since the use of spoken versus the written word is necessarily different; however, both individual memories put forth the subject's point of view regarding a collective history—that of Spanish Republican women in exile. The social historical context experienced by the authors is the starting point for this work.

The Second Republic and Women

The granting of citizenship rights to women in the Constitution of 1931 and especially the conquest of the right to vote theoretically meant the end of the division of spheres according to gender, where women had been allowed to act in private contexts and men in the public arena.

The Constitution abolished all kinds of legal discriminations: labor, criminal, or in matters of civil rights that existed based on gender, "on sex." The separation between the Catholic Church and the State was another element of the constitutional reform that marked the end of religious education and the emergence of new laws favorable to gender equality, as did the new penal code and the expected divorce law, both enacted in 1932. But the brief life of the new political regime prevented these reforms from becoming social reality; work-related gender discrimination continued despite legal equality; in terms of education, the majority of adult Spanish women had little or no education, and focused on preparing them for marriage—"the career for women par excellence"—and housework. In rural areas, women were marginalized from culture, as evidenced by high rates of female illiteracy, which in Spain in 1930 was 40 percent among women above 10 years of age compared to 24 percent among men of the

¹⁰ Interview by Rosario Rubio Calleja with Juana Francisca in Madrid, 1984. For further information please consult another interview done in 1980 with Juana Francisca by Elena Aub in Madrid was consulted within the INAH project titled "Archivo de la Palabra" in Mexico. Both are found in the Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca.

¹¹ M. Luisa Broseta, "Dossier Dolores Martí Domenech: Souvenir d'enfance et d'exil. Radio Calamidad," 1963, en « Burdeos: escribe mi madre," in *"Exils et migrations Ibériques aux XX siècle. Témoignages d'exils entre parole et silence: regards et points de vue,"* 1 (Paris: Centre de Recherches Ibériques, 2004). 13–119.

same age.¹² At that time women in the liberal arts—writers, artists, doctors, etc.—were a selected few, who often lent their capabilities to contribute to the modernization of Spanish society.

The presence of a few women in the world of politics was becoming more prevalent, giving access to the most prepared to new political positions, and they rapidly achieved notoriety in the public arena. The debate on voting rights in the Constitution that confronted three women deputies was one of the instances of greatest female visibility.¹³ During the first Republican biennium, attorney Victoria Kent was appointed General Director of Prisons, and Isabel de Palencia was the first woman to represent the Republic in international forums; in 1931, Isabel was part of the Spanish delegation to the League of Nations, and after that participated in International Labor Organization conferences. Isabel de Palencia's memoirs, written in English in 1940 while in exile, titled *I Must Have Liberty*, provide a worthy account of her intense political activity.¹⁴ Margarita Nelken, a Socialist deputy, was present in the three Republican legislatures and was active in parliamentary debates, especially those regarding the Divorce Law (1932). Later, during the Civil War, as a deputy of the Communist Party, she played a leading role in the executive committee of the Spanish Red Cross in relation to children's services. She also became famous for her radio rallies in Madrid's Republican defense in November 1937. After the end of the war, she lived in exile in Mexico.

The state of civil liberties, equality between the sexes before the law, and the high degree of politicization of society that was accomplished during the Republic, were the main factors behind the creation of female associations, primarily in urban centers. The creation of women's organizations by both left- and right-wing parties,

Which recruited because of the political struggle, which was interpreted very differently by each ideology. The first operational group—inspired by the Communist Party—was called "Women against War and Fascism" and sought to attract Republican and Socialist women. In fact, Socialists like María Lejárraga and Matilde de la Torre, and Republicans such as Victoria

¹² In Mercedes Vilanova and Xavier Moreno, *Atlas de la evolución del analfabetismo en España, de 1887 a 1981* (Madrid: CIDE, 1992), 70.

¹³ Amelia Valcárcel, *El debate sobre el voto femenino en la Constitución de 1931* (Madrid: Congress of Deputies, 2002); Concha Fagoaga, Paloma Saavedra, Clara Campoamor: *la sufragista española* (Madrid: Women's Institute, 2007).

¹⁴ Giuliana Di Febo, "Memoria e identidad política en los escritos autobiográficos del exilio", in Alicia Altet and M. Llusia, *La cultura del exilio Republicano español de 1939*, Madrid, UNED, 2003, pp. 305-318.

Kent, participated in the first National Committee¹⁵ along with prominent Communist leaders like Dolores Ibarruri, Emilia Elías, and Encarnación Fuyola. During the war, the group became a mass association and was renamed “Group of Antifascist Women” (AMA). Women from political forces such as the Popular Front, militants in the UGT and CNT unions, and even unaffiliated women joined the AMA, and despite its unitary nature, Communists women succeeded in imposing their line of thought within the organization throughout the Civil War. They rallied around antifascist objectives, and without paying much attention to their earlier demands regarding women, such as increased education and access to public office. During those years, the AMA and its Catalan subsidiary, Unió de Dones de Catalunya (UDC), boasted sixty thousand members.¹⁶

The Association Free Women (Mujeres Libres) created its first group in Madrid in 1936; it was composed of women coming from the anarcho-syndicalist movements, such as Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Mercedes Comaposada, and Suceso Portales, who saw the need for a women-only organization. Specifically, they sought to overcome the subordination of women in society and in the labor movement itself. Their magazine of the same name appeared in May 1936 and sought to “channel the social action of women, giving them a new perspective, without having their sensitivity and brains contaminated by male errors.”¹⁷ Both groups—the AMA and Free Women—made proclamations against feminism because they considered it a movement of middle-class women and they perceived themselves primarily as workers. As noted by Suceso Portales, Deputy Secretary of the Anarchist Organization:

We did not want to replace the male hierarchy by a feminist hierarchy. We must work and fight together; otherwise, there will be no social revolution. But we needed our own organization to fight on our own behalf.¹⁸

The Civil War triggered the entry of women into the public arena, a process narrated in many of the recollected oral and written firsthand accounts of those years by both Republican women and Falangists.¹⁹ The narratives render accounts of women’s participation in those experiences; some women adopted the new female model that emerged with the Republic

¹⁵ Mercedes Yusta, *Madres coraje contra Franco. La Unión de Mujeres Españolas en Francia del antifascismo a la guerra fría (1941-1950)* (Madrid: Ed. Cátedra, 2009).

¹⁶ Mary Nash, *Rojas. Mujeres Republicanas en la guerra civil* (Madrid: Taurus, 1999) 115.

¹⁷ Ackelsberg, *Mujeres Libres*, 168.

¹⁸ Ackelsberg, *Mujeres Libres*, 25.

¹⁹ See Victoria L. Enders’ “Chelo’s War,” in this same volume.

while others preserved the traditional behavior that marked the then-dominant discourse of domesticity. This oral history is very illustrative of the changes affecting the female model during the war and the political mobilization of a generation of young Republican women as a consequence of Franco's military coup that led to the Civil War.

Juana Francisca Rubio in the Civil War

Juana Francisca Rubio, also known by her married name, Paquita Bardasano, was born in Madrid in 1911 and died there in 2008, although she was exiled in Mexico from 1939 to 1961. Rosario Calleja conducted the interview for the oral history project on "Women in the Civil War in Madrid."²⁰ The study was designed to investigate the presence of women in the public arena and in everyday life in Madrid during this period. Those personal memories that are part of her autobiography are interspersed with other memories; her personal memories make their way among the collective memory of those in exile and the history she knew. Thus, the oral narrative of her experiences more than forty years after the events reveals the weight of "that which is already known, that which has already been narrated" and that which is transmitted by the group, which is also a memory borrowed from past events."²¹

Paquita's story focused on her role as an artist and as a painter of political posters as member of the Young Women's Union during the war. We will review her narrative, along with the female representations in the works she completed during those years; these images are a worthy illustration of the changes experienced by the iconic model of the Republican woman during the war.²²

Juana Francisca—as she signed her posters—is currently considered one of the foremost authors of Republican political propaganda posters along with her husband José Bardasano (1910–79). He was a precocious painter from childhood; in 1929 he was already the artistic director at an advertising agency and created his first drawings for the newspaper *The*

²⁰ Project directed by Dr. Carmen García-Nieto of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and financed by the Instituto de la Mujer in 1984.

²¹ Regine Robin, "Literatura y biografía" en *Historia y Fuente Oral* 1 (1989; repr; Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Archivo Histórico, 1996), 73–90.

²² An initial analysis of this interview was presented in the XVI International Conference of Oral History in Prague, July 2010, in the document titled "Hablan las Republicanas: las mujeres irrumpen en el espacio público," within the panel of "Oral History Narratives of the Spanish Civil War."

Socialist. In 1934, he was awarded the 2nd medal of the National Exhibition of Fine Arts for a portrait of Juana Francisca, whom he married the same year.²³ After the outbreak of the war, he formed a group of artists known as “La Gallofa” in Madrid, where Paquita—as she was known—was active. Bardasano joined the Communist Party and, in 1936, the studio of “La Gallofa” became the Fine Arts Section of the Unified Socialist Youth (JSU).²⁴

Since the beginning of the war, this group was very active in propaganda tasks, especially in making brochures and posters in favor of the struggle of the Republican side. The group of “La Gallofa”²⁵ inspired one of the main cultural workshops in Madrid that emerged during the Civil War, dedicated to the dissemination of Republican ideas, but also created with the purpose of forming a popular culture. The posters were made collectively, in opposition of the “bourgeois” idea of the individuality of artists.²⁶ Paquita and her husband made many posters jointly although often they signed them individually as was the case of “Juana Francisca”. Art became an important propaganda tool that reached the largely illiterate audience through visual images.

Paquita’s interview began speaking of La Gallofa:

Well, I belonged to the *La Gallofa* group, which included a number of artists and creators and writers, all the artists my husband could find, Bardasano could find, to form his propaganda studio. So I was given the role of illustrator in that section.²⁷

In fact, among the members of the group there were sculptors, painters, and students of the School of Fine Arts of Madrid; members of this group included renowned artists like Antonio Orbegozo, who published in the Falangist magazines and who later would play an important role in the return of the Bardasanos to Spain in the sixties.²⁸

²³ *Bardasano: dibujos y grabados* (Madrid, 1984).

²⁴ The JSU was the result of the union between the Socialists Youth and the Communist Youth. Their first joint event was held in Madrid, April 5, 1936.

²⁵ The word “Gallofa” could refer, according to the dictionary of the Real Academia Española, a meal given to the poor that came from France to Santiago de Compostela, or a type of elongated and spongy artisanal bun eaten in Valencia and the north of Spain.

²⁶ This contradiction between the individual and the collective is noted in the article by Jo Labanyi, “Culture by the People or for the People,” in *Spanish Cultural Studies. An Introduction. The Struggle for Modernity*, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 160–65.

²⁷ Interview with Juana Francisca Rubio by Rosario Calleja in Madrid, 1984. Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica, Salamanca.

²⁸ Miguel Sarró, Giralt Torrente, and Eduardo Pons Prades, *Pinturas de guerra: dibujantes antifascistas en la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid: Queimada Gráficas, 2006).

Despite her political involvement with the Republican cause, as well as being an illustrator for several publications such as *Spartacus*, *Companya*, *Revista de la Dona*, *La Vanguardia*, and the album *Mi patria sangra*,²⁹ Paquita's most vivid memories are from the beginning of the war which she recalled quite clearly as her occupations were those of a young mother:

Question:—What did you do on July 18, do you remember?

—On July 18 is when the event of the Cuartel de la Monataña and all that happened, right? Well, I was with my daughter; I had just gotten up and when my husband came in; he had left very early for Casa de Campo to paint with a friend; he left the easel there; he first ran to see what was happening and then came to see what had happened to us and found me really scared and holding my daughter: What do we do? Nothing. There were some words of affection... don't be afraid, this will be over soon, it will not last, because they are not right. And well I started to come in ...

Her work as a poster illustrator with her husband was relentless, but due to the constant bombings of Madrid from November to December 1936, and following the orders of the Republican government, women with children, including Paquita, had to leave the city early in 1937, even against their will:

And of course, as mothers with children we were a burden and we were taken away. I left complaining and crying because I wanted to be close to my family. My mother refused to leave her house and then, when Madrid was attacked, the house was burned down. And they burned down the house.... They forced me; first my husband, because I took away his energies to pursue what he wanted. He wanted to be here, there, everywhere. Wherever a bomb fell, they would immediately set up a political poster, and bombs were falling around where they worked and none of them went down to the shelter, everybody else was leaving, but not them. And when they dropped a bomb, bang, they would set up their poster, "they will not pass!" and "People of Madrid and Spain keep the morale up! They raised the morale, because after the bombing you could hear a victorious murmur, a tremendous buzz from the people; they had weathered the danger and they were returning to fight. But then I was taken away, as I said, I was taken to Valencia.

José Bardasano himself was the author of a poster titled "Fellow women, evacuate Madrid," published by the PCE (Partido Comunista de España), encouraging women like Paquita to leave the capital. The poster adds this sentence: "A future of peace and prosperity requires this sacrifice." It portrays a weak woman who has to leave the city that can be defended only

²⁹ Sarró, Torrente and Pons Prades, *Pinturas de guerra*, 60.

by the antifascist fighter drawn on the poster. This image is illustrative of the official mind-set on the role of women, who were destined for maternity and doing the secondary chores of the rearguard.

In Valencia, the capital of the Republic during the war, she was reunited with her husband who also transferred to the rearguard to take charge of the Republican propaganda and reorganized "La Gallofa." Asked about the location of the group's studio, Paquita only remembered the premises in Barcelona where she had a traumatic experience:

Well, I do not remember ... I know it was in Madrid, then in Valencia, then in Barcelona, but I do not remember; I remember Barcelona, the Colon Hotel, where we were riddled with bombs and where I fell down the stairs with my daughter, thinking they had killed everyone in the hotel. But no, fortunately that was not the case.

Throughout the interview there are some gaps in her recollection of these political tasks, which contrasts with the vivid narrative of personal events. This may relate to the lack of continuity in her political militancy while in exile which makes her forget those long-ago experiences. Bardasano's activity as a propagandist for Republican slogans during the war was very intense; the posters were a source of information for people active in the conflict and a way to "boost the morale" of the population. Paquita explained it again in an interview in 2004, where she recreated the image of the city being bombed while they were making posters. The last sentence where she expresses her hatred of war is very revealing of her personality.

Activity in "La Gallofa" was frantic. It is estimated that this studio produced a poster a day during the entire war period. We worked night and day. We even lived in the studio. As bombs fell on the houses, people hid wherever they could ... the bombs were falling, and Pepe was already making the poster: Barbarism had arrived. Often, he painted them on the printing plate.

It was in the printing shop of the publisher Rivadeneyra. When the shells stopped, my husband and I ran down to the printing press. And before returning, we had to wait for another pause. But we weren't afraid', says the artist. She then adds: I hated the war.³⁰

Paquita did much of her graphic work for the Young Women's Union (UM). This was a youth organization linked to the United Socialist Youth and a branch of the leading women's organization, the Group of Antifascist Women (AMA). The young women's organization was established in Madrid in April 1937, and dedicated its efforts to organize all kinds of

³⁰ Ritama Muñoz-Rojas, Interview with Juana Francisca Bardasano, *El País*, Madrid, 2004.

activities to attract “young women” 15 to 24 years old to the Republican cause. Aside from training them as antifascist fighters for peace with the triumph of the Republic, the Young Women’s Union was also recruiting them to work in the workshops and factories that men had left behind to go to the front lines. During this period of the struggle, the revolutionary enrollment of women had given way to their “civilian” work in the Republican rearguard.³¹ We found a unique anonymous handwritten poster summarizing the objectives of the United Socialist Youth:

Young women: your involvement in the workplace is needed. Enlist with the “Young Women’s Union”, they will help with your work. Republic Square 5.

Paquita contacted the organization in 1937 and gave drawing classes in one of the “homes” created by the Young Women’s Union so that women could have places to for promote culture and education. In these homes, they received lessons on basic culture, sewing, music, drawing, nursing, and physical education. Paquita remembered the physical education class, which she took with other young women dressed for the occasion:

The gym teachers got in touch with them and the classes took place over there ... we would wear shorts and a T-shirt ... and sneakers or barefoot.

Surely her participation in these activities inspired her to draw a young woman wearing shorts and carrying a backpack in one of her posters announcing the “Sports Camp” organized in 1937 by the Young Women’s Union.

In the interview she doesn’t explain clearly how her relationship with the “Union” came about, although it seems that she remembers well the female images that she drew on her posters. It must be taken into consideration that, as explained by Philippe Joutard, images are the strong core of oral memory since they have become more easily etched in memory. Paquita said:

And the girls from the Young Women’s Union used to come to me asking for their posters, for the drawings they needed. And that was my involvement with the Young Women’s Union.

(Question) Do you remember making drawings of girls or women?

Most referred to women. For example a poster that I made ... an hour of work is worth more ... well, I can’t remember what was written on the poster. In any case, it was a girl with a monkey working in the factory in front of a clock. So, I made many on that subject. I made an engraving as well ... I engraved, one of a little girl with an old lady saying goodbye to the regiment

³¹ See in this volume Miren Llona’ “From Militia Women to *Emakume*.”

leaving town ... including her father, her sister, well, her loved ones. I also drew a bomb, I mean the image of a bomb falling and a dismembered man and a woman crying at his feet.

In this part of her testimony it is interesting to note the different gender archetypes described by the author, which she then portrayed in her posters. The new Republican woman who is present in the public arena appears first; she works for the rearguard in a factory and wears overalls, the outfit that identified female militants. We also find the dominant models—women as victims of war, a mother weeping besides the fallen, or a family-bidding goodbye to the soldiers. The image of women as victims of war, along with their children, goes back to the traditional gender role always linked to motherhood—the private and domestic arenas. The coexistence of two models for women is evidence of the contradictions that Republican women contended with; not long before, they had acquired citizenship and political rights; however, they still identified more readily with family and home than with their role in the public arena. In Paquita's narrative those contradictions are also present. She does not identify with the modern, politicized women with whom she collaborated, although in some parts of her testimony, she explains that her image coincided with that of a young and dynamic woman: "We dressed casually, in divided skirts, big sweaters, coats or leather jackets, boots; anyway, casual, what today we call casual."

According to Mary Nash, divided skirts gave greater freedom of movement to women; they were a novelty and broke away from traditional female attire.³² It was the new look for young Republican women during the war; they usually did not wear overalls, which were reserved for militant women and the propaganda images. In an attempt to explain this new female model in her narration, Paquita refers to present-time classifications, such as feminism:

It was what they are doing now, wanting to give the same rights to women as to men. How would you say? It is a feminist struggle.

I saw idealistic young women, who wanted to recover what they had not had for a long time, and that seemed to me to be a great undertaking; they seemed to me to be naive in that sense. But right away women emerged as leaders and it was they who encouraged the soldiers in the frontlines; they brought songs and organized groups of women to make clothing for soldiers so that they would not be cold; anyway ...

³² Mary Nash, *Rojas*, 97.

However, her words are somewhat contradictory; she lists activities carried out by women during the war including sewing clothing for soldiers, which had little to do with the feminist struggle, considered by the antifascists as a “petite bourgeoisie” movement. Following the slogan of the Republican government the objective was to work in the rearguard in sewing workshops for the frontlines or in factories, which were proper places for women. The author herself illustrated this in 1937 (or perhaps in 1938) in a poster for the Young Women’s Union, which primarily portrayed a young woman laborer with soldiers in the background under the banner of “our arms will be yours.”³³

The images and propaganda posters she signed encouraged young women to work and to participate in the political struggle, while in her oral narrative she depicts herself as a simple artist, removed from politics and repeatedly said so: “I wasn’t, I tell you, I had nothing to do with politics. I was just an illustrator for them.” Even when asked about her membership in the Socialist Youth she replied the following:

I don’t remember. I told you I was very close to my husband and I agreed to everything he said, not knowing what I was doing ... You know? I’ve always admired him as a superior intelligence ...

I would say that we, women, were far behind in matters of politics. Depending on whom we married, then ... As the saying goes “those who sleep on the same mattress will come to have identical opinions”; that’s what happened for most women. I met an anarchist, who was an anarchist because of her husband...

These statements show how gender relations changed little during this period, despite the fact that these were women were political or labor militants. Men were still the “experts” on political matters and, therefore, throughout the interview, female political activity was explained in terms of the ideological influence husbands had over their wives.

In 1936, these contradictions were also present in an AMA brochure titled *Mujeres Antifascistas, su trabajo y su organización* (Antifascist Women, their Work and Organization) written by Encarnación Fuyola, the organization’s secretary, and illustrated with female images created by “Juana Francisca.” The booklet is a good example of the ambivalent positions regarding female activities held by women’s organizations such as AMA and the Young Women’s Union in wartime. The drawings (see Figures

³³ “*Nuestros brazos serán los vuestros*” Poster of Young Women’s Union, *Alianza de la Dona Jove* commissioned by the Propaganda Under-Secretariat [between 1937 and 1938] (Barcelona: Sociedad General de Publicaciones, E.C.).



Figure 13.1. Juana Francisca, Common representation of Anti-Fascist Youth in Fuyola, Encarnación. "Mujeres Antifascistas. Su trabajo y su organización", p. 5. Ediciones de las Mujeres Antifascistas, Valencia, Gráficas Genovés, 1937 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, sig 3/119763).

13.1 and 13.2) refer to the new model of a young active woman within the Republican rearguard, demonstrating in the streets, working in the factories, dressed in overalls, or defiantly smashing a swastika.

However, the content of the brochure, which explained to Republican women the nature of the organization and its objectives in times of war, stated that they were linked to the main objective of the whole struggle "against fascism, enemy of women," which favored the maternal role:

When women join the fight against fascism they do so to defend the general welfare of humankind, those vital interests of their own existence and of their children, but she also for their own rights; specific rights of women, never so crushed and abused as under the yoke of fascism.³⁴

³⁴ Encarnación Fuyola, *Mujeres Antifascistas, su trabajo y su organización* (Madrid, 1936), 7. She was a Republican leader exiled in Mexico. She worked in Spain as an auxiliary officer at the Post Office and had been a member of the Communist Party since 1933.

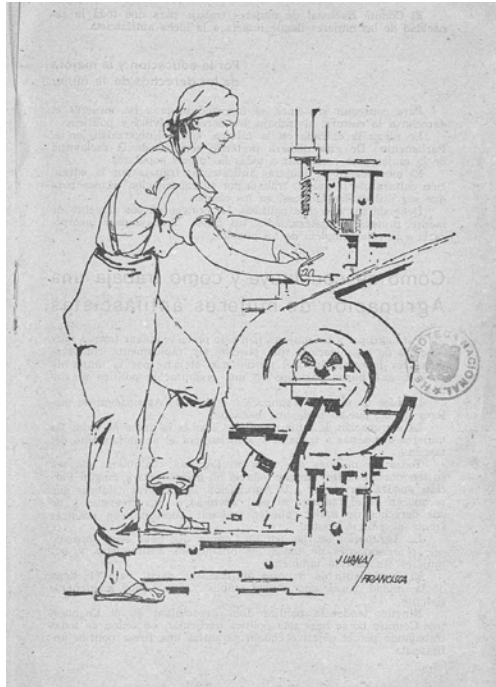


Figure 13.2. Juana Francisca, Female image of work in the Republican rearguard in Fuyola, Encarnación. "Mujeres Antifascistas. Su trabajo y su organización", p. 9. Ediciones de las Mujeres Antifascistas, Valencia, Gráficas Genovés, 1937 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, sig 3/119763).

AMA recognized the anti-feminist and oppressive nature of fascism exemplified in the situation of women in Italy, Germany, and especially, "in the Spanish villages dominated by fascists." The National Women's Antifascist Committee then proposed among other priorities the struggle to fight "for freedom and work" and for "education and progress of women's rights." However, this point became relegated in the face of the scale and urgency of the global political struggle.

The antifascist women's movement works for cultural education of women, defends their political rights and protects their maternal rights, motherhood and children. It works towards fully integrating women into community life.³⁵

The Young Women's Union agreed with the same approaches that were broadcast in their propaganda. A brochure of the organization, almost

³⁵ Fuyola, *Mujeres Antifascistas*, 10.

certainly illustrated by “Juana Francisca,” described its Program and in one of its points asserted “we want to give our country children who will serve it,” echoing the maternal discourse. In most of the AMA writings the idea of favoring that biological condition of women and their struggle for “maternal rights” had appeared frequently during the war and continued to be crucial in the discourse of the Republican women’s organizations in exile.

The defeat of the Republic meant the end of the presence of women in public arenas. Only organizations adhering to the new dictatorial government as the Women’s Section of the Falange and Catholic Action groups were allowed to meet, but always under male control. All Republican women’s groups were suppressed with the implementation of a totalitarian political system. However, outside of Spain, in the context of the Second World War and the Cold War, new Women’s Unions would resurface; antifascist associations were created by Spanish women refugees in France and Mexico.³⁶

Defeat resulted not only in the demobilization of women but also in exile for the more intellectually and politically committed. Juana Francisca’s life was in danger for being the author and signatory of numerous Republican posters. Early in 1939, she left Spain with her husband and went to France, as did half a million Spaniards, in what came to be known as “The Spanish Pilgrimage.” There were many women in the same circumstances as Paquita; women who had participated in activities aiding the Republican cause. The trauma of war and the exodus from Spain would remain in her memory for a long time:

If I had been told what I was to endure later, I would have died right then. Nevertheless, we were strong, we endured. Not only that, but we also weathered the evacuation, which was as terrible as the war itself.

The Exile of Dolores Martí

According to the Vichy government, the number of Spanish refugees in France slowly decreased throughout 1939, partly due to repatriation promoted by the Franco regime, and later, because of voyages organized by the Mexican government under President Lázaro Cárdenas in collaboration

³⁶ About the Union of Spanish Women, see Mercedes Yusta, *Madres coraje contra Franco. La Unión de Mujeres Españolas en Francia del antifascismo a la guerra fría (1941-1950)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2009), and Pilar Domínguez, “La actividad política de las mujeres Republicanas en México”, in *Arbor* 735, CSIC (Madrid, 2009), 75–85.

with aid agencies established by the exiles, particularly SERE (Evacuation Service of Spanish Republicans).³⁷ The first expedition sailed in June 1939 aboard the steamboat *Sinaia* from the port of Sete to Veracruz. Juana Francisca and her husband embarked to begin a new life across the Atlantic; during the voyage both collaborated on the drawings illustrating *Sinaia's* logbook.³⁸

In June 1939 there were 278,500 refugees in France, 125,000 of whom were Spanish Republicans who established themselves there permanently.³⁹ Although many refugees wished to depart for the American continent the trip was only possible for some 24,000 refugees who settled in Mexico between 1939 and 1947. In 1940, the outbreak of World War II and the German invasion virtually interrupted all travel from western France to America. The remaining Spanish refugees lived under very harsh conditions, and received no help from either of the two Republican agencies created for that purpose: SERE and its rival JARE. In 1939, 43 percent of the refugees who lived in shelters far from the main borders, scattered throughout central and western France, were women and children.⁴⁰

One of these shelters was Méry-sur-Seine and the chronicle of events was humorously narrated by a refugee, Dolores Martí, in a radio broadcast that she called "Radio Calamidad" (Radio Calamity); this was a news broadcast produced by her to be read to other Spanish refugees in the shelter.

Before analyzing the releases of this peculiar news broadcast, let us see who the author was and what the circumstances were for these refugees. María Luisa Broseta Martí arrived in France as a child refugee; she did not want her mother to be forgotten by the public, as one of the many anonymous women who joined and defended the Republican cause during the war. In 2004, María Luisa published her mother's letters sent to her from Bordeaux; as she explained in the presentation of the documents, she had encouraged her mother to narrate her memoirs as a way to overcome a period of discouragement; María Luisa says she would ask her mother about the Republic and the war, and Dolores would gladly respond to the

³⁷ SERE (Servicio de Evacuación de los Refugiados Españoles) was created by the Negrín government in 1939. In 1940, Indalecio Prieto, who was opposed to the Negrín government, created another agency called JARE (Junta de Ayuda a los Republicanos Españoles).

³⁸ There is a facsimile edition of this logbook, *Sinaia: diario de la primera expedición de Republicanos españoles a México* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1989).

³⁹ Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand, *El Exilio de los Republicanos españoles en Francia. De la Guerra Civil a la muerte de Franco* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2000).

⁴⁰ Rose Duroux, "Historia y desmemoria. Prácticas culturales en los refugios de mujeres españolas en Francia, 1939-1940," in *Mélanges Louis Cardillac* (Zaghouan: 1995), 1:221-39.

invitation of evoking her past.⁴¹ It is interesting to note that María Luisa wrote the introduction to the letters in French, while the texts themselves were written in Spanish, which gives a clear idea of the difference in integration of the two Spanish refugees in France, in terms of belonging to the first or second exiled generation.

All these first-person documents provide many facts to help reconstruct the biography of this Catalan woman who arrived in France in 1939. Despite the physical and chronological distance from the exile, her letters preserve the scent of memories.

Dolores Martí Domenech was born in 1901 in Tivissa (Tarragona) and died in Bordeaux in 1970. She was the youngest daughter of a peasant family. Her father and brother had been socialists, well connected with Republican Marcelino Domingo, also born in the province of Tarragona and admired by Dolores and her fellow countrymen. That political influence was lasting in Dolores who, in one of her letters, fondly recalls the figure of Marcelino Domingo, who was then the Minister of Public Instruction when he visited his native Tortosa:

I remember that day when Marcelino was greeted with cheers of 'long live the champion of the poor!'; at the meeting there was talk about land, justice, the backwardness of the bourgeoisie, how miserable the Spanish capitalists are; he referred to the rich as thieves who lived off of the product of the worker's labor ...⁴²

Dolores also knew of the life's hardships, says her daughter; when her father died, she left the family home and had to work as a factory laborer in Tarragona, and then in Barcelona. This experience would influence her political awareness; in 1934, she had already become a member of the Socialist Party and the UGT. On the other hand, following tradition, she married Adrian Broseta while still very young; he was a Republican teacher who worked in the small town of Renau. He advocated political progressive ideals, but had the mentality of a "patriarch" when it came to his wife. As shown in her letters written in 1963, when referring to the years before the war, she remembered bitterly having been forced to abandon her studies to devote herself to the family. Instead, in her account of the Republican

⁴¹ María Luisa Broseta, "1963, in Burdeos; escribe mi madre," in "Dossier Dolores Martí Domenech: Souvenir d'enfance et d'exil," in *Témoignages d'exils entre parole et silence aux XX siècle*, *Exils et migrations Ibériques aux XX siècle*, 1 (2004), 13–119. I want to thank Rose Duroux for kindly providing me with this text.

⁴² M. Luisa Broseta, "1963, en Burdeos: escribe mi madre," in *Témoignages d'exils*, 98.

period, she gives great significance to her role in organizing the UGT's union in her town.

With regard to the war, she recalled social unrest and the attacks on the Church and its members by revolutionary committees in many towns in Cataluña, as well as, her conspicuous activity in Renau's local politics.

In those dramatic circumstances, the presence of women on the political scene was overwhelming, and the husband's patriarchal authority was unable to prevent it, at least in this case. Her attitude towards gender asymmetries and male dominance in Spanish society seems not to have been conformist, as evidenced in her later writings. As her daughter remembers her, Dolores was a forceful woman who tried to elude the rigid framework of domesticity in which women were forced to live at the time through her political activity.

However, the war disrupted the lives of these women. In February 1939, before the overpowering advance of Franco's troops, Dolores Martí was forced to leave Cataluña for France with her two young children, as did Juana Francisca Rubio and her daughter. Most women refugees were soon placed with their children in shelters scattered throughout central and western France, located far from the main borders as a precaution. One of these shelters was Méry-sur-Seine (in the department of Aube, in north-central France) and the events were humorously narrated by Dolores Martí in her "Radio Calamidad" broadcasts; she prepared the news to be read to the other Spanish refugees in "La Retorderie," which eventually become a "dwelling of memory" for the exiled community, as described by Dolores Martí and her daughter María Luisa Broseta.

These chronicles were disclosed for the first time by Rose Duroux,⁴³ who regarded them as a cultural drill in the shelters; these practices have been scarcely studied in comparison to works dealing with concentration camps for Spanish refugees—mostly populated by males—in France, Argelès, Bram, etc. and their cultural manifestations.

The people and the council of the village of Méry were willing to help the Spanish refugees; to accommodate two hundred refugees they refurbished "La Retorderie"—a large building that once served as a mill. The refugees were crammed into a large room heated by a single stove, where, according to María Luisa, each established their own personal domain. The winter of 1939–40 was particularly cold and harsh for the refugees who fought over places close to the only stove. At the time, the French authorities

⁴³ Duroux, "Historia y desmemoria."

pressured Spaniards to return to Spain, so those who were less committed, including many women, started to go back. Meanwhile, a fleas and scabies epidemic attacked the refugees. Dolores Martí, in her peculiar broadcast program "Radio Calamidad" chronicled nightly the events of everyday life in the shelter, as well as the concerns of the refugees.

The fact that there were many exiled artists, especially musicians, who lived in the shelter, surely contributed to improvise scenarios in which songs were interpreted and reports read for "Radio Calamidad," with news from Spain or the municipality. In her memoirs María Luisa recalled these moments; in her opinion, her mother's written chronicles from the shelter were very useful for the community:

She connected the group with the outside world through her messages on the daily lives of refugees in Méry, with the help of my cousin who spoke a little French.⁴⁴

Those nocturnal stories helped unite Spanish Republicans in exile who lived in dire circumstances, away from their country and their personal references by shaping their collective memory. For Dolores Martí, the messages for the refugees would be conceived as a form of political activity, as she continued to be an active member of PSUC.⁴⁵ In the eyes of her daughter, then in the shelter, she was almost always "focused on her political tasks," although she also had time to work a few hours at the local hotel, where she could go thanks to the goodwill of Méry's mayor.

"Radio Calamidad" Notes

It is surprising to find such cultural manifestations in the midst of the harsh life of the shelters, and even more so, that its content mostly concerned the women in the shelter. The writings that remain from this peculiar radio broadcast have different titles depending on their content and the whim of the author. We found "notes and news" and "notes from the shelter," which usually referred to happenings in the shelter, "news from everywhere," "ads," and "announcements" that were of a more general informative nature. The stories of everyday life that Dolores wrote and read from her notes served to lift the spirits of the community in these difficult circumstances; the ironic and sometimes humorous messages, blending

⁴⁴ M. Luisa Broseta, "Souvenirs d'enfance et d'exil," p. 36, in "Dossier Dolores Martí Domenech." The original is in French; this is my own translation.

⁴⁵ PSUC is an acronym for the Partido Socialista Unificado of Cataluña.

reality and fiction, contributed to this purpose. As in the following announcements:

For sale in Méry-sur-Seine shelter, made by the refugees themselves, small kits useful for bombings in war; the kits bear the following labels: pocket dictionary, pocket river, pocket watch, pocket meal, pocket bed, and the last and most striking novelty, the pocket shelter to protect the individual from bombs and gases.

We do not doubt these novelties will be welcome.

Girls on the 2nd floor are available to work to earn a few authentic francs. They would prefer to work as companions for rabbits and chickens, with whom they want to establish selfless and genuine contact and friendship.⁴⁶

There were also original songs, true examples of popular characters, such as “Los Cuplés del refugio de Méry-sur-Seine”, eight-syllable rhymes made to be sung to the beat of “La Cucaracha,” a popular Spanish folk song with a repetitive chorus. They jokingly address everyday events in the shelter. Below are some rhymes:

The messieurs who are very kind
Are coming, quite concerned,
Because someone is throwing pieces of toast
Into the Seine.

That's what they say,
With much “gaspié, gaspié”
With a long face, very long
Pity the messieurs!
(Chorus)

In the shelter at Méry
There are some very pretty girls,
But they have just one fault,
They eat too many potatoes.
(Chorus)

Valencians and Andalusians
Aragonese and Basques
Catalans and Extremadurans
Madrilians and Asturians,

What a ruckus they make, how they embrace
What uproar!
In the shelter, in the shelter
It cannot be stopped.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ M. Luisa Broseta, “Radio Calamidad” in *Témoignages d'exils*, 88.

⁴⁷ Broseta, “Radio Calamidad”, 92–93.

Verses would be added to the song as new developments took place in the shelter; such as the scabies epidemic, a painful but frequent experience among refugees:

In the shelter at Méry
The scabies have appeared
Teresa and Luisa
They itch everywhere.

Unfortunately, we do not have all of the notes and couplets that Dolores wrote, which would have provided a true diary of the shelter's life. These notes, though scattered, are useful to assess the great creativity of Dolores Martí in these difficult circumstances; she was alone with her two children in the shelter while her husband was far away in the concentration camp at Bram in the Languedoc region (southern France). However, she appears to have been an independent woman who knew how to live on her own. The desire of this family to go into exile to Mexico was cut short by the advance of the German troops in France, which prevented them from taking the boat in Bordeaux.

Conclusion

From the stories analyzed here we can see how the political circumstances of the civil war promoted women to a greater role in the public scene. However, in most cases, these political and cultural activities do not suppose a change in gender relations, which remain asymmetrical, discriminating toward women in social contexts.

In this tumultuous period many women like Juana Francisca Rubio and Dolores Martí participated in sociocultural activities in favor of the Republic, although their contributions were very different, as was their presence in the public sphere. Dolores Martí was an active member of the PSUC and later, in France, she was one of the promoters of cultural activity in the shelter with her news broadcast "Radio Calamidad." For a long time during her exile she lived independently with her children and in subsequent letters called for equality for women. During the war Juana Francisca Bardasano accomplished remarkable artistic activity within the group "La Gallofa," or the Young Women's Union, but often depended on her husband. The Republican propaganda posters she made for that organization portrayed the image of an independent young woman, distanced from the maternal model that she herself assumed. Thus, evincing the contradictions

endured by women during the war, they were torn between traditional gender roles, which emphasize the family, and their activity in the public arena. Two feminine roles, the woman-mother and the young and active fighter, coexisted and collided during the Republican period.

These two personal stories—one presented by the interviewer and the other by María Luisa, the daughter of the author—are different in content and form; they provide an idea of the great value that the two exiled women placed on being able to transmit to younger generations, either verbally or in writing, their political experiences, as well as their experiences during the war and exile. The value of their words resides predominantly in their testimonies, which help us build a portion of history for the Republican period and the women who lived through it in Spain at the time.

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PART SIX

THE ORIENT WITHIN: MYTHS OF HISPANO-ARABIC IDENTITY

MILITARY MEMORIES, HISTORY, AND THE MYTH OF HISPANO-ARABIC IDENTITY IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Geoffrey Jensen

The most effective weapon against the Moors was their own greed, inconstancies, jealousies, hatreds, rivalries, and ambitions, which made them forever disposed to treachery and shameful pacts [...]

—General Dámaso Berenguer, 1918¹

The Moorish race is a chosen race, a privileged race, although for reasons known to all, it has fallen behind. But the Moors are honorable, decent, and chivalrous men, [...]

—General Quiapo de Llano, 1936²

We are all Moors.

—Colonel Juan Luis Beigbeder Atienza
Foreign Minister, 1939-1940³

Those who work in the Office of Education and Culture surely feel inspired and strengthened by the magnificent spirit of Toledo's Institute of Translators, where Christians, Muslims, and Jews once worked fervently to construct a culture marked by the originality that came from Spain's contact with Moroccans. [Their achievements] reflect the mutual understanding and potential for fertile endeavors of two peoples from the same geographic, historic, ethnographic, and political realms.

Captain Tomás García Figueras, 1944⁴

¹ Dámaso Berenguer, *La guerra en Marruecos (ensayo de una adaptación táctica)* (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1918), 6–7.

² Cited in Gustau Nerín, *La guerra que vino de África* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2005), 190–91.

³ Quoted in Patricia Hertel, "Der irinnerte Halbmond. Islam und Nationalismus auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (19. und 20. Jahrhundert)" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Freiberg, Switzerland, 2010), 112, citing the recollections of British ambassador Sir Samuel Hoare in his *Misión en España. Testimonio del embajador británico* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1946), 65. Hertel's work has been incorporated into her recently-published book of the same title (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012).

⁴ Tomás García Figueras, "Líneas generales de la obra de educación y cultura que se desarrolla en nuestra zona de protectorado en Marruecos," unpublished manuscript [1944], 22. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Colección García Figueras.

The contradictory nature of Spanish perceptions of Morocco, Arabs, and Islam is difficult to overstate. Much as changes in Western “military orientalism” reflect the evolution of power relationships, political exigencies, and self-perceptions, transformations in Spanish portrayals of Moroccans can reveal more about Spaniards themselves than about the North Africans whom they purport to describe.⁵ The Spanish Civil War, in which General Francisco Franco employed large numbers of Muslim troops in what he termed a struggle for Christian civilization, was a significant chapter in the long, complex history of Spanish-Moroccan relations. As María Rosa de Madariaga writes, the Moroccan soldiers in Franco’s forces played a key role in reviving “the already-negative image of the ‘Moor’ in the collective memory of the Spanish people,” an image with roots extending back to the *Reconquista*.⁶

Nevertheless, during Franco’s long-lasting postwar dictatorship, historical memories of Moroccans in the Spanish Civil War could be surprisingly positive.⁷ Indeed, the paradoxical participation of Muslim troops did not weaken the Francoist ideological front as much as one might think, in part because of a long-established myth of Hispano-Arabic identity. The roots of this myth, which—like most myths—rested on truth as well as fiction, extend back to an idealized vision of *convivencia*, the ostensibly peaceful coexistence of Christians, Muslims, and Jews in medieval Spain, and relied upon perceptions of shared history, geography, culture, and race. It complemented the Francoist portrayal of the enemy forces as atheist, Marxist “others” whose very Spanishness could be brought into question, in turn facilitating the placement of Muslim Moroccans in a relatively high position in the dictatorship’s cultural hierarchy—far above that of Franco’s Republican enemies. A highly variable, dynamic form of military orientalism contributed to the mix.

This chapter is built around the Francoist use of the Hispano-Arabic ideal during the Spanish Civil War. But the historical and ideological perceptions of Moroccans and Islam in Spain have roots extending back far before the July 1936 military uprising, and they have explicitly influenced state policies throughout the twentieth century and beyond, including in

⁵ The term “military orientalism” comes from Patrick Porter, *Military Orientalism: Eastern War Through Western Eyes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

⁶ María Rosa de Madariaga, *Los moros que trajo Franco...* (Barcelona: RBA, 2006), 11.

⁷ In this chapter, I employ the terms “collective memory” and “historical memory” interchangeably, following Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid: Alianza, 1996).

the government of Socialist José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.⁸ Although scholars have analyzed the paradoxes of Franco's employment of Muslim troops, the broader context has received much less attention. Thus while the Spanish Civil War serves as an axis for this chapter, it devotes more attention to developments that predated and outlived the war. Because the concept of Hispano-Arabic identity already loomed large in the worldviews of some officers—both liberal and conservative—and their related interpretations of Spanish history and culture, Francoist ideologues did not have to invent it. Although the Hispano-Arabic myth was by no means universal in Spanish military culture, it facilitated the merging of historical perceptions and political needs in the service of the Franco dictatorship's ideological front.

By analyzing influential Spanish military writings and colonial schools for Muslims, I intend to shed light on how identity perceptions and historical consciousness can clash, coalesce, and evolve. As will become clear, modern Spain's army officers have expressed ambivalent attitudes toward Moroccans since at least the "War of Africa" of 1859–60. Like civilian writers and artists, some mid-nineteenth-century Spanish army officers portrayed Moroccans in unabashedly negative terms, but others wrote surprisingly favorably of their North African "brothers."⁹ Spanish *arabismo*—an admittedly imprecise term that overlapped with *africanismo*—was not wholly orientalist, but it did betray strong orientalist influence. Reflecting the imprecise ways in which soldiers can perceive their enemies (and often their allies), Spaniards sometimes employed these terms interchangeably, as seen in works by the Franco dictatorship's spokesman for Hispano-Arabic brotherhood, army officer Tomás García Figueras. To further complicate matters, the frequently used term *africanista* itself had more than one meaning. It could denote someone who devoted much of his professional life to studying North Africa, such as Colonel Emilio Blanco Izaga, whose work continues to be valued by civilian anthropologists and

⁸ See in particular the discussions surrounding the "Alliance of Civilizations," which Zapatero proposed during the 59th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in September 2004. The Spanish proposal, which the UN officially adopted in April 2007, rests in no small part on the supposition that Spain, because of its uniquely fused historical, geographical, ethnic, and cultural background, is especially apt to spearhead Muslim-Christian-Jewish dialogue and reconciliation. The official website is at <http://www.unaoc.org/>.

⁹ On the ambivalence of Spanish portrayals of the 1859–60 conflict, see Susan Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 101–30.

historians alike.¹⁰ But it most frequently took a political-military form, referring to the army officers who favored Spanish occupation and expansion in the Maghreb, where they spent significant portions of their professional life. As Madariaga writes, the term *africanomilitarista* would be a more accurate label in such cases, but the indiscriminate usage of *africanista* persists nonetheless.¹¹ *Moro*, or Moor, also suffered from imprecise usage in military writing, referring sometimes to North Africans and sometimes to all Arabs. Many Moroccans consider themselves Berbers more than Arabs, but Spanish officers usually lumped both into the same category as *moros*. Although a few Spanish officers drew a distinction, in general they rejected attempts to promote an Arab-Berber divide in the manner of the French.¹² As we will see, even as Spanish portrayals of “the Moor” changed, in Spanish eyes certain aspects of this identity remained firm.¹³

Education and “Attraction,” 1860-1911

In the immediate wake of the 1859–60 North African campaign, some army officers perceived a need to add a cultural component to military activities in the Maghreb. In their view, the Catholic Church and its orders—traditionally the strongest agents of Spanish cultural imperialism—should not lead the endeavors. Instead, they proposed using public education as a tool of conquest. Accordingly, a report on the need for a primary school system in the Melilla area spoke to the needs of Moroccan as well as Spanish children. As the Royal Council on Public Instruction indicated in 1863 when approving a new program of primary education in Morocco, separate schools for the children of “Moors” would strengthen Spanish influence in

¹⁰ See Emilio Blanco Izaga, *Emilio Blanco Izaga: Coronel en el Rif*, ed. David Montgomery Hart (Melilla: Ayuntamiento de Melilla, 1995).

¹¹ María Rosa de Madariaga, *Moros*, 44–45.

¹² Arón Cohen, “‘Razas’, tribus, clases: acercamientos africanistas a la sociedad marroquí,” *España en Marruecos (1912-1956): Discursos geográficos e intervención territorial*, ed. Joan Nogué and José Luis Villanova (Lleida: Editorial Milenio, 1999): 225–48. Francisco Sánchez Ruano writes that in Spain the term “Moor” (*moro*) can refer to “a wide spectrum of people of Islamic religion and African ethnicity: Arab, Berber, and also Asian, as Asia is very large and Arabia is in the Near East.” *Islam y la guerra civil española: moros con Franco y con la República* (Madrid: Esfera de los Libros, 2004), 256.

¹³ Parts of the pre- and post-Civil War portions of this chapter draw from and build upon material that appeared in my articles “The Peculiarities of ‘Spanish Morocco’: Imperial Ideology and Economic Development,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 20, no. 1 (June 2005): 81–102, and “Toward the ‘Moral Conquest’ of Morocco: Hispano-Arabic Education in Early Twentieth-Century North Africa,” *European History Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (April 2001): 205–29.

Morocco. The plan called for Spanish children to begin learning the basics of Arabic and for their Moroccan counterparts learn Spanish. After attending one of these Spanish-Arabic institutions, Moroccan children would then have the opportunity to continue their studies in regular Spanish primary schools.¹⁴

Yet nothing of significance came out of the Royal Order of 1863, and it is doubtful that Spanish authorities seriously considered devoting substantial resources to the education of Moroccans. In late 1905 Francisco Sempere, a Spanish teacher in Melilla, wrote to the Military Governor of that district proposing the establishment of primary schools for Moroccans. Making no mention of any existing schools for Moroccans as had been proposed more than four decades earlier, he noted that only a very small number of young Moroccans, mainly the children of local merchants, attended Melilla's public schools.¹⁵ Although Sempere did not mention other parts of North Africa, his assessment could have applied to the few Spanish-run schools there as well, which were open to Muslims and Jews but primarily served Spanish children.¹⁶ A handful of Moroccan children living in areas of Spanish influence also had the opportunity to attend schools run by Franciscans. But government officials in Madrid had little interest in supporting the pedagogical endeavors of Father José Lerchundi, a fairly progressive Franciscan and one of the most important Catholics in Morocco during the last third of the nineteenth century, and his efforts reached relatively few Moroccan children. Jewish children, not mentioned in Sempere's proposal, had attracted even less attention in Spain, although the Paris-based Alliance Israélite Universelle had operated schools in Morocco since the early 1860s.¹⁷

¹⁴ "Plan de organización de las escuelas de las plazas militares de África" and accompanying Royal Order, Madrid, 22 September 1863, Archivo General Militar, Segovia (hereafter AGM), sección 2, división 8, legajo 84.

¹⁵ "Escuela de primera enseñanza para moros: Ligeras indicaciones para la creación de la misma en esta plaza." Handwritten proposal by Francisco Sempere, Melilla, 21 December 1905, AGM, sección 2, división 8, legajo 84.

¹⁶ García Figueras, "Líneas generales de la obra de educación y cultura"; John P. Halstead, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Origins and Rise of Moroccan Nationalism, 1912-1944* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 136. Schools established by the French for the children of their settlers barred Moroccan children outright. Halstead, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 101.

¹⁷ After Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War, García Figueras harshly criticized the Spanish liberal politicians of the previous century for failing to support Lerchundi's "magnificent endeavors," which García Figueras believed would have helped counteract the growing French influence in Morocco promoted by the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. García Figueras also regretted that Spain had "abandoned" the Jewish community in Morocco, "so united in its effect on Spain and constituting a positive element of

Not surprisingly, Sempere stressed the benefits of his proposal for Spain rather than for the people already living in the Spanish-occupied territory. Given the current importance of the "Moroccan question," he wrote, it made sense to devote more resources to colonial education. "What could be a more powerful means of peaceful penetration," he asked, "than to instruct these border people [*"estos fronterizos"*] and enlighten them about the advantages of European life?"¹⁸ But the 1905 proposal largely rejected the imposition of metropolitan religion, language, and law on the colonized population, anticipating the basic philosophy behind the "protectorate"—as opposed to a full-fledged colony—that would be established in 1912. The proposal may have begun with a customary inference to the superiority of "European life," but it supported a curriculum based more on the Quran than the Bible. In Sempere's view, a policy of obligatory Catholic instruction led to poor Moroccan attendance. Hence while one of the two instructors at his proposed school would be a Spaniard, who as director of the facility would know colloquial Arabic, he suggested filling the other teaching position with a Muslim in charge of Quranic education. The inclination to give the Arabic language and Islam a major place in the Hispano-Arabic schools, which would become more pronounced with time, differed sharply from the approach favored by the French, who insisted on conducting most instruction of Moroccan children in French and turned down requests to allot more time for Arabic.¹⁹ The French in North Africa also tended to focus their acculturating efforts on precisely those groups whom they perceived to be less thoroughly "Islamicized" and thus better subjects for conversion, especially the Berbers of Kabylia.²⁰

importance in the Moroccan economy, since Jews monopolize almost all of Moroccan commerce, in spite of the traditional general impression of total incompatibility between Jews and Muslims." García Figueras, "Líneas generales de la obra de educación y cultura," 4–5. See below for more on García Figueras and Moroccan Jews. For a history of the Alliance, see Michael M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco: 1862-1962* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1983). On Lerchundi and the Franciscans in Morocco, see Ramón Lourido Díaz, ed., *Marruecos y el Padre Lerchundi* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1996), especially the chapters by Bernabé López García, Ramón Lourido Díaz, and Miguel Villecillo Martín.

¹⁸ Sempere, "Escuela de primera enseñanza para moros."

¹⁹ Halstead, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 102–7; Laskier, *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 305–6. For a brief overview of Franco-Muslim education in the French protectorate see also Alan Scham, *Lyautey en Morocco: Protectorate Administration, 1912–1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 144–61.

²⁰ See Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: Tauris, 1995).

In some ways, Spain's own past experiences with colonized others may have helped set the stage for the methods its officials favored in Morocco more than the oft-cited French models. Although the colonial Americas lie outside the scope of this chapter, it is worth noting several examples briefly. In Cuba during the 1800s, the Spanish government lent support to Afro-Cuban "Cabildos de Nación," which it hoped would promote Christianity while allowing members to maintain part of the cultural heritage of their distinct African ethnicities. The slave trade, which Spain did not abolish until 1867, also facilitated the creation of mixed Spanish-African identities, and slavery could be portrayed as an instrument of civilization. In the vision of some nineteenth-century writers, slavery and colonization bestowed Christian and Spanish qualities upon conquered peoples, making them a part of the Spanish nation.²¹

In the modern Maghreb, the Spanish colonialist project devoted little effort to Christianization, and Spaniards did not try to bring the Moroccan people within the fold of the Spanish nation, as the rejection of Mohamed Abd-el-Krim el Jatabi and his father's petitions for Spanish citizenship while they were still close and important collaborators with Spain attests.²² But the Spaniards had other ways of defining and imparting civilization. In his Moroccan educational proposal, Sempere wrote that the state should provide scholarships to the most promising pupils for further study in specialized schools and universities in Spain. He also proposed that the Spain sponsor prizes for the students and offer employment to parents who demonstrated noteworthy interest in their sons' education.²³ Sempere's suggested prizes, which would become standard practice in the Hispano-Arabic schools, not only served the practical purpose of attracting students, but by granting Spaniards the authority to recognize, reward, and thus define the accomplishments of civilization, the awards also functioned as symbolic affirmations of Spanish power.

Yet Sempere would always affirm the legitimacy of the religion of the conquered, even as he praised the "Europeanizing" and "civilizing" function of the proposed Spanish schools. And, as in the Americas, religion served

²¹ Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 29. Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 40-52.

²² María Rosa de Madariaga, *Ab-el-Krim El Jatabi. La lucha por la independencia* (Madrid: Alianza, 2009), 68-74. Because this chapter is about Spanish perceptions, spelling of Arabic names follows Spanish custom.

²³ Sempere, "Escuela de primera enseñanza para moros."

as an instrument of civilization, albeit with the Quran taking the place of the Bible. Sempere could claim that his promotion of Quranic education rested on purely practical grounds—the low Moroccan enrollment figures in schools with obligatory Catholic instruction—but his proposal also betrayed an ambivalent attitude toward the culture of the indigenous peoples. Indeed, Spanish military writings often included expressions of reverence and even awe for the power of Muslim religious sentiments, even if they also reveal ethnocentric and sometimes explicitly racist sentiments.²⁴

According to Sempere, a goal for colonial education was to foster a desire among the indigenous peoples to “Europeanize themselves and revere the advances of civilization,” but important aspects of native culture carried enough inherent value to be promoted rather than supplanted by their European alternatives.²⁵ His proposal, moreover, did not merely reflect a lone voice, as the enthusiastic support it received from officials on the peninsula and in North Africa attests. Military governor General José Marina y Vega embraced the plan, as did the relevant officials from the War Ministry, the General Staff, and the Office of the Crown in Madrid.²⁶

By July of 1908 thirty Moroccan children had successfully completed their first academic year at the Primary School for Indigenous Boys, headed by Sempere himself. As the school inspector’s report submitted to the Melilla-area military government attests, Spaniards in Morocco considered the education of indigenous children to be an important first step in their strategy of bolstering those aspects of indigenous culture that they thought would best serve long-term Spanish interests. The inspector, José Riquelme y López Bago, was an infantry academy graduate who spent nearly his entire career as North Africa, putting his Arabic and Rifian language skills to good use and rising to the rank of colonel by the early 1920s. He developed very good relations with the influential family of Abd-el-Krim before the latter broke definitively with the Spaniards to lead the Rifian resistance movement, best remembered for the 1921 Spanish military disaster near Anwal (Anual), which took at least 8,000 Spanish lives.²⁷ A strong advocate

²⁴ For example, García Figueras, *Notas sobre el Islam en Marruecos* (Larache, 1939); Ricardo Burguete, *Teoría y práctica de la guerra. Evolución en el arte* (Madrid, 1913), 361–33; Ricardo Burguete, *Rectificaciones históricas. De Guadalete á Covadonga y Primer Siglo de la Reconquista de Asturias. Ensayo de un nuevo método de investigación é instrumento de comprobaciones para el estudio de la historia* (Madrid, 1915), 316–17; Antonio García Pérez, *Destellos de grandeza* (Madrid: Eduardo Arias, no date).

²⁵ Sempere, “Escuela de la primera enseñanza para moros.”

²⁶ Various documents in AGM, Sección 2, división 8, legajo 84.

²⁷ Madariaga, *Abd-el-Krim*, 141, 152–53, 168–72.

of the “cultural approach” to conquest, Riquelme subsequently argued that the Anwal debacle, the worst defeat of any colonial army in twentieth-century Africa, resulted from political failures on the part of the colonial administration.²⁸ Vincent Sheean, an American visitor to Morocco during the early 1920s, referred to Riquelme as “the one Spanish leader who really knows the Arab and can manage Arab populations.” After interviewing Abd-el-Krim’s brother M’hamed during the Rif War, Sheean claimed that the Rifian had “displayed genuine respect” for Riquelme.²⁹

In his 1908 report, the young officer Riquelme stressed the teachers’ success in raising the Moroccan boys’

intellectual level through instruction, thereby instilling them with morality and respect for the truth, setting right their ideas of the just and the unjust, opening their hearts to the feelings of humanity, and—most importantly—using instruction in the true spirit of the Quran to combat the prejudices and superstitions that are so deeply rooted in the indigenous people and that constitute the greatest threat of all to civilization.³⁰

Many Europeans displayed similar disdain for what they saw as Moroccan superstitions and deviations from standard Arab-Muslim practice, but Riquelme added a twist by linking Islam to civilization. He characterized Moroccan religious beliefs as primitive without questioning the legitimacy of what he held to be the more sophisticated, correct tenets of Islam. Moroccans, he suggested, had strayed from the proper Muslim path that had once contributed to Spain’s great civilization. Ironically, in this case Moroccans were to be brought back to the supposedly correct path of Islamic orthodoxy by Christians, and the Spanish civilizing mission eschewed Christianization in favor of restoring the native religion to its “true” form. Needless to say, by reserving for themselves the right to define what constituted proper Islam, the Spaniards could exclude interpretations of Islam that conflicted too greatly with their own belief system or interests,

²⁸ C. R. Pennell, “The Responsibility for Anwal: The Failure of Spanish Policy in the Moroccan Protectorate, 1912–1921,” *European Studies Review* 12 (1982), 67–86; Geoffrey Jensen, “Toward the ‘Moral Conquest,’” 213–14.

²⁹ *An American Among the Riffi* (New York: Century, 1926), 240. By the time of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, Riquelme had risen to the rank of major general. After the war, he would help reorganize the Agrupación Militar Republicana, which sought to overthrow Franco. Carolyn P. Boyd, *Praetorian Politics in Liberal Spain* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 291; Albert A. Nofi, “General Officer Loyalties in the Spanish Civil War” (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 1991), 568.

³⁰ Riquelme to Marina [July 1908].

much as some Westerners attempting to spread programs of modernization and democracy do today.

There may also have been a more immediate, practical reason for this policy; a Spanish colonial administrator would later write that Spain enjoyed better relations with more religious Moroccans, whom he differentiated from the supposedly less-religious but sometimes fanatically anti-European Berbers of the mountains, who were also more closely associated with "superstitious" practices.³¹ Tellingly, the French propagated a very different view, preferring the ostensibly less-Islamicized Berbers over Moroccan Arabs. In contrast to the Spanish military rulers in North Africa, the French also rejected petitions to allot more time to Arabic in their schools, and they explicitly sought to shield the Berbers from too much Arabic and Islamic influence.³² This French policy stemmed in part from a belief that Berbers were of a different race than Moroccan Arabs.³³ In general, Spanish army officers in North Africa also had a more positive perception of Islam itself than did French administrators, especially in Algeria after the conversion there from military to civilian rule in 1871. The resident general of the French zone of the Moroccan protectorate, General Hubert Lyautey, at times spoke highly of Moroccan Muslim culture and Islam, but the development of the "Kabyle myth" in neighboring Algeria had nonetheless left its mark throughout the Maghreb. Some French officials even wrote optimistically that the Berbers of Kabylia would be easier to convert to Christianity because their Islamic identity was less deep.³⁴

Unlike in much of French North Africa, the Spanish military faced scant competition from civilians in the colonial administration, and it jealously guarded its position in determining cultural policies in Morocco. When the organization of Centros Comerciales Hispano-Marroquíes tried to open its own school in Melilla in 1911, military authorities reacted quickly. The project had considerable support; King Alfonso XIII was to take part in its opening ceremony, and it was meant to spearhead an ambitious program of future schools under the sponsorship of the Centros Comerciales organization. Nevertheless, high commissioner General José Marina Vega promptly closed this private school for violating the regulations of the

³¹ Pedro Maestre, *Divulgación y orientación del problema de Marruecos. Intervención civil, intervención militar* (Granada: La Publicidad, 1924), 252–53.

³² Halstead, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 102–7. Laskier, *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 305–6.

³³ Lorcín, *Imperial Identities*, 227–31.

³⁴ Lorcín, *Imperial Identities*, 62, 227–31.

military zone.³⁵ The correspondence that its brief operation inspired demonstrates the importance of the issue to Spanish colonialist interests in Morocco.

Several days after the new school opened, Marina announced that he had suspended its classes because its administrators lacked the necessary authorization from the military government, to whom they had not submitted the required plan of studies and information about its personnel and regulations. Furthermore, he charged, the leading pupils of the already-existing official, military-administered school had been bribed to attend the new institution. Without the knowledge of their parents, twelve already-literate students had been offered gifts and money for switching schools. For Marina, the most dangerous aspect of this practice lay in its undermining of "one of the principle elements of political attraction [*atracción política*] and the securing of our influence in the country": army-sponsored education of Moroccan children.³⁶ For him, it was a matter of strategic importance. Ensuing correspondence over the conflict, which reached as high as the office of Secretary of State Manuel García Prieto, indicates that Melilla business leaders soon came to accept that their best course of action would be to limit their pedagogical efforts to areas of the Rif that still lacked primary schools, citing Cabo de Agua, Tres Forcas, and Tetuan as the most likely candidates. Significantly, officials in Madrid advised that any schools established by the Centros Comerciales Hispano-Marroquies imitate the state-supported schools by making the study of Arabic and the Quran integral parts of their curricula, by including Moroccans in the teaching staff, and by requiring the Spanish teachers to have at least some knowledge of Arabic.³⁷ Subsequent discussion in the general staff and war ministry, moreover, argued forcefully that even "non-official" schools in North Africa should fall under the jurisdiction of the military and the Foreign Office rather than the Ministry of Education. Continuing to advocate a "laic" (i.e., non-Catholic) program of instruction

³⁵ Víctor Ruiz Albéniz (el Tebib Arrumi), *España en el Rif* (Madrid [1921]), 164–72; José Marina, Capitanía General de Melilla, to Exmo. Señor Ministro de Estado, Madrid, 9 Feb. 1911, AGM, Sección 2, División 8, legajo 84.

³⁶ José Marina, Capitanía General de Melilla, to Exmo. Señor Ministro de Estado, Madrid, 9 Feb. 1911, AGM, Sección 2, División 8, legajo 84.

³⁷ President Pablo Vallesca and Secretary General Jaime Tur, Cámara Oficial de Comercio, Industria y Navegación, Melilla, to Capitan General de Melilla, 22 March 1911; Marina, Melilla, to Sr. Ministro de Estado, Madrid, 29 March 1911; Report by Eugenio Ferrar, Ministerio de Estado, Madrid, 4 April 1911; García Prieto to Señor Ministro de la Guerra (Estado Mayor Central del Ejército), 4 April 1911. All of the preceding documents are in AGM, sección 2, división 8, legajo 84.

based on the Quran, the correspondence made clear that the chief purpose of Moroccan education was to serve Spain's strategic and foreign policy goals.³⁸

The Protectorate, 1912–1931

After the establishment of the Moroccan “protectorate” in 1912, divided into Spanish and French zones, Spain made a more concerted effort in the field of Moroccan education. The following year saw the establishment of the Junta on Education in Morocco [*Junta de Enseñanza en Marruecos*]. Its stated mission was to develop further the education of Muslim, Jewish, and Spanish Christian children in the protectorate, to provide for the training of teachers and other personnel for these schools, to create and support an Arabic publishing house, and to promote advanced scholarship on Moroccan geography, history, literature, and Islamic law.³⁹ Like their counterparts in many other European colonies, the schools aimed in part to prepare future colonial officials and to benefit local elites by providing education to their children, thereby fostering collaboration. Spanish authorities made limited progress in these areas over the following years, coming to an almost complete standstill during World War I and then making some modest gains again.⁴⁰ Beginning in 1924, however, the Spaniards began to coordinate and organize their pedagogical efforts more systematically, and they would make steady—albeit slow—progress developing a school system in Morocco during the rest of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. The Spaniards even established a growing number of schools for Muslim girls, although these schools never matched their male-oriented counterparts in number or quality. Their primary purpose tended to be more vocational, focusing on skills associated with domestic labor. In many of the schools for boys and for girls, the emphasis on vocational skills

³⁸ Capitanía General de Melilla, Estado Mayor, Sección A.I. [Asuntos Indígenas] to Señor Ministro de la Guerra, Estado Mayor Central del Ejército, 4 Dec. 1911; and “Expediente é informe sobre la creación de Escuelas de primera enseñanza para indígenas de los territorios ocupados en el Rif (1912),” Estado Mayor Central, 2a. Sección, 7 February 1912.

³⁹ Although some Spanish officers, notably Blanco Izaga, would later stress the difference between “Berber” law, which he favored adopting in the Rif region, and its “Arabic” counterpart, the leading Spanish authorities in Morocco rejected his suggestions on this point.

⁴⁰ García Figueras, *Notas sobre el Islam en Marruecos*, 16.

increased with time, as Spaniards began to value economic development in the protectorate as beneficial to Moroccans and Spaniards alike.⁴¹

In the meantime, the emphasis on Islam and the Arabic language increased in the Spanish-run schools for Muslim children. Quranic studies had already gained a solid position in the pre-protectorate Hispano-Arabic schools, which continued to forbid any Christian evangelical endeavors whatsoever, and in the protectorate they came to figure even more prominently in school curricula. This move toward a traditionalist approach to education in the spheres of language and religion would climax with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936, when the rebel government implemented a policy of “profound Arabization” of Moroccan Muslim schools that lasted until the end of the protectorate.⁴² The colonial authorities thus acknowledged the usefulness and—at least in theory—accepted the legitimacy of the belief system of the conquered, even if the Islamic traditions as promoted by the Spanish officials were self-serving and shaped by the Spaniards themselves.

The rhetoric at an inaugural ceremony for a new school in the early protectorate reflected this outlook. The representative of Spain’s high commissioner went out of his way to assure listeners that instruction would be “purely laic” in the schools, promising the presence and collaboration at the school of

a Fqih [Fakih] who, as a learned man and keeper of the Islamic faith, will impart upon your sons education in the precepts of the Quran and in elements of Arab culture.

Hence you can rest assured that this school will always show the most profound respect for your religion and your customs, and you should understand that the Spanish teacher will give you the greatest and most treasured gift that a man can yearn for: moral and intellectual education.⁴³

The distinction the speaker drew between the Fqih’s domain of religious affairs and that of “moral and intellectual education,” which he deemed the Spaniards best suited to control, revealed a basic attitude that would

⁴¹ García Figueras, Tomás, and Rafael de Roda Jiménez, *Economía social de Marruecos*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, CSIC, 1955); Fernando Valderrama Martínez, *Temas de educación y cultura en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editorial Marroquí, 1954), 53–59.

⁴² García Figueras, “Líneas generales de la obra de educación y cultura.”

⁴³ Capitanía General de Melilla. Estado Mayor, Subinspección de tropas y asuntos indígenas, “Dando cuenta de la inauguración de la Escuela indígena de Nador, y adjuntando copia de la alocución dado en castellano y árabe á los que presenciaron el acto,” to Excmo. Señor Ministro de la Guerra, Madrid, 27 Sept. 1912. AGM, sección 2, división 8, legajo 84.

persist even after the founding of Spain's first democracy, the Second Republic, in April 1931.

The Protectorate during the Second Republic, 1931–1936

Unlike in metropolitan Spain itself, the establishment of the Second Republic brought with it relatively minor changes to the Moroccan protectorate, notwithstanding complaints by prominent military officers.⁴⁴ In spite of the Republic's avowed attempt to "civilianize" the protectorate, its leaders soon found that it needed the experience of the military, and former army officers thus filled many of the positions now designated for civilians. Ideologically, the Hispano-Arabic myth, with its traditionalist underpinnings, had somewhat less resonance, as the liberal French model of colonialism's civilizing mission gained more influence in Madrid. President Manuel Azaña betrayed the influence of liberal French imperialist ideology when he spoke before parliament in March 1932 of the need to "civilize" Morocco, achieving for Spaniards "commercial, industrial, and territorial expansion" while demonstrating "to the Moor, to the natives, that Spain still knows how to civilize someone under its guidance and protection."⁴⁵

This period also saw the growth of Moroccan nationalism in the Spanish zone, although it by no means gained the stature of a mass movement. After an initially more combative attitude toward the fledgling nationalists by the Republic's early high commissioners, liberal statesman Manuel Rico Avello, who held the office for two years beginning in early 1934, shifted official policy by publicly embracing a conciliatory policy toward the Nationalists.⁴⁶ He could certainly not go as far as to favor independence, and his administration acted harshly against some perceived nationalist threats. Moreover, the Spanish occupation of Ifni during his tenure as high commissioner contributed to the disenchantment with the Republic of many Moroccans, who now saw that the Republic was no less colonialist

⁴⁴ For example, Emilio Mola Vidal, *El pasado, Azaña, y el porvenir* (Madrid: Bergua, 1934), 247–57. For an overview of the Spanish zone during this period, see S. E. Fleming, "Spanish Morocco and the Second Republic: Consistency in Colonial Policy?", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 13, no. 1 (1998): 80–98.

⁴⁵ Quoted in María de los Ángeles Egido León, *La concepción de la política exterior española durante la Segunda República* (Madrid: UNED, 1987), 155–56.

⁴⁶ For example, remarks by Manuel Rico Avello quoted in *Telegrama del Rif*, March 24, 1934, and *Gaceta de Melilla*, Nov. 5, 1935. For more on Rico Avello, including his tenure as high commissioner in Morocco, see Juan Pan-Montojo, ed., *El sueño republicano de Manuel Rico Avello (1886–1936)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2011).

than the monarchy that had come before it.⁴⁷ But his public praise for moderate forms of Moroccan nationalism and public overtures toward its leaders marked a significant change in official government rhetoric and distinguished it from the attitude of the French. Spanish policy continued to move in this direction during the rest of the short-lived Republic, and it went further under Franco, much to the consternation of France.

On the cultural front, Republican officials continued the kind of outreach that had accompanied military actions in Morocco since the establishment of the protectorate. Some of the same ideas of Moroccan-Spanish brotherhood seen in earlier Spanish military rhetoric surfaced again in the visit by leading Republican statesman Niceto Alcalá Zamora to Morocco in 1932. As part of the Republic's attempts to placate the Moroccan nationalists and demonstrate that the Republic would not neglect the native elites with whom it had worked in the past, the Caliph Muley Hassan was invited to Spain to inaugurate the School of Arabic Studies in Granada, meeting with Moroccan scholarship students there. With the support of Azaña, the Moroccan nationalist Abd-el-Jalek Torres gave a talk at the Ateneo of Madrid on Spain and Islam, thus becoming the first Arab to give a speech there.⁴⁸

At the same time, however, Republican officials continued to express typical prejudices about Moroccans. The left-liberal Azaña stated openly that Moroccans should not expect to have the same rights as Spaniards in Spain, and on one occasion Alcalá Zamora made the off-handed comment that there was "no need for a judicial order just to stop a native climbing a palm tree."⁴⁹ In concrete terms, the Second Republic failed to grant Moroccan workers the same rights and wages as their Spanish counterparts in North Africa, and nationalist Moroccans were disappointed by the Republic's conquest of the Ifni territory in 1934.⁵⁰ Similarly, Rico Avello may have endorsed "Quranic education in Arabic," but he explicitly contrasted it with the "cultural education in Spanish" that he simultaneously promoted, thereby betraying the same prejudices long seen in military discourse.⁵¹ Moreover, in the end the lack of meaningful reforms under the Republic disappointed key Moroccan nationalist leaders, whom the military rebels quickly won over after the start of the Civil War in July 1936.⁵²

⁴⁷ Sánchez Ruano, 51, 116.

⁴⁸ Sánchez Ruano, 43, 61.

⁴⁹ Gustau Nerín, *La guerra que vino de África* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2005), 102.

⁵⁰ Sánchez Ruano, *Islam*, 51, 60, 116.

⁵¹ *Telegrama del Rif*, March 22, 1934, and March 24, 1934.

⁵² See Madariaga, *Moros*, 228–32.

Although the Moroccans who enlisted in Francoist military forces did so primarily out of economic necessity, the Spanish rebel leaders also employed the Hispano-Arabic myth in their exhortations to Muslim soldiers as well as Spaniards.

Morocco and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939

The impact of North Africa on Franco's subsequent prosecution of the Civil War has certainly not gone unnoticed. With good reason, scholars have highlighted the influence of the *africanista* experience on subsequent military behavior during the Civil War, from tactics to the brutal "cleansing" operations of occupied areas to the strategic consequences of Franco's desire to avoid another Anwal.⁵³ Here, however, I will focus above all on developments of relevance to cultural issues, including Francoist practical attempts to avoid offending Muslim sensibilities, the wartime "policies of attraction" aimed at Moroccans, and how the Hispano-Arabic myth also served propaganda intended for Spaniards. Then I will turn to the postwar memories to which they contributed.

Economic necessity was by far the main motive for Moroccan enlistment in the Francoist forces. Although a handful of Moroccans received recognition and rose high within the Spanish military hierarchy, their numbers were low overall, especially given their high casualty rates. A Moroccan received Spain's most prestigious military decoration, the Laureate Cross of Saint Ferdinand, for his service to the rebellion at the onset of the civil war, but as the Grand Vizier to the Sultan he was hardly typical, and no other Moroccan has ever received this award. Another Moroccan, Mohammed ben Mizzian, would rise spectacularly in the Francoist ranks, even becoming a captain general after the war, but most Moroccans had scant opportunity for such professional advancement. As the number of Moroccan casualties increased, some local Moroccan leaders resisted recruiting efforts, albeit at high costs. Franco worried that news of the high

⁵³ For example, Sebastian Balfour, *Abrazo mortal. De la guerra colonial a la guerra civil en España y Marruecos (1909-1939)* (Barcelona: Peninsula, 2002); Madariaga, *Moros*; Nerín, *Guerra*. Other works on Moroccans in the Spanish Civil War include González Alcantud, ed., *Marroquíes en la guerra civil española. Campos equívocos* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2003); Ali al Tuma, "The Participation of Moorish Troops in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39): Military Value, Motivations, and Religious Aspects," *War & Society* 30, no. 2 (August 2011): 91–107; Mustapha El Merroun, *Las tropas marroquíes en la guerra civil española* (Madrid: Almena, 2003); Mohammad Ibn Azzuz Hakim, *La actitud de los moros ante el alzamiento. Marruecos 1936* (Málaga: Algazara, 1997); and Sánchez Ruano, *Islam*.

casualty rates among Moroccan soldiers would spark further resistance, and those who revealed the truth to widows could be punished with death.⁵⁴

Yet the Francoists did not just rely on coercion to ensure a steady supply of Moroccan manpower for their military forces. They strove to convince Moroccans of the supposed righteousness of Franco's cause, working to sustain morale and continue recruitment through propaganda and other forms of persuasion, making special allowances for the Muslim soldiers. Indeed, Franco was so sensitive to Moroccan public opinion that he undercut one of his own generals and reacted with surprising equanimity to the initial opposition of Moroccan nationalist Torres to the use of Muslim units in a "Christian" war. Franco's decision not to respond harshly to Torres' initial resistance and instead placate him with financial favors and support for his Moroccan nationalist organization seems to have rested at least in part on Franco's belief that the two men shared similar anti-Republican sentiments.⁵⁵ In general, a combination of force, economic incentives, and the exploitation of perceived ideological affinities underlay the Francoist approach to Moroccan participation in the civil war.

The rebel military leaders created a noteworthy administrative apparatus and infrastructure exclusively for Moroccan soldiers, who often endured the brunt of the fighting, with correspondingly high casualty rates. As the need for soldiers grew, the minimum age of Moroccan recruits dropped to 14 years and sometimes even lower.⁵⁶ Throughout the conflict, the Francoists tried to appear considerate of Moroccan hearts and minds. While in Spain, the Moroccan soldiers had their own cooks, butchers, hospitals, medics, translators, cemeteries, and religious authorities knowledgeable in Islamic law and the treatment of the bodies of fallen Muslim soldiers. During Ramadan, Spanish officers made allowances for fasting. Although in some cases monks, nuns, and others tried to convert hospitalized Moroccans to Christianity, Francoist military authorities did their best to curb these efforts. Regardless of his own strong Catholicism, Franco evidently valued the military contributions of his Moroccan forces so much that he was willing to run the risk of offending zealous Spanish Christians. Interviews with Moroccan veterans who fought on Franco's side reveal relatively few complaints about treatment at the hands of Spanish officers, even though the North African soldiers had the most dangerous assignments, often found requests for battlefield commendations fall on deaf

⁵⁴ Sánchez Ruano, *Islam*, 87, 220-21, 229, 238.

⁵⁵ Sánchez Ruano, 153-58.

⁵⁶ Sánchez Ruano, 157, 225.

ears, and expressed disappointment after the war at not receiving all they had been promised. Recalling his experience in wartime Spain, one Moroccan veteran recently went as far as to affirm: "Back then we had more rights than the Christians. Franco looked after us." For the entertainment of Muslim soldiers, the *Nacionales* brought in musicians, singers, and dancers from North Africa, the latter of which included prostitutes, and on at least some occasions the Spaniards supplied their Moroccan soldiers with kif, a fine form of hashish or Indian hemp.⁵⁷

These practical measures for Moroccan morale complemented the kind of public relations "attraction" campaigns typical of longstanding Spanish military policies in the Spanish zone of the protectorate, which the military rebels had swiftly seized at the start of the war. Accordingly, Colonel Juan Luis Beigbeder Atienza, who became high commissioner in April 1937 and would subsequently serve as Franco's Foreign Minister, made much of the Spain's "complete Arabization" of the schools for Moroccans, the establishment of Islamic studies centers, and the founding of a Moroccan House in Cairo, meant to diffuse an image of Franco as a protector of Muslims. Until at least the fall of 1938, he went as far as to suggest that Morocco would gain independence at some point in the future. Franco's brother Nicolás also made well-publicized gifts to Moroccan charity and for the restoration of mosques, and in February 1938, in the name of Franco, he decorated the caliph with medals of military merit and the Order of Mehdawi. In July of that year, Francoist minister Ramón Serrano Súñer took part in a groundbreaking ceremony for a mosque in Ceuta, employing the language of Hispano-Arabic brotherhood and stressing the supposedly benevolent nature of Spanish colonialism, contrasting it with what he portrayed as the more commercially motivated colonial actions of other European powers.⁵⁸ In a similar attempt to foster Spanish-Moroccan goodwill, Franco reportedly donated 10,000 lambs for the Moroccan religious festival of Eid al-Kebir.⁵⁹ At his personal initiative, the Indigenous Affairs Office in Tetuan also organized Moroccan participation in the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, the *hajj*, reaping additional propaganda benefits when a Republican plane bombed the port of Ceuta near the ship that was to carry the pilgrims. Although no one was hurt in the bombing, Francoist authorities responded

⁵⁷ Madariaga, *Moros*, 278–96; *The Moroccan Labyrinth* (film). Screenplay by Julio Sánchez Veiga. New York: Icarus Films, 2007, 2009; Al Tuma, "Participation of Moorish Troops," 102–5.

⁵⁸ Madariaga, *Moros*, 345–58; Balfour, *Abrazo mortal*, 503–4; Sánchez Ruano, *Islam*, 120–123, 226.

⁵⁹ Sánchez Ruano, *Islam*, 240.

by organizing protests. One of the loudest voices of Hispano-Arabic brotherhood, Tomás García Figueras, whose postwar writings I examine below, condemned the incident as an attempt by “Reds” with “Russian planes” to prevent Moroccans from “fulfilling one the most sacred obligations of all good Muslims.”⁶⁰ Francoist authorities also made a point before Moroccan audiences of associating the Republic with Judaism, and some Moroccans were said to enlist because they wanted “to kill Jews.” Pro-Spanish Moroccan leaders invoked religion when describing the war against the “godless” Republicans, and the Moroccan Falange contributed to the celebration in honor of the birth of Mohammed. The profaning of Christian images by Republicans reportedly angered some Moroccans who witnessed the act.⁶¹

The same anti-communist, traditionalist defense of Spanish-Moroccan brotherhood also appeared frequently in metropolitan Spain during the civil war, where it contributed to a public relations campaign aimed at a domestic audience. The religiously-defined clash between Christianity and Islam had given way to a new one between monotheistic religion and atheist communism.⁶² Admittedly, there were attempts to sow terror among Republicans with stories of the Moroccan soldiers’ supposed propensity for murder and rape, most famously exemplified in one of General Quiapo de Llano’s oft-cited radio rants.⁶³ But the Franco regime usually sought to portray a much more positive image of the Moroccans, a tendency even Quiapo could share, as his quotation at the beginning of this chapter shows. In the Francoist worldview, the “atheistic Reds” were morally inferior to the Moroccans, who—although not Christians—at least had strong traditional religious values. On Columbus Day 1936 (October 12, the “Día de la Raza”), prominent Moroccans visited Seville, and much fanfare accompanied the opening of mosques there and in Cordova. In a big ceremony in Seville, the Grand Vizier, accompanied by Moroccan nationalist leader Torres, made pro-Franco speeches.⁶⁴ In April of the following year, Franco himself presented a vision of shared Spanish-Moroccan identity in a speech attended by the archbishop, leading military figures, and high-ranking

⁶⁰ Madariaga, *Moros*, 348–49.

⁶¹ Sánchez Ruano, *Islam*, 225, 233–234.

⁶² Patricia Hertel examines this process in “Der irinnerte Halbmond,” 106–14. This work also analyzes and includes examples of Francoist Hispano-Islamic “brotherhood” discourse.

⁶³ Eloy Martín Corrales, “Entre el ‘moro’ violador y el ‘moro’ seductor. La imagen de los marroquíes en la guerra civil según las fuerzas republicanas,” in Ángeles Ramírez and Bernabé López García, eds., *Antropología y antropólogos en Marruecos. Homenaje a David M. Hart* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2002), 224–25.

⁶⁴ Balfour, *Abrazo mortal*, 503–4.

representatives from Italy and Germany. Arguing that Spain and Islam have “always understood each other best,” he warned of the dangers of communism. “The destructive work of Soviet Russia goes against culture, the mosques, and everything with spiritual value, which is the fundamental basis of Islam and Muslims.” In the meantime, Franco-supporting intellectuals, including the well-known Spanish Arabist Miguel Asín Palacios, further developed and disseminated the traditionalist justification for Muslim participation in an avowedly Christian struggle.⁶⁵ Thus well before Franco’s victory, the foundational stones had been laid upon which official postwar memories of Moroccan participation in the “crusade” would stand.

In fact, however, many North Africans also volunteered to take up arms in defense of the Republic. Although they were much fewer in number than the Moroccans fighting for Franco, their motives were generally less suspect. Unlike the vast majority of Moroccans who enlisted in Franco’s forces primarily because of hunger, coercion, or a combination thereof, the some 700 Maghrebis who enlisted in the International Brigades seem to have acted above all out of political conviction. There were also Arabs from Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, and Iraq, in addition to Turks. “Moors” (the term was used for all of these groups as well as North Africans) served in other Republican units too. Nevertheless, Republican propaganda and communist leaders like Dolores Ibárruri (better known as “Pasionaria”) and Vicente Uribe portrayed Moroccan and other Arabs as enemies, employing racist language to describe them. On the other hand, there were also more sympathetic representations in some Republican discourse.⁶⁶

Franco’s Dictatorship, 1939–1956

After the civil war, the practical need for the Hispano-Arabic myth was no longer so great, and many of the wartime promises and hints to Moroccan soldiers went unfulfilled. Yet the myth remained a part of official discourse, and the dictator’s personal “Moorish Guard” and other orientalist trappings helped keep memories of Franco’s ties with Morocco alive. Of course, it would have been impossible to forget or ignore Moroccan participation in the war. But more importantly, Spain’s wars in North Africa had already

⁶⁵ Madariaga, *Moros*, 352, 345–46. On Miguel Asín Palacios, see Manuela Marín, “Los arabistas españoles y Marruecos: De Lafuente Alcántara a Millás Vallicrosa,” in Nogué and Villanova, eds., *España en Marruecos*, 86–89.

⁶⁶ Sánchez Ruano, *Islam*, 255–90; González Alcantud, J.A., ed., *Marroquíes en la guerra civil española*, 10.

found a prominent place in Spanish historical memory by serving as a fundamental element of the now-omnipresent “Franco myth.” Even before the civil war, Morocco had played a central role in the transformation of Franco the army officer into Franco the war hero, prominent Spanish patriot, and *caudillo* (the latter a term newspapers applied to other prominent *africanistas* as well). Tellingly, as early as 1923 a headline had labeled the future dictator “*un Caudillo heroico*.”⁶⁷

In addition to bolstering the Franco myth, after the civil war historical perceptions of Spain in the Maghreb and the idea of Hispano-Arabic identity served to justify the continued Spanish presence in North Africa. The roots of this thinking may have extended back to a complex and contradictory mixture of *Reconquista* imagery and the ideal of *convivencia*, but now representations of the recently concluded Civil War made additional contributions to Hispano-Arabic mythology. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Moroccan participation in the conflict fueled the revival of “the already-negative image of the ‘Moor’ in the collective memory of the Spanish people.”⁶⁸ But a competing, positive image also existed, and the Franco dictatorship’s ideologues endeavored to make good use of it. Using several very different kinds of writings by the Franco dictatorship’s most fervent promoter of Hispano-Moroccan brotherhood and *convivencia*, army officer and leading colonial official Tomás García Figueras, we can begin to understand how a fervently National Catholic dictator like Franco could employ the Arabic term *baraka* (roughly equivalent to “spiritual power”) when describing his own identity.⁶⁹

During the Spanish Civil War, García Figueras joined the dictator’s propagandists in proclaiming that the enemies of the Franco’s “crusade” were not Muslims as in the medieval crusades, but rather the godless Marxists of the Republic, and he helped recruit Moroccans for the Nationalist army in the Civil War.⁷⁰ He also echoed some of the anti-Semitic proclamations of the Franco government and its supporters, linking Marxism and Freemasonry to Judaism, although he distinguished between what he portrayed as the “good,” Sephardic Judaism of the protectorate, which had been purified through its contact with Spain, and the supposedly more sinister forces of “universal Judaism” that threatened world civilization.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Laura Zenobi, *La construcción del mito de Franco* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2011), 21–58.

⁶⁸ Madariaga, *Moros*, 11.

⁶⁹ Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, *El ‘moro’ entre los primitivos*, 139.

⁷⁰ See Madariaga, *Los moros*, 153–206, 345–64.

⁷¹ Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 103–4. Rohr writes that García Figueras, who strongly opposed the 1937 anti-Semitic

Yet García Figueras did not just parrot Francoist rhetoric; he was also a prolific writer with a vast, although not necessarily profound, knowledge of Moroccan history and culture, and he devoted his life to the colonialist ideal that, at least in theory, guided Spanish actions in Morocco from the outbreak of the civil war to Moroccan independence in 1956. He also fervently believed in the importance of education in the protectorate, a topic that many Spanish military leaders felt the need to stress publicly but fewer paid significant attention to in practice. The theme of *convivencia* surfaces frequently in his writings, which demonstrate how one could be a sworn Francoist and Catholic traditionalist without seeing Muslims as inevitable enemies or advocating their conversion to Christianity. The evolution of his more practical goals for the Spanish zone of the protectorate also mirrored the official attitude of the Franco regime. Like the representatives of other twentieth-century colonial powers, he would increasingly employ the language of economic development and modernization, stressing the alleged benefits of these activities for the Moroccans themselves. Indeed, no one better personifies the Franco dictatorship's seemingly unnatural union of National Catholicism, positive portrayals of Islam, and the modernizing endeavors of Spanish imperialists than García Figueras. Two of the ninety-odd books and pamphlets he wrote during his life, a study of Moroccan Islam published in 1939 and a historical novel written after the Civil War, are especially representative of his imperial vision, while a massive report on developmental aims and methods in the protectorate that he later co-authored exemplifies the evolution of the rationale and aims of the Spanish colonial project. Both also shed light on the Hispano-Arabic myth and the dynamic nature of Spanish military orientalism, which evolved in response to Spanish self-perceptions and the international context.

His study of Islam in Morocco, published within a few months of Franco's victory in the civil war, differs little from many books on the topic still referred to and cited in works on Morocco. Much of the book is a straightforward, sober, and relatively objective synthesis of the existing scholarship on the religious history of Morocco. Aimed at officers posted to the colonial administration in Morocco [*Servicio de Intervenciones*], it not only describes the religious situation in Morocco, but it also covers the basic history, belief system, and laws of Islam. Beginning with a brief discussion of what little was known about pre-Islamic Berber religions, it then describes the arrival

campaign in Spanish Morocco, exemplified the regime's "attempt to combine germanophilia, africanism and philosephardism" (87, 103).

of Islam, its evolution and political history, and its Moroccan peculiarities. The founder of Islam, García Figueras writes, has received much harsh criticism, but “today, with fairer criteria, is considered one of humanity’s outstanding figures, [...] who brought his people a moral and religious code, igniting their enthusiasm and making them capable of the highest and most glorious undertakings.”⁷² The book also discusses more recent reformist movements within Islam, pointing to developments in the young intellectual class in Cairo and elsewhere that aim to reinterpret the Quran while simultaneously combating ignorance and making use of knowledge and science for the modernization of Muslim societies.⁷³ The underlying message, in this book and in much of García Figueras’s writings, is that Islam can serve as an apt and positive force for the present and future, at least in some parts of the world.

Above all, he argues that Islam and Christianity are simply not that distinct, that their numerous and profound similarities merit more attention than their differences, and that Islam has a place in the modern world. He concludes by looking beyond the borders of the protectorate, drawing attention to what he describes as a growing international movement to bring “Muslims and Christians closer together, completely removed from any evangelical intentions and with the goal of showing that there are not great divides between the two religions, as one might think, but rather many points of influence and contact.”⁷⁴ In fact, his readers from the Spanish officer corps encountered this argument not only in this work, but in much of the literature on the protectorate by their colleagues and others. Drawing upon works by such figures as Asín Palacios, the conservative advocates of modern *convivencia* repeatedly stressed the compatibility of Spanish Catholics and Moroccan Muslims.⁷⁵ While these writers may not have portrayed the two religions and their followers in equal terms, both belief systems could be made to fit within the same social system—an organic hierarchy that corresponded well to National Catholic corporatist ideology.

The same basic message forms the foundation of a historical novel by García Figueras published in 1946. Like much literature that appeared in Spain during this period of extreme National Catholicism, the 371-page book, *Ramadan de paz*, is difficult to take seriously today. Nevertheless,

⁷² Tomás García Figueras, *Notas sobre el Islam en Marruecos*, 20.

⁷³ García Figueras, *Notas*, 71–73.

⁷⁴ García Figueras, *Notas*, 74.

⁷⁵ Marín, “Arabistas españoles y Marruecos,” 86–89.

the book is very revealing, and not just about cultural production during the most repressive phase of the dictatorship. It also paints a vivid picture of the Francoist ideal of Moroccans and Islam, the paternalist relationship between Spain and its underdeveloped neighbor to the south, and the place of Moroccans in the sociopolitical hierarchy of Spanish North Africa.

A vivid depiction of the evening call to prayer emanating from Tetuan's seven mosques and the dutiful response of the Muslims, whom the narrator describes as "profoundly religious" and "jealously conservative of the orthodoxies and purities of their religious practices," sets the scene.⁷⁶ It is late summer 1923, and the main character of the book, Captain Urrutia, works in the office of *Intervenciones Militares*. The *Interventores* were basically a mixture of colonial administrators, intelligence officials, security officers, and military recruiters, tasked with fostering economic progress, education, and loyalty to Spain in their respective districts, while also reporting on the political climate and possible threats to Spanish rule.⁷⁷ The reader first encounters Urrutia in a *tertulia*, or discussion group, in a military club, where this very earnest officer defends the importance of "policies of attraction" and the cultural approach to colonization in the face of strong criticism from a decorated, down-to-earth and well-respected Spanish Foreign Legion lieutenant who believes that only brute military force can achieve lasting results. In describing this disagreement between Urrutia and the legionnaire, García Figueras introduces the reader to one of the major philosophical divisions within the colonial officer corps. Urrutia concedes that the legionnaire's argument is valid to a point, but he also insists that success in Morocco will entail peaceful means as well. The rest of the book is essentially a case for this argument. Although it is far too long to discuss in detail here, its basic storyline reveals much about the Francoist imperial project in North Africa.

In the book several Moroccan gunmen, thought to be supported by Abd-el-Krim el Jatabi, get into a firefight with Spanish security forces in Tetuan. Urrutia encounters one of the gunmen, who has been left behind and is lying injured in the street near his home. He discretely takes care of the wounded man, Feddul, and even arranges to have Feddul's young daughter come to be at her wounded father's side. The two men eventually become close friends, and Urrutia, by showing respect and mercy, finally convinces Feddul of Spain's benevolent intentions in Morocco, that

⁷⁶ Tomás García Figueras, *Ramadán de paz* (Larache: Editora Marroquí, 1946), 8.

⁷⁷ On the *interventores*, see Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga," 25-62, and Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, *La 'hermandad' hispano-marroquí*, especially chapters 2-4.

friendship is possible between Moroccans and Spaniards, and that the forces of Christianity and Islam can coexist and interact peacefully. At the same time, the two men's daughters become great friends, learning each other's languages fluently. The narrator notes that when the two children are playing together, they are so much alike—physically and otherwise—that observers cannot tell who is the Muslim Moroccan and who is the Christian Spaniard. Feddul, on the other hand, is never portrayed on such equal terms as the Spaniard Urrutia. Illiterate and simpleminded, he is very religious, honest, brave, and loyal, and he comes to appreciate Spain's colonialist endeavors, but he never demonstrates much intellectual sophistication. With the figure of Feddul, García Figueras puts forth his vision of the martial race fused with the noble savage concept.

In the novel the Moroccan people appear essentially equal in their origins to Spaniards, but not nearly as well developed or advanced at this point in history. A phrase to this effect even slipped into the more scholarly work on economic development that García Figueras co-authored, which refers to the Moroccan people as "*inadecuado, crédulo e infantil, a pesar de su masculinidad*" ["*inadequate, gullible, and childish, in spite of their masculinity*"]⁷⁸ Nevertheless, it is not clear that García Figueras believed Moroccans to be inherently incapable of moving beyond this stage, nor that Spain ought to construct its policies around this belief. Moreover, the reference to the "masculinity" of the Moroccan people had considerable meaning in a military culture that often equated national strength with masculinity, and homoerotic imagery and symbolism underlies much of the text.⁷⁹

In García Figueras's story, Moroccans such as Feddul have the potential to rise someday with Spanish help. Spain, Feddul comes to accept, acts as a big brother to Morocco, generously donating its time, resources, and blood to develop his country so that it will someday realize its glorious potential and thrive on its own. The narrator describes how, when the Second Republic is born, the language of the new Spanish civil administrators in the protectorate confuses Feddul, who clearly preferred the military administrators. He fails to understand why the new colonial officials speak of freedom and rights for Moroccans, when in fact all Moroccans—with the exception of some younger, misguided nationalists—had already seen

⁷⁸ Tomás García Figueras, and Roda Jiménez, *Economía social*, vol. III, 385.

⁷⁹ For a reading of the text's "idealized homosocial Hispano-Moroccan realm," see Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations*, 215–19.

that a protectorate run by Spanish military officers was in their own best interests.

In the eyes of García Figueras, the right place for Moroccans in the political hierarchy was not yet at the very top, with the possible exception of royalty, who in the novel enjoy an elite status that the Spaniards strongly support. The Spaniards' task is to lead the efforts to restore the natural order of Moroccan society while simultaneously fostering economic well-being. In theory, the Moroccan royalty and the Majzen (the Moroccan governmental administration, which was in fact under Spanish direction) were to gain complete control sometime in the future. The portrayal of Morocco as a country that had fallen behind through no fault of its own was not new to *africanista* writing, as the rebel general Quiapo de Llano had demonstrated in one of his infamous radio tirades, excerpted at the beginning of this chapter. According to this view, Moroccans still held the same noble qualities of more fortunate times, even if at present their situation was less than ideal. *Ramadan de paz*'s narrator never explicitly claims that Moroccans are inherently inferior to Spaniards; instead he portrays them as suffering from past economic and international developments beyond their control that Spain can now help them overcome. Such a justification for the protectorate was not uncommon; other Spanish military officers and civilians compared the "gift" of the Spanish presence in contemporary Morocco to the many benefits Muslims had brought Spain through their presence in Iberia centuries before.⁸⁰ In the Middle Ages it had been the Muslims who had helped modernize Spain; now the Christian Spaniards were to return the favor. Moreover, according to this view both peoples stemmed from the same background, with shared historical, racial, and cultural roots. As an *interventor* wrote, "given our history and our race, no other people can claim the same rights we do to carry out the necessary intervention in Spain." A book later published by the Franco dictatorship's office of popular education described medieval Spain as nothing more than the "real Spain wearing a turban." Moorish Spain, the author continued, was characterized by "a political-religious contest, not a foreign invasion. And the builders of the Alhambra were the grandfathers of today's Spaniards and Moroccans, not the grandfathers of the Muslims now living in the East."⁸¹

⁸⁰ For example, Ricardo Burguete, *Teoría y práctica de la guerra: Evolución en el arte* (Madrid, 1913), 375.

⁸¹ Rodolfo Gil Benumeya, *Marruecos andaluz* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular, 1943), 8.

The novel reveals much about the imperial identity of Franco's Spain before Moroccan independence in 1956, albeit in an undeniably simplistic and often absurd fashion. From the beginning, the Franco regime faced the problem of where to situate the *moro* in its worldview. Although Franco's enemies were quick to draw attention to what they saw as a clear instance of gross hypocrisy, Francoist ideologues found it relatively easy to justify employing non-believers in a struggle waged in the name of Christianity. Furthermore, instead of trying to gloss over or conveniently forget the Moroccans, the dictatorship sometimes went out of its way to draw attention to them: after the war Franco appeared at public functions accompanied by his Moorish Guard of traditionally dressed Moroccan soldiers on horseback, demonstrating that Arabs still had a place in the National Catholic social vision. In this case they may have served to reinforce an orientalist, self-serving imperial image, but they also drew attention to the Moroccan contribution to the Francoist state, simultaneously making clear that Muslims were not to be categorically rejected as infidels or inherent enemies of Christian civilization.

Indeed, Spanish Catholic conservatism could promote the idea of Moroccan Muslims as active allies rather than enemies. Its spokesmen may have considered Moroccans to be inferior in some ways, but, as the programs of the Hispano-Arabic schools, García Figueras's many books, and numerous other manifestations of Francoist cultural policy demonstrate, they did not consider Moroccans to be true Others—that is, the complete antithesis of Spaniards. Perceptions of shared history, culture, geography, and even race with Muslim North Africa were unavoidable components of Spanish identity, even for many of the Spaniards who regarded their own country as far more modern and civilized than Morocco. Such thinking guided views of Morocco from across the political spectrum. The influential writer Joaquín Costa had cited all of these common characteristics in his famous 1883 speech calling for Spanish expansion into North Africa, and they explicitly served to support Spain's presence in Morocco thereafter.⁸²

In a 1922 ceremony in Tetuan, for instance, Spain's High Commissioner for Morocco at the time, General Ricardo Burguete, described Spaniards and Moroccans as "originating from the same race and united by geographical and historical bonds to work together for the development of

⁸² Melchor Fernández Almagro, *Historia política de la España contemporánea*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1972); Shannon E. Fleming, *Primo de Rivera and Abd-el-Krim* (New York: Garland, 1991), 11–15.

human progress.”⁸³ Before the Civil War, García Figueras himself stressed the commonalities he perceived in Spaniards and Moroccans and promoted the idea of *convivencia* in a speech he delivered in the Casa de España in Larache.⁸⁴ Although some conservatives had used racist, anti-Arab rhetoric before Franco’s reliance on Moroccan troops made it politically expedient to silence such talk, the contrasting notion of the Moroccans as brothers was not conjured up out of nothing, as the early military discussions of Moroccan education attests. Instead, it had always had a place in traditionalist rhetoric, albeit sometimes alongside prejudiced, negative portrayals of Moroccans.

The representations of Moroccans in the dictatorship’s propaganda had an undeniably condescending and paternalist tone, and Spaniards had long demonstrated a propensity for extraordinary cultural insensitivity and even outright racism. According to the Abd-el-Krim brothers, a Christian church in the Moroccan town of Nador featured a sculpture of Saint James slaying Moors.⁸⁵ (In Spanish Saint James is known as Santiago “Matamoros,” or “Moor Killer.”) But neither offensive gestures nor condescending paternalism were exclusive to the political Right. As we have seen, during the Second Republic and civil war Republican rhetoric and policy also betrayed paternalistic when not outright racist sentiments.

In fact, the prominent place of social status and hierarchy in traditionalist thought facilitated the integration of the *moro* into the Francoist worldview in some ways more easily than into the secular, French-inspired liberal notion of a “civilizing mission.” The ideal of *convivencia* that García Figueras espoused for the protectorate was not a democratic one but one of society as an organic whole in which Muslim Moroccans accepted the need for Spanish help. According to this view, Moroccans did not differ from Spaniards in essence, but historical circumstances had left the protectorate with only a few Moroccans, such as the Majzen elites whom the characters in García Figueras’s novel clearly respect, at the highest levels of the social hierarchy. Correspondingly, the 1930 Spanish statute on education in Morocco had affirmed the separation of schools for the “children

⁸³ Report of Major Reginald B. Cocroft (United States military attaché in Spain), Madrid, 24 July 1922. Correspondence of the Military Intelligence Division Relating to General, Political, Economic, and Military Conditions in Spain, 1918–1941, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., 2041/151.

⁸⁴ Reprinted as the pamphlet *La misión civilizadora de España en Marruecos: nuestro deber y nuestras posibilidades de acción ante el momento presente: conferencia dada en la Casa de España de Larache, el día 21 de febrero de 1924* (n.p.: n.p., [1924]).

⁸⁵ Balfour, *Abrazo mortal*, 352–53.

of notables," categorized as those of the middle and "comfortable" classes, from the rural and urban "popular" schools. Over two decades later, the manual for Spanish teachers in Moroccan schools continued to advocate distinct pedagogical aims for pupils of different backgrounds, warning against imparting an inappropriate education to a child destined for an agricultural life.⁸⁶ A similarly hierarchical social vision figured prominently in conservative Spanish Social-Catholic doctrine, which García Figueras and other policy makers explicitly tied to their developmental plans for Spanish Morocco.⁸⁷ It also closely resembled the corporatist, organic social vision associated with the fascist Spanish party, the Falange.

When compared with other Spanish colonial endeavors, moreover, the Moroccan project may have depended to a particularly high degree on conceptions of status, which sometimes transcended the traditional division between the colonizers and the colonized. Not only did the Spaniards in North Africa lack the evangelical argument that had figured prominently in past Spanish colonialist ideology, but the Hispano-Arabic myth meant that Francoist ideologues could not effectively employ racialist arguments like those of more modern, liberal imperialist thinkers in France and Britain. Indeed, Spanish writers, military officers, and colonial officials sometimes criticized these countries for what they saw as their appalling greed and the lack of moral purpose in their imperialism.⁸⁸ Spain, in their view, had much more noble objectives and would promote the construction of a "natural," organic society in which Moroccans could occupy secure positions in the social hierarchy. This ideal of a status-based social hierarchy came naturally to Spanish traditionalists. Social status is, after all, an integral part of traditional conservatism, which does not necessarily presuppose the kind of racialist thought more closely associated with liberal positivism.

Admittedly, ethnicity and race helped determine how some Spaniards categorized the various elements of Moroccan society, and Spanish sociological studies of the protectorate differentiated among Arabs, Berbers,

⁸⁶ García Figueras, Tomás [Vial de Morla, pseud.], *España en Marruecos (la obra social)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, CSIC, 1947), 19; Fernando Valderrama Martínez, *Manual del maestro español en la escuela marroquí* (Tetuán: El Mahadí, 1952), 129.

⁸⁷ García Figueras and Roda Jiménez, *Economía social de Marruecos*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Gráficas 'Orbe'), 21.

⁸⁸ For example, Enrique Arqués, *El momento de España en Marruecos*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Ediciones de la Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular, 1943), 15, and the speech delivered by infantry major Juan Casas Morá as part of a course at the Academia de Interventores (Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas, 129–55).

Jews, and various tribal groupings. But these studies, which did not represent the mainstream military views or even those of the more elite *africanista* officers, often contradicted each other, employed terminology and categories in distinct ways, and sometimes came to very different conclusions regarding the respective cultural, racial, or religious characteristics of different Moroccan peoples. They could agree, however, that divisions of “prestige,” often based on religious status, existed within Muslim Moroccan society, even if some found “class” in the European sense more difficult to distinguish, and they paid special attention to the status of élites.⁸⁹

A very different kind of work, the massive three-volume study on Moroccan economy and society by García Figueras and Rafael de Roda Jiménez, published between 1950–55, represents the most elaborate attempt by Spanish administrators to analyze the current situation in their zone of the protectorate and lay out a concrete plan for its development. In it the authors highlighted Spain’s role as a historical and cultural link between the Arab world and Europe, employing the same rhetoric that Spanish and Middle Eastern political leaders have used since World War II.⁹⁰ But they also applied this argument to Morocco, writing of the country’s *orientalidad* and its own special mission as a facilitator of exchange.⁹¹ Echoing the *convivencia* language seen in earlier works, the authors explicitly played down the importance of race, writing of the fundamental unity of the human species under a “supreme creator” and describing racial differences as merely accidental.⁹² In the sphere of political ideology, they firmly embraced the standard Francoist line, decrying earlier, failed attempts by liberal Spanish governments of the Restoration and the Second Republic to develop Morocco properly. They explicitly tied the Franco regime’s developmental endeavors to traditionalist social Catholic doctrine and Pope Leo XIII’s encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.⁹³

They went to impressive lengths in their efforts to reconcile liberal economic and modernizing aims with the conservative National Catholicism that served as the ideological base of Francoism. Thus they explained the need for the construction of a “rationalized economy,” which

⁸⁹ Cohen, “‘Razas,’ tribus, clases.”

⁹⁰ Rein, Raanan, “In Pursuit of Votes and Economic Treaties: Francoist Spain and the Arab World, 1945–56.” *Spain and the Mediterranean since 1898*. ed. Raanan Rein (London: Frank Cass, 1999).

⁹¹ García Figueras, Tomás, and Roda Jiménez, *Economía social*, vol. 2, 372–73.

⁹² García Figueras and Roda Jiménez, 435.

⁹³ García Figueras, and Roda Jiménez, *Economía social*, vol. 1, 21.

they called the “primary, essential necessity of a people,” but they also wrote of the corresponding need for a “restoration” of Moroccan culture, “harmonizing it with modern thought, but without disconnecting it from its traditions.”⁹⁴ And they described Spain’s ultimate goal in its zone of the protectorate as the recuperation of Morocco’s historical personality. As was the case with the Spanish zone’s schools after their so-called Arabization, it was thus Spaniards who were to define Moroccan and Islamic traditions, often in a predictably self-serving fashion. Tellingly, at one point the authors rejected any attempt to evangelize but in the same sentence described Christianity as the “source of all modern civilization.”⁹⁵

Tentative Conclusions and Research Agendas

Susan Martin-Márquez’s description of the “disorientation” Spaniards can experience from their “positioning on both ‘sides’ of Orientalism” easily applies to military culture.⁹⁶ Within the army officer corps, examples of this phenomenon are easy to find. Spain’s peculiar status in North Africa had positive as well as negative attributes for Spaniards, on the one hand serving to legitimize their colonial endeavors over those of other powers, but also calling into question the place of Spain in Western—and thus “white”—civilization. For Francoist military ideologues like García Figueras, however, it was not difficult to gloss over the inconsistencies and turn differences from other colonial powers into virtues, as seen in attempts during the 1950s to reconcile traditionalism with modernization theory.⁹⁷ The privileging of memory over history facilitated such attempts. A principal characteristic of “memory,” as Santos Juliá recently remarked, is “to sustain [*alimentar*] identity,” whereas “history” should encompass much more, seeking “to comprehend rather than instrumentalize the past.”⁹⁸ The instrumentalization of the Spanish-Moroccan past in the service of Francoist identity was most apparent during the civil war, but it in fact had served Spanish imperial interests since long before.

⁹⁴ García Figueras, and Roda Jiménez, 18–19.

⁹⁵ García Figueras, and Roda Jiménez, *Economía social*, vol. 3, 24, 380.

⁹⁶ Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations*, 9.

⁹⁷ See Jensen, “Peculiarities of ‘Spanish Morocco’” 92–96.

⁹⁸ Winston Manrique Sabogal, “La coherencia de un historiador disidente. Santos Juliá interviene en la segunda jornada de ‘Lecciones y maestros,’” *El País* (online edition), June 22, 2011. www.elpais.com/articulo/cultura/coherencia/historiador/disidente/elpepucul/20110622elpepucul_2/Tes.

Patrick Porter writes that the “history of ‘military Orientalism,’ the fascination for Eastern ways of war, is also a history of Western anxieties, ranging from fear to envy to self-criticism.”⁹⁹ In many ways this statement applies to Spanish military perceptions as well, although this chapter has not devoted as much attention the actual prosecution of war as does Porter. The cultural suppositions underlying Spanish military interpretations of how Moroccans waged war—that is, their tactics, strategies, and other fighting methods—remain largely unexamined. Moreover, scholarship on the relationship between the *kind* of warfare Spanish officers waged and their politics and cultural outlooks remains superficial at best. In keeping with this volume’s intended appeal to future researchers, this chapter will conclude with a brief discussion of the topic’s scholarly potential.

Although the history of military operations and doctrine may not appear to offer much to intellectual or cultural historians, merging these ostensibly unrelated fields can reap rich rewards. The fact that traditional military historians rarely have much contact with intellectual and cultural historians does not mean that their domains do not overlap. As Azar Gat demonstrates, one can trace the “culture-bound nature of military theory” through the ages of the French Enlightenment, the German Romantic movement and military *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment), nineteenth-century liberalism, twentieth-century modernism, and beyond.¹⁰⁰ After all, at the most fundamental level, armies exist to wage war. The manner in which military officers perceive, prepare for, and fight wars is thus essential to understanding their world, and it can also reveal much about the societies in which they act. In recent years scholars have combined cultural history and traditional military history in works on the German army in Africa and its subsequent actions in Europe, the so-called “cult of the offensive” in World War I, nationally specific approaches to counterinsurgency, and many others.¹⁰¹ In Spain, writers have long commented on the alleged relationship between a propensity for guerrilla warfare and national character. Of course, one can go too far in attributing cultural causes to doctrine and battlefield actions, which, as soldiers can be quick to point out, sometimes stem entirely from practical concerns. But it is equally wrong to ignore the

⁹⁹ Patrick Porter, *Military Orientalism*, 18.

¹⁰⁰ Azar Gat, *A History of Military Thought from the Enlightenment to the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), vii.

¹⁰¹ For example, Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, N: Cornell University Press, 2005); Timothy Travers, *The British Army, the Western Front, and the Emergence of Modern Warfare, 1900–1918* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987); and Gat, *History of Military Thought*, 382–440.

cultural component of military history. Military and civilian cultures can also have tangible effects on what has come to be known as strategic culture.¹⁰²

In this vein, it is worth drawing attention to the possible link between perceptions of Hispano-Arabic identity and opinions on what kind of military actions best served Spain's strategic goals in North Africa. Although the officer corps was home to plenty of orientalist prejudices and negative opinions about Moroccans, Arabs, and Islam, there were also influential officers who stressed the idea of a brotherhood of Spaniards and Moroccans united by shared culture, history, geography, and ethnicity. What remains unexamined, however, is how this disagreement mirrored a similar clash between schools of thought about how to go about military "pacification," and there may have been a close relationship between these two oppositions. Whereas some officers favored hardline approaches and the brutal use of force, others wrote about the need for a "peaceful penetration" of the protectorate using culturally based methods (the so-called policies or politics of "attraction," associated with what strategists later termed "soft power").

On the political level, the general shift in the emphasis of establishment military culture from regular warfare to counterinsurgency and irregular warfare coincided with the rise in political influence of the military *africanistas* holding patently authoritarian views.¹⁰³ Just as, during the Cuban War of 1895–98, the positions Spanish public figures adopted toward General Valeriano Weyler's counterinsurgency methods carried with them specific political meanings, so too did Spanish politicians' attitudes toward the subsequent Moroccan campaigns. Such a relationship between military doctrine and national politics was hardly unique. In late nineteenth-century France, for example, to favor the "Young School" approach to naval warfare was to associate oneself with democratic politics, and in the twentieth century Soviet military writers associated a capitalist outlook with specifically "bourgeois" tactics and strategies.¹⁰⁴ In the case of Weyler's

¹⁰² There is a useful summary of the major literature on strategic culture in Hervé Coutau-Bégarie, *Traité de stratégie*, 5th rev. and expanded ed. (Paris: Économica, 2006), 407–49.

¹⁰³ Geoffrey Jensen, "The Practice and Politics of Spanish Counterinsurgency, 1895–1936," in *Nation and Conflict in Modern Spain*, ed. Brian D. Bunk, Sasha D. Pack, and Carl-Gustaf Scott (Madison, WI: Parallel Press, 2008), 137–50.

¹⁰⁴ Theodore Ropp, *The Development of a Modern Navy: French Naval Policy, 1871–1904*, ed. Stephen S. Roberts (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1987); *Marxism-Leninism on War and Army* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972).

counterinsurgency, the attraction of a hardline strategy to those on the political Right is not surprising.

During the 1920s and 1930s, some of the loudest defenders of the long-standing focus of Spanish military education on Western European and Enlightenment-oriented, Napoleonic-style regular warfare held notably more progressive political views than the *africanistas*, who rejected the prevailing liberal approach to war studies. The status quo had managed to maintain its dominant position in elite Spanish military culture for a surprisingly long time, but it eventually lost credibility and thus influence as its approach to military study proved less relevant. Those who found success on the battlefields of Morocco, like the French who favored waging *guerre révolutionnaire* against the anti-colonial resistance in Algeria years later, tended to approach political situations as they had confronted military problems: in a way that left little room for the solutions of the liberal establishment, whether Spanish Republicans in the 1930s or their counterparts of the French Fourth Republic two decades later. Given the inherently political nature of counterinsurgency, it makes some sense to expect its practitioners to be more political in nature than regular soldiers and perhaps even more susceptible to the stab-in-the-back myth, as some military historians have suggested.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, the case of the Portuguese military in the 1970s demonstrates the perils of simplistic interpretations of the relationship between right-wing politics and colonial warfare and of treating the military as a homogenous entity. The ideology of "Lusotropicalism," which served the cause of Portuguese colonialism, may resemble the Hispano-Arabic ideal in some ways, but the followers of these two myths had many differences as well.¹⁰⁶

In pre-Civil War Spain, the relative effectiveness of methods advocated by more conservative and anti-liberal officers after Anwal could affect political outlooks as much as it colored operational thought. The corresponding rise of a new, highly influential circle of officers in turn served to

¹⁰⁵ Douglas Porch, "Writing History in the 'End of History' Era—Reflections on Historians and the GWOT," *Journal of Military History* 70, no. 4 (2006): 1078–79.

¹⁰⁶ Portugal under Antonio Salazar, who was also a conservative Catholic dictator, had some resemblance to Franco's Spain in its traditionalist approach to colonial government, its claim of unique suitability to assume a colonial role in Africa (because of its medieval history and supposed "Lusotropicalist" qualities), and its efforts to adapt to postwar modernization theory. See Michael Mahoney, "*Estado Novo, Homen Novo* (New State, New Man): Colonial and Anticolonial Development Ideologies in Mozambique, 1930–1977," in *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War*, eds. David C. Engerman, Nils Gilman, Mark H. Haefele, and Michael E. Latham (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 165–98, and Hertel, "Der innerte Halbmond," 121–29.

strengthen the political prestige and authority of Franco and his like-minded colleagues, many of whom were also the strongest advocates of a “complete Arabization” of education and other civil affairs projects in the protectorate. This possible relationship between ideological and operational dichotomies bears keeping in mind by future researchers, as do possible links between the traditionalist-modernist tensions in military culture and the official state ideology of the Franco dictatorship. Franco remarked during the Civil War that “in Spain you are Catholic or you are nothing.” Yet he evidently saw no contradiction in employing the Arabic term “baraka” when describing his own identity.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, perceptions of shared historical, geographical, and cultural traits made it easier for Francoist military ideologues to reconcile the use of Muslim troops in a “crusade” against the Republic. One must also remember that European armies reflect not only the civilian cultures of their own countries, but also the cultures of their enemies, exemplified by the Spanish officers in North Africa who adopted traditional Moroccan dress, manners of sitting, and other cultural manifestations.¹⁰⁸ Could they not have taken operational lessons from their Muslim opponents as well? Perhaps cultural perceptions and “orientalist” experiences also helped create a particularly Spanish—or Francoist—way of war.

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¹⁰⁷ Mateo Dieste, *El ‘moro’ entre los primitivos*, 139.

¹⁰⁸ Porter, *Military Orientalism*, 32-33; Balfour, *Abrazo mortal*, 379.

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“CARMENCITA” GOES EAST: FRANCOIST CULTURAL DISCOURSES ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST

María del Mar Logroño Narbona

From April 4–28, 1952, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alberto Martín Artajo, went to the Middle East on a diplomatic mission that included official visits to Lebanon, Jordan (including the West Bank and East Jerusalem),¹ Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Franco, as was the case in these missions, did not make the trip, excusing himself due to the “duties of serving the nation.”² However, signifying the particular relevance of this occasion and as stressed in the official media, Franco’s only daughter, Carmen Franco (Carmencita, as his mother called her) and her husband, the Marques of Villaverde, joined Artajo in his official visit.³ Further marking the importance of this mission, the delegation also included two military officers (Mohamed Ben Mizzian Ben Kassen and Luis Zanón Aldalur); two diplomats (Jose Sebastián de Erice and Alberto Pascual Villar); one academic (Emilio García Gómez, an Arabist); two media representatives (Pedro Gómez Aparicio, the head of the Spanish Press Agency [EFE] and Joaquín Soriano, the director of the visual newsreel NO-DO); and the Count of Argillo.⁴ As if this unusually large delegation was not enough to mark the relevance of this mission, Franco himself gave a farewell speech to the deputation that was broadcast on national radio on the eve of their departure. In the talk he stated the three main pillars of Spain’s longstanding good relationship with countries in the Middle East: their shared history,

¹ Beginning with the Jericho Conference of December 1, 1948, and until the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem and the West Bank during the Six-Day War of June 1967, the West Bank and East Jerusalem were annexed by King Abdallah of Jordan, becoming part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The annexation of the West Bank (but not of East Jerusalem) was only recognized internationally by Great Britain and the United States. It was at first rejected by the League of Arab States. This may explain why the mission visited East Jerusalem and the West Bank first, coming directly from Lebanon, and afterwards went to Jordan. For the annexation see Joseph Massad, *Colonial Effects* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 228–29.

² Franco’s transcription of his speech in *ABC*, April 5, 1952.

³ *Revista Audiovisual Imágenes*, 382.

⁴ *ABC*, April 4, 1952.

the racial links between Spain and the Middle East, and the strong spiritual affinity among them.⁵

During their tour around the Middle East, the mission enjoyed full coverage in printed and visual official media. Unlike other diplomatic missions, the media representatives joined the delegation to provide an entire range of visual and narrative coverage. As a result, the main newspapers, including *ABC*, *La Vanguardia*, and *Ya*, supplied "firsthand" information about the progress of the trip, through the telegrams and notes that Pedro Gómez Aparicio sent to EFE, while NO-DO provided seven short visual newsreels of the trip, which were later re-edited and compiled in a forty-minute popular audiovisual news program, *Imágenes*, covering the entire trip.⁶

According to the official press of the regime, Artajo's official visit to the *Mashreq*⁷ was meant to consolidate the existing good relationship of Franco's regime with Arab Middle Eastern countries. Offering a more nuanced perspective, historians of modern Spain, Dolores Algora Weber and Raanan Rein,⁸ have demonstrated how the Spanish diplomatic mission had a less rhetorical but more practical objective: the mission was meant to conclude several years of bilateral diplomatic efforts that aimed at earning the diplomatic support of Middle Eastern countries in the midst of the increasing international political isolation that Western nations placed on Franco's fascist government from December 1946 until December 1955, when Spain finally became a member of the United Nations.⁹ In their reading, Franco's regime sought to "substitute" the lack of support from the United States and European nations at the end of the Second World War¹⁰ with friendship from the Vatican, Latin American countries, and Arab Middle Eastern countries, since many of them had either rejected or

⁵ *ABC*, April 5, 1952.

⁶ Araceli Rodríguez Mateos, *Un Franquismo de Cine: La imagen política del Régimen en el noticiario NO-DO (1943–1959)* (Madrid: Rialp, 2008), 151. For the technical aspects of NO-DO and *Imágenes* see María Antonia Paz and Inmaculada Sánchez, "La historia filmada: los noticiarios cinematográficos como fuente histórica. Una propuesta metodológica," *Film-Historia*, IX, no.1 (1999): 17–33.

⁷ In Arabic *Mashreq* refers to the Oriental-Levantine Middle East (mostly Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinian Territories) in opposition to the *Maghreb*, the western/North African part of the Middle East (mostly Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia).

⁸ See Algora Weber, *Relaciones hispano-árabes*, 35–41, Raanan Rein, "In pursuit of votes and economic treaties," 200.

⁹ These were UN Resolution 39 I of December 14, 1946 condemning and sanctioning the regime, and UN Resolution 386 V of November 4, 1950 lifting the sanctions. For a full description see Alberto Leonart Amsélem, "El ingreso de España en la ONU: Obstáculos e Impulsos," *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 17 (1995): 101–19.

¹⁰ See among others Algora Weber, *Relaciones hispano-árabes*, 62.

abstained from condemning the regime during the voting of 1946.¹¹ As a result, during the years that followed, Spanish diplomacy kept up an active agenda of bilateral agreements and friendship statements with Latin American and Middle Eastern countries, the most iconic of these bilateral relationships being that between Juan Domingo Perón and Franco.¹²

Lifting the sanctions against Franco's regime in November 1950 opened the door for Spain to join the United Nations, and Spanish diplomacy machine set itself to gather as much support as was possible for its UN nomination. In this context, Spain sought to consolidate its previous diplomatic efforts and it was then that the Spanish delegation carried out its diplomatic mission to the Middle East. Although the regime had initiated the establishment of bilateral relationships with Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq through the nomination of diplomatic representatives and cultural missions that had not existed previously, prior to the 1952 diplomatic mission, only two of the most important bilateral agreements had been signed—those with Jordan and Egypt.¹³ As part of these diplomatic efforts with the Middle East, Spain had to navigate between two important political issues that concerned the regional arena: the Palestinian conflict and Spain's colonial territories in Morocco. In terms of Spain's relationship with the Palestinian conflict, the regime had to balance its desire to please Western nations, such as the United States and Great Britain, with the political reality of establishing political connections with Arab countries. For this reason, Spain did not adopt an official position about the Israel-Palestine war, although it attempted to formulate policies aimed at pleasing both sides, such as the non-recognition of the state of Israel while simultaneously distributing propaganda about Franco's protection to Jewish communities.¹⁴ In terms of its colonial territories in Morocco, Spain

¹¹ Ibid., 35.

¹² For the relationship between Juan Perón and Francisco Franco see Raanan Rein, "El pacto Perón-Franco: justificación ideológica y nacionalismo en Argentina." In *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 1 (1990): http://www.tau.ac.il/eial/I_1/rein.htm.

¹³ See the works of María Pérez Mateo, "Las relaciones hispano-jordanas en tiempos del régimen franquista: la dimensión cultural y educativa," *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos-REIM* 3 (2007): 21–44, and Jorge Fuentelsaz Franganillo, "Cooperación cultural y educativa española en Egipto (Origen y evolución)," *Revista de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos-REIM* 1 (2007): 31–61.

¹⁴ For full description of the regime's position toward the Israeli government and the Jewish communities see Algora Weber, *Relaciones hispano-árabes*, 131–39. See also Raanan Rein, "In pursuit of votes and economic treaties," 202, who considers the policies undertaken by Franco to be overtly anti-Israeli.

had to counter the emerging nationalist discourses that were eroding its prestige within the Middle East with positive propaganda about its colonial rule.¹⁵

Considering that Spain's diplomatic efforts turned to a different direction by the end of the 1950s, scholars have dismissed the efforts of the 1952 diplomatic mission and the media campaign built around it as being empty discourses that were set aside once Spain had achieved its diplomatic purposes within the international arena.¹⁶ As this article explores, rather than being empty intellectual constructions, the rhetorical discourses produced by the early Franco regime highlight the effort of the regime in institutionalizing romanticized notions of its past, anticipating to some extent the positive self-Orientalization of Spain that took place during the tourism boom in the 1960s.¹⁷ Furthermore, a combined analysis of the interaction between popular and intellectual discourses around the 1952 mission to the Middle East sheds light on the plurality and tensions of Spanish Orientalism, which, as Geoffrey Jensen has stated in his previous article, are difficult to overstate.

Intellectual Contours of a Mediterranean Pact

Franco's speech to the diplomatic delegation in 1952 remarked on how Spain's longstanding good relationship with countries in the Middle East was based on their shared history, the racial links between Spain and the Middle East, and the strong spiritual affinity among them. Scholars have argued that these notions were empty intellectual constructions of the regime with no purpose other than familiarizing Spaniards with the Arab world in order to justify the new political positioning.¹⁸ Although the rhetorical aspect of these discourses is undeniable, they were formulated as

¹⁵ See Algora Weber, *Relaciones hispano-árabes*, chapter 6.

¹⁶ See the works of Dolores Algora Weber, *Las relaciones hispano-árabes durante el régimen de Franco: La ruptura del aislamiento internacional (1946–1950)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1995), Raanan Rein Rein, "In pursuit of votes and economic treaties: Francoist Spain and the Arab world, 1945–56," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (1998): 195–215, and Hishaam D. Aidi, "The Interference of Al-Andalus: Spain, Islam, and the West." *Social Text* 87, 24, no. 2 (2006): 67–88.

¹⁷ See Aurora Morcillo, "The Orient Within: Women Self-Empowering Acts under Francoism," in *Women as Agents of Change in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji (New York: Routledge, 2010), 259–70, and Hisham Aidi, "The Interference of Al-Andalus," 73.

¹⁸ Algora Weber, *Relaciones hispano-árabes*, 269, and Hisham Aidi, "The Interference of al-Andalus," 73.

coherent intellectual constructions some of which were based on earlier intellectual elaborations that underlined the cultural continuities between Francoist discourses about the Middle East and earlier periods of Spanish history. It is also important to note that shortly after the conclusion of the mission, intellectuals of the regime used these interconnected cultural explanations addressed by Franco in his speech in order to construct a political pact based on the geographical medium of the Mediterranean. Although as we shall see, this "Mediterranean Pact" never came to fruition at the time, it could be argued that the institutions and cultural discourses developed around it mark an important step towards the reformulation of Spain's cultural identity vis-à-vis Europe and the Middle East during the second half of the twentieth century.

The Intellectual Roots of Franco's Speech

Franco's reference in his speech to the "shared history" between Spain and the Middle East was an unequivocal allusion to *Al-Andalus*, the first and most iconic cultural and historical component of the regime's discourses about the Middle East. Sharing the same page with the transcript of Franco's farewell speech to the delegation, *ABC* included an article with the title *Saludo de Al-Andalus a los Estados Árabes* (*Al-Andalus salutes the Arab States*). In it, and after a laudatory description of the cities of Córdoba, Granada, and Sevilla, the journalist explained how the "genius of the Arab race had excelled" (*donde el genio de la raza alcanzó una cima insuperable*) in the Iberian Peninsula in a way that it had not been previously reached in any other Arab city and from where it (the Arab genius) spread throughout the world.¹⁹

In addition to being a veiled declaration about Spain's superiority in relation to the Middle East, this was clearly a political statement about the mediating role that Spain had played in the past between the Middle East and "the world" and how it could play the same role in the future in its relations with the Middle East. The article illustrates how, in the eyes of the regime, *Al-Andalus* had become the cornerstone in its relation of mediation between the Middle East and the rest of the world, where Spain was in an in-between, privileged situation. In this way, the regime appropriated romanticized discourses of *Al-Andalus* that had been elaborated by liberal

¹⁹ *ABC*, April 5, 1952.

historians since the end of the nineteenth century,²⁰ and consciously turned them into a positive elaboration of the past, anticipating the positive self-Orientalization of Spain of the 1960s, but this time for political, not economic, purposes.²¹

In this light, the appropriation of a romanticized *Al-Andalus* meant that the regime took sides, even if only for rhetorical purposes, in the traditional division among intellectuals that had considered *Al-Andalus* either as an “interference” within Spanish history, or as an integral part of the Spanish past, as exemplified by the well-known debate between historians Sánchez Albornoz and Américo Castro.²² This appropriation of a positive interpretation of *Al-Andalus* happened gradually and it was popularized by intellectuals working in close relationship with the regime within the context of the political agenda of finding new foreign partnerships. As an illustration of this gradual development, in 1948 Emilio García Gómez, a well-reputed and important Arabist who later played a key role in the intellectual and institutional aspects of the regime’s new relationship with the Middle East, gave public lectures that identified Spain with *Al-Andalus* as a bridge between East and West. Recognizing his erudition, a journalist from *ABC* summarized his lecture on the Spanish-Muslim literature during the thirteenth century as follows:

A lo largo de una erudita relación de viajes y viajeros, recuerda el señor García Gómez cómo llega el momento en que oriente ya nada tuvo que ofrecer a occidente, y como el occidente árabe—el andaluz—ejercía una poderosa irradiación civilizadora sobre los pueblos musulmanes del Cercano Oriente mediterráneo, a los que enviaba Sevilla desde su poesía y sus canciones, hasta su aceite.²³

²⁰ See Hisham Aidi, “The Interference of Al-Andalus,” 70, and Aurora Morcillo, “The Orient Within,” in Sadiqi and Ennaji, *Women as Agents of Change*, 259–70.

²¹ See tn. 18.

²² This debate is based on the pungent exchange between Spanish historians Américo Castro (*España en su historia*, Buenos Aires, 1948) and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz (*España: un enigma*, Buenos Aires, 1956). Full analysis of this debate among other scholars can be found in James T. Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship, Sixteenth Century to the Present* (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1970), chap. 10, and José Luis Gómez Martínez, *Américo Castro y el origen de los españoles: Historia de una polémica* (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), chap. 2, and more recently by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, “L’arabisme en Espagne,” *MARS* 9 (1998): 14–18, and Hisham Aidi, “The interference of Al-Andalus,” 70–71. See n. 8.

²³ *ABC*, Sevilla, May 9, 1948. Throughout his erudite narration of travels and travelers, Mr. Garcia Gomez reminded us of how the moment arrived in which the Middle East had nothing to offer, and how, the Western Arab world, the Andalusian one, exercised a powerful civilizing mission over the Muslim peoples of the Middle East, to whom Seville sent its poetry and songs, and even its olive oil.

The vehemence of the journalist in reclaiming the glorious past of the *Andalusian* "Arab West" and its "civilizing mission" towards the Arab Middle East had little to do with the history of the Middle Eastern roots of *Al-Andalus*. Rather, this positive construction of *Al-Andalus* as a "civilizing bridge" between the West and the Middle East glorified the history of Spain and projected it into the present at a time of international isolation when Spain was negatively perceived in the international arena. By 1952, this positive reinterpretation of the Spanish past had become a well-known rhetorical trope.

This positive interpretation of *Al-Andalus* that portrayed Spain as a cornerstone in the relationship between East and West was rooted in the ideological contours of *Hispanoamericanismo*, as it had been formulated by Spanish intellectuals since the last decades of the nineteenth century.²⁴ According to Isidro Sepúlveda Muñoz, *Hispanoamericanismo* was "a movement that aimed at articulating an imagined transnational community through a shared cultural identity based on language, religion, history, and social customs in which Spain held a privileged position as the *Motherland*."²⁵

Hispanoamericanismo was formulated as an ideology first used by the regime of Primo de Rivera in the 1920s in order to expand its foreign relations with Latin America. However, the contours of *Hispanoamericanismo* were used later on to redefine the role of Spain vis-à-vis the Middle East. The Africanist Rodolfo Gil Benumeya was one of the first and most important intellectuals to develop a new idea of Arabism along the lines of *Hispanoamericanismo*.²⁶ As far back as the 1920s Benumeya believed that Arabism needed to be considered as important as *Hispanoamericanismo*,

²⁴ See Victor Morales Lezcano, "Emilio García Gómez: de arabista a embajador," *Fundamentos de Antropología* 10/11 (2001a): 302–3. Lezcano refers to this as a "re-edition of the ideology of Spain as a bridge country and civilization between three worlds (European-Arab-American)." See also David Parra Montserrat, "Una 'nueva fuerza espiritual': La arabidad en la política exterior franquista," IX Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea, *Ayeres en discusión, Temas clave de Historia Contemporánea hoy* (Murcia, September 17, 18, and 19, 2008), who acknowledges the "regime's exploitation of the mythical character of Al-Andalus."

²⁵ My translation from the original in Spanish in Isidro Sepúlveda Muñoz, *El sueño de la madre patria: Hispanoamericanismo y nacionalismo* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2005), 13. "Movimiento cuyo objetivo era la articulación de una comunidad transnacional sostenida en una identidad cultural basada en el idioma, la religión, la historia, y las costumbre o usos sociales, comunidad imaginada que reunía a España con el conjunto de repúblicas americanas, otorgándole a la antigua metrópolis un puesto al menos de primogenitura, cuando no de ascendente, bajo la muy extendida expresión *Madre Patria*."

²⁶ David Montserrat Parra, "Una 'nueva fuerza espiritual,'" 4–8.

since both Latin America and the regions of North Africa and the Middle East were part of the history of Spain.²⁷

According to Gil Benumeya, Spain was the logical intermediary between the two cultures,²⁸ in which Andalucía, and in particular Granada, was at its core.²⁹ In this new role as a privileged intermediary, Gil Benumeya did not seek the political domination of Spain. Rather, his ideals were embedded in what has been defined by scholars as “soft domination,”³⁰ defined as a paternalist but not racist outlook of peoples, based on civilizational grounds, which could be based on factors other than race.³¹ The notion of Spain’s “soft domination” has led to some discrepancy among scholars: whereas some consider it to be the essence of Spanish Orientalism about North Africa, differing from European racial Orientalist notions,³² others

²⁷ See Gil Benumeya’s words as cited in María Dolores López Enamorado, “La mirada del otro: la visión del africanismo español (el Gil Benumeya de los años veinte),” in *Relaciones Interétnicas y Multiculturalidad en el Mediterráneo Occidental*. Melilla: V Centenario de Melilla (1998), 270: “El triunfo del nuevo ideal panarábigo debe ser para España tan vital como el ideal hispanoamericano. Unos y otros son sangre nuestra. ... Urge, por tanto, la adopción de un plan general arábifilo para África, Oriente y la América española; es un terreno neutral en el que pueden coincidir todos los grupos patrióticos que se preocupan de la expansión cultural de la Raza.”

²⁸ Ibid., 270. “España ha sido una tierra prócer en el conjunto de las tierras neo-árabes (musta’riba) y debe participar de la nueva cultura oriental siendo el intermediario lógico entre ella y Europa, entre ella y la nueva España de Ultramar.”

²⁹ Ibid., 73. “Frente a Oriente (barbarie de la selva, sumisión a la naturaleza, budismo, esclavismo, mongolismo, hinduismo) y a Occidente (germanismo, latinismo, protestantismo, enciclopedia) coloquemos la palabra Mediodía que una los valores semitas, helénicos, iraníes, negros e indoamericanos. Mediodía palabra de las tierras morenas y los contornos definidos, del gesto y el ritmo, la caballería y el monoteísmo, el amor y la jerarquía. Apoyado en Andalucía he lanzado el nuevo grito del Sur porque sólo desde Andalucía (Levante e Indoamérica, Mediterráneo y África) puede lanzarse. ... En este Universo España (gracias a Andalucía) puede ser el centro del mundo, su capital moral, el asiento de la verdadera Sociedad de Naciones” and “Granada es el lazo más firme entre las dos orillas del Estrecho; allí surge el sentimiento obscuro e inconsciente de la gran misión que españoles y marroquíes debemos comenzar a realizar bajo la idea andaluza: asegurar la unidad de la raza ibérica desde los Pirineos al Sahara, pero sin predominio político de nadie; una fraternidad étnica desinteresada que podría servir de ejemplo y nexo entre los dos grupos de naciones cuyas culturas son hermanas, y complementarias de la ibérica: las ibero-americanas y las árabes. Nuestra Patria racial ... está entre Oriente semita y la América hispana tierras complementarias que podemos unir para crear una fraternidad morena cuyo centro natural está en Granada.”

³⁰ See Hisham Aidi, “The Interference of Al-Andalus,” 73. See note 8.

³¹ See David Montserrat Parra in “Una ‘nueva fuerza espiritual,’” 8.

³² For instance, Geoffrey Jensen in this volume explains how “the lack of a fully oppositional Moroccan Other meant that Francoist ideologues could not effectively employ racist arguments like those of more modern, liberal imperialist thinkers in France and Britain.” Beyond this ideological argument, Victor Morales Lezcano points out to the practical fact that compared to its European counterparts, Spanish colonial praxis in North

argue that "soft domination" was an ideology "laden with contradictions."³³ As we shall later see, although the intellectual grounds that fed the regime's rhetoric about the Middle East may have been based on non-racial conceptions, the contrast between popular and intellectual discourses about the representation of the Arab Middle East underline the contradictions of Spanish Orientalism during Franco's regime.

Finally, the "strong spiritual affinity" that Franco had mentioned in his farewell speech was the last component that delineated the contours of this new institutional Arabism. If *Al-Andalus* provided the historical context, it was the "deep spirituality" of the Semitic peoples that provided the glue that made possible this union of civilizations. The notion of "Semitic peoples" had been introduced by Gil Benumeya in the 1920s when he claimed that beyond polarized divisions of the world between East and West, there was a world of *mestizo* population in the south—a mix of Jews, Muslims, and Christians who share a strong sense of spirituality.³⁴ In the new context of the Cold War, calls for the spiritual union expanded to include another important pillar: the regime's crusade against the "materialistic atheism" of communist regimes. As such, in addition to the "shared spiritual values" among these communities, intellectual and popular discourses included constant mentions of the shared dislike of Communism on the grounds of its "atheistic" component.

Although in theory this concept of a "shared deep spirituality" did not identify necessarily with Catholicism, in reality it was clear that the Catholic version of Christianity was the core spiritual reference in the regime's discourse. On the one hand, the notion of a *mestizo* population—one that integrated Jews, Muslims, and Christians—was flawed because, among other reasons, the regime failed to include the Israeli state as part of its new political pact. Although Franco tried to present himself as a supporter of the Jewish population, the regime's political relationship with Israel was almost non-existent since Spain never formally recognized the creation of Israel.³⁵ Moreover, even when the discourse became centered on the relationship with the Arab Middle East, Christianity was clearly the centerpiece of this spiritual union. This characteristic became evident in the popular

Africa was diminished by the lack of economic resources, something that, along with the legacy of Al-Andalus, would qualify Spanish Orientalism in a different way from its European counterparts. Introduction, Morales Lezcano, *Africanismo y Orientalismo Español en el Siglo XIX* (Madrid: UNED, 1988).

³³ See Hisham Aidi, "The Interference of Al-Andalus," 73.

³⁴ David Montserrat Parra, "Una 'nueva fuerza espiritual,'" 7–8.

³⁵ See n. 15.

discourses about the Middle East, where Islam played almost an anecdotal role. On the other hand, for the scholar of modern Spain, the emphasis on Christianity came as no surprise as National Catholicism (*Nacionalcatolicismo*) was one of the ideological foundations of the Francoist regime.³⁶

Forging a Mediterranean Pact

After the diplomatic mission was over, these intellectual discourses became the pillars of a political program that envisioned the establishment of a Mediterranean pact between the Arab Middle East and Spain. It was Pedro Gómez Aparicio who made the first references to this political pact in the articles he wrote for the Spanish press during the delegation's trip. In them, he repeated the pillars contained in Franco's speech about the "natural" affinities that Middle Eastern countries shared with Spain, in terms of their geography, history, and spirituality, and suggested the possibility of formalizing a "Mediterranean union" with these countries.³⁷ Shortly after his return from the mission, Gómez Aparicio wrote an article entitled "Spain and the Arab World" in the journal *Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos*, in which he delineated the grounds for the establishment of a Mediterranean political pact.

Written in a more restrained rhetorical style than the one used in his articles about the diplomatic mission, and claiming the "direct experience he had acquired throughout his trip to the Middle East," Gómez Aparicio called for the creation of a Mediterranean political pact based on the "union of the shared identity that connected Middle Eastern countries with Spain."³⁸ According to him, such an identity was the missing component in the recently created NATO, since the Middle East shared no affinities with the countries that were part of it. Most important, unlike other European nations, Spain could offer an alliance based on fair and equal treatment.³⁹ In this regard, Gómez Aparicio argued that Spain had not participated in the events that had led to the "disastrous" situation in Palestine, conveniently excluding any mention of Spain's colonial experience in North Africa.

³⁶ On the ideology of National Catholicism see Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).

³⁷ See for instance, *ABC*, April 8, 1952 in reference to the visit to Lebanon.

³⁸ *ABC*, April 8 and 9, 1952.

³⁹ Pedro Gómez Aparicio. "España y el mundo árabe." *Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos* 18 (1952): 17.

Finally, in an attempt to further ground his bid for a Mediterranean pact, the director of EFE referred at length to a phenomenon that not only further connected both regions, but also materialized the importance of the *Andalusian* connection: Arab migration to Latin America. Gómez Aparicio's reference was not novel as he revisited the ideas expressed by Gil Benumeya in the 1920s in his elaboration of Arabism. Grounding his ideas on those of Arab intellectuals such as the Syrian Habib Stephan, Gil Benumeya had paralleled the notions of Arabism to those of Hispanism to connect the Middle East, Latin America, and Spain.⁴⁰ Both of them, however, had misread the formulation of the Syrian intellectual as he did not place Spain in the privileged position that the two Spaniards claimed it had. Rather, from a Middle Eastern perspective,

Al-Andalus was an important historical period that proved the high levels of civilization and originality that had been reached by the Arab peoples. In short, *Al-Andalus* was not the expression of the "Spanish genius" but rather of the "Arab genius."⁴¹

This concept of the "Mediterranean orientation of the regime"⁴² was further developed by the Africanist José María Cordero Torres and later materialized in the creation of two main think tanks of the regime: the *Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, an offshoot of the *Instituto de Estudios Políticos*, and the *Instituto Hispano Árabe*, created in July 1954 and headed by the Arabist Emilio García Gómez. As members of the first institution, Gil Benumeya and Gómez Aparicio were able to voice their ideas through their writings in *Cuaderno de Estudios Africanos*.⁴³ The institute eventually followed up Martín Artajo's mission by organizing a seminar around the topic of "Issues in the Arab World," as a result of which Arabists and Africanists collaborated in the publication of an edited volume.⁴⁴ Shortly

⁴⁰ See David Montserrat Parra, "Una 'nueva fuerza espiritual,'" 8–9.

⁴¹ In the context of Arab migration to Latin America, *Al-Andalus* was a way to place themselves vis-à-vis the population there, very much like French and British migrants, in an attempt to eliminate the stigma of being classified as "Asiatic" and thus, less worthy migrants than other North European counterparts. See the author's PhD dissertation, "The Development of Nationalist Identities in French Syria and Lebanon: a Transnational Dialogue with Arab Immigrants to Argentina and Brazil, 1915–1929" (University of California at Santa Barbara, 2007).

⁴² Following the terminology used by Víctor Morales Lezcano in "Emilio García Gómez: de arabista a embajador," 302.

⁴³ David Montserrat Parra, "Una 'nueva fuerza espiritual,'" 9–10.

⁴⁴ See Miguel Hernando de Larramendi Martínez, "El instituto hispano-árabe de cultura y la política exterior española hacia el mundo árabe." IX Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea, Ayeres en discusión Temas clave de Historia Contemporánea hoy IX (Murcia, September 17, 18, and 19, 2008), 3–9.

afterwards, this collaboration resulted in the creation of the *Instituto Hispano Árabe*.

In spite of being in charge of supporting the cultural and political initiatives of the regime toward the Middle East, the *Instituto Hispano Árabe* was never given many resources,⁴⁵ something that diminished its role in the long run and provided further proof of the idea that it was all part of the empty political rhetoric of the regime toward the region. Emilio García Gómez worked as the director of the *Instituto Hispano Árabe* for four years until he was appointed Spanish Ambassador to Iraq in 1958.⁴⁶ He was the first Spanish Arabist to hold a politically relevant position based on his expertise.⁴⁷ However, as he himself acknowledged few decades later, “these were some of the duties of intellectuals at a time when the Middle East came ‘home’ at the same time that it took us away from ‘home.’”⁴⁸

The regime’s intellectual discourses around the formation of a Mediterranean pact between Spain and the *Mashreq* never found much echo with their Middle Eastern counterparts.⁴⁹ A review of Arab media coverage of this trip provides a very different picture of Franco’s self-referential discourses about the grand past of Spain. Arab reports focused their attention on concrete, practical aspects of this mission, such as the signing of bilateral cultural agreements or the establishment of cultural centers.⁵⁰ In their eyes, the identification of Spain as *Al-Andalus* signified a glorious episode in the history of Arab civilization, not the other way around.⁵¹ Rather than characterizing these discourses as “empty,” it could

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Morales Lezcano, “Emilio García Gómez,” 304.

⁴⁷ Manuela Marín has explored the reasons behind the lack of Arabists in politically relevant institutions in Spain before 1944. See her “Orientalismo en España: estudios árabes y acción colonial en marruecos (1894–1943),” *HISPANIA. Revista Española de Historia* LXIX: 231 (2009): 117–46.

⁴⁸ Morales Lezcano, “Emilio García Gómez,” 304.

⁴⁹ Unlike the statement of David Montserrat Parra for whom Francoist discourses “found an echo in the Middle East,” my research in the local press in Arabic shows no evidence of such statement. In David Montserrat Parra, “Una ‘nueva fuerza espiritual,’” 4.

⁵⁰ The Arabic press analyzed for the purpose of this visit consists of the analysis of April issues in *Al Urdun*, a Jordanian newspaper that followed the trip of the delegation and provided information from Lebanese, Syrian, and Iraqi newspapers. The information reported mentioned the activities of the delegation, for instance: the signing of a bilateral cultural agreement with Syria, and the opening of a Spanish cultural center in Amman. Furthermore, *ABC* included references made in other Arab newspapers about the Spanish delegation. Interestingly enough, none of the news reports about Middle Eastern press included any reference about the reception of the rhetoric used by the regime.

⁵¹ For a historiographical review of the treatment of Al-Andalus among Arab historians see Khaled Ziadeh, “Processus d’intégration d’Al-Andalus dans l’historiographie arabe,” *MARS* 9 (1998).

be argued that Spanish Francoist intellectuals, like their European counterparts, formulated self-referential and imaginary discourses that projected only their own interests and anxieties about the Middle East. Furthermore, even if the institutions created in these years to consolidate the Middle Eastern leaning of Spanish diplomacy did not enjoy strong support in the long term, the regime's intellectual efforts should not be dismissed as empty but rather should be considered as a step in the forging of Spain's cultural and political identity, as these discourses and institutions prevailed beyond 1952. Moreover, the positive appropriation of a romanticized *Al-Andalus* anticipated the positive self-Orientalization that would take place in the next decades.

Narrating the Middle East: Popular Consumption

Along with these institutional and intellectual understandings of the Middle East, popular visual, and written narratives constituted a second major component of this trip as they were conceived for internal propaganda purposes. Images and narratives about the trip connected familiar faces of political Spanish life, such as those of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Martín Artajo, and Franco's daughter, Carmen Polo Franco (Carmencita), with distant locations present in the collective imagination of Spaniards through images that had been introduced in previous intellectual discourses preceding this mission. They also connected with more popular travelers' literature and consumer-related images of the end of the nineteenth century.⁵²

Educating Spaniards

The diplomatic mission to the Middle East enjoyed a quite singular priority from the regime in comparison to other missions. In terms of their Arab counterparts, as already mentioned, the high political priority of this trip was marked by the presence of high-ranking official and media representatives. Considering their high administrative position, the presence of

⁵² Pablo Martín Asuero has dealt extensively with the view of Damascus and Lebanon in his work. See in particular, *Descripción del Damasco Otomano (1807–1920)* (Madrid: Miraguano Ediciones, 2004) and *España y el Líbano 1788–1910. Viajeros, diplomáticos, peregrinos e intelectuales* (Madrid: Miraguano Ediciones, 2003). For the Orientalist visual images produced in Spain from the late nineteenth century to 1970 see the art catalogue to the exhibit *Brisas de Oriente: El Cartel Comercial Español (1870–1970)* (Madrid: Casa Árabe, 2010).

important journalists in the delegation certified the highest quality of the reports and signaled the regime's concern in providing a credible, convincing image of the new allies of the regime to popular Spanish audiences unfamiliar with the country's new diplomatic partners.

EFE and NO-DO were both integral parts of the propaganda apparatus of the regime.⁵³ From an institutional point of view, since 1941 both organizations had worked under the vice-secretary of Popular Education, which was the institution in charge of all social communications of the regime from 1941–45. Afterwards, the vice-secretary became part of the Ministry of National Education (1945–51), and after 1952 part of the Ministry of Information and Tourism.⁵⁴ Explaining the social function of NO-DO within the regime, Saturnino Rodríguez Martínez has argued the view of the regime toward “popular education” as “the new regime was a way of life, a system of social life more than just a mere political system.”⁵⁵

In light of the social functions of these institutions, we should assume that media representations of this mission clearly aimed at “educating,” more than merely “familiarizing,” broader popular audiences with the new political agenda of the regime. In this vein, for the duration of the diplomatic mission Spaniards were fed visual and narrative chronicles that included constant references to the political possibilities of forging a Mediterranean pact. The articles also featured lengthy explanations about Arab hospitality toward the delegation, along with numerous references to the recognition and admiration that the Arab governments and populations expressed towards Franco's regime in Spain. In short, the regime made it clear that their new political initiative was well-received.

In order for this propaganda campaign to be successful, popular representations of the Middle East attempted to fulfill the expectations of its audience, as the popular Spanish imagination was filled with narrative and

⁵³ There was a difference, however, in the censorship applied to both media: visual media was subject to more strict control than the press. On this difference see Saturnino Rodríguez Martínez, *El NO-DO, catecismo social de una época* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1999), 100.

⁵⁴ For the institutional composition of the vice-secretary see Eduardo Ruiz Bautista, *Los señores del libro: propagandistas, censores y bibliotecarios en el primer franquismo* (Madrid: Trea, 2005), 85–93.

⁵⁵ Saturnino Rodríguez Martínez, *El NO-DO*, 133. In this regard, it is interesting to note that documentaries from NO-DO served as well as a medium for propaganda in the Middle East, as the Spanish cultural centers in the Middle East regularly received documentaries produced by NO-DO about Spanish culture that were to be shown to Middle Eastern audiences. See for instance AMAE R 2800/17: Letter from the Director of Cultural Affairs to the Spanish Ambassador to Egypt regarding the material sent to his delegation.

visual Orientalist tropes that, in order to provide credibility to the delegation's visit, had to find continuity in their narratives.

Searching for Al-Andalus in the Land of the Umayyads

If *Al-Andalus* had become the cornerstone of the Mediterranean political pact, its construction as an imagined geographical and temporal space of the Spanish "genius" for political and ideological purposes became self-evident in the media descriptions of this trip.

As a historical reality, *Al-Andalus* dated back to the time of the military expansion of the Umayyad dynasty towards the West (661–750AD). From its capital in Damascus, the Umayyads ruled an empire that encompassed much of the Iberian peninsula, North Africa, and the Middle East to the western limits of the Indian subcontinent. After the demise of the Umayyad Caliphate by the new Abbasid dynasty in 750, the last Umayyad ruler (Abd al-Rahman I) took refuge in Córdoba in 756, where the Umayyad dynasty continued to rule until the beginning of the eleventh century.⁵⁶

Whereas the connection between *Al-Andalus* and Syria was a historical fact, the works of Gómez Aparicio and Soriano displayed two interesting characteristics: on the one hand they reinforced the appropriation of the "genius of *Al-Andalus*" as part of the Spanish past while dismissing the Arab legacy; on the other, they had to confront the fact that the historical remnants of the Umayyads in Syria did not fulfill the expectations of the imagined Oriental past that had been fed to Spanish popular audiences.

Damascus, the Umayyad capital, had been praised for its legendary beauty by medieval travelers such as Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century. The articles by Gómez Aparicio and Soriano equally praised the city for its ancient beauty as well as its modern achievements, describing it as one of "the cleanest and most modern cities of the Middle East."⁵⁷ In contrast, in discussing its medieval history, Damascus was portrayed as an imperfect reflection of the main Umayyad achievements in *Al-Andalus*, Córdoba, Sevilla, and Granada being more perfect examples of "the Oriental art."⁵⁸ More interesting however, was the visual representation of the Umayyad mosque in the audiovisual magazine *Imágenes*, where the narration about

⁵⁶ Among the extensive bibliography about the history of Al-Andalus, see Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History* (London: Longman, 1997) and Pierre Guichard, *Al-Andalus* (Paris: Hachette, 2000).

⁵⁷ *La Vanguardia*, April 19, 1952.

⁵⁸ *La Vanguardia*, April 19, 1952.

the Umayyad mosque was accompanied by images of the Takiyya Suleimaniyya, a sixteenth-century religious monastery build by Sinan, the most famous Ottoman architect of all times. Why use different images to narrate the beauty of the mosque that preceded the construction of the mosque in Córdoba? For the non-trained eye, a quick glance at the exterior images of the Umayyad mosque's courtyard through black-and-white television technology would probably have been disappointing since the ornamentation and structure would have evoked a Byzantine basilica more than an "Oriental mosque" that was supposed to be the example after which the mosque in Córdoba was built. In other words, the original Umayyad mosque was visually not Oriental-looking enough for the expectations that had been raised. Yet, the Ottoman building of Sinan, with its alternating black-and-white stones and its "Oriental" arches were most likely shown in order to reassure the Spanish audience about the continuities between the two cultures. The Middle East needed to be portrayed through Orientalist lenses in order to fulfill the expectations of its audience.

Reinforcing this notion of imaginary Orientalist expectations of Damascus as the predecessor of *Al-Andalus*, more than twenty-five years earlier, the Arabist Emilio García Gómez had already noted his frustration with the city. During a visit to Damascus as a postgraduate student in his early twenties, García Gómez developed a profound dislike for Damascus because, as he mentioned to his mentor, the Arabist Asín Palacios, going to Damascus from Cairo was like "moving to Valladolid after having lived in Madrid."⁵⁹ García Gómez had arrived in early 1928 after the dramatic bombardment of the city by the French Mandate authorities who had ruled Syria since July 1920. Almost oblivious to the political climate of protest at the time, the Arabist García Gómez was frustrated at not being able to find anything interesting in this city, not even its mosque, which was dramatically reconstructed. He saw instead a city decimated after years of political turmoil.⁶⁰

Searching for Spirituality

In his speech before the departure of the delegation, Franco had emphasized the connection that existed between the "deep religiosity and love

⁵⁹ Emilio García Gómez, *Viaje a Egipto, Palestina y Siria: Cartas a Don Miguel Asín Palacios (1927–1928)* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2007), 84.

⁶⁰ García Gómez, *Viaje a Egipto*, 80–85.

for the religious traditions" of the Arab population, with those religious feelings of Spaniards.⁶¹ The words "Islam" and "Muslim" were not mentioned in the speech, although it was assumed that Islam was the faith of the majority of Middle Eastern Arabs.

This ambiguity proved even stronger in the stories about the trip, in which Islam was scarcely mentioned, except its depiction in relation to well-known literary tropes of veiled women, their absence in public spaces, and the prohibition of alcohol, among other topics.⁶² For the most part, the spiritual pillar ("against the materialist atheism of communism which connected the two peoples," as the regime would claim) was largely exemplified through explanations about Eastern Christian communities and the participation of the delegation in Eastern-rite Masses celebrated there.

In this regard, and considering the dates of Holy Week that year, it was probably no coincidence that the delegation started its travel itinerary in Lebanon and then proceeded to East Jerusalem on its way to Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and finally Saudi Arabia. In the first three countries visited (Jordan, Syria, and Iraq), the role and history of Christianity was largely emphasized. Lebanon was introduced as the site of "the Cedars" as they had been mentioned in the Old Testament as well as containing Mount Hermon.⁶³ More importantly, Lebanon served the purpose of introducing the existence of Eastern Christianity to Spaniards.⁶⁴ The Lebanese Maronite community was extensively described in relation to the history that Spain "shared" with them, as in 1782 King Charles IV had helped fund the building of the shrine of Our Lady of Lebanon in the town of Harissa, one of the most important pilgrimage sites of the Maronite community.⁶⁵ This historical friendship was buttressed by the constant references to the cordial and warm reception from the Maronite Patriarch that occupied part of the visual and written references to Lebanon.

It was the visit to the Holy Land,⁶⁶ however, that proved to be the most important showcase for the spiritual connections with the Arab population.

⁶¹ *ABC*, April 5, 1952.

⁶² Pablo Martín Asuero, for instance, dedicates a few pages about the perception of women in Spanish literature. See *Descripción del Damasco Otomano*, particularly "Los habitantes de Damasco: Los musulmanes," 144–57.

⁶³ At the time, Mount Hermon belonged to Lebanon and Syria, whereas after 1967 the region was occupied by Israel, leaving a small section to Lebanon where there are religious pilgrimages even today.

⁶⁴ *La Vanguardia*, April 5 and 6, 1952.

⁶⁵ *ABC*, April 5, 1952.

⁶⁶ See note 1.

The visit to Jerusalem, which according to media was not an official visit but rather a personal visit of Martín Artajo, was made coincident with the Catholic marking of Good Friday.⁶⁷ The delegation reenacted the Passion of Christ through the *Via Crucis*, in which Martín Artajo carried the Cross while Carmencita walked behind him with her hair veiled, eventually helping carrying the Cross in the last stations close to the Holy Sepulchre.⁶⁸ The delegation visited Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho, and the baptismal site of Jesus, all of which were described in terms of their biblical history, obliterating the important recent history of de-colonization and confrontation in 1948. Even in Amman, where Sunni Muslims constitute the vast majority of the city's population, the delegation participated in a Mass organized by the Greek Catholic Melkite church.⁶⁹

There were only three mentions of Islam in the media reports. The first one came in Lebanon, when the Grand Mufti and the Ulama council met with the delegation, a moment used by Aparicio and Soriano to clarify in their chronicles the controversial fact that Muslims composed the majority of the Lebanese population. The second mention came when the delegation met with King Talal of Jordan and it was made clear that no women could be present during the official dinner and the next day's meeting with the Jordanian prime minister where no wine was served.⁷⁰ The final reference to Islam was made during the visit to Saudi Arabia, where Islam was evoked, like a nineteenth-century Orientalist painting, through the muezzin's call to prayer, which reminded Gómez Aparicio of the popular flamenco intonation,⁷¹ establishing yet again the so-called "historical connections" with Spain.

Defining the "Arab Race"

If intellectual constructions of Arabism had emphasized civilizational, rather than racialized notions of Arabs, popular narratives provided instead a full range of racial stereotypes about Middle Eastern populations resembling European Orientalist representations of Arabs as Edward Said had analyzed in his classic work *Orientalism*.⁷²

⁶⁷ ABC, April 12, 1952.

⁶⁸ ABC, April 12, 1952.

⁶⁹ *La Vanguardia*, April 16 and 17, 1952.

⁷⁰ *La Vanguardia*, April 15 and 16, 1952.

⁷¹ *La Vanguardia*, April 26, 1952.

⁷² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

In the descriptions about Jerusalem and the Holy Land, for instance, sleepy Arabs, smoking from never-ending water pipes (*narguile*) in local coffee shops, let time pass by while loud, fast, and incomprehensible words, in reference to Arabic, could be heard everywhere:

Aquí, un café árabe a cuya puerta hombres somnolientos fuman sin prisa un inagotable 'narguile.' Allí una monja católica junto a una mujer musulmana que cubre su rostro con un tupido velo. Más allá un árabe encorvado, con difícil esfuerzo, arrastra a su pollino. Una babel de pueblos deja transcurrir las horas pausadamente. Gentes de Samaria, de Belén, de Hebrón, que mezclan el blanco turbante con el rojo fez o el flotante kufie. Todo, bajo la luz suave, tamizada, dorada por un sol moribundo.

Por todas partes hay una algarabía, estrépitos y son las palabras lo único apresurado, porque aquí el tiempo parece haberse detenido.⁷³

The languishing and timeless human landscape is paired with the decadent urban surroundings that are explained in terms of their "biblical ancestry":

Ahora, la dominadora del tiempo, Jerusalén, se nos muestra remansada en la perennidad bíblica. ... Bajo los pórticos de la calle—angosta y retorcida pendiente que asciende por unos escalones de piedra—se apretujan los más diversos comercios, desde las carnicerías, donde penden las reses recién descuartizadas, a las improvisadas cocinas que expenden el aceitoso olor de las fritangas orientales.⁷⁴

In contrast to the languishing and decadent terms used in Jerusalem, King Talal of Jordan was described in more positive terms as a "short tanned man with a penetrating look that reveals 'sagacity and firmness in decision-making' from which an elevated and modern spirit can be distinguished." Even though the characterization of King Talal attempted to be sympathetic to him, his penetrating gaze remained mysterious, in the same vein that many popular accounts represented the Arab "character."⁷⁵

⁷³ *La Vanguardia*, April 11, 1952. "Here, an Arab coffee shop where sleepy men smoke an endless 'narguile' at its door. There, a Catholic nun side by side a Muslim woman who covers her face with a veil. Over there, a crooked Arab man who drags his chicken with effort. A babel of people let the hours pass slowly. Peoples of Samaria, Bethlehem, Hebron, who mix the white turban with the red fez or the floating keffiyeh. Everything under the soft light, sifted, gilded by a dying sun. Everywhere there is gibberish, noisiness, and words are the only hasty thing to be found, because here time seems to stand still."

⁷⁴ *La Vanguardia*, April 11, 1952. Now Jerusalem, the one who controls times, shows herself as a quiet backwater within the biblical timelessness of the region Under the porticoes of a street—a narrow and twisty slope that climbs through a few stone steps—squeeze the most diverse businesses, from butchers where freshly butchered carcasses hang, to makeshift kitchens that spread the oily smell of oriental fried foods."

⁷⁵ See Pablo Martín Asuero, *Descripción del Damasco Otomano*, particularly "Los habitantes de Damasco: Los musulmanes," 144–57.

In Syria, where the population had praised Franco, Arabs were described as “passionate, noble, and bellicose” (*ardiente, noble, y belicoso*) and who were attracted to “warrior-like characteristics” such as the ones that Franco displayed.⁷⁶ Even the luxurious splendor of the Orient as it was narrated in “One Thousand and One Nights” could now be found in the modern palace of Chalabi Al Khudeiri, defined as “the new Harun Al Rashid of Baghdad” and who welcomed the delegation in his residence, where “rose and orange water are now substituted with modern ‘whisky’ and a yacht on the Tigris.”⁷⁷

Although these colorful descriptions written by Gómez Aparicio may have not explicitly positioned Spaniards as a superior race they nonetheless underlined the concepts of backwardness and timelessness that prevailed in other European Orientalists accounts, close to the words that Edward Said wrote about Orientalism: “In the system of knowledge about the Orient, the Orient is less a place than a *topos*, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone’s work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these.”⁷⁸

Conclusion

In her already classic study about Franco’s diplomatic relations with the Arab Middle East, historian Dolores Algora Weber distinguished the existence of what she referred to as “three different visions” about the Middle East: the intellectual vision of Arabists and Africanists; the popular vision shaped by the “African experience”; and the political vision of Francoist policies that developed gradually and that eventually sought to “familiarize the public opinion with the Arabs in order to justify the behavior of the government.”⁷⁹ This seemingly clear-cut classification of narrative discourses obscures important aspects related to these visions since all blurred into different discursive levels that at one point presented common denominators. On the one hand, the “intellectual vision” blurred with “Francoist policies” as the intellectuals who produced these discourses participated simultaneously in the elaboration of academic and political discourses, as in the case of Arabist Emilio García Gómez, or as in the case of Gómez

⁷⁶ ABC, April 19, 1952.

⁷⁷ *La Vanguardia*, April 22, 1952.

⁷⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 176.

⁷⁹ Algora Weber, *Relaciones hispano-árabes*, 269.

Aparicio, who produced discourses at all levels (academic, popular, and political), which could vary in their depth and content depending on the audiences but that, nonetheless, shared some common ideological grounds.

Moreover, the intellectual discourses and institutional initiatives of the regime around its new diplomatic relations with the *Mashreq* provided an unprecedented official interest in the region that led to some extent to a re-elaboration of public intellectual discourses about the relations between the Middle East and Spain.

Finally, the combined analysis of popular and intellectual discourses of Franco's regime's diplomatic mission to the Middle East sheds light on the plurality and tensions of Spanish Orientalism. As Hisham Aidi has argued in reference to this tension, "Francoist historians celebrated Muslim Spain and Arab-Latin cultural ties when trying to garner Arab support for a policy but would, at the same time, elide the Moorish past and excoriate the Arab world's 'vice and carnality.'" The analysis of the diplomatic mission underlines the importance of Aidi's words and further explains the process and the tensions in which Francoist intellectuals appropriated romanticized notions of the Spanish past to formulate a new political role of Spain that, eventually would take off in the following decades. As this article has sought to illustrate, this episode marks how in the eyes of the regime Spain as *Al-Andalus* had become the cornerstone in the mediation between the Middle East and the rest of the world. As a result, Spanish audiences and probably many intellectuals of the regime never *saw* the Middle East, but rather a romanticized reflection of themselves.

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CONCLUSION: RICOEUR'S *LE POUVOIR DE FAIRE MÉMOIRE*

Aurora G. Morcillo

Deckard: Remember when you were six? You and your brother snuck into an empty building through a basement window. You were going to play doctor. He showed you his, but when it got to be your turn you chickened out and ran; you remember that? You ever tell anybody that? Your mother, Tyrell, anybody? Remember the spider that lived outside your window? Orange body, green legs. Watched her build a web all summer, then one day there's a big egg in it. The egg hatched ...

Rachael: The egg hatched ...

Deckard: Yeah ...

Rachael: and a hundred baby spiders came out ... and they ate her.

Deckard: Implants. Those aren't your memories, they're somebody else's. They're Tyrell's niece's.

[He sees that she's deeply hurt by the implication.] O.K., bad joke ... I made a bad joke. You're not a replicant. Go home, O.K.? No, really—I'm sorry, go home.

Blade Runner (1982)

The civil war represents an eschatological moment in the Spanish *telos*. An age came to an end and was replaced by a new era: for the defeated a dystopia and for the victors the rightful ideal society. This shift may be considered an apocalyptic point in our past at multiple levels: historical, social, and certainly political. The Spanish Civil War and the ensuing dictatorship as crises brought an end—a final judgement—to the a long nineteenth-century state of affairs and ushered in a new way of living / thinking / being with a particular set of power relations organized around multiple bipolar consciousnesses: good/evil; Francoist/Red; Spain as one/Nationalist regionalisms; male/female; Catholic/Atheist. Therefore, the different chapters in this volume have explored how political violence (of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship) and the remembrance and forgetting of it articulate a *sense of self*, a sense of historical agency at the personal and collective levels.

The relationship between memory and history is central in our exploration of those binaries, particularly in a plural democratic society in which

the politics of memory collide with the politics of individual and national identity.

Alon Confino points out how the term “memory” is depreciated, mostly due to the lack of a clear focus in memory studies. So the field has become somewhat predictable and fragmented, without a critical reflection on method and mostly articulated around terms or topics of inquiry (repressed memory, monuments, films, or museums). One of the disciplines that define memory studies is cultural history. A historical approach entails examining problems through evidence (textual, visual, auditory) that may illuminate the link of the cultural to the social and the political. According to Alon Confino, this kind of history of memory should aim at:

[R]econstructing the patterns of behavior, expressive forms and modes of silence into which world views and collective sensibilities are translated. The basic elements of this research are representations and images, myths and values recognized or tolerated by groups or the entire society and which constitute the content of collective psychologies.¹

This volume proposes to look at memory as a means to explore the relationship between the whole (meaning the master historical narrative of the Spanish conflict and dictatorship) and its parts (seeing society as an entity in which different memories interact at the social, symbolic, and political levels). The battleground now is in the power to remember. This contest for the right to remember and tell may be indeed another phase in a long transition to democratic coexistence. It may be that the end to the transition to democracy rest on the sovereignty of remembering our ways of loving and hating each other. A democracy rather than a rigid constitutional order will be fulfilled when there is space for agreeing to disagree on the experiences of the past. A lasting democratic society is only possible if it remains always in a process of self-examination and adjustment, introspection and self-criticism. A true democratic society allows for a polyphony of voices committed to inclusion rather than exclusionary *othering*—our eternal *cainismo*.

To achieve historical reconciliation we need to approach the trauma of the war and the Francoist dictatorship from a radical philosophical standpoint provided by Paul Ricoeur’s work. In *Oneself as Another*, Ricoeur explores the hermeneutics of the self, the sense of individual identity as grounded on the ethics of caring and reciprocity intimately bound up with

¹ Alon Confino, “Collective memory and Cultural History,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1389.

justice for our neighbor as justice to ourselves. This outlook means a radical departure from the nationalist narratives based on hatred models of *us versus them*, Ricoeur's is a philosophical standpoint profoundly committed to history as an illuminating process of *discernimiento*. This articulation is only possible to unfold over time, therefore is solidly rooted in historical analysis. Moreover, the historical and the present conditions of being are in constant negotiation generation after generation and in order to achieve understanding and tolerance it is imperative to be willing to revisit our past as if it were the first time. This framework leads to the rethinking and re-conceptualizing the past/present divide as an epistemological challenge for historians when dealing with memory and representation of traumatic pasts. Because the memory of the Spanish Civil War is intertwined with the development of Francosim and remains central to the sustenance and protection of democratic Spain.

In his book *Memory, History and Forgetting*, Paul Ricoeur distinguishes three levels of analysis by their theme and their method: "The first part devoted to memory and mnemonic phenomena is placed under the aegis of phenomenology in the Husserlian sense of the term."² What is it we remember? In our case the trauma of the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship that followed. The important questions guiding the volume's analysis and methodical engagement between memory and history are: first "what" is it we remember? What are the memories in question? And then, "whose" memories are they?³ The second part in Ricoeur's work is dedicated to History "under the scope of epistemology" to the *How* we interpret what we remember. This processing has also three parts: first, witnessing not only in the archives but all around us; second, analysis, explanation, and understanding; and the third, narrative representation rendered by the historian. These three stages of the historian's craft are deeply grounded in hermeneutics of the historical work whose problematic is not other than the representation of the past in scriptural fashion. Ultimately, to remember something is to remember oneself, to make sense of oneself in time and space, to gain introspection into oneself, in relation to the *other*, to partake in the unfolding of history and hence to locate our historical agency. Like Rachael, the replicant of *Blade Runner*, our memories make the difference in explaining who we are, where we came from, and where are we going.

² Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), xv.

³ Ibid.

Finally, in the third part of *Memory, History and Forgetting*, Ricoeur offers an illuminating reflection on forgetting (intrinsic as it is to remembering) “framed within hermeneutics of the historical condition of the human beings that we are.”⁴

So the path to keep in mind in reading this anthology on the Spanish Civil War and Francoism is the one marked by Ricoeur: “From *What?*, to *Who?*, Passing by way of *How?*”⁵—From memories of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism, to a reflective history, inclusive history, by way of recollection and attempt to if not reconciliation renewed co-existence and tolerance. As mentioned above, the goal of this volume is to show how historical agency and self-determination may be found in the intersection between memory and history or “being and time.” To do this we need to put the historian and the philosopher in conversation with the poet and the artist.

As Ricoeur reminds us about “the power to remember” (*le pouvoir de faire mémoire*) he situates himself philosophically within the boundaries established by Heidegger in *Being in Time*.⁶

I am adopting the guiding idea of *Being and Time* that temporality constitutes not only a major characteristic that, more than any other, signals the relation to this being to being *qua* being. I have the more reason to embrace this idea as I hold, moreover, *the acceptance of being as an act of power* [my emphasis] as the most in keeping with a philosophical anthropology of the capable human being. In addition, being and power manifestly have to do with time as it appears in Hegel's *Logic*, to which Heidegger refers in his exordium. In this sense, time figures as a metacategory of the same order as care in *Being and Time*: care is the temporal, and time is the time of care.⁷

The passing of time cures all wounds, says a Spanish proverb, in Ricoeur's words “temporality is the existential precondition for the reference of memory and history to the past.”⁸

The thematization of care is at the core of our being confronting itself. It is in the intersection between memory and historical analysis that we will be able to open ourselves to confront the totality of the Heideggerian *Dasein* (the ultimate being) of what we are, “more precisely to the ‘structural whole’ of this being (let's call it Spain) confronting its being (Spain incarnated in us “Nationalists turned Francoists and the Republicans turned Reds”). For the care of the self to be possible there needs to be a

⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, xv.

⁵ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 4.

⁶ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 344.

⁷ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 345.

⁸ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 347.

commitment to the future in the constitution of primordial temporality as it is manifested in the quotidian of taking-care-of (with regard to oneself) and of concern (for others). Therefore, the history of historians and the memory of ordinary people are existentially based on care and in the temporality of care.⁹

Ricoeur points to a deficiency in Heideggerian analysis of care: the consideration of our own body in the experience of existence. The flesh potentiality for being is discussed by Ricoeur from the perspective of desire in the broadest sense of the term (*connatus* in Spinoza, appetite in Liebniz, *Libido* in Freud).¹⁰ For our purpose here, the desire refers to the will to exist of becoming full self-determined individuals. In the purest Unamunian tragic sense of life: we are born to die. Our knowledge of being is bounded up with our bodily progressive decay. "If one persists in distinguishing the primordial existential," says Ricoeur, "from the variety of existential positions stemming from different cultural traditions or personal experiences, the gap remains at this primordial level between wanting to live and having to die."¹¹ Having to die makes death an interruption to our most primordial desire to live—to be. Even when we accept this end (being-toward-death), death remains frightening. The evaluation of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism center on the discussion of the number of dead, the how those deaths took place, and the unresolved mourning of the many missing. According to Ricoeur, what is important to discern in depth is "the resources of veracity concealed in the experience of losing a loved one, placed back into the perspective of the difficult work of re-appropriation of the knowledge about death."¹² What we are to learn from the death of the other is loss and mourning. Because the deceased is a loved one, we experience loss as an integral part of our own self. Then the mourning is the necessary process to internalize and eventually accept our loss. How about the death of the unknown others? This is no doubt the core of history, death, and in particular, the violent deaths resulting from war. The violent death in history becomes the subject of manipulation in politics and nationalist manifest destinies. How are we to deal with public loss and mourning? How are we to understand that perhaps every violent death of a stranger is an aggression to our own primordial self-realization. The fear death mentioned

⁹ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 355.

¹⁰ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 357.

¹¹ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 358.

¹² Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History and Forgetting*, 359.

above becomes terror because the maddening murdering¹³ war unleashes, awakens in us “an unsettling malevolence of the *Other* advancing toward me—against me.”¹⁴ The dictum “nunca más” forged by the regime and carried out in the Amnesty of 1977 was rooted in a definition of life as a project in suspension against a horizon of a “pure menace, which comes to me from an absolute alterity.” Fear ... of violence, and in this sense, ‘fear of the Other.’¹⁵

Ricoeur reminds us how Hobbes considered the fear of violent death to “be the necessary stage in the passage toward a contract to be made by all members of a historical community in favor of a sovereign not party to the contract.”¹⁶ The next step is to honor the democratic commitment of all by allowing for Paul Ricoeur’s philosophical formulation *Oneself as Another* to guide our research. As historians of the present time we need to be scrupulous when considering testimony in its retrospective forms as much as in their search for meaning in the present and projection toward the future. We need to pay attention to the everyday life, to the stones and works of art that attest to our potentiality of being a structural whole, not two separate beings living together in discord.

In Ricoeur’s words: Our historical condition, finds the opportunity to be actualized in the correlation between the attestation of the future and the attestation of the past. To this must be joined the attestation of the present as it concerns the “I can,” the verbal mode of all verbs of action and passion that in *Oneself as Another* express the capable being: capable of speech, of action, of narrative, of imputation. This certainty of the present frames the attestation of the future and the witnessing of the past.” Historical judgment, justice, and reconciliation are possible only when there is historical understanding born of confronting our historical wrongs done to others. It is the responsibility from one generation to the next to do a critical inventory of our heritage. In this way we will achieve the historiographical objective of representing faithfully the multilayered enigma of the invisible yet latent past our memories recall. In addition, we need to consider the historiographical endeavor as the scriptural equivalent of the social burial of the dead. Historical writing transforms itself in this light into an act of

¹³ We may mention here the original murder: Cain killed Abel. *Cainismo* has dominated the narratives on both sides since the Spanish Civil War.

¹⁴ Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 361.

¹⁵ Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1969), 232–36. Quoted in Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 361.

¹⁶ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 361.

burial, of mourning, and closure. According to Michel de Certeau, "writing, like a burial ritual, 'exorcizes death by inserting it into discourse' "On the other hand, writing performs a 'symbolic function' which 'allows a society to situate itself by giving itself a past through language.' A dynamic relation is established in this way between two places, the place of the dead and the place of the reader."¹⁷ The historian's purpose is to give a voice to the dead and in doing so the historical narrative resulting of the interplay between archive and memory is an articulation of scientific, creative, and political commitment to inclusion and democratic coexistence.

¹⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 57. Quoted in Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 367.

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