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0521821789 - The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939

Edited by Chris Ealham and Michael Richards

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The Splintering of Spain

This book explores the ideas and culture surrounding the cataclysmic civil war that engulfed Spain from 1936 to 1939. It features specially commissioned articles from leading historians in Spain, Britain and the USA which examine the complex interaction of national and local factors, contributing to the shape and course of the war. They argue that the ‘splintering of Spain’ resulted from the myriad cultural cleavages of society in the 1930s. Thus, this book views the civil war less as a single great conflict between two easily identifiable sets of ideas, social classes or ways of life, than historians have previously done. The Spanish tragedy, at the level of everyday life, was shaped by many tensions, both those that were formally political and those that were to do with people’s perceptions and understanding of the society around them.

CHRIS EALHAM is Senior Lecturer in History at Lancaster University. His previous publications include *Policing the City: Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona, 1898–1937* (2005).

MICHAEL RICHARDS is Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European History at the University of the West of England. His previous publications include *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco’s Spain, 1936–1945* (1998).

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*Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War,
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For Paul Preston

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FRANCISCO JAVIER CASPISTEGUI is *professor agregado* in the Department of Contemporary History at the University of Navarre. He has co-edited several recent publications on historiography, including, with I. Olábarri, *La nueva historia cultural: la influencia del postestructuralismo y el auge de la interdisciplinarietà* (1996), and *En la encrucijada de la ciencia histórica hoy: el auge de la historia cultural* (1998). He is also the author of *El naufragio de las ortodoxias: el carlismo 1962–1977* (1997).

RAFAEL CRUZ is Lecturer in the History of Social Movements at the Complutense University in Madrid. His most recent publications are on aspects of collective action during the Spanish Second Republic, as well as a political biography of Dolores Ibárruri, *La Pasionaria*.

CHRIS EALHAM is Senior Lecturer in the Department of History at Lancaster University. His work focuses on labour and social protest in Spain and he is the author of *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona, 1898–1937* (2004). He is currently working on a history of urban conflict in 1930s Spain.

EDUARDO GONZÁLEZ CALLEJA is a member of the Department of Contemporary History in the Institute of Humanities, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, and Associate Professor at the Universidad Carlos III. His research focuses particularly on political violence in contemporary Spain and the evolution of right-wing and fascist groups in Europe. Amongst many works, he has published *La razón de la fuerza* (1998), *El máuser y el sufragio* (1999) and *La violencia en la política* (2003). Currently, he is completing, with Julio Aróstegui, a general history of violence in contemporary Spain.

XOSÉ-MANOEL NÚÑEZ SEIXAS is a member of the Department of Contemporary and American History at the University of Santiago de Compostela. His main research interests relate to the comparative history of nationalist movements and national and regional identities,

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as well as to the study of overseas migration. His recent publications include *Entre Ginebra y Berlín: la cuestión de las minorías nacionales y la política internacional en Europa, 1914–1939* (2001). Currently, he is working on the history and memory of the Spanish Blue Division and its experience at the Eastern Front in the period 1941–4.

PAMELA RADCLIFF is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of California, San Diego. She has published a book on the origins of the civil war, *From Mobilization to Civil War: the Politics of Polarization in the Spanish City of Gijón, 1900–1937* (1996), and co-edited (with Victoria Enders) a collection of articles on the history of women in modern Spain: *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* (1999). Currently, she is completing a book about the construction of democratic citizenship during the transition to democracy in Spain in the 1970s.

MICHAEL RICHARDS is Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European History at the University of the West of England, Bristol, and the author of *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco's Spain, 1936–45* (1998). He has also recently published on the themes of social memory, psychiatry and gender – all in relation to twentieth-century Spain – and is currently completing a social history of the Franco years.

ENRIC UCCELAY-DA CAL is Professor of Contemporary History at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. He has published *La Catalunya populista* (1982), among other books, as well as numerous articles in scholarly journals. His most recent publication is *El imperialismo catalán: Prat de la Riba, Cambó, D'Ors y la conquista moral de España* (2003).

MARY VINCENT is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Sheffield. She is the author of *Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic* (1996) and of various articles on religion, gender and the far right in 1930s Spain. She is currently completing a book on the problem of the state in modern Spain and is also working on a study of Franco's 'crusade'.

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Preface

In the course of preparing this book the editors have incurred numerous debts of gratitude. I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Board who made it possible for me to enjoy a sabbatical year during which I completed chapter 6. I would also like to thank Beatriz Anson, Xavier Díez, Andrew Dowling, Sharif Gemie, Helen Graham and Mike Richards for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this chapter. I am also grateful to Manel Aisa for facilitating valuable information on revolutionary Barcelona. Josep Lluís Martín Ramos assisted with copyright matters, while Mark Barrett helped prepare images for publication.

CHRIS EALHAM

The British Academy and the Arts and Humanities Research Board generously granted financial support during the period in which this book has emerged. I have also benefited from many discussions with colleagues in the School of History at the University of the West of England during the gestation of the volume. The readiness of Trevor Johnson to share ideas about religion and rituals has been especially valuable and stimulating. The encouragement of Phil Ollerenshaw, as Head of School during the final stages, eased the process considerably. My co-editor, Chris Ealham, read and, in several respects, improved an early draft of chapter 10. David J. Dunthorn found time to comment usefully on a later version. In the course of putting the book together, several other individuals have been generous with advice, help and support of various kinds. Richard Cleminson, Paul Heywood, Ian Kershaw, Tim Rees, Alison Sinclair and Mary Vincent deserve particular mention in this regard.

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William Davies, until recently editor at Cambridge University Press, first mooted the notion of a ‘revisionary’ collection on the Spanish civil war several years ago and thanks are due to Bill for his gentle prompting and for permitting the deadline to slip on several occasions. Michael Watson, the current editor at the Press, and Isabelle Dambricourt and Joanna Breeze, have overseen the production stages with patience and understanding. Thanks are also due to Kay McKechnie who has been a model of calm thoroughness as copy editor. We would both also like to thank all of the scholars who contributed to the volume, who gave not only in terms of intellectual understanding but also demonstrated some forbearance at times throughout the editing process.

Finally, it gives us enormous pleasure to dedicate this volume to Professor Paul Preston who inspired us both, first as undergraduates together at Queen Mary College in the late 1980s and then as postgraduates under his supervision in the early 1990s. The endlessly fascinating interplay between individuals and great historical processes depicted in Paul Preston’s work serves as an inspiration to the kind of cultural and social history presented here as a human story about individuals and collectivities, their experiences and how they are handled.

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Abbreviations

AEC	Asociación de Estudiantes Católicos – Association of Catholic Students
CCMA	Comité Central de Milicias Antifascistas – Central Committee of Anti-fascist Militias
CEDA	Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas – Confederation of Spanish Autonomous Rightist Groups
CNT	Confederación Nacional del Trabajo – National Confederation of Labour (anarcho-syndicalist union confederation)
ERC	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya – Republican Left of Catalonia
FAI	Federación Anarquista Ibérica – Iberian Anarchist Federation
FJS	Federación de Juventudes Socialistas – Federation of Socialist Youth
JAP	Juventud de Acción Popular – Popular Action youth movement
JONS	Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista – National-Syndicalist (fascist) Offensive Committees
JSU	Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas – the joint Socialist-Communist youth movement
MAOC	Milicias Antifascistas Obreras y Campesinas – Anti-fascist Workers' and Peasants' Militias
PCE	Partido Comunista de España – Spanish Communist Party

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Abbreviations

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PNE	Partido Nacional Español – Spanish Nationalist Party
POUM	Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista – Workers’ Party for Marxist Unity
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español – Spanish Socialist Party
PSUC	Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya – Catalan Unified Socialist Party
RE	Renovación Española – monarchist elite political grouping
SEU	Sindicato Español Universitario – Spanish University Students’ Union
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores – Socialist General Workers’ Union

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Chronology

- 711 Beginning of Islamic occupation in Iberia. According to legend, initiated by military Muslim invasion.
- 718 Battle of Covadonga when, according to historical legend, King Pelayo expelled the Moors from Asturias, thus initiating some eight centuries of ‘reconquest’ (the *Reconquista*).
- 1085 25 May: Triumphant entry into Toledo of Alfonso VI (in legend, accompanied by El Cid, warrior champion of Christian Castile).
- 1212 Navas de Tolosa – victory of Navarrese over the ‘infidel’.
- 1479 Union of Catalonia – Aragon with Castile.
- 1492 Fall of caliphate of Granada to the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. End of *Reconquista*, marked by expulsion of Moors and Jews. Beginning of conquest of the ‘New World’.
- 1545–63 Ecumenical Council of Trent determining principles of Catholic Counter-Reformation.
- 1558 Accession of Philip II. Height of Spain’s global empire.
- 1563 Founding of monastery of San Lorenzo at El Escorial.
- 1571 Naval defeat of Turks by papal and Habsburg forces at Lepanto, in the name of Holy Roman Empire.
- 1640 Rebellion of Catalonia against government from Castile.
- 1714 Siege of Barcelona.
- 1808 2 May: Popular rising in Madrid against the French invasion: the War of Independence.
- 1812 March: Liberal Constitution of Cádiz.
- 1813–14 French withdraw. Restoration of absolutism: Ferdinand VII.
- 1833–40 Carlist civil war against liberals.
- 1868 September: Liberal military pronouncement and revolt overthrows Isabella II.
- 1873 First Republic. Cantonalist revolt and Carlist War (1870–5).
- 1874 January: Republic overthrown. Bourbon monarchy restored – Alfonso XII (December).

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1898	'The Disaster': Spanish fleet lost in battle with US. Spain loses last American colonies, including Cuba.	
1906	March: Law of Jurisdictions whereby military courts given power to try political protesters.	
1909	July: 'Tragic Week' in Barcelona – anti-clerical and anti-conscription popular protests.	
1917	State crisis centred in Catalonia. Culmination of reform movements amongst sections of bourgeoisie, military and working class.	
1919	31 May: Alfonso XIII consecrates Spain to the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Cerro de los Ángeles, a hilltop near Madrid, marking the geographical heart of Spain.	
1919–25	War in Morocco. (July 1921, disastrous Spanish defeat at Anual.)	
1923	September: Military coup led by General Miguel Primo de Rivera.	
1930	January: Fall of Primo dictatorship.	
1931	14 April: Proclamation of Second Republic. Alfonso XIII goes into exile. 27 April: National flag decree: recuperating red, yellow and purple republican tricolor of the nineteenth century to fly from all public buildings. 1 May: Pastoral letter of the cardinal primate of Spain, Segura, in barely concealed support of the monarchy. 11–12 May: Church and convent burnings in Madrid, Málaga and other cities. May–July: Republican dispositions on religious education and (20 May) proclamation of 'freedom of worship'. July–October: Acts of the provisional government on reform of schools (laicisation). 14 October: Parliamentary approval of articles 24 and 26 of the Constitution dealing with religion and the church. 3 November: Decree liberalising marriage and legalising divorce.	
1932	18 January: First anarchist rebellion, Alt Llobregat (Catalonia). 23 January: Dissolution of the Jesuit Company of Jesus (Jesuits). 10 August: Anti-government insurrection led by General Sanjurjo fails.	
1933	9 September: Approval of Catalan statute of autonomy. 8 January: Second anarchist rebellion (Casas Viejas). 17 March: Law of Religious Confessions and Congregations.	

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- 1933 3 June: Pius XI's papal encyclical, *Dilectissima Nobis*, on 'oppression of the church in Spain'.
November: Parliamentary elections. Victory of right-wing republican parties (CEDA and Radical Party).
8 December: Third anarchist rebellion.
- 1934 6 October: Left-wing insurrections in Asturias and Cataluña.
- 1936 16 February: The Popular Front alliance wins parliamentary elections. Manuel Azaña becomes head of the government.
March: The fascist Falange banned. Its leader, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, arrested. Street clashes between rightists and leftists.
10 May: Azaña named president of the Republic. Many strikes and land seizures.
12 July: A leftist officer of the Republican Assault Guards assassinated by Falangists.
13 July: Monarchist leader, José Calvo Sotelo, assassinated while in police custody.
17–20 July: Military rising initiated in Spanish Morocco, quickly followed in mainland Spain. Beginning of social revolution in areas with strong socialist, republican or anarchist presence where the rebellion is successfully resisted.
19 July: Prime minister Martínez Barrio succeeded by José Giral, who dissolves the regular army and orders arms to be distributed to popular militias. General Franco arrives in Spanish Morocco to head the Army of Africa.
19–20 July: The rebellion is welcomed in Pamplona, Burgos and Salamanca. It also quickly succeeds, with much violence, in Seville, Cádiz, Córdoba and Zaragoza.
25 July: Hitler agrees to provide aid to the insurgents.
30 July: Airlift of the Army of Africa to the Iberian Peninsula with planes supplied by Germany and Italy.
3 August: Aerial bombing of Zaragoza cathedral, home to the chapel of Our Lady of the Pillar, patroness of Spain, associated with the *Reconquista*.
7 August: 'Execution' of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at the Cerro de los Ángeles by republican militia.
13 August: Report of the Roman Catholic primate, Cardinal Isidro Gomá, to the Holy See which essentially justifies the war as a religious crusade.
23 August: Killing of nationalist prisoners in the Model Prison of Madrid.

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Chronology

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- 1936
- 23 August: Creation of Popular Courts to process those accused of collaborating with the rebellion against the elected government.
- 27 August: Red-and-gold national Spanish flag is restored in the nationalist zone.
- 30 August: Junta de Defensa Nacional annuls the dispositions of the republican agrarian reform.
- 4 September: Prime minister Largo Caballero forms a new Popular Front government, gaining the support of the communist PCE, and reorganises the popular militias. CNT joins Generalitat, dominated by Catalan nationalist Esquerra and communist PSUC.
- 29 September: Junta de Defensa Nacional transfers powers to Franco who becomes supreme military commander and head of the government.
- 6 October: Basque statute of autonomy is promulgated.
- October: First aid from the Soviet Union arrives in Spain.
- November: Arrival of International Brigades. Nationalists fail to take Madrid. CNT join Largo government which moves from Madrid to Valencia.
- 17 December: Anti-Stalinist POUM expelled from the Catalan government.
- 1937
- 7 February: Málaga falls to nationalists.
- 19 April: Decree unifying political forces of nationalist Spain with the name of FET y de las JONS, under Franco's command.
- April: Nationalists begin a major offensive in the north. Bombing of Basque towns. On 26 April the German Condor Legion destroys the town of Guernica.
- 3–8 May: In Barcelona, intense fighting between Marxists and anarchists of the POUM and the CNT on one side, and socialists and communists on the other.
- 17 May: Largo Caballero resigns as prime minister; replaced by Dr Juan Negrín. Some earlier revolutionary reforms are rescinded.
- June: Nationalist troops enter Bilbao.
- 21 June: Andrés Nin, leader of the POUM, murdered by Soviet agents.
- 1 July: collective letter of the Spanish bishops in Franco's support issued.
- August: Violent dissolution (by republican government forces) of anarchist Council of Aragón.

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- 1937 31 October: Republican government moves from Valencia to Barcelona.
- 1938 12 March: Civil marriages are declared outside the law in the Nationalist zone. The 1889 Civil Code, under which women were treated as minors before the law, is reintroduced.
 16–18 March: Heavy bombing of Barcelona by the nationalists.
 April: Press Law whereby newspapers become organs of the state.
 5 April: As Francoist troops prepare assault on Catalonia, Law of Derogation of the Catalan statute of autonomy pronounced.
 14–15 April: Nationalists reach the Mediterranean coast, north of Valencia. Republican Spain is split in two.
 April: Reorganisation of Negrín government. Resignation of Indalecio Prieto.
 1 May: Negrín offers peace plan to the insurgents (his ‘thirteen points’). Franco insists on unconditional surrender.
 July–November: Battle of the Ebro. Republican war effort begins to collapse.
 29 September: Munich agreement.
- 1939 26 January: Barcelona falls. Thousands of refugees flee to France.
 9 February: Law of Political Responsibilities against supporters of the Republic.
 27 February: Britain and France recognise Franco’s regime.
 27 March: General Franco announces Spain’s adhesion to the Anti-Comintern Pact.
 28 March: Madrid surrenders.
 1 April: Unconditional surrender of the republican army. US recognition of regime.
 18–20 May: On Ascension Day, Franco rides triumphantly into Madrid on white horse. Victory parade in Madrid follows, replicating the ritual of Alfonso VI’s entry into Toledo.
 27 May: Measures introduced against the use of Catalan language.
 July and August: Orders for ‘purging’ of teaching profession.
 8 August: Franco’s complete power is legislated in law of state organisation.
 23 September: Law of Widow and Orphans’ pensions for families of men on the nationalist side only.

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Chronology

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- 1940 1 March: Law 'Against Freemasonry and Communism'.
18 March: Decree making 1 April (anniversary of the victory) a national holiday.
1 April: Beginning of work on monumental pantheon of the 'crusade', the Valley of the Fallen.
12 July: Reestablishment of the Military Code of Justice for crimes 'derived from the Movimiento Nacional' (civil war).
- 1953 26 September: Accord between US and Spanish governments on technical and economic assistance.
- 1959 1 April: Inauguration by Franco of monumental tomb at the Valley of the Fallen.
21 July: 'Stabilisation Plan' announced as a 'Decree Law' aimed at liberalising economy.
- 1964 Resolutions of Second Vatican Council.
- 1969 1 April: Thirty years after Franco's victory, final 'prescription' of punishments for all 'criminal acts' before April 1939 announced.
- 1975 20 November: Death of General Franco. Juan Carlos is proclaimed king.
- 1977 October: Political amnesty decreed by parliament.
- 1982 October: Electoral victory of PSOE, first socialist involvement in government in Spain since 1936.
- 1996 March: Election victory of conservative Partido Popular.
- 2001 11 March: Beatification of 233 priests and religious killed during the civil war.
- 2002 November: Under pressure from protest groups, Spanish Congress approves a motion condemning the coup d'état of July 1936.

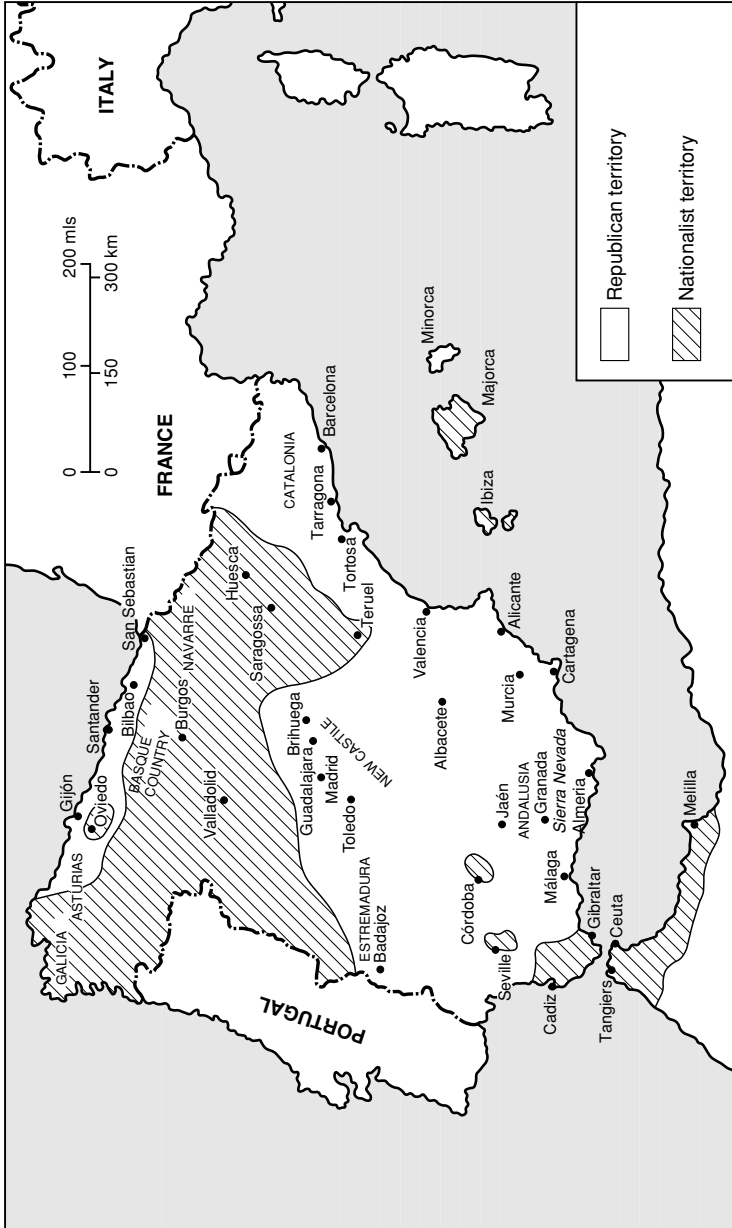
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Map 1. The division of Spain following the rebellion, 20 July 1936.

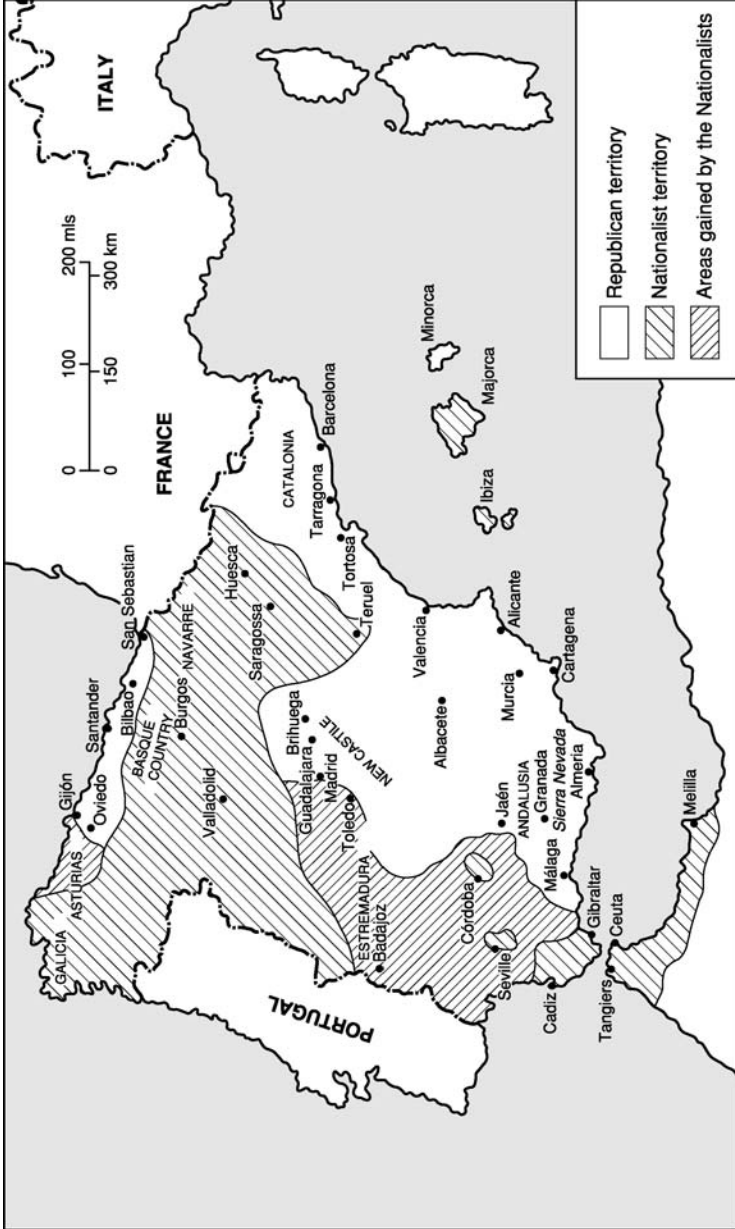
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Map 2. The division of Spain at beginning of February 1937.

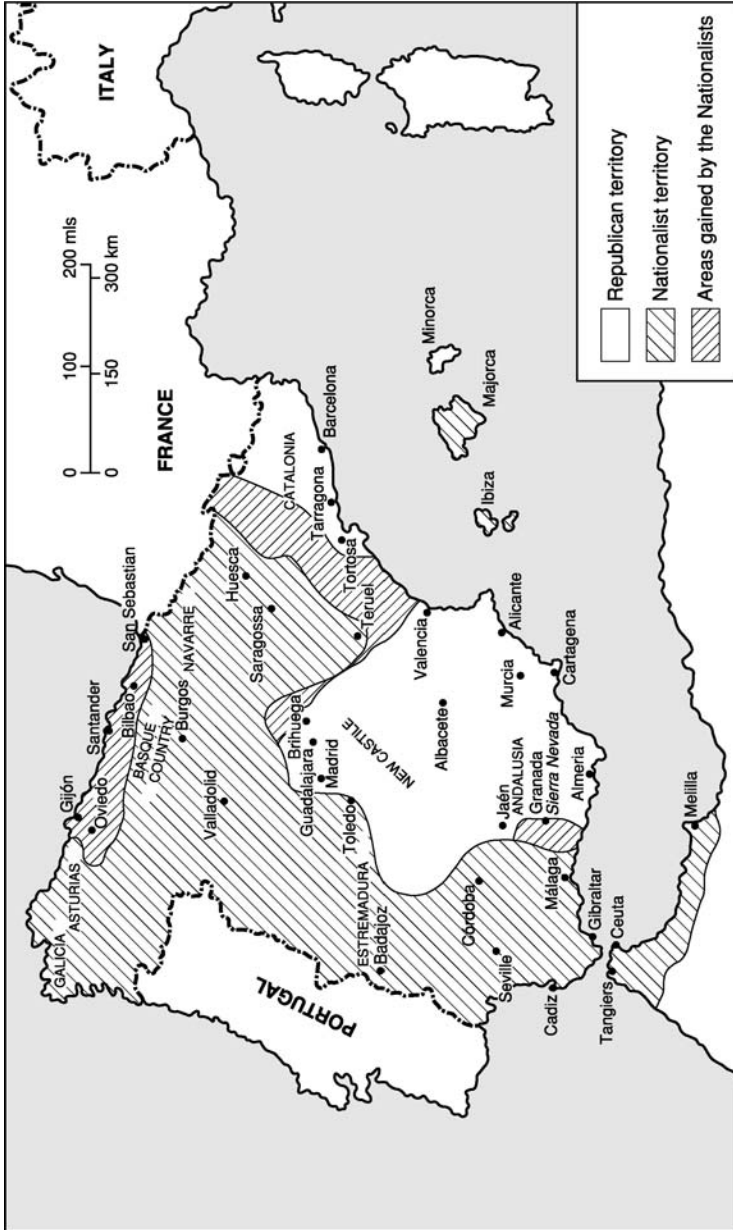
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Map 3. The division of Spain, April 1938: republican territory split in two.

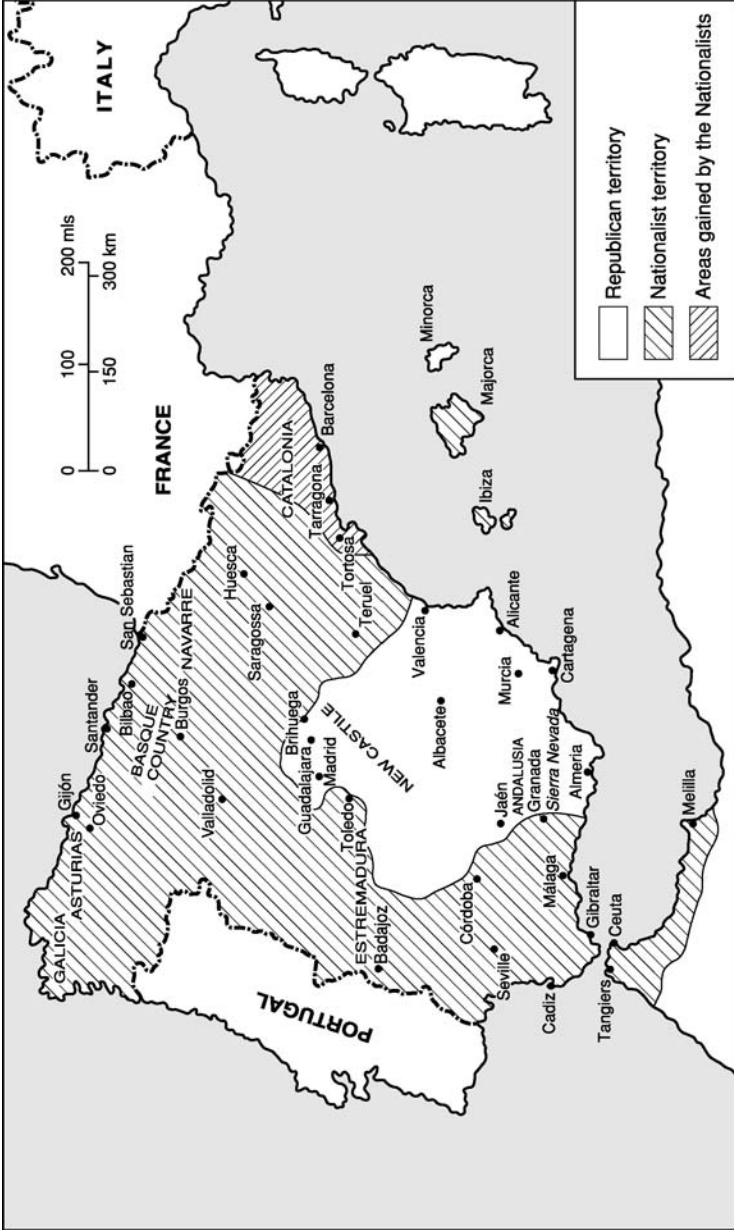
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Map 4. The division of Spain, March 1939, as war draws to a close.