

## **'MILICIANAS' AND HOMEFRONT HEROINES: IMAGES OF WOMEN IN REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN (1936–1939)<sup>1</sup>**

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What is considered gender appropriate behaviour is comprised of patterns of values, beliefs, customs and rules of conduct. Male defined norms of activity are embedded in social structures and cultural paradigms. Moments of political upheaval and social unrest facilitate a breakdown of such norms and legitimise change in behaviour. Although in politically volatile circumstances such as revolution or war, women may not be circumscribed to narrowly defined domestic roles, the depth and consistency of changes in social roles and behaviour must be ascertained. For despite appearances and female expectations, society was often to continue to define norms of activity and gender appropriate behaviour even during processes of revolutionary change.

The Spanish Civil War, which broke out due to the military uprising in July 1936, represented a moment of great social unsettlement due to the combined conjuncture of war throughout the country and revolution in some of the regions of Republican Spain. Antifascist resistance together with the revolutionary struggle<sup>2</sup> acted as a catalyst for mass involvement in the war effort. In this new scenario women too, were to find themselves catapulted into a new protagonism in the social and political arena while female mobilisation gave rise to a readjustment in attitudes towards women and their social role.<sup>3</sup> The revolution and the antifascist war generated a new discourse and a different image of women. There was a significant shift in the visibility of women as they were featured ostensibly in war posters, in war slogans and war imagery. The representation of women acquired new dimensions and a new social imagery emerged, a symbolic representation through which traditional collective imagery of women was modified and renovated.

This paper examines two of the major new figures to emerge—the militia-woman and the homefront heroine—and discusses the gender significance of this new female image in the light of the collective experience of Spanish women. It also raises the question of the use of image and its significance in the redefinition of the social relations between the sexes. Over the past two decades historians have sought to overcome the invisibility of women and allow them to find their voice in historical texts and studies. This paper focuses on women's greater visibility in certain historical circumstances and considers the relationship between visibility, image and the social reality of women. It submits that the greater visibility of women and particularly the wider projection of their image in the scenario of the Spanish Civil War was not necessarily a mirror of the social reality of Spanish women but rather an example of the complex ways even the

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pathbreaking new images of women or renovative adaptations of more traditional ones could convey a message that did not deeply alter more conventional views of women and gender roles. Nonetheless the swift modification of the images of women plays a significant role in the social construction of gender in times of upheaval and social disruption caused by war and/or revolution and although revolutionary/war imagery cannot be viewed as a direct reflection of reality it may point to readjustments in patterns of social behaviour and the representation of gender roles.

### BELLIGERENT HEROINES AND ANTIFASCIST MOBILISERS: THE 'MILICIANAS'

In the first weeks of the war women were featured frequently in revolutionary and war imagery and rhetoric<sup>4</sup> and a new social imagery emerged which modified the traditional representation of women as the 'perfecta casada'—the 'perfect married lady'—and the 'angel of the home'.<sup>5</sup> One of the symbols of the revolution and antifascist resistance in the early fervor of the war was the figure of the *miliciana*, the militia woman. Revolutionary art, seen primarily in war posters<sup>6</sup> portrayed attractive young girls, with a rather masculinised silhouette in their blue overalls—a style of dress whose revolutionary connotations Orwell has so aptly described<sup>7</sup>—gun slung over their shoulder heading off to the front with a decided step and self-confident air. The representation of women changed quite radically projecting the image of an active, purposeful, enterprising woman dedicated to the war effort.

During the first weeks of the war the heroic figure of the *miliciana* became the symbol of the mobilisation of the Spanish people against fascism. Women like the young Catalan, Lina Odena, came to personify antifascist resistance in the war mythology. Odena was a leader of the *Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas* (the communist youth movement) and Secretary General of the National Committee of Antifascist Women, the *Agrupación de Mujeres Antifascistas*; she fought in the south of Spain in the early weeks of the war and in September 1936, on the point of being captured at the Granada front, killed herself rather than fall into the hands of the Legionaries.<sup>8</sup> Her death was usually presented as death in action and she was constantly evoked as the archetype of female heroicism. Lina Odena had a Battalion named after her, while the seventeen year old militia-woman, Rosario *La Dinamitera* (the Dynamiter), who lost a hand in the war, became part of popular culture through the poem Miguel Hernandez dedicated to her.<sup>9</sup> Heroines such as the Catalan communist, Caridad Mercader, the Basque anarchist, Casilda Méndez, or the dissident marxist, member of the International Brigade and Captain of a POUM<sup>10</sup> Battalion, Mika Etchebèhere,<sup>11</sup> together with other lesser known or anonymous women who fought at the fronts and were killed or wounded in the war formed part of the popular mythology of courage, resistance and hope and exemplified the capacity of the Spanish people to confront the brutal aggression of the fascist rebels. Their heroic deaths were evoked in terms of the 'glorious' fight against fascism.<sup>12</sup> A caption of a war propaganda photo showing a young *miliciana* with a rifle over her shoulder proclaimed: 'Each woman of the people has become a heroine, like this *miliciana* who marches off to

the front with great decision'.<sup>13</sup> War rhetoric in the early period hammered home the message of courage and bravery of popular resistance exemplified by these young heroines.

The belligerent image of the woman combattant in her blue overalls figured predominantly in war posters and photographic propaganda. The message projected was aggressive and urged men to enlist in the popular militias. For example, one well-known poster by Arteché shows a militia woman dressed in a blue *mono* (overalls) with a gun in her uplifted hand with popular militians marching with their flags in the background. The *miliciana* persuasively affirms: 'The militia needs you'.<sup>14</sup> Other posters show *mono*-clad militia-women calling on people to fight, to join the revolutionary struggle or posing among other male militians in combat position. Such images were of undoubted impact precisely because they broke with traditional representations. They portrayed women in a militaristic, revolutionary, aggressive light.

How representative were the *milicianas* depicted in revolutionary attire? If for men the change to blue working overalls represented a symbol of political identification, for women the wearing of trousers or *monos* acquired an even deeper gender significance, as Spanish women had never adopted such masculine attire before. So for women, donning the militia/revolutionary uniform not only meant an exterior identification with the dynamics of social change but also a break from traditional female attire and appearance. The adoption of male clothing undoubtedly minimised sex differences and could be read as a claim for equal status. However, women wearing blue overalls were few: they were usually identified with the militia and did not represent a significant sector of the female population. Quite the contrary even the majority of working-class women were to quickly reject the *miliciana* in her *mono* and opt for a more traditional style of clothing less associated with extravagant mores, lack of respectability and unwomanly behavior.

In the case of Barcelona the iconographical documentation of the time shows that overall-clad women were a definite minority. The mainstream of active women did not adopt militia attire. Traditional fashion magazines of the time such as *El Hogar y la Moda* did not show a decisive shift to revolutionary fashions and female clothing did not differ very much from former years. Women's antifascist magazines such as *Noies Muchachas* had sections dedicated to fashions which retained easy-to-make traditional clothing, although in simpler forms.<sup>15</sup> In her memoirs the young communist leader Teresa Pàmies enthusiastically evokes the freedom the pantaloons-skirt represented for many young women:

The important, momentous change for us were the pantaloons-skirts which allowed us to jump on trucks, ride a bicycle, climb up lamp-posts, leave with a 'Brigade to Aid the Peasants' or help uncover the ruins (...) after an air raid.<sup>16</sup>

Most female organisations did not condone the adoption of revolutionary attire by women and it quickly lost prestige among them.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, as early as October 1936 women wearing *monos* came to be viewed with distrust and accused of frivolity and coquetry, of following a fashion which had little to do with antifascist or revolutionary commitment:

Women who show off with blue overalls in the city centre, have confused the war with a carnival.

More seriousness is needed. And an end to those magazines which publish photos of women armed with a gun who have never fired a shot in their lives.<sup>18</sup>

Later testimony has shown that some bourgeois girls adopted the workingclass women's clothes as a fashionable trend which suited them.<sup>19</sup>

Militia-women constituted a very small minority and although Spanish society was, by then, somewhat more receptive to a changing image of women, the *miliciana* definitely did not constitute the new model of woman associated with antifascist resistance. The sharp aggressive, militant image of the *miliciana* with a mauser was sharply confined in number—to a tiny minority—and in time. It is to be associated only with the initial phase of the war and the early enthusiasm of antifascist and revolutionary fervor. In many ways it formed part of the spirit of summer vacation and adventure associated with the front line in the months of August and early September 1936. By December 1936, posters and propaganda depicting female militians disappeared; this no doubt has to do with the changing tempo of revolutionary change and the political developments over these months. By then too, women militians were no longer to be evoked as heroines but as disreputable figures who impeded the correct development of the war effort.<sup>20</sup>

In the initial stages of the Civil War the innovative imagery of the *miliciana* appears as a break with former models of norms and social roles for women. Nonetheless a further analysis which takes both imagery and social reality into account, points to the non-representativity of this new model of woman soldier common in the early weeks of the war. She does not appear to represent a genuine new female prototype but is rather a symbol of war and revolution not necessarily destined to be a real model for other women. The model projected is not that of a 'new woman' who arises from the socio-political context but rather one designed to fill the needs of the war. Neither can it be considered a mirror of reality or a sign of female incorporation into military resistance at the fronts.

In fact the figure of the woman militian was not directed towards a female audience but rather tended to be linked with a message directed to men. She represented a woman who had impact, who provoked because she took on what was considered to be a male role and thus obliged men to fulfill what was at times described as their 'virile' role as soldiers. The aforementioned poster by Arteché offers an insight into the fragility of this attempt to construct a new model and image of women combatants. The model used to portray the seductive young *miliciana* in a tight-fitting *mono* not only projected a physical prototype more associated with the facial and body factions of Marlene Dietrich than with Spanish working class women but also used the same model, who in 1934 in the magazine *Crónica* had illustrated a series of articles as a sex symbol.<sup>21</sup>

Such an image was effective for propaganda purposes as it fostered male identification with the antifascist cause. It seduced, enticed or shocked men into carrying out their military duties. Rather than representing an elaboration of a new image of women consonant with a new reality, it appears to have been produced as an instrumentalisation of women for war purposes. It served to inspire the masses to mobilise while the image of the woman soldier in arms

challenged male cultural identity and aroused men to assume their traditional patriotic duties to the fatherland in danger from the threat of fascism. Few women would have identified with this seductive model and indeed photos of the time show how most *milicianas* fitted in better with the physical appearance of working-class Spanish women, even if they were youthful or attractive. Furthermore the message of the *miliciana* does not appear to have been addressed to women, urging them to enlist in the *milicias*. The predominant slogan of the time was 'Men to the Front. Women to the Homefront' while war rhetoric, and as we shall see, war imagery through the representation of what could be called the *Homefront Heroine*, both insisted on a clearly differentiated gender dedication to the war effort. Women's role in antifascist resistance and revolutionary change was quite clearly not as soldiers but rather a complex combination of tasks as dedicated mothers, housewives, nurturers, healers, workers, educators and social assistants at the homefront.<sup>22</sup> That is not to say that there was not a new image or consciousness among women or a certain degree of identification, among young women particularly, with this new model of a woman who broke with traditional constraints. Indeed some women identified completely with the *miliciana* and carried out military operations and sanitary tasks at the fronts despite mounting opposition.<sup>23</sup> However, it is revealing that the posters directed towards women produced by political and union organisations had a more persistent military tone<sup>24</sup> while those produced by women's organisations focused not on the war but on the rehabilitation and dignity of women.<sup>25</sup>

## HOMEFRONT HEROINES AND COMBATIVE MOTHERS

The militaristic image of the *miliciana* contrasts with the more predominant traditional image of woman the mother, the nurturer. Most representations of women portrayed more mature women as mothers and wives who worked at the homefront to support the war. The new art form of socialist realism came to represent the figure of the heroine in a more conventional light. War posters evoked the more traditional image of women as nurturers, healers, in auxiliary relief work, in hospitals, at home looking after the material and moral interests of their loved ones engaged on war in the battlefields.<sup>26</sup> Mother and child images contrasting with the brutal devastation of war encouraged people to collaborate in the fight against fascism. Pathetic representations of mothers with savagely injured or dead children were meant to stir other mothers to show solidarity with Republican Spain.<sup>27</sup>

Homefront heroines such as wives and mothers dedicated to the antifascist cause constituted the prevailing model for women to imitate. Of course the republican appropriation of the symbol of motherhood was not new. Reverence and exaltation of motherhood were omnipresent in Spanish society. It was traditional for women to be addressed by political organisations as mothers. Since the granting of female suffrage in 1931 electoral propaganda of both right and left had always made use of the symbol of motherhood and women's identification with their maternal role to draw women to their parties.<sup>28</sup> An appeal to motherhood and the mother's right to defend her children from fascist

brutality was a forceful manner of mobilising women. The image of motherhood and particularly the rights and duties derived from such a role projected on to a social scale came to constitute a significant part in the strategies to mobilise women to the antifascist and revolutionary causes.

The myth of motherhood was powerful and one with which Spanish women identified as a collective. The women's organisations of different political tendencies<sup>29</sup> incorporated the symbol of motherhood in their diverse strategies. Women were constantly addressed as mothers and as such exhorted to partake in the war effort. They were to fight against fascism in order to protect their children.<sup>30</sup> The symbol of motherhood was initially defensive but significantly acquired belligerent and combative connotations, for not only did it imply sacrifice and protection but also the giving of one's sons for what was understood to be a greater cause. For the vital role of mothers was not to detain their children but rather to urge them to participate in the collective war effort.<sup>31</sup> In 1937 and 1938 as the war developed with increasing difficulties for the republican side, war rhetoric insisted on the role of mothers in providing soldiers for the defence of the Republic. Male recruitment policies were also to be implemented by female initiative. Paradoxically, then, while mothers were urged to reinforce their maternal role they were also told to risk the lives of their sons. Mothers were to be proud of their sons for their innate qualities but they were to be even prouder when the moment came for them to fight 'in defence of a just cause'.<sup>32</sup>

Combative motherhood<sup>33</sup> implied not only the active involvement of mothers in the war effort, but it gave them moral authority and even coercive power to oblige their men to fight. Imagery detailed the pain of war and expressed the outrage and anguish of mothers. However the 'pain' of motherhood was also used as a coercive to urge people to support the republican cause<sup>34</sup> or to change the social structures of society.<sup>35</sup> Combative motherhood was also to forge a collective identity for Spanish women and a collective project for the future. An article in *Mujeres*, the antifascist women's newspaper, gives an insight into the degree of consolidation of this collective identity with combative motherhood, where women were seen as forming a 'vanguard of mothers':

Women in the Basque Country today form part of a vanguard. It is the vanguard of mothers. Mothers who are that for having given to life the generous tribute of other lives. Other (women) for their feeling of motherhood.

This vanguard is invincible. Neither life nor death will detain us. (...) We are under a commitment to defeat fascism, to crush it like a harmful animal caught in a snare. And we will carry it out.<sup>36</sup>

Women did not have to be biological mothers in order to achieve the rank of motherhood; maternal feelings were sufficient. Thus all women could potentially be defined as mothers. However, biological mothers did present some problems which derived from their protective role as they were not always willing to induce their sons to enlist and take part in warfare. In order to instil mothers with the idea that they should urge their sons to war, they were constantly reminded that their sons were not really theirs but belonged to the larger community, to humankind. Such a noble endeavour was held to compensate for the loss and

bereavement it might entail.<sup>37</sup> Thus maternal feelings were to be overcome by antifascist or revolutionary zeal.

There is a decidedly male tone in war imagery and the representation of motherhood. Mothers' concerns are directed towards their sons and not to their daughters. Daughters remain quite invisible to the imagery of motherhood and homefront heroines. Most mother and child images feature a mother and a son. Daughters were less visible; they were not to be drafted into the military ranks and thus their contribution to the war effort does not figure and is not outlined. Sons constitute the main concern, the main thrust within the symbolisation of motherhood dedicated to the war effort.

This new social image of the homefront heroine holds to a more traditional representation based on a more realistic physical approximation to Spanish women. However the cultural model of this 'new woman' also constituted a renovation of the conventional female archetype: the 'angel of the home'.<sup>38</sup> What is significant is the fact that despite the predominance of apparently traditional representations of women engaged in antifascist war effort, both these representations and the social role of women were gradually to acquire new connotations over the months as the roles traditionally associated with women became politicised and acquired new social relevance within the wider process of popular mobilisation and general emancipatory expansion in public life. Motherhood became politically charged while women's traditional roles and skills were upgraded and attributed a new status. Hitherto unappreciated female occupations in volunteer social work, education and housework were promoted and conceded new importance as part of the task of reorganising a society at war. Female virtues of deference and self-effacement were to fall into the background while women's new social role was openly featured. The model of the traditional, responsible adult woman, mother and nurturer knitting sweaters for soldiers, healing the wounded, looking after refugees came to symbolise the new social values and quickly replaced the more innovative image of the woman militiaman for the duration of the war.

The massive mobilisation of the population and the general broadening of people's activities signified, to a varying degree, a breakdown in the traditional confinement of women to the home and gave way to their heightened visibility in the public arena. Of course such a breakdown was not generalised throughout all of Republican Spain and there were steep differences in the patterns of female mobilisation and protagonism throughout the different regions. Nevertheless the war needs and the initial impulse of the revolutionary process provoked a significant degree of discontinuity with regards to views on the social role of women, although a redefinition of social relations between the sexes and a total questioning of women's social role was not to be attained. At any rate the scenario had changed, antifascist war and a revolutionary dynamics constituted an exciting ambience and a new context for potential change for women. Despite traditional constrictions, many women were to adapt swiftly to this changing setting and eagerly partake in the struggle against fascism, breaching traditional constraints to women's protagonism beyond the confines of the home. Female marginality from the public sphere came to be questioned although the gender

boundaries of social roles were re-defined on the lines of female mobilisation at the homefront and male resistance as soldiers in arms at the battlefields.

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## NOTES

1. For further discussion of the points developed in this paper see Chapter 11 *Antifascist Resistance and Revolutionary Change: Women in The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939)* [Arden Press, Denver (forthcoming)]. I should like to thank Geraldine Nichols and Enric Ucelay daCal for their careful reading and most helpful criticism of this study.
2. For an historiographical overview on the Civil War see: Juan García Durán, *La Guerra Civil española. Fuentes (Archivos, bibliografía y filmografía)* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1985); Hilari Raquer, *L'Església i la Guerra Civil (1936–1939). Bibliografía Recent (1975–1985)*. *Revista Catalana de Teologia* XI/1 (1986); 119–252.
3. Mary Nash, *Mujeres Libres: España 1936–1939*, (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1976); *Mujer y movimiento obrero en España 1931–1939*. (Barcelona: Fontamara, 1981); 'Le donne nella Guerra Civile' in Claudio Natoli, Leonardo Rapone. (Eds.) *A Cinquant'anni dall Guerra di Spagna* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1987). 'La mobilització de les dones durant la guerra civil espanyola de 1936–1939'. *Perspectiva Social*, Num. 26 (1988).
4. I should like to thank Enric Ucelay daCal for his most suggestive comments on war imagery of women.
5. M.A. Durán, M.V. López Cordón *et al.*, *Mujer y sociedad en España. 1700–1975*. (Madrid: Dirección General de Juventud y Promoción Socio-Cultural, 1982); Mary Nash, *Mujer, familia y trabajo en España. 1875–1936* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1983) and 'Les dones i la Segona República: la igualtat de drets i la desigualtat de fet'. *Perspectiva Social* Num. 26 (1988). Also Mary Nash ed., *Més enllà del silenci. Historia de les dones a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1988); Geraldine Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868–1974)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1976).
6. See the collection of war posters at the Fundación Figueras, Centro de Estudios de Historia Contemporánea reproduced in Jaume Miravittles and Josep Termes, *Carteles de la República y de la Guerra Civil* (Barcelona: La Gaya Ciencia, 1978) and the collection at the Centre d'Estudis Històrics Internacionals, University of Barcelona. Also: Carmen Grimau, *El cartel republicano en la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1979); Inmaculada Julián, *Les avantguardes pictòriques a Catalunya* (Barcelona: La Frontera, 1986), 57–75.
7. George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983).
8. Several works were published about her. See: *Lina Odena, Heroína del pueblo* (Madrid: Ediciones Europa America, 1936); Angel Estivill, *Lina Odena. La gran heroína de las juventudes revolucionarias de España* (Barcelona: Ed. Maucci, s.d.).
9. Miguel Hernández, 'Rosario, Dinamitera' in 'Viento del Pueblo' 1937. *Obra poética completa*. comp. Leopoldo de Luis and Jorge Urrutia (Madrid: Ed. Zero, 1976). On Rosario la Dinamitera see: Tomasa Cuevas, *Carcel de mujeres. 1939–1945* (Barcelona: Sirocco Books, 1985), 153–164. Also Interview with Rosario Sánchez Mora (La Dinamitera), Barcelona (24 October 1987).
10. The dissident marxist party: *Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*.
11. Luis M. Jimenez de Aberasturi, *Casilda, miliciana. Historia de un Sentimiento* (San

- Sebastián: Editorial Txertoa, 1985); Mika Etchebéhère, *Mi guerra de España* (Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1987).
12. See 'La camarada Lina Odena ha mort gloriosament'. *Treball* (26 September 1936) or 'Els herois de la Pàtria'. *Companya* (1 April 1937).
  13. Photo. 'Frente de Madrid. 1936, Diaz Casariega (CNT Collection. International Instituut voor Sociales Geschiedenis. Amsterdam).
  14. Arteche, 1936. Miravittles and Termes. *Carteles de la República y de la Guerra Civil*, 135.
  15. *El Hogar y la Moda* (January–December 1937). *Modas Nuevas. Album de Confecciones y Labores para el Hogar. Revista Mensual* (October 1936–January 1937). See also the antifascist youth magazine *Noies Muchachas* (Aliança Nacional de la Dona Jove and Unión de Muchachas, 16 August 1938).
  16. Teresa Pàmies, *Quan érem Capitans (Memòries d'aquella guerra)* (Barcelona: Dopesa, 1974), 96.
  17. Pàmies, *Quan érem Capitans*, 96.
  18. 'De Solidaridad Obrera. La frivolidad en los frentes y la retaguardia. La guerra es una cosa más seria', *Diari Oficial Del Comitè Antifeixista i de Salut Pública de Badalona* (3 October 1936).
  19. Enric Ucelay Da Cal, *La Catalunya populista. Imatge, cultura i política en l'etapa republicana* (1931–1939) (Barcelona: La Magrana, 1982), 299.
  20. Nash, *Antifascist Resistance and Revolutionary Change*.
  21. I. Julián. 'La imagen de la mujer en el periodo 1936–1938 a través de los carteles de guerra republicanos'. Paper presented Primer Col. loqui d'Història de la Dona. Centre d'Investigació Històrica de la Dona, University of Barcelona (October 1986).
  22. Nash, *Mujer y movimiento obrero en España* and 'le donne nella Guerra Civile'.
  23. This paper is limited to dealing with the image of the *miliciana* and it goes beyond its scope to examine the complex and contentious subject of the role and experience of women *milicianas* at the fronts. See Nash, *Antifascist Resistance and Revolutionary Change*.
  24. For example: The Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Poster 'No pasarán. Gloria a las milicias del pueblo' (Julio de 1936), Graf. Valencia, Int. U.G.T.–C.N.T. Valencia; (Sindicat de Dibuxants Profesional de la Unión General del Trabajo) Poster 'Alerta esta contra el feixisme', H.V. *Carteles de la República y de la Guerra Civil*, 129, 308.
  25. See Poster 'Companya. Revista de la dona', by Martí Bas. I.G. Viladot. Barcelona; Poster 'I Congrés Nacional de la Dona'. Friedfeld A. Bastard, Barcelona. *Carteles de la República y de la Guerra Civil*, 265, 306 Also: Julián. 'La imagen de la mujer en el período 1936–1938 a través de los carteles de guerra republicanos'.
  26. Posters: 'Els caiguts de Catalunya et necessiten... Ajudals'. E. Vicente. Consell de Sanitat de Guerra. Generalitat de Catalunya. Lit. Ramirez y Martin; 'La Republica atiende hoy a la madre y al niño'. Subsecretaría de Propaganda; 'Dones Antifeixistes. La dona a la reraguarda us espera'. Comissariat de Propaganda de la Generalitat de Catalunya; 'Per als germans del front. Dones treballeu'. Fontseré. SDP–UGT. Graf. Ultra. Barcelona, Miravittles and Termes, *Carteles de la Republica y de la Guerra Civil*, 230–241.
  27. See the series of photos by Agustí Centelles which portrait the scenes after the Fundaeió Caixa de Catalunya, 1938); and Collection of War Posters: *Carteles de la bombardment of Lerida. Agustí Centelles (1909–1985), Fotoperidista* (Barcelona: *República y de la Guerra Civil*, 230–241).
  28. Rosa Maria Capel, *El sufragio femenino en la 11 República*. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1975). Mary Nash, 'Les dones i la Segona República: la igualtat de drets i la desigualtat de fet'.

29. Nash, *Mujer y movimiento obrero* and *Mujeres Libres*.
30. See: Membership card of the *Agrupación de mujeres Antifascistas* in the name of Salud de Rubio Nazarino, a dressmaker by profession.
31. 'La incorporación de la mujer a la industria de guerra. Necesidad de escuelas de capacitación'. *Mundo Obrero* (Edición para los frentes), 29 October 1937.
32. 'Missió de la mare a l'avanguardia i de la futura mare a la rera-guard'. *Treball* (12 January 1937).
33. See Maxine Molyneux on combative motherhood in the context of Nicaragua: 'Mobilization without emancipation? Women's interests, the State and Revolution in Nicaragua'. *Feminist Studies* 11, 2 (summer 1985).
34. 'Nuestra camarada 'Pasionaria' se dirige, en vibrante manifiesto, a todas las mujeres del mundo'. *Mundo obrero* (Edición para los frentes) (18 July 1937).
35. 'La mujer en la Revolución'. *Tierra y Libertad* (5 November 1936).
36. El Comité, 'Pedimos un puesto en la lucha contra el fascismo'. *Mujeres* (Edición de Bilbao, (March 1937).
37. Teresa Cherta, 'Oídme todos... los que me queráis oír'. *Lluita. Organ del Partit Socialista Unificat i de la U.G.T.* (25 February 1937).
38. Nash, *Mujer, familia y trabajo* and *Més enllà del silenci*.