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Antonio Vallejo Nágera and the Discourse of Eugenics in Francoist Spain

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Antonio Vallejo Nágera and the Discourse of Eugenics in Francoist Spain

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Hispanic Studies from
The College of William and Mary

by

Ethan Foster Pearlstein

Accepted for _____
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)

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Williamsburg, VA
April 24, 2015

For my great-aunt,
Edith Parnes (1923-2003),
A survivor of the atrocities of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp and a symbol
of life and resilience to all who knew her.

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Introduction. *Divagaciones intrascendentes* and the Physician as the Ideological Embodiment of the State

In the years immediately prior to the Spanish Civil War (1936-39)--fought between the Republicans, those loyal to the democratic Spanish Republic, and the Nationalists, a fascist rebel group led by General Francisco Franco--the field of medicine became divided between those physicians on either side of the ideological conflict. As Michael Richards writes in “Spanish Psychiatry c. 1900-1945: Constitutional Theory, Eugenics, and the Nation,” “Although there was no simple ideological divide amongst doctors, the fact that medical doctors ranked high amongst the professional groups targeted in the political violence on both sides underlined the politicization of medicine and medical discourse” (Richards, “Spanish Psychiatry” 826). During this time, Antonio Vallejo Nágera, a notable psychiatrist and professor of psychiatry in the Military Academy of Health, actively contributed to medical journals and clearly aligned himself in opposition to the Republic. A personal friend of Francisco Franco, Vallejo Nágera was a frequent contributor to <<Boletín de Medicina,>> a supplement to the politically conservative scientific journal *Medicina*, edited by a group of Catholic physicians. Vallejo Nágera’s contribution to this journal emphasizes the importance of medicine to the Spanish State and the role of the physician, due to their high level of social influence, as an ideological representation of the values of the state. Vallejo Nágera writes of the role of the physician as part of his book, *Divagaciones intrascendentes*, a collection of nine essays published between October 1935 and April 1936, all of them in the year leading up to the start of the civil war. In one of these essays, “Apoliticismo científico,” published on January 1, 1936, Vallejo Nágera writes of the duty of the Spanish physician:

“Tiene hoy el médico en España, como en todas las naciones, el deber de definirse ideológicamente y conducirse en conformidad con sus ideas. El católico que alardea de liberal, es un traidor a sus más caras convicciones. El conservador con pruritos de avanzado, favorece la causa de sus enemigos” (Vallejo Nágera, *Divagaciones* 24).

In this quotation, Vallejo Nágera warns against those physicians whose conduct does not conform with their own ideology. According to Vallejo Nágera, a Catholic physician who *boasts* of liberalism is a traitor to their own convictions and a conservative physician who *itches* for progressive reform favors the cause of the enemy. Furthermore, he places Catholicism and liberalism at odds with one another in writing that the Catholic physician may not hold liberal convictions. By declaring Catholicism incompatible with liberalism in this paragraph, Vallejo Nágera intimately ties together the Catholic faith with politically conservative thought. In this prewar publication, Vallejo Nágera depicts the ideal physician as Catholic, politically conservative, and in opposition to Spain’s Second Republic (1931-1939). Vallejo Nágera argues in favor of the politically oriented physician, insisting, “El médico debe tener ideas políticas...Incluso a la cabecera de la cama del enfermo debe el médico hacer política, claro está que si se entiende por política mantener una ideología que beneficie al individuo y a la comunidad” (Vallejo Nágera, *Divagaciones* 24-25). In this section, Vallejo Nágera argues that the Spanish physician should bring to bear these *political ideas* even at the bedside of the sick, maintaining an ideology that will benefit *the individual and the community*. Not only does Vallejo Nágera explicitly describe the ideal Spanish physician in this article, but he contends that, due to a conservative political orientation, that they are superior caregivers as compared to their apolitical or liberal counterparts. In the final paragraph of the article, Vallejo

Nágera clarifies that while the apolitical or liberal physician may be equally competent, it is the religious nature of the conservative physician that allows for improved social interactions with the patient. In comparing the two, Vallejo Nágera writes that, "...la actuación social de cada uno de ellos a la cabecera del enfermo será muy diferente, según que sea creyente o incrédulo: al primero le preocupará que sean administrados a tiempo los Santos Sacramentos, al último no le importará tanto" (Vallejo Nágera, *Divagaciones* 25). As an example of how social conduct with the patient at the bedside may be influenced by ideology, Vallejo Nágera writes of the timeliness of the offering of the Holy Sacrament as an indicator of the physician's bedside manner. To Vallejo Nágera, the physician concerned with delivering the Sacrament in a timely manner is superior. This statement is indicative of the politicization of medicine in the writings of Antonio Vallejo Nágera, and later by the Franco regime.

Upon his appointment as director of Franco's military and psychiatric services shortly after the outbreak of the war in the summer of 1936, Vallejo Nágera worked to further politicize medicine in Spain. Tim Mitchell writes in "Authoritarian Medicalization and Gynephobia under Franco": "Francoist medicalization, checked in so many ways by miracle-mongering Catholicism and subservient doctors, had given way to the robust medical truth production of a laicized European Community" (Mitchell 13). In this thesis, I will explore Francoist medicalization, or rather examine the Spanish Civil War in medical terms, as suggested by Antonio Vallejo Nágera. I look to address the function that medicine served for the Franco regime, and to justify the introduction of a directorship in psychiatry in the Nationalist camp as early as August of 1936. Through close textual analysis of three key publications by Vallejo Nágera, *El factor emoción en*

la España nueva (1938), *Política racial del nuevo estado* (1938) and “Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes” (1939), I trace the development of a Nationalist medical discourse and argue for its significance in writing of the enemy as psychiatrically degenerate, while advocating for and justifying the violent repression of the Republican opposition.

In Chapter 1, I examine the language adopted by the Nationalist Movement in depicting the Republican opposition as not only foreign, but threatening due to their sub-human nature. Adopting Michael Richards’ notion of a “language of degeneration” in characterizing the Other, in this chapter I historically situate the work of Vallejo Nágera as part of a long history of writing on the topic of Spanish identity dating back to the 15th century, with common themes of the use of eugenics and the importance of religion to distinguish the Spanish from the anti-Spanish. Instrumental to my analysis of the development of a Nationalist discourse is Spanish philosopher Ramiro de Maeztu’s work *Defensa de la hispanidad* (1934), a source of much inspiration for the later writings of Vallejo Nágera concerning the regeneration of the race based upon the principles of religion, patriotism, and self-sufficiency. Moving from a historical context, I argue that the degenerative language proposed by Richards may also be seen in the writings of Ernesto Giménez-Caballero, a contemporary of Vallejo Nágera and prominent Spanish fascist. Utilizing Nil-Santiáñez’s theory of the binomial good/evil structure in fascist literature, I argue that the work of Giménez-Caballero serves an intermediary function between the writings of Maeztu as a philosopher and Vallejo Nágera as a physician.

Moving from the historical context provided by the first chapter, in Chapter 2 I examine two works written by Vallejo Nágera, both published in 1938. Arguing for the

significance of the year 1938 as a pivotal point in the development of the nationalist medical discourse, I demonstrate Vallejo Nágera's construction of a rigid dichotomy between those loyal to the Nationalist Movement and those loyal to the Second Spanish Republic. Expanding upon a brief analysis offered by Michael Richards with regard to notions of purity and the development of a psycho-pathological discourse by the Nationalist movement, I argue in this chapter that the use of psychiatry by Vallejo Nágera in these 1938 works was an important first step in justifying the brutality of the Franco regime. First, in *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, I argue that Vallejo Nágera outlines the values central to the Nationalist movement, while in *Política racial del nuevo estado* he constructs the eugenic and hierarchical state. To better understand the importance of a firmly entrenched social hierarchy to the Francoist state, I focus upon Vallejo Nágera's use of metaphorical anecdotes in *Política racial del nuevo estado*.

Finally in Chapter 3, I trace the fundamental transition of the work of Vallejo Nágera from pseudoscientific book to scientific publication in 1938. On August 23, 1938, Vallejo Nágera received official approval from Franco to create the Gabinete de Investigaciones Psicológicas, enabling him to examine Spanish political prisoners and publish his results in medical journals. In this chapter, I focus specifically on the studies that Vallejo Nágera conducted on a group of fifty female Spanish political prisoners, focusing on his criminalization of their supposed physical and psychological perversion in contrast to the normative and virtuous Nationalist woman. Within this chapter, I first examine the Sección Femenina, the women's section of the Spanish fascist party, as a counterpoint to the degenerate group of fifty Republican women studied by Vallejo Nágera. Utilizing contemporary Spanish psychiatrist Enrique González Duro's theory of

the purpose of violent political repression for the Franco regime, I argue that this 1939 study, published months after the end of the war, serves the purpose of justifying violent repressive measures on the basis of the inferiority of the Republican woman. Lastly, I study *A Young Mother in Franco's Prisons* by Pilar Fidalgo Carasa, a testimony of life as a woman in the Franco prison system. In contrast to the account of a historian who may specialize in the Franco penitentiary system, this personal account of the atrocities of the regime provides a counter-narrative to the propagandist studies of Vallejo Nágera.

While the eugenic practices of the physicians of Nazi Germany are widely known and universally condemned, few people realize that the eugenic discourse promoted by Antonio Vallejo Nágera played a significant role during the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. The work of Vallejo Nágera is also closely tied to German eugenic theory. As Nicholas Coni writes in *Medicine and Warfare: Spain, 1936-1939*, “It was standard practice at the time for distinguished clinicians to visit other countries to assimilate new techniques and treatments and to attend international conferences” (Coni 7). Having studied with notable German psychologists and psychiatrists at the end of World War I, Vallejo Nágera returned to Spain with a knowledge of eugenic practices that would be instrumental to his implementation of a similar system in Spain years later under Franco. Due to the social level of influence of the physician, Vallejo Nágera was able to employ the veil of psychiatric medicine, utilizing medical language but little scientific backing, to successfully demonize the enemy. What resulted was violent action against the Second Spanish Republic on the basis of their mental degeneracy, a Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War, and the justification for the institutionalization of repressive measures in the post-war era.

Chapter 1. In Defense of a “Healthy” Spain: Ramiro de Maeztu, *Acción Española* and the Metaphor of Illness in Envisioning the Spanish State

“Surgió el Movimiento Nacional del deseo del verdadero pueblo español de recuperar sus valores universales, aherrojados por el materialismo marxista, y conjuntamente, de la necesidad de salvar la honra de España ante el mundo.”

-Antonio Vallejo Nágera. *El factor emoción en la España nueva*

These words, part of a brief thirty-one page treatise titled *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, were published in January 1938 by *Atenas*, the magazine of the Federación de Amigos de la Enseñanza, a politically conservative organization for Catholic school directors (Andrés-Gallego & Pazos 224). The quotation describes the establishment of the Nationalist Movement of Spain, headed by General Francisco Franco, in terms of the need to recuperate the values of the ‘true’ Spanish State shackled by Marxist materialism. The author of the work was Spanish psychiatrist Dr. Antonio Vallejo Nágera (1889-1960), writing in the midst of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Vallejo Nágera was an ardent supporter of the Nationalist Movement, comprised of the conservative and traditionalist sects of Spanish society, including the military, monarchists, agrarian landowners and the Catholic Church. In *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, Vallejo Nágera writes to an audience of Catholic educators of the need to restore the universal values of the Spanish State through the dismantling of liberal reforms. These reforms included the separation of Church and state, and were stipulated in the Spanish Constitution of 1931, set into place by the Second Spanish Republic. As historian Manuel Álvaro Dueñas explains in his essay, this democratic government of Spain was established on April 14, 1931, following the fall of the dictatorship of General

Miguel Primo de Rivera and the abdication of King Alfonso XIII, who left the country that day after being convicted of high treason (qtd. in Arósteguí, *Franco* 67). The civil war was ignited by a July 1936 rebellion led by a group of politically conservative Spanish army officers termed *Africanistas*, due to their leadership in the Spanish Army of Africa, which defended Spain's colonial possessions on that continent (Richards, *Time of Silence* 34). These officers, along with the rest of the Spanish political right, grew increasingly dissatisfied with the transition from monarchic rule to constitutional democracy, characterized by liberal reforms initiated by the Republic. Article 27 of the Spanish constitution of 1931, for example, declared "Freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practice any religion is guaranteed in the Spanish territory, saving the due respect to the demands of public morals" (Spanish Const. of 1931). The separation of Church and state and other radical reforms after years of Catholic monarchy in Spain disrupted the status quo and displeased the more traditionalist sects of society, including the *Africanistas* themselves, to the point of military rebellion.

Francisco Franco and Antonio Vallejo Nágera were themselves *Africanistas*; Franco would later take charge of the rebellion and eventually the Nationalist Movement, and name Vallejo Nágera in 1936 as Chief of Psychiatric Services of the Nationalist army (Sosa-Velasco, *Médicos escritores en España* 151). Historian Paul Preston, in his book, *The Spanish Holocaust*, describes the *Africanista* officers and Civil Guards as "the most violent exponent of right-wing hostility towards the Second Republic and its working-class supporters (34). What followed the July 1936 rebellion was a bloody civil war marked by the insurgents' fierce repression of Republican Spain, where victory, for General Franco, meant "the annihilation of large numbers of Republicans and the total

humiliation and terrorization of the surviving population” (qtd. in Richards, *Time of Silence* 35).

The introduction of medicine and psychology into the discourse of the Nationalist Movement greatly aided the characterization of the Second Republic and those loyal to it as sub-human. By 1938, the time of the treatise’s publication, the Nationalist Movement had established a language of political discourse centered upon the “remaking of the *patria* through the destruction of all things foreign or alien to the ‘national destiny’” (Richards, *Time of Silence* 34). Vallejo Nágera was able to characterize those loyal to Spain’s democratic republic, the *ofensores de la patria*, as an inferior race deserving of extermination through his conflation of their political opposition to the military insurgency with a sense of biological inferiority. Vallejo Nágera’s role as a physician in providing a supposed sense of legitimacy to the practices of the Nationalist movement cannot be understated; he published prolifically during the Spanish Civil War in notable medical journals and politically conservative magazines, writing about the conflict through the lens of psychiatric health. In order to understand the trajectory of the academic production of Antonio Vallejo Nágera over the course of the war, it is important to understand those theorists who influenced him most and those who contextualize the civil war both historically and culturally.

In this chapter, I propose that Antonio Vallejo Nágera’s discursive representation of political opposition through the language of degeneration, as suggested by historian Michael Richards in *A Time of Silence*, is deeply rooted in questions of Spanish national identity throughout history. Utilizing the historical framework presented by the British historian Paul Preston in *The Spanish Holocaust* concerning the use of anti-Semitic

rhetoric in defending the actions of the Nationalist regime, I will demonstrate that Vallejo Nágera's wartime publications similarly stem from a history of Spanish anti-Semitism beginning with the Alhambra Decree of 1492, which expelled the Jewish people from Spain, and continuing with the anti-Semitism present in the work of the academic Ramiro de Maeztu (1875-1936). Maeztu was a politically conservative Spanish philosopher and the chief editor of *Acción Española*, a fascist political magazine (1931-1937) whose contributors included Antonio Vallejo Nágera, the prominent intellectual Ernesto Giménez-Caballero, and even monarchists like the Marqués de Pelayo, who financially backed the establishment of the magazine, and the Marqués de Quintanar, who served as the magazine's first director until 1933, when Maeztu assumed the post (Peña González 34).

I will first offer a textual analysis of Ramiro de Maeztu's pre-war *Defensa de la hispanidad* (1934) to demonstrate the discursive representation of the political opposition as foreign, and therefore threatening to the Spanish State. Next, I propose that this same extreme right-wing political discourse, examined by Michael Richards, may be seen in the wartime writings of Ernesto Giménez-Caballero, a prominent Spanish fascist and fellow contributor with Vallejo Nágera to Ramiro de Maeztu's political magazine *Acción Española*. Building on Nil-Santiáñez's *Topographies of Fascism*, I will insert Vallejo Nágera's *El factor emoción en la España nueva* within the context of Giménez-Caballero's extreme right-wing fascist discourse, focusing upon similarities that the two men draw upon in employing vocabulary of sickness and degeneration in describing the Spanish State. Through my analysis of Giménez-Caballero's *Exaltaciones sobre Madrid* (1937) and *España y Franco* (1938), I will demonstrate that his well-known work serves

an intermediary function between Vallejo Nágera's politically conservative wartime writings as a physician and Ramiro de Maeztu's philosophical discourse in *Defensa de la hispanidad*.

An understanding of Antonio Vallejo Nágera's prominent role within the nationalist movement may best be explained through an examination of his early life. Vallejo Nágera became licensed in medicine in 1909 and began his career in the Spanish army's department of health, first in Oviedo, Spain and by May of 1913 in Larache, Morocco (Sosa-Velasco 151). In the last year of the first world war, 1918, Vallejo Nágera was commissioned by the army as the Spanish ambassador to Berlin, and in this capacity he inspected prisoner camps in Germany, also serving as a translator for notable German psychiatrists and psychologists including Hans Walter Gruhle, Julius Schwalbe, and Ernst Kretschmer, who particularly influenced his later work on the relation between body type and psychological qualities (Vinyes, "Construyendo" 243). By 1928, Vallejo Nágera had entered into the National Academy of Medicine, and the following year he was appointed director of the psychiatric military clinic in Ciempozuelos. At the time of the declaration of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931, Vallejo Nágera was a professor of psychiatry in the Military Academy of Health (Vinyes, "Construyendo" 232). A prolific writer and researcher, Vallejo Nágera was heavily influenced by his time spent in Germany with noted figures of the eugenics movement such as Kretschmer, and his later works incorporated their theories. Such works include the pre-war publication *Higiene de la Raza: la asexualización de los psicópatas* (1934), which justified the castration of the mentally ill, and the wartime works *Eugenesia de la Hispanidad* (1937) and *Eugamia* (1938), which proposed a form of eugenic racism that would cleanse the race of the

environmental factors that fostered the ‘red’ gene of Marxism and mental deficiency, characteristic of the enemies of the Nationalist movement (Preston, *Spanish Holocaust* 514).

My focus in this thesis is on the 1938 writings of Vallejo Nágera and the importance that they hold in historically contextualizing Francoist Spain’s depiction of the country’s wartime crisis of identity and the need to defend the true Spain that is being threatened by the Second Republic. While the texts of Vallejo Nágera center upon a discursive representation of eugenics to explain the supposed danger of the Second Republic, he is far from the first person to work with and abuse theories of eugenics in the history of Spain.

On March 31, 1492, King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile issued the Alhambra Decree, effectively expulsing all Jews from the Spanish empire. The decree became public on May 1, 1492, and the Jews had the choice to leave the empire or convert to Catholicism by July 31, with the alternative being the death penalty and the confiscation of all possessions. The Decree reasons that the Jewish people have “redounded to the great injury, detriment and opprobrium of our holy Catholic faith” (qtd. in Peters 25) and that “those who perturb the good and honest life of cities and towns and by contagion can injure others should be expelled from those places and even if for lighter causes that may be injurious to the Republic, how much more for those greater and most dangerous and most contagious crimes such as this” (qtd. in Peters 26). Most noteworthy in this excerpt is the use of the language of illness in characterizing the enemy, as evidenced by the characterization of the crimes of the Jews as *contagious*. As an early project of racial cleansing in Spanish history, the expulsion of the Jews in the

fifteenth century set a significant precedent for later use of anti-Semitism and as a defense of extermination in Spain by figures such as Ramiro de Maeztu, who opposed secularism and international influence at the close of the nineteenth and start of the twentieth centuries.

During the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish citizenry thought of the Jewish people as responsible for the ritual assassinations of Catholic children, along with other medieval myths that justified their expulsion from Spain (Preston, "Theorists" 55). These ideas again gained credibility after the loss of the Spanish-American war in 1898, which as a result of the Treaty of Paris meant the reduction of the Spanish empire due to the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippine islands. The loss of territory deeply affected the Spanish psyche, and as historian Donald Dyal suggests, "the reversal of fortunes spiked a deepening Spanish pessimism that wondered aloud if Spain and its institutions had a right even to exist" (Dyal 108). At this time, a group of prominent Spanish intellectuals, known as the Generation of 1898, were responding to the turn of century crisis that had ensued as a result of Spain's loss of empire. These men, among them Ramiro de Maeztu, attempted to re-craft Spanish identity in the wake of great loss, advocating for the need to restore Spain to its former glory. For Maeztu, the loss of empire was a direct result of the loss of a Catholic orientation: "desde el momento en que el régimen nuestro, aun sin cambiar de nombre, se convirtió en ordenación territorial, militar, pragmática, económica, racionalista, los fundamentos mismos de la lealtad y de la obediencia quedaron quebrantados" (Maeztu 34). Maeztu felt that this crisis of identity would be best resolved through returning to the practices of the Catholic Kings, who chose to expulse the Jews out of a desire to establish a unified theocracy. Maeztu's

defense of the Spanish Inquisition begun by Ferdinand and Isabella is reflective of 1898 as a critical time in grappling with questions of Spanish identity:

Frente a los judíos, que son el pueblo más exclusivista de la tierra, se forjó nuestro sentimiento de catolicidad, de universalidad. El principal cuidado de la religión de Israel es mantener la pureza de la raza. No es verdad que los judíos constituyen, en primer término, una comunidad religiosa. Son una raza. Creen en su propia sangre y no en ninguna otra...Y, de otra parte, un judío sigue siendo judío cuando abjura de su fe. Por ello precisamente nos obligaron a establecer la Inquisición.
(Maeztu 209)

In this subsection entitled “Contra moros y judíos,” Ramiro de Maeztu defends the actions of Ferdinand and Isabella that established the Spanish Inquisition on the basis that the Jewish people constitute their own race and so may not be considered Spanish. Maeztu justifies this claim in writing that the Jewish people are not true Spaniards as they continue practicing Judaism in private even after their conversion to Christianity, an obligation during the Inquisition. The significance of this assertion is that Maeztu conflates Spanishness with Catholicism; those who practice Judaism are not Spanish and must either truthfully convert or be expelled or killed. By portraying the Jewish people as Spain’s Other and by rationalizing the actions of the Catholic Kings, Maeztu implies the need to return to racial cleansing as the answer to the question of national identity that the loss of the Spanish-American war raises. While it is true that few Jews were living in Spain in 1934, the year that Maeztu’s *Defensa de la hispanidad* was published as a complete text, historian Paul Preston argues in “Theorists of Extermination” that “Spanish ‘anti-Semitism without Jews’ was not about real Jews so much as an abstract

construction of a perceived international threat” (55).¹ The perceived international threat to which Maeztu responds in 1934 is the Second Spanish Republic, whose secularism threatened the Catholic identity upon which Spain was built. In a speech given on October 19, 1931, Manuel Azaña, then Minister of War and later Prime Minister and President of the Republic, stated that ‘Spain has ceased to be Catholic’ (qtd. in Preston, *Spanish Holocaust* 10). Just as the loss of empire in 1898 signified a crisis of Spanish identity, a new crisis arose less than forty years later in the country’s 1931 transition from Catholic monarchy under Alfonso XIII to a secular constitutional Republic under President Niceto Alcalá-Zamora. Ramiro de Maeztu’s *Defensa de la hispanidad* focuses centrally upon Catholicism as an inherent feature of Spanish identity and patriotism, in contrast to the secularism of the Republic. As Richards writes about anti-Semitic practices in Spain in *A Time of Silence*, “Catholicism went hand in hand with a rejection of the ‘anti-Spain’ incarnated by its main enemies: liberalism, atheism, freemasonry, international Jewry and regional separatism. The terms ‘communism’ or ‘Marxism’ were used to include all of these, and a conspiracy against Spain by these elements was constantly invoked” (57). In this sense, Maeztu’s 1934 Spanish readership was able to use the familiar language of the Other in the form of the Jewish people and could equate the danger that they have historically posed to traditionalist nationalism with the danger that the supposed un-patriotic and non-Catholics posed to the political right.

Ramiro de Maeztu’s role as director of the conservative traditionalist magazine *Acción Española* (1931-1937), concurrent with the release of his 1934 work *Defensa de la hispanidad* is significant and representative of similarities in the use of anti-Semitism

¹ Maeztu’s 1934 *Defensa de la hispanidad* is largely composed of a number of essays previously authored by him and published in different volumes of *Acción Española*, the right-wing political magazine which he directed from 1933 until it ceased publication in 1937.

by both publications. The magazine was funded by prominent monarchists and the Spanish right in response to the recently established Republic of 1931. According to historian José Peña González, the magazine was conceived of “desde el primer momento como el instrumento de la contrarrevolución que España necesita” (34). Much like Maeztu’s *Defensa de la hispanidad*, which was replete with anti-Semitism, the essays contained within *Acción Española* similarly demonized the Jewish identity as a strategy in writing of the perceived threat of the Republic. Preston explains that anti-Semitic literature was widely circulated throughout the Nationalist Movement and “was given a modern spin in Spain by the dissemination from 1932 onwards of the most influential work of the genre,” titled *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (“Theorists” 49). Written by Sir John Retcliffe, the pseudonym of German writer Hermann Ottomar Friedrich Goesche, and first published in Spanish in 1930, the work explores a mythical Jewish government in its quest for world domination (Preston, *Spanish Holocaust* 33). As a popular point of reference among the clergy and the politically conservative contributors to *Acción Española*, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were taken seriously and applied in their characterization of the Spanish left. The myth of a judeo-masonic-bolshevik conspiracy to overtake the world introduced new ways of conceiving of the threat posed against Spanish identity in the years leading to the Spanish Civil War. Spanish conservatives believed that socialism was a Jewish idea, citing figures such as Leon Trotsky as evidence. Along this line, they thought of the Second Spanish Republic as a product of the same conspiracy and the manner by which the Jews and Freemasons would take control of Spain. The Spanish left, the puppets of the true conspirators looking to destroy Spain, were deemed as enemies of the state that needed to be cleansed from

society. In *Defensa de la hispanidad*, Maeztu unites his work under a common theme and relays the main threat to the Spanish State:

Esto que aquí inicié la “Acción Española”, que es la defensa de los valores de nuestra tradición, es lo que ha debido ser, en estos dos siglos, el principal empeño del Estado, no solo en España, sino en todos los países hispánicos. Desgraciadamente no la ha sido. No defendimos lo suficiente nuestro ser. Y ahora estamos a merced de los vientos. (Maeztu 41)

In this sense, Maeztu sees the defense of Spanish values as a duty of all Hispanic countries, and an obligation that has been overlooked throughout the past two centuries. The ascension of the Republic to power and the loss of a Spanish monarchy is a result of this critical error, and the reason that the Spanish people are now *at the mercy of the winds*.

In his *Defensa de la hispanidad*, Maeztu divides the Spanish citizenry into two groups: those who uphold the true spirit of the state and will aid in its regeneration, on the one hand, and those that do not have this spirit and constitute a source of contamination. Those offenders of the Spanish State who oppose Maeztu are not distinguished on the basis of a concrete or objective classification such as ethnicity or socio-economic status, but instead by their lack of spirituality. Maeztu communicates clearly that liberalism is not the foundation upon which the state may restore itself; rather, liberalism is an element of disunity that must be eliminated from the Spanish State. In the subsection “La Hispanidad y su dispersión,” Maeztu writes of the current state of affairs and the importance of the “spirit of Hispanism”: “entonces percibimos el espíritu de la Hispanidad como una luz de lo alto. Desunidos, dispersos, nos damos cuenta de que la

libertad no ha sido, ni puede ser, lazo de unión. Los pueblos no se unen en la libertad sino en la comunidad. Nuestra comunidad no es racial, ni geográfica, sino espiritual” (Maeztu 45). The goal of Maeztu in this section, and in the work as a whole, is to communicate the current political and cultural state of Republican Spain, synthesizing the central conflict as a fundamental difference in identity between the liberals and traditionalists. Maeztu bluntly rejects liberalism as the solution to societal ills, instead suggesting that “spirit” is the only unifying force in the country. By crafting his own ideology of the spirit, Maeztu is able to Other the Spanish left, though they differ little from their right-wing counterparts geographically and racially. By conflating political difference with long standing historical Spanish prejudices and the discourse of othering, Maeztu characterizes the secular Republic as a “foreign” threat to the “universal spirit” of a historically Catholic Spain.

In a chapter entitled “Contraste de nuestro ideal: libertad-igualdad-fraternidad,” Ramiro de Maeztu contrasts what he believes to be the central beliefs of “the revolutionary idea of liberalism” with the “antiguo sentido de hombre” with which he and other traditionalists may identify (Maeztu 80). Maeztu contends that although the Spanish people may have originally been encouraged by the revolutionary promises of liberty, equality and fraternity, that they have been disillusioned all along and that a return to the age-old political institutions of the past will serve the country well.² In making this point, Maeztu writes, “ahora están desencantados los españoles que habían cifrado sus ilusiones en los principios de Libertad, Igualdad y Fraternidad. Se habían figurado que florecerían

² Liberty, equality and fraternity (from the French *liberté, égalité, fraternité*) is the national motto of France, with origins in the French Revolution. Maeztu re-purposes this phrase as being characteristic of all revolutions, applying it to his critique of the Second Spanish Republic in this chapter. He criticizes the Republic for not adopting this motto, too, contending that the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are actually Christian in origin (85).

con esplendidez al caer las instituciones históricas, que, a su juicio o a su prejuicio, estorbaban su desenvolvimiento (Maeztu 104). Instead of being disillusioned by revolutionary ideals that destroy the institutions of the Spanish State, Maeztu suggests that a return to devout Catholicism is the answer to the ills currently plaguing society. To argue this point, Maeztu refers to countries that have lost the religious ties upon which they were founded, the United States among them:

Es verdad que los Estados Unidos fueron un tiempo puritanos y que sus costumbres, ya que no sus leyes, obligaban a sus ciudadanos a pertenecer a una confesión religiosa determinada. Pero el puritanismo ya pasó, por lo menos en las grandes ciudades; los neoyorkinos no están ahora obligados a profesar religión alguna. ... Y el resultado de todo ello es un índice de criminalidad el más alto del mundo, la disolución de la vida de familia y tan tremenda crisis económica y política que su militar de más prestigio, el general Pershing ha podido proclamar recientemente, en medio de la atónita atención de las gentes, que los Estados Unidos no pueden encontrar su salvación más que en un régimen fascista y dictatorial, que restablezca la disciplina social con mano dura. (Maeztu 92)

The significance of Maeztu's argument here is two-fold: first, he succinctly defends the need for Spain to remain Catholic in order to prevent criminality, the dissolution of the family unit, and economic and political crisis. Second, he re-appropriates a quote by American World War I General John Pershing to lend credence to his argument that a fascist and dictatorial regime is superior to a democracy. By criticizing the United States and the city of New York, Maeztu is able to define a central characteristic of liberalism:

imitation of that which is foreign. In this case, the Second Spanish Republic has followed the example of the United States, a foreign nation that fell victim to the loss of Puritanism, causing the collapse of its social institutions. If Spain continues to imitate the Americans, Maeztu suggests, its collapse will be imminent.

In the November 1936 article “A Book that Red Madrid Banned,” written under the pseudonym “Hispanista” and published by the Irish literary journal *The Irish Monthly*, Ramiro de Maeztu is shown to be a prominent and devout academic whose writings on the centrality of Catholicism to Spanish identity align well with the importance attached to Catholicism in Ireland.³ Maeztu’s imprisonment by Republican authorities and the banning of his book *Defensa de la hispanidad* by the Republic in 1936, are here called into question, with the Irish author writing that the purpose of his “master work, which was hailed by supporters of the Right and now has been suppressed by the Left, was not to denounce the Republic, not to call for the King’s return, not to attack directly any policy or measure. It was simply to demonstrate the grandeur of Spanish tradition” (Hispanista, 724). Whereas “Hispanista” was uncertain as to the rationale behind the banning of Maeztu’s master work, the government was certain of the danger the text presented: it refuted the founding principles of the Republic and called for the re-establishment of a Catholic monarchy as to secure the future of the Spanish State.

³ *The Irish Monthly* was a prominent Irish literary journal founded by Fr. Matthew Russell (1834-1912), who edited the publication until his death. The next editor, Fr. Lambert McKenna (1870-1956) shifted the focus of the journal to Catholic social and educational thought, and this review of Maeztu’s *Defensa de la hispanidad* appears in the journal during his tenure.

Ernesto Giménez-Caballero, Antonio Vallejo Nágera and the Vocabulary of Illness and Degeneration

Ernesto Giménez-Caballero (1899-1988), one of the main proponents of Spanish fascism in the 1930s, wrote prolifically throughout the war in support of the Nationalist movement. As tools of Nationalist propaganda, his wartime writings were fixated upon the need to defend the Spanish State from the threat of the Republic. As historian Núñez Seixas argues in his essay, “Nations in Arms Against the Invader,” “unlike republican propaganda, the rebels’ emphasis was not predominantly on the *people*, but on the *nation*, and on the *traditional values* by which Spaniards took up arms” (qtd. in Ealham and Richards, *Splintering* 57). I contend that this focus upon the true nation as compared with the non-nation, and the application of the discourse of elimination, characteristic of extreme right political ideology, is shared between Antonio Vallejo Nágera and Ernesto Giménez-Caballero, both frequent contributors to the fascist political magazine *Acción Española*. As publications released in the midst of the war, the writings of Giménez-Caballero, *Exaltaciones sobre Madrid* (1937) and *España y Franco* (1938) are replete with imagery relating to sickness and death, and provide an intermediary function between Ramiro de Maeztu’s more philosophical work, *Defensa de la hispanidad* and Antonio Vallejo Nágera’s medically oriented *El factor emoción en la España nueva*.

In *España y Franco*, a twenty-nine page treatise divided into eight sections, Giménez-Caballero addresses his fascist contemporaries and extols the virtues of his “undefeated” leader, General Francisco Franco. Each section glorifies an achievement or characteristic of Franco, ranging from his ability to slay the metaphorical ‘bestia roja’ of the Republic, to his establishment of a totalitarian state, to the significance that his very

name carries when said aloud by a Spaniard: “Y como gritar ¡FRANCO! Es decir Dios, España y Tradición, es gritar, por tanto ¡FALANGE! La de hoy, la de mañana, la definitiva” (Giménez-Caballero, *España y Franco* 26).⁴

By beginning *España y Franco* with the section entitled “Ultimo esfuerzo de la bestia roja,” Giménez-Caballero offers a characterically fascist description which aligns well with Ramiro de Maeztu’s characterization of the enemy in *Defensa de la hispanidad*. As Nil Santiáñez explains, “almost invariably, fascist literature written on the war portrays the *Reds* as abject, murderous, vulgar, depraved, profit-seeking, Mongoloid like *Untermenschen*, as evil figures lacking political convictions whose sole purpose is the extermination of Spain” (204). Giménez-Caballero’s creation of a “bestia roja” is significant in representing both the color that denoted the Republican army and also the term *reds* that Francoists used as an insult against Republican forces. The term *beast*, with connotations of cruelty, violence and depravity, would be precisely the animal that the nationalists would wish to portray as their opposition, a creature undeserving of characterization as a human and one that is frequently exterminated. To begin the chapter, Giménez-Caballero writes of Franco jumping into the sea with a knife to split the red beast in two, describing the fate of the creature as “a punto de morir definitivamente” (5). According to Giménez-Caballero, the red beast is the Spanish left, whose near-death is celebrated as the realization of a dream, allowing families to reunite and for the characteristics of indiscipline, rebellion, indolence and stupidity to be eliminated from society. This first chapter metaphorically describes the action that Maeztu symbolically advocates for in *Defensa de la hispanidad*, but with a twist, arguing in favor of the

⁴ The Falange is the term used to refer to the fascist political party that was in power at the time of Francisco Franco’s dictatorship. It was originally established in 1933 by José Primo de Rivera, and was the only legal political party of the state during the Franco regime.

elimination of those traits not aligned with the universal spirit of Spain, characterized by Catholic doctrine and a rejection of all foreign influence in favor of fascism.

Speaking in less metaphorical and more direct terms further on, Giménez-Caballero introduces the language of sickness and degeneration in the third section of the text, “Estado totalitario quiere decir: un solo poder: Franco”. Giménez-Caballero focuses this section on Franco’s establishment of a totalitarian state, and writes of the danger that the secularist Republic constitutes in challenging this governmental system. As historian San Francisco explains in her essay, “las aportaciones del fascismo, especialmente las de Ernesto Giménez-Caballero... fueron las más abundantes en esta revolución del léxico que realizaron los sublevados” (qtd. in Arósteguí, *Franco* 114). In creating his own political lexicon, then, Giménez-Caballero is able to tie the biological human condition of sickness with the present political condition of the Spanish State: “Ya España había querido atajar ese cáncer de disolución secular... había perdido la brújula que salva a los pueblos y le había salvado a ella durante el Imperio, desde los Reyes Católicos hasta Felipe II: el ‘sentido de unidad’” (*España y Franco* 9). While he relays a similar message to Maeztu’s, Giménez-Caballero is writing during the time of the Spanish Civil War, and using medical terminology to better distance the Republic from the Nationalist Movement. Giménez-Caballero defines secularism as a cancer that the Spanish State has been unable to attack, largely due to the lack of a *spiritual compass*, a feature that saved the Spanish State from the time of the Catholic Kings to the reign of Felipe II. In writing of the need for a *compass* to assist in the dissolution of secularism, Giménez-Caballero again echoes the central message of Maeztu: that faith in Catholicism and allegiance to the Spanish State ensure the success of the country.

Ernesto Giménez-Caballero, in his work *Exaltaciones sobre Madrid*, offers a fascist perspective on the current state of Madrid in 1937, one year into the Spanish Civil War. The twenty-four page publication is split between four ‘exaltaciones’ of Madrid, each questioning an element of the city’s identity in the wake of the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic. Giménez-Caballero’s central message is that the Spanish populace must take up arms in defending Spain’s helpless capital city from the Republic, even justifying the killing of neighbors and family members: “¡Y debemos matar a nuestra sangre misma!” (*Exaltaciones sobre Madrid* 6). In reflecting the importance of the city in Fascist literature, Nil Santiáñez writes that “by representing the wartime urban divide within the binomial good/evil structure so characteristic of authoritarian fictions, these works set about to impress on the reader the pernicious, deadly effects of one production of space (the Republican) along with the need to restructure the urban and the national space upon the norms and rules established by the new state” (Santiáñez, 199). In keeping with Santiáñez’s binomial structure, Giménez-Caballero dehumanizes the Republican enemy through metaphors of contamination and bestiality. The city of Madrid, a hotbed of Republican sentiment and much violence during the war, had continually resisted Nationalist advances and remained, at the time of Giménez-Caballero’s writing, in the hands of the Republic. Using the ideology of Maeztu within the space of Madrid, Giménez-Caballero is able to paint the picture of a city that has fallen into disrepair, essentially a representation of death itself: “¡Madrid, contaminado de peste, de olvido, de alacranes, de injurias, de manolerías, de democracia, de asco, de verrugas repugnantes, de babas y de cocido, de burguesía con té, con contoneos sajones, intelectual, pedante y distinguida, profesoral, ginebrina, con sensibilidad de mono!”

(*Exaltaciones sobre Madrid* 15). The author expresses the perspective of a Franco supporter walking the streets of Madrid in order to incite action and bring emotion to bear. Not only does Giménez-Caballero write of the objects he sees and scenery he observes, but of the people he encounters too, bourgeoisie and pedantic but with the sensibility of a monkey. It is significant that he includes the term ‘democracia’ as a contaminating force within the setting of the city. Giménez-Caballero describes the streets and buildings of Madrid as widows, subjects of mourning. The churches lack crosses and their walls are torn down; the city is devoid of the spirit that it once contained. Giménez-Caballero sees Francisco Franco as the figure who will restore life to Madrid and to Spain as a whole, regenerating the race and nation: “Porque Franco no es el Jefe del Gobierno o el General más o menos técnico con ideas y sentimientos más o menos vagos sobre su patria. Es el hombre que ha tenido que rehacer y salvar el cuerpo de España célula a célula, y el alma de España soplo a soplo” (30). Again introducing the notion of health, Giménez-Caballero juxtaposes the unhealthy and contaminated city of Madrid and its inhabitants with the restorative power of Franco to bring about a cure for the cancer of dissolution and secularism from which the city suffers. This quotation evokes the imagery of mouth to mouth resuscitation as well through the use of the term “soplo,” implying that Franco has the power to revive the body and the soul of the personified Spanish State, cell by cell, with each blow of air that he delivers.

In both the wartime fascist writings of Giménez-Caballero and Ramiro de Maeztu, readers begin to conceptualize the Republic and those loyal to it as both perilous and degenerative, in opposition to the impregnable and restorative qualities of the Nationalist Movement and its adherents. This stark difference in characterization is made clear in the

works of both authors through the development of a unique lexicon. For Maeztu, this new vocabulary involves the use of terms such as *spirit* and *Hispanicity*, arbitrary phrases meant to be inclusive of all which is fascist and exclusive of all which is liberal. In his role as serving an intermediary function between the philosophical writings of Maeztu and the psychiatric texts of Vallejo Nágera, the lexicon of Giménez-Caballero similarly portrays the enemy as the Other, but instead employs vocabulary related to the sickness and barbarity of the Republic versus the health of the Nationalist movement. In writing of the destruction of the urban space of Madrid at the hands of the Republic, Giménez-Caballero writes: “Mientras abominables extranjeros ¡amos de la ciudad! nos azuzan, nos hostigan, nos escupen, nos afrentan de infamia en la sima infernal que nos abrieron. ¡Y con gozo diabólico se ríen viendo sacrificar a nuestra madre! ¡Y destrozar el cráneo a nuestro propio hijo! ¡Y nuestras mujeres---entre vino y bombas, violentadas---gritan!” (Giménez-Caballero, *Exaltaciones sobre Madrid* 6). Here, Giménez-Caballero writes of the danger that those loyal to Spain’s Second Republic pose to the Nationalist Movement. While they claim to love the city, they are the source of its destruction and contamination and take joy in the degeneration of the urban space of Madrid, and the Spanish State at large. Giménez-Caballero even remarks that the joy the Republicans take in sacrificing the state is diabolical, even further re-enforcing the use of lexical strategies in Othering the Republic. As Nil Santiáñez remarks in reference to rhetorical strategies employed in fascist writing, “Repression, torture, assassination, debauchery, and greed modify the urban beyond recognition, reassigning new laws to the places and thereby creating a grotesque urban landscape whose places lack stable norms of coexistence” (201). In commenting on the changed landscape of Madrid and the possibility of the city remaining

a Republican stronghold, Giménez-Caballero wishes misfortune and sickness upon the personified Republican Madrid: “que tus arroyos se coagulen con la sangre derramada! ¡Que ortigas y látigos te azoten tuétanos y huesos!” (*Exaltaciones sobre Madrid* 10). By utilizing a lexicon replete with vocabulary of degeneration, sickness, and subjugation, the Nationalist Movement is not only able to characterize those who align themselves with the Republic as subhuman, but also as psychiatrically and anatomically inferior, as will be seen in the writings of Vallejo Nágera.

Chapter 2. From Thought to Action in 1938: *El factor emoción en la España nueva, Política racial del nuevo estado, and the Path Toward Experimentation*

“Llegada la paz, la posición psíquica adecuada frente al marxismo, el liberalismo y la democracia ambientales será la de la reconquista del Imperio de la Hispanidad.”

-Antonio Vallejo Nágera. *El factor emoción en la España nueva*

As Ricard Vinyes writes of the significance of Antonio Vallejo Nágera’s 1938 works in his article “Construyendo a Caín,” “la mayoría de las contribuciones de Vallejo aquel año estuvieron destinadas a sostener la perpetuación histórica de una misión destructiva de la Hispanidad—o la raza—vinculada al último capítulo del republicanismo, portador de aquellos elementos, valores o estigmas, que ya antes de la guerra Vallejo describía como <<complejos psicoafectivos>>, aquellos que <<descomponen la patria>>” (236). In this respect, Vallejo Nágera’s wartime publications utilize the rhetorical tendencies characteristic of the Nationalist Movement and incorporate them into the realm of psychiatry. In *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, Vallejo Nágera writes that “El movimiento nacional es espíritu, y por ser ente espiritual encierra ideas que son el contenido ideológico de la Hispanidad” (12). This excerpt is reminiscent of Ramiro de Maeztu’s *Defensa de la hispanidad*, and its central tenets examined in Chapter 1, the most significant among them being a sense of *hispanicity* closely tied to spiritual values (Catholicism). Much like fellow *Acción Española* contributor Ernesto Giménez-Caballero, Antonio Vallejo Nágera similarly utilizes the fascist discourse of Othering to call for the elimination of the Republican opposition from the deeply ingrained history of Spanish tradition. Where Vallejo Nágera differs is in his discursive representation of “complejos afectivos básicos” and

“complejos psicoafectivos,” which characterize the Nationalist Movement and the Second Spanish Republic, respectively (*Factor 13*). For Vallejo Nágera, the *basic emotional complexes* which characterize the Nationalist Movement include religiosity, patriotism, and moral responsibility, each of which is tied to ethics, aesthetics, and the “yo ideal,” the idealized version of the self. By contrast, “los complejos psicoafectivos,” *psychoaffective complexes*, “que paraliza, descompone, y degenera a la patria,” include resentment, rancor, inferiority, envious emulation, ambitious careerism, and revenge (Vallejo Nágera, *Factor 14*). Using the philosophy of Ramiro de Maeztu as a framework, Vallejo Nágera crafted his own Spanish eugenic discourse. In explaining this unique Spanish racial ordering, Ricard Vinyes writes that:

En la cabeza de Vallejo la expresión *raza* poseía un carácter singular. Nada que ver con las tesis biologistas de franceses, británicos o alemanes. Singular porque la raza no correspondía a un grupo biológico humano sino a una sociedad—la de la época de la caballería—, a un grupo social—la aristocracia—y una forma de gobierno fundamentada en la disciplina militar y depositaria de unas presumibles virtudes patrióticas destruidas por el sentido plebeyo de la burguesía y las clases bajas.

(Vinyes, “Construyendo” 233)

This racial hierarchy proposed by Vallejo Nágera re-appropriates the fascist discourse of the Other, exemplified by Ernesto Giménez-Caballero in *España y Franco* and *Exaltaciones sobre Madrid*, positioning the Republic and the Nationalist Movement in this new psychic sphere. Vallejo Nágera’s re-ordering of the Spanish state still conforms to the characteristically fascist binomial good/evil structure as suggested by Nil

Santiañez, where the Republican production of space is considered deadly and must be re-structured by the Franco regime. As Santiañez writes, “The decadence of Spain and the slow but steady dissolution of the country’s essence would reach its climax with the Second Republic since, according to the author, Spain ceased to be itself as soon as it was ruled by ‘un-Spanish’ politicians who betrayed the nation” (35). This notion of the Republican production of space as dissolute and destructive versus Nationalist production as moral and regenerative is characteristically fascist, and may also be seen in the writings of Vallejo Nágera. In writing of the restorative ability of the Nationalist Movement in his 1938 publication *Divagaciones intrascendentes*, he writes, “mi patria ha sufrido grandes catástrofes, inmensas desgracias, perdió su poderío, se ha empobrecido; pero amo a mi patria desgraciada y pobre y trabajaré para que vuelva a ser feliz, rica, poderosa, respetada y temida” (50). Much like Giménez-Caballero, Vallejo Nágera comments on the fascist politics of space, writing of the destruction of the Spanish State by the Republic and his duty to restore the country so that it may once again become powerful. Both men, too, personify the Spanish state and ascribe to it the qualities it must re-acquire, among them happiness, wealth, power, respect and the ability to instill fear in others.

Building on the historical context provided in Chapter 1, I propose in this chapter to examine two significant works by Antonio Vallejo Nágera both released in 1938, *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, and *Política racial del nuevo estado*. Utilizing key concepts from historian Michael Richards’ *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco’s Spain, 1936-1945* as a theoretical framework for the chapter, I will expand upon his brief analysis of notions of purity and the development of a psycho-

pathological discourse by the Nationalist Movement. I will argue that the introduction of psychiatry and the language of psychic positioning by Vallejo Nágera was the first step toward providing pseudo-scientific backing to the brutality and extreme violence enacted by the insurgents. In using the language of psychiatry, Vallejo Nágera first posits the enemy as anatomically and mentally inferior in earlier publications such as *Eugenesia de la Hispanidad y regeneración de la raza* (1937) and *El factor emoción en la España nueva* (1938), later building from these concepts in depicting the idealized Spanish state in *Política racial del nuevo estado* (1938). Michael Richards' research tracing the history of the implementation of psychiatry and its importance to the Nationalist Movement, informs my explanation of this significant transition.

In order to understand the academic production of Vallejo Nágera in 1938, it is useful to first review psychiatry and psychiatric history in Spain. As a practicing physician and historian of Spanish psychiatry, Enrique González Duro has written extensively of the scientific studies and writings of Vallejo Nágera and other wartime physicians in Spain, examining their ethicality and usefulness for the Nationalist Movement. Duro traces the implementation of psychiatry and medicine as part of the Nationalist agenda, offering descriptions of each of the major texts of Vallejo Nágera both in the pre and post-war eras. Building on these brief descriptions and utilizing Duro's extensive knowledge of Vallejo Nágera's academic writings, I will analyze *El factor emoción en la España nueva* and *Política racial del nuevo estado* as pieces of cultural production and nationalist propaganda meant to provide a defense for the atrocities committed by the Nationalist Movement during the Spanish Civil War.

El factor emoción en la España nueva was published in Burgos, Spain as the January 1938 volume of *Atenas*, the magazine of the Federación de Amigos de la Enseñanza (FAE). As a later edition of *Atenas* explains, “Nació la FAE en el año 1930, en los días del preludio inquietante de la revolución, con el sentido profético de prevenir la franca y feroz acometida que ya se estaba preparando contra los principios de la educación cristiana” (qtd. in Lorenzo Vicente, *La enseñanza media* 37). Essentially, this magazine catered to those Catholic educators who aligned themselves with the Nationalist Movement and opposed the introduction of legislation authorizing the governmental separation of Church and state that separated Catholicism from primary education.

Writing for an audience of politically conservative Catholic educators towards the close of the war, Vallejo Nágera constructs a rigid dichotomy between those loyal to the Nationalist Movement and those loyal to the Second Spanish Republic. While only thirty-one pages in length, this work communicates Vallejo Nágera’s position that the war is being fought between Spain and anti-Spain, or the defenders of the state and the offenders of the state. The text is notable for positing the mental health, or “positive psychiatry” of those loyal to the Nationalist Movement against the mental degeneracy, or “negative psychiatry” of those loyal to Spain’s Second Republic. In describing *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, psychiatrist Enrique González Duro writes that “Vallejo describía al adversario, al rojo, en contraposición al español selecto, patriota y católico. El rojo era psíquica y moralmente inferior, y socialmente peligroso” (Duro, *Los psiquiatras de Franco* 103). In juxtapositioning the opposing sides, Vallejo Nágera is

able to justify the war and the atrocities committed by the Nationalists as a project of cleansing by which the former glory of the Spanish state may be restored.

In one of the early chapters of *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, “‘Primum movens’ del Movimiento Nacional,” Vallejo Nágera makes clear the goal of the Nationalist Movement:

El Movimiento nacional no es un pronunciamiento militar a favor de un partido o de un cacique político; ni una guerra civil de hermanos contra hermanos por mantener una dinastía o ayudar a un señor contra otro señor; ni una lucha por el predominio de una clase social; tampoco un motín popular, una guerra religiosa o una revolución social: el Movimiento nacional es algo por encima de las pasiones humanas, de los sectarismos políticos o religiosos y de la lucha de clases.

(Vallejo Nágera, *Factor* 11)

In writing of the Nationalist Movement in this way, Vallejo Nágera suggests that the Spanish Civil War is not a conflict of two opposing ideologies nor a war over religion, but instead is *above human passions*. Vallejo Nágera writes on a larger scale, then, arguing that the Nationalist Movement arose as a result of the wishes of the Spanish population and out of the need to save the state from all that is revolutionary and anti-Spanish. As Richards writes, “The ‘purified spirit of Spain’, once precariously achieved and at great cost, had, it was believed by the psychologists of Francoism, to be staunchly defended from ‘contamination’ (Richards, *Time of Silence* 65). By encouraging the elimination of all that was ‘foreign’ and focusing on a sense of autarky, the Nationalists were able to argue for the extermination of their opposition. Vallejo Nágera refers to the

concept of self-sufficiency and international influence in writing, “Aspiramos los españoles a recuperar el cetro estético que dejamos caer de nuestras manos cuando comenzamos a extranjerizarnos, sin hacer honor a los inauditos esfuerzos del genio español para empuñarlo” (Vallejo Nágera, *Factor 25*). Through the use of metaphor in this sentence, Vallejo Nágera is able to liken what he terms the *foreignization* of the state with the dropping of a figurative scepter on the part of the Second Spanish Republic. To Vallejo Nágera, the once sovereign Spanish State has allowed for a physical marker of authority, the scepter, to drop from its hands. Despite the *extraordinary efforts* of the Nationalists to *grasp* the scepter, it has been lost and it is now the duty of the Nationalist regime to recuperate from this loss. Vallejo Nágera goes on to explain that a central component in recuperating from this loss is loyalty to the Falange Español (F.E.) as he remarks “Vibra el hermoso himno de F.E. como promesa redentora” (Vallejo Nágera, *Factor 25*). In writing of the *beautiful hymn* of Spain’s fascist political party as a *redemptive promise* of Spain’s future success, Vallejo Nágera declares that those who oppose the Falange Español are the enemy, and that war must be waged against the Republic as to ensure the redemption of the Spanish State.

In the section entitled “Complejos psíquicos impulsores del Movimiento nacional y de la edificación de la nueva España,” Vallejo Nágera writes of the previously mentioned “complejos afectivos” characteristic of the Nationalist Movement: religiosity, patriotism, and moral responsibility. Vallejo Nágera spends the majority of *El factor emoción en la España nueva* explaining these three complexes, as well as their intimate relations with the ideals of ethics, aesthetics, and the yo ideal. Of particular significance are the multiple references to Ramiro de Maeztu’s *Defensa de la hispanidad* in

explaining each of the complexes. Vallejo Nágera directly quotes Maeztu's work throughout the text, reflecting his re-purposing of this theory in constructing a discourse that equates political dissidence with biological inferiority.

In expressing the importance of religiosity to the Spanish state, Vallejo-Nágera writes, "Desterrada la religión de España, ni tiene razón su existencia, ni podrían subsistir sus esencias históricas. La nueva España tiene que ser, necesariamente, religiosa y católica, o no será nueva España" (*Factor* 15-16). Here, Vallejo-Nágera argues that Catholicism is so central to Spanish identity, that without it, Spain does not have a reason to exist. This statement is reminiscent of Ramiro de Maeztu's claims in *Defensa de la hispanidad*, in which he too argues of Catholicism as an innate component of the Spanish identity. Maeztu writes, "La crisis de la Hispanidad es la de sus principios religiosos... Al transplantarse a América estos modos espirituales, destruían necesariamente los fundamentos ideales del Imperio español" (Maeztu 219). Much like Vallejo Nágera, Maeztu writes of the destructive nature of secularism, on the one hand, and of Catholicism as a fundamental ideal of the Spanish empire, on the other. As attorney Carlos Jiménez Villarejo explains, while the 1931 constitution of the Second Spanish Republic affirmed that "el estado español no tiene religión oficial," this statement was contested by Vallejo Nágera and others loyal to the Nationalist Movement, and amended by the Nationalists throughout 1938 and 1939 (qtd. in Arósteguí, *Generaciones* 211). In accordance with the strong sense of Catholicism advocated by the Nationalist Movement, laws were enacted suspending legal separation and divorce, and nullifying civil unions (qtd. in Arósteguí, *Generaciones* 213).

In the section that follows, “Patriotismo,” Vallejo-Nágera writes that the sentiment of patriotism is a quality characteristic only of those loyal to the Nationalist Movement. Quoting Maeztu directly in this section, Vallejo Nágera includes the excerpt, “La patria es lo que une, lo que está por encima de lo que divide: se hace con gentes y tierra, pero la hace el espíritu, y con elementos también espirituales” (Vallejo Nágera, *Factor* 16). Here, Vallejo Nágera argues that the ideal of patriotism is a quality that any person, whether loyal to the Nationalist Movement or the Republic, may possess. What differentiates those who defend the true Spain is the sentiment of patriotism: “es emoción, es entusiasmo: es energía psicoafectiva de aurífera calidad” (Vallejo Nágera, *Factor* 16). What makes this section significant is that Vallejo Nágera differentiates between the terms “sense” and “sentiment” as means to describe patriotism. To him, those loyal to the Republic share a “sense” of patriotism while those loyal to the Nationalist Movement share a “sentiment” of patriotism. His argument is that the Republicans lack the *sentiment* of patriotism, a quality intimately tied to the *spirit* described by Maeztu. As Michael Richards writes, “Patriotism was maintained by the ‘racial spirit’. This inheritance was passed down through the generations and had to be ‘promoted’ and ‘enriched’ by each, and not ‘destroyed’ or ‘squandered’ as the liberal politicians threatened to do: ‘Race is spirit, Spain is spirit, *Hispanidad* is spirit” (*Time of Silence* 60).

In describing the third and final psychoaffective complex characteristic of the Nationalist Movement, moral responsibility, Vallejo Nágera again incorporates the language of Maeztu. According to the Nationalists, the Spanish citizenry must have moral responsibility in the form of a commitment to four figures: God, Spain, the *yo* ideal, and

Franco. As an example of the complex of moral responsibility, Vallejo Nágera employs a quote by José Moscardó Ituarte, the military Governor of Toledo who saved the Alcázar of Toledo, a military academy, from capture by Republican forces during the Spanish Civil War: “Hijo mío, si te van a fusilar, encomiendo tu alma a Dios, da un viva a España y otro a Cristo Rey, y muere como un héroe, que tu padre no se rinde, por el honor de España” (21).⁵ Vallejo Nágera writes of Moscardó as a model that all Spaniards should aspire to, particularly with respect to his concern for saving the honor of Spain. Though only a sentence, this quote addresses each of the four central components of moral responsibility explained above, even featuring Moscardó as an example of the idealized version of the self, or the *yo ideal*. Moscardó as the *yo ideal*, however, is not only an aspirational figure to those loyal to the Nationalist Movement. As Maeztu states in *Defensa de la hispanidad*, “Los pueblos no se unen en la libertad sino en la comunidad. Nuestra comunidad no es racial, ni geográfica, sino espiritual. Es en el espíritu donde hallamos al mismo tiempo la comunidad y el ideal” (45). In this sense, the unifying force of the new Spain is the spirit, a concept promulgated by Vallejo Nágera throughout this and other works. While Vallejo Nágera employs Maeztu’s argument that the community, or country, is not racial or geographic, but instead spiritual, he conflates spirituality with a sense of positive psychology only characteristic of those loyal to the Nationalist Movement. A moral obligation before God, too, was central to this sense of spirit and a need to defend the country from contamination by the Republic. As Chris Ealham and Michael Richards write in *The Splintering of Spain*, “Sufficient justification for the

⁵ This quote refers to the capture of José Moscardó Ituarte’s son by Republican forces during the Siege of the Alcázar. The Republican forces threatened that Moscardó’s son, Luis, would be killed if the Nationalists failed to surrender their hold on the Alcázar. Vallejo Nágera includes in this section a statement by Moscardó directed to his son at the time of his capture as a means of explaining the moral responsibility of the Spanish citizenry.

rebellion from a *moral* and even a *legal* standpoint could be found in the defence of the *Patria* and its Catholic essence, supposedly under the threat of becoming a ‘Russian colony’ due to internal traitors and ‘international agents’ who propagated anti-Spanish values” (55).

In the final section of *El factor emoción en la España nueva*, “La sonrisa del Caudillo,” the use of positive and negative psychology in characterizing the Nationalist Movement and the Republic, respectively, is most apparent. This is the only instance in the work where Vallejo Nágera offers an examination of the body types of individuals, offering his readers an application of the theory that he has just outlined regarding psychic complexes and their significance. The fact that this psychiatric comparison is situated at the end of the text is of great import, as it serves the role of a conclusive statement for the work as a whole in describing the psychiatric inferiority and supposed danger of the Republicans as compared with the Nationalists:

...la comparación de las figuras corporales de nuestro invicto Caudillo y del llamado presidente de la II República española, recuerda y exterioriza las respectivas psicologías, cuyo encarecimiento podemos ahorrarnos. Sí llama la atención la circunstancia de que las masas indentificadas con cada una de las citadas personalidades, exhiben reacciones psíquicas que parecen fruto de los complejos psíquicos latentes en la consciencia de ambos personajes. Las de ellos, reacciones movidas por los complejos de rencor y de resentimiento; las nuestras, reaccionan a los complejos de la religiosidad, patriotismo y responsabilidad moral. (Vallejo Nágera, *Factor* 30)

This final section represents a foundational example of the application of the psychoaffective complexes explained throughout the work. Vallejo Nágera utilizes the undefeated General Franco as the representative of the Nationalist Movement, while the unnamed Republican president Manuel Azaña represents the Republic. Each of these men is used as a symbol of their political party, and by extension, their psychic complexes are representative of all of those loyal to their cause. It is noteworthy that only “nuestro invicto Caudillo,” Franco, is mentioned by name, whereas Azaña is merely referred to as “el llamado presidente de la II República española.” Here, Azaña’s role as the president of the Second Spanish Republic is even doubted, as evidenced by the use of the term *so-called*. This excerpt is significant as it is the first place in the work that the corporal figure, or body type, is conflated with psychology and political affiliation. According to Vallejo Nágera, these three areas are all inter-related; the degenerate body type of Manuel Azaña is associated with negative psychology and the Second Spanish Republic. As Vallejo Nágera referenced earlier, these negative complexes include rancor and resentment towards the Nationalists and stand in stark contrast to the religiosity, patriotism and moral responsibility characteristic of Franco and his supporters. As Richards writes of the justification of violence against the mentally degenerate Republican, “given this thinking and his background, Vallejo Nágera viewed the rebellion against the Republic in terms of the positive use of violence against degenerative agents: democracy ‘liberated psychopathic tendencies in all countries... gratifying low [*bajas*] passions... bestowing equal rights to the madman, the imbecile, and the degenerate” (*Time of Silence* 61). By creating an environment that did not foster the ‘red gene’ but instead was conducive to the salvation of the Spanish state,

the violent repression of the enemy was the only solution. Vallejo Nágera does not directly mention the extermination or killing of the enemy in this work, but he does write of the need to take up arms against the Spanish Republic. In urging for the need to respond to the threat that the Republic poses, he states, “Por otra parte, latentes en nuestra conciencia la serie de ultrajes inferidos a España por el marxismo revolucionario, despiértase el sentimiento patriótico, que nos invita a empuñar las armas contra los ofensores de la patria” (Vallejo Nágera, *Factor* 9). Here, Vallejo Nágera justifies the waging of war against the Republicans as an obligation of the Spanish citizen, whose latent feelings of patriotism have been restored by the atrocities of the Republic. To the Nationalist Movement, violence against the opposition was not seen as a crime but as a means to rid Spain of those who offend the homeland.

Política racial del nuevo estado

In describing the purpose of Vallejo Nágera’s 1938 book *Política racial del nuevo estado*, psychiatrist Enrique González Duro writes of the idea behind Vallejo Nágera’s call to regenerate the race:

Vallejo Nágera insistía en lo que le obsesionó durante toda la Guerra Civil española. De nuevo afirmaba que la degeneración de la raza hispánica provenía del mefítico ambiente espiritual que la asfixiaba desde el comienzo de la extranjerización en el siglo XVIII...La idea principal de la regeneración de la raza residía en despertar en todas las clases sociales el deseo de ascender, mediante el esfuerzo personal, a las más altas jerarquías. (Vallejo Nágera, *Política racial* 111)

Published in 1938 and dedicated “Al glorioso Ejército Español,” *El factor emoción en la España nueva* is a 106 page book with sixteen chapters detailing the regeneration of the Spanish state, with topics ranging from the importance of marriage and the danger of being an unmarried woman, to sexual education and a campaign against the illnesses of hysteria and neurasthenia. While Duro writes of the emphasis that the work places on ascending social hierarchies through personal effort, it is worth noting that this ascension is only possible for those loyal to the Nationalist Movement. The focus of my analysis of *Política racial del nuevo estado* is on the use of metaphor in explaining the need to repress Republican identity as to ensure that Franco’s opposition would not ascend the ranks of the rigid eugenic hierarchy. To Vallejo Nágera, an educated or otherwise powerful Republican would constitute a serious threat, as they would undermine the psychiatric and anatomical degeneracy of which he writes and challenge the idea of a eugenic hierarchy centered around political affiliation. These metaphors take differing forms in the text, with some appearing as distinct anecdotes within the chapters and others as short one-sentence comments by Vallejo Nágera. In all of these cases, though, Vallejo Nágera is attempting to leave the reader with a graphic image communicating the need to repress the opposition.

One metaphor of great significance is located within the fourth chapter, entitled “Orientación y selección profesional,” in which Vallejo Nágera advocates for children to select only those careers which correspond to their place within the social and eugenic hierarchy of Spain. As Salvador Cayuela Sánchez writes of the concerns of the author, “Para Vallejo Nágera, la <<raza>> quedaba definida en base a la lengua y a la cultura, en el respeto de las tradiciones y, por supuesto, de la condición católica del pueblo

hispanico” (Cayuela Sánchez 280). Crucial to the continued rigidity of this hierarchy is the respect for tradition of which Cayuela Sánchez writes as reflected in the need for children to adopt the professions of their parents. To Vallejo Nágera, this is a necessary component of the regenerated Spanish state and a key element to strong parenting. As he writes, “Los padres que no quieren que sus hijos sigan la carrera u oficio que les ha servido para ganarse la vida son unos fracasados, en la generalidad de casos” (Vallejo Nágera, *Política racial* 29). In writing of *failed* parents such as these who allow their children to explore other professional possibilities and of the danger of ascending the social hierarchies of the State, Vallejo Nágera offers a metaphor that takes the form of a half-page anecdote concerning a young medical doctor in a small village who finds his calling in returning to work in the confectionary owned by his father. Vallejo Nágera writes:

Comprábamos días pasados golosina en una pequeña población, golosina especializada de acreditada confitería y que nos despachó con magnífica desenvoltura un apuesto mancebo. Nuestra sorpresa fue grande al decirnos nuestro guía que el joven confitero era licenciado en Medicina, pero que ni siquiera servía para las guardias en el hospital de sangre de la localidad.

No es el único caso que podríamos referir de personas que después de sacrificar años y caudales en costosa carrera, han de tornar a la profesión de los padres, en la que prosperan y nunca debieron abandonar.

Es peligroso para el Estado y para la Sociedad que el hijo del comerciante o del industrial ejerza profesiones liberales, porque suele mercantilizarlas.

(Vallejo Nágera, *Política racial* 29-30)

On the one hand, Vallejo Nágera is telling the story of his visit to a candy shop in a small town in Spain, but on the other, he is making a crucial point related to the need for authority and predominance to rest solely in the hands of the Nationalists. Vallejo Nágera writes of his visit and the realization that the worker in the confectionary is a medical doctor not as an isolated incident, but one of many examples of intelligent young people who should have never strayed from their parents in their place within the eugenic hierarchy. In writing of the danger of such a divergence, Vallejo Nágera says that those children who remain in the same line of work as their parents *prosper* and that they learn that they never should have abandoned the businesses of their families. That the son of a presumably Republican and poorly educated candy store owner from a small Spanish town could rise the ranks of the eugenic ladder to become a well respected liberal physician constitutes too much of a threat to Franco's regime. The goal of the Nationalists was to violently repress those who identified as Republican as to ensure victory, keeping the enemy poor, helpless and with no hope of improving their state. For this reason, the candy store owner's son should never leave his small town to improve himself in medical school, but instead should perfect the art of delivering candy to customers. For the Franco regime, the repression of a poorly educated candy store employee would be far easier than silencing the voice of a prominent Republican medical doctor who may challenge the studies of Vallejo Nágera.

The use of metaphor is equally compelling in the closing remarks of the ninth chapter of the text, entitled "Política racial y educación sexual." In this brief five-page chapter, Vallejo Nágera writes of the need for a form of sexual education in the regenerated Spanish state involving an anti-pornographic campaign, the exercise of

sexual self-restraint or continence until marriage, monogamy, and the absence of sexual perversion. Not surprisingly, the responsibility to educate the child about sex falls not only on parents and teachers, but on priests as well, a reflection of the staunchly Catholic state which Vallejo Nágera envisions. After over four pages devoted specifically to outlining a vision for sexual education in the Francoist state, Vallejo Nágera writes a final paragraph that is largely disjointed and discontinuous from the chapter as a whole. It is here that Vallejo Nágera warns of the dangers inherent in straying from his idealized racial politic, and this warning is relayed in terms of a metaphorical egg. Vallejo Nágera uses the egg as a symbol for Spain and its putrefaction as representative of the reforms of the Second Spanish Republic. Vallejo Nágera warns:

No queremos ocurra en España con la Higiene racial lo que nos sucedió en cierta ocasión con un huevo pasado por agua, que pedimos en renombrado restaurante de lujo. Un huevo de extraordinario tamaño, de limpia y nacarada cáscara, presentada en argentada huevera, pero que encontramos putrefacto. La política racial del Nuevo Estado ha de ser fresca, nutritiva y jugosa para la Raza, nunca empollada ni podrida.

In the case of this metaphor, Vallejo Nágera places the reader into the position of a diner in a fine restaurant, being served an extraordinarily large and clean egg in a silver cup, only to find that the egg is rotten. Spain, Vallejo Nágera argues, is the seemingly large and pearly egg in the silver cup: a revered nation intimately tied to the values of Catholicism, patriotism and self-sufficiency. The diner, the Spanish citizenry, however, discovers that the egg is putrefied: degraded by legislation separating church and state, allowing for legal divorce and secular education. As Vallejo Nágera suggests, his *racial*

politic of the new state will allow for a regenerated egg, not tainted by rotting or hatching.

Through outlining in 1938 his vision of the idealized state, characterized by a rigid eugenic hierarchy, Vallejo Nágera is able to demonstrate the key values of the regime and the need for violent repressive measures to ward off any possible Republican threat.

Chapter 3. "Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes" : The Pathologization of Female Republican Identity and the Veil of the Medical Journal

In his examination of republican Spanish political prisoners and the violent repression from which they suffered, historian Ricard Vinyes writes,

En la época fundacional del Estado franquista, la deshumanización del otro, probar bajo apariencia científica la inferioridad mental del disidente, constituyó una prioridad del Ejército llevada a cabo por el comandante y psiquiatra Antonio Vallejo-Nágera. La derivación de aquellas investigaciones psiquiátricas en hombres y mujeres encarcelados tuvo consecuencias graves en el mundo penitenciario, particularmente en el femenino, al establecer el principio de <<segregación total>>. (*Irredentas* 50)

While Vallejo Nágera, under the authoritative veil of Nationalist pseudoscience, had written extensively of the Republican enemy and the threat that it posed to the nationalist movement, he had not yet experimented on human subjects. Franco's impatience to establish an official cabinet of psychological investigation was so great that he approved Vallejo Nágera's request to establish such a cabinet within only ten days of its submission. Telegram 1,565, the official approval, was sent on August 23, 1938 by Franco to Vallejo Nágera and stated the objective of the Gabinete de Investigaciones Psicológicas, "cuya finalidad primordial será investigar las raíces psicofísicas del marxismo" (Franco, *Hoja de Servicios* 382). From October 1938 to October 1939, the cabinet published the results of experimentation on two sets of political prisoners:

International Brigadiers, foreign soldiers who assisted the Second Spanish Republic during the war, and fifty female Spanish political prisoners imprisoned in Málaga, Spain. The series of research articles was published under the title of “Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista.”

By May of 1939, the Gabinete de Investigaciones Psicológicas published "Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes." The work studies fifty female Spanish political prisoners, criminalizing their so-called perverse physical and psychological degeneracy as compared with the normative and virtuous behavior of the superior Nationalist woman. The study was co-authored by Vallejo Nágera and Eduardo Martínez, director of the psychiatric clinic of Málaga and the chief of health services for the provincial prison there. According to the study, it is the responsibility of the woman to maintain the moral vigilance of the family and the husband, and for this reason, the delinquency of the Republican woman constitutes a threat to the future of the state. In communicating these findings, Vallejo Nágera is helped greatly by the simultaneous publication of his research in *Semana Médica Española* and *Revista Española de Cirugía y Medicina de Guerra*, the two most popular medical journals in Spain at the time.

Building on the Nationalist values expounded upon in *El factor emoción en la España Nueva* (1938) and the racialized and hierarchical State that stems from these values as described in *Política racial del nuevo estado* (1938), in this chapter I argue for the significance of “Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes” as the final stage of Vallejo Nágera’s wartime academic trajectory. While Vallejo Nágera’s shift to the documentation of his

experimentation on prisoners and his publication in medical journals marks a distinct departure from his previous writings, many elements remain the same. Vallejo Nágera employs key points of earlier works, such as the recycling of Nationalist beliefs (importance of Catholicism, religious marriage and the danger of sexual deviance) outlined in *Política racial del nueva estado*, and now re-purposes these as survey questions to gauge the beliefs of Republican political prisoners. Being that Vallejo Nágera's study on women was not published until May of 1939, a month after the war's end, I demonstrate in this chapter that Vallejo Nágera's experimentation on Republican women had little to do with assuring victory in the war. Instead, these experiments on Republican women and their portrayal as mentally and morally deficient serve to denigrate the Republican woman as the enemy, while at the same time extolling the virtues of the idealized and staunchly Catholic fascist woman, who stands as a polar opposite. I argue that Vallejo Nágera's supposed scientific proof of the innate biological perversion of the Republican woman is particularly important in the post-war era of Spain and serves the function of justifying the incredibly violent and repressive measures against liberal women during the period of Franco's dictatorship.

The fascist women, in the image of whom the female Republican prisoners needed to be re-made, were themselves members of the Sección Femenina (SF), the female branch of the Falange, the Spanish fascist party. Pilar Primo de Rivera, the sister of Spanish Falange party founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founded the Sección Femenina in 1936. As Kathleen Richmond writes in her introduction to *Women and Spanish Fascism*:

After [José Antonio Primo de Rivera's] death in 1936, Pilar Primo de Rivera applied her brother's vision of a 'Falange Revolution' to her developing organization, with its elite members (*mandos*) charged with restoring women to traditional roles in society. Following their welfare and relief work during the Civil War the members of the SF took responsibility for the social, political and domestic education of all women and girls throughout the regime. (i)

Employing the conceptual framework offered by Kathleen Richmond in *Women and Spanish Fascism*, I will begin by examining the identity of the Nationalist woman and the larger Sección Femenina to understand the notion of the idealized upstanding woman promoted by the regime. With an understanding of the responsibilities of the Fascist woman and her role within society, I will conduct a textual analysis of "Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes" to reveal the grave danger that the Republican woman posed to the Nationalist movement. First, in order to contextualize the contents of Vallejo Nágera's study on women, I will employ Michael Richards' key concept of the "gendered psychological construction" of the Republican woman's moral degeneracy (Richards, "Morality and Biology" 421). Richards argues that through the combination of medical science and Catholicism, Vallejo Nágera's study ties together conservative gender ideology with Franco's "crusade to 're-Christianize' Spain" (Richards, "Morality and Biology" 421). To the regime, morality was the basis of the new and regenerated Catholic State to which the Republican woman needed to adapt. Utilizing Richard's concept of the psychological construction of the Republican woman, I will analyze significant excerpts

from Vallejo Nágera's study to examine Vallejo Nágera's central argument and how it is framed.

In his important study, *Las rapadas: El franquismo contra la mujer*, Enrique González Duro examines the forms of repression and violence against imprisoned Republican women, like those subjected to the experiments in Vallejo Nágera's work. González Duro theorizes the function behind specific acts of repression, such as the shaving of the heads of Republican women by Nationalist forces. Acts such as these, Duro argues, are intimately related with the repressive socio-political environment that the Nationalists sought to create, "incluyendo un léxico estigmatizante para las mujeres <<desafectas>>: putas, rojas, rapadas, peladas, pelonas, sucias, feas, etc" (Duro, *Las rapadas* 37). Further, the shaving of the heads of these women serves as a readily observable marker of inferiority, effectively eliminating differences in class and social status of these women and reducing them to their political affiliation, which is both criminalized and pathologized in the studies of Vallejo Nágera. I will argue that the studies of Vallejo Nágera serve the function of defending repressive practices such as these, which become institutionalized in the post-war period during which the study on women is published (May 1939).

On a larger scale, González Duro provides a comprehensive understanding of the repression of Republican women by Nationalist forces, which differed from violence against men (who were normally killed or jailed) and was based upon social degradation and harassment, with social isolation as the main goal. Duro argues that social redemption was an impossibility for these women, "por la frecuente ausencia, encarcelamiento, muerte o desaparición del marido, convirtiendo su vida en una lucha

difícil y azarosa por la mera supervivencia” (Duro, *Las rapadas* 51). By inserting Duro’s theories about the desperation of the Republican woman into my study of Vallejo Nágera, I will show that what the Nationalists view as biological and psychiatric degeneracy is merely the pathologization of helpless Republican women who, in some cases, resort to criminality and practices such as prostitution to support their families.

Lastly, I will examine *A Young Mother in Franco’s Prisons*, a short memoir describing the incarceration of Republican governess Pilar Fidalgo Carasa. Pilar Fidalgo’s testimony, a unique personal account of incarceration, allows for an understanding of the reality of Republican repression within the Francoist prison system. In contrast to historians who write of Francoist repression and the penitentiary system, Fidalgo’s testimony is significant in offering a first-person counter-narrative to the studies of Vallejo Nágera. The sole reason behind Fidalgo’s imprisonment is that she is “the wife of a Socialist, who was the friend and protector of Protestants” (Fidalgo 1). Fidalgo’s story speaks to the arbitrary justification of the Nationalists in defending the imprisonment of the enemy, though Vallejo Nágera argues otherwise in his writing. In contrast to the account of Vallejo Nágera, who claims that Republican women are being treated well by the Nationalist Movement, Fidalgo exposes the violent reality of the Francoist prison system in relating her experience in a prison for women and their children in Zamora, Spain. The over-crowding, death, violence and barbarity that Fidalgo describes as characteristic of the prison system allows for the voice of Republican women to be heard, which stands in stark contrast to the voice of Vallejo Nágera and Nationalist propaganda at the close of the war. Unlike the studies of Vallejo Nágera which write of the Republican woman as an enemy who must be redeemed in the image of the Fascist

woman, the testimony of Fidalgo demonstrates that those perverse qualities of the Republican woman described by Vallejo Nágera are both untrue and unfounded.

The focus of the Nationalist Movement on women was not limited to the characterization of the Republican woman as inferior; the superiority of the Nationalist woman was equally important, and the Franco regime presided over the creation of a female arm of the Spanish fascist political party, the Falange. By 1936, Pilar Primo de Rivera, as the first and sole Nationalist leader of the Sección Femenina, was tasked with defining “how women would contribute to the sought-after unity of the nation” in the Falangist vision of her brother, José Antonio Primo de Rivera (Richmond 6). While the 1934 statutes of the organization described its purpose as a fundraising body and a more passive arm of the Falange, by 1936 Pilar had re-structured the organization by adding an “administrative structure and doctrinal base” (Richmond 7). A return to a patriarchal society and the restoration of traditional gender roles were fundamental to the doctrine of the Sección Femenina, as demonstrated by Pilar Primo de Rivera’s 1938 speech to the Second National Congress of the Sección Femenina of the Falange Española Tradicionalista (FET) y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (JONS). In the speech, she speaks of the role of women “en formar familias con una base exacta de austeridad y de alegría, en donde se fomente todo lo tradicional” (Domingo 233). The role of the woman from the Falangist perspective, then, is to raise a traditionalist family whose beliefs align with those of the regime. The role of the Nationalist woman, however, is not seen independently from the role of man, as evidenced by Pilar’s comment that “Lo que no haremos nunca es ponerlas en competencia con ellos, porque jamás llegarán a igualarnos, y en cambio, pierden toda la elegancia y toda la gracia

indispensable para la convivencia” (Domingo 233). While the Sección Femenina helped carry out Nationalist welfare legislation, contributed directly to eugenic policy and even helped with household and rural tasks while the men fought in the war, their role was always seen as subservient to the male Falangist role and meant to be just complementary (Richmond 20). Noteworthy, too, is the perception of the Republican enemy held by members of the Sección Femenina as contrary to the beliefs of the ideal woman. In the same speech to the membership of the Sección Femenina, Pilar states,

Quiere la Falange dejar fuera en esta formación de las mujeres todo lo falso y todo lo blando que nos enseñaron anteriormente; todas esas cosas de mal estilo, que son las que han tenido la culpa de que los que se vieron desatendidos por la justicia, se hayan levantado en armas contra la Patria; y quiere dejar fuera, naturalmente, a todo lo que suponga formación comunista, con todo el odio y toda la barbarie que lleva consigo.

(Domingo 233)

In establishing what she terms *la formación auténtica* of the woman, described in the quote above, Pilar writes of the need to eliminate the hatefulness, barbarity, and willingness to wage war of the Republican women. Only then, she argues, may the identity of the idealized woman be uncovered. Pilar Primo de Rivera is a significant figure in the Nationalist war against the Republican woman, and speaks in ideological terms of the need for ideal women to aid in the regeneration of the Spanish state. Vallejo Nágera builds from the discursive representation of Nationalist femininity offered by Primo de Rivera, pathologizing her ideals in his quest to prove that a Republican “red gene” is responsible for the aberrant behavior of the enemy. Much like Pilar, Vallejo

Nágera represents the enemy as hateful and barbaric. In establishing his Gabinete de Investigaciones Psicológicas and through his publication of medical studies, Vallejo Nágera completes the transition from discursive representation of the female enemy to scientific representation, and is able to defend the repression of the post-war period.

In his article “Authoritarian Medicalization and Gynephobia under Franco”, Hispanist scholar Timothy Mitchell writes of the objectification of the Republican enemy through the use of medical science, and how much of this pseudoscientific work lacked a sound psychiatric foundation. Mitchell argues in this article that the practice of medicine during the Franco regime was authoritarian in nature, favoring strict obedience to a misogynistic and anti-Freudian medical establishment that saw psychoanalysis as a form of “moral rape” (1). Furthermore, a fear of the danger of Republican women, or “gynephobia,” was central to the Nationalist movement in their mission to re-craft the Republican women of Spain. Medicine under the Franco regime was checked so heavily by the Catholic Church and the Falange that only those physicians that were subservient to the demands of the regime, like Vallejo Nágera, rose to positions of power. In describing Francoist gynecology and the idealized Nationalist woman, Mitchell writes:

Woman was first and foremost a mother, designed and destined to procreate within the framework of an indissoluble marriage. It was recommended that she be of medium height, with hips slightly wider than her shoulders, smooth skin, and well-developed breasts. Women were understood to be weak, more or less passive, more or less perverse, particularly vulnerable to psychosomatic illnesses, clearly unstable. Spanish gynecological treatises of the epoch were resolutely opposed to

women working outside the home: not only did it contribute to the 'corruption of customs' and the 'destruction of the family,' it was a major cause of disease. (Mitchell 8)

Any departure from this identity described by Mitchell was severely and violently repressed by Nationalist forces. Largely due to the work of Vallejo Nágera and his contribution toward the development of a eugenic discourse in Spain, the Franco regime authorized welfare and health measures from the time of the war and into the 1940s with the goal of regenerating the Spanish family (Richmond 20). Most interestingly, the women of the Sección Femenina took an active role in carrying out these newly created eugenic policies by serving in the *Cuerpo de divulgación* beginning in 1941. In this sense, the women of the Sección Femenina were not only the idealized women in the image of whom the Republican women needed to be reformed, but they also took an active role in enforcing the eugenic policies derived from the writings of Vallejo Nágera. This team of health care workers was composed of local women from villages throughout Spain, tasked with advising neighbors on hygiene and on how to obtain State welfare, but also warning women of the danger and illegality of abortion and of the need to choose a healthy partner if considering marriage. These new laws were less about improving the state of the Republicans, and more about ensuring that those women loyal to the regime conformed to the image of the idealized Republican woman described above. The Sección Femenina and its members were employed to carry out Nationalist legislation, working themselves to eliminate Republican ideology through educating their neighbors.

Members of the Sección Femenina may be seen as the individuals enforcing the eugenic teachings of Vallejo Nágera in the post-war period, but these teachings stem

from years prior. In his 1938 book *Política racial del nuevo estado*, examined earlier in Chapter 2, Vallejo Nágera conveys his own hierarchical and eugenic vision for the future of the Spanish state. Of central importance to Vallejo Nágera in this idealized state is a form of nuptial politics, in which men and women who are loyal to the regime marry in order to ensure the success of the Spanish state. In characterizing the main aspects of nuptial politics, Vallejo Nágera writes: “Los aspectos de la política nupcial estatal orientada modernamente no pueden ser más interesantes, a saber: consejo prematrimonial, lucha contra la esterilidad masculina y femenina, castigo del aborto clandestino y del llamado terapéutico, fomento del matrimonio en los menores de veinticinco años y campaña contra la soltería” (Vallejo Nágera, *Política racial* 46).

In thinking of the *Cuerpo de divulgación* of the Sección Femenina and their purpose in interacting with female neighbors in the post-war period, the words of Vallejo Nágera in describing the goals of the nuptial politics of the Spanish state in 1938 seem nearly like a mission statement. The women of the Sección Femenina were tasked with fighting manifestations of Republican identity, what Vallejo Nágera referred to years earlier “masculine and feminine sterility”. In fighting against the use of “therapeutics,” or the psychoanalytic and Freudian treatment advocated for by Republican doctors in the pre-war, Vallejo Nágera is again fighting against Republican practices. In this sense, the acts of the *Cuerpo de divulgación* may be seen as little more than the enactment of the “nuptial politics” and the “campaign against singleness” for which Vallejo Nágera advocates. The implementation of eugenic policy based upon the writings of Vallejo Nágera is made clear through the realization of the striking similarities between portions of *Política racial del nuevo estado* and the mission of the *Cuerpo de divulgación* in the

post-war period. This is a significant realization and suggests that the writings of Vallejo Nágera have a tangible impact upon Francoist legislation. Other texts written by Vallejo Nágera, such as “Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes” significantly impact Nationalist behaviors, through their defense of the institutionalization of brutal and violent forms of repression against Republican women.

"Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninos delincuentes."

As Michael Richards explains in his article “Morality and Biology in the Spanish Civil War: Psychiatrists, Revolution and Women Prisoners in Málaga” Vallejo Nágera’s study on women centers upon “the unstable psychological duality of revolutionary women in Spain” and a sense of emotional intensity that predisposes these women to degeneration (395). The study itself, however, is far from an exhaustive psychiatric analysis of the women in question, and can hardly be used to justify any medical diagnosis. Most remarkably, Vallejo Nágera does not even physically examine his subjects, as would be expected in a medical study conducted by a physician on human beings. In defending this practice, Vallejo Nágera explains, “seguimos la metódica de que nos hemos servido en los prisioneros marxistas internacionales, sin proceder al estudio antropológico del sujeto, necesario para establecer las relaciones entre figura corporal y el temperamento, que en el sexo femenino carece de finalidad, por la impureza de los contornos” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 398). Quite literally, Vallejo Nágera writes that a physical examination of his subjects has no purpose in the context of this medical study

due to the impurity of the Republican woman. Instead, Vallejo Nágera's medical study is solely the result of a single survey given to both incarcerated International Brigadiers, foreign soldiers who supported and fought on the side of the Republic, and a group of imprisoned fifty Republican women. Reflecting on the nature of the survey in his 1986 autobiographical book, *Prisoners of the good fight*, Carl Geiser, an American International Brigadier who survived the war, remarked:

They had a two hundred-item questionnaire in English, German, French, and Spanish. It began with name, race and nationality, education, skills, jobs held, criminal record, family income, names and addresses of relatives, then came political and social questions, then ethical questions, including religious affiliation and beliefs and finally, our views on free love, and the questions: "When did you first have sexual intercourse? With whom?" (154).

Armed with hundreds of responses concerning basic social and behavioral questions that have little to do with psychiatric wellness, Vallejo Nágera uses his data to establish a faulty link between loyalty to the Republic, or "Marxism," and a sense of bio-psychological inferiority among Republican women. With the collection of data complete, Vallejo Nágera theorizes in his study that it is the responsibility of the woman to maintain the moral vigilance of the family and the husband, and that, for this reason, the delinquency and rebellion of the woman constitutes a threat to the Spanish state. In beginning the second paragraph of the study, Vallejo Nágera writes that "cuando desaparecen los frenos que contienen socialmente a la mujer...entonces despiértase en el sexo femenino el instinto de crueldad y rebasa todas la posibilidades imaginadas,

precisamente por faltarle las inhibiciones inteligentes y lógicas” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 399). Through a description of the behaviors of the feminine opposition as the result of the loss of any sense of intelligence or logic, Vallejo Nágera undermines the opposition and its actions. Compared to the normality of the Nationalist women who prescribe to the kind and gentle character encouraged by the regime, the Republican women are portrayed as infantilized and even animalistic, essentially as sub-humans. In his analysis of the psychological duality argued by Vallejo Nágera, Michael Richards writes that “this duality was reflected in bio-criminology, where physical and sexual infantilism were linked to criminality while more maternal feminine anatomies produced joyful optimism, untiring industry, satisfaction and deeply felt enjoyment with the spouse” (Richards, “Morality and Biology” 410). In this sense, the Republican woman is considered threatening to the established order of the new Spain, and is portrayed as an enemy that cannot resist its natural impulse toward criminal activity. As Richards writes, Vallejo Nágera dehumanizes the Republican women, classifying them as individuals who cannot exhibit human qualities, such as feeling a sense of satisfaction or enjoying time spent with their spouse.

With few words, Vallejo Nágera is able to communicate his data and demonstrate the delinquency of his enemy through the presentation of simple tables that display the results of his survey, accompanied by short opening and closing remarks. To begin, Vallejo Nágera observes, “coméntase vivamente el hecho de que en la revolución comunista española haya participado el sexo femenino con entusiasmo y ferocidad inusitada” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 398). Even before the presentation of his data, Vallejo Nágera employs the Nationalist discourse of the politically active and dangerous

Republican woman. Continuing with his presentation, Vallejo Nágera writes of women who burn and pillage the Nationalist zones, in addition to being “accused generically of ‘animating men’ to disorder and the ‘excitation of revolution’ ” (Richards, “Morality and Biology” 417). Even in this short introduction, readers begin to conceptualize of the Republican woman as a grave threat to the Spanish state as evidenced by their burning and pillaging, and through inciting their husbands to commit crimes against the Nationalists.

Imprisonment, Vallejo Nágera reasons, is the appropriate sanction for the Republican women upon which the study is based. Following the introductory remarks of the study described above, a section entitled “material estudiado” describes the varying lengths of imprisonment that the fifty women received “por auxilio a la rebelión y otros crímenes políticos” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 400). Language serves a particularly important function in this study as a means for describing the degeneracy of the Republican woman. The title of this section, *material studied*, suggests that the women are not worthy of classification as human beings, but instead are reduced to the level of inanimate objects of study. As British historian Michael Burleigh writes of the tactics utilized by psychiatrists in Nazi Germany, “the influence of forms of medical thought and training led to patients being viewed like molecules, frogs or laboratory rabbits. The objectification of the patient, and the increasingly technological nature of modern medicine, resulted in a form of ‘moral amnesia’ towards the patient’s actual or potential suffering” (Burleigh, *Surveys of developments* 322). While Burleigh’s analysis is directed at the studies conducted in the concentration camps by physicians of the Third Reich, his quote is just as relevant in referring to the work and the use of language by Vallejo

Nágera. In both cases, innocent civilians are imprisoned with no justification and objectified. As Vallejo Nágera relates, 66% of the women receive the death sentence, 20% receive life imprisonment, 6% receive twenty years of imprisonment, and 8% receive twelve years of imprisonment. After the presentation of these results, Vallejo Nágera concludes the section with a single sentence: “La magnanimidad del Caudillo ha conmutado las penas de muerte por la de reclusión perpetua en todos los casos que estudiamos” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 400). The deification of Franco as a magnanimous and benevolent leader is apparent in this sentence, as he has switched the death sentences of thirty-three of the fifty women to terms of life imprisonment. In reality, Franco’s act is hardly magnanimous, as these women were falsely imprisoned and guilty only by association with Spain’s Second Republic.

After his initial presentation of the fifty women in the “material estudiado” section, it is significant that the work is organized into categories related to core values of the Francoist State. While Vallejo Nágera presents the results of over twenty-five questions in his study, these questions may be grouped into five main areas of focus: psychological health, intelligence and culture, religion, sexual history and political beliefs. The first of these five areas is psychological health, which is summarized by Vallejo Nágera in a half-page section entitled “temperamentos” or *temperaments*. The main finding is that only 28% of women are of normal temperament, with 12% schizothymic and 16% cyclothymic. Most of the women, 72%, have degenerative temperaments, with 42% schizoid, 20% cycloid, 6% hysterical, and 4% paranoid. This study of temperament, and the associated psychiatric terms, are borrowed by Vallejo

Nágera from the eugenic theory of German psychiatrist Ernst Kretschmer. As Enrique González Duro explains:

Se refería Vallejo a la teoría en boga entonces del psiquiatra alemán Ernst Kretschmer, que correlacionaba la constitución corporal y el carácter o temperamento, y que no debía conocer muy bien, puesto que asimilaba el tipo corporal esténico y el atlético al mismo temperamento ciclotímico, cuando en la teoría original el tipo atlético se correspondía con el temperamento viscoso (persona tranquila, reposada y circunspecta con una expresión a veces pesada y tosca). (Duro, *Los psiquiatras de Franco* 135)

As Duro reveals, Vallejo Nágera borrows from the studies of Kretschmer only to the extent that it aids his argument about the degeneration of the Republican woman.

Through intentionally combining dissimilar classifications and re-grouping others, Vallejo Nágera's work may be understood as lacking in any form of psychiatric backing.

The central problem with Vallejo Nágera's study, then, is the erroneous inversion of modern German psychiatric practices in justifying the characterization of Republican women as inferior beings. As a scientific work, Vallejo Nágera's study presents Republican women as economically, socially, and mentally inferior. The women are never portrayed in a positive light, but are instead dehumanized. Vallejo Nágera writes that those Republican women with normal personalities comprise only a small minority of the women studied, a category described by Richards as "being moral, working, living a social life without conflicts, being non-delinquent, and not given to 'sexual perversity', kept on the path of virtue by piety, maternity and constitutional weakness" (Richards, "Morality and Biology" 415). The issue with Vallejo Nágera's data and conclusions

throughout the work stems from the unfounded methods he employs. The Bidet-Simon coefficient for intellectual capacity that Vallejo Nágera uses in the “Inteligencia y cultura” section of his study, for example, “was notorious for ignoring social factors when labelling groups, such as blacks in the US Army, as ‘inferior.’ (Richards, “Morality and Biology” 414) While the statistical tests employed by the regime were unreliable and led to incorrect characterizations, this was not of importance to the regime. The ultimate goal in the publication of these studies was to justify the institutionalization of violence and repressive measures against the “dangerous” Republican women who needed to be exterminated, and the veil provided by the format of a psychiatric report allowed for this argument to gain credibility.

In the “Inteligencia y la cultura” section of the study, Vallejo Nágera indicates that more than half of the fifty women are mentally inferior or weak. Furthermore, he writes that 98% of the women have only a primary education or less, and that 46% are illiterate. The presentation of these results leads Vallejo Nágera to the brief conclusion that “el marxismo español nutre las filas de sus miembros de combate de entre las personas menos inteligentes y más incultas de la sociedad” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 403). To arrive at his goal of finding the ‘red gene,’ a supposed genetic marker of inferiority, Vallejo Nágera writes of this inherent relation between a lack of intelligence and cultivation, and a genetic pre-disposition to Marxism. By describing the women in the study as the least intelligent and cultivated of Spanish society, and through a presentation of their lack of education and low level of schooling, Vallejo Nágera is able to communicate their supposed sense of degeneracy to his readership.

Vallejo Nágera's examination of the religious beliefs of the imprisoned women, too, leads to unjustified and ambiguous conclusions. This part of the study is composed of the results of three survey questions which address the religiousness of the family, form of religious training (whether through school, family, or both), and individual degree of religiousness. The main finding is that all of the women are Catholics "que no han abjurado de sus creencias, aunque las ideas religiosas se limiten a un vago y confuso sentimiento que admite la existencia de Dios" (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 406). While twenty-one of Vallejo Nágera's small sample size of fifty women claim to be practicing Catholics, he declares that their religious formation is limited to a *vague and confusing sentiment that acknowledges the existence of God*. Not only is Vallejo Nágera's small sample of women entirely inappropriate for making generalizations about Republican women as a whole, but the generalizations are unclear in their choice of vocabulary. The *vague and confusing sentiment* of religious formation that Vallejo Nágera writes of provides his readership with a vague and confusing understanding of his reasoning with respect to the degeneracy of the Republican woman based upon religious formation.

The questions asked of the women related to sexual history, much like most of the other survey questions, are invasive and un-scientific in nature. This section of the study is composed of only two questions, the first of which is related to sexual life. Vallejo Nágera's study indicates that 20% of the women are virgins, 14% are prostitutes, and that 54% have children. Next, Vallejo Nágera declares that "La moralidad sexual del pueblo malagueño es muy baja, destaca en la edad de la desfloración de las exploradas solteras" (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 409). After revealing the various ages at which the women lost their virginity, Vallejo Nágera contradicts himself entirely in declaring that "Las

perversiones sexuales, no obstante el porcentaje de prostitutas profesionales, son raras en las marxistas malagueñas” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 409). While the point of this article is to communicate the supposed sense of psychological and moral perversion of the Republican woman, instead Vallejo Nágera writes that sexual perversion is rare among the women of the study. The inclusion of data pertaining to rates of prostitution amongst the women, however, is significant, as prostitution was a marker of moral inferiority to the regime. As Sofía Rodríguez López writes, “A partir de entonces, la caricatura comprendería algo más que a las mujeres vestidas de pantalón, o portadoras de armas; establecería una clara línea divisoria entre la mujer decente y <<las otras>>, que por rojas, liberales, y vencidas, al fin y al cabo, fueron señaladas con el dedo, delatadas y calumniadas, como prostitutas” (Rodríguez López 194). Though prostitution was seen as a marker of perversion to those loyal to the Nationalist Movement, it was one of few ways for Republican women to provide for their families in the absence of the husband during and after the war. As Enrique González-Duro writes of the role of the woman, “Debían cumplir la función proveedora de la familia, por la frecuente ausencia, encarcelamiento, muerte o desaparición del marido, convirtiendo su vida en una lucha difícil y azarosa por la mera supervivencia” (Duro, *Las rapadas* 50). While Vallejo Nágera’s study focuses on the gendered psychological construction of the moral degeneracy of the Republican woman, what it lacks are considerations based on what Richards calls “the material conditions of revolutionary conduct and social class,” leaving the women with no choice to survive apart from engaging in deviant behavior (Richards, “Morality and Biology” 421).

In the final section of his study, Vallejo Nágera assesses the political beliefs of the imprisoned women. The most telling question asked of the Republican women is “*What is your opinion of Nationalist Spain?*” with the top responses of 48% of women having a good opinion, 30% that do not know, 14% answering that the regime is better organized than the past form of government, and only 4% of women having a bad opinion. Vallejo Nágera writes that “La buena opinión que se tiene de la España Nacional débese a que cuida de los niños, aunque sean hijos de los enemigos, se protege al pobre y hay trabajo, no siendo lo que decía la propaganda roja” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 411). In this sentence, Vallejo Nágera defends the actions of the Nationalist regime and writes that Nationalist Spain cares for the children of the Republican enemy. Vallejo Nágera refers here to prisons where Republican women were imprisoned with their children, such as la Prisión de Madres Lactantes in Madrid. The mother and child were physically separated in the prison, where interaction between mother and child was set at a maximum of one hour per day. In the end, most of the women were killed or remained in the prison and were stripped of their children, who were given to devoutly Catholic parents that were loyal to the regime (Vinyes, *Los niños perdidos* 52). In this sense, the Nationalist regime can hardly be credited with caring for the children of Republican women.

Of the two women who have a bad opinion of the regime, Vallejo Nágera writes, “Las dos individuos que tienen mala opinión del actual estado político se refieren más bien a su situación personal que a la nacional general” (Vallejo Nágera, *Psiquismo* 411). In reality, though, the poor personal situation of these two women and all others, for that matter, stems precisely from the state of the nation as a whole. In offering a counter-narrative to this study authored by Vallejo Nágera, the testimony of Republican

governess Pilar Fidalgo Carasa in *A Young Mother in Franco's Prisons* serves an essential role. While the two women who had a poor opinion of the Nationalist regime were not able to explain themselves in the study, Fidalgo's first-hand account of the atrocities of the Franco prison system serves this function. Pilar Fidalgo was arrested at her home by Fascists on October 6th, 1936, and was imprisoned for over seven months in Zamora, Spain. In speaking openly of the repression, violence, and unsanitary conditions from which she suffered, Fidalgo exposes Vallejo Nágera's claims of caring for Republican children and protecting the poor as untrue.

Upon arriving in prison, Fidalgo realizes that she is compelled to stay with forty other women in a prison cell built for one person. Quickly, she and her child become ill and consult with the prison doctor, Pedro Almendral, who "seeing [her] suffering, contented himself with saying that the best method to be cured was to die" (Fidalgo 6). Far from Vallejo Nágera's assurance that the Republican prisoners are being treated well and that 48% have a positive opinion of the regime, this experience accurately relates the experience of the Republican woman within the prison system.

In his study, Vallejo Nágera makes the point that the Republican woman is the moral compass of the home, and that her degeneracy incites her husband to rebellion. This opinion became a central component of the Nationalist discourse, and was even mentioned during the course of mandatory attendance at Mass each week. As Fidalgo relates:

Another exemplary priest was the one who said Mass. All his sermons were inflamed harangues against the "Reds." He covered the republicans with insults and said to us that we were not imprisoned and to be killed

because we were robbers, but because we were connected with men just as infamous. His imprecations were terrifying, and the most terrible curses came from his lips during the offertory. (Fidalgo 15)

Even during Mass, when the Republican women were behaving appropriately and following in the image of the idealized Nationalist woman through religious devotion, violence and repression was a key component. During the offertory, the offering of the bread and wine, the priest was most abusive toward the women. While the acceptance of Christ would normally be a means of salvation, these women were only continually abused and mistreated by their captors. Given the violence of the clergymen, taking solace in religion was even an impossibility. As González-Duro remarks of the fate of the Republican woman, “la redención era prácticamente imposible (Duro, *Las rapadas* 50).

In describing the deaths of the first two women to perish in the prison of Zamora, Fidalgo writes that the women were told to run away, and if they succeeded in escaping they would be allowed to survive. As the women began to run, the Falangists immediately opened fire. Fidalgo writes:

Wounded, bleeding, victims of an incredible madness, the two women finally fell dead from the bullets of their hunters, the “Señoritos,” who roared with laughter and went to recount their exploits at the casino and, on the following day, to take communion in the church of their parish, where a priest impatiently awaited them to congratulate them on the zeal they had shown in defence of “Holy Religion.” (Fidalgo 24)

While Vallejo Nágera writes of the need to regenerate the race and cleanse the environment of the ‘red gene,’ he does not recount in great detail the gruesome murder of

young women. The support of the Catholic church was instrumental to the success of Franco's regime, and the murderers of the two women are portrayed by Fidalgo as religious. Just a day after the two murders in Zamora, the young men took communion and were praised by the priest for their actions. Just as Vallejo Nágera ties together a defense of Catholicism with the elimination of political dissidence in the Spanish State, so too does the priest. In relating this story, Fidalgo exposes the extreme violence and repressive measures of the Nationalists, and their use of religion to justify these heinous practices. The women are deprived of any sense of individuality, and are shot at like animals being hunted in an open field, with no respect for human life.

In concluding her testimony, Pilar Fidalgo writes that "If the state of being human is made up of respect for right, of love for one's neighbor and of liberty, there are in the prisons of Franco thousands of beings whose sole hope is to be able one day to be called men again" (Fidalgo 32). Fidalgo paints a picture of the Francoist prison system and of the treatment of women quite different from that proposed by Vallejo Nágera, who says nothing of the brutal forms of repression and violence to which the Republican women were subjected. As Fidalgo relates in her closing remarks, Republican women were regarded as sub-human by their captors, and exposed to physical and verbal abuse daily for no reason other than being thought of by the regime as Republican. While the Republican woman could pray just as a member of the Sección Femenina would and might have even identified as Catholic, this mattered little. To the regime, the Republican

woman would have no chance at redemption and, because of their political dissidence, were violently repressed, imprisoned, or even killed.⁶

⁶ In his 2012 book *The Spanish Holocaust*, Hispanist scholar Paul Preston writes of women in the Franco penitentiary system. Preston estimates that the women's prison in Madrid, Ventas, was occupied by over 3,500 female inmates by April of 1939. This space was designed to house only 500 prisoners, and would eventually hold nearly 14,000 women.

Conclusion: The Legacy of Antonio Vallejo Nágera

Sister María Gómez Valbuena was not the typical criminal. A devout Catholic and member of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul in Madrid, Spain, Gómez was a frail 87 year old woman at the time of her indictment by the Spanish courts in 2012. Gómez Valbuena was alleged to have been involved in a scheme that saw the sequestration of thousands of Spanish newborns from their Republican mothers and their sale to adoptive parents that were loyal to the Franco regime. Once the head of social welfare in the maternity ward of Madrid's Santa Cristina Hospital, Gómez Valbuena was charged with the sequestration of Pilar, the daughter of María Luisa Torres, said to have taken place on March 31, 1982. "In an open letter to the media, she insisted that she was innocent and claimed that she had spent her life 'selflessly helping the neediest,' guided only by her 'deep religious convictions' " (qtd. in Zuber). The case of Gómez Valbuena and the stolen children of Republican sympathizers is not a rarity, as over 30,000 children of Republican prisoners were said to be kidnapped by the Franco regime between 1944 and 1954 alone (Beatriz Musci, 2). From 1936 until well into the 1990s, over 300,000 children were said to have been adopted by religious parents who were loyal to the Franco regime. Not surprisingly, Antonio Vallejo Nágera was the mastermind behind the sequestration of Republican children, and his legacy lives on today in Spain, where thousands of citizens search for their lost children and parents in hopes of restoring the family unit that the Franco regime tried so desperately to destroy.

Following the success of his studies on Republican women and International Brigadiers in two leading medical journals under the general title "Psiquismo del Fanatismo Marxista," Vallejo Nágera published *La locura y la guerra: psicopatología de*

la guerra española (1939). In this work, Vallejo Nágera justifies the robbing of Republican children due to the political activity and criminality of the Republican mother. In defending this position, Vallejo Nágera affirms, “las íntimas relaciones entre marxismo e inferioridad mental ya las habíamos expuesto anteriormente. La segregación de estos sujetos desde la infancia podría liberar a la sociedad de plaga tan terrible” (Vallejo Nágera, *La locura* 40). Through writing of the liberal cause as a contagious plague with harmful effects upon Spanish society, Vallejo Nágera is able to clearly justify the extermination or imprisonment of Republican women and the kidnapping of their children. According to Vallejo Nágera, the sequestering of children is key to the liberation of society, as the children may be saved from the sickness of their parents. The re-assigning of Republican children to Nationalist families served a positive function for the regime, as these children could see Nationalist propaganda from an early age in the home and at school, could be raised in the Nationalist tradition, and would be loyal supporters of the regime in their adulthood. The conflation of political and medical spheres in the Spanish State allowed for the enactment of specific legislation based upon Vallejo Nágera’s findings. As Paul Preston writes, the law of December 14, 1941 “legalized the changing of the names of Republican orphans, of the children of prisoners unable to look after them and of babies taken away (by force) from their mothers immediately after birth in prison” (Preston, *Spanish Holocaust* 515).

Sixty-six years after the passage of the law of December 14, 1941, the *Ley de Memoria Histórica*, the Law of Historical Memory, was passed by Spain’s Parliament on December 26 2007. This attempt by the Spanish government to condemn the Franco dictatorship and give rights to the victims of the Civil War follows a lengthy *pacto del*

olvido, a political decision advocated in the Amnesty Law of 1977 and agreed upon by both the leftist and rightist parties in Spain to avoid the legacy of Francoism following Francisco Franco's death in 1975. In the transition to democracy that began in the 1970s, the *pacto del olvido*, meant to ease the change in government, also ensured the suppression of painful memories, and the impunity of wrongdoers such as María Gómez Valbuena, addressed above. This 2007 legislation follows nearly thirty-two years of inactivity on behalf of the Spanish Parliament with regard to passing legislation related to historical memory. The Law of Historical Memory, then, may be seen as a significant piece of legislation aimed at addressing the legacy of Francoism in modern Spain as evidenced by the continued presence of Francoist symbols and monuments. Article 15.1 of the law, entitled "Símbolos y monumentos públicos," deals with the removal of Francoist symbols and other objects commemorating the memory of Francoism:

Las Administraciones públicas, en el ejercicio de sus competencias, tomarán las medidas oportunas para la retirada de escudos, insignias, placas y otros objetos o menciones conmemorativas de exaltación, personal o colectiva, de la sublevación militar, de la Guerra Civil y de la represión de la Dictadura.

Even with the passage of this law, the legacy of Antonio Vallejo Nágera lived on in Madrid in the form of the *Paseo del Dr. Vallejo Nágera*, a main thoroughfare in the Arganzuela district of Madrid, just a few kilometers from where I conducted the research for this Honors Thesis. While Antonio Vallejo Nágera is not a well-known figure to the Spanish population, the association of his name with this busy street represented the

disregard of the city for the memory of all of those who suffered and continue to suffer from his work.

On the morning of July 18, 2011, Madrid's Forum for Memory, an organization concerned with the recovery of the memory of those atrocities committed by Franco's regime, committed "un acto de reivindicación discreto" (Torres Benayas). In response to Article 15.1 of the Law of Historical Memory, the group assumed responsibility for unofficially renaming *Paseo del Dr. Vallejo Nágera* as *Calle Contra la Impunidad*, addressing their opposition to the impunity of Francoists (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1

While the Forum for Memory succeeded in the removal of street signs bearing the name of Vallejo Nágera in 2011 and again in 2013, oddly, the name of the street itself still remains unchanged in 2015 ("El foro por la memoria"). Despite official legislation and the continued work of the Forum for Memory, no plans are in place to rename the street. As a representative of the Forum for Memory remarks, "La pervivencia de calles y otros símbolos de exaltación del fascismo en todo el Estado español es una violación de los derechos de las víctimas del franquismo, en tanto que ignora la legislación internacional de los derechos humanos y la propia legislación española" ("El foro por la memoria").

Even fifty-five years after his death, the legacy of Antonio Vallejo Nágera is alive and well in Spain. The street named in his honor fills with pedestrians each day who frequent sandwich shops, banks, and hardware stores, never stopping to think of the man so closely aligned with the regime responsible for the violent repression, kidnapping, and murder of thousands of Spanish citizens. While the Law of Historical Memory has begun the process of confronting the dark past of Francoism, the continued existence of the *Paseo del Dr. Vallejo Nágera* is a disgrace to all of those so profoundly affected by the evils of the Franco regime.

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