

Barcelona, 1939-1945: Franco Regime Manipulations of Mass Culture During the Early Years of the Post-Civil War Period

Teresa: And the Nationalists entered the city down via Diagonal and the carretera [de Sants]. And a relative came by and we went to see [the soldiers]. We had a relative who was of the right and she told my mother, 'Come! Let's go see them arrive!' And my mother and my grandmother went because they said that the procession of soldiers would be followed by [a procession of] prisoners [of war]. We were on a balcony, there were even little flags, and the Moors [the Nationalist troops] [were marching] with brooms [in their hands], [making] sweeping [gestures], as if they were saying, 'We are coming here to clean up.' They were marching down the carretera de Sants triumphantly, and with brooms.¹

Introduction

Barcelona fell to Nationalist troops in late January 1939. The city's reputation as a hotbed of regional nationalist and working-class radicalism meant it was singled out by the Franco regime. Within days of the takeover, the regime began an unprecedented transformation of Barcelona society and culture.

The cornerstone of *franquista* ideology was an internally consistent albeit distorted interpretation of the Spanish past linked to a new vision for Spain's future. According to the official narrative, there was a *true* Spain and a *false* Spain; the true Spain was manifest in the spiritual and

material unification achieved under Ferdinand and Isabel through the culmination of the *reconquista*. Subsequently, it was manifest in the conquest and religious conversion of the New World, in the Counter-Reformation under Charles V, and in the Spanish empire under Philip II. The false Spain, meanwhile, was manifest in the political culture of the early Bourbon period, which had witnessed the introduction of French intellectual influences to Spanish society and allowed the infiltration of freemasonry into Spain.² Similarly, the First Republic and its ideology of liberalism also marked a deviation from Spain's true path. But it was the Second Republic that was most to blame for Spain's degeneration through its "anti-nationalist and anti-Catholic policies and its embrace of foreign ideologies."³ The Franco regime inserted itself into this narrative as the embodiment of the *Movimiento* (Movement), the force or tendency that had guided the nation along its true course in the past. The regime's mission – its *gloriosa Cruzada* (Glorious Crusade) – was to purge the nation of the foreign and false tendencies that had led it astray.⁴

The Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas (Law of Political Responsibilities) stands out as the one piece of legislation most clearly translating regime ideology into action. Passed by the Nationalist wartime government on February 9, 1939 the law criminalized all acts against the *Movimiento* or, to use the phrasing appearing in its preamble, activities that had "impeded the providential and historically inevitable triumph" of the Nationalist side.⁵ The legislation marked the formal beginning of the systematic purging or *depuración* (literally "purification")⁶ of Spanish society⁷ and the singling out of those individuals and sectors of society that had "contributed to or aggravated the subversion of [social] order."⁸

Building on the notion of a Manichean battle between a true and false Spain contained in the official narrative, the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas divided Spanish society into two categories: *authentic* or *true* Spaniards and *antiespañoles* (literally "anti-Spaniards"). True Spaniards were those men and women who had earned their right to belong to the nation by virtue of their appreciation of

Spain's historical mission. *Antiespañoles*, meanwhile, were those who, through their infusion of foreign ideologies and values into Spanish society and culture, and through acts of resistance against the *Movimiento*, had caused the nation to deviate from its predestined course.⁹ These new categories ultimately affected every member of society.

Linked to these new social identities, the state used its control over work and the workplace to reward those who had supported the *Movimiento* and to punish those who had opposed it. In August 1939, the Franco regime passed a law providing Nationalist ex-combatants, Nationalist fighters wounded or maimed in the war, and those taken prisoner by Republican forces with privileged access to government and administrative jobs. New guidelines established by the state reserved eighty percent of all public service jobs in the former Republican zones for Nationalist veterans.¹⁰ Nationalist veterans also received preferential treatment in terms of lax qualification standards when applying for work.¹¹ In addition, the Franco regime used access to housing as a means of rewarding its supporters and punishing those who opposed it by passing a law in September 1939 linking access to affordable housing to the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas.¹²

Depuración

The Franco regime began the *depuración* of Catalonia's education system even before the passing of the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas.¹³ Men and women working as educators and administrative staff in the region were placed on provisional suspension by order of the state on January 9, 1939.¹⁴ Those affected were granted a period of fifteen days during which they could reapply for their former positions. Unless they could provide proof of extenuating circumstances, those who failed to reapply within the allotted time permanently lost their right to work in the system. The information required from those reapplying included details about their labor union's affiliations, accounts of their political activities during the previous six years, and accounts of their activities in

support of the *Movimiento*. Additionally, applicants were required to furnish the state with the names of individuals who could verify their statements.¹⁵

Meanwhile the State, through the *Ministerio de Educación Nacional* (National Education Ministry), became the job broker for men and women educators at all levels, including the university level, listing job openings and screening candidates.¹⁶ Moreover, the state established curricula, issuing an order meticulously detailing norms for the instruction of history, philosophy, religion, and the sciences for secondary and higher learning institutions.¹⁷ The state also compiled reading lists of literature deemed acceptable by regime censors. In cases where the state could not eliminate what it considered “offensive materials” from the readings, it was the responsibility of instructors to point out the religious and moral “errors” in these works to their students.¹⁸

For educators, the consequences of being found guilty of having acted against the *Movimiento* were forced retirement, forced unemployment, loss of professional status, internal exile, and/or imprisonment.¹⁹ The new norms were enforced by state inspectors who ensured that the education system and its personnel reflected the values of the *Movimiento* and were “profoundly Catholic and Spanish” in their orientation.²⁰ Moreover, the new state succeeded in creating an environment of fear and suspicion; personal as well as professional behavior was scrutinized.²¹ Educators risked being denounced by neighbors or others in the community for their activities and behavior outside of the classroom. Orlando Peleyo recounts that this was his mother’s experience as she was denounced by members of her community for being a marxist, tried, and sentenced to prison.²²

In addition to educators, another sector of society singled out by the new state was Barcelona's working-class inhabitants. The Franco regime began the *depuración* of Barcelona’s workplaces in April 1939, shortly after the official end of the Civil War. Workers at Barcelona’s largest textile mill, España Industrial, S.A., located in the working-class community of Sants, were subjected to the process beginning in June of that year. A look at prison records provides an insight into what the process was

like. One of the first workers to be imprisoned for sedition was fifty-two year old Luis Santacana Brillas, employed at the factory's water department who was charged with having resisted the *Movimiento* and of spreading marxist ideology.²³ Sentenced to six years and one day for sedition on February 29, 1940, Santacana Brillas was granted conditional release on June 20, 1941.²⁴ The terms of his release stipulated that he was to be exiled to Castellón in the north of the Valencian province.²⁵ Santacana Brillas would spend almost a year there before being allowed to return to Barcelona.²⁶

The story of other España Industrial workers subjected to the process is similar. The norm in these *depuración* cases seems to have been the imposition of harsh sentences later commuted to shorter sentences and then conditional release.²⁷ Individuals who left prison on conditional release were, in a sense, serving out their sentences in public; they were living symbols and reminders of regime justice.

The case of Martín Queralt Sabater provides a glimpse into how the regime's legal system functioned. The findings of the military tribunal trying his case were based on the testimony provided by neighbors and fellow workers, among others. Moreover, much of the evidence provided by these witnesses was hearsay. Witnesses testified that they had suspected but were uncertain of the accused's political affiliations, and that they had seen the accused carrying a handgun and heading toward the military *cuartel* during the beginning of the *Movimiento*.²⁸ Others, meanwhile, testified that he was a "red propagandist." State prosecutors identified him as one of the anti-Nationalist combatants appearing in a poster displayed in Plaza Cataluña with the inscription "*Nuestros Héroes* ("Our Heroes").²⁹ Twenty-five years old at the time of his trial, Queralt Sabater began serving a seven-year sentence on July 20, 1939 for the crime of assisting in the rebellion against the *Movimiento*. He earned a conditional release on July 19, 1942, after serving three years, and received an unconditional release in February 1943.³⁰

The new regime's willingness to try and convict individuals on hearsay evidence, as in the case of Queralt Sabater, created a climate of fear and suspicion between neighbors and co-workers. It is

impossible to know if those testifying against Queralt Sabater anticipated benefiting in any way by their actions, but it seems likely that at least some individuals used the courts to better their own situation at the expense of their fellows given the new form of social organization and the link between political behavior and tangible rewards like jobs and housing.

Authentic Spaniards and antiespañoles

The Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas in tandem with the process of *depuración* was used by the Franco regime to create new and binding social identities and reinvent the social hierarchy. It ushered in a new dominant class composed of the military, members of the official state party (the Falange Española Tradicionalista or FET, and its women's section, Sección Femenina), the Spanish clergy, and Nationalist supporters. It also created a subordinate class composed of all those who had acted against the *Movimiento*. These new social roles played themselves out in an environment that required interaction between the two groups. Release from internment camps or prisons, for example, depended on the recommendation of *true* Spaniards willing to vouch for the character of individuals targeted as subversives.³¹

For supporters of the Nationalist cause returning home to Barcelona, the situation was much different. Juan Carbonell, who had fled Barcelona eleven months after the outbreak of the Civil War and had lived in San Sebastián (a Nationalist zone) for the duration of the war, returned to his native Sants as one of the victors. A squadron leader in the FET, in the new Spain Carbonell emerged as a member of the new social elite and was one of the people in a position to grant vouchers.³²

While we can only imagine what the process of obtaining vouchers was like for those who found themselves on the losing side, what is certain is that having to obtain these letters or vouchers reinforced the social divisions created by the state and conferred tangible powers upon new social elites. For *antiespañoles*, their freedom and their ability to obtain work and housing depended upon

this new dominant class. *Antiespañoles* emerged as second-class citizens and their professional, public, and even personal behavior was scrutinized. Moreover, the identity extended beyond those individuals found guilty of violating the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas; the parents, wives, friends and relatives, and even children of those captured as prisoners of war or later detained under the law were also affected.³³

Manipulations of popular culture

In addition to reinventing the social hierarchy as described above, the Franco regime moved to transform Barcelona popular culture by pursuing initiatives aimed at eliminating all traces of Catalan-nationalist and working-class forms. To this end, the regime outlawed the publication of all materials in Catalan as well as the use of Catalan in official documents and in personal correspondence and the use of spoken Catalan in public.³⁴ In similar fashion, the regime dismantled workers' unions, cultural centers, and press organs. The transformation extended to place-names: the names of plazas, streets, public buildings, and districts were changed from their Catalan and/or revolutionary names to their traditional Spanish names.³⁵

The identity of *antiespañoles* applied most broadly to residents of Barcelona's worker enclaves which were targeted by the new state as subversive or potentially subversive populations. In working-class communities like Sants, the months following the fall of Barcelona witnessed the staging of numerous state-sponsored events aimed at instilling new norms and values. In July, 1939, regime officials announced the inauguration of the *Carrera de homenaje al Ejercito Español* (Race in Honor of the Spanish Military), an appropriation of the bicycle race traditionally held in Sants in the past. The race was followed a month later by the celebration of the neighborhood's *Fiesta Mayor*, ostensibly a resumption of the traditional neighborhood celebration of Saint Bartholomew's Day, the community's

patron saint. In reality, however, the celebration was appropriated by the state and used to demonstrate the Franco regime's ability to restore order even among the reputedly most radical and resistant sectors of society. Articles announcing the event made its new political significance clear. *El Noticiero Universal* referred to the celebration as the “*Fiesta Mayor de la Victoria de la barriada de Sants*” (“Victory Festival of the Neighborhood of Sants”)³⁶; meanwhile, an article appearing in *Solidaridad Nacional*, noted that:

Seven months have passed since the liberation of Barcelona – our liberation. This short span of time has completely altered the character of the community. What was formerly bad humor and sadness has been transformed into healthy happiness as exemplified by the *Fiesta Mayor* that we now celebrate. This miracle has occurred thanks to the mercy of our Caudillo and the heroism of our Glorious Nationalist Army... who through their work and selfless dedication are healing the wounds which the hordes of the anti-Spain left in their wake.³⁷

In short, the celebration was not a resumption but rather a reinvention of tradition in a way that aimed to redefine popular culture and usher in new norms, values, and meanings. Moreover, it was a celebration by and for the victors marking the triumph of *true* Spaniards over *antiespañoles*, and served as another means of reinforcing new social identities. The elimination of old traditions and cultural forms and their replacement by new ones would continue over the course of the following years. In 1941, the State created the *Concurso de Premios a la Virtud, al Trabajo, y a la Cultura* (Contest and Awards for Virtue, Work, and Culture) to be celebrated in conjunction with that year's *Fiesta Mayor de Sants*. The event was staged to reward local residents who had demonstrated a genuine understanding of Spanish values with medals, honorary titles and degrees, and monetary prizes.³⁸ In 1943, additional prize categories were introduced by festival organizers including one for the best essay on the topic *Misión patriótica de la Juventud española* (*The Patriotic Mission of Spanish Youth*).³⁹

But the transformation of everyday life and of individual behavior involved more than just the social and cultural initiatives introduced by the state in a top-down process. Within weeks of the

takeover of the city, for example, the Maristas brothers, Nationalist supporters and residents of Sants and acting on their own initiative, held temporary church services in their home, including the celebration of Mass for community residents. More significant in terms of its political and symbolic value, the home became the site of celebrations of Catholic funerals for the *authentic* Spaniards who had died in defense of the Nationalist cause during the war. One of the first observances of this type was the funeral of Don Pedro Salvat Rovira held in March 1939. The funeral was followed by a Mass for “all the fallen martyrs of our sacred cause,” reportedly the idea of Pedro Salvat Pié, son of the deceased.⁴⁰ Indeed, supporters of the regime, acting on their own initiative, served to extend and amplify the state's mission.

Beyond observances and commemorations of the kind described above, new elites became a regular presence in day-to-day life. Indeed, Nationalist supporters and the clergy, with the backing of the Falange, became active partners in effecting the transformation of social norms and values.⁴¹ In so doing, they took regime initiatives further than the state would have been able to do on its own.

Conclusion

The image of Nationalist troops entering Barcelona in January 1939 carrying brooms was a clear indication of what the Franco regime intended. There was another side to that moment: the festive yet ominous scene on the main boulevards was matched by more chaotic scenes on the side streets of working-class enclaves like Sants, where debris tossed from windows and doorways lined the sidewalks and roadways. While some of the city's inhabitants witnessed the procession of Nationalist troops, others were busy rummaging through their homes and disposing of personal correspondence, photographs, scrapbooks, newspapers, flags, and anything else that might belie their political affiliations or link them to the republican or revolutionary causes.⁴² But if reprisals were expected, it is hard to imagine that Barcelona's inhabitants anticipated the extent to which the new State would

transform society, culture, and everyday life in the city. Unlike earlier cultural missions such as those pursued by the Republican-Socialist government of the Second Republic, once in power, the Franco regime imposed rather than negotiated change. It silenced the voices of opposition and dismantled competing political and cultural forms. By creating an uncontested space for the introduction of its own vision, the regime succeeded in effecting a sudden and dramatic break with previous patterns of life and the norms, values, habits and meanings constructed around them. Remarkably, it did all of these things not for the sake of unifying Spanish society but rather as a means of preserving differences and dividing it.

In all of this, the centrality of the official historical interpretation to the Franco regime's program of social and cultural transformation cannot be overstated. It introduced notions of a *true* and *false* Spain, and of *authentic* and *false* Spaniards. In so doing, it twisted meanings and created new and binding social identities linked to new traditions and rituals which were, in turn, linked to the most basic of necessities. In his introduction to the relationship between memory and history and to the “memory places” of national identity, Pierre Nora cites the memory of the Spanish Civil War as the one exception to the process of collective remembering that is “always embodied in living societies and as such in permanent evolution, subject to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of the distortions to which it is subjected.”⁴³ In the case of postwar Barcelona society, however, collective remembering was not negotiated; it did not evolve. Rather it was imposed, and those subjected to the sudden imposition of new identities, norms, and values were conscious of the distortion inasmuch as regime manipulations of historical memory were manipulations of personal, lived memory. Moreover, the Franco regime politicized the process of remembering and forgetting in a way that allowed for neither; *antiespañoles* were simultaneously bound to the counter-memory of the recent past while being denied the space for the performance of that memory.⁴⁴

-
- 1 P., Carmen and Teresa, interview with author, Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona Spain, 10 December 1998. «Y entraron los Nacionales por la vía Diagonal y la carretera. Y vino una parienta, y nos fuimos a ir a ver. Teníamos una parienta que también vivía en vuestra calle, que era de derechas y le dijo a mi madre, ‘¡Ven! ¡Vamos a ver que ya llegan!’ Y mi madre y mi abuela fueron porque decían que después que entraban [los soldados Nacionalistas] detrás entrarán los prisioneros. Estábamos en un balcón, incluso con banderitas, y los moros con escobas, escobando, como queriendo decir 'aquí venimos a limpiar'. Por la carretera de Sants pasaban triunfalmente y con escobas».
- 2 *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (hereafter cited as *BOE*) 128(8 May 1939):18.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 18, 22, 24.
- 5 *BOE* 44(13 February 1939):825.
- 6 Despite what seemed to be the legislation's focus on political behaviors, its stated aim was not to effect political conformity but rather the “spiritual reconstruction of the nation.” *Ibid.*, 824. Indeed, the program outlined in the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas recast what the regime considered to be deviant political beliefs and behaviors into moral/spiritual defects. Although the term *depuración* had been used in the past to denote the ferreting out of political enemies, in the context of the regimes *gloriosa Cruzada*, it and other initiatives like the state's *Redención de las Penas por Trabajo* (Redemption Through Work) program took on religious connotations.
- 7 Carolyn P. Boyd notes that *depuración* was based on an interpretation of tradition “that not only conferred legitimacy, but... also permitted greater selection and control of the cultural components of national identity.” Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 235.
- 8 *BOE* 44(13 February 1939):825. The transcendent nature of the *Movimiento* was reflected in the scope of the legislation. While the scope of the law should have been limited to acts committed since the military uprising of July 1936, the law retroactively encompassed acts committed between 1 October 1934 and 18 July 1936. October 1, 1934 marked the installation of three CEDA ministers in a government headed by Antonio Lerro. In response, parties of the left and workers' organizations rose against the coalition of Spanish right-wing groups in what came to be known as the “October Revolution.” See Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1936* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 148-68. See also Sandie Holguin, *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 3.
- 9 *BOE* 44(13 February 1939):824.
- 10 *BOE* 188(7 July 1939):3704-5. Only the remaining twenty percent of public service jobs were unrestricted and open to qualified applicants from the general population. If, however, the candidate pool for these remaining jobs proved insufficient, the job openings would be assigned to one of the reserved categories described above. *BOE* 276(3 October 1939):5540.
- 11 For example, in a law passed in March 1941, the state required all employees of the offices of press and propaganda to attend orientation classes and take an examination on the tenets of *Movimiento* doctrine, political rights, and legislation related to the functions of the press. For those who were Nationalist veterans of the Civil War, however, course attendance was voluntary and all of their examinations were automatically approved. Meanwhile, only twenty percent of non-veterans who took the course and passed the examination were allowed to keep their jobs. *BOE* 89(30 March 1941):2098-9.
- 12 *BOE* 157(6 June 1939):3093-4.
- 13 Beginning in 1900, the Generalitat (the regional government of Catalonia) pursued an education initiative in Catalonia aimed at “creating Catalans.” Anselm C., interview with author, Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona Spain, 30 November 1998. See also Ajuntament de Barcelona. *Ajuntament de Barcelona, Assessoria tècnica de la Comissió de Cultura. Les Construccions escolars de Barcelona: Recull dels estudis, projectes i altres antecedents que existeixen en l'Ajuntament per la solució de aquest problema* (Barcelona: Tallers d'arts gràfiques, Henrich i C^a, 1921). After the declaration of the Second Republic, the regional initiative would compete with central government initiatives aimed at fostering a unifying Spanish national identity through education and cultural missions. Once in control of Catalonia, the Franco regime moved quickly to reorient the region's school system.

-
- 14 *BOE* 34(3 February 1939):643-4.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 *BOE* 48(17 February 1941):1108.
- 17 See *BOE* 128(8 May 1939):1-27.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 17-8. This was the case, for example, in curriculum guidelines for the instruction of philosophy.
- 19 *BOE* 209(27 July 1940):5207.
- 20 *BOE* 60(1 March 1939):1206.
- 21 As functionaries and representatives of the new state, educators were required to be “profoundly Catholic and Spanish” in their personal values and public behavior. Indeed, the National Education Ministry permanently dismissed university professors not only for having opposed the *Movimiento* but for improper public behavior. *BOE* 98 (8 April 1941):2358.
- 22 “My mother spent a year doing what she had always done [teach] but one bad day she was denounced [by members of her community] and they put her in jail. She was tried, and they accused her of being an atheist-marxist and condemned her to a few years in jail. [She was] a woman from a Catholic family, and she was also Catholic, that absurd sentence... She spent some years in jail and was expelled from her career but was able to support herself by giving private lessons.” Orlando Peleyo, interviewed by Antonio Soriano, *Éxodos: Historia oral del exilio republicano en Francia, 1939-1945* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1989), 68.
- 23 Luis Santacana Brillas, Court transcript (n.p., n.d.), Prison Records, ANC.
- 24 Luis Santacana Brillas, *Libertad Definitiva. Luis Santacana Brillas*, 9 July 1941, Prison Records, ANC.
- 25 Luis Santacana Brillas, Conditional release certificate signed by Isidoro Castellón Lopez, Prison Director, 6 June 1940, Prison Records, ANC.
- 26 Telegram from the director of the Barcelona prison to the director of the provincial prisons in Castellón, 13 June 1942, Prison Records, ANC.
- 27 See, for example, José Nicolás Pascual, *Libertad Definitiva. José Nicolás Pascual*, 2 February 1945, Prison Records, ANC; José Nicolás Pascual, *Liquidación de Condena del Penado*, 24 May 1941, Prison Records, ANC; Antonio Pérez Tousset, *Libertad definitiva. Antonio Pérez Tousset* (n.p., n.d.), Prison Records, ANC.
- 28 Martín Queralt Sabater, *Auto-resumen* (n.p., n.d.), Prison Records, ANC.
- 29 Martín Queralt Sabater, *Félix Navarro Dominguez, Secretario de causas del Juzgado Militar N° 15 del que es Juez Don Vicente Alcalde del Paso, Capitán de Infantería* (n.p., n.d.), Prison Records, ANC.
- 30 Martín Queralt Sabater, *Prisión Celular de Barcelona, 20 febrero 1943, núm. 5030*, Prison Records, ANC.
- 31 In a letter dated 18 June 1939, Arturo Inglés, then a prisoner of war, wrote the following to his father, José, from a Nationalist concentration camp south of Bilbao: “ On the 11th, some forty comrades left this factory and were transported to the concentration camp in Bilbao... Once there, those who had guarantees of good conduct from their respective towns, and who had enough money to pay for the trip [back home] were set free, and among them was one [person] from Sants. Well, the thing is that, according to rumors, my company will soon leave, but since I have neither of the two things necessary to leave [to be set free], I will have to stay in the concentration camp, which is why I am asking you to act with the greatest urgency possible and to obtain for me the said guarantee; this guarantee must confirm that in no way did I ever act against the Glorious Nationalist Movement, not having belonged to any political party or syndicate, and that I ended up in the ranks of the red army due to the fact that my company was forced to mobilize, which is the case, and once these facts are written, it [the guarantee or voucher] must carry the signature or seal of the *ayuntamiento* or of the Falange, or as a last resort, the mayor of the *barrio*. Letter dated 18 June 1939 from Arturo Inglés, Galdácano (Biscay Province), to José Inglés, Sants, Barcelona, Arturo Inglés collection, Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc. «El día once, salieron de esta fabrica unos 40 compañeros, fueron trasladados al campo de concentración de Bilbao... y una vez allí, les dieron libertad a todos aquellos que poseían haveles [sic] de buena conducta de sus respectivos pueblos, y que tenían dinero para costearse el viaje, por cierto que entre ellos había un de Sans... Pues el caso es que según rumores pronto saldremos los de mi quinta, pero como quiera que yo no poseo ninguna de las dos cosas necesarias para salir tendré que quedarme en le campo de concentración as es que les pido que con la mayor urgencia posible, procuráis obtener el dicho havel [sic] de buena conducta, en dicho havel [sic] tiene que constar amas de mi conducta que en nada perjudico al Glorioso Movimiento Nacional, el no haber pertenecido a ningún partido político ni sindical, y que figuré en las filas del ejercito rojo forzado a movilizar mi quinta, como es cierto, y una vez lleno con estos requisitos, tiene que llevar la firma o el sello del ayun6amiento o de la Falange, o bien un ultimo caso la firma del alcalde del barrio».
- 32 Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS application dated 21 February 1940, Juan Carbonell Collection, Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc. As noted by Juan Llarch, the list of those in a position to grant vouchers included local mayors, the head of local Falange organizations, commanders of the local Guardia Civil, or local priests. Juan Llarch, *Batallones de Trabajadores* (Barcelona: Editorial Vergi, 1975), 111.

-
- 33 The families of prisoners of war or those detained for political crimes lived on the margins of the new system, receiving no information from authorities as to the whereabouts of their loved ones. P., Carmen and Teresa, interview with author, Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona Spain, 10 December 1998. Children enrolled in the school system, meanwhile, were referred to as “reds.” As noted by Anselm C., “many of them [the new teachers] referred to the students as reds: ‘You rotten reds!’ [they would say]. We were all reds because we had been there [in Barcelona] and continued to be there.” «[Los nuevos maestros] se dirigían a los alumnos tratándolos de rojos. “¡Ustedes rojos podridos!”... Todos eramos rojos porque todos habíamos estado allí y seguíamos allí.» Anselm C., interview with author, Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona Spain, 30 November 1998.
- 34 See Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (London: Phoenix Press, 1987), 231-3.
- 35 Payne, 231-3. The Franco regime also appropriated Catalan cultural forms such as the *sardana* (a regional dance). As noted by Dorothy Noyes and Roger D. Abrahams, “under the Franco regime, the *sardana* became a sign of national resistance, acknowledged as such even by southern and western Catalans. Its pacific and ‘folkloric’ character kept it from being outlawed entirely.” Dorothy Noyes and Roger D. Abrahams, “From Calendar Custom to National Memory: European Commonplaces,” in Dan Ben-Amos and Liliane Weissberg, eds., *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999):93.
- 36 *El Noticiero Universal*, 16 August 1939.
- 37 *Solidaridad Nacional*, 24 August 1939.
- 38 “II Concurso do Premios a la Virtud, al Trabajo y a la Cultura en la barriada de Sans,” *El Correo Catalán*, 25 August 1942.
- 39 “La de Sans. Reparto de Premios al III Concurso de la Virtud,” *Diario de Barcelona*, 19 August 1943.
- 40 *La Vanguardia*, 3 March 1939.
- 41 Accounts like the one provided by Ramon A. are typical: “In the beginning, when the war ended, I was a little boy but my mother and father, they would be playing [dominoes or cards], playing or passing the time at the bar where the soccer team used to go. This is a bar where all of the neighbors in the community went, got together, played cards or dominoes, you see. Just to pass the time of day. And the priest would come [into the bar] and say, ‘Come [it’s time] to pray the Rosary. To pray the Rosary [all of you]!’ And careful! If you didn’t go they had the Falange [to back them up]. A., Ramon, interview with author, Arxiu Municipal Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona, Spain, 19 November 1998. « Al principio, cuando se termino la guerra, aquí estabas, yo era chiquillo pero mi madre y mi padre, estaban jugando, jugando , o pasando un rato en el bar, donde iba el equipo de fútbol. Esto es un bar donde van todos los vecinos del barrio, se reúnen, hacen una partida de cartas o de domino, hablan de fútbol, ¿eh? A pasar la tarde. Venia el cura y decía: ‘A rosario.’ ‘A rezar el rosario.’ Y, ojo, si no ibas entonces tenían lo de la Falange ».
- 42 P., Carmen and Teresa, interview with author, Arxiu Municipal de Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona Spain, 10 December 1998.
- 43 Nora, 3.
- 44 Maurice Halbwachs, Paul Connerton, Pierre Nora, et al., cite the space for the performance of memory and the creation of meaning (what Pierre Nora refers to as “sites of memory”) as key to the construction and transmission of collective memory. See Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory, Volume I: Conflicts and Divisions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).