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La masculinidad en la construcción del nacionalcatolicismo despúes de la Guerra civil.

Introduction: Masculinity and Francoism

Most of the work that looks at masculinity under the Franco regime has focused on the 'first Francoism' and the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. In historiographical terms, this has led to a body of work that looks at military masculinity, honour codes and (to some extent) the experience of soldiering. Such research fits well within wider military historiographies, notably those on colonial militarism and the Army of Africa, which make it clear that several of the masculine models available to the Franco regime actually antedated it.[1]

The 'first Francoism' is, however, most commonly seen as the fascist phase of the new regime and so as a break with what had gone before. The years of victory were Spain's fascist 'moment', with Axis influence continuing strongly until the turn of the tide in the Second World War after 1943.[2] The largest body of work that looks at men and masculinity in the context of the Franco regime thus does so in the context of the New Fascist Man.[3] The notion of the New Fascist Man has been important, not least in inscribing gender into the fascist project and showing how understandings of male power lie at its heart.[4] The idea of remaking, not only the nation but also the individual, in an anthropological project that would allow fascism to transform every kind of community can clearly be seen in fascist discourse.[5] The New Fascist Man was more than rhetoric; he informed a bio-political project.

In investigative terms, however, historians have too often simply applied the model of the New Fascist Man, tracing its presence in various local fascisms, examining the rhetoric, exhortations, and—less commonly—the self-

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[1] Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford, 2002), 157-233; Geoffrey Jensen, *Irrational Triumph: Cultural Despair, Military Nationalism and the Ideological Origins of Franco's Spain* (Reno, Nevada, 2002); María Rosa de Madariaga, *Los moros que trajo Franco: La intervención de tropas coloniales en la Guerra Civil española* (Barcelona, 2002); Eric Storm and Ali Al Tuma (eds), *Colonial Soldiers in Europe, 1914-1945: "Aliens in Uniform" in Wartime Societies* (London and New York, 2015), 161-228.

[2] Ismael Saz, *España contra España: los nacionalismos franquistas* (Madrid, 2003), PP??

[3] Mary Vincent, 'The martyrs and the saints: Masculinity and the construction of the Francoist crusade', *History Workshop Journal* 47 (1999), 69-98 and 'La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista', *Cuadernos de historia contemporánea* 28 (2006): 135-151; Zira Box, 'Pasión, muerte y glorificación de José Antonio Primo de Rivera', *Historia del presente* 6 (2005), 191-216; María Rosón Villena, 'El álbum fotográfico del falangista: género y memoria en la posguerra española', *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* 68.1 (2013), 215-238.

[4] George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford, 1996), 155-80; Barbara Spackman, *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Social Fantasy in Italy* (Minneapolis, 1996); Sandro Bellassai, 'The masculine mystique: antimodernism and virility in Fascist Italy, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10.3 (2005), 314-335.

[5] See, e.g., Rory Yeomans, 'Militant women, warrior men and revolutionary personae: The new Ustasha man and woman in the independent state of Croatia, 1941-1945', *Slavonic and East European Review* (2005), 685-732; Roland Clark, *Holy Legionary Youth: Fascist Activism in Interwar Romania* (Ithaca NY, 2015)

presentation of those activist young men most enamoured of it. This is an established methodological trait in fascist studies, mirrored, for example, in the literature on political religion or older taxonomic studies of generic fascism. In all these cases, the emphasis on the general model tends to obscure how discursive and performative expression interacted with specific lived experience, except within tightly defined boundaries such as military service or party activism. But the experiences of men—understood as inhabitants of a sexed body as well as a discursive construction—were broader than this, particularly over the course of an individual's lifetime.

The purpose of this chapter is, first, to interrogate the Falangist model of masculinity, which is generally seen as hegemonic in the early years of the Franco regime and privileged throughout it. Yet, though the New Fascist Man provides a clear and innovative discourse of masculinity in post-civil war Spain, it never went unchallenged. The chapter will thus go on to explore how the Falangist model coexisted with other, less eye-catching, understandings of manliness and male authority. It will focus on 'ordinary' masculinities, which, though largely unexciting, proved to be remarkably durable, perhaps in part because they were naturalised in such a way as to have been rendered almost invisible. These quotidian models of masculinity not only persisted alongside the New Fascist Man but also interacted with him. The later sections of the chapter will finally consider how historians can recuperate and interrogate the everyday masculinities that were fundamental to Franco's National-Catholic regime. In marked contrast to fascism—which reinforced gender hierarchies but subverted age ones—and to militarism—which also had an exalted role for young men—Catholicism maintained the authority of adult men. In a patriarchy such as the Roman Church, status increased with age, experience and seniority. The very notion of National-Catholicism indicates the importance and accessibility of Catholic and clerical notions of masculinity as well as fascist and military ones.

Fascism in Post-Civil War Spain

Franco's Spain is the only historic example of a fascist regime that did not die in war. Forced to accommodate the geo-political realities of Axis defeat in the Second Word War, the New State adopted a form of non-expansionism, which might even be termed fascism in one country. The violent mobilising dynamic of Franco's New State was turned inwards on its own population, specifically the vanquished 'Reds'.[6] But, the need for retrenchment, consolidation, and demobilisation—alongside the emerging logic of the Cold War—meant that this brutal phase of mass violence did not outlast the Second World War. As the only post-1945 fascist regime, Franco's Spain was where the New Fascist Man grew up.

[6] Overviews in Francisco Espinosa Maestre, Conxita Mir, Francisco Moreno Gómez, and Juliá Casanova Ruiz, *Morir, matar, sobrevivir: La violencia en la dictadura de Franco* (Barcelona, 2002); Javier Rodrigo, *Hasta la raíz: Violencia durante la Guerra Civil y la dictadura franquista* (Madrid, 2008); Paul Preston, *The Spanish holocaust: Inquisition and extermination in twentieth-century Spain* (London, 2012)

The only rival to this distinctive status was Antonio Salazar's authoritarian Estado Novo, which also survived the cataclysm of the Second World War, but which shared neither the violence of Franco's Spain nor its Axis credentials. Together, however, the Iberian dictatorships bridged a period that, in general terms, acted as a terminus in European politics. The post-war settlement of 1945-9 brought to an end the 'rich and chaotic fluidity' of the interwar period, creating a new set of geo-political certainties that fostered consensual politics, technocracy and consumerism.[7] The New State's survival into the world of the Cold War thus created an atemporality that was reinforced by the regime's insistence on maintaining the divisions and ideology of the Civil War, at least rhetorically. After 1945, Franco's Spain was out of time as well as out of step.

Elsewhere in Europe, the defeat of the Axis seemed to have ended an era of male political dominance. Interwar Europe had experienced an aggressive homosociability that had threatened to dominate political life, at least in its public aspects.[8] Street violence and the 'shirted' militias had shown the New Fascist Man in its purest form and his demobilisation was sudden. The Axis was not simply defeated in the Second World War; it was utterly crushed. Total surrender put the fate of the New Fascist Man in the hands of his enemies and he promptly disappeared. As a movement that was as hyper-masculinist as it was hyper-nationalist, fascism had reinforced gender hierarchies but, as a 'shirted' movement, it subverted the seniority of age, endlessly emphasising the dynamism, direction, and violence of youth. The rhetoric, like fascism itself, did not survive the cataclysm of the Second World War. Most first generation fascists died in battle; in Spain the original leadership of the Falange Española de las JONS was all dead by October 1936. This small fascist party had, in any case, changed profoundly since its foundation in 1933. The Falange became, first, a vehicle for the mass mobilisation behind the Nationalist war effort from 1936 and then, as the domesticated Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS, the single party of the New State after April 1937.

In this form, the Falange survived in Spain, tamed politically after 1941 but still numerous, powerful, and armed.[9] It was quite apparent that, here, the violent form of masculinity that had fuelled paramilitary movements from the end of the First World War and disrupted political life so comprehensively in the 1930s had not disappeared, at least not in all its forms. A martial, radical masculinity was not to be disparaged by a regime that owed its existence to military victory and fascist 'revolution'. In Franco's Spain, the demobilisation of the New Fascist Man had to be negotiated and, despite the export of many 'old shirts' to the Eastern Front in 1941, managed internally.[10]

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[7] Martin Conway and Peter Romijn (eds), *The War for Legitimacy in Politics and Culture, 1936-46* (Oxford and New York, 2008), 1-27, quotation at 1.
[8] Chris Millington, 'Street-fighting men: political violence in inter-war France', *The English Historical Review* (2013), 606-38; Eve Rosenhaft, *Beating the Fascists? The German Communists and Political Violence, 1929-33* (Cambridge, 1983), 193-6.
[9] Stanley Payne, *Fascism in Spain, 1923-1977* (Madison, 1999), 310-63; Joan María Thomàs, *La Falange de Franco: Fascismo y fascistización en el regimen franquista, 1937-45* (Barcelona, 2001)
[10] Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas, 'An Approach to the Social Profile and the Ideological Motivations of the Spanish Volunteers of the "Blue Division", 1941–44' in Christine G. Krüger and Sonja

As the epithet 'old shirts' suggested, the model of the New Fascist Man was as much about self-presentation as it was about rhetoric. The uniform was crucial, both for the Falange and in European fascist movements more widely. Fascist paramilitary uniform was a visual political language. The open-necked shirts represented action and intent, a material realisation of José Antonio's 'dialectic of fists and pistols'. Fascists emphasised youth and physical prowess, which was reinforced by an emphasis on sport, comradeship and the open air, all of which were, in turn, part of the Falange's 'style' that 'preferirá lo directo, ardiente y combativo'.[11] The blue shirt symbolised this style, even as it provided a practical form of attire for street fighters for whom speed, mobility, and physicality were paramount. It was also a supremely egalitarian form of clothing, with none of the epaulettes and gold braid associated with 'old' military hierarchies or the formality of conventional bourgeois dress.[12]

The blue shirt was originally worn open necked, with neither tie nor jacket, a fashion emblematic of informality and classlessness. The Falangist hero—young, proud, standing upright in the face of threat, or even death—was also a quintessentially sexualised masculine image, ubiquitous in the party's propaganda. This was the image of the self-confident Falangist familiar to us from José Antonio's famous posthumous portrait and many other artistic representations, again usually produced after his death.[13] It was mythologised in numerous ways, most famously in *Cara al sol*, the 'song of love and death' that was, in turn, illustrated by Carlos Saénz de Tejada.[14] But the Falangist hero was not simply a rhetorical or commemorative presence or, indeed, an artistic depiction. He was also apparent in the self-presentation of many ordinary Falangists, at least when they were on duty.

This is clear from the photographic record, both official propaganda and press photos and those produced by private individuals. An unusual study by María Rosón Villeña, for example, examines a private photograph album produced after an SEU summer camp on Mallorca in 1941.[15] The images selected by their anonymous owner show these young men as a collectivity, a horizontal social grouping that values its members as individual components in a social body. The

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Levsen (eds). *War volunteering in modern times: from the French Revolution to the Second World War* (Basingstoke, 2010), 248-74; Xavier Moreno Juliá, *The Blue Division: Spanish Blood in Russia, 1941-1945* (Eastbourne, 2015), 67-101

[11] 27 puntos de la Falange Española, No. 26

[12] Mary Vincent, '"*Camisas nuevas*": Style and Uniformity in the Falange Española, 1933-43' in Wendy Parkins (ed.), *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship* (Oxford and New York, 2002), 167-71; Eugenia Paulicelli, *Fashion under Fascism: Beyond the Black Shirt* (Oxford, 2004)

[13] Zira Box, 'Pasión, muerte y glorificación de José Antonio Primo de Rivera', *Historia del presente* 6 (2005), 191-216; Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, 'El Ausente,¡ Presente!: el carisma cinematográfico de José Antonio Primo de Rivera, entre líder y santo', *Archivos de la Filmoteca* 46 (2004), 66-88; on the man, Julio Gil Pecharromán, *José Antonio Primo de Rivera: retrato de un visionario* (Madrid, 1996).

[14] Published as a series in *Vértice*: *Revista Nacional de la Falange* from the first issue in April 1937.

[15] Rosón Villena, 'El álbum fotográfico del falangista: género y memoria en la posguerra española', *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* 68.1 (2013), 215-238.

emphasis is on 'social performance'—collective leisure, communal eating, sport—and 'political liturgy'—salutes, flag-raising ceremonies—rather than introspection or personal development.[16] The photos in this album chronicle the forging of the New Fascist Man, young, active, uniformed and ready for duty.

One of the main characteristics of uniforms, though, is that they are put on and taken off, donned for particular activities and worn in defined circumstances. Most photographs of José Antonio Primo de Rivera show him in a jacket and tie rather than the blue shirt, the epitome of the bourgeois gentleman. Falangist propaganda postcards used the image of him seated at his desk in a collar and tie, the very image of the upper class lawyer that, indeed, he was. This simple example illustrates how, as well as identifying the New Fascist Man as the model of fascist masculinity in the Franco regime, we need to think in terms of ambiguity, nuance and lived experience. José Antonio was the New Fascist Man but he was not just the New Fascist Man. Even the most radical Falangist had a place in, older, more conventional social hierarchies. First among these was the family, as the 1925 studio portrait of the Primo de Rivera family shows.[17] As the eldest son, José Antonio Primo de Rivera is here the hierarch in waiting. Of course, even within the often privileged ranks of the Falange, few had the aristocratic, landed legacy of the Primo de Rivera family. But the photographic record—both public and private—also demonstrates conclusively that the most widespread masculine model remained the suited gentleman, from the 1920s through to the 1970s.

The man in the collar and tie was emblematic of other masculine discourses and modes of being that were available in this period. As suits represented a certain social position, they were aspirational, eclipsing other working clothes such as overalls and peasant garb which are marginalised in the visual record, glimpsed at the edge of photographs but rarely placed centre stage. Professional men and white-collar workers wore suits in the office; all men wore them as formal wear.[18] Their sartorial reach was wider than any uniform; the suit was far more representative of Francoist masculinity than was the blue shirt. Indeed, Falangists also wore them, albeit when off duty, that is, out of uniform. Young Falangists may have revelled in the masculinity and sexuality of their uniformed physical presence but they still ate with a knife and fork and wore pyjamas when they went to bed. They were, in other words, equally conversant with non-fascist 'ways of being', as Primo de Rivera's famous but unconvincing definition of Falangists as 'mitad monje, mitad soldado' made clear. As boys and as men they were also embedded in non-fascist family hierarchies, part of the domestic existence of the home as well as the political and military one of the barracks.

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[16] Ibid, 220, 221-2, 223

[17] http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/event/years-since-miguel-primo-de-rivera-became-dictator-of-spain-146669705?#standing-from-left-to-right-miguel-primo-de-rivera-junior-his-brother-picture-id106501905

[18] Katrina Honeyman, *Well Suited: a History of the Leeds Clothing Industry, 1850-1990*. (Oxford, 2000), 1-3

One immediate problem with the New Fascist Man is that he was always *singular*; he was defined by age and civil status as well as by sex. This must have circumscribed its resonance within a population; we are, after all, only talking about able-bodied, heterosexual, young men. The model is clearly an exclusive one. In the 1930s, this is likely to have been part of its attraction; clearly, during periods of, often intense and violent, mobilisation, the fascist dynamic—and the idea of the New Man that lies behind it—was a powerful one. But, after the Civil War was won and Franco's victory firmly and brutally established, such a dynamic became not only less useful but also positively undesirable.[19] In historiographical terms, this poses the question: what is the analytical purchase of the New Fascist Man? Supposedly the New Fascist Man brought about parthenogensis, the rebirth of the nation. As the agent of transformation, he *ought* to have been fundamental to the construction of the New State. But transforming a nation, rather than mobilising fighting cohorts of young men, required a far more inclusive and transformative model. It is really very difficult to project this relationship between the New Fascist Man and the nation through the construction of the New State and the consolidation of the Franco regime. Indeed, as an exclusive, elitist model, the New Fascist Man cannot be seen as transformative in a broader, national sense. And, significantly, it was not the only model available, even among fascists.

As Victoria de Grazia pointed out in her pioneering work on Italian Fascist women some years ago, fascist ideology and rhetoric was continually modulated by other forms of self-presentation, whether commercial, ideological or simply engrained.[20] Her approach offered an early example of historical attention to subjectivities or how people 'translated' ideology and incorporated it into their own lives. For women, de Grazia and others have worked on fashion, as well as on Hollywood and ideas of 'glamour'. These were not confined to women; men too were seduced by the allure of Hollywood. The casual élan of the open-necked shirt was popularised by film stars rather than by fascists, an informal but glamorous style that had none of the political connotations of the Falangist blue shirt. This was, in any case, made more conventional by the addition of a black tie—added to the uniform of the FET-JONS in memory of their executed leader Primo de Rivera, shot in Alicante gaol in September 1936—and positively Ruritanian by the white jacket favoured by Franco when appearing in Falangist uniform on ceremonial occasions.

The addition of a jacket and tie to the Falangist uniform was far more in keeping with Franco's party than Primo de Rivera's. But the young aristocratic leader was more often seen in a collar and tie than in the blue shirt while a famous portrait photo of him in a silk scarf and overcoat—collar turned up—suggests that he too was not immune to a little Hollywood glamour. The same was true of the SEU members on Mallorca in 1941, who adopted nautical touches, 'solapas anchas y cinturón ajustado a la cintura, signo de elegancia'.[21] Like bourgeois

[19] Ismael Saz, *Fascismo y franquismo*, 125-69
[20] de Grazia, *When Fascism Ruled Women*
[21] Rosón Villeña, 'El álbum fotográfico del falangista', 224

etiquette, glamour undercut and coexisted with various political ideologies, including fascism.[22]

Examining the 'ordinary'

As these examples show, one way of examining this coexistence, and the interaction between different styles and codes of masculinity, is by looking at the visual record. Analysis to date has focused on the public lexicon of press photographs and official portraits, with their emphasis on transformation, moral rectitude and unswerving support for the dictator.[23] This was demonstrated, as in the 1920s and 30s, by 'the democracy of the public square'.[24] Highly choreographed political spectacle—the official transcript—will, however, only tell us so much. We need also to look at informal records, family photographs and snapshots, the explanatory narratives of individuals in order to recuperate the most prominent, but quiet and ordinary, masculine models that prevailed in everyday life and which have been rendered invisible by their very familiarity.

Photographs, it has been pointed out, do not simply reflect lived experience; they are lived experience.[25] In an age of film, photographs were material artefacts; they could be handled, stuck in albums, and sent through the post. Historians can use them to access this lived experience, this 'ordinariness', aided by their generic nature, which allows us to interrogate them as sources even when they are found, as they often are, outside their original contexts.[26] The act of photography turns a moment into 'material reality'; photographs 'capture and preserve traces of the past, they testify to the inerasable presence of the real for all that they have textualised it'.[27] They are thus best understood as discursive objects created by the dialogue between those who take them and those who pose for them, as well as by the pictorial techniques and traditions that, quite literally, 'frame' them.[28]

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[22] Charles Eckert, 'The Carole Lombard in Macy's Window', in J. Gaines and C. Herzog (eds), *Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body* (London, 1990), 100-121; Stephen Gundle, *Glamour: a History* (Oxford and New York, 2008).

[23] Pilar Domínguez Prats, 'Del modelo a la imagen de mujeres y hombres bajo el franquismo' in Gloria Niefla Cristóbal (ed), *Mujeres y hombres en la España franquista: sociedad, economía, política, cultura* (Madrid, 2003), esp. 189-220

[24] Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Oakland, 1997)

[25] See Marianne Hirsch, *Family frames: Photography, narrative, and postmemory* (Cambridge Mass., 1997) and Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London, 2000: 1st published as *La chambre claire* Paris, 1980)

[26] See Lucie Rydoza, *The Age of the* Effendiya*: Passages to Modernity in National-Colonial Egypt* (Oxford, 2014), which uses the old paper markets of Cairo as an archive (an approach set out 26-31)

[27] *Spanish Front: Writers on the Civil War* ed. Valentine Cunningham (Oxford, 1986), xxviii (after Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 85-9).

[28] See further Tom Allbeson, 'Visualizing Wartime Destruction and Postwar Reconstruction: Herbert Mason's Photograph of St. Paul's Reevaluated', *The Journal of Modern History* 87.3 (2015): 532-578; Julia Adeney Thomas, 'The evidence of sight', *History and Theory* 48.4 (2009), 151-168.

Informal, private photographs both reflect and recreate quintessential categories such as 'ordinary', 'family', and 'everyday'.[29] Unlike documentary photos, they have no publication history or commercial purpose. Apparently oblivious to the rupture of war and fascism, family photos speak powerfully of continuity, a discourse peculiarly suited to Franco's Spain but which can also be seen in Hitler's Germany. Under the Third Reich, family snaps showed how people 'translated' the regime's ideology 'back into a sense of selfhood'.[30] And this sense of self—this subjectivity—began in and with the family, which was the society into which individuals were born.

The intimate relationships of family, extended family, and close friends were the first that children formed and provided the environment within which they grew up. The family thus provided the foundation for the adult personality, in both emotional and political terms. Indeed, this was a powerful referent for the Franco regime. According to Catholic doctrine, the family was a natural institution that preceded the state, originating before it and taking precedence over it. This was the reasoning followed by the New State. In a direct echo of papal teaching, article 22 of the Fuero de los Españoles (1945) recognised 'la familia como institución natural y fundamento de la sociedad, con derechos y deberes anteriores y superiores a toda Ley humana positiva'.

The family was thus where official discourse and regime ideology was negotiated and translated, informing people's habitus and sense of self. In Catholic thought, the family was a microcosm of wider society, structured in hierarchies of power and wealth, gender, and age. Astete's *Catechism*—which went through at least twenty-seven editions between 1939 and 1957—extended the fourth commandment by including '[l]os mayors en edad, dignidad y gobierno' in the defintion of 'padres' and explaining the duties of 'los Superiores para con sus inferiores' as '[a]limentarlos, enseñarlos, corregirlos, darles buen ejemplo y estado competente a su tiempo'.[31]

These 'natural' family hierarchies were thus not only the first the child experienced but they were also foundational for wider society. An 'ordered' hierarchical society was the primary aim of the 'peace of Franco', which would sweep aside the atomised and egalitarian 'chaos' of the Republic and the Civil War. As the Fuero de los Españoles indicated, citizenship was clearly gendered. This was articulated through the—very familiar—concept of the head of the family, even if this could be a woman.[32] But, just as a queen could also take the part of a monarch, the role was still a male one and, 'naturally', a male authority, which, in the term 'head'—of the state, of the household—evoked the binary

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[29] There is a significant scholarly literature on family photographs. See, e.g., Gillian Rose, *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment* (Farnham: 2010); Julia Hirsch, *Family Photographs: Content, Meaning, and Effect* (Oxford and New York, 1981); Joanna Spence and Patricia Holland (eds), *Family Snaps: The Meaning of Domestic Photography* (London, 1991).

[30] Maiken Umbach, 'Selfhood, place, and ideology in German photo albums, 1933–1945', *Central European History* 48.3 (2015), 338

[31] *Catecismos de Astete y Ripalda* ed. Luis Resines (Madrid, 1987), 96-100, 134-5

[32] See the Censo electoral de cabezas de familia, used for the 1948 municipal elections.

understanding of gender that distinguished between the rationality of men and the emotional intuition of women. [33]

In National-Catholic Spain, social order began with—and in—the family. 'Full' citizens were male, epitomized in the notorious licence given to 'honour killing' in the case of an adulterous wife under the Civil Code (until 1958). Family allowances were paid only to married men for the upkeep of legitimate children. The 'peace of Franco' was thus predicated on the 'natural' inequalities—or hierarchies—of the family. The family provided a means of constructing the regime—for adherents—or accommodating it. All those who lived under and accepted the New State—to a greater or lesser degree—had to find a mode of being that was—or, at least, seemed to them to be—both 'natural' and Francoist or, to use a more deracinated term, Spanish. And this was done most easily from within the home and the domestic environs of the neighbourhood.

The photographs that form the basis of the following analysis belonged to my mother-in-law, who was born in 1924. They were kept in a box that had once contained chocolates, where they were carefully preserved until her death in 2012. Loose photographic prints spanning several decades were jumbled in together: some were her own, others had been sent by relatives. As there was no album, there was none of the mnemonic apparatus provided by dates, captions, and annotations.[34] Nevertheless, the generic quality of so many of these 'private' moments show how even these unordered, individual images frame 'the meaning of the moment and how it will be remembered in the future'.[35] The prints, which were all taken in the small town of Cazorla (Jaén) or the surrounding sierra between c.1948 and c.1954, thus form a collective remembering. Most are stamped and dated by the local photographic studio, San Antonio and, while there are a few studio portraits, most are snapshots, almost certainly selected by women, either my mother-in-law or her sisters, who were her most regular correspondents once she moved to England in 1955.

As one of the images reveals, the photographers were usually men. In the pueblos of rural Spain, the man with the camera was often itinerant, a travelling photographer who would arrive for local festivities. Cazorla, though, had its own photographer, with dark room and shop, and the pictures taken in the town invariably carry the 'San Antonio' stamp. Whether a resident or an itinerant photographer, however, these modern chroniclers of Spanish life primarily recorded those moments of 'leisure, relaxation, and celebration' that so dominate personal snapshots, wherever they were taken.[36] Strikingly, virtually every photograph is taken outdoors. There is thus little if any sense of domestic interiors or life 'at home'; these informal shots are public in the sense that they

[33]Pius XI, *Casti Conubii* (1930) § 10

[34] Umbach, 'Selfhood, place and ideology'; María Rosón, '"No estoy sola": Álbum fotográfico, memoria, género y subjetividad (1900–1980)', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 16.2 (2015), 143-177.

[35] Umbach, 'Selfhood, place and ideology', 340. The relationship between photographs and memory is perhaps the most common theme in theoretical work on family snapshots. See Hirsch *Family Frames* 17-40; Annette Kuhn, 'Remembrance' in Spence and Holland (eds), *Family Snaps*, 17-26 and *Family secrets : Acts of memory and imagination* (2nd ed.: London: 2002)

[36] Umbach, 'Selfhood, place and ideology', 340

take place in the pueblo.[37] And these off-guard moments of carefree relaxation reveal a society in which personal relationships were based on a hierarchical and gendered understanding of social roles.

Image 1: [IMG-0202.JPG] A café in Cazorla, 20 September 1950 (afternoon)

The first image, taken at an outdoor café table in the town, shows men and women seated together over a drink. All the men, both sitting and standing, are on the left of the picture; all but one of the women are seated on the right. Such segregation was entirely typical of contemporary patterns of sociability. This is a meeting of family and friends and so shows people of similar cultural and class backgrounds—a common trope of family as opposed to documentary or 'street' photography. But the child who is working as a bootblack—and so kneeling in front of one of the men to clean his shoes—gives the viewer a glimpse of the social hierarchies of the pueblo. The language of deference is thus also apparent in the construction of these images, as was appropriate to a hierarchically ordered society.

In the images that show men and women together, it is striking how often men or boys are at the centre of the composition. This is usually through positioning, with the men at the apex of a pyramid, in the middle of a group or distinguished in some other way such as standing slightly apart or higher up from the others. But there may also be differences of gesture, stance, or demeanour. Even in the

[37] Cf. Paul Betts, *Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford, 2010), 193-226.

most festive and folkloric of these photos, where the only man is in danger of disappearing entirely under the riot of flowers and flamenco flounces, he is still at the centre of the group, and looking directly at the camera.

Image 2: [IMG-0214.JPG] A restaurant in Cazorla, 20 September 1950 (evening)

Image 3: [IMG-0212.JPG] On the patio, 3 May 1950

This central positioning is typical. The photographs invariably have the men looking most directly at the camera, its presence underlining their superior social status. This male relationship with the camera was also, in part, about technology. Being comfortable with gadgets and machinery supposedly reflected men's rationality and intellect, in contrast to women's emotional and intuitive skills. Photographs that show men and technology are common.[38] Among these photos, several have a pyramidal composition, and one shows a girl sitting on the

[38] E.g. Rosón Villeña, 'El álbum fotográfico del falangista', 230-2

back ledge of an open-topped car, a fairly typical pose for affluent young women. She has become the apex of the pyramid, but only because the man is, of course, at the wheel. The same image also shows a photographer, his back to us, partly obscuring his tripod, as he captures the pueblo's festivities on camera.

Image 4: [IMG-0209.JPG] Driving through the town, 19 September 1948

These images thus testify to the dialogue between photographer and subject that is at the heart of every photographic image. And this was determined, not only

by age and gender—and, indeed, individual personality—but also by social, class and commercial relationships. The photographer's livelihood depended on him selling his services, and his pictures, to those who could afford to buy them. And, as the third daughter of the local doctor, my mother-in-law undoubtedly could.

Her family were among the *fuerzas vivas* of the town, with the status of her father's profession and the landed wealth that characterised the upper classes in the rural south. The immediate family spent the Civil War in the town and survived unharmed, but two close maternal relatives were killed alongside fifty other *cazorleños* in the massacres of 12 August 1936. The family were thus clear beneficiaries of Franco's victory. As close relatives of victims of Republican violence, they would most likely have been among the grass-roots supporters that recent research has identified as crucial in establishing the New State.[39] However, the absence of any overt political references is very striking in these photographs. There are no uniforms or insignia, no flags, salutes or gestures, and no slogans. The visual rhetoric seems entirely apolitical, mundane, and 'ordinary'.

This is the case both for the pictures taken in the pueblo and for a second set that do not appear to have been taken by the local photographer. These pictures were taken on various occasions outside the pueblo, usually in the surrounding sierra. Most are undated though some are stamped, either by San Antonio or the Torres Molina laboratory in Granada, where, presumably, they were developed. They show mixed groups of young people engaged in outdoor activities—bicycling, skipping, picnicking—and having fun with friends. These are images of youth, symbolised by relaxation and leisure, captured by a member of the party with a camera. On at least one of these outings, the photographer was male. This picture of the girls posing on a rocky outcrop appears to be responding directly to a male gaze.[40] The poses are both glamorous and flirtatious while the sartorial details of sunglasses and the shoulder-robed jacket reveal a definite awareness of style. The image is a sophisticated one: young women, confident in their own attractiveness, responding to the flattery of the camera lens (and possibly of the young man behind it).

Image 5: [IMG-0207.JPG] In the sierra [Granada? No date]

[39] Miguel Angel del Arco Blanco, *Hambre de siglos: Mundo rural y apoyos sociales del primer franquismo en Andalucía Oriental, 1936-1951* (Granada, 2007), 67-99; Peter Anderson, 'Singling Out Victims: Denunciation and Collusion in the Post-Civil War Francoist Repression in Spain, 1939-1945', *European History Quarterly* 39.1 (2009), 7-26.
[40] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 45-9.

Unsurprisingly, given their provenance, many of these images are, like the one above, pictures of girlhood. They show friends and companions rather than family members and most of the protagonists are the same age.[41] The photos are informal and apparently spontaneous and so seem less 'knowing' than that of the young women on the rock. They suggest that the girls were temporarily escaping hierarchical social structures, showing horizontal linkages between groups of friends rather than the vertical connections of the social and family pyramids. These photographs show that, in general, a summer's day relaxing outdoors meant cotton prints and head scarves for the girls, a clear contrast to the tailored suits and fitted dresses that were the usual attire of adult bourgeois women.[42] These moments of collective leisure, usually in the open air, thus represent a generational moment as well as a future memory. Caught on camera was the carefree time of girlhood, before marriage, adulthood and the more constrained social role prescribed for married women.

Images 6: [IMG-0203.JPG] Games with friends, 8 March 1949

[41] Although girls' photographic collections are less well studied, Penny Tinkler has indicated how they are defined by images of friends rather than family members, '"Picture Me As a Young Woman": Researching Girls' Photo Collections from the 1950s and 1960s', *Photography & Culture,* 3:3 (2010), 261-281.

[42] Rosón Villeña comments on similar modes of self-presentation among girls, 'El álbum fotográfico del falangista', 226.

Image 7: [IMG-0208.JPG] A donkey ride [Cazorla? No date]

The young men, however, adopted different techniques of self-presentation. In an interesting contrast to the informality and 'girlishness' of the women's clothes, the young men appear dressed like their fathers, in suits and jackets. Even when playing outdoor games—for which some of the boys are wearing plimsolls—they keep their jackets on. The more formal self presentation of the young men suggests an awareness of their adult role. This was, of course, also the case with the girls by the rock; their future lives as married women depended, at least initially, on their desirability and whether or not they would 'catch' a man. In contrast, the boys were in training for their future role as heads of household. Though not yet at the apex of the social pyramid, they knew that one day they would be. In Franco's Spain, head of the household was a pivotal social role, the link between the private world of the family and the public world of the state. Heads of household were enfranchised and in receipt of family allowances; they represented other family members, women and children, who were defined as dependents and lacked full civic personality.[43]

These snapshots, even with their focus on good times and created sense of happy memories, thus 'pull different temporalities into a single space'.[44] And the space itself was also highly significant, not least in a political sense. The landscape of the Sierra de Cazorla was the most important motif in these photographs not so much on account of its beauty as because it was a convenient site for relaxation and 'good times'. But this was not simply a question of young people relaxing in the countryside. These were, rather, young Spaniards whose sense of nationality was intimately related to the regional landscape. They were 'posing outdoors', positioning themselves in the landscape to show their relationship to it, and so displaying a rooted sense of belonging that derived precisely from the development of national feeling from the late nineteenth century.[45]

During the post-Civil War period, however, this was not a simple relationship. Fascism is a form of hyper-nationalism and its identity is, in part, a territorial one. This is clearly demonstrated in, for example, the posthumous portrait of José Antonio Primo de Rivera that shows him in the blue shirt, arm outstretched, holding the Falangist flag that is, in effect, planted in the soil of the Spanish sierra, with El Escorial in the backdrop.[46] Ignacio Zuloaga (1870-1945) repeated the composition in his portrait of Franco: the dictator, in the blue shirt and red beret of the single party, plants an outsize banner in the national colours on Spanish soil.[47] The iconographic reference is clearly to 'discovery', that is, conquest and the claiming of national territory. But such images also invoked the wider fascist association between 'blood and soil', particularly in a country that had just fought a civil war.

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[43] Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal y Mª del Carmen Muñoz Ruíz, 'Mujeres en los ayuntamientos durante la dictadura franquista' en Gloria Nielfa Cristóbal (ed), *Mujeres en los Gobiernos locales: Alcaldesas y concejalas en la Espana contemporanea* (Madrid, 2015), 131-45

[44] Umbach, 'Selfhood, place and ideology', 354

[45] Mary Vincent *Spain 1833-2002: People and State* (Oxford, 2007), 45-51; Stéphane Michonneau, and Xosé-M. Núñez-Seixas (eds), *Imaginarios y representaciones de España durante el franquismo* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2014) esp. 127ff

[46] *Images of the Spanish Civil War*, intro Raymond Carr (London, 1986), 30.

[47] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Retrato_de_Franco_(1940)_por_Zuloaga.jpg

The Sierra de Cazorla, was, with the neighbouring Sierra de Segura, one of Franco's preferred hunting grounds. The dictator's fondness for this pastime was well known and, while he hunted and fished all over Spain, he returned regularly to these sierras, where a national hunting reserve was created by decree in 1960.[48] This was the action of a conqueror; having taken the land militarily—and the Civil War was, indeed, a war of conquest—the national patrimony was his to dispose of. Carefree snapshots of loyal young Spaniards disporting themselves in the sierra were thus not politically neutral images. Rather they played with ideas of patrimony, demonstrating how this generation was rooted in its patria chica and so fixing an idea of Spanishness that depended on the benevolence and care of the dictator. It was, after all, the 'peace of Franco' that had secured this landscape—so recently occupied by the maquis—and this leisured way of life.[49]

This relationship between landscape, nationality and tradition can be seen in an example from northern Spain, when the writer and journalist Francisco de Cossío described how his ancestral home in Tudanca was taken over by the FAI during the civil war: 'Triste destino de una casa, en la que se asentaba la más pura tradición española. Casa que ejercició un apostolado social y político y que mantuvo el tono de su jerarquía fundiéndose en la vida rural.' The pacification and reoccupation of this belligerent and revolutionary space depended in part on the restitution of those social and familial hierarchies that have previously defined the rural heart of Spain. The war had been won, according to Cossío, by the middle classes, who had defended 'la civilización, la fe religiosa, el orden, las jerarquias, la tradición'.[50]

Victory thus meant the reimposition of a previous social order, uninterrupted by a fascist revolution. When translated into the ordinary lives of young people of means in a pueblo in the southern sierras—whose families had been on the side of the victors in 1939—this meant that their leisure time was serviced by those less well off than themselves. Their photographs suggest that, to them, these social hierarchies were naturalised to the point of invisibility. They offer only glimpses of the poverty and class structure of the pueblo, usually positioned at the margin of the image: the child working as a bootblack or the *campesinos* who bring the donkeys for a ride in the *sierra*.[51] What is erased, however, is any memory of the Republic. An older 'natural' order has been re-imposed as if it had never been challenged.

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[48] *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 175 22 de junio de 1960; Vicente Gil, *Cuarenta años junto a Franco* (Barcelona, 1981), 119-36

[49] The last maquis in Jaén took refuge in the sierra de Cazorla, where they were killed early in 1952, José Miguel Giménez Yeste, 'Breve historia de la guerrilla antifranquista en Andalucía', *Revista de Claseshistoria* 9 (2011), 1-12

[50] Francisco de Cossío, *Manolo* (Valladolid, 1939), 54-5, 175

[51] Rosón Villeña makes the same point about a female child standing at the edge of a picture of a communal meal in the dining room. Presumably there to serve the meal, she 'introduce la realidad que existía más allá de este mundo cerrado y autoreferencial. La niña es el testimonio de esa economía precaria…en la que no existe infancia para aquellos que tienen que sobrevivir', 'El album fotográfico del falangista', 233.

The apparent atemporality of these images was thus more complex than it appeared. The countryside was lauded by the regime as the repository of 'pure' Spanish values—though these were generally associated with the smallholding peasantry—and it had always been a prime constituent of national identity, reproduced by landscape and *plein air* painters from Goya onwards. But in the context of the first half of the Franco regime, there was an additional ideological layering to these 'naturalised' images. Not only was there the association between blood and soil—the land those who fell in the Civil War had died for—but the collective ethos of fascism was also reproduced—in an oddly depoliticised way—in the photographs of young people and their friends.

Demobilising fascism in the New State

Many historians have looked to explain the Franco regime's movement away from fascism, its transition from wartime mobilisation to stability and acquiescence.[52] Other scholars have emphasised grass-roots involvement and the regime's construction from bottom up as well as the effect it had on 'ordinary lives' and how people learned to come to an accommodation with the New State.[53] The framework is political and institutional—the competition for influence within the regime, the weight of external events in the momentous decade from 1943 to 1953—and ideas of 'consent' are explored for the mass of the people, the have-nots rather than the haves.

The approach suggested in this article is rather different, and should be seen as complementary to this important body of historical scholarship. Turning the lens on to those within the regime, and examining fundamental components of everyday life, reveals the repertoire of codes, idioms and means of self-presentation that those looking to construct an adult life in the New State could draw on. Like class and status, gender was at the heart of these codes, which were equally available to Falangist and non-Falangist alike. Catholicism—clearly the common currency of the regime—provided some but not all of these; the family provided even more. Religion was a powerful legitimising force, but was most effective among believers. In contrast, all Falangists, no matter how dedicated to the party, had a domestic existence, as did the overwhelming majority of Spaniards. Home life tapped into older but still salient models of masculinity, which, crucially, had secular as well as religious meanings.

And, just as all Falangists were also members of families—and junior members at that—so even the most radical comrades, who fully subscribed to the comradeship and discipline of the militias, had a place in older and more conventional social hierarchies. After all, their position as Falangists—and particularly as militiamen—depended on their sex. As in fascism more generally, gender privilege was axiomatic to these young men; it was, after all, both

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[52] E.g. the pioneering work of Carme Molinero and Ismael Saz: Carme Molinero, *El regim franquista: feixisme, modernització i consens* (Barcelona,1992) and *La captación de las masas: política social y propaganda en el régimen franquista* (Madrid, 2005); Ismael Saz, and José Alberto Gómez Roda (eds), *El Franquismo en Valencia: formas de vida y actitudes sociales en la posguerra* (Valencia, 1999); Ismael Saz. *Fascismo y franquismo* (Universitat de València, 2004)

[53] Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-75* (Chichester, 2010)

'natural' and politically advantageous. Why, then would they voluntarily relinquish the authority that accrued to them simply as adult men, particularly as they themselves got older? In demobilising the single party and moving the New State away from a war footing, the Franco regime may simply have had to bide its time until young Falangists grew up.

The fascist inversion of age hierarchies was thus easily subverted. In the aftermath of the Civil War, 'fascism' was not simply associated with youth but became synonymous with it. And this youthful fascism—a stage in a young Spanish man's development—could then be incorporated into a life cycle that would evolve into a more mature 'mode of being' as hostilities ceased and the construction of 'Franco's peace' began.[54] Militiamen pledging fidelity to their *novias* before they left to face death at the front grew into experienced soldiers as well as young husbands and fathers. The role of paterfamilias awaited them, first in their own homes and then in the extended family. Such a transition was echoed in the portraits taken by Jalón Angel of Franco with his wife and daughter at Christmas 1937, the first of many to show the commander-in-chief—still in military uniform—as a family man.[55]

The domestic life of Falangist men is often hidden in the sources, occluded by the language of separate spheres and the insistence—not least by the Sección Femenina—on the feminine nature of domesticity. In 1941, for instance, *Medina* introduced a new weekly series, 'Un hogar falangista', which consisted of interviews with married women who remained active members of the SF. Most of the interviewees were war widows or whose husbands were at the Eastern Front with the Blue Division. All were mothers. But despite this depiction of the 'home' as a place inhabited and created by women and children—albeit with the economic underpinning of a male, 'breadwinner's' wage—some interviews revealed a male presence and a conjugal relationship. There were mentions of husbands walking their wives to work, visits to the cinema on Saturday nights—children safely in the care of a grandparent—and of objects and furnishings chosen together for the marital home.[56] In a rare display of affect, Angelita Ridruejo remarked: '[e]ste libro, aquel marco, esta lámpara aquella porcelana, me recuerdan tantas cosas'. The material culture of the home was bound up with its inhabitants' emotional lives, presumably also remembered with affection by Ridruejo's husband, who was away fighting in Russia.

In times of war, domesticity was a means to imagine 'peace' and a future after the fighting was over. For those at the front, memories of home and plans for a future life—often with a future wife—provided both a powerful and an entirely ordinary commonplace escape from soldiering and the trenches.[57] Though references to men's domestic life were thin on the ground in the official

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[54] For a recent study of subjective understandings and negotiations around youth, see Kate Ferris, *Everyday Life in Fascist Venice, 1929-40* (Basingstoke, 2012), 52-82.
[55] http://www.beeldbankwo2.nl/detail.jsp?action=detail&recordidx=1 [NIOD 27755]
[56] *Medina: Revista de la Sección Femenina* (28), 28 de septiembre de 1941; (33), 2 de noviembre de 1941
[57] See, e.g., the letters between Miguel and Pepa, Javier Cervera Gil, *Ya sabes mi paradero: La Guerra Civil a través de las cartas de los que la vivieron* (Barcelona, 2005), 558-9. See further…

discourse of the regime, home life was acknowledged in its welfare policies, including, for example, the pensions given to wounded servicemen. The veterans were men—fathers of families and heads of household—and not the boys who had been conscripted or volunteered to fight earlier in the Civil War. Such a transition echoed deeply rooted understandings of masculinity in modern Europe. Manhood had to be earned or proved in some way; war was the classic means of forging boys into men.[58]

In the post-Civil War period, then, the process of demobilisation accelerated the translation of a palengenetic fascism into a feature of youth, a stage in a boy's life. During the days of victory, as during the war itself, much was said and written about young men, their energy and dynamism, their commitment to the war effort, their heroism and, above all, their sacrifice. This secular discourse of martyrdom was seen, above all, among Falangists, for whom it had a clear palengenetic political purpose.[59] But it was also taken up by much less radical adherents to the Nationalist cause confirming the way in which the war dead—the 'martyrs'—became a powerful tool of legitimation in the early years of the New State.[60]

Francisco de Cossío wrote a powerful—and best-selling—memoir of his Falangist son, who was killed at the front in 1938 [check??]. In his memoir—which makes his grief for his son palpable—he lauds 'el milagro de la juventud', writing of how they rose to defend the cause of Spain 'y nuestra juventud, por un impulso atávico, transmitido de unos a otros durante siglos, optó por la vida y cumplió generosamente su destino'.[61] The romantic language was that of a heroic youth, but not necessarily a fascist one. Meditating on his son's death while with his other children in his family's ancestral home, Cossío spoke of how 'tenía una idea clara de la continuidad. No se trataba […] de volver al pasado y cristalizarse en él, sino de seguir, de no romper la cadena, de no interrumpir el proceso'.[62] Such language fitted well into a wider rhetoric of nationalism, but it was hardly radical.[63] Breaking the chain and discarding the weight of the past was exactly what fascism did want to do, as surely Cossío must have known. But he chose to present his son's political ideas as an idiosyncrasy or youthful enthusiasm. For example, when faced with his father's incomprehension of the

[58] See the classic statements by John Tosh, 'What should historians do with masculinity? Reflections on nineteenth-century Britain', *History Workshop* Journal 38(1994) and Michael Roper and John Tosh, 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity' in Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since* 1800 (London, 1991), 1-24.
[59] Zira Box, 'Pasión, muerte y glorificación de José Antonio Primo de Rivera', *Historia del presente* 6 (2005): 191-216; Zira Box and Ismael Saz, 'Spanish Fascism as a Political Religion, 1931–1941', *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 12.4 (2011): 371-389
[60] Peter Anderson, 'In the Name of the Martyrs: Memory and Retribution in Francoist Southern Spain, 1936–45', *Cultural and Social History* 8.3 (2011), 355-370; José Luis Ledesma and Javier Rodrigo. "Caídos por España, mártires de la libertad. Víctimas y conmemoración de la Guerra Civil en la España posbélica (1939-2006)." *Ayer* (2006): 233-255.
[61] Francisco de Cossío, *Manolo* (Valladolid, 1939), 165
[62] Ibid, 33
[63] Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *Fuera el invasor!: nacionalismos y movilización bélica durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)* (Madrid, 2006), 216-17.

vertical syndicates, Manolo replied, 'encogiéndose de hombros y con una sonrisa: "Esto es muy largo. Ya nos dirán. Ahora lo que hace falta es ganar la guerra"'.[64]

Cossío's lionisation of youth—even in its depoliticised form—did not last. In a later book of memoirs he wrote of how young people now found the values of the past 'absurd': 'El joven, aun representando la continuidad, ha tratado en las sucesivas generaciones de hacer tabula rasa con el pasado y aun ha creído que la juventud es un mérito especial. No ha tenido tiempo de pensar que no hay nada tan efímero como la juventud, que se es joven para dejar de serlo, ya que el tiempo es inexorable…'.[65] There could be few clearer statements of youth as a stage of life, subordinated to the wisdom and experience of their elders, the same restored age and gender hierarchy that can be glimpsed in the photographs of the young bourgeoisie in Cazorla.

But this taming of the fascist revolution with its reassertion of conventional gender and class hierarchies was not immutable. The 'peace of Franco' was based on a static conception of the social order, which, while it proved a useful counterweight to the destabilising dynamic of fascism, rapidly ossified during the long years of the New State. The social hierarchies of early Franco Spain were based on a clear understanding of specific gender and class roles. An individual's status—the social and occupational role that he or she was born to play—was determined by their position in these hierarchies. There is, again, a sense of how this idea of social roles was translated into individual lives in Cossío's memoirs, notably the clear contrast between the way he talks about his son and his references to his wife. In *Manolo*, he gives a moving account of his son's absence, explaining how his favourite food or a day he would have enjoyed triggered acute feelings of longing and grief: 'Son los espectros de todos los hijos, que acechan en los portales, que suben las escaleras…'.[66] In contrast, his wife's sadness is never described, nor is she named. Instead, her experience is rolled into the generic figure of the Spanish mother: 'La madre, entre cuatro paredes siente todas las palpitaciones, las zozobras, los Dolores, los inquietudes…de la Guerra y las siente a través de un caso individuo, del hijo.' Such a depiction is, essentially, a nationalised depiction of grief. No solider is unknown to his mother: 'todas las madres de España en una oración común rezan por la Gloria de todos'[67]

We learn more from his 1959 volume of memoirs, when Cossío tells us how he met his wife at a ball. He gives the name of her father, his profession—catedrático de medicina—and his Traditionalist political views. Married at twenty-two, he and his wife clearly spent much time apart, though he has the grace to say that, while she was given a copy of *La Perfecta Casada* as a wedding present, 'hubiese sido major que, de haberlo, me regalarara a mí uno del perfecto casado'.[68] But we are still not told her name. Despite his guilt, she is still defined by social role, that of being his wife. And she played this role to such good effect

[64] Cossío, *Manolo*, 166
[65] Francisco de Cossío, *Mi familia, mis amigos y mi época* (Madrid, 1959), 18
[66] *Manolo*, 227
[67] Ibid. 224, 226
[68] *Mi familia* 104-5

that, on her deathbed, 'su postrer mirada…se dirigió a mí…y fué como una absolución total de todos mis pecados conyugales'.[69]

This repeated linguistic shift to the generic when talking about the woman with whom he shared his life acts as a reminder of the emotional distance there could be within a marriage posited on different social and family roles for husband and wife. There are echoes of much older conjugal models, for example that analysed by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's classic work of gender history, *Family Fortunes*. They write of the Luckcocks, 'a family organized around the idea of sexual difference, expressed through the proper forms of manliness and femininity. […] Mrs Luckcock … worked briefly in the family enterprise, but when circumstances permitted, retired to the home'. Although her husband wrote of her with genuine affection, we do not know her name or her likeness. Every historical trace of her is mediated through the man she married.[70] Clearly this is not true of Señora de Cossío but the absence of any sense of her as an idividual, rather than a wife, is striking. And it is also these continuities—from a time when opportunities were fewer, lives shorter, and people less likely to move around—that lead to the suspicion that Cossío's depiction of marriage was old-fashioned even in 1959.[71]

From the 1940s, profound changes were occurring in how people understood themselves, their emotional lives, and the relationship of the individual to wider society. This was, in part, due to the rapidly developing discipline of psychology, which was now profoundly influencing ordinary life, from magazine advice columns to television programmes and film scripts, teacher training and marriage guidance. The relationships between people—particularly those between husbands and wives and parents and children—were changing profoundly, moving from a hierarchical understanding based on social roles to a personal, affective one wherein family relationships delivered intimacy and emotional fulfilment. This was, in effect, a shift towards greater subjectivity and can therefore only be traced if we first recognise the subjectivity of our historical protagonists.[72]

The personal is historical

This recognition of historical subjectivities—of the way in which individuals come to term with political ideologies, intrusive regimes, and various manifestations of state power and incorporate them within their own lives—is a linking theme of this chapter. We can glimpse these subjectivities in personal or 'ego' documents—life-writing, letters, photographs—more easily than we can in the official or press record, which tends to present individuals playing particular roles. My intention has been to look at naturalised or 'everyday' identities

[69] Ibid. 105

[70] Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class 1780–1850* (London, 1987), 17-18

[71] Though see Patricia Holland's discussion of her mother, 'The Old Order of Things Changed' in Spence and Holland (eds), *Family Snaps*, 101, 105.

[72] See, e.g., Michael Richards's pioneering treatment of the work of the psychiatrist Carlos Castillo del Pino, *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re-making Spain since 1936* (Cambridge, 2013), 133, 217-45

among the Franco regime's adherents, arguing that continuities in age and gender hierarchies were significantly more important—and more apparent—than fascist ideology. My gaze has thus fixed on the provincial middle classes, who populated the New State and who, along with peasant smallholders, provided its main support.

I have, though, tried to show how the individual subjectivities of these 'Francoists' help us to understand how their political allegiances were reproduced—or not—in the way they lived their lives. My position here is a curious one. As a Hispanist, I have always written Spanish history as an outsider; similarly, I write the history of masculinity as a woman. But in using my mother-in-law's photographs to investigate the socio-political milieu in which she grew up, I am entangling my own history with that of the period I study. This has some advantages. I easily recognise the privileged and 'collaborationist' position of the people who appear in the photographs, not least as I have been working on 'fascists' for a long time. But photographs are material objects, and not just images. They travel, both across space—as the considerable number of photos of unidentified first communicants found in another of my mother-in-law's boxes demonstrates—and through time.[73]

As Gillian Rose notes, in their domestic contexts '[f]amily photographs are rarely disruptive or disconcerting'.[74] Like much life-writing, they are highly generic. As noted earlier in this chapter, informal photos concentrate on 'good times', and generally follow a highly ritualised calendar of annual celebrations and rites of passage. Everyone is shown smiling. As many theorists of photography have pointed out, these discursive objects are inherently nostalgic; photographs construct future memories even as they are composed and taken. And this generic ludic quality obscures political and historical contexts, particularly when translated across generations and cultures. The meaning of these artefacts may also change over the course of a lifetime. Later in life, my mother-in-law viewed them with great nostalgia and even yearning. She came to England, heavily pregnant with her second child in 1955, and though she spent the rest of her adult life there, she never fully mastered the language. Her marriage was unhappy—it ended in divorce—and the emotional and linguistic dislocations she experienced left her unable to move easily between the two languages, which she often mixed. Remembering Cazorla and her early life appeared to offer some form of escape, a process the photos facilitated.

It may seem paradoxical—or even rather perverse—to conclude this discussion of masculinity with the story of one woman. But Franco's Spain was a society that defined women as 'relational creatures', defined by their relationship to, first, their fathers and then their husbands. This was hardly unique, but in twentieth century Europe such a position was increasingly challenged, particularly when interpreted in the hierarchical way that characterised the New State. And in this context, it is women who provide most insights into the everyday. The sources mediated by women invariably tell us about men, who—

[73] Rose, *Doing Family Photography*, 4, 35-6; Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Mass, 1997), 217-40
[74] Rose, *Doing Family Photography*, 6

despite the masculinist rhetoric of fascism, and both religious and secular versions of 'separate spheres' ideology—were also part of domestic space and family life. And it is these everyday, naturalised male gender identities that have been the subject of this chapter.