

# Franco’s ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’: Masculinity and War Disability in Modern Spain, 1936-1976

Stephanie Marylene Wright

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## Abstract

This thesis constitutes the first extended attempt to investigate masculine identity in Francoist Spain ‘from below’. It explores representations and experiences of the war disabled of the Spanish Civil War, who challenged Francoist propaganda’s emphasis on discipline, physical strength and self-control. Historians of war disability in the modern period beyond Spain have often discussed the marginalisation and emasculation of the maimed, who struggled to find their place in societies seeking to move on from the hardships of war. In contrast, the Civil War became central to the Francoist regime’s legitimising narrative. Under a dictatorship which depicted the conflict as a holy ‘Crusade’ against the ‘atheistic’ Second Spanish Republic, the living martyrs of the victorious Francoist army could not be left to languish in the post-war period. Francoist disabled veterans—or ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ as they became known—thus occupied a privileged space under the dictatorship, particularly those pertaining to the officer classes.

At the same time, it is important to underscore the relativity of this privilege, and the importance of the context of Civil War in framing experiences of war disability. Lower ranking soldiers did not, of course, experience repression like their defeated Republican counterparts, but the regime’s provisions were often inadequate. Many veterans eschewed military masculine ideals, and the countless examples of impoverished Francoist veterans serve to question the traditional ‘victim/vanquished’ dichotomy which often underpins studies of modern Spain. Many ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ who did find jobs were employed in posts with few opportunities for career progression, which meant that their relative privilege declined over time, especially during and after the economic growth of the 1960s. Veterans did not, however, tend to question the regime’s authority, and their interactions with the state administration reveal the importance of paternalistic patronage structures to the consolidation of the ‘New State’, which allowed the regime to establish and maintain its legitimacy over nearly forty years.

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# Introduction

The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 is frequently conceptualised as an international war between Fascism and democracy.[[1]](#footnote-1) However, the war’s deepest and most enduring effects were felt on Spanish soil. Triggered by a ‘Nationalist’ military uprising against the democratically elected Second Spanish Republic on 17 July 1936, the Civil War and immediate aftermath saw an estimated 500,000 people lose their lives.[[2]](#footnote-2) In total, around 200,000 of these were killed on the battlefield, 90,000 of whom fought for the Nationalists. However, the majority of those killed during the conflict did not die in active combat. An estimated 130,000 people were executed or assassinated behind the lines during the war—75,000 on the Nationalist side and 55,000 in the Republican zone—and another 35,000 lost their lives to disease, malnutrition, and aerial bombardments.[[3]](#footnote-3) Violence did not immediately end with the ceasing of hostilities, and a further 20,000 Republicans are thought to have been executed as part of post-war Francoist repression.[[4]](#footnote-4) The dead were not the only victims of the Civil War. Around 300,000 survived this period of violence by going into exile, usually in France or Latin America.[[5]](#footnote-5) Furthermore, of those soldiers who survived the war, as many as 80,000 from both the rebel and loyalist armies bore the scars of the conflict on their bodies and minds.[[6]](#footnote-6)

The Spanish Civil War and Francoist dictatorship provide fertile ground for the study of war disability, particularly for exploring and testing the narratives of marginalisation, emasculation and stigmatisation which underpin historical scholarship on the war disabled. As in most post-war societies, the Francoist state faced the challenge of reconciling wartime rhetoric exalting the supremacy of the strong, virile and aggressive male body, with the realities of its veterans’ wounded and weakened physiques. As Ana Carden-Coyne has succinctly stated, ‘In war, bodies are disputed territories because they symbolise the nations for which they are fighting’.[[7]](#footnote-7) Indeed, both the Nationalist and Republican sides in the Spanish Civil War used images of strong, muscular men in their wartime propaganda to symbolise the war effort and their respective visions for the nation.[[8]](#footnote-8) Nationalist representations of men, particularly in the Falangist or Catholic JAP (Juventudes de Acción Popular) youth movements, underscored the importance of discipline, uniformity and ‘healthy’ bodies.[[9]](#footnote-9)

The idea of ‘health’ took on greater significance in the repressive context of post-war Spain. After the Civil War, the Francoist state set about purging the country of Republican elements. Many of those who had supported the Republican project were killed, imprisoned, deprived of their property or dismissed from their jobs.[[10]](#footnote-10) Such repression was conceptualised as a process of ‘purification’, in which the Republican enemy was associated with sickness and physical decay.[[11]](#footnote-11) Francoist medical professionals—influenced by broader European eugenicist trends, particularly in Nazi Germany—sought to establish ‘scientific’ links between physical and psychological disorders and political deviance. Psychiatrists such as Antonio Vallejo Nágera, head of psychiatric services in the Francoist army, drew on German ideas of bodily constitution to link ‘revolutionary’ behaviour to mental disturbance.[[12]](#footnote-12) Francoist disabled veterans appeared to subvert the sickness/health dichotomy present within official discourse, which sought to marginalise former Republicans from the national community.

However, despite their weakened bodies, as the heroes of the winning side, Francoist disabled veterans formed part of the national community in a way that Republicans did not. In post-war Spain, the ‘national community’ has been understood by scholars according to the fault lines of the Civil War, whereby the ‘victors’ of the conflict were rewarded with positions of political and social power, while the ‘vanquished’ experienced varying degrees of repression.[[13]](#footnote-13) In its attempts to brand the Civil War a ‘Crusade’ to save Spain from the Republic’s ‘atheism’, Francoist representations of the ideal Spanish citizen were imbued with Catholic ideas of suffering and sacrifice, particularly with reference to the dead.[[14]](#footnote-14) This emphasis on sacrifice was also a prominent feature of certain military cultures, particularly the Spanish Foreign Legion, in which the dictator Francisco Franco and many other rebel elites had served prior to the Civil War.[[15]](#footnote-15) Those who gave up their lives in order to ‘liberate’ Spain from ‘Marxism’ were held up as ‘martyrs’, and their bereaved relatives were accorded a privileged rhetorical space in Francoist society. The widows and mothers of the fallen were awarded medals for their suffering, and were often given a privileged position in public commemorations of the dead. Posters and postcards produced by the Nationalist coalition, particularly the deeply Catholic and traditionalist Carlist faction, were unafraid to use artistic impressions of fallen soldiers, often accompanied by the promise that ‘Before God, you will never be an anonymous hero’.[[16]](#footnote-16) The dead constituted ideal role models, given that their flawed, human realities followed them to the grave.

Meanwhile, those who sacrificed part of their bodily integrity for the nation and survived to tell the tale occupied an altogether more ambiguous space in Nationalist Spain. Some Republican propaganda posters featured images of war amputees in an attempt to persuade Spaniards to support the war effort. One particularly striking Republican poster, produced by the Madrid Socialist Association (Agrupación Socialista Madrileña), featured a stern-looking leg amputee under the caption, ‘And you, what have you contributed to the victory?’.[[17]](#footnote-17) In contrast, Francoist war propaganda espoused the values of sacrifice without referring explicitly to the inevitable consequences of war wounding on the human body.[[18]](#footnote-18) Paradoxically, in fulfilling their duty of sacrifice to the nation, disabled Francoist soldiers no longer seemed to conform to the masculine ideals of strength, virility and self-control which were deemed so necessary for the construction of the ‘New Spain’.[[19]](#footnote-19)

The objective of this thesis is to unearth the histories of the Francoist war disabled and examine them in light of the contradictions between gendered wartime rhetoric and the post-war realities of mutilation and disablement. In order to explore how the specific context of civil war and dictatorship shaped veterans’ experiences of war disability, this study adopts a dual approach. First, it explores the position of disabled veterans under the Francoist regime, particularly through a detailed analysis of the institutional support available to ex-servicemen via the *Benemérito Cuerpo de Mutilados de Guerra por la Patria* (Honourable Corps for the Mutilated in the War for the Fatherland, henceforth BCMGP). Second, this thesis seeks to uncover the lived experiences of the disabled men themselves. While in other contexts the contradiction between wartime masculine ideals and physical and mental disability often led to the marginalisation, emasculation and stigmatisation of the war maimed, the reality for Francoist disabled veterans was more complex.[[20]](#footnote-20) In the context of post-Civil War society, Francoist disabled veterans, or ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ (*Caballeros Mutilados*) as they became known, occupied a privileged position within Spain. This privilege was long-lived, and ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ who lived to see Spain’s transition to democracy in the 1970s and 1980s were given the opportunity to visit the new King Juan Carlos in his palatial residence (Figure 1.1), much as they had done under the former head of state, dictator Francisco Franco. The longstanding privilege of some Francoist disabled veterans can also be glimpsed through the utter dismay of members of the Association for Mutilated Gentlemen (*Asociación de Caballeros Mutilados*) at a law passed in 1989, which sought to level the structural inequalities between disabled veterans who had fought for the victorious Francoist and vanquished Republican armies.[[21]](#footnote-21) Unlike their disgruntled counterparts in post-war Germany or the USA, the Francoist disabled of the Spanish Civil War never engaged in significant protest against the authorities or the support they received, and appear to have been free of the stigma experienced by their counterparts abroad.

The docility of Francoist *mutilados* cannot be explained by the generosity of war disability provisions, mainly because pensions for ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were by and large pretty meagre. The Civil War left Spain’s economy in dire straits, and the nascent Francoist regime was in no position to fund adequate compensation schemes for the war disabled, or anyone else.[[22]](#footnote-22) As a result, only the most severely disabled were granted pensions, while the rest were expected to earn a living through paid employment. Consequently, the relative contentment of the Francoist war disabled in Spain must be attributed to non-monetary factors, just as Deborah Cohen has questioned the significance of pension payments to the satisfaction of the war disabled in Britain and Germany.[[23]](#footnote-23) In fact, the Francoist regime was able to successfully circumvent contradictions between its triumphalist rhetoric and the less salubrious realities of the post-war period, in a way which allowed for the consolidation of its authority and preserved the loyalty of this social base. More specifically, paternalism and patronage emerged as fundamental to the regime’s governing ethos, both during and after the war, particularly when the ferocity of post-war violence subsided after 1943.[[24]](#footnote-24)

Each chapter of the thesis will unpick a different element of the Francoist regime’s relatively successful management of its war disabled, and will explore the position of disabled veterans within the regime, as well as the lived experience of these men. This definition of ‘success’ does not refer to the quality of life of disabled men—and the occasional woman—who emerged from Civil War service with life-changing injuries. Many Francoist *mutilados* did not lead comfortable lives, and struggled to return to the standard of living they had enjoyed prior to their military service. Furthermore, Francoism’s exclusionary war disability policies were disastrous for *mutilados* of the defeated Republican army, who had to rely on friends, family and even charity to see them through. Within this thesis, the term ‘success’ is thus understood from the regime’s perspective, in the sense that the Francoist war disabled never undermined the authority of the regime, or openly questioned the legitimacy of the ‘Crusade’ in light of their injuries.

The Francoist regime was able to achieve this, in part, through the promotion of certain non-military masculine models, which the war disabled could ascribe and relate to. Such models drew on pre-Civil War masculine ideals, including breadwinner, head of household and gentleman, models which encouraged the acceptance of Francoist Spain’s social and political hierarchies. ‘Humility’ constituted a particularly important characteristic of ‘hegemonic’ masculine identity in Francoist Spain, which allowed individuals to evidence their patriotic deeds in the Civil War while deferring to the regime’s hierarchies.[[25]](#footnote-25) One consequence of this emphasis on humility was that the war maimed were expected to deal with the difficulties of physical impairment privately. The context of civil war, out of which the regime emerged, lay at the heart of Francoist veterans’ relatively privileged, non-stigmatised experiences of disability. The regime’s simultaneous privileging of Francoist *mutilados* and unrelenting disenfranchisement of the Republican disabled created a context in which it was almost inconceivable for Francoist ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ to be viewed as anything other than privileged citizens.

## Situating the ‘mutilados’ within the historiography of modern Spain

One of the most important historiographical debates in modern Spanish history relates to the stability and longevity of the Francoist regime. Product of an illegitimate coup against the democratically elected Second Spanish Republic, the Francoist regime was nevertheless able to establish its legitimacy relatively quickly after 1939.[[26]](#footnote-26) Subsequently, the dictatorship remained in power in Spain, largely uncontested, until the natural death of an elderly Franco in 1975.[[27]](#footnote-27) For decades the regime was able to peddle its own myths of the Civil War, notably that the war was a ‘Crusade’ for ‘God and for Spain’ against a demonic enemy controlled by Russia.[[28]](#footnote-28) The narrative of the ‘red terror’ formed an important part of such myths. Accounts detailing the alleged crimes of the ‘reds’ were used to dehumanise the Republican enemy, and justify the repression of Francoism’s opponents.[[29]](#footnote-29) There were indeed some reprisals against Nationalists in Republican territory, notably the massacres of Francoist prisoners in Paracuellos de Jarama and Torrejón de Ardoz in November and December 1936.[[30]](#footnote-30) However, recent scholarship has uncovered the nature and extent of Francoist repression, both during and after the war. In addition to those executed by the Francoist state during the conflict, it is estimated that a further 20,000 Republicans were executed in the post-war era.[[31]](#footnote-31) Furthermore, as many as 200,000 died as a result of hunger in the early post war years, exacerbated by the regime’s autarchic economic policies, which aimed to purge the nation of ‘foreign’ elements.[[32]](#footnote-32)

In 1971, when Spaniards were becoming increasingly aware of the fallibility of their ailing dictator, the Irish historian Ian Gibson published his ground-breaking work on Francoist repression in the southern city of Granada, which centred on the fate of one of its most well-loved inhabitants, the playwright Federico García Lorca.[[33]](#footnote-33) Since then, attempts to document Francoist repression have multiplied, culminating in 2012 with Paul Preston’s exhaustive study, *The Spanish Holocaust*.[[34]](#footnote-34) In this expansive analysis of Francoist repression during the Civil War, Preston argues that the Nationalist forces embarked on a systematic campaign of repression, aimed at quashing all existing and potential opposition to the nascent regime.[[35]](#footnote-35) This view is supported, amongst others, by Helen Graham, who posits that the regime’s repression of its enemies attempted to psychologically ‘reconfigure’ surviving Republicans.[[36]](#footnote-36) Michael Richards offers a similar perspective, illustrating how post-war repression formed part of the Francoist regime’s broader attempts to ‘purify’ Spain, and to ‘redeem’ those who, it was said, had previously sought its destruction.[[37]](#footnote-37)

However, the extent to which the violent purges of the Civil War and post-war era were enough to ensure the survival of the Francoist regime until the 1970s has more recently been called into question, with some scholars suggesting that the regime’s authority was negotiated rather than merely imposed through repression. Preston attributes Franco’s longevity as a dictator to his ability to manage and diffuse the competing interests of factions such as the Falange and the army.[[38]](#footnote-38) Yet dictators cannot operate purely by co-opting political elites, but must also count on either the active support or passive acceptance of the populations they rule.[[39]](#footnote-39) More recent studies have recognised the importance of the attitudes of ‘ordinary’ Spaniards in ensuring the longevity of Francoism. Antonio Cazorla Sánchez has emphasised how material hardships experienced by Spaniards in the post-war period, particularly up to 1943 when starvation and illnesses such as typhus and tuberculosis ravaged the population, led Spaniards to adopt a pragmatic approach to life, often falling back on family networks in order to get by, and, above all, keeping out of politics.[[40]](#footnote-40) Though Cazorla admits that even the most downtrodden Spaniards could hold favourable opinions of Franco himself, he fails to pursue the reasons why ordinary citizens might have genuinely supported—rather than reluctantly acquiesced to—Francoism. More robust attempts at explaining ground-level social support for Francoism have come from Michael Seidman and James Matthews, who have pointed to the ability of the Nationalist authorities during the Civil War to meet the day-to-day needs of their troops, as well as civilians living in areas under their control.[[41]](#footnote-41) While such studies offer convincing assessments of the relative comfort of life in rebel territory compared to the Republican zone, they do not seek to explore social support for Francoism in the post-war and beyond, when the Spanish economy and population fared considerable worse.

Beyond the Civil War, the recent work of Ángel Alcalde and, to a lesser extent, Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco has sought to address the issue of social support particularly in relation to the hundreds of thousands of men who served in Franco’s ultimately victorious army. Though Preston depicts the army as a victim of the Francoist regime, based on the fact that by the 1970s the armed services personnel were poorly paid and under resourced, Del Arco Blanco has highlighted the trajectories of Francoism’s ‘New Men’ (*hombres nuevos*), whose service in the Civil War qualified them for positions of local or national leadership, despite their youth or lack of experience prior to the conflict.[[42]](#footnote-42) Indeed, this thesis also shows that, in comparative terms, Civil War veterans led relatively comfortable lives.[[43]](#footnote-43) Alcalde’s work has followed more closely the trajectory of the National Delegation of Ex-combatants, and has sought to underscore the importance of the war experience to veterans, who went on to occupy a privileged space in Francoist society.[[44]](#footnote-44) Such studies have made an important contribution to our understanding of Francoism’s social support base, but they tend to present veterans as a homogenously privileged group. Few attempts to recover the experiences of Spanish Civil War veterans have extricated the life stories of former conscripts, often of humble origin, who made up the majority of both the Francoist and Republican armies, or have distinguished them from the relative minority of officers who tended to pursue professional military careers after the war.[[45]](#footnote-45) As will become apparent throughout this thesis, the Francoist regime’s ability to manage both kinds of veteran offers a new perspective on the traditional repression vs. consent debates.

This thesis, therefore, challenges the idea that repression alone underpinned the regime’s authority, and forms part of an emerging body of scholarship which makes a serious attempt to recover the voices of ‘ordinary’ Spaniards under the dictatorship, using sources produced by the individuals themselves. Claudio Hernández Burgos’s use of oral history has gone some way to illuminating the importance of popular attitudes to the long-term stability of the dictatorship.[[46]](#footnote-46) Hernández’s work supports Paloma Aguilar’s argument that Francoism’s initial claims for legitimacy based on its victory in the Civil War were eventually replaced by a legitimacy of ‘exercise’, based on the regime’s ability to maintain ‘peace’ in Spain, as well as economic growth linked to the tourism boom in the 1960s.[[47]](#footnote-47) Of course, ‘peace’ under Francoism—referred to, admiringly or ironically depending on the perspective, as ‘Franco’s peace’ (*paz de Franco*)—reflected the regime’s imposition of order rather than genuine harmony between Spaniards.[[48]](#footnote-48) Yet the desire to return to a sense of normality after the fratricide of the 1930s must not be underestimated, and Hernández has argued convincingly that many Spaniards viewed with increasing hostility those who continued to fight the good fight against Francoism well into the 1940s.[[49]](#footnote-49)

The testimonies of Hernández’s subjects, who, as hinted at by Cazorla, were often able to balance their dislike of the regime with a certain fondness towards the Caudillo, also offer an important insight into Francoism’s legitimacy over its nearly forty years in power. In her seminal work on paternalism in the USA, Mary Jackman has rejected the idea that violence can be used in the long term to control societies, arguing that prolonged use of force is merely an indicator that previous attempts to assert control have failed.[[50]](#footnote-50) Instead, Jackman employs the fable of the wind and the sun to illustrate how persuasion is infinitely more effective than coercive force when seeking to control a population. The distinction made by Hernández between a dislike for the politics of Franco and an appreciation of his person is reminiscent of the regime’s relationship with its colonial soldiers, and reflects the paternalism which characterised Francoism’s rule of Spaniards. Recent research into relations between Francoist bureaucrats and Moroccan soldiers who served in the Spanish Civil War has underscored the biological racism which informed administrative practices relating to colonial troops.[[51]](#footnote-51) Yet at the same time, Moroccan veterans interviewed as part of oral history studies have often denied experiencing racism while serving in the Nationalist army, remarking on their amicable relationships with their Spanish commanding officers.[[52]](#footnote-52) Paternalism helps to explain how individuals could be both mistreated by Francoism, but also satisfied and, even, supportive of it, and lies at the heart of understanding Francoism’s relationship with its masses of ‘ordinary’ citizens.

In a similar vein, the experiences of Francoist disabled veterans can be best understood if viewed through the prism of paternalism. Though they were not subject to racism like Moroccan soldiers from the Protectorate, they did, on paper, have reasons to feel aggrieved following their treatment in the post-war. Most *mutilados* had been conscripts, and had perhaps only unwillingly signed up to the risks of death and injury which came part and parcel of wartime service. Furthermore, they subsequently found that they were not automatically granted pensions, but had to go through a lengthy, and often costly, process of gathering together the necessary paperwork in order to prove their eligibility for state benefits. If veterans did successfully negotiate the regime’s bureaucratic obstacles, they were often underwhelmed by the benefits they were entitled to. Mark Edele and Martin Crotty have underscored the strong feelings of entitlement amongst veterans, who often feel that their wartime service qualifies them for superior citizenship status.[[53]](#footnote-53) In many ways, the lengthy bureaucratic road to recognition which led only to meagre war disability provisions offended veterans’ sense of entitlement. Yet *mutilados* continued to accept the regime as their legitimate government, and often expressed their gratitude to the Francoist authorities in their letters to the state. Petitioning was extremely common amongst Francoist veterans who often addressed their concerns directly to the Caudillo in effusively deferential terms. This willingness, largely unprompted, to engage with Francoist rhetoric underscores the active participation of many Spaniards in the construction of the ‘New Spain’, and helps to problematise the emphasis on repression in current historiography.

While there was certainly an element of pragmatism to this practice of petitioning, particularly given the authoritarian nature of the Francoist regime, the notion of ‘pragmatism’ does not sufficiently convey the mechanisms of paternalism which at once allowed veterans to pursue their own interests while reinforcing the legitimacy of the state. Certainly, many ‘ordinary’ men rejected expectations of deference to the regime’s hierarchies, and it was not uncommon for potential ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ to attempt to defraud the system by falsifying necessary documents. But, somewhat paradoxically, representatives of the state were often complicit in attempts to exploit the grey areas within the system. The discretionary nature of the Francoist bureaucracy, which enhanced the importance of social networks and contacts, was vital to the daily functioning of the regime. The Francoist administration could be both harsh and benevolent, and this uncertainty reinforced citizens’ reliance on structures of patronage.[[54]](#footnote-54) In this sense, one of the main themes of this thesis is the importance of paternalistic patronage structures to the stability of the Francoist dictatorship, as demonstrated by its management of the war disabled.

Patronage had long characterised power structures in Spain. The Restoration system of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had reinforced the importance of local power brokers or *caciques*.[[55]](#footnote-55) Such individuals were informal representatives of the state who distributed wealth and favours to local individuals, and were notoriously corrupt. The dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera and, subsequently, the Second Spanish Republic attempted to curtail the deeply unpopular influence of such individuals, though with limited success.[[56]](#footnote-56) Patronage as a form of governance therefore had deep roots, and remained a fundamental part of the Francoist regime’s approach to government.[[57]](#footnote-57) In Franco’s Spain, patronage and paternalism were closely interlinked. Structures of patronage were by their very nature paternalistic, and such paternalism helped to entrench social inequalities by presenting them as ‘natural’ hierarchies.[[58]](#footnote-58)

In this thesis, the dyadic nature of local and national patronage structures will be explored through the example of the BCMGP, as the military administrative body charged with managing the needs of the war disabled. The BCMGP’s administrative structures and the ways in which veterans interacted with them constitute a main focus of this study. Veterans did not sit around waiting for the benevolent state to grace them with favours or honours. Rather, *mutilados* actively and frequently sought out better conditions for themselves and their families, and on occasion were unafraid to offer criticism of the regime’s war disability provisions. However, in their letters to the authorities, veterans always framed their grievances and requests in accordance with the broader behavioural code of deference to the army, the regime and its hierarchies—a practice which will be referred to in this thesis as ‘speaking Francoist’.[[59]](#footnote-59) Consequently, such structures of patronage allowed individuals to air their grievances and exercise a degree of agency with regards to their personal circumstances, while at the same time accepting Francoist paternalism and patronage, and thus reinforcing the legitimacy of the regime to act in their best interests.

This thesis thus addresses directly the paradoxes of the Francoist regime through the example of the Nationalist war disabled. Disabled Francoist veterans were the victors of the Spanish Civil War, but they were also the victims of war. Their wounds emasculated them, but also made them ‘men’. The BCMGP was conceptualised as a military Corps, but it was also a de facto welfare organisation catering for the needs of those who could not provide for themselves. ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were great heroes, but they also knew their place as small cogs in a large machine. Such paradoxes coexisted in Spain over many decades. The experiences of the Nationalist war disabled, therefore, offer a glimpse into the thousands of often contradictory but daily, micro-interactions between the regime and its citizens—both directly through letters, but also subliminally through official representations of *mutilados*—which cemented the foundations of Francoism from its inception during the Civil War.

## Francoist ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ and the historiography of war disability

Just a handful of scholarly studies have addressed the issue of war disability in Francoist Spain. Notwithstanding Agustín García Laforga’s hagiographical 1971 account, Paloma Aguilar was the first to address the unusual history of Spanish war disability.[[60]](#footnote-60) In her brief but influential work, Aguilar depicted the war maimed of both sides of the Civil War as ‘agents of memory’, whose wounds became imbued with symbolism within Spain’s post-war context of ‘victors’ and ‘vanquished’.[[61]](#footnote-61) Other studies have followed in the same vein, emphasising the ‘harsh and sorry fate’ of the Republican disabled, while offering an overview of provisions put in place for Francoist *mutilados*.[[62]](#footnote-62) The tendency to compare the experiences of Francoist and Republican *mutilados*, however understandable, has led to an oversimplification of the experiences of the war maimed, as well as a failure to engage meaningfully with the impact of disability on everyday life. Scholars who have focused more closely on the war disabled of one particular side have done so within studies of broader topics, and do not engage with the issue of gender identity which has occupied such a central role in studies of war disability in other historical and geographical contexts.[[63]](#footnote-63)

At the international level, studies of war disability have been dominated by scholars of Britain and the USA, with an increasing number of publications on modern Germany. To date, the concepts of stigma, emasculation and marginalisation have tended to frame histories of the war disabled. In particular, Erving Goffman’s 1963 work on stigma and the ‘spoiling’ effects of disability on individual identity, continues to inform present-day understandings of war disability.[[64]](#footnote-64) ‘Disability’ is often presented as the defining characteristic of the affected, constituting the nucleus of all their social interactions, and presenting them as objects of pity and sympathy.[[65]](#footnote-65) Seth Koven’s 1994 work on British disabled veterans of the Great War best exemplifies this approach. Caught up in the ‘politics of remembering and forgetting the war itself’, Koven shows how disabled veterans were not only ‘dismembered’ in a literal sense, but also in a social, economic, political and sexual sense too.[[66]](#footnote-66) This was reflected in representations of war disability, which linked the experiences of the maimed to those of ‘crippled’ children. The idea of ‘dismemberment’, referring specifically to the disruption of gendered identities during the First World War, was taken up shortly afterwards by Joanna Bourke in her now classic 1996 *Dismembering the Male*. Although the war-maimed were initially viewed favourably compared to their civilian counterparts, the respect they had been granted by their fellow countrymen and women faded with the signing of the Armistice, and the desire ‘to forget the war and its effects’.[[67]](#footnote-67) Ultimately, such men were emasculated by their uselessness in the face of a new European conflict.

The themes of emasculation and stigmatisation have often been linked to the war disabled’s struggle for employment and, failing that, adequate state benefits. In addition, some scholars have linked the rehabilitation of war-wrecked bodies to the rehabilitation of the nation, particularly with regards to the reconstruction of post-war economies.[[68]](#footnote-68) Veterans frustrated with inadequate state provisions appear in historical narratives as a formidable force for political change, from the ‘Bonus Army’ in the USA, to veterans in post-war France and Portugal.[[69]](#footnote-69) Such narratives of marginalisation and discontent emerge in the comparative work of Deborah Cohen on interwar Britain and Germany, who contends that ‘all countries experienced mass protests from disgruntled ex-servicemen’ following the Great War, and that voluntary organisations were key to limiting veterans’ experiences of social marginalisation.[[70]](#footnote-70) Though Cohen’s comparative approach has been criticised for oversimplifying domestic politics, which perhaps leads her to overstate the importance of the voluntary sector to veterans’ experiences, her contention that generous state benefits for the disabled were not the sole determinant of veteran satisfaction offers an interesting starting point for the study of Francoist veterans, who despite meagre pension provisions, never threatened the stability of the regime.[[71]](#footnote-71)

More recently, work on war disability has moved away from state-level analyses in an attempt to recover the perspectives of the veterans themselves. Jessica Meyer’s 2009 work on masculinity and the Great War in Britain has been formative in this respect. Using ego-documents such as personal memoirs and veterans’ letters to the Ministry of Pensions, Meyer explores the personal trajectories of the war disabled, and their myriad experiences during the post-war, conceptualising disabled veterans’ experiences as a ‘struggle’ for domestic masculinity. Despite official discourses of men as ‘heroic cripples’ or ‘independent workers’, the maimed were often subject to a loss of status and earning potential, particularly when competing with the able-bodied for limited job opportunities.[[72]](#footnote-72) Meyer also addresses the consequences of war disability on soldiers’ families, arguing that the wives of the disabled were often forced to swap gender roles with their incapacitated spouses.[[73]](#footnote-73) Similarly, Martina Salvante’s work on Fascist Italy has shown how, despite official rhetoric which presented the disabled as manly heroes, maimed veterans struggled to retain their pre-war sense of masculinity.[[74]](#footnote-74) The attempts of various actors to reconstruct the broken masculinities of those physically and mentally torn apart by war has also attracted the attention of Julie Anderson, David Serlin and Martina Salvante, who have emphasised the role of prosthetics and rehabilitation in preserving the masculine identities of those disabled in the First and Second World Wars.[[75]](#footnote-75) Technological innovations such as Norbert Wiener’s ‘Liberty Limb’ and Henry Dreyfuss’s prosthetic hand constituted ‘embodied technology’, which could be used to reconstruct not only bodies, but also social identities.[[76]](#footnote-76)

More recently, Ana Carden-Coyne has sought to restore a sense of veterans’ agency within histories of the war disabled, challenging the frequent typecasting of the disabled as simple ‘victims’.[[77]](#footnote-77) Indeed, in her earlier work, Carden-Coyne underscored how a combination of classical and modern technological aesthetics ‘provided a new visual language through which the human automaton could be heroised, made beautiful, and even superior, than any pre-war man, thus presenting war as a transforming experience’.[[78]](#footnote-78) Heather Perry has also underscored how wartime demand for manpower could change perceptions of the war disabled, whose usefulness could be ‘recycled’ in order to bolster the war effort.[[79]](#footnote-79) The spoiling, emasculating effects of war disability have been questioned further by Wendy Jane Gagen in her work on disabled Great War veterans who rejected prosthetic limbs. Thus, though disabled veterans were often forced to ‘renegotiate’ their masculine identities, their ability to do so emphasised the flexibility of Raewyn Connell’s concept of ‘hegemonic masculinity’, and its ability to incorporate ‘a multiplicity of masculinities’.[[80]](#footnote-80)

At the heart of the link between disablement and masculinity lies the question of embodiment, and the connections between the body and gendered identity.[[81]](#footnote-81) Despite the socially constructed nature of gender, ‘bodies are central to achieving recognition as appropriately gendered beings’.[[82]](#footnote-82) As Thomas Gerschick and Adam Miller have highlighted, gender identity is particularly vulnerable to disability, given that physical impairment forces individuals to confront their conformity, or lack thereof, with the behaviours characteristic of hegemonic masculinity.[[83]](#footnote-83) It is important to distinguish between the medical concept of impairment and the social concept of disability, as one key way in which gendered identities become associated with the sexed body is through expectations around role performance.[[84]](#footnote-84) Sociologist Sharon Barnartt has underscored the fluidity of disability as a concept, which largely depends on the way in which a particular society genders role performance; in a culture which, for example, expects fathers to teach their children how to play sports, a man whose mobility is severely impaired is more likely to experience feelings of disablement than in a society which values more sedentary pursuits.[[85]](#footnote-85)

In this sense, Connell’s theory of ‘body-reflexive practice’ is a useful one when exploring how war mutilation affects male identity.[[86]](#footnote-86) While the male body does not in itself determine masculine identity, society’s understandings of gender permeate the body so that ‘body and social interaction combine to form identity’.[[87]](#footnote-87) It therefore stands to reason that individuals living in societies with starkly different attitudes towards gender, will experience war disability differently. Indeed, in his pioneering work, Henri-Jacques Stiker underscores the socially- and culturally-constructed nature of disability, arguing that ‘disability is not always *seen* in the same way’.[[88]](#footnote-88) Embracing the bottom-up approach of Meyer, Bourke and others, this thesis, therefore, confronts assumptions of stigma and emasculation in histories of war disability which tend to arise in studies of democratic Anglophone and Northern European contexts.

Not only were Francoist *mutilados* not represented in official discourse as victims, they were not perceived to be so, either by themselves or their fellow citizens, despite the paucity of state benefits for the war disabled. This state of affairs was a direct consequence of the context of Civil War, which not only produced Francoist ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ but also disabled veterans of the defeated Republican army. Though Connell’s concept of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ is frequently invoked in studies of war disability, her equally important contention that masculinity is relational, not only to femininity but also to other masculinities, is often ignored.[[89]](#footnote-89) Indeed, John Tosh has highlighted how Victorian concerns over ‘manliness’ were less about a man’s relation to women than his ‘class credentials vis-à-vis his peers’.[[90]](#footnote-90) In order to understand gender, ‘we must constantly go beyond gender’, and seek to determine how masculinity intersects with other social structures and practices, such as race and class.[[91]](#footnote-91) To grasp the experiences of the Francoist war disabled—who were both privileged and underserved by war disability legislation—it is vital to appreciate their positioning within broader social hierarchies in Francoist Spain. More specifically, the Francoist regime’s desire to reward the *mutilados* of the victorious army while remaining unmoved in its decision to ignore veterans of the vanquished army placed Francoists firmly in the camp of privilege. This was particularly the case during the ‘dark years’ (*años oscuros*) of the 1940s, a period marked by acute economic crisis and the brutal repression of the regime’s enemies.[[92]](#footnote-92)

In Franco’s Spain, as in many other countries, breadwinning was a key component of ‘hegemonic masculinity’. On the one hand, Francoist war disability policies focused on reintegrating ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ into the workplace, which enabled veterans to continue fulfilling their normal male roles, thus reducing the disabling effects of their impairments. Meanwhile, Republican veterans, who were both unable to benefit from Francoist war disability employment schemes and who risked losing their pre-war posts in the repressive purges of the post-war, were often impeded from fulfilling their male breadwinning roles. For some in Francoist Spain, the scars of war were thus a badge of honour, while for others they were a source of shame. While scholars of war disability are increasingly turning their attention to the hierarchies that exist between different kinds of wounds and impairments, few have analysed how the same wounds, sustained under similar circumstances, can be imbued with entirely different meanings.[[93]](#footnote-93) While this duality undoubtedly framed the experiences of veterans in many countries which experienced some kind of civil war—from Ireland and Greece, to China and Vichy France—the impact of civil war as an analytical category on experiences of war disability has never before been the focus of extended academic inquiry.[[94]](#footnote-94) This thesis seeks to address this lacuna, arguing that the stigmatising and emasculating nature of war disability varies according to political and social context.

## Francoist *mutilados* and ‘hegemonic masculinity’

The earlier contention that variations in societal attitudes towards gender determine experiences of war disability necessitates a discussion of ‘masculinity’ in Franco’s Spain. Historians who have tested the notion of ‘hegemonic masculinity’ in different time periods have underscored the complexity of the concept, which is ‘ﬂuid, and full of contradictions’.[[95]](#footnote-95) Indeed, Connell acknowledges that many men do not meet the standard of ‘hegemonic masculinity’, but nonetheless benefit from the ‘patriarchal dividend’.[[96]](#footnote-96) All men age, many lose their hair, their virility, weaken in physical strength, and become otherwise estranged from the heady muscularity of youth. But paternalism compensates age with status, and older men throughout history have occupied positions of privilege and power in most societies. In Francoist Spain, although many Mutilated Gentlemen did not conform to ‘hegemonic’ masculine ideals, they were undeniably members of the ‘national community’ and thus ultimately benefitted from the ‘dividend’ which resulted from the overall subordination of Republicans.

While breadwinning was an important part of Francoist masculinity, the work potential of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ tells only part of the story. Not all ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were able to find jobs, and those who did often struggled to keep them. Others subverted the breadwinning ideal entirely, avoiding work in pursuit of pensions. For many veterans suffering with severe mental illness, employment was either off the cards altogether or restricted to work therapy activities practised within the confines of the psychiatric institution. Though deviating from dominant understandings of normative masculinity, such individuals were not presented as ‘deviant’ or ‘effeminate’, as was the case for homosexuals.[[97]](#footnote-97) The success of the Francoist regime’s policy towards its war disabled lay, in part, in its ability to re-cast, or ‘rebrand’ its mutilated warriors as ‘gentlemen’, which bypassed the equation of disability with emasculation. The effectiveness of this ‘rebranding’ reflected the positioning of Spanish men in Francoist Spain as heads of household, who constituted the nucleus of all civic interactions.[[98]](#footnote-98)

This apparent flexibility of Iberian masculine identity may come as a surprise to those familiar with traditional stereotypes of the Spanish male. But encouraging attempts have been made in recent years to go beyond understandings of Spanish masculinity as intrinsically linked to machismo, bullfighting or caricatures such as Don Juan.[[99]](#footnote-99) Nerea Aresti in particular has addressed the changing nature of masculinity over time, emphasising the precariousness of masculine identity during periods of national and social turmoil.[[100]](#footnote-100) Prior to the Civil War, traditional models of manliness, such as the Don Juan, were spurned by prominent liberals, such as the renowned endocrinologist, Gregorio Marañón, who saw the character’s paternal irresponsibility and lack of self-control as the antithesis of robust masculinity. In this sense, there appears to have been a degree of continuity between pre and post-Civil War Spain: the Don Juan’s uncontrollable sexual virility did not constitute an acceptable form of manliness in Franco’s Spain either, beyond the specific context of 1960s coastal resorts.[[101]](#footnote-101)

The extent to which the Civil War constituted a turning point for masculine identity has been the subject of growing debate. Mary Vincent has argued that wartime masculine models based on the military and Falangist ideals of aggression, virility self-control and brotherhood were unsustainable beyond the ceasing of hostilities.[[102]](#footnote-102) After the conflict, such ideals were soon exchanged for more traditional, paternalistic models of manliness characteristic of the Carlist faction. Vincent’s work, however, focuses on official discourse, and does not explore the broader appeal of such models to the population at large. In addition, the importance of Carlist models has recently been challenged by Ángel Alcalde, who contends that the masculine model of the Francoist ex-combatant was hegemonic during a large part of the Francoist dictatorship.[[103]](#footnote-103) In his work, Alcalde underscores the model of the retired army officer who retained elements of his military masculine identity, such as his involvement in military associations, while embracing family life and other characteristics of domestic masculinity. Alcalde’s work has been followed more recently by David Alegre’s contribution on the ‘New Fascist Men’, born out of the conflicts of the 1930s, who went on to form a ‘gerontocracy’ which would rule Spain for decades.[[104]](#footnote-104) This emphasis on the Civil War’s influence on masculine identity is perhaps unsurprising under Franco’s military regime. However, attempting to understand masculine identity through the use of discursive models is limiting, and both scholars’ reliance on official sources and the perspectives of the officer classes fail to represent the experiences of the vast majority of Spaniards who did not maintain close links with either the military or Falangist organisations. To understand what it meant to be a man under the dictatorship, we must go beyond ‘hegemonic’ masculine models, and explore the ‘multivalence’ of gendered identity, apparent even under an authoritarian regime such as Franco’s.[[105]](#footnote-105)

Though undoubtedly a deeply traumatic, even transformative experience, war does not necessarily ‘frame’ the lives of the men who survive it; those caught up in conflict often ‘yearn for the comfort and security of conventional domesticity’, and for most, home remains ‘the touchtone for all their actions’.[[106]](#footnote-106) Through his research on epistolary correspondence during the Great War, Michael Roper has underscored the importance of mother-soldier relationships in maintaining troop morale, while Martha Hannah has emphasised how the separation of war can strengthen family bonds.[[107]](#footnote-107) Spanish Civil War soldiers were similarly dependent on correspondence with the home front, particularly their *madrinas de guerra* or ‘war godmothers’.[[108]](#footnote-108) The end of the Spanish Civil War did not necessarily mark a return to peace and normality; Pilar Folguera has underscored the importance of the home as a bulwark against an often hostile world outside.[[109]](#footnote-109) This thesis will argue that despite the abundance of ‘top-down’ military models of masculinity, most ‘ordinary’ Spanish men lived more ‘everyday’, even domestic, gendered lives. In particular, chapter five on the experiences of the mentally infirm will underscore how veterans could become completely detached from any sense of military identity developed during the war.

Of course, domestic masculine models cannot be completely separated from official, military or Falangist models: through its pronatalist policies, Francoism actively promoted the model of fatherhood, and even the founder of the Falangist party, José Antonio Primo de Rivera could be shown to have a softer side, particularly when interacting with children.[[110]](#footnote-110) Franco himself was positioned as the ultimate paterfamilias, who ruled over his subjects with love and dedication.[[111]](#footnote-111) A series of images taken by the renowned photographer Jalón Ángel showed the dictator at home with his wife and young daughter, in scenes which showcased his conformity with domestic masculine ideals.[[112]](#footnote-112) Such representations of Francoism’s political leaders were powerful precisely because they built on common frames of reference which predated Francoism. But the masculine identities of most Spaniards were messier than these airbrushed models of paternalism. The many snapshots of *mutilados*’ lives discussed within this thesis serve to underscore the plurality of masculine identity under Francoism, and will question the significance of military and Falangist gender models to Spaniards beyond the ruling elite.

## Writing the history of the Francoist ‘disabled’: Sources and methodology

The historical plasticity of the term ‘disability’ presents certain challenges for historians seeking to illuminate past experiences of the differently-abled. The currently dominant social model of disability contends that the experience of disability is the product of society’s inability to accommodate non-normative bodies.[[113]](#footnote-113) In this sense, an individual’s experience of disability depends largely on the societal and historical context in which they live. Even within our own lifetime, attitudes, terminology and perceptions of ‘disability’ have fluctuated and evolved, and it can be difficult to detach present-day understandings of ‘the disabled’ from historical enquiry. Indeed, Joan Scott has underscored the importance of distinguishing between ‘our analytic vocabulary and the material we want to analyse’.[[114]](#footnote-114) Nadja Durbach, for example, underscores the tendency of historians to categorise freak show performers as ‘disabled’ individuals, exploited for their bodily differences.[[115]](#footnote-115) In actual fact, Durbach argues, the agency and financial independence of nineteenth-century British ‘freaks’ differentiated them from ‘disabled’ individuals who could not support themselves.

The importance of placing the disabled body within its historical context is particularly marked in the case of Franco’s Spain. The regime’s ‘rebranding’ of the war disabled as ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ throws into question the very meaning of disability, as it did not equate ‘war disability’ or the war mutilated body with emasculation, stigmatisation and marginalisation.[[116]](#footnote-116) The fluidity of ‘disability’ as a historical concept poses issues when it comes to both selecting and analysing sources. Dominant understandings of the ‘disabled’ as emasculated citizens may lead historians to the archives of the local courts or welfare institutions, which may well confirm narratives of marginalisation, but miss traces of ‘disabled’ individuals in more ‘ordinary’, less troubled spaces. In order to avoid this trap, this thesis uses a wide range of sources, from military, psychiatric and press archives to legislative databases, literary publications and personal memoirs.

The period studied is relatively broad, and stretches from the beginning of the Civil War in July 1936 through to the last piece of Francoist war disability legislation passed in 1976. Although Franco did not consolidate his victory over the whole of Spain before April 1939, state-like structures were established in the Nationalist zone prior to this, which included provisions for the war disabled. Similarly, while Franco’s death in November 1975 triggered Spain’s transition to democracy, in reality the regime’s bureaucratic institutions did not immediately undergo a radical transformation.[[117]](#footnote-117) The 1976 law which finally recognised Francoist Civil War veterans incapacitated through illness was a product of forces already in motion prior to the dictator’s demise, and must therefore be considered part of Francoist war disability policy.[[118]](#footnote-118)

The broad chronological scope of the thesis and the varying availability of sources throughout the dictatorship prevents an even treatment of the Francoist regime. For example, the early post-war years saw an explosion of articles, notices and job adverts in the press geared towards the Francoist war disabled. These often reported ceremonies held in honour of the *mutilados*, or reminded ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ on which days they were to collect their pensions. Over the long term, such coverage waned as did new cases of military disablement. But this does not mean that ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were soon marginalised or forgotten about, as has been suggested elsewhere.[[119]](#footnote-119) Coverage of the BCMGP’s annual patron saint celebrations remained consistent throughout the dictatorship, and, more revealingly, the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title continued to precede references to *mutilados* in news stories, obituary notices and the social pages of the press.[[120]](#footnote-120) Indeed, beyond the 1940s, the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title most often appeared in features which made no other reference to the issue of war disability, which reflected the normalised presence of *mutilados* in all walks of life. In this way, careful, qualitative analysis of the source material counterbalances its patchy nature.

### *Francoist ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ in Popular Culture*

Given the culturally constructed nature of gender and disability, cultural sources are particularly important to this study. Cultural productions offer a rich perspective on Francoist war disability, but also pose a number of methodological challenges, particularly within the authoritarian context of Nationalist Spain. The degree to which such sources are representative of broader trends can be particularly difficult to ascertain, and Dror Wahrman has pointed to the dangers of drawing generalising conclusions which go ‘beyond the limits’ of cultural evidence’.[[121]](#footnote-121) To avoid this trap, Peter Mandler advises a holistic approach to cultural history, in which sources are analysed within their broader ‘discursive fields’ in order to establish their influence.[[122]](#footnote-122) Films, novels and other cultural productions should be considered with reference to critical reception, as well as the reputation and renown of their authors. In this sense, it is not enough to consider cultural sources as ‘symptomatic’ of social attitudes, but rather to assess how such ‘texts’ became integrated within the worldviews of their consumers.[[123]](#footnote-123) Such an approach demonstrates that the most important characteristic of the ‘discursive field’ of Francoist war disability was its limited scope, particularly compared to other contexts.[[124]](#footnote-124) The scarcity of cultural representations of the war disabled did not mirror post-war reality—in which the war maimed were highly visible on Spanish streets—and undoubtedly reflected the regime’s unease at the disabled body.[[125]](#footnote-125) Given the centrality of the Civil War in the Francoist regime’s legitimising narrative, veterans disabled in the ‘Crusade’ were symbolically problematic; as such, glorifying their sacrifices without drawing attention to their victimhood was no mean feat.

Francoist censorship and self-censorship meant that official discourses masked other, less politicised voices.[[126]](#footnote-126) Particular care must be taken when dealing with biographical texts which served—and continue to serve—as hagiographies of prominent Francoists. For example, chapter one makes use of General Carlos de Silva’s biography of General José Millán Astray—the Director of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ Corps—, Agustín García Laforga’s history of the war disabled, and José Millán Astray’s biography of Franco.[[127]](#footnote-127) As Geoffrey Cubitt has highlighted, heroic reputations are ‘cultural constructions reflecting the values and ideologies of the societies in which they are produced’.[[128]](#footnote-128) Though the biographies used in this chapter are unreliable in their broader interpretations of history, they reproduce contemporary rhetorical constructions. For example, the exaggeration of Francoist generals’ heroism reveals the regime’s understanding of heroism. Similarly, the numerous literary and artistic sources consulted in chapter one have been analysed as works of fiction, which though obviously unable to confirm historical ‘facts’, are invaluable in accessing the more slippery notion of public perceptions of the maimed. The imagery and language used by Spanish authors, and the reception they received, both in Spain and in exile, enable historians to glimpse a more nuanced understanding of perceptions of the disabled than can be seen in official sources.

### *Voices ‘from below’: ego-documents of the maimed*

Focusing too closely on representations can risk losing sight of the individual.[[129]](#footnote-129) In his work on popular psychological thinking in modern Britain, Mathew Thomson notes the pitfalls of focusing too closely on elite sources, highlighting the need to pay attention to the ‘dialogic and multi-vocal nature’ of cultural sources, which includes the participation of ordinary citizens in social clubs and their consumption of materials such as advice literature.[[130]](#footnote-130) In this thesis, official discourses have been contextualised through the extensive use of ego-documents, which has allowed for an assessment of the resonance of top-down narratives on individuals. Such sources allow us to go beyond the regime’s official line, and to delve into the realm of identity and experience.

The way individuals experience certain situations or events is never detached from historical context. As Joan Scott has indicated, ‘experience’ is not irrefutable, and ‘identities’ are not natural or fixed, and so we must pay attention to the ‘historical processes’ that ‘through discourse, position subjects and produce their experiences’.[[131]](#footnote-131) In this sense, the Francoist regime’s discursive and administrative positioning of the war disabled as ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ undoubtedly influenced their experiences of war disability. Material culture such as identification certificates, commemorative banners, and medals of ‘suffering’—often with personalised engravings—provided a means through which some individuals could engage with the regime’s rhetoric. Yet the degree to which state-sponsored social categories determine individual identity is questionable, and primary sources written by Francoist *mutilados* offer a complex view of how individuals internalised the conflicting discourses of the regime.[[132]](#footnote-132)

Letters written by *mutilados* to the state offer a privileged vantage point on how ordinary citizens interacted with official discourse and rhetorical constructions, particularly when it came to communicating their life stories. In his work on the Australian poor, Mark Peel likens his subjects to storytellers, who must present convincing and strategic autobiographies ‘on demand’ to state representatives.[[133]](#footnote-133) Francoist *mutilados* faced a similar challenge, and many learnt to toe the line between deference and assertiveness in their requests for state support, though they did not always get the balance right. As Miriam Dobson has shown in her work on the Soviet Union, the ways in which citizens—albeit with the best intentions—fail to accurately reproduce official discourse can illuminate popular engagement with authoritarian narratives.[[134]](#footnote-134) Consequently, this study pays close attention to the ways in which Francoist *mutilados* utilised and diverged from Francoist discourse. The attempts of *mutilados* to reproduce the language of the regime in their letters to the state, often in an attempt to improve their personal circumstances, reveal a troubled relationship with the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, which at once preserved their status as ‘normal’ men, and masked the exceptionality of physical impairment.

If subjectivity, as Joan Scott argues, is the product of experience, then veterans’ relations with the state tell only half the story.[[135]](#footnote-135) Francoist *mutilados* had lives beyond their contact with the Francoist administration; many found jobs, married, and had children. These experiences of personal, working and domestic life shaped their sense of self, perhaps more so than their official categorisation as ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’. Consequently, in addition to veterans’ letters to the BCMGP, this thesis draws on memoirs and autobiographies written by Francoist *mutilados*. Frank Mort has suggested that conceptualisations of the ‘reflexive self’ changed over time, arguing that the late twentieth century saw an increase in the ‘agencies and technologies dedicated to the stimulation of the self’.[[136]](#footnote-136) In this sense, we cannot assume that *mutilados* consciously reflected on or ascribed to the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ identity. The autobiographical writings of Francoist *mutilados*, therefore,offer an insight into their worldviews and frames of reference. Penny Summerfield refers to the ‘composure’ of autobiographical writing, or the idea that writing the self implies both ‘composing a story’ and achieving ‘psychic equilibrium’.[[137]](#footnote-137) In this thesis, close attention has been paid to the ways in which so-called ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ constructed their autobiographies, and the importance they ascribed to their wounds within these life stories. Many veterans did not dwell on their injuries within their memoirs, which calls into question the influence of official Francoist discourse on personal identity.

### *Working with military personnel files*

Alongside ego-documents, this thesis relies on a sample of 140 BCMGP personnel files of Francoist *mutilados*.[[138]](#footnote-138) Such files are rich in content, and bring together an individual’s military record, medical assessments, and personal correspondence with the BCMGP. The files also contain the records of *mutilados*’ BCMGP tribunals, which contain witness statements and references provided by the soldiers’ colleagues and associates. However, as a source base, BCMGP personnel files offer only a fragmented vision of the lives of Francoist *mutilados*. While some files offer reams of documentation, others contain but a handful of sheets. Many files also end abruptly, leaving the historian with little indication of the veteran’s fate. On the whole, the files of *mutilados* from the professionalised, officer classes tend to be more complete given that records were kept on their career trajectories throughout their lifetimes. In addition, professional soldiers needed permission from the military hierarchy to marry, and were also required to register the birth of their children. Consequently, it is possible to build up a fairly complete picture of the extent to which these *mutilados* lived up to certain masculine ideals, such as that of breadwinning fatherhood.

In contrast, for *mutilados* who left the military after their service in the Civil War, often the only evidence in their file of their having been married appears through pension requests from their widows following their death. Therefore, for ‘civilian’ disabled Civil War veterans a lack of documentation testifying to their married status should not be taken as evidence that they remained single throughout their lives. Similarly, given that military files recorded soldiers’ occupations upon recruitment, it is often easier to deduce a *mutilado*’s pre-military occupation than his subsequent employment. As many disabled veteransdid not receive pension payments, there was little reason to remain in contact with the BCMGP following their final classification, unless they wished this to be revised or there was some other issue that brought their case to the attention of the Corps. Therefore, unless the *mutilado* had subsequent contact with the BCMGP, there would be little reason for personal details to be updated.

An added complication emerges in the way in which the surviving BCMGP personnel files have been stored and organised. Such files are held in three locations: the military archives in Guadalajara and Segovia, and a specialist unit within the Ministry of Defence (*Unidad de Gestión de Mutilados*). No information is available on the reasons why the files have ended up in these different locations, and it is unclear whether files were selected at random to be stored in different archives, or whether this was the product of different administrative categorisations over the years. Files in the *Unidad de Gestión de Mutilados*, for example, contain a disproportionate number of legionnaire files, as well as an abundance of letters from the widows of the war maimed who applied for pensions in the 1980s. Different archives also employ different methods of categorising the war disabled, which has further complicated attempts to obtain representative samples of men with different wound classifications. Legislative updates under the dictatorship and beyond also meant that many veterans changed categories various times over their lifetimes, which has meant that any archival attempts to catalogue veterans in this way are fraught with inaccuracies. In light of the disorganised manner in which BCMGP personnel files have been preserved, it is impossible to use them to quantify the veteran experience or to draw reliable statistics on the employment trajectories and families lives of the Francoist war maimed.

However, the qualitative evidence found within this source base offers an exceptionally valuable insight into the personal circumstances of many ‘ordinary’ *mutilados*, as well as the ways in which representatives of the Francoist state sought to manage their disabled heroes.[[139]](#footnote-139) Medical certificates, witness statements and bureaucratic forms painted a picture of administrative objectivity, which reflected the regime’s attempts to position itself as a modern state. However, as we shall see in chapter four, this paraphernalia of modern bureaucracy masked much older forms of governance, notably a reliance on hierarchical structures of patronage. In her work on psychiatric case files in Yugoslavia under the Nazi occupation, Ana Antic has underscored the importance of understanding such sources as social interactions, in a context of ‘extreme’ power imbalance between patients and mental health professionals.[[140]](#footnote-140) In order to see beyond the pseudo-objectivity of medical discourse, it is necessary to borrow methodologies from the field of literary analysis, in order to ‘identify layers of telling, re-telling, reporting and interpreting’ patients’ experiences of disability.[[141]](#footnote-141) A close reading of the—often contradictory—interactions between Francoist *mutilados*, medical specialists, lay witnesses,and state representatives within BCMGP personnel files reveals a more flexible state of affairs than the pseudo-objectivity of the regime’s administration suggests.

### *Images of the Francoist war disabled as historical sources*

Visual sources from a range of origins offer a valuable insight into the rhetorical positioning of Francoist *mutilados* in post-war Spain, and help to highlight how definitions and understandings of ‘disability’ shifted according to the specific context in which the ‘disabled’ veteran found himself. In this sense, in different contexts the same wounds could be worn as badges of honour or concealed as sources of stigma.

These images presented a variety of visual discourses during and after the Civil War, and together build a picture of how the rhetorical ideal of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ was constructed by the regime. Photographs are not direct windows onto the past, but must be analysed as historical interpretations of particular subjects, and understood in conjunction with contemporary practices, institutions and commentary.[[142]](#footnote-142) Close attention has, therefore, been paid to what Robert Bogdan refers to as the ‘genre’ of images, or the varying ‘guidelines’ underpinning the ways in which different institutions or image producers visually represented the war disabled.[[143]](#footnote-143) Various ‘genres’ of war disability images existed in Francoist Spain, which serve to highlight the deliberate nature of the regime’s ‘rebranding’ of its *mutilados*. In his work on the modern US context, Bogdan identifies several different ‘genres’ of disability images, including ‘freak show’ images, which publicised shows and invited the audience to gaze upon the wonders of non-normative bodies. These photos differed from the ‘begging’ genre of image, which aimed to encourage pity through the exhibition of an individual’s helplessness.[[144]](#footnote-144) Images of the disabled produced by charitable organisations constituted yet another genre of disability representations. Like street beggars, charities also played on feelings of pity to encourage donations, but differed in their emphasis on hope, and their selection of subjects deemed representative of their particular disability group.[[145]](#footnote-145) In the US context, disabled veterans of the First World War posed for images belonging to both the ‘begging’ and ‘charity’ genres.[[146]](#footnote-146) In contrast, Francoist veterans were never officially represented as the grateful beneficiaries of donations or fundraising initiatives. Images pertaining to the ‘freak show’, ‘begging’ and ‘charity’ genres did exist for Francoist *mutilados*, but tended to be reserved for other disabled groups, such as the Republican or civilian disabled.

Official images of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ fell within the genre of ‘citizen portraits’, which followed more mainstream photographic conventions.[[147]](#footnote-147) Such ‘citizen portraits’ included family photos in which the veteran’s disability did not constitute the focus of the image. Francoist veterans were pictured with friends, family and colleagues as ‘ordinary’ members of society and, rhetorically speaking, were not represented as ‘disabled’ at all. Rather, they were positioned as capable men and heads of household. Such images will be discussed in greater detail in the first chapter of this thesis, which focuses on the regime’s rebranding of ‘disability’ as a social and cultural construct, rather than on veterans’ often difficult personal experiences of physical ‘impairment’.[[148]](#footnote-148)

### *The vocabulary of war disability after the Spanish Civil War*

Within this thesis, certain terms will be used in order to refer to different individuals who experienced the Civil War and war disability in different ways. Many Spanish scholars now avoid the term ‘Nationalist’ when referring to the rebel army and its supporters, a denomination selected by the rebel authorities to position themselves as the only true defenders of the ‘nation’.[[149]](#footnote-149) However, most studies produced in English on the Civil War and Francoist dictatorship prefer the term ‘Nationalist’ given its ability to evoke the broad conglomerate of forces which comprised the rebel army, many of whom resented Franco and his forced ‘unification’ of the main Falangist and Carlist factions.[[150]](#footnote-150) The term ‘rebel’ is also inadequate beyond the early Civil War, once the Francoist regime established itself as the government of Spain. In the following chapters, the terms ‘Nationalist’ and ‘Francoist’ will be used interchangeably as shorthand for individuals who fought within Franco’s ultimately victorious armed forces.

However, it is important to note that such labels by no means imply political or ideological commitment to the rebel cause and Francoist regime more broadly. Recent scholarship has contested the ideological commitment of those who participated in the Civil War. Michael Seidman in particular argues that personal concerns rather than ideology dictated the actions of Spaniards during the Civil War.[[151]](#footnote-151) Although Seidman’s somewhat exaggerated argument has been criticised for disregarding ideology as a mobilising force in the Civil War, James Matthews’s path-breaking study of Republican and Nationalist conscripts has made clear that most men who served in both armies were not volunteers, and many felt indifferent towards their commanding officers.[[152]](#footnote-152) Furthermore, the common Francoist practice of ‘recycling’ prisoners of war from the opposing side into one’s army, means that many—around 59,000 by 1937—individuals were in fact both ‘Francoist’ and ‘Republican’ veterans.[[153]](#footnote-153)

More recently, Claudio Hernández Burgos has followed this train of thought into Spain’s forty years of dictatorship, arguing that it was the political indifference of the ‘grey zones’—the majority of the Spanish population who were not implicated in politics, and who wished merely to maintain a sense of personal ‘normality’— which helped to ensure the long-term stability of the regime.[[154]](#footnote-154) The veterans in this study varied widely in their adherence to the ideological tenets of Francoism, and it is not my aim to assess the ideological commitment of Francoist veterans. Rather this thesis explores how ‘ordinary’ Spaniards interacted with the political establishment. Nonetheless, for ease of communication, the terms ‘Francoist’ and ‘Nationalist’ will be used to refer to ‘veterans who fought in the Francoist/Nationalist army’, regardless of their political leanings. Similarly, the term ‘Republican’ will be used to describe veterans who served in the Republican army, and who were thus excluded from the Francoist regime’s war disability provisions.

The Spanish Civil War marked a turning point in terms of war disability terminology. As indicated above, the Francoist disabled became known as ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ (*Caballeros Mutilados*).For reasons which will become apparent in chapter one, I have selected ‘gentleman’ as the most appropriate translation for *caballero*, in contrast to the decision by other authors to use the term ‘knight’.[[155]](#footnote-155) The title reflected the legal status of veterans as full citizens, with the right to benefit from the regime’s war disability policies. Not all ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ had participated in the Civil War; men who sustained permanent injuries during active service at any point under the dictatorship were also able to apply for the title and its concurrent benefits. This thesis in the most part addresses the experiences of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ who formed part of the Civil War generation, although reference is sometimes made to *mutilados* belonging to younger and older cohorts.

While the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title is only used to refer to veterans who were formally granted this status by the Francoist state, the term ‘mutilado’ (mutilated) became an everyday part of the Spanish lexicon when referring to those who experienced physical injury in a myriad of settings, and this is the sense in which it is used here.[[156]](#footnote-156) ‘Mutilado’ may thus refer to the Francoist disabled, the Republican disabled, the civilian disabled, or those who were disabled while fighting for the Francoist army but who were not recognised by the Francoist authorities as ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’. The language used to refer to the mentally ill also differed from the physically disabled. Veterans with mental illness were not general regarded as ‘veterans’ or *mutilados* at all, but tended to be referred to as *enfermos* (patients). When analysing veterans’ experiences of mental illness in chapter three, I reflect this change through the use of terms such as ‘mentally ill’ or the ‘mentally infirm’.

The research for the thesis revealed a clear distinction between ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ who pursued professional careers in the armed forces after the Civil War, and those who returned to civilian occupations.[[157]](#footnote-157) The career trajectories of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’were instrumental to their experiences of war disability and life more generally. In order to highlight this distinction, veterans who pursued military careers are referred to in different instances as ‘military *mutilados*’, ‘officer *mutilados*’ or ‘career *mutilados*’. In contrast, those who pursued civilian occupations after demobilisation are usually referred to as ‘non-military *mutilados*’, ‘civilian *mutilados*’ or ‘ordinary *mutilados*’. The term ‘civilian’ is not entirely adequate, in that it fails to convey the fact that the Francoist war disabled occupied a liminal space between military and civilian life. Though they were no longer employed within the army, their membership of the Francoist disabled veterans’ Corps—a military body—tied them, if loosely, to the armed forces, often for the rest of their lives. Similarly, while the term ‘ordinary’ in many ways fails to convey the often-extraordinary lives of those who sustained life-changing injuries in the Civil War, the term has been employed here as a means of communicating their distance from the heart of the Francoist establishment.

Finally, this thesis focuses specifically on the experiences of the Francoist war disabled, rather than on *mutilados* of the defeated Republican army. Following the declaration of victory in April 1939, the Republican disabled were forced to confront a difficult future without the assistance of state support structures. Some made the arduous journey across the Pyrenees into France, only to be interned in the open-air holding camps on sites such as Argelès-sur-Mer, or to face the difficulties of life under Nazi Occupation.[[158]](#footnote-158) The fortunate boarded ships to Latin America, where they received some support from the JARE (Junta de Auxilio a los Republicanos Españoles), whose remit it was to support exiled Republicans.[[159]](#footnote-159) Others remained in Spain, supported by family networks, and eventually finding ways to eke out a living in the face of discrimination and economic uncertainty.[[160]](#footnote-160) The myriad experiences and survival strategies of the Republican war disabled deserve a study of their own, and are beyond the scope of this thesis. Similarly, blinded war veterans received some support from ONCE, the National Organisation of Blind Spaniards. The institutional history of this organisation has been addressed elsewhere, and is also beyond the scope of this study.[[161]](#footnote-161) Instead, the aim of my research is to explore the contradiction between Francoist wartime rhetoric exalting the citizen soldier and the long-term realities of war disability, and to assess how the context of civil war and dictatorship informed the experiences of the relatively contented ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’.

## Structure

This thesis is structured according to its dual approach, beginning with an analysis of the positioning of the Francoist war disabled in the regime, before moving on to an assessment of the lived experience of such individuals. Chapter one discusses official narratives relating to the war wounded, and addresses how the Francoist regime sought to reconfigure or ‘rebrand’ the war disabled as ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’. The ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal distinguished the Francoist war disabled from Republican and civilian ‘invalids’, and presented mutilation in war as a formative rather than an emasculating experience. The extent to which this official discourse resonated with the broader population is also discussed within this chapter through an analysis of cultural representations of the war disabled. The inability or unwillingness of Spanish novelists, playwrights and filmmakers to reproduce the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal in their work hints at its implausibility.

The relevance of official discourse to many Spaniards is further explored in chapters two and three, which analyse the identity and post-war experiences of *mutilados* from different backgrounds, suffering from different kinds of injuries. Chapter two looks specifically at the experiences of the physically disabled, from their integration into the workplace to their more private, family lives. The chapter underscores the heterogeneity of disabled veterans’ experiences, and the need to adopt an intersectional approach to analysing the lives of *mutilados*. While some Francoist *mutilados* did prosper in the post-war, others led far from comfortable lives, and struggled to support their families off the state’s limited support structures. Not only do such experiences help to temper the official narratives explored in chapter one, they also problematise the traditional ‘victor/vanquished’ dichotomy: though Francoist *mutilados* did not suffer from the same stigma as their Republican counterparts, many of them led a difficult existence.

Chapter three further questions the ‘victor/vanquished’ through its analysis of the mentally infirm. Due to the regime’s refusal to acknowledge war neurosis, Francoist veterans suffering from mental illnesses were even less likely than the physically disabled to lead comfortable lives. Again, it is important to note the heterogeneity of veterans’ experiences. Those pertaining to the officer classes who had served in the army for some time were able to benefit from BCMGP legislation in a way that many former conscripts were not. The latter often became alienated from their military pasts, and were not considered ‘veterans’ at all. The experiences of the mentally ill who became completely detached from the armed forces help to nuance our understanding of ‘veteran’ identity in Francoist Spain, and question the relevance of military masculine models under the dictatorship. Despite their military pasts, the ego-documents of the mentally infirm highlight the overwhelming importance of domestic models of masculinity. In their conversations with psychiatrists as well as their letters home, former soldiers stated time and again their desire to return to their wives, families and jobs. In contrast, military understandings of bravery, discipline and sacrifice featured remarkable little in the writings of such individuals.

Within this thesis, lived experience also refers to the ways in which veterans negotiated state structures and interacted with representatives of the regime. Chapter four turns more directly to the relationship between Francoism and its *mutilados*, and uses the BCMGP as a lens through which to understand the consolidation of the Francoist state. Although the BCMGP was unique in its specific function within Spanish society, its discretionary governing ethos was typical of other state institutions under Francoism. As with other institutions, such as the military courts, the BCMGP relied on administrative procedures which projected a sense of objectivity and due process. Such procedures, however, masked a more discretionary system, whereby individual bureaucrats could act in favour or in opposition to different individuals. The ways in which Francoist veterans negotiated these discretionary patronage structures is articulated through the concept of ‘speaking Francoist’, which refers to the process by which *mutilados* evidenced their deference to the regime’s hierarchies while pursuing their own personal interests. By ‘speaking Francoist’, not only did Spanish *mutilados* seek to improve their personal circumstances, they also acknowledged and reinforced the legitimacy of the regime to act in their interests. This final chapter, therefore, underscores the importance of paternalism to the regime’s governing ethos, and contends that Francoism’s structures of patronage were key to its stability and process of legitimisation.

# I: ‘Rebranding’ disabled masculinities: representing the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’

Juan de Orduña’s 1941 film *Porque Te Vi Llorar* (*Because I saw you cry*) saw the maimed Francoist veteran’s first depiction on the silver screen.[[162]](#footnote-162) The film was produced by Cifesa, one of the largest production companies of the Spanish post-war period, and formed part of a broader catalogue of films which sought to consolidate and promote the values of the nascent Francoist regime.[[163]](#footnote-163) *Porque Te Vi Llorar* told the story of Maria Victoria, a beautiful, young heiress whose fairy-tale existence was shattered at the outbreak of the Civil War when a band of Republican soldiers stormed her house, raping her and murdering her fiancé. Perhaps worse than the attack itself was her subsequent pregnancy and social ostracisation, which left her feeling suicidal. Salvation for Maria Victoria arrived in the form of José, an enigmatic electrician who, claiming to be her attacker, tricked her into marrying him, thus legitimising the child. At the very end of the film it is revealed that José was not Maria Victoria’s aggressor after all but rather a veteran of the siege of Oviedo, and a ‘Mutilated Gentleman’—attested to by the identification document Maria Victoria finds while rifling through his pockets—moved to saving her after seeing her weeping to the Virgin.

The fact that Orduña did not deem it odd or confusing for audiences to reveal so late in the film the apparently able-bodied José’s membership of the Mutilated Gentlemen’s Corps is telling of the rhetorical positioning of the Francoist war disabled in post-war Spain. Orduña’s film emerged just a few years before *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) and *The Men* (1950) in the USA, which directly addressed the emasculating effects of war disability and the difficulties of rehabilitating disabled veterans within society.[[164]](#footnote-164) In contrast, *Porque Te Vi Llorar* barely acknowledged the issue of war disability. José’s injury demonstrated his honourable character, but the wound itself was invisible, and inconsequential to his ability to perform his male role as a breadwinning husband, father and protector.

The character of José in *Porque Te Vi Llorar* was a product of Francoist rhetoric surrounding the war wounded of the Spanish Civil War. The regime did not refer to its war wounded as ‘disabled veterans’, but used the rather elaborate title, ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ (*Caballero Mutilado*). This title communicated an ideal which was directly linked to the regime’s understandings of masculine citizenship. ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ possessed a number of key attributes, notably their full citizenship status and ability to live up to male breadwinning ideals. They were not pensioners, comfortably living out the rest of their lives on government subsidies. Nor were they beggars or embittered old men, resentful of the Francoist state and the rest of society. ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were wage-earners, husbands and fathers. In other words, they were the very embodiment of Francoist masculinity and citizenship.

This chapter will explore the rhetorical construction of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’, looking particularly at how the Francoist regime represented its disabled veterans as men and citizens. It will argue that the regime instituted a certain ‘rebranding’ of war disability. This entailed distancing the heroes of the Francoist ‘Crusade’ from the sorry figures cut by disabled ex-combatants of the colonial wars, by vanquished Republican veterans of the Civil War, and by the civilian disabled more generally. In this sense, the regime was able to side-step potentially contradictory discourses of masculinity which praised physical sacrifice in times of war and able-bodied breadwinning in times of peace.[[165]](#footnote-165) Far from the ‘spoiling’ effects of disability described by Erving Goffman in his seminal work on stigma, the regime was able to frame mutilation in war as a formative experience for Francoist veterans rather than an emasculating one.[[166]](#footnote-166)

The tension between the starkly contrasting roles men are expected to play in times of war and times of peace has been underscored by John Tosh, who identifies a correlation between long periods of nineteenth-century peace and the ‘heyday’ of masculine domesticity in Britain.[[167]](#footnote-167) In the context of Francoist Spain, Mary Vincent has shown how the aggressive masculinity of the Fascist ‘new man’, key to wartime mobilisation, was soon replaced in the post-war by more traditional and sustainable paternalistic models.[[168]](#footnote-168) The ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ offer an insight into the Francoist regime’s—at times messy—negotiation of the rhetorical contradictions implicit within the process of converting a military war effort into a functional, Catholic peacetime society.

Indeed, the idea of ‘rebranding’ reflects the ethos of continuity as well as change within the regime’s transition to peacetime government, which mirrored Francoism’s paradoxical ability to be both modern and traditional, both military and Catholic. The coexistence of apparently contradictory cultures within Francoist Spain could most strikingly be seen in the regime’s tolerance of prostitution, which—up until its criminalisation in 1956—reflected the regime’s military underpinnings, but also seemed to undermine its Catholic values.[[169]](#footnote-169) In another apparent paradox, despite its repressive social conservatism, the Francoist regime’s unprecedented moves to enhance the ‘legibility’ of its citizens made it an undeniably modern state.[[170]](#footnote-170) While the substance of Francoist war disability policy retained many features of pre-existing legislation, disabled veterans were given a new title and certain aspects of war disability legislation were inspired by developments abroad.[[171]](#footnote-171) Furthermore, Francoist *mutilados* remained in active service and retained certain military privileges, such as the right to wear their uniforms, but they also had civilian identification cards and were expected to find employment outside the army. In this sense, veterans were military men, but they were also Catholic, modern citizens, and were thus encouraged to follow more civilian behavioural codes.

Goffman’s opposition of the ‘stigmatised’ and the ‘normal’, particularly with reference to the disabled, offers a useful starting point for assessing representations of the Francoist *mutilados*. In post-war Spain, the repression of those vanquished in the Civil War upset traditional stigmatising hierarchies, with significant implications for the Francoist *mutilados*. As Sharon Barnartt has highlighted, an individual’s experience of disability is fluid, and largely rests on their various roles in society and the extent to which an impairment limits the ability to fulfil these roles.[[172]](#footnote-172) In Spain, the measures put in place to support the Francoist war disabled—notably privileged access to employment and pensions—in theory enabled *Caballeros Mutilados* to continue fulfilling their roles as breadwinners, husbands and citizens, thus limiting the disabling and emasculating effects of their injuries. In contrast, the Republican disabled were left to fend for themselves, and were usually represented as dependents or beggars. Ultimately, the specific context of civil war and military dictatorship in Spain proved fundamental to the preservation of Francoist veterans’ masculine identities compared to the war disabled of other nations and conflicts, and others of the same nation and conflict.

## Rebranding war disability: The *Cuerpo de Mutilados* and José Millán Astray

Many soldiers on both sides who survived active service in the Spanish Civil War bore the scars of their experiences on their bodies. However, the precise number of soldiers who sustained disabling injuries during the Civil War is difficult to ascertain. Paloma Aguilar estimates that the number of disabled soldiers from both armies totalled 80,000.[[173]](#footnote-173) Specifically with regards to the Nationalist side, Francoist officials reported in 1939 that there were 300,000 hospitalised injured soldiers, only 15,500 of whom had applied for state incapacity benefits.[[174]](#footnote-174) Out of these, just 13,300 had been classified as ‘mutilated’, to use the regime’s terminology. This statistic was contradicted even within the same document, in which it was later suggested that the 13,300 referred exclusively to those belonging to the least severe ‘useful’ category of war mutilation. Later reports indicated that by 1941, the regime had recognised 50,000 ‘mutilated’ veterans.[[175]](#footnote-175) Given the restrictive criteria used by the regime when recognising war mutilation—which will be discussed in detail below—the real number of veterans who sustained life-changing injuries during their Civil War service was certainly much higher.

The wounded of the Civil War were not the only mutilated veterans living in Spain at the end of the 1930s. In 1936, the country was already home to a small population of disabled veterans from the country’s colonial campaigns in Morocco, Cuba and the Philippines; official figures from the early post-war period placed the number of mutilated veterans of former conflicts at around 1200.[[176]](#footnote-176) Prior to the Civil War, the war disabled had been managed by the ‘Invalids’ Corps’ (*Cuerpo de Inválidos*), which dated back to the nineteenth century.[[177]](#footnote-177) The war wounded within the *Cuerpo de Inválidos* remained in active service, with the right to promotions and use of the military uniform.[[178]](#footnote-178) This situation ended with the military reforms of the Second Spanish Republic, which aimed to reduce the size and budget of Spain’s oversized army.[[179]](#footnote-179) In 1932 the *Cuerpo de Inválidos* was declared defunct, and all those who had formed part of it became pensioners rather than active servicemen.[[180]](#footnote-180) Public perceptions of the colonial wars’ ‘invalids’ were bleak. Military surgeon Manuel de Cárdenas described the common sight of peg-legged veterans loitering around churches in the hope of attracting charitable donations.[[181]](#footnote-181) Aside from their dependence on society and their families, such men, it was argued, often succumbed to social and economic exclusion, often leading to vagrancy and criminality.

The Civil War ushered in a new era of war disability legislation. On the Francoist side, a new directorate general for the war ‘mutilated’ was established in 1937, which led to the creation in 1938 of the ‘Honourable Corps for the Mutilated in the War for the Fatherland’ (*Benemérito Cuerpo de Mutilados de Guerra por la Patria*, BCMGP).[[182]](#footnote-182) This ‘rebranding’ of war disability did not imply a wholesale reappraisal of pre-existing legislation. Despite the new name, the BCMGP drew inspiration from the former Invalids’ Corps and maintained many of its administrative characteristics. As in the Invalids’ Corps, members of the new BCMGP remained in active service and were eligible for promotion. Similarly, both Corps differentiated between those wounded in battle and those injured in accidents while serving in the army. The BCMGP also borrowed more cultural characteristics from the former Invalids’ Corps; for example, the rules and regulations of both organisations included an ‘honorary article’ which paid homage to the Golden Age literary genius of Miguel de Cervantes. Injured in the battle of Lepanto in 1571, Cervantes was commemorated as the ‘most illustrious and glorious’ invalid/maimed war veteran with a bust in both Corps’ headquarters.

Yet true to Francoism’s contradictory embracing of tradition and modernity—and of reusing legislation wherever possible—the BCMGP also drew upon influences from abroad, especially the French law of 1919 relating to the war disabled of the First World War in France.[[183]](#footnote-183) This was a common legislative approach under Francoism; the regime’s National Welfare Institute (Instituto Nacional de Previsión, INP) also modelled itself on French, Italian and Belgian schemes.[[184]](#footnote-184) The medical table of wounds according to which applications to the BCMGP were assessed borrowed heavily from the 1919 French legislation, with some exceptions. The BCMGP adopted the French use of percentages to rate an individual’s functional capacity, although in Spain the percentages of different injuries were added up in a way that meant some people were classed as over 100 per cent mutilated.[[185]](#footnote-185) This idiosyncrasy did not exist in France, where 100 per cent constituted the upper limit of disability. Both countries attributed a higher percentage value to an individual’s stronger arm, but the Spanish BCMGP legislation assumed that this would be the right arm. Aside from such details, the major difference between the French and Spanish disability legislation was its purpose. French veterans received financial compensation if their injuries were classed at 10 per cent or above. In contrast, the pension boundaries for the Spanish disabled were much higher: in order to be granted a war mutilation pension, a veteran needed a percentage classification of at least 91 per cent.

To give a sense of the kinds of injuries that would not have qualified for pensions according to the 1938 legislation, an amputated right arm was classed between 71-80 per cent while the loss of one’s penis was valued between 71-90 per cent.[[186]](#footnote-186) In this sense, the French legislation compensated individuals for the functional capacity they had lost, while the Spanish law placed greater emphasis on determining the degree to which an individual was still ‘useful’. Consequently, the Spanish legislation organised the wounded into four main categories: ‘absolute’ (over 100 per cent), ‘permanent’ (91-100 per cent), ‘useful’ (11-90 per cent) and ‘potential’ (11-90 per cent, wounds still in a state of flux). Those whose injuries did not meet the 11 per cent boundary were classed as ‘wounded’. Those in the ‘absolute’ and ‘permanent’ categories were the only ones eligible for pensions; the others were expected to work. Although ‘useful’ *mutilados* were described as those who had suffered a ‘small reduction’ in their physical capabilities, this group included veterans with severe injuries.[[187]](#footnote-187) In the BCMGP’s early years, most Mutilated Gentlemen belonged to the ‘useful’ category, which included veterans with a very broad range of injuries, from the loss of a middle finger (5-15 per cent) to the amputation of entire limbs. This emphasis on the ‘usefulness’ of mutilated men undoubtedly eased financial pressures on the nascent Francoist state, but it constituted an unsustainable state of affairs for many. ‘Useful’ veterans with severe wounds often found they were unable to find and hold down a job.[[188]](#footnote-188) Subsequent legislation relaxing the criteria needed to attain the ‘permanent’ category was introduced in 1942, which must have come as a relief to many who had experienced the paradox of being ‘useful’ yet unable to work.

The procedures used to assess an individual’s eligibility for state subsidies were long-winded, and administrative delays often caused hardship for applicants, particularly during the war. In October 1937, one Nationalist general wrote to Franco lamenting the shame of the ‘martyr of Spain’ who was forced to live off public charity while his requests for state support were being processed.[[189]](#footnote-189) Even after the BCMGP came into existence in 1938, administrative procedures remained onerous, and it was largely the responsibility of veterans and their families to gather together the correct documentation needed to prove the applicant’s eligibility. One important aspect of the application process was its reliance on witnesses, not only to corroborate the circumstances of an individual’s wounding, but also to vouch for their commitment to the Nationalist Movement’s ideals. Witnesses were usually fellow servicemen or military superiors, which meant it was in veterans’ interests to maintain good relations with their former brothers-in-arms. In addition, the provincial commissions of the BCMGP were manned by military personnel, who were often *mutilados* themselves. In this sense, military culture was integral to the way in which the BCMGP operated.

The BCMGP was influenced by a specific strand of military culture, forged in the north African origins of Spain’s Foreign Legion. Established in 1920 during the colonial campaigns in Morocco, the Legion was an elite fighting unit composed of foreigners and Spaniards.[[190]](#footnote-190) In the event, most recruits were Spanish, usually from the more modest sectors of society, including those with criminal pasts.[[191]](#footnote-191) The Legion became a prestigious unit within the Spanish armed forces, and formed an important part of what became known as the ‘Army of Africa’, together with the colonial troops stationed in the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. Many of the military generals who went on to play a starring role in the 1936 Coup cut their teeth in the African theatre, including Franco himself who was made Commander in Chief of the Legion in 1923.[[192]](#footnote-192)

No identity documents were necessary to enlist in the Legion, and much was made of the idea of erasing one’s past upon recruitment; in the 1942 film *¡A mí la Legión!* (Follow the Legion!), one of the main characters was revealed to be a foreign prince.[[193]](#footnote-193) Most recruits, however, left behind less salubrious backgrounds, and there was a salvific flavour to the idea of erasing one’s former identity. The Legion’s founder, José Millán Astray, promoted the idea that service to the Legion would absolve recruits of their previous wrongdoings.[[194]](#footnote-194) Certainly, the idea of an elite army unit composed of men with mysterious pasts added to the romance of the Legion. Its official ‘hymn’ lauded the legionnaires as ‘unknown heroes’ formed by ‘a thousand tragedies’, whose ‘previous life has no importance’.[[195]](#footnote-195) The military culture of the Legion also praised death on the battlefield as the highest honour. Such was the Legion’s cult of death, that the *Caballeros Legionarios* (Legionnaire Gentlemen) who filled its ranks became known as the *Novios de la Muerte* or ‘Bridegrooms of Death’.Within this context, injury in battle was praised, and even led to promotion.[[196]](#footnote-196) Battle scars were worn with pride, and none so much as those sported by Millán Astray himself. Having lost his left arm and right eye in the Moroccan campaigns of the 1920s, Millán Astray epitomised the legionnaire spirit of sacrifice in war. It was this man who was later appointed by Franco to set up and manage the maimed of the Civil War within the BCMGP.

Not only does an understanding of Millán Astray’s personal trajectory help to explain the logic behind war disability policy in the Francoist case, but his particular brand of masculinity also served as a model for men returning home with permanent injuries following the Spanish Civil War. Over the long-term, Millán Astray developed an almost mythical reputation in military circles, which remains remarkably intact to this day.[[197]](#footnote-197) Though Millán Astray was and remains better known as the founder of the Spanish Foreign Legion, the BCMGP occupied an important part of his twilight years. These saw the general live and ultimately die next door to the official headquarters of the BCMGP in Madrid.[[198]](#footnote-198) The influence of the Legion goes some way to explaining the origins of the unusual *Caballero Mutilado* title, which would have sounded unfamiliar to most Spaniards, especially those outside of the military. Yet as a peacetime organisation, aimed at facilitating the reintegration of veterans into civilian life, the BCMGP was fundamentally different to the Legion. In this sense, the *Caballero Mutilado* titledid not replicate the *Caballero Legionario* ideal, but rather represented a new model which served to rebrand war disability and military masculinity in the image of the nascent peacetime regime.

The use of the term ‘mutilado’ to refer to permanently wounded war veterans constituted a clear break from the past, and Millán Astray’s own experience of the former Invalids’ Corps undoubtedly contributed to the Francoist regime’s aversion to describing its war veterans as ‘invalids’. Prior to being seriously wounded himself, Millán Astray was dismissive of ‘invalids’. In his 1923 book on the Legion, he described how a man with a wooden leg attempted to enlist before being sent on his way.[[199]](#footnote-199) This attitude may help to explain the General’s humiliation when he himself joined the ranks of ‘invalids’. Wounded on various occasions throughout the 1920s, Millán Astray faced a continuous struggle to remain in active service, and avoid being redirected to the *Cuerpo de Inválidos*.[[200]](#footnote-200)Before being fully recovered from a serious wound to the chest in 1921, for example, Millán Astray returned to Ceuta to take command of the third, fourth and fifth *banderas* (battalions).[[201]](#footnote-201) Similarly, after a period of convalescence following the amputation of his arm in 1924, Millán Astray returned as head of the Legion in February 1926.[[202]](#footnote-202)

The general’s tendency to literally soldier on despite grave injury continued until 1936, when he was at last redirected to the Invalids’ Corps.[[203]](#footnote-203) This stopped Millán Astray’s military career in its tracks, and meant he was no longer eligible for promotion.[[204]](#footnote-204) Millán Astray undoubtedly drew on these experiences when reconfiguring the disabled veterans’ corps after the Civil War. After the Republic’s disbandment of the *Cuerpo de Inválidos* in 1932, one might have expected the Francoist regime to return to pre-Republican traditions, as it did, for example, with military honours. However, in this case the Invalids’ Corps was consigned to history. The regime’s desire to distance itself from the term ‘inválido’ is apparent in the BCMGP’s founding myth, in which Franco reportedly instructed Millán Astray to found the new Corps:

Well then, organise this new and glorious Corps, which will be called the Honourable Corps of the Mutilated of the War for the Fatherland, given that we, the Spanish soldiers, and you know this well, as amputated and broken as we may be, no one can ever call us invalids, as the enthusiasm and spirit of good soldiers can never be invalidated.[[205]](#footnote-205)

The word ‘invalid’ was clearly inappropriate given the ‘glorious’ origins of a veteran’s injury. To invalidate the wounded soldier was to invalidate or shroud in shame the experiences that had led to his injury and, by extension, to cast doubt on both his military service and the worthiness of the Nationalist ‘Crusade’. Rather, such sacrifices were to be acknowledged and celebrated, and special honour bestowed upon individuals who had proven their loyalty to the Nationalist cause in this way. Unlike the war wounded of previous conflicts, Francoist wounded veterans were to be envied, not pitied.

This apparent anxiety to break away from previous understandings of disabled ex-soldiers can be understood in terms of how the war wounded had been perceived in the past. Such concerns were not unique to the Nationalist side during the war. In a somewhat ham-fisted attempt to console its wounded, a 1937 Republican pamphlet distanced contemporary mutilated veterans from: ‘The invalids that you remember, those poor scraps of humans that provoked your pity’.[[206]](#footnote-206) This depiction of the war wounded of former conflicts as impoverished shadows of their former selves, dependent on the sympathy and charity of others, was an image both Republicans and Nationalists were keen to avoid. However, the Republican side was less averse to the term ‘invalid’, which featured in the title of the Republican League for the war disabled (*Liga de Mutilados e Inválidos de la Guerra de España*).[[207]](#footnote-207) In contrast, the Francoist authorities stood out in their formalisation of changing attitudes towards the war disabled, both bureaucratically in their establishment of the BCMGP and linguistically through their adoption of the ‘*Caballero Mutilado*’ title. *Caballeros Mutilados* did become visible members of society, but this was because of the privileges they were granted, such as being able to skip queues, or occupy reserved seating on public transport. This meant that they were not generally viewed as poverty-stricken street beggars.[[208]](#footnote-208)

The precise origins of the decision to employ the term ‘mutilado’ are unclear, though it was also used in Fascist Italy and post-war France.[[209]](#footnote-209) Millán Astray had previously modelled the Spanish Foreign Legion on its French counterpart, and so it is likely that he sought similar inspiration when organising the BCMGP.[[210]](#footnote-210) On a more discursive level, the selection of this highly emotive term evoked the violent origins of individual wounds, thus linking the wounded veteran’s post-war identity directly with his past experience of war, rather than his present and future experiences of physical incapacity. This emphasis on the moment of wounding was reflected in the language soldiers were encouraged to employ when describing the origins of their injuries to the BCMGP authorities: ‘enemy fire’, ‘bullet’ or ‘shrapnel’. Such terminology reflected the fact that initially only wounds sustained in combat were recognised by the state. Those injured in accidents while serving in the army had to wait until 1940 to be granted entry into the BCMGP, and were nominally differentiated from other veterans as ‘accidental mutilados’.[[211]](#footnote-211) The ‘accidental mutilated’ were not afforded the same degree of prestige as those injured in battle: during one trip to hospital to visit wounded men, Millán Astray reportedly beat a patient whose injuries had been sustained in a motoring accident, such was his disappointment that the wounds were not the product of battlefield heroics.[[212]](#footnote-212)

The word *mutilado* thus underlined the sufferings of wounded soldiers in a way that reclaimed and reframed the experience of physical injury in terms of honourable sacrifice for the fatherland, rather than in terms of physical impairment and incapacity. At the same time, though this term acknowledged the heroism and sufferings of injured soldiers, it also generalised individual suffering. By using a word so strongly evocative of an injury’s origin, attention shifted away from the specific everyday struggles of individuals in the present, towards a more uniform and collective understanding of suffering as sacrifice in battle, whereby, though shown gratitude on a rhetorical level, individuals were expected to humbly assume physical pain in private.

## Husbands and lovers: Representing Mutilated Gentlemen as ‘ordinary’ men

The ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ label facilitated the introduction of new behavioural models of masculinity for the war disabled. The idea that wounding in battle was not a hindrance to a man’s ability to serve the Fatherlandlay at the heart of the BCMGP’s administration of the disabled. Consequently, in contrast to the emasculated ‘invalids’ of former times, *Caballeros Mutilados* were presented in newspapers, official photographs and artistic productions as ordinary men, whose wounds did not prevent them from fulfilling their male roles as husbands, breadwinners and citizens. As John Tosh has highlighted, the home was key to masculinity in that it constituted the theatre in which men fulfilled their adult roles as heads of the household.[[213]](#footnote-213) The masculinity of Francoist *mutilados* was thus in part constructed with reference to the domestic sphere, particularly with regards to veterans’ relationships with women.[[214]](#footnote-214)

The idea that the war wounded made ideal husbands was normalised in the society pages of the press, where marriage announcements ensured that the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ title preceded the husband’s name.[[215]](#footnote-215) One short feature in the *ABC* newspaper from May 1939 included a photo of a bride and Mutilated Gentleman groom, surrounded by representatives of the authorities and BCMGP.[[216]](#footnote-216) Printed in the intervening weeks between the Francoist ‘liberation’ of Madrid and the victory parade on 19 May, this issue showcased numerous heroes of the ‘Crusade’, as well as illustrations of how life had improved since the Francoist ‘peace’. A portrait of General Moscardó, credited with the Nationalist army’s much-celebrated defence of the Alcázar of Toledo, occupied the front page of the edition, and different features linked ‘peace’ to the return of spring flowers, and the entry of food into recently ‘liberated’ areas. Amongst such content, the wedding photo’s caption explained that the Infantry Corporal Juan Galván Garrido had lost both arms and eyes ‘in the fight against the Marxists’. Unlike more typical wedding announcements, the name of the bride was omitted; what made this piece newsworthy was the groom’s ability to marry despite his mutilations, as well as the swiftness of the wedding following the end of hostilities. Like the roses of springtime, the battle-scarred veteran had returned home to his rightful place at the head of the household.

The selection of this particular wedding for comment in the national press, as well as the attendance of state representatives, reflected the desire to celebrate the sacrifices of a war hero while stressing that ‘victory’ signalled a return to normality, and the resumption of traditional gender relations, in which Mutilated Gentlemen were to be included. In this sense, the regime’s rebranding of its mutilated veterans as husbands reflected the regime’s balancing of both continuity and change. The positioning of veterans as heads of the household signalled a change from former emasculating visions of disability, as well as the brothel-going tendencies of mobilised soldiers.[[217]](#footnote-217) Meanwhile, the idea that Mutilated Gentlemen should be so strongly encouraged to marry reflected more traditional, pre-Republican, understandings of family life, which placed the Spanish male firmly at the head of the household.[[218]](#footnote-218)

When it came to his relationships with women, Millán Astray was a problematic model for the *mutilados*. In keeping with the womanising reputations of the legionnaires, Millán Astray was linked to numerous women during his lifetime, notably the Argentinian actress and sex-symbol Celia Gamez.[[219]](#footnote-219) Yet Millán Astray’s marital life showed a different side to his relationship with women. Shortly after marrying Elvira Gutiérrez de la Torre, his new wife revealed that she had made a lifelong vow of chastity. Rejecting the option of annulment for many years, Millán Astray remained with Elvira until 1941, when he fell for another—much younger—woman with whom he fathered his only child.[[220]](#footnote-220) The latter part of this story was omitted by Millán Astray’s hagiographer; the general’s only daughter, Peregrina, and her mother, Rita, are conspicuous by their absence in Carlos de Silva’s biography. This conscious attempt to sanitise Millán Astray’s image as a faithful husband to his doting wife, while obscuring the more complicated reality of the matter, reflected the tension between military and civilian masculine ideals in Francoist Spain.

Hagiographic depictions of Millán Astray’s relationship with Elvira corresponded with the regime’s emphasis on responsible, Catholic fatherhood, and the lauding of the family above all other secular institutions. By the 1930s, dominant models of masculinity were moving away from understandings of uncontrollable virility or ‘donjuanismo’ to more responsible, breadwinning masculine ideals.[[221]](#footnote-221) Under Franco, this trend was enshrined in law in the resurrected 1889 Civil Code, the 1938 Labour Charter (Fuero del Trabajo), and 1945 Charter of Spaniards (Fuero de los Españoles). The last described the family as a ‘natural and fundamental institution within society with rights and duties before and above all positive human law’.[[222]](#footnote-222) Such legislation outlawed divorce and cemented the position of Spanish men at the head of the household by ensuring that only male relatives could access certain civil rights, such as opening bank accounts. Franco himself was staunchly opposed to Millán Astray’s annulment of his marriage to Elvira and the scandal it would cause.[[223]](#footnote-223) Consequently, the general was forced to temporarily relocate to Portugal, where his daughter was born.

The simultaneous self-positioning of Millán Astray as both Don Juan and dutiful husband was characteristic of the contradictions implicit in a regime which lauded military values and brotherhood while trying to establish social norms conducive to long-term stability. One of the most striking examples of this appears in Carlos Arévalo’s 1941 film*, ¡Harka!*, set during the African campaigns of the early twentieth century. The film culminated with the protagonist, Lieutenant Carlos Herrera (Luis Peña), leaving his Madrid based fiancé to rejoin his military brothers in the Protectorate. The final scene showed Herrera ripping up a portrait of his betrothed in a move that left little doubt of the rhetorical incompatibility between military brotherhood and civilian family life.[[224]](#footnote-224) The rebranding of the war disabled as ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ was a product of the same contradictory military and Catholic values. The *mutilados* were military heroes, but they also needed to occupy a more sustainable space within ‘ordinary’ civilian life if they were to survive in the long-term. The Catholic family model provided such a space.

The positioning of Mutilated Gentlemen as ordinary husbands was reflected in a series of images taken in 1938 by the renowned photojournalist José Demaría Vázquez “Campúa”. Campúa became one of the regime’s most favoured photographers, and was granted privileged access to Franco’s family as well high-profile political events.[[225]](#footnote-225) The photographs chronicled an award ceremony in which a blind lieutenant of the Francoist army, Ricardo Martínez Ojinaga, was presented with an engineering qualification.[[226]](#footnote-226)Martínez Ojinaga was celebrated for his work clearing landmines during the war, and later became director of ‘Franco’s School for the Blind’ in Madrid.[[227]](#footnote-227) Martínez Ojinaga thus became somewhat of a poster boy for the *mutilados*, and in 1940, he was made the focus of another ceremony, in which he was presented with a military cross before a high-profile audience which included Generals Millán Astray, Varela and Yagüe.[[228]](#footnote-228) Though images were taken of the 1938 award ceremony itself, many of the photos were taken outside the ceremony, and pictured the veteran with his fiancé. The images reproduced visual rhetoric characteristic of Bogdan’s ‘citizen portrait’ genre; the photos did not focus on Martínez Ojinaga’s mutilations, but instead showed the couple adopting affectionate poses, often smiling with their arms around each other.[[229]](#footnote-229)

One image depicted Martínez Ojinaga, with dark sunglasses and Medal of Suffering on his chest, standing with his arm around his fiancé as they both ‘looked’ into each other’s eyes (Figure 2.1).[[230]](#footnote-230) The fiancé carried a bouquet of flowers and smiled knowingly up at her husband. Such a pose muted the effects of Martínez Ojinaga’s blindness, and created the impression that his impairment had little bearing on his marital relationship and ability to literally see his wife. Other shots showed the fiancé with her arms around her husband, as he sat on a chair facing elsewhere; his mutilated hand placed on his lap, as his partner looked confidently at the camera. Her proud and nurturing body language evidenced her unfaltering commitment to her fiancé, as well as her supportive role within the relationship. Meanwhile, the fact that she never appeared in front of her fiancé, and that the light tended to fall more strongly on his face, reflected gender hierarchies within the family. Perhaps more unusually, in several shots the lieutenant was pictured without his sunglasses. In these photos, his eyelids remained shut as he smiled with his fiancé or chatted to a friend in an immaculate hospital room.

The series of images communicated three key messages: first, that injured soldiers were able to lead fulfilling romantic and family lives; second, that *mutilados* were able to maintain successful careers; third, that *Caballeros Mutilados* occupied a central space within Spanish society. The careful staging of the images and the high-profile reputation of the photographer indicate that this photo-shoot was part of a concerted effort to normalise the mutilations of war veterans. Martínez Ojinaga’s wounds were not stigmatising, but instead were depicted as badges of honour. The centrality of Martinez Ojinaga within these scenes underscored the positioning of veterans at the heart of Francoist social life; he was not mutilated in a gendered sense, and his masculine identity remained very much intact. In this sense, ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’, as represented in official discourse, were gentlemen *with* mutilations; they were not mutilated men.

Portraying Martínez Ojinaga in this way implied a certain downplaying of his physical impairment, and this visual ‘muting’ was also typical of representations of Millán Astray. A 1942 portrait by the Basque artist Ignacio Zuloaga—a supporter of the rebels in the Civil War who went on to paint Franco himself—testified to the general’s ability to continue serving the armed forces even after the loss of his left arm in 1924. The portrait was transferred to the Museum of the Legion (*Museo de la Legión*) upon Millán Astray’s death in 1954, and has since become iconic in military circles.[[231]](#footnote-231) Zuloaga’s work shows the half-smiling general in uniform, his empty left-hand shirt sleeve facing towards the front with a black eye patch covering his right eye socket. In his white-gloved hand, he carries a weapon, and behind him as he stands on a raised section of land we see a turbulent skyscape with soldiers in the background, in the thick of battle. His dark shirt lies open to the navel, revealing his chest and vest. His softened gaze, rolled-up sleeves and baggy unbuttoned shirt evoke a certain proximity to the common soldier. In this portrait, Millán Astray’s mutilations attested to his prestigious military reputation and commitment to the Fatherland, while his positioning above the battle scene testified to his heroic refusal to succumb to retirement. Similarly, his calm demeanour before the smoking background was indicative of his self-styled positioning as the paternal head of the Spanish foreign legion. In Zuloaga’s painting, Millán Astray’s wounds were worn like accessories. They were not a source of weakness, and no sense of ‘impairment’ was conveyed through the image.

Over the course of the regime, the muting of impairment developed into a muting of the aesthetics of mutilation more generally. A series of images from 1969, also taken by Campúa, show a commission of *Caballeros Mutilados* meeting Franco at the El Pardo Palace outside Madrid.[[232]](#footnote-232)The images, almost certainly produced as keepsakes for the visitors themselves, show the men dressed in military uniforms, some with sunglasses and carrying wooden canes, although it is unclear whether these were linked to their mutilations, particularly as high-ranking officers frequently carried canes at that time. Similarly, although often worn by the blind, sunglasses do not necessarily signal loss of sight. Such ambiguities were reflected in other aspects of the group photos, in which individuals were positioned in a way that downplayed their physical mutilations. In Figure 2.2, a man with a missing leg, for example, was positioned on the back row, while another with a missing left arm stood with his empty sleeve directed away from the camera. Such images certainly belonged to the ‘citizen portrait’ genre, as their purpose was to document a prestigious event with the head of state, rather than to showcase disability.

But they also question the extent to which the regime’s ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ rhetoric reduced the stigma of disability over the long-term. The muting of the visible manifestations of mutilation in the 1969 images provide a stark comparison to the 1938 positioning of Martínez Ojinaga’s wounds as badges of honour. Irrespective of whether the decision to position the men in this way was taken by Campúa or the veterans themselves, the desire to conceal the wounds of the ageing *mutilados* hints at the underlying persistence of disability-related stigma, particularly as the dictatorship’s legitimising discourse shifted away from its successes in the Civil War, to an emphasis on political stability and economic prosperity.[[233]](#footnote-233)

## Citizen *Caballeros*: Humility, suffering and self-control

The Mutilated Gentleman’s most important attribute was his self-control, which was fundamental to his fulfilling the role of dutiful husband, father and citizen. The importance of self-control was not restricted to the war wounded, but constituted a vital part of how masculinity was conceptualised more broadly in Francoist Spain, and beyond.[[234]](#footnote-234) For the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’, such emphasis on self-control depicted the ability to function as ‘ordinary’ men as dependent on the will of the veterans themselves, rather than on state-led rehabilitation programmes. The stoic self-control of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ was not just enacted privately through his fulfilment of the duties to his household, but also possessed a performative element within the public sphere, which drew on both military and civilian influences. In this sense, the ‘Caballero’ component of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title established certain expectations with regards to how veterans were to behave in public.

The term ‘Caballero’ or ‘Gentlemen/knight’ often appeared in Francoist communications in the form of a title, and was comparable to the British use of ‘Sir’. Aside from when referring to members of the Legion, the term was used to address individuals who were awarded certain military honours.[[235]](#footnote-235) Yet the *Caballero* had a much longer tradition, and was a common trope in Spain’s literary Golden Age. The quixotic early modern *Caballero* represented the values of chivalry, idealism, a profound faith in God and a firm belief in the triumph of good over evil, values which found their echo in the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ of the twentieth century.[[236]](#footnote-236) The importance of being a ‘*Caballero*’ was endlessly emphasised by the regime’s supporters. In a 1937 speech to infantry cadets, Millán Astray enumerated the various attributes of *caballeros*, which included fulfilling one’s duties, level-headedness, overcoming the insurmountable, and courtesy towards others.[[237]](#footnote-237) Self-control lay at the root of such attributes, particularly when it came to overcoming physical or mental hardship, or ‘dominating one’s passions’.[[238]](#footnote-238) The implications of the *caballero* masculine model for the behaviour of disabled veterans were clear: while it was acceptable to speak with humility of one’s sacrifices, self-pity and complaint were beyond the pale.

The *caballero*’*s* recurrence in the satirical magazine *La Codorniz*, testified to the trope’s presence in society as a commonly acknowledged stereotype. The serious, responsible and genteel figure, often portrayed sporting suit, hat and cane, appeared as the humourless embodiment of good upbringing. One example from October 1941 entitled ‘Be a child, *Caballero*’ urged gentlemento let their hair down, and experience the childhood they had never had by engaging in a number of puerile pranks around town. At the end of the day, they could return home to the role of ‘stern father of the family who is always asked for more money in the mornings’.[[239]](#footnote-239) As this suggests, the model was taken with a pinch of salt by many, but it still cast the normative Francoist male as someone fully able to perform his various civic duties, notably that of soldiering in times of war, and loyal, Catholic fatherhood in times of peace. In this sense, the official title for disabled war veterans—*Caballero Mutilado*—established a clear benchmark for the expected behavioural traits of those belonging to the BCMGP. The *Caballero Mutilado* was a man who had spilt blood for Spain but who sought no praise, and bore his impairment privately.

‘Humility’ constituted an important linguistic and behavioural code for the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’. Martin Crotty and Mark Edele have argued that veterans throughout history develop a sense of entitlement resulting from their wartime sacrifices.[[240]](#footnote-240) Yet Francoist ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ appeared to differ from this model, and went to great lengths to evidence their modesty and deference to the regime’s hierarchies. Despite their grand title, the official history of the *Caballeros Mutilados* carried the modest subheading, ‘Old and broken soldiers’ (‘*Soldados viejos y estropeados*).[[241]](#footnote-241) The author of the history, Agustín García Laforga—himself an Infantry Major (*Comandante)* and ‘permanent’ Mutilated Gentleman—dedicated the ‘lowly fruits’ of his labours to the Caudillo.[[242]](#footnote-242) Self-representations of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ as humble, old soldiers evolved remarkably little in military circles over the course of the dictatorship. An early memoir by ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ Enrique López Sánchez on his experiences during the war opened with the disclaimer that he was but a ‘modest’ writer, and that he had almost abandoned his autobiographical endeavour as he knew he would ‘have to speak too much about myself’.[[243]](#footnote-243) Examples of Millán Astray performing such humility abound. In the opening lines of his 1939 biography of Franco, for example, he described how he had only published his ‘modest’ book after his ‘good friends’ had convinced him to conquer his ‘sincere resistance’ to the idea.[[244]](#footnote-244)

Such self-deprecation was deceiving, however; the subheading of García Laforga’s book referenced Golden Age vocabulary for the war disabled, and, significantly, a passage from Miguel de Cervantes’s *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, in which the protagonist praises the honour of even the most wretched, poverty-stricken veterans.[[245]](#footnote-245) By associating themselves with Cervantes, the *mutilados* underlined their patriotism, their lineage and their moral superiority over those who had not known suffering in battle. References to the Golden Age echoed the regime’s adoption of ‘baroque’ discourses, which served a legitimising function by linking Francoism to Spain’s former times of glory.[[246]](#footnote-246) Millán Astray was known to give talks on Cervantes, in which he lauded his status as the ‘first’ Mutilated Gentleman, and was himself described as a ‘new Quijote’ by his biographer, on the grounds that he embodied ‘all the virtues of the purest Spanish essence’.[[247]](#footnote-247) Lurches between false modesty and shameless bragging were prevalent in Mill­án Astray’s writings. One particularly delusional outburst during a 1936 broadcast addressed to soldiers on both sides of the Civil War saw Millán Astray present himself as ‘He who is so loved by all soldiers. He who is loved by the poor. By blues and reds. By fascists, carlists, anarchists, socialists, prisoners, the helpless.’[[248]](#footnote-248)

Modesty, however insincere, was considered a virtue in Francoist Spain, and not just for women as has been argued elsewhere.[[249]](#footnote-249) This was in part a product of the Spanish army’s deeply hierarchical, paternalistic culture, which needed to balance firm leadership with high troop morale. In a 1938 speech to military cadets, Millán Astray spoke candidly of amiability (*simpatía*) as, psychologically, the most important aspect of military leadership.[[250]](#footnote-250) Over the course of their duties, he explained, generals had to interact with those of lower ranks, and in order to foster harmonious relations, it was necessary to treat such individuals almost as if they were equals. Fortunately for the ‘Fatherland’—it was claimed—all Franco’s high-ranking officers possessed the gift of amiability. At the same time, the lower ranks were always to show appropriate deference to their superiors, which is where the virtue of ‘humility’ came into play. Amiability was the privilege of the most high-ranking officials, who despite having a duty of care to their subordinates, were unrestrained by the need to show deference except to those few outranking them. Meanwhile, ‘humility’ provided a dignified way for lower-ranking men to accept the authority of their superiors.

Yet ‘humility’ was more than just a curious echo of military, particularly legionnaire, culture on post-war society. Rather, it constituted an important part of how the paternalistic regime functioned as it enabled men to showcase their patriotic achievements, while performing their deference to broader Francoist hierarchies. This behavioural code of modesty echoed similar hierarchical relationships within Spain, particularly the emphasis on obedience within the ecclesiastical context.[[251]](#footnote-251) The bodily sacrifices of the Francoist mutilated meant that they constituted a morally superior class of citizen, but this underlying superiority was not to challenge existing hierarchies. *Caballeros Mutilados* were to remember at all times their continuing duty to the Fatherland, which implied modestly putting to one side their own personal sufferings in favour of the national good.

Expectations around the humble, self-sacrificing nature of Franco’s ‘favourite sons’ can be seen in García Laforga’s account of Millán Astray’s first conversation with a *mutilado* of the BCMGP:

Millán Astray arrived and wanting to appear unconcerned, without making a fuss, said to the blind infantryman:

‘How are you, lad? How’s life?’

The response from the soldier gave a sense of the grandeur of the race.

‘Happy, my General, to have given my eyes for Spain and happier still because now I will be at your orders, of a man who knows, like me, the immense glory of spilling blood for the Fatherland.’

Then the General hugged him tightly against his chest and in a powerful, emphatic and firm voice he said to all those present:

‘This Mutilated Gentlemen is my brother.’[[252]](#footnote-252)

Though in this account Millán Astray used the language of brotherhood, the General’s clear seniority of rank and his physical dominance, as demonstrated by his forceful hugging of the soldier, are more evocative of the affectionate yet hierarchical relationship between a father and son. Indeed, unlike the insistence on ‘brotherhood’ within veterans’ movements following the First World War, the relationship between ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ and their military superiors was decidedly avuncular.[[253]](#footnote-253) Millán Astray vociferously promoted the image of Franco as the benevolent father of all Spaniards, even hinting on occasion that the Caudillo’s largesse would stretch to supporting those who had been injured fighting for the Republic.[[254]](#footnote-254) Millán Astray also positioned himself as the concerned father of the *mutilados*, and signed photos of the general were sent to adorn the walls of the BCMGP’s provincial delegations. The BCMGP was itself a deeply hierarchical institution, and military rank determined an individual’s experience of war disability, from where he sat at commemorative events, to the pension he would receive.[[255]](#footnote-255) In the passage quoted above, the fact that the blind soldier remained unnamed indicates that the two were not equals; rather, this particular soldier symbolised all the maimed soldiers who had followed in the illustrious footsteps of Millán Astray in sacrificing their physical integrity for the glory of Spain.

The importance of self-control to the masculinity of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ archetype was further communicated through the concept of ‘suffering’ (*sufrimiento*), which was recognised formally through a range of‘Medals of Suffering for the Fatherland’ (*Medallas de Sufrimiento por la Patria*).[[256]](#footnote-256) This ‘suffering’ trope built on depictions of Christ’s self-control in the face of physical pain, and cast *Caballeros Mutilados* as the self-sacrificing, Christ-like saviours of the nation.[[257]](#footnote-257) One of the most striking manifestations of the ‘suffering trope’ within the activities of the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ could be seen during Malaga’s Holy Week processions. During the Civil War, anticlerical sackings of churches by supporters of the Republic had destroyed many religious images.[[258]](#footnote-258) Such destruction was carefully documented by the rebel authorities and contributed to the effectiveness of the so-called ‘Red Terror’ narrative.[[259]](#footnote-259) ‘Mutilated’ religious objects became the focus of commemorative acts during and after the Civil War, of which the most enduring was the ‘Mutilated Christ’ of Malaga.[[260]](#footnote-260)

During an attack on the Sagrario church in Malaga, the right thigh and left foot of the statue of Christ had been severed, almost certainly hacked away with an axe.[[261]](#footnote-261) Inspired by the statue’s fate, a group of *Caballeros Mutilados* formed the Venerable Confraternity of the Most Holy Mutilated Christ.[[262]](#footnote-262) Unlike most mutilated images, which were restored or withdrawn from public view, Pope Pius XII gave his permission for the statue of Christ to be maintained in its mutilated state. From then on, the Confraternity became a fixture of the Malagan Holy Week under the dictatorship. The mutilated Christ was fully endorsed by the Francoist regime; in 1956 and 1966 members of the confraternity were received by Franco at El Pardo, and the Holy Week procession was featured in the regime’s ‘NO-DO’ news broadcasts in 1944 and 1946.[[263]](#footnote-263) To this day a picture of the mutilated Christ hangs on the walls of the government unit charged with storing the personnel files of Francoist *mutilados* and managing the remaining pension claims of servicemen injured during the dictatorship.

The Malagan mutilated Christ symbolised Francoist soldiers’ sacrifices during the war, as well as the perceived redemptive effects of suffering and pain.[[264]](#footnote-264) By linking the fate of mutilated soldiers to the Passion of Christ during Holy Week, Civil War wounds were also framed in terms of the resurrection and salvation of Spain.[[265]](#footnote-265)The juxtaposition of Christ and the *mutilados* was a powerful one; in a poem entitled ‘El Cristo Mutilado’, the poet and playwright Luis Fernández Ardavín illustrated this relationship:

But the Christ is armless… That arm

was not found again. It was searched for in vain.

And – how strange things are! – now, without it,

It seems more beautiful and more human.

One *mutilado* more… One of many

That are seen in the streets without causing a stir.

I know that they are men and not saints;

But Christ was God and, also, man.[[266]](#footnote-266)

As Fernández’s work illustrates, the mutilation of the statue of Christ did not diminish its value or render it obsolete. Rather, mutilation enhanced its value. In this sense, by reframing war wounding in terms of suffering, ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were spared the stigmatising, emasculating label of ‘victimhood’. Yet the concept of *sufrimiento* also helped to associate the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ with the broader masculine ideal of self-control. The fact that the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ was determined to process with the mutilated Christ despite having suffered severe physical and mental pain, made an important statement about the *mutilados* as citizens. ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were not ‘disabled’ in a social, professional or gendered sense; their self-control and determination enabled them to live the lives of ordinary men, free from the stigma of invalidity.

Francoist representations of the war mutilated encouraged public gratitude towards the *mutilados*, while implying that the difficulties of adapting to one’s new physical (in)capacity should be borne by veterans in private. The regime’s emphasis on self-control was reflected in the duties and obligations that came along with membership of the BCMGP. Proof of injury in battle did not bring unconditional state support. Membership of the BCMGP was a ‘noble condition’, and members were required to demonstrate their love of the Fatherland by adhering to the moral values of the army.[[267]](#footnote-267) Failure to do so could lead to an individual temporarily or permanently losing his right to receive the benefits of membership. Clearly, the legislation made certain assumptions concerning the notion of will, and took for granted that veterans were physically and mentally in control of their destinies. The BCMGP’s duty of care to veterans was, therefore, conditional, and sacrifices made in the name of the Fatherland during the Civil War were not, on their own, enough to guarantee the gratitude of the regime in the years to come. In this way, the archetypal *Caballero Mutilado* was more than just an injured ex-soldier, passively reaping the rewards of his wartime sacrifices; he was an active and unfalteringly loyal Francoist citizen.

## The relativity of stigma: veterans, beggarsand *jodidos cojos*

Though Republican veterans were not mentioned in BCMGP legislation, their exclusion provided the backdrop to the Corps’ activities. Provisions for the Francoist disabled, particularly the more severely wounded ‘useful’ veterans, often left much to be desired. Yet the fact that even the lowliest *Caballero Mutilado* had greater chances of survival in the difficult post-war years than the Republican disabled helped to shape perceptions of the *mutilados* of the Civil War. Compared to Republicans, Francoist *mutilados* were not helpless, emasculated war victims. Rather, Francoist veterans were the vindicated agents of the ‘Crusade’, and as a result, were society’s fortunate ones. After the outbreak of war in July 1936, the ‘Nationalists’ denied that the Republic had ever had any legitimacy, which meant that those who had fought within the loyalist army could no longer claim veteran status and all the benefits that came with it.[[268]](#footnote-268) Attempts to distance Francoist *mutilados* from ideas of charity reinforced inequalities between *mutilados* of the victorious and vanquished armies. In this sense, Francoist *mutilados*’ positioning within broader hierarchies of stigma played an important part in the regime’s willingness and ability to ‘rebrand’ war disability after the Civil War. The regime could not allow its wartime heroes to suffer in the same way as the so-called ‘defenders of Marxism’, while the plight of Republicans meant there would always be a group of individuals who would be worse off than Francoist *mutilados*. This situation of relative stigmatisation and victimhood helps to explain why there were no coordinated attempts on the part of *Caballero Mutilados* to improve the benefits they were entitled to.

Different representations of Francoist and Republican veterans can be understood in terms of public and private spaces, and the different circumstances under which the wounds of both groups tended to be displayed. As the images of Millán Astray and Martínez Ojinaga illustrate, the wounds of Francoist veterans were generally worn with pride, and were represented in a way that did not undermine their masculine identities as ‘useful’ workers, husbands and citizens. In contrast, despite originating in similar circumstances during the same conflict, the *mutilados* of the defeated Republican army ‘bore on their bodies the stain of their dishonour’.[[269]](#footnote-269) Representations of Republican *mutilados* tended to reflect the stigmatising nature of their wounds and former service to the defeated side, painting a picture of emasculation and dependency, either as beggars or as burdens on their family members. One 1947 edition of *La Voz del Mutilado* (*The Voice of the Mutilado)*, the Republican disabled’s newspaper published in exile, carried on its front page an image of three veterans of the defeated army begging (Figure 2.3).[[270]](#footnote-270) The photo, taken on an unspecified Spanish street, showed the three men posing with a crutch laid out in front of them as two knelt and the third rested on each of their shoulders. On the same page of the issue, a *mutilado* based in Spain described how many Republican disabled veterans were forced to turn to begging, and were often arrested and brutally beaten as a result.[[271]](#footnote-271) Such images, as was common with the ‘begging’ genre of disability representations, were intended to inspire pity and to solicit donations from Republican sympathisers outside of Spain. It is impossible to know how a victorious Republican government would have represented its war disabled, but it is clear that in defeat, the Republican League for the War Mutilated judged pity to be the only practical vehicle for easing the hardships of defeated *mutilados* who remained in Spain.

The Republican disabled were rarely mentioned in the Francoist press, and the regime’s official stance appears to have been to ignore them altogether. In post-war Spain there was only one legitimate army, and so Republican *mutilados* were deemed indistinguishable from the civilian disabled. Consequently, images published outside of Spainoffer a rare insight into the spaces occupied by Republican veterans during the post-war years and beyond. As late as 1973, Republican *mutilados* were depicted begging on the streets in an article published in the German newspaper *Der Spiegel*.[[272]](#footnote-272) This article emerged at a time when some members of the Spanish Cortes were attempting to improve the situation of Republican *mutilados*.[[273]](#footnote-273) This increased interest in the plight of Republican *mutilados* was reflected in a series of cartoons in the satirical magazine *Hermano Lobo*.[[274]](#footnote-274) These cartoons depicted the Republican disabled as ageing, dirty beggars, often propelling themselves around on makeshift carts, and aimed to highlight persisting inequalities in Spain despite the internationally ‘open’ (*aperturista*) nature of the regime at this time.[[275]](#footnote-275)

Against such perceptions of the Republican disabled, the positioning of Francoist veterans as ‘Gentlemen’ who could support their families through work was particularly striking, and helped to reinforce the view that *Caballeros Mutilados* were to be envied, rather than pitied. Within this dichotomy, even Francoist veterans from the lowest socioeconomic backgrounds were considered the fortunate ones, while Republican *mutilados* were the emasculated invalids of the Civil War. The absurdity of the situation for some conscripts which saw mere geographical ‘accident’ cast them as either heroes or villains was not lost on the Spanish population; a ‘joke’ commonly repeated in the years following the Civil War commented with irony on the fact that Francoist veterans were ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’, while Republicans were just ‘damned cripples’ (*jodidos cojos*).[[276]](#footnote-276)

Over the course of this research, no images have been unearthed of Francoist veterans begging on the streets. Yet in the early days of the Civil War, the heterogeneous alliance of forces comprising the rebel army led to disharmony as to how different groups positioned the war disabled within broader understandings of masculinity. The language employed, for example, by representatives of the Carlist faction within the Nationalist side clashed with the discourses promoted by the BCMGP.[[277]](#footnote-277) The reactionary, monarchist Carlist movement pre-dated Francoism by many decades and had developed its own specific culture of war, not least as it had fought two earlier civil wars during the nineteenth century. Consequently, the Carlists had their own unusual wartime traditions and mobilisation structures—based around popular militias—which led to different understandings of masculinity. Significantly, the fiercely Catholic Carlists ran their own hospital support network, *Frentes y Hospitales* (Fronts and Hospitals), which mobilised an army of volunteer nurses or ‘Marguerites’ (*Margaritas*) to care for wounded men.[[278]](#footnote-278) *Frentes y Hospitales* also ran fundraising initiatives to raise money for convalescing veterans, though such emphasis on charitable fundraising was at odds with the image of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ promoted by the BCMGP.

In a Carlist proposal for the establishment of a National Rehabilitation and Orthopaedic Institute for War *Mutilados*, the authors frequently referred to the disabled as ‘invalids’, while *Frentes y Hospitales* rarely used the term ‘*mutilado*’. Rather, injured servicemen were usually referred to as ‘heridos’ (wounded), particularly in reference to raising money for the organisation’s ‘hogar del herido’ (home of the wounded). This reflected the temporary nature of *Frentes y Hospitales*’s operations, which saw the short-term mobilisation of female volunteers to address the immediate needs of injured soldiers returning from the front. The initiative was not conceived as a long-term strategy, and so it perhaps did not occur to many participants to think far beyond the initial treatment of wounds. Indeed, Carmen Resines, local Delegate of the Inspectorate for Feminine Services in War Hospitals, lamented the fact that many nurses left service as soon as the war had ended ‘because they do not understand that the end of the war does not imply the complete curing of the injured and ill.’[[279]](#footnote-279) The persistence of older, female-led charitable models in the Carlist movement ensured that the activities of *Frentes y Hospitales* remained focused on short-term aid, rather than a broader vision for the long-term futures and masculine identities of the maimed.

This short-term mind-set also explains *Frentes y Hospitales*’s focus on fundraising initiatives, which contradicted BCMGP emphasis on the civic duties of *Caballeros Mutilados*. Such fundraising went against Francoist attempts to distance victorious disabled veterans from their charity-dependent predecessors. *Frentes y Hospitales*, for example, sought to raise funds via the sale of food or drink coupons to members of the public. These coupons would be paid for by individual donors and then given to injured soldiers who could exchange them for a cup of coffee or some food from the *hogar del herido*. In some instances, the coupons even specified that soldiers should thank the donor for their ‘generous donation’.[[280]](#footnote-280) Though the BCMGP also received donations to support its activities, these were always conceptualised as society’s way of repaying its debt to those who had sacrificed their bodily integrity for the nation.[[281]](#footnote-281) Carlos de Silva, for example, boasted of how those staffing the BCMGP’s local commissions were all volunteers who refused point blank to be paid for their services to the *mutilados*. Such volunteers allegedly considered such service a duty rather than a favour.[[282]](#footnote-282)

The Carlists’ positioning of the *mutilado* as the grateful recipient of charitable donations, can be seen in a series of photographs taken of nurses and patients at the Alfonso Carlos Hospital in Pamplona during the war, which were used as postcards for fundraising purposes. These illustrations in part belonged to the ‘genre’ of institutional propaganda, aimed at illustrating both the attributes of the Alfonso Carlos Hospital as well as the Carlist movement more broadly.[[283]](#footnote-283) A general feeling of calm and cleanliness ran through the images as *Margaritas* tended to their well-mannered patients in pristine white uniforms. Photos of injured soldiers showed smiling men, either waiting patiently to have their wounds dressed or socialising happily with one another. Figure 2.4 shows nurses tending to the bandages of an amputated soldier while another looks on, grinning.[[284]](#footnote-284) Both wear tidy uniforms and are clearly in the advanced stages of their treatment; the blood, gore and pain remembered by some Civil War nurses are entirely missing from this shot.[[285]](#footnote-285) The main focus is not the soldier’s injury, but rather the work of the *Margarita* who tends to him. Stood facing the window with her head bowed down in concentration, her face and uniform are bathed in light. The tranquil atmosphere depicted in the photo, which avoids all notion of suffering on the part of the injured soldiers themselves, aimed to highlight the selfless efforts of the Margaritas and their competence in delivering care to the wounded.

Other images showed men in a more recreational space. Figure 2.5 showed uniformed men relaxing in what appears to be a common room as nurses adopt a more supervisory role.[[286]](#footnote-286) An apparently paraplegic soldier lay back in a chair as others played chess or read the newspaper—a scene which distracted from the pain and suffering of injury. Again, the aim was to present the Alfonso Carlos Hospital as a place of calm tranquillity. The chaos of war was shown to be far away and the suffering of the wounded soldiers was minimised by the apparently valiant efforts of the Margaritas. The wounded were portrayed as the passive recipients of the Margaritas’ charitable work, and the value of their wounds was tied to their potential in stimulating monetary donations from sympathetic members of the public. That the wounds of these *mutilados* were displayed publicly for fundraising purposes was reminiscent of the traditional role of Christian charity in tending to the sick, which was perhaps to be expected for such a deeply Catholic faction as the Carlists. Although it is perhaps too far to compare the *mutilados* in the Alfonso Carlos Hospital to the begging disabled veterans of pre-Civil War Spain, this kind of portrayal of *mutilados* was wholly foreign to the vision of the BCMGP, particularly its emphasis on the work potential of *mutilados*.

The Civil War was not the first time Carlist women had come together to meet the demands of injured fighters, and so it is perhaps unsurprising that Francoist imperatives to change attitudes towards its war disabled failed to take immediate hold.[[287]](#footnote-287) Though the charitable initiatives of *Frentes y Hospitales* during the war undoubtedly reduced budgetary strain on Francoist coffers, Carlist plans for a rehabilitation centre in the post-war were swiftly rejected by the Francoist authorities.[[288]](#footnote-288) This reflected the implications of the April 1937 Decree of Unification, which saw the compulsory merger of the fascist Falange party with the Carlist faction to create the Francoist regime’s only permitted political party, the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista (FET y de las JONS).[[289]](#footnote-289) All other political options were outlawed, and many Carlists perceived the ‘unification’ as an act of betrayal, as it limited their autonomy to organise their own activities independent of the state. The suppression of *Frentes y Hospitales*’s activities subsequently contributed to the homogenisation of discourses relating to the war disabled, and later Carlist accounts of war disability did employ the term ‘mutilado’.[[290]](#footnote-290)

However, the BGMGP’s attempts to ‘rebrand’ perceptions of its war mutilated did not change perceptions of disability more generally. The regime’s medical professionals advocated treating veterans in separate, specialist centres, and the othering of the disabled body continued when it came to representing the civilian disabled.[[291]](#footnote-291) The Association of Mutilated Painters, for example, was the subject of two ‘NO-DO’ features in 1957 and 1963. Such representations were clearly distinct from the ‘citizen portraits’ of Francoist Mutilated Gentleman discussed above, and relied on the active participation of disabled individuals to indulge the voyeuristic curiosity of the general population. Much like the freak shows of the nineteenth century, the main focus of the NO-DO clips was the ‘curious’ art that the Association’s members produced by holding paintbrushes with their mouths or feet.[[292]](#footnote-292) Here, the spectacle of the extraordinary abilities of the mutilated body was the focus of inquisitive amazement. Other NO-DO clips focused on the remarkable abilities of foreign disabled veterans, who were shown skiing, or performing tasks such as driving cars with the help of modern prosthetics.[[293]](#footnote-293) In one clip of British war amputees, the men carried out manual labour and operated machinery using different attachments for their wounded arms.[[294]](#footnote-294) The camera offered only fleeting glimpses of the men’s faces, and focused predominantly on the prosthetic technology, which appeared as an extension of the body itself.

Such clips, which were originally created by film producers in the veterans’ respective countries, offer an interesting point of comparison with images of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ in Spain. Francoist war disabled policy shared certain characteristics with measures put in place by foreign governments tackling similar issues. Attempts to emphasise the ‘usefulness’ of the disabled and move away from understandings of charity can be observed in many post-First World War societies. Heather Perry, for example, has highlighted how in post-First World War Germany, technological advancements combined with acute wartime labour shortages contributed to changing attitudes towards the disabled; thanks to modern prosthetics, disabled men could be ‘recycled’ and made useful to the Fatherland again.[[295]](#footnote-295)

In Anglophone post-First World War contexts, ‘[i]mages of mutilated and reconstructed bodies permeated literature, medical texts, and humanitarian publicity, and were displayed in visual culture and museum exhibitions’.[[296]](#footnote-296) Such representations focused on the men’s exceptionality, creating a distance between them and their audience, and so reflecting the underlying fear that the disabled body inspired in the able-bodied.[[297]](#footnote-297) Though anxieties around economic dependence and emasculation were also present in Francoist Spain, the way of dealing with such fears differed greatly from Anglophone contexts; the BCMGP sought to minimise rather than highlight differences between disabled and non-disabled veterans. That is not to say that mutilation in war was not recognised and celebrated in Spain, quite the contrary. However, functional impairment resulting from mutilation was downplayed, and thus muted within visual representations of the disabled. In this sense, it is unsurprising that the Francoist war disabled of the Civil War only appeared in NO-DO clips as part of reports on the Malaga Holy Week processions.[[298]](#footnote-298) Spain’s context of civil war, military dictatorship and rigid gender roles all contributed to this distinctive approach to the issue of war disability, particularly given the importance of the war as a source of legitimacy in the regime’s early years.[[299]](#footnote-299)

Francoist *mutilados* were thus given the privilege of being able to keep their mutilations private. As a well-known and celebrated personality in Francoist Spain, Millán Astray could showcase his mutilations without provoking the pity of the Spanish populace. For non-elite *mutilados* who did not share his wealth and status, the luxury of concealment was important.[[300]](#footnote-300) Francoist *mutilados* were saved from having to publicly reveal their wounds in exchange for charity, and even the BCMGP’s medical tribunals did not document wounds with photographs. Images of Francoist *mutilados’* wounds did appear within the more medical context of scientific journals, but these were aimed at discussing surgical and rehabilitation techniques, rather than assessing veterans for state support.

Within medical images, care was taken to ensure that the dignity of the individual was respected. Unlike the graphic surgical images displayed in the United States’ Army Medical Museum, *mutilados* were usually depicted wearing smart military uniforms and referred to using their full names, prefaced by the respectful ‘Don’ address and ‘Caballero Mutilado’ title.[[301]](#footnote-301) On other occasions, patients were permitted to cover their faces to preserve their anonymity, which indicates a degree of control on the part of veterans with regards to how their images were presented.[[302]](#footnote-302) Photographs of *mutilados* can frequently be found in BCMGP personnel files, but these are usually headshots used for identification purposes, with some veterans clearly providing the authorities with photos taken before their injury. This was most certainly the case for one veteran, A.A.C., who, despite his severe jaw injury, does not appear in any way disfigured in the photo kept within his case file.[[303]](#footnote-303) This suggests a continuity between a *Caballero Mutilado*’s pre and post-injury identity. Despite acquiring the title of *Caballero Mutilado*, the veteran still the same man as before.

[redacted] Expectations around work are key to understanding the superior status of Nationalist veterans. The majority of *mutilados* were classed within the ‘useful’ category and were therefore, in theory, given privileged access to certain posts within both the public and private sectors. In the ‘dark years’ of the 1940s and beyond, such posts enabled veterans to maintain their family roles as breadwinners and heads of household. Veterans unable to work were classed within the ‘permanent’ or ‘absolute’ categories, thus ensuring that their roles as providers could be maintained through a BCMGP pension. However, this ability to continue demonstrating their male citizenship was not the only advantage available to the *mutilados*. The opportunity to work or receive a pension eliminated the need for wounded veterans to expose their bodies publicly in order to get by. Nationalist *mutilados* retained the privilege of privacy, which granted them the luxury of retaining an identity based on their individual personalities, not on their physical impairments. This was also facilitated by their privileged access to prostheses via the military health system, which could mask certain physical impairments.[[304]](#footnote-304) In practice this means we see few images of Francoist *mutilados* that communicate the raw realities of physical mutilation. Rather, such images tend to be carefully managed in order to preserve a very precise picture of a man who despite his physical mutilations, is in every other way completely ‘normal’.

However, the privilege of Mutilated Gentlemen within Spanish society was relative rather than absolute, which becomes clear in the case of the disfigured. Different wounds affected masculine identity differently, and the regime’s muting of the aesthetics of impairment presented a particular challenge for those who could not hide their mutilations.[[305]](#footnote-305) Many felt self-conscious about their mutilated bodies, and social embarrassment at the disfigured body could impede rehabilitation. Alfonso Gila Sancho, proponent of the Krukenberg technique for arm amputees, reported how some veterans allowed their upper limbs to atrophy completely, too embarrassed to reveal the striking aesthetic of their arms back in their rural hometowns.[[306]](#footnote-306) This was undoubtedly a very personal experience, and some individuals flourished after undergoing the Krukenberg procedure. Juan Luís, a man who experienced it as a child after a Civil-War bomb exploded in his hands, speaks fondly of his Krukenberg ‘pincers’, and has given a number of televised interviews about them.[[307]](#footnote-307) Juan Luís’s young age at the time of injury may have enabled him to adapt to circumstances more easily than his adult counterparts.

Disfigurement and other visible mutilations constituted a barrier to normality for Francoist *mutilados*. Bodies disfigured during the Great War were considered taboo to the extent that British government censors categorised them as ‘unrepresentable’ in artistic portrayals of veterans.[[308]](#footnote-308) The face is at the centre of most human interactions, forming an essential part of identity and even a ‘visual representation of the self’.[[309]](#footnote-309) Writing in a 1939 military medical journal (*Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra*), plastic surgeon R. Galeazzi-Lisi emphasised society’s repugnance at disfigured individuals, whose psychological difficulties were also unlikely to inspire sympathy.[[310]](#footnote-310) The disfigured individual, Galeazzi-Lisi explained, was seen as ridiculous, grotesque, and unlikely to be taken seriously by others, particularly in public-facing jobs. Disfigurement thus constituted a very real barrier to normality in Francoist Spain, as elsewhere.

Indeed, the Civil War triggered a sharp interest in the field of plastic surgery. In 1938, the Francoist regime sent its foremost plastic surgeon, José Sánchez Galindo, to the U.S.A. to learn from the country’s more advanced techniques.[[311]](#footnote-311) Upon his return, Dr Sánchez Galindo headed up the centre for plastic surgery at the military hospital in San Sebastián. This increased interest in plastic surgery in Spain helps to highlight the incompleteness of ‘rebranding’ to understanding the experiences of the Francoist war disabled. The reinstating of veterans’ gendered social role—as husbands, fathers and breadwinners—was immeasurably important to their reintegration into Francoist society post-injury. However, returning to normality also implied an ability to ‘fit in’, which could be impeded by the stigma of disfigurement. The social discomfort that disfigurement could cause was a barrier to resuming a ‘normal’ life, even though physical appearance may have had little impact on other aspects of masculine identity, such as the ability to carry out paid work.

The experiences of the Francoist war disabled must, therefore, be understood in relation to broader stigmatising hierarchies. The very general ‘useful’, ‘permanent’ and ‘absolute’ categories masked the complex hierarchies that existed between different kinds of wounds, and those with severe facial disfigurements undoubtedly experienced greater difficulties fitting back into society than amputees, for example, whose wounds were more normalised.[[312]](#footnote-312) However, disability was not the most stigmatising of attributes in Francoist Spain, and most men do not, in any case, need to conform to dominant masculine ideals in order to benefit from their hegemony.[[313]](#footnote-313) The idea that individuals can deviate from social norms while, at the same time, benefitting from their existence is crucial to understanding the privilege of Francoist *mutilados*. Although some struggled with the stigma of disfigurement, their freedom from the stigma of Republicanism meant that their position within Francoism’s ‘national community’ was never in any doubt.

## An incredible ideal? Cultural representations of the Mutilated Gentleman

The relative paucity of cultural representations of the Francoist disabled reveals the limited extent to which the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ ideal captured the imagination of the Spanish populace. The remaining pages of this chapter will analyse how the Mutilated Gentlemen were represented in cultural works produced by the regime’s supporters, its opponents, and those pertaining to the more ambivalent ‘grey zones’ of Francoist society.[[314]](#footnote-314) The few cultural representations of Francoist *mutilados* which were produced varied greatly, often according to the political sympathies of the author. They were all, however, united in their inability to perfectly reproduce official rhetoric. The unwillingness or inability to represent the Mutilated Gentleman in literary form hints at the implausibility of the official ideal, and questions the extent to which Francoist policies succeeded in changing perceptions of the war disabled.

During the war and early post-war some literary works relating to the Francoist war disabled were produced by supporters of the Francoist establishment. The Madrid-based writer Alberto Martín Valero, for example, wrote a sonnet in honour of Millán Astray, praising the general’s mutilations and dedication to ‘his’ Mutilated Gentlemen.[[315]](#footnote-315) Cultural representations of non-elite *mutilados* were, however, uncommon. This extraordinary absence reflected the highly problematic positioning of such men, who were both part of the regime and its panoply of repression of privilege, but also ‘disabled’ in the sense that their wounds challenged Francoism’s gendered expectations of them. Rare appearances by ‘ordinary’ *Caballeros Mutilados* in works of literature were peripheral to the main plot. In 1938 Emilio Hernández Pino released the play *Muchachas de Blanco* (Girls in White), based on the experiences of the white-uniformed nurses who treated injured soldiers during the Civil War. The play emphasised the heroism of those who served the rebel army during the war, particularly the war wounded, and the nurses who cared for them. Within the piece, a subsidiary character named Juan García is blinded in action. Despite the severity of his wounds, he is reassured by his superior officer that he will ‘have the glory of being a mutilated gentleman’.[[316]](#footnote-316) In the first half of the play, Juan, referred to using the diminutive ‘*soldadito*’ (little soldier), is dependent on an ugly but dependable nurse, Mercedes, who leads him around the hospital. Juan eventually regains his full masculine identity following an operation which restores his sight. Now cured, Juan is able to provide for Mercedes, who he benevolently courts despite her unattractiveness. The play was well-received in the Francoist press, and Hernández went on to enjoy a prizewinning career in Spanish theatre.[[317]](#footnote-317) It is noteworthy, however, that Juan is only able to fulfil his chivalrous, masculine destiny once cured of his impairment. Furthermore, Juan was merely a subordinate character within the play, and served as a vehicle through which to underscore the play’s broader themes of heroism and sacrifice.

Juan de Orduña’s *Porque Te Vi Llorar* was similar in this respect. To be sure, the film’s protagonist, José, was indeed a Mutilated Gentleman. But this aspect of his identity was peripheral to his character, and hidden from view until the last moments of the film; José’s ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ status was revealed so quickly that audiences would be forgiven for missing this detail. Instead, the main focus of the film was the relationship between José and his helpless love interest, María Victoria, and—more importantly—the chivalry of the former. The film’s title referenced a famous aria from the Spanish Zarzuela, *La Tabernera del Puerto* (The Port Innkeeper), released just a few years previously, in 1936. In the song, the character Leandro refuses to believe that he has been duped by his love, Marola, convinced by the sincerity of her prayers and tears. This chivalric faith in the goodness of woman was made the focus of *Porque Te Vi Llorar*, while the experience of wounding was entirely absent from the film. Indeed, if one were to remove the late reference to war disability, it would have no bearing on the audience’s understanding of the film.

Orduña’s limited scriptwriting abilities aside, this way of representing a *Caballero Mutilado* can be explained in a number of ways.[[318]](#footnote-318) José’s invisible suffering in *Porque Te Vi Llorar* made sense within a society which encouraged individuals to subordinate personal concerns to the political, a common theme in other films released at this time.[[319]](#footnote-319) Furthermore, José’s injuries undoubtedly belonged to the least severe ‘useful’ category of *mutilado*, which meant they were relatively insignificant in terms of altering his physical abilities. In order to qualify for the ‘useful’ category, veterans did not need to have sustained highly visible or limiting injuries, and it was commonplace in post-war Spain to see apparently able-bodied men using the Mutilated Gentleman title. However, in many ways the character of José betrayed the underlying implausibility of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal in the minds of many Spaniards. Though in theory Spaniards may have accepted the idea that the severely and visibly disabled should be treated as ‘ordinary’ men, Orduña’s inability to represent this in his work speaks volumes.

Theatrical productions or literary works which took ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ as protagonists were rare, and were usually linked to events organised specifically for the *mutilados* themselves. In October 1941, the Price Variety Circus in Madrid hosted a short performance entitled ‘Legionnaire Gentleman, Mutilated Gentleman’.[[320]](#footnote-320) The piece starred the renowned comic actor, Roberto Font, and was staged in honour of the *mutilados*’ annual celebration of their patron saint, St Raphael.[[321]](#footnote-321) Such performances came about less as a result of genuine artistic inspiration than political coercion. The director of the Price Circus, Juan Carcellé, had been roughed up and forced to drink castor oil by members of the Falange after letting performances run on later than permitted.[[322]](#footnote-322) The director had subsequently agreed to host two annual events, one commemorating the ‘Day of the Poor’, and the other the Mutilated Gentlemen’s St Raphael celebrations. After its 1941 premier, the Roberto Font piece disappeared from view, which suggests its complete insignificance within the broader theatrical landscape.[[323]](#footnote-323)

Perhaps revealingly, the few cultural works which included well-developed disabled veteran characters were produced by authors who were critical of the regime. The Falangist novelist and journalist Rodrigo Royo’s 1944 novel *¡Guerra! (Historia de la Vida de Luis Pablos)* is the most striking example of this. *¡Guerra!* tells the story of Luis Pablos, a veteran of the Blue Division (División Azul) sent to fight on the eastern front with Hitler’s Wehrmacht in 1941, whose feet are amputated due to frostbite. Like *mutilados* of the Civil War, disabled veterans of the Blue Division were also ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ managed by the BCMGP. Royo had himself been wounded while serving in the Blue Division, and *¡Guerra!* was based on the experiences of a friend with whom he had spent time in hospital. Throughout the novel, Luis’s virile, pre-injury identity is juxtaposed with his sense of emasculation following the loss of his feet. This emasculation is often conceptualised in terms of Luis’s relationship with women, particularly a young German woman named Hilde with whom he falls in love early on in his deployment. Despite Hilde’s love letters and employment as a nurse, Luis is convinced that she could never love him in his mutilated state.

Obsessed with his inability to run and jump like before, Luis ultimately dies after deliriously jumping out of his hospital bed onto his stumps. Significantly, in the opening pages of the novel, Luis criticises those who would praise disability in war: ‘I could adopt the position which some regard as heroic, and which consists of revelling in my wretchedness, but that isn’t heroism, it is illness.’[[324]](#footnote-324) He adds:

Those who delight in their own misfortune, on the pretext that they received them [their wounds] in a noble and important endeavour, do so because they hope that by repeating this message they will end up convincing themselves. It is possible to be proud of one’s wounds, but not to be glad to cease being men, whole men. We cannot jump, or run, or perhaps start a family, because no one will want to marry us.[[325]](#footnote-325)

Though Millán Astray and the BCMGP are not referred to specifically, this passage is clearly a critique of those attempting to rebrand war disability as something positive, even aspirational. Although Rojo acknowledges the heroism of the *mutilados*, he was explicit in his belief that physical impairment was emasculating, and that the war maimed ceased to be ‘whole’ men. The idea that disability was a fate worse than death emerges throughout the novel, which ends praising the heroic death of Luis, fighting the enemy within his own mind.[[326]](#footnote-326) At no point in the novel does Luis refer to himself as a ‘Mutilated Gentleman’, and his self-perceived emasculation directly contradicts the BCMGP’s masculine discourses. Royo’s Falangist political leanings, which by the time of *¡Guerra!*’s publication in 1944 leant themselves to a certain scepticism towards Francoism, certainly influenced this critical approach to Francoist war disability policy.[[327]](#footnote-327) Yet the sorry representation of Luis’s life also drew on direct experience of the difficulties of coming to terms with war disability.

As time went on, *Caballeros Mutilados* were increasingly used by authors to ridicule the regime. Juan Marsé’s *Si te Dicen que Caí*, published in Mexico in 1973, offered a particularly unflattering portrait of a Francoist disabled veteran, referred to as second lieutenant Conrad, ‘little Conrad’ (*Conradito*) or simply ‘the invalid’ (*el inválido*).[[328]](#footnote-328) Marsé’s character offers a complex portrait of the Francoist war disabled in the Spanish post-war. Conradito is a wealthy, paraplegic veteran of the Civil War, who in many ways enjoys a position of power over the other characters in the novel. Most strikingly, Conradito pays impoverished members of the Spanish working classes to have sex in his apartment as he watches from behind a curtain, tapping the floor with his cane to direct them. His ability to pay individuals to both entertain and care for him place him in a position of privilege compared to his compatriots. However, his pallid complexion, unfulfilled career ambitions and inability to perform the sexual act himself paint a picture of emasculation and even perversion.[[329]](#footnote-329) In *Si te Dicen que Caí*, Conradito symbolises the decrepitude of the dictatorship, which helps to explain the character’s position as a figure of both privilege and decay.

Following the relaxation of censorship in 1966, negative depictions of the Mutilated Gentlemen were even published within Spain.[[330]](#footnote-330) Carlos Saura’s 1973 film, *La Prima Angélica* (Cousin Angelica), ridiculed the character of *Tío Miguel* (Uncle Miguel), a diehard Falangist and wounded veteran of the Civil War. In a less than subtle critique of Francoism’s supporters, *Tío Miguel*’s plaster arm cast is so rigid that it forces him to adopt the Falangist salute.[[331]](#footnote-331) *Tío Miguel*’s insistence that his injuries are ‘nothing’ and that he will soon be redeployed to the front also satirised the supposed modesty of Francoist veterans.[[332]](#footnote-332) The most unbridled satire of the *Caballero Mutilado* appeared some years after the transition to democracy in Antonio Mercero’s 1988 comedy, *Espérame en el Cielo* (Wait For Me in Heaven). Set in 1946, the film tells the story of Paulino Alonso, the owner of an orthopaedic shop catering to *Caballeros Mutilados* who, given his remarkable likeness to Franco, is kidnapped and forced to train as the Caudillo’s double. As in *La Prima Angélica*, the mannequin in Alonso’s shop window also comically malfunctions, raising its arm in a Falangist salute. Later, the austere official charged with supervising Alonso’s absurd training wears the *Mutilado* medal.

Given the origins of their wounds, *Caballeros Mutilados* were often regarded as symbolic of the Civil War and Francoist victory. It is, therefore, easy to understand why unflattering depictions of *Caballeros Mutilados* appeared in cultural works by authors who were critical of the regime. However, even authors who were more ambivalent towards the regime depicted the Francoist war disabled negatively. Camilo José Cela’s *La Colmena* (The Beehive)—generally recognised as *the* novel of the Spanish post-war—contains only fleeting references to the war wounded, and none which reproduce the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, even though Cela himself had been wounded while serving in the Nationalist army during the war, and he was known to have been friends with Millán Astray.[[333]](#footnote-333)Clearly narratives relating to Franco’s ‘favourite sons’ could not be credibly represented by Cela’s characteristic *tremendismo*,or post-war grotesque.[[334]](#footnote-334)

*La Colmena*, set in 1943 Madrid and published outside Spain to avoid Francoist censorship, is structured as a collection of fragmented snapshots of the lives of over 300 characters, predominantly from the capital’s lower classes. The first representation of war disability appears in the second chapter of the novel; Leocadia, a chestnut street vendor, waits to be picked up by her son, who walks with a limp following an injury sustained in the war.[[335]](#footnote-335) Her son—who remains unnamed—works as a timekeeping clerk on a construction site in the city. He is described as ‘very kind’ and helps his mother to pack up her equipment every evening at 11pm before they head home arm-in-arm. The couple live a modest life, eating left over chestnuts for supper or just hot, milky coffee. At night, the ageing vendor falls asleep beside the dying embers from her stall. Cela does not specify which side Leocadia’s son fought on during the war; such deliberate authorial ambiguity hinted at the difficulties experienced by most working class *madrileños* in the post-war, irrespective of which side they fought on. However, the fact that the veteran is employed building the new government complex at Nuevos Ministerios suggests that he belonged to the winning side. The son’s commitment to his mother does conform to the BCMGP’s emphasis on chivalry, but his unmarried status and low-paid job mean he is unable to fulfil the virile, breadwinning ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal. Consequently, his elderly mother is forced to work long hours on the street, and the pair barely subsist off the little money they earn. This representation gives some hint of how Francoist war disability legislation worked out in practice, with ‘privileged’ access to what were often low-skilled, low-paid jobs.

The second representation of the war wounded in *La Colmena* refers more specifically to the ironies of Francoist war disability legislation. Julio García Morrazo is a workshy veteran of the Francoist army who was shot in the side while serving on the Asturian front. The narrator explains with some irony: ‘[…] the worst of all was that the injury wasn’t bad enough for him to be discharged and the man had to go back to the war and could not recover properly’.[[336]](#footnote-336) Prior to the war, Julio was unemployed and spent his days leading his blind father around local religious festivals, singing or playing the *guitarrilla* for money. After the war Julio’s father decided he no longer wanted to pursue such activities and advised his son to get a job. Reluctantly, Julio decided that he would become a guard and enjoyed the perks of his employment, which included free passage on the capital’s tramways. His health eventually improved, though he never returned to his pre-war fitness. His commanding officers appreciated his obedience and humility, and Julio never complained or questioned their authority. Unlike so many, he had, after all, survived the war, and as long as he had an easy job and enough food to eat, the veteran was happy. This portrayal of a Francoist veteran also offers a different perspective to the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal. Like Leocadia’s son, Julio lives alone with a parent, and is employed in a low-skilled job. His lacklustre approach to employment and general lack of ambition clearly contravene the BCMGP’s image of the dutiful breadwinner, with the world at his feet. The ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title is not referred to in either passage, despite its omnipresence in military circles.

Juan Benet, a highly influential writer whose own father had been killed by anarchist militias during the Civil War, might have painted the war maimed in a more favourable light. However, in his 1987 memoir, Benet recounted a decidedly unflattering anecdote from the 1940s of a partially blinded war *mutilado* living in a Madrid boarding house.[[337]](#footnote-337) The veteran, a long-term resident, paid a discounted rate of rent, almost certainly due to his services to the Fatherland. Nonetheless, the landlady clearly believed that his sacrifices had been sufficiently repaid, and thus treated the veteran with unusual disdain. He was always the last to be served at mealtimes, and had to content himself with the final dregs of whatever stew was on the menu for that day. For his part, the *mutilado* gave as good as he got; if he had to wait too long to be served, he would tap loudly on his glass eye with a fork, much to the disgust of his fellow diners. This representation is reminiscent of what Robert Bogdan refers to as the ‘local character’ genre of representing disability; little is known about the veteran’s history or personal life, yet he is remembered for the spectacle he makes of himself within the boarding house.[[338]](#footnote-338) Like Cela’s war-wounded characters, Benet’s *mutilado* does not lead a typical family life. He is not a breadwinner, and coasts off the supposed glory of his wounds, much to the irritation of the people he shares a space with. Far from the humility of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, this *mutilado* possesses a sense of entitlement that makes him both a burden and a nuisance to those on whom he depends.

The few literary representations of Francoist veterans produced under the dictatorship were thus fleeting and generally unflattering. Even representations of *Caballeros Mutilados* written by supporters of the regime were unable to reproduce the image of the completely ‘normal’ citizen. This was because Francoism was unable to match rhetoric with the structural changes required for *mutilados*’ social integration. The general paucity of cultural depictions reflected the lack of credibility of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal in the minds of many Spaniards. Writers who did include more developed *Caballero Mutilado* characters tended to do so as a means through which to critique the regime. Authors with more ambivalent views on the dictatorship—such as Cela and Benet—showed little interest in developing narratives around such individuals. This can be attributed to Spain’s context of Civil War. The entirety of the Spanish population had suffered its own trials, and there were simply more pressingly tragic stories to tell than those of wounded Francoist soldiers. Viewed by many as both privileged ‘victors’ and uncomfortable reminders of the realities of physical impairment, Francoist *mutilados* failed to capture the imagination of cultural producers across the political spectrum.

In marked contrast, official representations of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ paint a relatively optimistic picture of war disability in Franco’s Spain. In the early days of the war and dictatorship, different factions presented conflicting images of the role of the *mutilado*, which ranged from the emasculated recipient of charity to the confident bread winner, barely aware of his wounds. By the end of the war, representations of the Francoist *mutilados* reflected the more normalising impact of the BCMGP and Millán Astray. Like José in *Porque te vi Llorar*,the archetypal *Caballero Mutilado* commanded respect, and was fully able to support a family through a working wage. His wounds, if visible at all, were of no consequence to his social role as a breadwinning, family ‘gentleman’, thus reducing the stigma of physical disablement.[[339]](#footnote-339) The leadership of Millán Astray, himself a man with mutilations, contributed to this ‘rebranding’ of the war disabled.

The rhetorical praising of mutilation could be seen as relatively modern; Francoist *mutilados* were portrayed as ordinary men, not defined by their impairments, despite being recognised for their wounds. Mutilated Gentlemen were represented as active members of civil society, particularly through their ability to work. They were also military men, who remained in active service and were allowed to wear their military uniforms. However, the idea of ‘rebranding’ the war disabled reflected the coexistence of both modernising and traditional ideas of masculinity and citizenship in Francoist Spain. ‘Rebranding’ the disabled did not imply a radically different administrative approach to managing those with physical impairments. Rather, by glossing over the disabling effects of impairment, the regime effectively denied the very existence of ‘disability’. In this sense, the figure of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ lacked credibility, which also helps to explain why Spanish writers did not reproduce the ideal in their works during or after the dictatorship.

The general paucity of cultural representations of the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ was thus, in part, a product of new stigmatising hierarchies emerging from the Civil War. As the work of Cela showed, despite their undeniable suffering, Francoist *mutilados* were not the ‘go-to’ reference for tragedy and victimhood, which was instead reserved for former Republicans and their descendants. By favouring Francoist *mutilados* while neglecting other disabled groups—particularly disabled veterans of the defeated Republican army—the regime interrupted traditional stigmatising hierarchies. Within such hierarchies, Francoist veterans were the military regime’s ‘favoured sons’ and did not experience the same degree of social emasculation and marginalisation as the Republican disabled, or wounded veterans outside Spain, of the First and Second World Wars. However, the waning years of the dictatorship saw a definitive shift in representations of the *mutilados*. Official representations of the Francoist war maimed in the 1930s and 1940s had cemented perceptions of them as symbols of the ‘victory’, which meant they became easy targets for those wishing to satirise the regime’s shortcomings in the 1970s. Such depictions betrayed the limited success of the regime’s ‘rebranding’ of disability; despite their association with the winning side, *Caballeros Mutilados* were clearly never fully accepted as ‘whole’ men.

# II: Experiences of physical disablement: breadwinners, families and the relativity of privilege

*‘We don’t get promotions, which is the greatest desire of all soldiers. We don’t get military-issued supplies. […] We don’t receive three or five-year bonuses. We don’t get family subsidies […] and we have not seen any economic improvement apart from one bonus of 140 pesetas […]’*

Corporal and ‘permanent’ *Caballero Mutilado*, A.A.F. to the head of the BCMGP, April 1954

Recent work on Francoist veterans has emphasised the importance of the war experience on ‘hegemonic’ notions of masculinity in Francoist Spain. Some have underscored the importance of ‘veteran’ status in securing positions of political power under the regime, while others have emphasised the importance of ‘ex-combatant’ identity to wider understandings of masculinity throughout the Francoist dictatorship.[[340]](#footnote-340) The overall picture that emerges from current scholarship is that Francoist veterans constituted a bulwark of support for the regime throughout its lifespan. However, scholars such as Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco and Ángel Alcalde rely on official, literary and press sources, which tended to reproduce the regime’s narratives or those of elite Francoist veterans, and their work does not acknowledge the masculine identities of those pertaining to the lower military ranks, or those who did not pursue long-term careers in the Spanish military, and who therefore never ascribed to this idea of ‘ex-combatant’ identity. A growing body of work conducted outside of Spain has already attempted to access the histories of lower-ranking soldiers, and the following two chapters build on this, questioning the idea that Francoist veterans constituted a conscious and coherent ‘generation’ of ex-combatants, as well as the relevance of military masculine models to many former soldiers. [[341]](#footnote-341)

This chapter seeks to disentangle lived experiences of war disability from the official and cultural representations analysed in chapter one. Understandings of ‘identity’ as ‘*substantive self-definition*, self-definition as *something*’, are relatively recent, and many scholars downplay understandings of identity as a stable, unified concept, pointing instead to the multifaceted nature of the self, with its intersecting relationship with questions of nation, class and gender.[[342]](#footnote-342) Furthermore, Joan Scott has warned against treating the concepts of ‘experience’ and ‘identity’ as incontestable categories, and the broad selection of ego-documents which underpin this chapter do not, and cannot, constitute an unmediated window onto the lives of the Francoist war disabled.[[343]](#footnote-343) Such sources do, however, temper official narratives by showcasing the agency of veterans in their interactions with the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, and thus offer the best indication of what day-to-day life was like for the disabled. In this sense, the terms ‘experience’ and ‘identity’ are not understood as absolute categories, but rather are used to underscore the heterogeneity of the lives of the maimed in Franco’s Spain, and to question the relevance of official rhetoric to ‘ordinary’ Spaniards. In its assessment of disabled Francoist veterans’ working and domestic lives, the following chapter argues that the importance of military models to masculine identity under Francoism has been overstated in current scholarship. A more intersectional approach to studying the lives of the disabled, which considers how physical impairment interacted with other identity markers such as class, highlights the importance of non-military models to masculine identity in Franco’s Spain.

An analysis of the lives of the Nationalist war disabled also tempers accounts of the victim/vanquished dichotomy, and extends our understanding of the more ambivalent ‘grey zones’ of Spanish society under Francoism.[[344]](#footnote-344) The experiences of Francoist *mutilados* cannot be understood in terms of marginalisation and protest, as seems to have been the case in other countries.[[345]](#footnote-345) This is because, unlike Republican veterans, who were excluded from war disability legislation altogether, Francoist *mutilados* were very much a part of the national community. Consequently, while Francoist veterans did petition the state with their personal grievances, they never protested collectively against the regime. Meanwhile, although they had fought in the winning army, Francoist *mutilados* did not necessarily adhere to or benefit from the dictatorship’s policies. The BCMGP’s 1938 legislation stated specifically that all *mutilados* should behave as if they were professional soldiers in active service, even if this was not the case.[[346]](#footnote-346) However, class played an important part in determining veterans’ fulfilment of such state expectations. As Corporal A.A.F.’s frustrated enumeration at the beginning of this chapter suggests, lower-ranking *mutilados* were often denied the more generous benefits granted to the officer classes.[[347]](#footnote-347) For lower-ranking soldiers, and those who returned to civilian employment, post-war hardships often meant that fulfilling immediate material needs became a priority. The difficulties of the post-war years provoked a ‘profound deterioration in the collective values of Spaniards’ and a certain ‘depoliticisation’ or ‘apathy’, which reduced incentives for *mutilados* to conform to the regime’s emphasis on humility and deference.[[348]](#footnote-348)

In this sense, the experiences of many ‘civilian’ Francoist *mutilados* reflected broader societal trends of fending for oneself and keeping out of politics. In contrast, *mutilados* who remained in the army—often serving with the BCMGP itself—were more likely to adhere to the behavioural norms expected of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’. Professional soldiers were also more likely to lead normal family lives, given that they benefitted from stable employment and, in many cases, were older and had been married prior to their Civil War service. The heterogeneity of Francoist *mutilados*’ experiences undermines the notion that all those who had served in the victorious army were ‘victors’. In fact, many Nationalist veterans formed part of the more ambivalent ‘grey zones’ of Francoist society.

## Public personas

Most *mutilados* who wrote memoirs did not address their daily experiences of disability. This was the case even for autobiographies published after Franco’s death, and suggests that many disabled veterans were keen, in public, to reproduce the regime’s ‘muting’ of impairment, and ignore or downplay the severity of their wounds.[[349]](#footnote-349) This perspective can be attributed to the over-representation of certain voices within the small number of memoirs written by Francoist *mutilados*.More specifically, the Spanish Foreign Legion’s strong tradition of commemoration and military associationism has led to a predominance of legionnaire perspectives amongst the surviving testimonies of *Caballeros Mutilados*.

A 2014 interview with ex-legionnaire and *Caballero Mutilado* Manuel Márquez Pavón exemplifies this self-muting of war disability.[[350]](#footnote-350) Although Márquez was asked about the origins of his wound and the immediate medical assistance he received, he did not offer the reader any insight into the long-term effects of his injury. Despite being a ‘permanent’ *mutilado*, it is not apparent from the interview that there were any long-term consequences at all, aside from listing medals of suffering and mutilation amongst his military honours. In the interview, one question in particular alluded to the tendency of some *Caballeros Mutilados* to eulogise the circumstances of wounding, rather than its effects. At one stage, the interviewer states: ‘I’m sure you remember the date of that injury’, to which Márquez replies, seemingly without hesitation: ‘6 September 1938.’[[351]](#footnote-351) This echoed the broader Francoist tendency to commemorate specific dates of political significance, such as 18 July and 20 November, the first of which often featured on BCMGP banners and other paraphernalia.[[352]](#footnote-352) The memorialisation of one’s own date of wounding was cemented by the BCMGP’s bureaucratic processes, which required veterans to reproduce their date of injury on virtually every form. The date of injury was also often inscribed on medals of suffering.[[353]](#footnote-353) In such accounts of war maiming, the idea of heroism came to the fore, while the effects of wounding were downplayed.

Disability is similarly muted in the 1991 memoir of José Mira Rizo, an ex-legionnaire and *Caballero Mutilado* wounded four times over the course of the war. In his account, most space is dedicated to recounting wartime adventures, while his post-war experience of disability is wholly absent from the text. This is perhaps surprising given the memoir’s publication many years after the Civil War, after the author had lived with the effects of injury over several decades. Even when Rizo does recount his injury, little attention is given to time spent recovering from his wounds:

I passed through hospitals and field hospitals. I was in Santiago de Compostela, well, it isn’t really worth recounting one by one those that I passed through. On my journey there were so many that it would fill a page and also, memory fails with the passing of the years, but there are details that are never forgotten.[[354]](#footnote-354)

The details Mira refers to are the names of his fallen brothers in arms. Echoing the self-sacrificing, modest, discursive framework explored in chapter one, Mira does detail the pain he suffers as a result of injury, but never in a way which undermines his perceived physical or moral strength:

I stayed in Zaragoza [hospital] for one month. It was my fourth injury in the name of my Fatherland. […] Mary’s best friends came to visit me too, and all because one of the shop assistants had a brother who had the misfortune of being wounded by the enemy right in front of me. I did no more or less than what was expected. He either left with me or both of us would fall. […] I began to throw them [hand grenades] and this formed an impenetrable barrier that allowed me to fetch him and take him to the first aid post in time. Afterwards, I carried on forwards as was my mission but he, upon being injured and seeing his family, told them so enthusiastically about my feat that he made me into an idol when I had been but a simple legionnaire. I imagine that he would have done the same for me.[[355]](#footnote-355)

Although Mira is suitably proud of his ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title, which he uses when signing his name in the dedication at the beginning of the memoir, throughout the text he identifies more fully as a ‘Gentleman Legionnaire’ (*Caballero Legionario*). Mira’s text testifies to the contradictory nature of his legionnaire and peacetime masculine identities explored in chapter one. Upon formalising his relationship with his (second) girlfriend, Maruja, in Zaragoza, Mira states: ‘I am a *caballero* (Gentleman)’. However, after a night spent romancing prostitutes with a comrade he explains that this is ‘cosa de legionarios’ (the way of legionnaires). This intermingling of the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ and ‘Gentleman Legionnaire’ models is unsurprising given the influence of legionnaire culture on the BCMGP; article 83 of the BCMGP regulations, for example, states specifically that *mutilados* should abide by the Creed of the Legion.[[356]](#footnote-356) This 12-point code of conduct was explicit in its emphasis on ‘The spirit of suffering and toughness’ of all Legionnaires:

The Legionary will not complain of fatigue, nor of pain, nor of hunger, nor of thirst, nor of lack of sleep; he will perform all jobs, will dig, will haul cannons, vehicles; he will man outposts, escort convoys; he will work on whatever he is ordered.[[357]](#footnote-357)

Given the Legion’s particular framing of pain, suffering and sacrifice in terms of service to the Fatherland, it is perhaps unsurprising that legionnaires such as Mira did not produce narratives of emasculation and physical hardship in their accounts of disability.

Testimonies like those of Mira and Márquez give the impression that in Francoist Spain there were no disabled veterans at all, just *Caballeros Mutilados*. Other memoirs did address the issue of disability more directly, even while reproducing the linguistic tropes of Francoism. In his 1939 account of the war, leg amputee Enrique López Sánchez took care to couch his experiences in characteristically ‘modest’ terms, recounting his desire to return to the front despite his injuries. Although his wishes were denied, López underscored his apparent humility when a superior officer decided to pay homage to him and a friend in a ceremony in front of the whole regiment:

We were astonished; my companion and I had never thought that such a simple, insignificant and logical gesture as ours,—it was the case of two sons who in becoming injured while defending their mother [Spain] remained concerned for her precious existence and wished to fly once again to defend her tooth and nail…—would be accorded such value and importance.[[358]](#footnote-358)

López Sánchez is somewhat of a caricature of the *Caballero Mutilado* ideal; the fact that the veteran published his account in the first place betrayed its performative nature. His apparent affinity with the stoicism and humility of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal reflects the date of publication. Published against a backdrop of post-war repression and triumphalist rhetoric, López’s writings were undoubtedly an attempt to underscore his loyalty to the nascent regime.

Local delegations of ex-combatants provided another way in which *mutilados* could perform the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, as such groups kept alive a ‘culture of war’, which celebrated the efforts and successes of the Francoist ‘Crusade’.[[359]](#footnote-359) In this context, physical scars of the war were praised, and it is thus unsurprising that *mutilados* continued to play a central role within ex-combatant groups. In such settings, *mutilados* were not the recipients of charity, but instead engaged in charitable ventures to support their less fortunate brothers-in-arms. In Lugo, the ‘permanent’ *mutilado* Bernardino Docampo Millor held the position of Local Delegate for Ex-combatants of Castro de Rey. This local group offered regular donations to veterans in need, particularly those with physical illnesses such as tuberculosis, or those experiencing short-term difficulties. In 1963, for example, the Provincial Confraternity of Former Combatants covered the 4704-peseta cost of installing electricity in the home of a veteran whose former house had burnt down.[[360]](#footnote-360) Physically disabled veterans, in contrast, did not form part of the pool of needy veterans who received charitable donations.[[361]](#footnote-361) Annual reports for the Lugo delegation between 1963 and 1975 only ever portrayed Mutilated Gentleman as prestigious individuals, either leading delegations or receiving honours.

In the Lugo delegation, *mutilados* were apparently assimilated within the main cohort of ex-combatants. However, a 1963 report included several photos of two *mutilados* receiving special honours at the fifth provincial assembly of ex-combatants, including the ‘absolute’ *mutilado* Eduardo Becerra Gómez being awarded the title of ‘Member of Honour’. According to the written report, Becerra’s injuries consisted of two amputated arms and the loss of one eye, but his wounds were muted in the portrait by his long-sleeved suit and the fact that he is photographed at an angle. Similarly, subsequent photos of Docampo receiving the Gold Medal of the Order of Cisneros mute his injuries to the extent that it is impossible to determine their nature from the images alone. The acceptance of *mutilados* as veterans like any other thus appears to have been only skin-deep. Though the Francoist regime went to great lengths to ‘rebrand’ war disability after the Civil War, less attention was paid to limiting the disabling effects of physical impairment. All ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ had free access to the military health system, which provided medical care and prosthetics to the disabled.[[362]](#footnote-362) However, aside from this, little was done to make society more accommodating to the wounded, which affected the ability of *mutilados* to fulfil the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal.

## Material and institutional support

BCMGP provisions for the Francoist war disabled were meagre, particularly for the lowest ranking soldiers. According to the 1938 legislation, a soldier received a pension of 6000 pesetas per year, which gradually increased to 12,000 pesetas over 12 years. This worked out at between 16 and 33 pesetas per day, compared to the 50.44 pesetas per day it cost to sustain a family of four per day in 1956.[[363]](#footnote-363) In addition, the percentage of mutilation required to access the pension-worthy ‘permanent’ and ‘absolute’ categories were unrealistically high. Even after soldiers injured through accidents were included in the legislation from 1940, they received lower pensions and the nominal difference of ‘Mutilado Accidental’ was maintained.[[364]](#footnote-364) The state soon realised that its provisions were inadequate, and the percentage boundaries were lowered in 1942.[[365]](#footnote-365) This law established two categories of ‘permanent’ *mutilados*: category ‘A’ referred to those with a percentage of between 90-100 per cent inclusive, while category ‘B’ referred to those between 65-89 per cent inclusive who, despite their ‘great spirit’, could not carry out the duties of their employment. This law remained in place until 1958, when it was updated ‘in accordance with the current economic situation’.[[366]](#footnote-366)

The 1958 legislation scrapped the A and B ‘permanent’ categories, and all those with percentage classifications of between 65-100 per cent were automatically labelled ‘permanent’. The lower boundary of the ‘useful’ category was raised to 15 per cent as opposed to 11 per cent, but those with a percentage disability of between 45-64 per cent were now able to receive a lifelong pension equivalent to 25 per cent of the value of their employment salary. In addition, if veterans were unable to carry out their duties, they would be eligible to apply for the ‘permanent’ category. After this, there were no changes to the law until 1976.[[367]](#footnote-367) These revisions underline how even the state was forced to admit the inadequacy of the initial 1938 legislation. Furthermore, despite the updates, pensions were not raised in line with inflation between 1938 and 1958, meaning that veterans’ original pensions depreciated over time. In theory, this should not have affected most *mutilados*, whose ‘useful’ classifications presumed their return to the workplace. However, as many veterans were unable to hold down work, and those who could were often employed in low skilled, low income jobs, ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ status did not guarantee material comfort, particularly as time went on.

This, however, depended entirely on an individual’s rank. Not only did officer *mutilados* have well-paying, secure jobs, their proximity to the military administration meant they were better able than demilitarised *mutilados* to stay informed of legislative updates that might benefit them. Indeed, the ignorance of many disabled veterans living in rural areas with regards to the BCMGP application process was acknowledged by some provincial delegations of ex-combatants, who made attempts to collect the required documentation for them.[[368]](#footnote-368) There were other perks associated with high rank. While *mutilados* from the lower ranks typically received the paltry amount of 12.5 pesetas per month attached to their medals of suffering, officers received a lump sum indemnity to the value of between 5-15 per cent of their annual salary, based on the severity of their wounds.[[369]](#footnote-369) Consequently, from the outset, officer *mutilados* had greater material incentives than lower-ranking, demilitarised *mutilados* to adhere to the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal.

Article 28 of the 1958 BCMGP legislation stated that specialist centres would be established to care for Mutilated Gentlemen who lacked family support structures.[[370]](#footnote-370) Despite this, few attempts were made to establish a physical home for destitute *mutilados*.[[371]](#footnote-371) Accommodation was provided within the BCMGP’s Madrid headquarters for veterans visiting the capital to sort out their paperwork, but this was limited to stays of up to one week.[[372]](#footnote-372) This end to the formal institutionalisation of veterans reflected the expectation that *mutilados* would work, and signalled a clear desire to distinguish ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ from the socially marginalised veterans of former conflicts, housed in the former ‘invalid barracks’ in Madrid’s Basilica of Our Lady of Atocha.[[373]](#footnote-373) The general absence of homes for the war disabled is particularly significant given the spread of institutions catering for other groups, such as orphans and the elderly, often run by religious congregations.[[374]](#footnote-374) In line with the ‘rebranding’ of the Francoist war maimed, institutional responses aimed at assisting *mutilados* were no longer based on perceptions of the disabled as victims to be cared for.

Institutional support for the war disabled thus took on a different, more cultural form under Francoism. Though it did not offer *mutilados* a physical home, the BCMGP as an institution became central to the lives of many veterans, particularly those from the higher-ranking, officer classes who were employed within its central and local offices. The grand building on Calle de Velazquez housing the BCMGP’s national headquarters in Madrid, functioned as a clubhouse for the Francoist war disabled. As well as providing temporary accommodation for visiting *mutilados*, the building was filled with paraphernalia specific to the activities of the BCMGP, including portraits and busts of Millán Astray and Cervantes, images of the Malagan mutilated Christ, as well as plaques and flags bearing the insignia of the Corps. Local delegations shared this aesthetic. In addition, the BCMGP’s administrative procedures created a group of men with a common experience of medical tribunals, tedious paperwork, and certain public privileges. In this sense, the BCMGP was more than just an administrative machine. Yet it was not a grassroots veterans’ movement either, and the *mutilados* who composed it did not share the autonomy of other veterans’ movements during this period.[[375]](#footnote-375) Nor did it constitute a veterans’ home according to the U.S. model.[[376]](#footnote-376) The BCMGP was a carefully-managed, hybrid institution; part administrative body, part employer of the war disabled, part cultural monument to wartime sacrifices, the Corps provided a focal point for perceptions of the war disabled. The smartly-dressed and stably-employed *mutilados* employed within the BCMGP commissions provided a stark contrast to the shabby residents of the institutions of the past.

The move away from traditional institutionalisation appears to have resonated with Mutilated Gentlemen, who showed little appetite for the establishment of specialist disabled veterans’ homes. Franco’s residential school for the blind set up in 1940 in Chamartín, Madrid, faced closure in 1953 after its population dwindled to just two occupants; most men had long since returned to their families.[[377]](#footnote-377) The mass, long-term separation of families which led to the establishment of invalid homes for exiled Republicans in France, did not manifest itself in Spain.[[378]](#footnote-378) The Francoist authorities assumed that families would support *mutilados* who could not adequately look after themselves, and in a society where a cult of the fallen was all pervasive, the pressure to care for severely disabled loved ones injured in the heroic act of duty must have been immense.[[379]](#footnote-379) The absence of an official space where large numbers of impoverished *Caballeros Mutilados* congregated also prevented the scandal that might have arisen from the poor upkeep of the heroes of the Crusade. Creating an institution in which veterans could congregate and expect charitable assistance only risked fostering a culture of dependence amongst the *mutilados*, which the regime wished to avoid.

However, like the Carlist initiatives discussed in chapter one, certain private initiatives reflected the persistence of more traditional attitudes towards the disabled as recipients of Christian charity. In the post-war years, employers, philanthropists and other institutions sought to interact with official rhetoric relating to the wartime sacrifices of *mutilados* as a means of bolstering their own patriotic credentials. The small number of institutions for the maimed which emerged in the early post-war reflect the desire of private individuals to showcase their adherence to Francoism, rather than rehabilitate veterans for the workplace. In 1938, for example, a group of ‘disinterested’ teachers established a ‘School-Academy of Mutilated Gentlemen in the War for the Fatherland’ in Segovia.[[380]](#footnote-380) Far from providing practical assistance in preparing ex-combatants for the workplace, teachers at the academy in Segovia were praised for providing ‘cultural, moral and religious’ education to its forty-five students.[[381]](#footnote-381) Though such initiatives were given the regime’s seal of approval, which sometimes consisted of a visit from Millán Astray himself, attempts to ‘educate’ illiterate sub officers reflected the paternalism of a particular social milieu of charity workers who saw it as their duty to ‘help’ the lower classes.[[382]](#footnote-382) Such initiatives certainly bolstered the patriotic credentials of certain individuals, but they also contradicted attempts made by the regime elsewhere to underscore the independence of the Mutilated Gentlemen, and encroached on the BCMGP’s paternalism, which, as we will see in chapter four, positioned the regime as the sole protector of the *mutilados*.

## Work, masculinity, and the ‘national community’

Work was essential to masculine identity in Franco’s Spain. Employment not only meant providing for one’s dependents but, in a country where the supremacy of the family was enshrined in law, it also meant contributing to the national community.[[383]](#footnote-383) ‘Work’ is not a neutral term. In Franco’s Spain, pronatalist policies which discouraged women from the workplace contributed to the association of employment with masculinity.[[384]](#footnote-384) Yet labour is also ‘typed’ beyond gender; different jobs pay differently, some are more prestigious than others, and different forms of employment are often associated with a particular social class or ethnicity.[[385]](#footnote-385) Though the fact of their employment was in itself a privilege in the post-war, a detailed study of the kinds of roles undertaken by *mutilados* adds nuance to our understanding of the privileged positioning of the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’. In some respects, the kinds of jobs offered to *mutilados* sat uneasily with the ideal of the *Caballero Mutilado* ideal outlined in chapter one.

Historians of disability across a range of different contexts and time periods have underlined the close relationship between ‘disability’ and an individual’s inability to work.[[386]](#footnote-386) According to the social model of disability, since the arrival of industrial capitalism and the advent of wage-work as the norm within Western society, the disabled—who may struggle to participate in the mainstream labour market—were inevitably marginalised, and, for the most part, conceptualised as dependents.[[387]](#footnote-387) Before the Civil War in Spain, the common perception of the disabled veteran conformed to this wider narrative. Stripped of his former physical strength, the disabled veteran was transferred to the army’s ‘Invalid Corps’, which usually signalled the end of his military career. At worst, disabled veterans without adequate family support turned to begging or charity to meet their basic needs. The invalidation of a veteran’s pre-injury status within society was crucial to this process of marginalisation.

After the Civil War, unprecedented attempts were made to turn the close association of disability with non-work on its head, at least for those who had served in the Francoist army. Indeed, in his work on arm amputees, Dr Mario Oliveras Devesa—a rehabilitation specialist at the military hospital in San Sebastian—framed rehabilitation almost exclusively in terms of preparing veterans for work.[[388]](#footnote-388) Little space was dedicated to underscoring the more mundane activities that rehabilitation would facilitate, or to personal care, though this was implied in some publications which pictured veterans drinking from a glass or removing their military caps unaided.[[389]](#footnote-389) The Francoist regime’s policy towards its mutilated heroes was couched in a discourse of ‘usefulness’, which promoted the idea that most disabled men should still be capable of supporting their families through paid employment. However, as has been the case in other contexts, the desire for disabled veterans to return to work was not matched by a willingness to compensate for the loss of status and earning potential stemming from war injury.[[390]](#footnote-390) Many *mutilados* in Francoist Spain, for example, became doormen or security guards.[[391]](#footnote-391) Such jobs provided economic stability, but hardly reflected the prestige of the war hero or offered many opportunities for career progression. Over time, the static nature of such employment also meant a decline in the relative privilege of *mutilados*, particularly during and after the economic boom of the 1960s.[[392]](#footnote-392)

Nonetheless, the importance of work in the years immediately following the Spanish Civil War must not be understated. Within the broader context of mass unemployment, and severe economic hardship experienced by a large section of the population, the ability of Francoist *mutilados* to find work constituted a very real privilege. Between 1939 and 1945 it is estimated that around 200,000 Spaniards died of starvation or related diseases, while real incomes between 1935 and 1945 dropped by 66 per cent.[[393]](#footnote-393) Under such conditions, even those with jobs struggled to provide enough food for themselves and their families.[[394]](#footnote-394) The Francoist regime’s emphasis on the ‘usefulness’ of the disabled tapped into pre-existing attitudes, or rather aversions, to charity. Antonio Cazorla Sánchez has highlighted how the social stigma associated with unemployment and the receipt of charity meant that families preferred to deal with instances of orphanhood or financial crisis within the domestic sphere, rather than leave relatives to accept intervention from charitable initiatives.[[395]](#footnote-395) While many impoverished relatives of former Republicans were often forced to face the humiliation of queuing up outside the Auxilio Social (Social Relief) food kitchens in order to meet their daily nutritional needs, the Francoist war disabled—though not necessarily well-off—were never the intended recipients of Auxilio Social hand-outs.[[396]](#footnote-396)

The discourse of ‘usefulness’ appealed to many veterans. As Heli Leppälä has pointed out in her work on Finnish post-war disability policies, work is not only a source of income, but also as a key component of a self-gratifying and ‘meaningful’ life.[[397]](#footnote-397) Francoist health professionals viewed work as a means through which men could preserve their mental wellbeing. Employment would enable Francoist veterans to support their families financially, thus leading to a stable home life.[[398]](#footnote-398) Work also brought with it a sense of belonging to a wider community, particularly in the case of large corporations such as RENFE, but also in a broader sense, through the regime’s emphasis on the idea of the ‘national community’.[[399]](#footnote-399) Employed *mutilados* avoided the stigma of dependence, and claimed a space for themselves within Francoist society, which helped them to remain connected to their fellow citizens. The fact that *mutilados* were often employed within state institutions cemented their inclusion within the regime’s national hierarchy. The idea of the ‘national community’ played an important part in the reconstruction of Spanish society after the war, in which citizens were invited to reflect on their contributions and sacrifices in the ‘Crusade’.[[400]](#footnote-400) Within this community, service to the nation did not end with the ceasing of hostilities, and veterans of the Francoist army were expected to continue serving the Fatherland through work. Thus, the motto of the National Delegation for Ex-combatants (DNE) was ‘In war, your blood; in peace, your work’.[[401]](#footnote-401) Employers also spoke of work with reference to service to the broader community; in 1938, the National Telephone Company offered to take on wounded soldiers so that individuals who could no longer fight could still benefit the ‘fatherland’ through other activities.[[402]](#footnote-402) More strikingly, a national newspaper whose sole purpose was to advertise vacancies to veterans, *mutilados* and war widows, was given the title *La Patria*, which both reflected and perpetuated the association of employment with service to the fatherland.[[403]](#footnote-403) In this sense, veterans of the defeated Republican army were marginalised from the ‘national community’ in two ways, first through their service to the enemy cause during the war, and second through their unemployment after the conflict. The regime’s emphasis on reintegrating Francoist veterans into the workplace thus entrenched structural inequalities between those who had fought on either side.[[404]](#footnote-404)

The stigma of unemployment can, in part, be explained by the traditional association of non-work with immorality.[[405]](#footnote-405) This association was frequently made by the Francoist regime’s medical experts, who characterised non-work as a ‘parasitic’ drain on the national economy, and discussed the best strategies for preventing vagrancy amongst Francoist veterans.[[406]](#footnote-406) Inspired by the international rise of fascist eugenicist discourse in medical research, head of psychiatric services for the rebel army, Antonio Vallejo Nájera, even pathologised unemployment amongst the Francoist war disabled, which he discussed in terms of ‘hysteria’, ‘fraud’ and ‘professional invalidity’.[[407]](#footnote-407) Vallejo emphasised the economic dangers to the ‘collectivity’ posed by individuals attempting to live off disability benefits rather than work, and believed that ‘useful’ *mutilados* were particularly prone to this, arguing that their ‘biological inferiority’ and ineligibility for pensions left them vulnerable to hysteria and income neurosis.[[408]](#footnote-408) In order to prevent such illnesses, Vallejo advocated the professional rehabilitation of veterans, who if possible should return to their former professions.

Similarly, Benito Nogales Puertas, a doctor from the military health corps who in 1939 wrote a monograph on the professional rehabilitation of the *mutilados*, warned of ‘voluntary exaggeration’, whereby veterans might try to overstate their physical impotency to increase their chances of being awarded a pension.[[409]](#footnote-409) Nogales also emphasised his belief in the ‘biological necessity of work’.[[410]](#footnote-410) Men without work, he contended, stood apart from the rest of society and were unable to fulfil the terms of active citizenship.[[411]](#footnote-411) Consequently, he argued, Francoist *mutilados* should always seek to fulfil their duties to the family and state, rather than remaining idle.[[412]](#footnote-412) For Nogales, rehabilitation institutions fought against ‘vagrancy’, and ensured *mutilados* remained ‘useful to the nation’.[[413]](#footnote-413) Legislative changes further cemented the association of work with male citizenship.[[414]](#footnote-414) The 1938 Labour Charter (*Fuero de Trabajo*), for example, ‘freed’ married women from employment, particularly in state and para-state companies, and defined work as a ‘duty placed on man by God’.[[415]](#footnote-415) Non-work for men was therefore stigmatised in Francoist Spain, and ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ were under pressure to return to the workplace, despite the severity of their injuries.

However, as we have seen, the post-war division of Spanish society into ‘victors’ and ‘vanquished’ complicated traditional stigmatising hierarchies.[[416]](#footnote-416) Stigma is relative, and, in Francoist Spain, the negative connotations of non-work were not equal to the spoiling effects on identity of being associated with republicanism.[[417]](#footnote-417) Consequently, Francoist *mutilados* did not experience the same degree of stigma as their Republican counterparts. In the press, the privilege of ‘Spanish’ veterans—which excluded those who had fought in defence of the Republic—was contrasted to the sorry fate of veterans abroad. In 1954, the *ABC* newspaperpublished extracts of Theodor Plievier’s novel *Moscow*, which emphasised Communism’s neglectful attitude towards its wounded heroes.[[418]](#footnote-418) In the absence of adequate pension provisions and rehabilitation schemes, Russian ex-combatants—even those of advanced military rank—were reduced to street begging in order to survive. Within Spain, unemployed Republican veterans provided a similar reminder of the relative privilege of the *Caballeros Mutilados*, particularly those former Republicans who passed the time in public squares, such as Madrid’s *Puerta del Sol*. Such scenes reinforced the perception of Republican veterans as non-Spaniards, existing outside of the ‘national community’.

An article published in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* in 1973 described how Republican disabled veterans were forced to endure the daily humiliation of begging in the cafés of the capital, or competing for custom as shoe cleaners or toilet attendants.[[419]](#footnote-419) The leaders of the Republican League of War Invalids and Mutilados (*Liga de Mutilados e Inválidos de la Guerra de España*) criticised the scenes depicted in the German weekly, arguing that such cases were ‘exceptional’, adding that if any veteran had been forced to debase himself, history would judge those responsible for his degradation.[[420]](#footnote-420) This backlash from the Liga—which might otherwise have welcomed publicity of the injustices faced by Republican *mutilados*—serves to highlight the importance of employment to a man’s identity. This outrage at being associated with street beggars underlined the humiliation and shame experienced by those unable to support themselves and their families through paid employment. Having a job implied contributing to the ‘greatness’ of Spain, while non-work on the part of Republican *mutilados* consolidated Civil War cleavages. It is no coincidence that Antonio Tellado and Antonio Sanchez-Bravo—both Republican *mutilados*—singled out work in their 1976 book as vital to reintegrating the vanquished.[[421]](#footnote-421) Indeed, during the Civil War, the Republican newspaper for the war disabled, *Mutilado*, had emphasised the potential to continue serving the loyalist cause despite serious injury, arguing that through work a man ‘feels free’.[[422]](#footnote-422) After the end of the Civil War, many Republican *mutilados* in exile in Mexico opted to cash in the small subsidies they received from the Aid Committee for Spanish Republicans (JARE), preferring to invest the lump sum in business ventures rather than subsisting off state handouts.[[423]](#footnote-423) The importance of work to masculine identity was, therefore, common to both sides, and was, in any case, by no means unique to Spain.[[424]](#footnote-424)

Work was thus key to the regime’s efforts to institutionalise more structural forms of violence against Republican survivors of the Civil War.[[425]](#footnote-425) The fact that Republican *mutilados* in Spain were often forced to beg for a living appeared to support the eugenicist theories of Vallejo Nájera, who depicted supporters of the former Republic as ‘degenerates’ and ‘social parasites’ to be eradicated.[[426]](#footnote-426) Such depictions of Republicans as parasites entrenched the victor/vanquished dichotomy, particularly in the post-war years when begging was a highly visible public health issue. The ‘street’, which under the Republic had been a symbol of popular empowerment, now became the site of ‘renationalisation’ and ‘re-Christianisation’.[[427]](#footnote-427) Within such spaces, begging veterans became symbolic of Republican parasitism. In Madrid’s ‘Beggar’s Park’ (*Parque de Mendigos*), for example, destitute survivors of the war lived in abysmal conditions, and representatives of the Francoist state feared the potentially corrupting effects of the park residents’ ‘immorality’ on the rest of society.[[428]](#footnote-428) Homelessness, filth and the allegedly godless behaviour of those who eked out an existence on the margins of society helped to legitimise the regime’s stated aim of bringing peace and order to Spain. Francoist veterans were not to be associated with such scenes, hence the regime’s rehabilitation specialists’ explicit warnings against the effects of unemployment on *mutilados*. The economic hardship of the post-war years declined over the decades, particularly after the rapid economic growth of the 1960s, as did—after 1943—wholesale, repressive violence committed against former supporters of the Republic.[[429]](#footnote-429) However, the bureaucratic exclusion of those who had fought in the loyalist army continued until even after the death of Franco.[[430]](#footnote-430) Even after the Republican war disabled were finally recognised in 1980, they were never fully compensated for years of exclusion and missed career opportunities. The erection of barriers to work thus played an important part in the process of ‘othering’ former Republicans.

Over time, the simultaneous privileging of Francoist veterans and discrimination against Republicans led to greater inequality between the two groups, reflected most strikingly in the caricatured representations of disabled Republicans published in the satirical magazine *Hermano Lobo*. The dirty, impoverished vision of Republican *mutilados* depicted in the 1970s cartoons of Cortázar, highlighted the long-term effects of decades of discrimination, and the pervasive association of Francoist veterans with work, and Republicans with non-work. Well beyond the repressive violence of the 1940s, work reinforced citizenship hierarchies. In this sense, labour policies which favoured Francoist veterans of the Civil War effectively condemned survivors of the Republican war effort to a life of economic hardship. Work discrimination against Republicans thus forged a new hierarchy of stigma associated with disability, in which Francoist *mutilados* occupied a position of relative privilege.

### *Men’s work?*

The 1938 BCMGP law which reserved 20 per cent of vacant posts for Francoist *mutilados* prompted a flurry of job adverts in the press directly aimed at the war disabled.[[431]](#footnote-431) These advertisements offered *mutilados* a vast range of roles, usually integrated within the mainstream labour market, which meant that the jobs advertised to the Francoist war disabled were not confined to vocational activities accommodating the disabled body, as was common in other countries.[[432]](#footnote-432) Vacancies were advertised in both the public and private sectors, and ranged from administrative posts within local government to jobs in petrol stations or storehouses for the National Service of Wheat.[[433]](#footnote-433) Some adverts appeared as one-offs, while others, such as those for technical assistants within the National Network of Spanish Railways, were re-published periodically.[[434]](#footnote-434) Some vacancies also emerged within the Falangist welfare organisation, Auxilio Social, which reflected Francoist veterans’ positioning as the givers rather than the recipients of state handouts.[[435]](#footnote-435)

In the repressive context of post-war Spain, such opportunities were not extended to the Republican disabled. The relative privilege of Francoist *mutilados* must not, however, be mistaken for absolute privilege. Many attempts by employers to demonstrate their patriotismby hiring disabled veterans reflected tensions between the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ masculine ideal and older charitable models. A watchmaking school, set up in Madrid in 1939, constituted a relatively long-term example of this.[[436]](#footnote-436) The school, run by the company J.G. Girod, offered one hundred *mutilados* a wage of ten pesetas per day to learn the watchmaking trade, and it was envisaged that many more *mutilados* would benefit over the years.[[437]](#footnote-437) If successful in their training, veterans might ultimately be employed by J.G. Girod or encouraged to set up trade independently. Yet, like the academy in Segovia discussed above, the school also reflected tensions between old and new conceptualisations of the war disabled. While emphasising the importance of learning a trade, the institution adopted a paternalistic ethos, which in many ways infantilised its pupils. For example, veterans within the school were usually addressed by their title ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’, but they were also referred to as *muchachos* or ‘lads’. Watchmaking students were portrayed as uneducated youths who needed to be guided towards a profession suited to their capabilities. A 1939 feature in *La Vanguardia* explained that the majority of the school’s pupils were farm labourers, with only one student having previously worked as a teacher.[[438]](#footnote-438) Consequently, it was explained that alongside watchmaking training, veterans were offered more general classes aimed at improving their general education. In this sense, the intended beneficiaries of the school were depicted as young and uneducated men who would otherwise struggle to find paid employment elsewhere.

The watchmaking school also mirrored the institutionalisation of disabled veterans prior to the Civil War. The school’s founders clearly envisaged that *mutilados* would spend most of their time there; the building contained a shower room, and there were plans to build a canteen so that veterans could dine cheaply without having to return home at lunchtime. In addition, the workshop’s layout mirrored that of the regime’s children’s homes and prison facilities.[[439]](#footnote-439) Within the workshop, veterans worked beneath a crucifix and coat of arms bearing the inscription ‘Franco! Franco! Franco! Arriba España!’, and the obligatory portraits of Franco and José Antonio also adorned the walls. A 1950 newspaper feature portrayed the work of *mutilados* as a continuation of their wartime service.[[440]](#footnote-440) The photos accompanying the article pictured the *mutilados* hard at work, conveying a sense of discipline, tranquillity, and symmetry between wartime and peacetime service to the nation. In this sense, *mutilados* within the school were not portrayed as ordinary, family men, but rather as institutionalised producers contributing to the greatness of the *Patria*.

The efforts of the J.G. Girod school to rehabilitate disabled veterans were in many ways exceptional. The extent to which most companies complied with the 1938 law on the war disabled can be intimated from public notices demanding information from companies on how many *mutilados* they currently employed.[[441]](#footnote-441) Businesses failing to comply with such legislation were threatened with fines, although the laws were not rigorously enforced.[[442]](#footnote-442) In addition, the decline in the frequency of job adverts for *mutilados* after the 1940s suggests that efforts to incorporate the disabled into the workplace stemmed from employers’ desire to ingratiate themselves with the nascent regime, rather than a genuine belief in *mutilados* as effective workers. Indeed, companies often placed restrictions on the kinds of disabilities they were willing to accommodate; a 1938 offer of employment to *mutilados* from the National Telephone Company specified that disabled men wishing to take up posts in the company would need the use of both their hands to operate the equipment’s various cables. Similarly, a 1938 advert for posts in the Investigation and Surveillance Corps (*Cuerpo de Investigación y Vigilancia*) specified that the positions were not open to leg amputees or those without their right arm.[[443]](#footnote-443)

In this sense, though companies were nominally willing to welcome disabled veterans, often little effort was made to adapt the workplace to them. Disability was undoubtedly considered to be a medical problem rather than a social one, and it was left to the *mutilados* themselves to adapt to the workplace as best they could. Though on paper Francoist *mutilados* were given privileged access to jobs within the new state, the inability of many to cope with the demands of the mainstream labour market effectively barred many ‘useful’ veterans from participating in the national community through employment. Eventually, the reality of this situation led to a number of reforms to the initial BCMGP legislation, which granted ‘permanent’ *mutilado* status to those ‘useful’ veterans who were in reality unable to meet the demands of their jobs.[[444]](#footnote-444) The state’s increasing willingness to acknowledge the limitations of its initial legislation reflected the difficulty in translating the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal into employment practice.

The jobs advertised to Francoist *mutilados* often betrayed perceptions of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ as un-whole men. Though a disproportionate number of Francoist ex-combatantswere able to secure jobs within the state administration, with some even becoming prominent local politicians, not all disabled veterans could occupy such prominent positions.[[445]](#footnote-445) Ambitious plans to rehabilitate the disabled often failed to materialise. Millán Astray, for example, announced that *mutilados* would be re-trained as watch-makers, photographers, and workers within the textile and dye manufacturing industries, but in the event, and despite initiatives such as the J.G. Girod watchmaking school, the rehabilitation of *mutilados* for specific professions was not widespread.[[446]](#footnote-446) Some adverts even offered *mutilados* posts within traditionally ‘feminine’ occupations. In 1939, for example, the Madrid mayor’s office advertised free typing classes to *mutilados* throughout the month of August.[[447]](#footnote-447) Given the relative simplicity of the hand motions required to operate a typewriter, typing constituted accessible employment for *mutilados*. Yet roles within administrative typing pools lacked substantial responsibility and implied subservience.

Similarly, in 1939, the director of the psychiatric institution in Toledo, Gonzálo Pulido García, expressed an urgent need to recruit war *mutilados* or religious personnel as servants (*sirvientes*) within the institution.[[448]](#footnote-448) During the war, *mutilados* had occasionally been employed in asylums as a result of conscription-related labour shortages.[[449]](#footnote-449) A subservient role within a psychiatric asylum was not the most immediately obvious career move for a hero of the Francoist army, and Pulido’s request for either *mutilados* or religious staff hinted at the perceived altered masculinities of such men. The expectation of celibacy for religious personnel separated male clergy from mainstream understandings of masculine identity.[[450]](#footnote-450) By linking *mutilados* with male religious, Pulido betrayed his underlying perception as the war disabled as a category apart from non-disabled men. In this sense, the recruitment of *mutilados* alongside religious personnel hinted at the subordinate positioning of the maimed within broader masculine hierarchies.

The director’s request for maimed workers underlined his patriotic desire to provide employment for the heroes of the ‘Crusade’ at a time when the employment of *mutilados* was a prominent feature of Francoist discourse. Yet his urgency points to an underlying assumption that *mutilados* would be grateful for offers of employment, and thus easy to recruit. Employment within an asylum was not easy or desirable work, and varied greatly from the relatively comfortable bureaucratic posts held by other *mutilados* within the state administration. In addition, potential candidates were required to demonstrate the degree of strength, sight and hearing necessary to deal with asylum patients, which betrayed the fact that *mutilados* would be employed only if they retained the strength and capabilities of ‘ordinary’ men. Aside from highlighting the limitations of employers’ willingness and/or ability to adapt the workplace for all *mutilados*, the fact that Pulido had clearly failed to recruit non-*mutilados* hinted at the undesirability of asylum work. Although, as *sirvientes*,Mutilated Gentlemen would have occupied a position of power in relation to patients, the traditional gender-positioning of workers in psychiatric institutions as *mozos* or ‘boys’ was undeniably emasculating.[[451]](#footnote-451)

Similarly, one 1960 classified job advert sought a *mutilado* or retiree to work as a night-time security guard for a factory.[[452]](#footnote-452) The interchangeability of disability and old age in this example again highlighted perceived distinctions between ‘ordinary’ working masculinities and those which deviated from this norm. In this sense, though many veterans were able to find employment post-injury, the type of labour undertaken did not necessarily preserve the occupational status they had previously enjoyed. Rather, as elsewhere, reintegration into the Spanish workplace often entailed accepting unskilled posts as guards, doormen, cinema ushers or car park attendants.[[453]](#footnote-453) For veterans who lacked formal education, such posts offered invaluable stable income, particularly in the post-war year when unemployment rates were high. For those from more educated backgrounds, however, such positions offered limited opportunities for job satisfaction and career progression over time. Furthermore, *mutilados* employed in such static positions benefitted little from the economic growth of subsequent years.[[454]](#footnote-454)

### *Mutilated Gentlemen in employment*

The BCMGP’s emphasis on ‘usefulness’ formalised pre-existing concepts of the male breadwinner in a way that recognised, and thereby encouraged, individuals who strove to meet this ideal. For *mutilados* with minor injuries who could go back to their pre-injury posts, performing the breadwinning ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ role was relatively straight-forward, and their male, breadwinning identities were largely unchanged by their injuries. In addition, legislation which favoured Francoist *mutilados* meant that some of these found their way into the corridors of power; in the local elections of 1951, 60 out of the 9005 mayors appointed were ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’.[[455]](#footnote-455)Similarly, military archives provide numerous examples of wounded soldiers who did conform to the regime’s rebranding of war disability.

In May 1937, for example, the Francoist authorities in Salamanca described how two wounded volunteers, [redacted] of the 28th Victory Infantry Regiment, wished to be sent back to the front.[[456]](#footnote-456) Both had been declared ‘inútil’ (useless) following injuries sustained at the mountainous Alto del León, a battle which became iconic within Civil War commemorations under the regime.[[457]](#footnote-457) [redacted] Millán Astray praised the soldiers’ ‘noble spirit of sacrifice’ as well as their ‘repeated dedication to serving the Fatherland’, indicating that the wishes of the soldiers should be granted, and that they should be put to good use in posts that were best adapted to their reduced functional capacity. The fact that [redacted] did not return to their frontline roles was almost inconsequential; what mattered here was their unwillingness to let their wounds deter them from fulfilling their duty to the Fatherland. Leg amputee Enrique López Sánchez recounted a similar anecdote in his 1939 memoir, in which, despite his best efforts, he was forbidden from returning to the front on account of his injuries.[[458]](#footnote-458) Like [redacted], López’s unbreakable spirit in the face of adversity was commemorated, this time with a ceremony organised by his regiment.

It is clear that post-war discourses of ‘usefulness’ often appealed to *mutilados*. The ‘useful’ label underscored the capability of the disabled body to work, and the expectation that most *mutilados* would do so. This expectation was shared by many disabled veterans who did indeed attempt to return to the workplace once the Civil War had ended. In her work on domesticity in the early years of the Francoist regime, Pilar Folguera has emphasised the central role of women within the home.[[459]](#footnote-459) Although women were undoubtedly cast in a supporting roles to their husbands, they were considered to be the ‘soul’ of the home, and domesticity was invariably linked with femininity.[[460]](#footnote-460) Though this state of affairs was contested by the Second Republic’s more liberal attitude towards cohabitation, the association of domesticity with femininity ran deep, even within working class families where paid female labour was less unusual.[[461]](#footnote-461) By extension, men of working age who stayed at home subverted this traditional gendering of domestic space, which could potentially lead to tensions within the home, but also within the minds of the *mutilados* themselves.

Individuals with a certain degree of education were particularly reluctant to allow their physical mutilations to impede future promotion. This was true for many professional soldiers, who resented the fact that sacrifice in war barred their way to promotion. In 1946, the mayor of Melilla, Rafael Alvarez Claro proposed a new law compensating *mutilados* with wounds not deemed severe enough to receive a pension, but which nonetheless impeded them from graduating from the military academies.[[462]](#footnote-462) Alvarez lamented the fact that individuals with brilliant service records who fell below the 26 per cent benchmark would be left without any kind of career prospects, to get by without a pension.

In fact, *mutilados* pertaining to the officer classes tended to have long and profitable careers within the Francoist military. Their status not only afforded them the superior benefits granted to them by law—notably more generous pensions than for ordinary soldiers—but also meant they were in a position to benefit fully from the idiosyncrasies of Francoist war disability legislation, as well as the regime’s patronage structures. The regime’s emphasis on allocating a certain percentage of vacant posts to ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’, meant that many *mutilados* were employed within the administrative structure of the BCMGP itself. Contributing to the heavy yet weak nature of the Francoist bureaucracy, *Mutilados* employed within the BCMGP not only enjoyed stable employment, but also remained up to date with legislative developments that might benefit them.[[463]](#footnote-463) In particular, many officer *mutilados* were able to benefit greatly from the 1942 legislation, which allowed them to access the more lucrative ‘permanent B’ classification if their wounds impeded them from advancing in their military careers.[[464]](#footnote-464) This implied a contradiction in the original purpose of the 1938 BCMGP legislation, which aimed to support those who could not work with a pension. Officers granted ‘permanent’ status under this legislation were not required to leave their jobs, and so many had the best of both worlds, enjoying all the social benefits of employment while receiving a generous pension. As ‘active’ employees within the military hierarchy, officer *mutilados* were also eligible for promotions for seniority (*por antigüedad*), which differentiated them from *mutilados* of lower ranks working in civilian professions, whose opportunities for career progression and salary increases were limited.

[redacted]

In these cases, an awareness of the benefits of rejection from the military academies certainly created material incentives for *mutilados* to at least appear to strive for career advancement. The formulaic nature of such statements does not necessarily negate their truthfulness—at least not in every case—and war injury undoubtedly frustrated the ambitions of many officers. Given its ideological foundations, the Francoist army was precisely the environment where mutilated war heroes were likely to be treated sympathetically [redacted]. Consequently, there is no doubt that war disability for officers constituted less of a barrier to a stable career than it did for low-ranking *mutilados* in civilian professions. However, a stable career is not the same as a distinguished one. Promotions for reasons of seniority were less prestigious than battlefield promotions or those based on merit. *Mutilados* who might otherwise have gone on to occupy positions of great responsibility thus certainly led less illustrious careers as bureaucrats within the BCMGP administration.

Even the armed forces sometimes failed to live up to the standards imposed by the BCMGP legislation. Some *mutilados* complained that they were passed over for promotion by non-wounded individuals, particularly in posts outside of the BCMGP administration. [redacted]. As individuals of rank, with stable careers and comfortable incomes, officer *mutilados* did conform to the regime’s breadwinning ideals. In addition, as members of the military hierarchy, such men embodied the regime’s understanding of deferential citizenship. However, the fact that many *mutilados* ended up in positions linked to the BCMGP indicates that they were in many ways defined by their wounds. Able-bodied Francoist veterans were ‘neutral’ in society, and free to pursue a wide-range of career choices based on their personal preferences, rather than their corporealities.[[465]](#footnote-465) In contrast, that *mutilados* were often defined by their maimed bodies is evident from their frequent employment within the BCMGP, which betrayed the altered gender identities of the war disabled. These no longer belonged to the mainstream of Francoist masculinity; instead, their life trajectories, though comfortable, were shaped by their experience of wounding and impairment.

Many *mutilados* left the military after the war, and the employment histories of thosewho did are harder to trace than those who remained within the armed forces, which kept detailed annual records of service personnel. Due to the significant variation in size and completeness of the BCMGP personnel files, it is also difficult to draw reliable conclusions on the proportion of demilitarised *mutilados* who were able to find work, and remain in their posts over the long term. The patchy records of the BCMGP suggest that non-militarised *mutilados* were employed in a variety of roles, which included posts inside and outside the BCMGP. [redacted]

It is thus clear that many ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ did manage to find civilian occupations after the war. The broad nature of the ‘useful’ category of *mutilado* meant that many of those with relatively minor injuries simply returned to their pre-war jobs or found new ones, aided by their newly-found privileged access to posts within the state administration. Abrahán Gutiérrez, a *mutilado* of the Legion who sustained injuries to his leg and abdomen on the Madrid and Catalan fronts during the war, is a prime example of a ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ who bore no visible traces of his wartime service.[[466]](#footnote-466) Despite being offered the opportunity to remain in the military—which would have enabled him, over the course of his lifetime, to attain the rank of lieutenant-general—the former legionnaire chose to leave the armed forces.[[467]](#footnote-467) Abrahán’s son, Tomás, described his father as ‘*mutilado*, in inverted commas’, who, despite his official title, made a full recovery from his wounds and led a normal working life.

After the war, Abrahán returned to Madrid, where he initially worked in a metro ticket office. After meeting his wife, he supported her and their four children with wages from two different jobs. In the morning, Abrahán worked as a personnel manager (*Portero Mayor*) at the Supreme Court (*Tribunal Supremo*), and would skip lunch to begin work as a milkman in the afternoons. This second job, which involved carrying bottles of milk up flights of stairs to different apartments in the neighbourhood, was physically draining, and would have been challenging for *mutilados* with more severe injuries. Abrahán worked at the Supreme Court for 40 years, and his multiple jobs enabled him to support his children’s education. The latter were largely oblivious to Abrahán’s personal history in the Civil War, until, in old age, he began to open up about his experiences. Yet the former Legionnaire’s decision to take on extra work belied the difficulties for many working and middle class families of supporting a large family on a single wage packet. It is difficult to imagine how ‘useful’ veterans with more serious injuries went about sustaining themselves and their dependents. Indeed, many of them could not or would not.

### *Problematic workers*

In his 1971 history of military disability in Spain, *mutilado* Agustín García Lafora, lauded the BCMGP’s emphasis on returning veterans to work, which, he argued, meant Spain had spent a relatively modest sum on resolving the *mutilado* problem compared to post-First World War Britain and France.[[468]](#footnote-468) However, the relative cost-effectiveness of Francoist war disability policy came at the expense of investment in infrastructures to make Spanish society more accessible to the physically impaired. The military archives offer an insight into the heterogeneity of veterans’ engagement with the breadwinning masculine ideal. The regime’s rhetorical emphasis on ‘usefulness’ did not necessarily resonate with veterans; not all ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ wanted to earn a living through hard work, and those who did were not always able to do so. While work was regarded by some as a way of maintaining a sense of normality, for others it was merely a means to an end.[[469]](#footnote-469) As such, many did not internalise the work ethic and sense of self-sacrifice characteristic of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal. Here, again, the distinction between *mutilados* in the army, and those who chose to pursue civilian professions after the war was crucial. Tomás Gutiérrez described his father as ‘*mutilado*, but civilian’, in the sense that he had little to do with the armed forces after his Civil War service.[[470]](#footnote-470) This military/civilian dichotomy helps to understanding the myriad, often contradictory, ways in which *mutilados* engaged with the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal.

Rather than channelling their efforts into work, many potential ‘useful’ *mutilados* who did not stand to receive pensions attempted to play the system to their advantage. A popular tactic involved delaying the completion of BCMGP applications in order to continue receiving interim payments. In 1942 an order was circulated guaranteeing certain benefits to Blue Division veterans between their discharge from hospital and their entry in the BCMGP.[[471]](#footnote-471) *Caballeros Mutilados* with minor injuries who knew they were unlikely to be granted BCMGP pensions took advantage of this situation by intentionally delaying the submission of supporting documents. In response, the authorities decreed that if requests for documentation went unanswered for more than 30 days, their application would be halted and interim payments stopped. [redacted] Clearly, *mutilados* who knew they would be classed as ‘useful’ realised that their interim benefits would provide greater material comfort than trying their luck on the job market. In this sense, many were either unconvinced or unable to live up to the ideal of the hardworking, ‘useful’ Mutilated Gentlemen, and therefore looked to use the system to their greatest advantage.

Others did try to return to their pre-injury jobs, and it is clear that many veterans genuinely preferred this option to relying on a pension. However, for those with severe injuries, the ideal of the hard-working and self-sacrificing ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ was a model they were unable to sustain. This reflected the fact that little was done to make society more accommodating for the disabled, which helps to temper our understanding of the victor/vanquished dichotomy in Francoist Spain. [redacted]

Many men even accepted hand-outs in order to get by. [redacted]

## Mutilated Gentlemen and the family

Differentiating between public and private spaces helps to make sense of the varying, often contradictory, ways in which *mutilados* engaged with the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal. As we have seen, the published memoirs of *mutilados* tended to mimic official discourses relating to the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’, and adopted a ‘modest’ persona, avoiding references to their wounds while underscoring their personal acts of heroism. In their everyday lives, however, *mutilados* behaved somewhat differently, acting in ways which frequently contradicted official discourses of war disability. Even Millán Astray, whose eccentric public persona as the ‘Glorious Mutilated One’ (*Glorioso Mutilado*) became the stuff of legend, wrote in private of the difficulties his wounds presented when trying to remain in active service.[[472]](#footnote-472)

The almost deafening silence in *mutilados*’ memoirs on the question of impairment hints at the difficulties of reconciling official discourse with reality. Leg amputee Enrique López Sánchez is a prime example of how even the most ideologically engaged *mutilados* struggled to embody the normalising ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal in their everyday lives. Although proud of his sacrifices to the homeland, López Sánchez experienced feelings of frustration at his reduced physical capacity. On a trip to Toledo, López describes his disappointment at not being able to visit many of the city’s sights:

The difficulty takes hold of my spirit and turns into veritable annoyance [*disgusto*] when I realise that I cannot comfortably view the destroyed great augusta, given the impossibility of moving forward amongst the debris and jumping from stone to stone on crutches… I have to content myself with taking a look from the outside; I cannot however see what was left of the grand patio, or the mutilated statue of the Emperor, or anything; I cannot visit the remains of the ‘Posada de la Sangre’, where Cervantes lived, either. It is also impossible to walk around the city and see the main sights. In Toledo the streets are narrow alleys, tortuous with enormous hills, cobbled with small stones. It’s all ups and downs... I have yet another disappointment: there is not one taxi available in the city. Despite everything I do not despair, and my will and my muscles have enough strength to make it to the cathedral.[[473]](#footnote-473)

Although López proudly recounts his determination to visit the cathedral against all odds, his frustration in this passage is palpable. In spirit, he is the archetypal *Caballero Mutilado*—humble, patriotic and willing to carry on in the face of adversity—but his physical impairment prevents him from doing all the things he wants to do. In this passage, Toledo’s challenging topography was in many ways symbolic of the broader struggles faced by the disabled in Spain. López’s determination was beyond reproach, but no amount of willpower could overcome the physical obstacles in his path.

Many veterans experienced feelings of frustration at their reduced physical capacity. Rehabilitation specialist Dr Mario Oliveras Defesa spoke of the depression and demoralisation of many veterans who found themselves no longer able to carry out even the most basic tasks.[[474]](#footnote-474) Public discourses of ‘usefulness’ and advances in orthopaedic technology could create unrealistic expectations of the rehabilitation process. For example, Oliveras bemoaned the unrealistic expectations of many disabled men, who often viewed prosthetics as a quick fix without taking into account the amount of work that went into adjusting to them.[[475]](#footnote-475) Friends and family offered valuable encouragement to their mutilated kin, and veterans re-learning how to write often asked doctors if they could take examples of their writing home to family members.[[476]](#footnote-476) Family was thus central to the lives of many Mutilated Gentleman, both as a support structure and as a means through which to fulfil their masculine identities.[[477]](#footnote-477)

Although some authors have suggested that men with physical disabilities were undesirable in post-war Spain, many veterans of all mutilation categories found wives post-injury.[[478]](#footnote-478) *Mutilados* were considered decent marriage potential, and building on the wartime ‘godmother’ tradition (*madrinas de guerra*)—in which women in the rear-guard wrote to men at the front—some women placed classified ads in the post war era asking to correspond specifically with war *mutilados*.[[479]](#footnote-479) The desirability of *mutilados* as husbands is attested to by the many letters sent to the BCMGP from widows during the transition to democracy in the late 1970s, following a 1976 law change which supported those who had suffered with illnesses contracted during military service.[[480]](#footnote-480) Some men already had girlfriends before the war—as was the case with the legionnaire, José Mira Rizo, discussed above—whom they married afterwards.[[481]](#footnote-481) The prevalence of post-injury marriage certainly suggests that Mutilated Gentlemen had no trouble finding wives, even in the case of the most severely wounded. *Mutilados* who continued their careers in the military were also likely to marry, and some were even spoiled for choice: [redacted] Such behaviour reflected the coexistence of the contradictory masculine ideals of sexual virility and responsible fatherhood.

Many Mutilated Gentlemen also became fathers, with some sitting at the heads of very large families; [redacted]. The desire of veterans to marry and reproduce did not necessarily imply a conscious attempt to conform to the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal. Though it did, perhaps, acquire greater significance for *mutilados* as a marker of normality, the desire for a stable home life is a common feature of masculine identity in many contexts, and was certainly not unique to Francoism or Spain.[[482]](#footnote-482) In this sense, by representing *mutilados* as husbands and fathers, the Francoist regime recognised and built upon certain values which were already omnipresent in Spanish society prior to the Spanish Civil War. Meanwhile, though the sexual virility of *mutilados* from all backgrounds is undisputed—except for those who sustained wounds to the reproductive organs—the degree to which all *Caballeros Mutilados* were able to fulfil their roles as husbands and fathers was directly linked to their ability to earn a decent wage, which varied according to the severity of an individual’s wounds, and between ‘military’ and ‘civilian’ *mutilados*. Indeed, as will be seen below, many men who pursued marriage and family life did not conform to other aspects of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, notably its emphasis on humility and earning a living through hard, honest work.

Even when veterans had the will to conform to the regime’s discourses of ‘usefulness’, physical impairment often left *mutilados* dependent on the support of their families rather than vice-versa. This situation subverted traditional understandings of gender relations, in which the man supported his family through work. Antonio Cazorla Sánchez has highlighted how, the ‘main, most decisive tool to survive autarky and famine was the family’, which provided a safety net for the elderly, the unemployed and the homeless.[[483]](#footnote-483) When it came to dealing with war disability, veterans’ families played a key role in helping men to adapt to their altered corporealities. In the case of severe disablement, for example, it was often up to veterans’ families to correspond with the BCMGP. Although it is difficult to measure the extent to which families bore the burden of caring for incapacitated veterans, there are clues which suggest this was widespread. In the early 1970s, the regime began to sketch out a law to reform the pre-existing legislation concerning the *mutilados* who had fought on the Francoist side. Although this law would still ignore the Republican disabled, when it was finally passed in 1976 it would for the first time recognise veterans incapacitated through physical illness contracted during military service.[[484]](#footnote-484) In July 1974, the state’s legal advisor objected to a clause in the proposed law, which sought to reward the dependents of deceased ‘absolute’ *mutilados* with a pension worth 100 per cent of the base rate:

The reasons for this innovation do not appear sufficiently justified. It is assumed that the widows have had to dedicate their lives to keeping and caring for these *Mutilados*, and so they must receive more than the widows of non-*mutilados*. It is possible that such dedication never took place and on the other hand, it is easy to imagine cases in which the widows and children have dedicated their lives to caring for ill veterans who are not mutilated, which would make them deserving of the same benefits. In other words, the personal and family circumstances can be so varied that it is not considered admissible to justify a precept which assumes exemplary family conduct.[[485]](#footnote-485)

The legal advisor’s use of the phrase ‘exemplary family conduct’ was revealing. Though the advisor went to great pains to underscore varied levels of family commitment to their disabled kin—undoubtedly to limit state liability—his words belied the expectation that ‘good’ families should and did care for *mutilados*. Clearly, the official who drafted the legislation believed this to be the case. Evidence from *mutilados’* BCMGP files confirms that families often bore the brunt of caring for their severely injured fathers or husbands. [redacted] In the absence of specialist institutions for the war maimed, severely disabled veterans were dependent on their families to care for them.

The assumption that family members would care for incapacitated *mutilados* became problematic when relatives were unwilling, unable or unavailable to fulfil such expectations. [redacted]

Dependence was not merely experienced by *mutilados* from the sub officer classes; even officers could be dependent on family care. [redacted] Similarly, as we have seen, being able to find a wife and perform the sexual act was not the same as adequately performing the social role of a ‘father’ or provider. For many disabled soldiers, the family was there to support *them* as much as they were there to support *it*. If veterans were unable to gather the required information for their applications themselves, the success of their applications to the Corps largely depended on the cooperation of family members. In this sense, the experiences of the Francoist war disabled help to temper accounts of the victor/vanquished dichotomy in post-war Spain.[[486]](#footnote-486) Although Francoist veterans who managed to successfully enter the BCMGP were welcomed into the ‘national community’ in a way that Republicans were not, many were nonetheless relatively disadvantaged members of that community.

## Policing the ideal

The interactions of *mutilados* with each other within the BCMGP court system illustrate the many ways in which different identities intersected with war disability in Francoist Spain. As part of the BCMGP application process, judges—who were often officer *mutilados* themselves—came into direct contact with *mutilados* from all walks of life, and were called upon to determine an individual’s worthiness of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title. Such interactions offer, therefore, an insight into the very varied levels of identification with the idea of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’. Officials presiding over the BCMGP tribunals collected information, and put forward recommendations as to whether or not veterans should be granted membership of the Corps, and with which classification. Although they did not make the final decision on applications, they had the power to draw attention to problem areas, and also to open disciplinary procedures for those deemed to be falling short of the expected conduct of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’. In this sense, not only did many officer *mutilados* play an active role in awarding BCMGP benefits, they also policed what they perceived to be misuse of the title.

In their interactions with BCMGP bureaucrats, *mutilados* often tried to perform the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, although they did not always pull it off. Scholars working on the Soviet Union have shown how citizens’ failure to accurately reproduce state narratives can provide an insight into their broader worldviews, as well as disparities between ideology and reality.[[487]](#footnote-487) The ways in which Francoist *mutilados* deviated from official narratives of war disability indicates that few fully internalised the humble, hard-working character of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’. [redacted]

*Mutilados* also manifested their sense of entitlement publicly. In the post-war, it was common for events to be held in honour of *mutilados*, or for the disabled to be granted privileged seating in public festivities or at football matches.[[488]](#footnote-488) This privilege soon came to be expected. In July 1938, a group of *mutilados* walked out of a play at a theatre in La Línea de la Concepción when a local delegate for Public Order refused to give up his private box for them.[[489]](#footnote-489) Similarly, in a 1939 incident in Zaragoza, between sixty and seventy disabled veterans forcibly tried to gain entry into the bullring despite not having tickets.[[490]](#footnote-490) On both occasions, their assertiveness worked in the *mutilados*’ favour. In the former case, *mutilados* returned to the theatre to ‘patriotic and eloquent’ applause, while in the latter, veterans were eventually granted entry to the bullfight following the intervention of the Civil Governor.[[491]](#footnote-491) Such incidences illustrate the limits of *mutilados*’ humility and‘deference’ to social hierarchies. Francoist *mutilados* became accustomed to certain privileges and could disrupt public order if they felt their sacrifices for the *Patria* went unacknowledged.

Other veterans strayed further from the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, into the realm of illegality. In accordance with article 84 of the 1938 BCMGP regulations, many *mutilados* initially welcomed into the BCMGP were later stripped of their membership after committing some kind of crime. [redacted]

The far from exemplary conduct of a proportion of *mutilados* can be intimated through warnings published in the press stressing that misdemeanours would be punished through the temporary or permanent withdrawal of BCMGP benefits.[[492]](#footnote-492) A notice from Seville’s Provincial Commission of the BCMGPexplained that they had received numerous complaints about *Caballeros Mutilados*, who had allegedly abused their privileged status in order to access greater food rations than they were entitled to. This frank and relatively open discussion of misdemeanours committed by Franco’s ‘favourite sons’ suggests that the issue was widespread. The nature of such incidents hinted at the paucity of BCMGP provisions, which meant breaking the law was a risk worth taking in order to supplement one’s income. However, at a time of acute economic deprivation and food shortages, such accusations underscored the relative privilege of *Caballeros Mutilados*, who had greater access to basic commodities, which may have enabled them to profit from black market activities.[[493]](#footnote-493)

Such misdemeanours also underscored the superficial engagement of many *mutilados* with the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal. Clearly, for many the desire to be ‘useful’ to the state came secondary to individual interests. The many examples of ex-*Caballeros Mutilados*, highlight the limits to which wounded men engaged with all aspects of the BCMGP’s ideals.[[494]](#footnote-494) That tens of thousands applied to join the Corps is indicative of the perceived benefits to its members, but, despite consciously utilising the language of the regime, many failed to appreciate the extent to which BCMGP membership was a contract between individuals and the state, the breaking of which was serious and, often, irrevocable. In this sense, the prestige and the code of honour that the BCMGP tried to associate with the title of *Caballero Mutilado* was often ignored by ‘civilian’ *mutilados*, who wished merely to obtain the material benefits associated with membership.

However, despite the paucity of provisions for lower ranking *Caballeros Mutilados*, outright protests against the regime by Francoist *mutilados* were extremely rare. An uncharacteristically public example came from the Falangist writer José Manuel Castañón, a *Caballero Mutilado* and volunteer for Franco in both the Civil War and the Blue Division.[[495]](#footnote-495) Despite his initial support of Francoism, Castañón became an increasingly disaffected and outspoken critic of the regime, which culminated in his imprisonment in 1956 and eventual exile in Venezuela. From exile, Castañón wrote an open letter to the Francoist Ministry of the Army, renouncing his ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ pension in protest at the disenfranchisement of the Republican war disabled.[[496]](#footnote-496) In Castañón’s case, the cause of his protest was his political disillusionment as a Falangist, and his anger at the treatment of Republican veterans, not Francoist ones.[[497]](#footnote-497) He was not the only Falangist, or even Blue Division veteran, to turn against the regime, but formed part of a broader cohort of disaffected individuals, which included former Propaganda Minister, Dionisio Ridruego, the philosopher Pedro Laín Entralgo, and the journalist, Rodrigo Royo, whose work featured in chapter one.[[498]](#footnote-498)

In many ways, Castañón was a model *Caballero Mutilado*: despite losing the use of his arm in the Civil War, he proved that he was still ‘useful’ to the fatherland by volunteering to serve in the Blue Division. Later, in civilian life he was given a good job within the Delegation of Trade Unions of Asturias, which was where he first became aware of the struggles of those who had fought for the defeated Republic.[[499]](#footnote-499) Indeed, it is perhaps no coincidence that Castañón’s ideological U-turn took place while dealing with workers in this traditionally left-wing mining province. As a comparatively well-off individual, whose relatively minor mutilation did not impede his ability to work, Castañón was an unlikely activist for the rights of Republican *mutilados*. However, his education and comfortable background meant he was in a better position to protest—and move to the safety of foreign lands—than other Francoist *mutilados* living in more precarious conditions. Castañón’s dramatic protest was a highly unusual individual stand against the plight of Republican veterans. The Francoist war disabled were depicted by Castañón as the fortunate ones, who had no need for a champion to fight their corner. Seen from this perspective, it is unsurprising that Francoist veterans did not protest publicly against the patchy provisions of the BCMGP. Most *mutilados* articulated their grievances through their petitions to the state, and took care to toe the line between deference and assertion, as will be explored further in chapter four.

This chapter has emphasised the relativity of the privilege of the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’, and the limits to the regime’s ‘rebranding’ of disability. Little was done to make society more accommodating for those with physical impairments, and although the BCMGP offered some material benefits, these were limited and often insufficient to sustain those with more severe injuries. Legislation which granted *mutilados* privileged access to the workplace was similar in this respect. Though jobs for *mutilados* could provide a lifeline in the post-war, they often provided limited career prospects, and such static kinds of employment led to a gradual erosion of privilege over time as Spain’s national wealth increased. Many veterans were unable to find work at all, and in such cases the family became vital to supporting such men, rather than the other way around. Such experiences allow us to temper the victim/vanquished dichotomy in Francoist Spain. The heterogeneity of experiences explored within this chapter underscores the hierarchies which existed amongst Mutilated Gentlemen, not only between officers and ‘civilian’ *mutilados*, but also between those with different kinds of wounds. In addition to such hierarchies, the agency of veterans to accept and reject different facets of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal belie notions of a coherent sense of ‘ex-combatant’ identity. Though the BCMGP fostered a particular culture, which undoubtedly formed an important part of the everyday lives of those who worked within its administration, most *mutilados* belonged to Francoist society’s more ambivalent ‘grey zones’, whose privilege was merely relative to the complete exclusion of Republican veterans.

# III: Experience and identity: the mentally infirm

Nowhere was the relativity of Francoist veterans’ privilege more keenly felt than in the field of mental health. When it came to treating mentally ill veterans, differences in the experiences of ‘military’ and ‘civilian’ veterans were compounded by contemporary psychiatric practice, and even enshrined in law. A 1944 law purportedly granted entry as ‘accidental absolute *mutilados*’ to all Francoist military personnel immobilised through ‘lunacy’, ‘no matter what the cause’.[[500]](#footnote-500) However, later, in 1948, another law specified that mental illness would be recognised when its cause was clearly traceable to military service, such as traumatic lesions, malnutrition or infection. Other illnesses, such as hereditary schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis and paranoia would only be recognised if the patient had seen at least ten years of active service.[[501]](#footnote-501) Few conscripts who returned to civilian life after the war had clocked up this number of years. In addition, the BCMGP’s table of recognised lesions, which only acknowledged mental illness resulting from physical trauma, was never updated to reflect the law, which led to considerable ambiguity when assessing the cases of mentally infirm veterans. Consequently, in practice the link between mental illness and psychological trauma during the war was often ignored, particularly for ‘civilian’ veterans.[[502]](#footnote-502)

Most historical research on psychiatry under Francoism has discussed the influence of politics on academic practice, notably the influence of Catholicism, Fascism, and eugenics on the work of Antonio Vallejo Nágera, head of military psychiatric services for the insurgent army during the war.[[503]](#footnote-503) Michael Richards, in particular, has discussed the dominance of Catholic ‘racial hygiene’ in the first half of the twentieth century, and how medical research supported the ideologies of those on the Spanish right.[[504]](#footnote-504) Others have traced the evolution of the psychiatric profession under the Francoist regime.[[505]](#footnote-505) This emphasis on the work of psychiatrists such as Vallejo Nágera has led scholars to overlook the experiences of patients. In recent years, the work of Paloma Vázquez de la Torre and Olga Villasante on the Santa Isabel asylum in Leganés has gone some way to recovering the human face of mental illness in modern Spain.[[506]](#footnote-506) In their careful assessment of asylum populations during the Civil War, Vázquez de la Torre and Villasante go some way to analysing the disruption experienced by institutions close to battlefronts, the kinds of illnesses recorded during the war, and, to a lesser extent, the conditions in which confined psychiatric patients lived. Mental illness also existed beyond the asylum, and Paul Preston has hinted at deep feelings of remorse amongst the perpetrators of Francoist wartime atrocities.[[507]](#footnote-507) However, the studies of Richards, Preston, Vázquez de la Torre and Villasante ignore the psychopolitical methodologies of scholars who have questioned the link between ‘mental illness’ and socio-political contexts elsewhere.[[508]](#footnote-508) In doing so, the current historiography fails to address the experiences of mentally-ill veterans, and to understand the apparent absence in Francoist Spain of war-related illnesses such as ‘shell shock’, which were of such concern to participants in the Great War.[[509]](#footnote-509)

Francoist psychiatrists downplayed the presence of mental illness amongst Nationalist soldiers, and the tendency of scholars thus far has been to take their word for it.[[510]](#footnote-510) Unlike their Republican counterparts, Francoist psychiatrists were more interested in using psychiatry to discredit their ideological opponents. Emilio Mira, head of psychiatry in the Republican army, was unafraid of discussing incidences of mental illness within the ranks, and used his experiences in the Civil War to publish internationally-renowned research on the causes and treatment of war pathology.[[511]](#footnote-511) Meanwhile, Vallejo Nágera dedicated his time to experiments on Republican prisoners in an attempt to establish the ‘biopsychic origins of Marxism’.[[512]](#footnote-512) When it came to the health of Francoist soldiers, psychiatrists with Nationalist sympathies generally denied the link between war and mental illness.[[513]](#footnote-513) This may have been because the frequently unpredictable behaviour associated with psychiatric disturbance went against Francoist masculine ideals, particularly the notion of self-control.[[514]](#footnote-514) In addition, Francoist psychiatrists associated the health of the mind with that of the soul.[[515]](#footnote-515) López Ibor, for example, suggested that a unified body and spirit could protect against mental illness.[[516]](#footnote-516) Consequently, in light of the conceptualisation of the Civil War as a ‘Crusade’, it is perhaps unsurprising that psychiatrists sought to gloss over mental illness amongst its own soldiers.

The existence of mental illness resulting specifically from war was an important topic of debate amongst Spanish psychiatrists, but few believed in ‘war neurosis’ or the idea that war itself created new types of mental illness.[[517]](#footnote-517) Francoist military officers were, on occasion, admitted to institutions such as the Santa Isabel psychiatric sanatorium in Leganés, near Madrid, but such admissions were usually short-term and often unrelated to mental illness. Shortages of suitable accommodation near the battlefront also sometimes saw healthy soldiers temporarily housed in asylums.[[518]](#footnote-518) Given the silence that surrounds the presence of mental illness amongst Francoist veterans, this chapter must first demonstrate the existence, beyond doubt, of mentally-ill ex-combatants before it can address their experiences and gendered identities. This chapter will then argue that Spanish society developed a range of strategies to adapt to the presence of mental illness. Spaniards were often willing to accommodate the altered psychic states of their kin in spite—or perhaps because—of the social stigma associated with psychiatric disorders. This adaptability reflected the irrelevance of the politicised work of Vallejo Nájera on most Spaniards, even within the military, despite the level of scholarly attention his work has attracted from historians in recent years. Instead, domestic concerns shaped the experiences of the mentally infirm, who, given the lack of BCMGP recognition, were usually supported by families and local psychiatric facilities.

The ‘national psychiatry’ of Vallejo Nájera also exercised limited influence over the experiences of patients, especially as time went on. Having spent time studying in Germany, Vallejo Nájera’s work drew on the work of eugenicist psychiatrists in Nazi Germany, and Gestapo agents even contributed to his experiments on Republican prisoners in Nationalist concentration camps during the Civil War.[[519]](#footnote-519) However, eugenics took on a different form in Spain, mainly because the Catholic Church made plain its opposition to ‘hard’ eugenic measures, such as the sterilisation of individuals who threatened the population’s ‘racial hygiene’.[[520]](#footnote-520) Instead, eugenicists in Spain advocated ‘soft’ measures, such as advising against marriages between unsuitable parents, and the removal of children from families who would not provide a ‘sanitary’ environment for their offspring.[[521]](#footnote-521) Yet most psychiatrists in Francoist Spain were not fascists, and many continued their pre-war research on subjects of a strictly psychiatric nature after the conflict.[[522]](#footnote-522) Similarly, the management of asylums evolved little under the dictatorship and in many ways continued the pre-Republican status quo.[[523]](#footnote-523) There was a great deal of variation in asylum conditions, and while private institutions such as the Esquerdo clinic in Madrid were highly regarded, many provincial institutions kept patients enclosed in miserable conditions, even well into the 1960s.[[524]](#footnote-524)

Most mentally-ill Francoist veterans who ended up in the provincial psychiatric care system were not able to join the BCMGP, which helps to further question the traditional categorisation of Spaniards under Francoism as either ‘victors’ or ‘vanquished’.[[525]](#footnote-525) As we shall see, mentally-ill ex-combatants were even less likely to be considered ‘victors’ than those with physical impairments, discussed in chapter two. The study of disenfranchised individuals emanating from the victorious Francoist army also helps to further nuance our understanding of the so-called ‘grey zones’ of Spanish society under the Francoist dictatorship.[[526]](#footnote-526) The idea that individuals could be categorised as either Francoist, ‘grey’ or Republican to a certain degree maintains the traditional binary view of post-Civil War Spanish society; ‘grey’ implies a degree of detachment from the ideological cleavage of the Civil War, ‘Francoist’ implies privilege while all victims are presumed to belong on the Republican end of the spectrum. As we shall see, many non-elite individuals who fought on the Francoist side who became mentally ill as a result of their participation in the Civil War were both the victors and the victims of Francoism.

## Methodology: working with psychiatric case files

The reluctance of scholars to challenge Francoist narratives on low incidences of mental illness in war reflects, in part, a preference for the study of ideology rather than practice or experience. However, the lacuna can also be explained by the methodological challenges posed by such research. Establishing a link between mental illness and war trauma retrospectively is problematic on a number of levels. The first obstacle is the changing nature of the psychiatric diagnoses over time. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was only recognised by the American Psychiatric Association in 1980, and prior to this, a whole range of terms were employed to refer to mental illness in war. Terms like shell shock, war neurosis and combat fatigue, which emerged during or after the First World War, attempted to rationalise and medicalise the range of mental disturbances experienced by soldiers. In 1930s Spain, the diagnosis of ‘war neurosis’ was fiercely debated. Most psychiatrists on both sides of the political divide agreed that this was similar to other forms of neurosis, and was merely revealed rather than caused by the war. Use of the ‘war neurosis’ diagnosis by medical practitioners was inconsistent; some Spanish institutions did diagnose the condition, while others appear to have ignored this diagnostic category altogether.[[527]](#footnote-527) In some instances, patients who were initially diagnosed with ‘war psychosis’ were later deemed to be suffering from more traditional conditions, such as psychopathy. F.G.S., a soldier interned at the psychiatric asylum in Oviedo, was one of the few patients to be given a diagnosis of ‘war psychosis’, although this was later revised to ‘aggressive madness’ and ultimately, ‘psychogenic depression’.[[528]](#footnote-528)

Overall, the scepticism of Spanish psychiatrists meant that the terms ‘war neurosis’ or ‘war psychosis’ were used infrequently, which helped to obscure the link between war and mental illness. Statistics relating to mental illness are notoriously unreliable, as the invisible nature of psychological conditions means that incidences often go unreported.[[529]](#footnote-529) Under the dictatorship, contemporary psychiatric attitudes which linked mental health to constitutional weakness meant that veterans’ symptoms were often brushed off as hereditary mental illness.[[530]](#footnote-530) In this sense, it is perhaps unsurprising that searches for recorded incidences of ‘war neurosis’ in post-war asylums yield few results. This apparent absence should not, however, be taken on face value.

The purely therapeutic intentions of historical mental health practitioners have long been called into question, and scholars have often pointed to the role of the asylum in policing social deviance.[[531]](#footnote-531) Indeed, the language used in Francoist psychiatric institutions carried undertones of criminality or moral deviance, which included references to ‘escapes’ (*fugas*) or patients’ ‘good behaviour’. In order to link the mental illnesses of Francoist veterans to their military service, it is necessary to adopt the psychopolitical methodologies of those who have sought to link broader political contexts to mental infirmity. The work of China Mills, for example, has recently discussed how individuals internalise broader contexts of oppression in her work on ‘austerity suicides’ in the British context.[[532]](#footnote-532) Rather than situating the cause of mental illness in the constitutional weakness of individual patients, such scholarship accepts the possibility that psychiatric disturbance can be a reasonable response to challenging socio-political circumstances.[[533]](#footnote-533) This concept was, in fact, acknowledged by Emilio Mira, head psychiatrist for the Republican army, who argued as early as 1944 that mental illness was a natural response to the pressures of war.[[534]](#footnote-534) In light of the variable nature of diagnoses, the constitutional and heredity-based assessments of Francoist psychiatrists must be taken with a large pinch of salt.[[535]](#footnote-535)

In his memoirs, the psychiatrist Carlos Castilla del Pino described how internment in a psychiatric institution seemed to erase patients’ sense of personal identities.[[536]](#footnote-536) In addition, Peter Barham has underscored how confinement to an asylum implied a separation from the wider community, and the deprivation of one’s sense of citizenship.[[537]](#footnote-537) Certainly, once individual Francoist veterans became part of the civilian psychiatric system, their military pasts had no bearing on the treatment or care they received. Veterans usually ceased to be referred to as ex-combatants, and were rarely referred to as ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ unless they had been recognised by the BCMGP for physical injury. Consequently, searches for ‘veterans’ in the archives also yield few results; most veterans, like other inmates, were referred to as patients (*enfermos*). Only by carrying out a full assessment of an individual’s background, their experiences during the war, and their symptoms is it possible to link service in the Civil War with mental illness. The research in this chapter is thus the product of a detailed analysis of the psychiatric case files of men who would have been of military age around the time of the Civil War, who were subsequently interned in the psychiatric institutions in Oviedo, Santiago de Compostela and Leganés. In some cases, just a short statement from relatives is the only trace that remains of their military service during the Civil War.

[redacted]

The locations of Oviedo, Santiago de Compostela and Leganés offer a well-rounded perspective given their differing experiences of the Civil War. The Conxo sanatorium in Santiago de Compostela experienced less disruption during the Civil War as Galicia fell to the rebels very early on in the conflict, and subsequently remained under Nationalist control. Veterans who ended up in the Conxo tended to have served in the Francoist army, often in the navy. In contrast, patients in the Oviedo institution were more likely to have experienced the upheaval of the Civil War first-hand, given that Asturias was a Republican stronghold taken by the Francoist forces in October 1937. The Santa Isabel psychiatric asylum in Leganés, near Madrid, offers yet another perspective, as, although it was in the Nationalist zone under the charge of Vallejo Nágera for most of the war, its proximity to Republican-held Madrid meant an influx of veterans from both sides after the conflict.

As suggested, the language used by veterans within psychiatric institutions gives a sense of the trauma that could result from Civil-War experiences. However, the degree to which historians can rely upon the testimonies of those judged to be mentally infirm is, of course, problematic. First, due to the nature of psychiatric confinement, such testimonies tend to be highly mediated. Patients’ words were recorded, but usually within psychiatric reports written by mental health professionals. Such reports consisted of a general summary of the patient’s mental and physical state, which often included notes on conversations held with the individual, either quoted directly or reported indirectly. The psychiatrist noted down those extracts of the individual’s speech deemed most pertinent to diagnosis and treatment. Consequently, the extracts recorded within a patient’s file were necessarily those which conformed to the psychiatrist’s diagnosis and opinion of the individual in question. As a result, examples of patients’ speech must be assessed as social interactions, not only dependent on the patients’ experiences, but also on the personal and professional inclinations of the psychiatrist, and the relationship between the patient and the psychiatrist.[[538]](#footnote-538)

The asylum was a place of healing, but it was also a place of incarceration, and as a state-run institution its relationship to the repressive apparatus of the Francoist regime was ambiguous. Forced internment formed a key part of Francoist repression, and it is estimated that between 367,000 and 500,000 Republican refugees and prisoners of war were imprisoned in Francoist concentration camps during and after the Civil War.[[539]](#footnote-539) Though psychiatric institutions were not concentration camps, the attitudes of patients towards medical staff mirrored the multiple personalities of the asylum, and ranged from docile obedience to a complete lack of cooperation with medical staff and their diagnostic questionnaires. Of course, this variation in attitudes was not unique to Franco’s Spain; varying degrees of cooperation with mental health practitioners is common to psychiatric patients across time and space.[[540]](#footnote-540) Nonetheless, most patients did cooperate with doctors even during the most repressive era of Francoism, which suggests that, for the most part, the psychiatric system was not regarded as an extension of the punitive arm of the state. This does not mean that patients enjoyed or accepted being interned within an asylum, and many expressed the desire to return home to their families. The statements of veterans must, therefore, be understood in the context of the power imbalance between patients and psychiatrists, whereby the latter had the power to make certain decisions concerning the fate of the former.

Documents completed upon admission to the asylum must also be viewed as social interactions, given that their completion usually required the participation of others. The two main documents consisted of diagnostic questionnaires: one to be completed by a relative, and another by a psychiatrist based on answers given by the patient himself. Both questionnaires offer an insight into how mental health professionals approached diagnosing veterans suffering with mental illness. The first questionnaire comprised four sections, addressing the patient’s family medical history, his personal background, his sexual history and his current illness. In contrast to the physically wounded, who were encouraged to memorialise the date of their injuries, psychiatric documents dedicated little space to the possibility that a traumatic event caused an individual’s condition. Rather, emphasis was placed on pinpointing incidences of illness and moral deviance within the individual’s personal and family history.

This was in line with broader Spanish psychiatric trends which emphasised the importance of heredity.[[541]](#footnote-541) The relatives of patients were asked about their employment histories, if anyone in the family had ever suffered from mental illness, or relied on public or private charity. Psychiatrists also enquired about the patients’ birth and childhood, which included details relating to thumb-sucking or nail-biting. Some questions were deeply personal, and answers to questions of a sexual nature provided by a parent or sibling must be viewed with some scepticism. In addition, although it was assumed that a family member would fill out the diagnostic questionnaire, not all patients were taken to the asylum by their relatives. [redacted]

Letters written by mentally ill veterans are an invaluable source, and are frequently found within psychiatric files, often written by the individual to family members or acquaintances outside the institution. Yet they, too, pose methodological issues. First, silence on the potentially traumatising aspects of war within veterans’ ego-documents does not necessarily mean that war trauma did not exist. Silence could be a coping mechanism, particularly in a context where stoicism and self-control were idealised male attributes.[[542]](#footnote-542) Second, it is unclear how such documentation came to be located within the files. It is possible that asylum staff intercepted patients’ mail in order to monitor their mental state, yet the presence of replies to patient’s letters within psychiatric files suggests that letters did get through to family members. Probably, family members gave letters to psychiatric doctors in order to help with the diagnoses and treatment of their relatives. Indeed, instructions at the top of the family diagnostic questionnaire indicated that relatives should, if possible, provide examples of the patient’s writings to the psychiatric institution. Whether or not patients were aware that their mail could be read by the psychiatric authorities is difficult to gauge, but the frankness of many of such letters suggests otherwise.

## Mental illness in the military: ‘veterans’ or ‘patients’?

In his work on ‘madness’ and the Civil War, the psychiatrist Antonio Vallejo Nájera argued that war did not cause psychiatric conditions different from those which occurred in times of peace. Rather, he explained that increased incidences of mental illness during the Civil War were due to a rise in external or ‘exogenous’ causal factors, which revealed the presence of psychosis in individuals who were already constitutionally predisposed to it.[[543]](#footnote-543) Vallejo was not alone in this belief, and other Francoist psychiatrists, such as the monarchist Juan José López Ibor, agreed that war triggered rather than caused mental infirmity.[[544]](#footnote-544) Subsequently, both Vallejo and López Ibor contended that mental illness had not been a significant issue for Nationalist soldiers during the war.[[545]](#footnote-545)

Archival evidence, however, reveals that mental illness was, in fact, a significant problem for the Francoist army. By 1939, the army’s struggle to manage the issue became so pronounced that the Francoist Inspector General for Health proposed dividing the patients between various civilian asylums, given that their large numbers had already overwhelmed the capacity of the military psychiatric clinics.[[546]](#footnote-546) Care for mentally-ill soldiers should, it was argued, be placed in the hands of the civilian, Interior Ministry asylums a month after service personnel were declared unfit for service. Minister of the Interior and brother-in-law to Franco, Ramón Serrano Súñer, protested that existing services were already under intense pressure, explaining that the Pilar de Zaragoza asylum currently exceeded its former population by 50 per cent. Ultimately, even the Inspector General conceded that it would be impossible for the Provincial Deputations to accommodate all the so-called ‘lunatics’. ­

It is clear that, despite attempts to play down instances of mental illnesses within the Nationalist army, the number of soldiers who became mentally ill during their period of military service was significant enough to concern key figures of authority. Furthermore, there was a concerted desire to move such individuals out of the military health system as quickly as possible, into the local civilian psychiatric system. Within this process, it is important to understand how rank influenced individual soldiers’ experience of mental illness in war. As the notoriously eccentric personality of Millán Astray showed, the right kind of ‘madness’ could enhance the mystique of some high-ranking individuals.[[547]](#footnote-547) Millán Astray was not alone in this respect. The Civil War created a generation of individuals who had been both direct and indirect perpetrators of violence, and the psychiatrist Carlos Castilla del Pino reported an underlying ‘consciousness of complicity’ in the troubled patients he encountered under the dictatorship.[[548]](#footnote-548) One encounter in particular reflects both the existence of mental illness amongst high-ranking officers, and the willingness of military structures to accommodate them.

In 1947, a young Castilla del Pino was called up for military service.[[549]](#footnote-549) Upon his arrival at the barracks in El Ferrol, Castilla was unexpectedly welcomed by a lieutenant, who had stepped in to cover for the company captain. The captain, a 40-year-old bachelor named Arias Gay, was at that time incapacitated by one of his regular neurotic episodes, or ‘neura days’ as they had become known. These episodes could last up to a month, during which time Arias Gay would remain in his room, refusing to come out even to eat. One Sunday, the captain approached Castilla. Aware of the psychiatrist’s professional background, Arias Gay began to ask certain unusual questions. In particular, he wanted to know whether or not it was possible to know what someone was like on the inside just by looking at them. Eventually, the captain recounted the following anecdote:

All psychiatrists must know lots about [facial] expressions, I mean, what expressions mean. But there are always new expressions, which you’ve never seen before. I remember one I saw during the war. We caught around 40 red prisoners, and put them in a cow pen near my position. We confiscated some flamethrowers, which we had never used; they must be Russian. In my tent the sergeant came to me and said: ‘Lieutenant, what should we do with these flamethrowers?’. It occurred to me to tell him: let’s go and try them. We went to the pen. I told the sergeant to lean the barrel of the flamethrower between the fence and I gave him the order: shoot! A flame came out, startling us. All of them were falling charred to the floor, but three or four who the flames hadn’t reached remained standing at the back. They had a very strange expression: eyes open wide, black faces, from the soot… I have never seen it since. I said: sergeant, again! The sergeant pulled the trigger again and they fell too.[[550]](#footnote-550)

In response to Castilla’s dismay at the macabre tale, the captain replied: ‘Well, yes, but we had to do something with those prisoners.’[[551]](#footnote-551) Castilla wondered why Arias Gay thought it appropriate to recount this story, speculating that perhaps he thought a psychiatrist would help him justify his actions to himself. It is unsurprising that Castilla, an outspoken critic of the Francoist regime, should recount an incident in which a perpetrator of wartime atrocities hinted at feelings of remorse. While no causal link between Arias Gay’s neurotic episodes and his cruelty during the Civil War was ever medically proven, his unusual fixation on the facial expressions of his victims is certainly suggestive of psychological trauma. Indeed, a well-known symptom of PTSD is the recurrent, distressing recollection of a traumatic event, which can include intrusive feelings of guilt ‘for inciting the event or failing to prevent it’.[[552]](#footnote-552)

Perhaps more astonishing than the fact of Arias Gay’s trauma, was the response of his military colleagues. The captain’s brothers in arms had become accustomed to such extraordinary behaviour and did not pay it much mind.[[553]](#footnote-553) A process had even been established to accommodate Arias Gay’s periods of crisis, in which his assistant would take food up to his room, a task which Castilla himself was obliged to perform some time later. This adaptability was in some senses surprising given prevalent masculine norms. Rhetorically-speaking, neurotic episodes were incompatible with expectations of virility and self-control, and neuroses had long been regarded as typically female afflictions.[[554]](#footnote-554) Furthermore, symptoms of mental illness could impede the fulfilment of domestic masculine ideals, particularly with regards to supporting the family through work.[[555]](#footnote-555) However, Arias Gay did not lead a typical domestic life, but was a single man living in an all-male institution. As a captain, he was well established enough that his episodes could be dismissed casually as ‘neura days’, and incorporated into the routine of military life. Practically-speaking, his rank also meant that he was in a position to command his men to cover for him. As an individual of military rank who had proven his ferocity during the Civil War, such episodes were incorporated into his masculine identity in a way that almost enhanced his reputation, rather than undermining it. The tolerance of the military environment can also be explained by Arias Gay’s ability to contain his episodes within his room, which avoided the scandal his mental instability might have caused outside the barracks. Arias Gay was protected by his secure position within the military hierarchy, which, as we will see, was in stark contrast to lower-ranking veterans confined to civilian asylums, who found themselves progressively more isolated from their military pasts as time went on.

Mentally infirm Civil War veterans from military backgrounds were not only protected by their rank. As noted in the opening pages of this section, mentally ill service personnel who had served at least ten years were protected by law.[[556]](#footnote-556) Consequently, Civil War veterans with well-established careers in the military could and did receive recognition from the BCMGP for their mental illnesses, and were given the title of ‘accidental absolute *mutilados*’, or, after 1958, ‘inútiles para el servicio’ (useless for service).[[557]](#footnote-557) Such legislation did not contradict the sceptical consensus of psychiatrists on the issue of ‘war neurosis’—or, for that matter, Francoist rhetoric which glorified the ‘Crusade’—as it did not recognise any link between psychological trauma and war. Rather, the legislation’s continued emphasis on physical trauma, and the stipulation that individuals had to have served ten years to be recognised for psychological disorders such as psychosis, hinted at the true nature of the legislation, which was to compensate long-serving, trusted *militares* who had fallen on hard times. This is reflected in the way in which mental health legislation was used to support armed forces personnel suffering from the neurological effects of syphilis—a condition not recognised by the BCMGP—who otherwise would have received no assistance at all.[[558]](#footnote-558)

The fact that the mentally ill were given different titles to the physically-disabled served to disassociate them from the Civil War. The ‘Accidental *Mutilado*’ title was also used for those physically injured in accidents, which was meant to distinguish them from those gloriously wounded in battle. By giving this same title to the mentally infirm, the BCMGP was able to protect armed services personnel without undermining the glory of the ‘Crusade’. These were not veterans traumatised by war, they were merely armed forces personnel who happened to develop hereditary mental illnesses after the war. That such individuals were commonly referred to as ‘dementes’ (lunatics) reflected the tendency to attribute mental illness to individual weakness, rather than to the external, traumatic experience of war.[[559]](#footnote-559) It is worth noting that this unwillingness to acknowledge psychological trauma was not shared by patients and their families, who, as we will see, frequently made the connection between active service and mental infirmity.

[redacted]

In the context of post-war autarchy, the cost of supporting potentially thousands of immobilised individuals in part explains the regime’s reticence to acknowledge ‘civilian’ veterans suffering from mental illness. Such exclusion was legitimised by the consensus amongst psychiatrists that negated the link between mental illness and war, and thus absolved the state of any responsibility to provide support for ‘dementes’. A similar logic dismissed the petitions of veterans with physical illnesses resulting from the war, such as tuberculosis. Although medical professionals petitioned the government to take into account those suffering with physical illnesses contracted at the front, the regime refused on the grounds that the precise origins of such illnesses could not be traced with certainty to military service. Rather, it was argued, such illnesses often stemmed from the inherent weakness of individuals, who, if given the opportunity, would take advantage of the system to fraudulently claim benefits via the BCMGP.[[560]](#footnote-560) In any case, veterans suffering from physical and mental illnesses did not conform to the visibly battle-scarred ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal, who despite his honourable sacrifices, stoically got on with life.

Veterans who experienced debilitating physical illness as a result of their participation in the Spanish Civil War were thus, like the mentally traumatised, excluded from the BCMGP until after the death of Franco. [redacted]

## Mental illness and masculinity in the domestic sphere

As the case of Arias Gay shows, mental illness could disrupt the fulfilment of normative masculine identity, particularly the ideal of ‘self-control’. Beyond the military environment, this could be seen in cases of alcoholism and domestic abuse, as well as in the difficulties veterans faced trying to support their families through paid employment. In the absence of support from the BCMGP, mentally-ill ‘civilian’ veterans were largely dependent on the efforts of their own families, or on the provisions of local psychiatric facilities. This dependence undermined hegemonic masculine norms, and the infantilising experience of psychiatric confinement stood in stark contrast to the empowered ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ ideal. The issue of self-control is particularly problematic for those suffering from mental illness. A man’s inability to control his psychological or physical state could lead to difficulties holding down a job or keeping track of his expenditure. When mental illness led to domestic violence, veterans became a threat to the very domain they were expected to protect.

The association of mental illness with unpredictable, at times violent, behaviour in part helps to explain why psychiatric disorders have long been stigmatised.[[561]](#footnote-561) Psychological illness was often associated with a weakness of will, or interpreted as an individual character flaw.[[562]](#footnote-562) After the First World War, medical terms such as ‘shell-shock’ helped to reduce the stigma of mental illness, and some scholars even presented psychological disorder as a normal response to the traumatic experience of war.[[563]](#footnote-563) Social attitudes were, however, slow to follow, and the general refusal of Spanish psychiatrists to acknowledge ‘war neurosis’ was not conducive to changing perceptions of mental illness in Spain. Individuals suffering from mental illness under the dictatorship could be refused work or rejected by potential lovers; some families even preferred to tell acquaintances that their relative had died rather than admit they were interned in an asylum.[[564]](#footnote-564)

Some soldiers had only fleeting experiences of mental instability. [redacted]

Tensions between rhetoric and popular sentiment, and wartime and post-war behavioural expectations, were common when it came to confronting psychiatric disorders, particularly alcohol addiction. Drinking was a normal part of military service; excessive alcohol consumption was a means by which mobilised men could bond and temporarily escape both the hardships and monotony of army life.[[565]](#footnote-565) Legionnaires in particular were famed for their partying or *juergas*, which—as depicted in post-war cinema—typically involved the company of prostitutes and ended up in some kind of brawl.[[566]](#footnote-566) While these displays of military masculinity became the stuff of legend, they were incompatible with the domestic backbone of post-war Francoist society.

[redacted]

## Striving for normality: pragmatism and family loyalty

In his memoirs, Carlos Castilla del Pino paints a sorry picture of mentally-ill veterans living under the dictatorship in the 1940s, often completely isolated from their families:

The chronically ill were rarely visited by their families. There were some pensioners from the military Invalid corps who had been there thirty years without anyone coming in to ask about them. Their very modest pension was paid in its entirety to the Esquerdo [clinic] according to the arrangements made with the authorities of the corps, and things would go on that way until they died.[[567]](#footnote-567)

However, the psychiatric case files of veterans offer a somewhat different perspective on their relationships with their families, and suggest that relatives often went to great lengths to stay connected to their confined kin. Furthermore, as Fiona Reid has highlighted, it is important to differentiate between ex-servicemen who end up in asylums, and those who are able to ‘rebuild their lives’ after conflict.[[568]](#footnote-568) Mental illness does not always lead to anti-social behaviour, and not all mentally-ill Francoist veterans ended up in psychiatric institutions. Many of those who experienced psychological turmoil after the Civil War showed no outward manifestations of mental illness. We will never know how many Spaniards became depressed in the years and decades after the Civil War, although Castilla del Pino emphasised that it was precisely the psychological fallout of the conflict that enabled him to write his path-breaking study on depression.[[569]](#footnote-569)

There is little doubt that the suppression of traumatic memories, necessary in order to adapt to Francoism’s new order, had profoundly psychologically damaging consequences for many Spaniards.[[570]](#footnote-570) The psychological impact of Francoist atrocities was a theme explored in Antonio Buero Vallejo’s 1968 play, *La Doble Historia del Doctor Valmy*, in which the protagonist, Daniel, experiences impotence after participating in the mutilation of a political prisoner.[[571]](#footnote-571) Perpetrator guilt was also explored by Castilla, who recounted his stupefaction following an exchange with a former Francoist supporter, who expressed guilt at having killed during the Civil War, particularly given his disillusionment with the regime:

And for this (he referred to what he considered to be the unresolved social injustices in Franco’s Spain) we had to kill?... Yes, because I killed, I killed many, in the ditches of the Puerta de Tierra (Cadiz)…, many, I don’t know how many, but I killed and I saw how they died, and now those creatures drive me mad and I even dream of them…[[572]](#footnote-572)

Symptoms such as nightmares, now known to be symptomatic of psychological conditions such as PTSD, remained hidden, only to be observed by bed partners or other members of the household, if at all. Furthermore, in a society in which psychiatric confinement was stigmatised, even unruly manifestations of mental illness were often dealt with behind closed doors. This section will address attempts by veterans and their families to maintain a sense of normality by managing mental illness privately. In doing so, it will emphasise the primacy of the family and the importance of protecting non-normative masculinities from external scrutiny.

A man’s failure to live up to Francoist expectations of masculinity did not necessarily lead to his social ostracization or rejection from his family. Families lived with a great deal of deviation from Francoist masculine ideals, and rarely gave up on their kin, adapting to the circumstances as best they could. The ways in which families adapted to the mental illnesses of their relatives suggest that they believed in war trauma as a concept, and rejected—or were oblivious to—dominant trends within the psychiatric profession which dismissed the ‘war neurosis’ diagnosis. Unlike the highly politicised work of Vallejo Nágera which associated mental illness with political deviance, families often cited mental infirmity as an excuse for problematic behaviour.

Furthermore, families did not take the decision to confine their husbands, brothers or sons to psychiatric institutions lightly, even if caring for them at home proved increasingly difficult. [redacted]

Although many families struggled to maintain a sense of normality given the sometimes-unpredictable behaviour of their mentally-ill menfolk, the default was usually to attempt to keep their husbands, brothers and sons within the family home. Even families who accepted that their mentally-ill relatives should remain in the asylum rarely cut ties completely, and kept an active interest in their health and progress. Usually, the greatest source of contention between veterans and their relatives was the public ‘scandal’ caused by unorthodox behaviour. [redacted] Clearly efforts to change perceptions of the Francoist war disabled as ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ did not imply a change in public attitudes towards the mentally infirm.

## Domestic masculinities

Focusing on the experiences of families risks obscuring the gendered experiences of the veterans themselves. Despite their problematic nature, the ego-documents of mentally-ill veterans offer an insight into their hopes, desires and priorities, particularly when faced with the emasculating experience of psychiatric confinement. In particular, this section will draw upon the questionnaires completed by patients on their arrival at the psychiatric establishment.[[573]](#footnote-573) Patients were asked a series of questions, ranging from basic facts—including the date, time and location—to more value-based questions. The latter tested patients’ social awareness, and explored their understandings of concepts such as morality, bravery, cowardice, nobility and happiness. The decision to explore the ideas of ‘bravery’ and ‘cowardice’ to measure patients’ sanity was significant, but not innovative; this kind of questionnaire dated back to at least the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera.[[574]](#footnote-574) Yet the answers veterans gave to these questions offered an indication of their engagement with wartime masculine ideals. Given the open-ended nature of such questions, the answers provided by patients naturally varied, but certain common themes appeared time and again. A close analysis of such responses offers an insight into common understandings of masculinity, particularly the worldviews of those who had experienced military mobilisation. Commonalities in the discursive frameworks adopted by individuals whose immediate realities were distorted by mental illness highlight the fundamental, subconscious nature of certain values.[[575]](#footnote-575)

The responses of veterans to psychiatric diagnostic questionnaires problematise the hegemony of military masculine ideals during the Civil War, and their influence over the masculine identities of Spanish men, even those with direct experience of the war.[[576]](#footnote-576) The picture that emerges from patients’ responses is of a worldview not specific to Franco’s Spain, or military life. Despite the fact that terms specific to the context of Civil War, such as ‘red’, formed part of many patients’ lexicon, veterans’ responses to the questionnaires rarely referred to the wider context of political turmoil. Instead, veterans reproduced discursive frameworks which reflected their desire for a normal home life, and the comforts of domesticity. [redacted]

Indeed, in contrast to the BCMGP personnel files, few veterans ‘spoke Francoist’ or, in other words, reproduced the language of the Francoist regime in their responses to the psychiatric questionnaires. Those who did, tended to do so consciously and to their own ends, such as [redacted]. Clearly, while *mutilados* saw correspondence with the BCMGP as an opportunity for improving their lot, veterans did not interact with the psychiatric establishment in the same way. Either the regime’s discourse had failed to inscribe itself onto veterans’ subconscious, or they saw that nothing was to be gained from parroting wartime rhetoric to psychiatrists. Both cases underscore the superficial nature of ‘ordinary’ veterans’ engagement with the military values of the regime and BCMGP.

The domestic masculinities of mentally ill veterans are reflected in greater detail through their letters. [redacted]

Soldiers of the Francoist army were not immune to mental illness. Though contemporary psychiatric practice masked the military backgrounds of patients living in Francoist asylums, a detailed analysis of patients’ psychiatric files reveals that many had experienced army life, which is perhaps unsurprising at a time of compulsory military service. Mental illness did not always lead to psychiatric confinement, and many appeared to lead relatively normal lives while experiencing more containable psychological scars of their participation in the war. The threat posed by psychiatric disturbance, substance abuse and the effects of venereal disease on the domestic sphere underscore the contradictory relationship between military and domestic masculinities, and thus the difficulties of transitioning a mobilised population into a demobilised one. Yet the experiences of families and the patients themselves highlight their determination to regain a sense of normality, defined by marriage, breadwinning and the trappings of domesticity. This determination allows us to contextualise historical narratives which over-emphasise the importance of Francoist military masculinities to Spanish men, even for those who had direct experience of life in the armed forces.

The experiences of low-ranking mentally-ill veterans also help to nuance broader understandings of ‘ex-combatant’ identity, as well as the victor/vanquished binary. As the arduous process of uncovering the military pasts of many psychiatric patients shows, most ex-combatants who ended up in asylums were not regarded as ‘veterans’ at all. Separated from their families and assessed by psychiatrists who refused to consider links between war service and mental illness, such men became indistinguishable from the other civilian patients with whom they shared a home.

# IV: Speaking Francoist: Disabled veterans and the consolidation of the Francoist state

The creation of the BCMGP in 1938 gave the nascent Francoist state an opportunity to prove its credentials as a functional peacetime government. Born out of the war, and dealing with a broad cross-section of the male population, the BCMGP offers a unique opportunity to explore relations between Spanish citizens and the Francoist state, particularly from the perspective of the regime’s apparent supporters. The Francoist regime’s ‘modernising’ impetus saw the consolidation of a vast bureaucratic structure and the unprecedented ordering and codification of Spanish citizens.[[577]](#footnote-577) From the outset, the regime increased its knowledge of Spaniards, which included the introduction of identification cards in 1944.[[578]](#footnote-578) However, although it positioned itself as a modern, administrative body—reliant on the objective appraisals of expert and lay witnesses—the BCMGP often adopted a discretionary approach in its management of the war disabled which betrayed its reliance on older forms of governance. Indeed, the BCMGP became a body which accorded patronage and favours to the general populace, an approach characteristic of former regimes.[[579]](#footnote-579) Although the BCMGP had a very specific role within Franco’s Spain, its structures and administrative procedures were typical of Francoist bureaucracy more generally, and can be compared to the repressive state institutions explored by Peter Anderson and Conxita Mir.[[580]](#footnote-580) In this sense, the BCMGP exemplifies the contradictions which lay at the heart of the Francoist state, which was at once modernising and reliant on more traditional forms of government.

Antonio Cazorla Sánchez argues that despite the Francoist regime’s reformist language, the old patronage elites or *caciques* retained control of most local power structures.[[581]](#footnote-581) Angela Cenarro offers a slightly different perspective, underscoring how local power was shared between both new and old political elites.[[582]](#footnote-582) While this chapter agrees that the Francoist regime was a hybrid of new and old elements, it is less concerned with *who* held power, than with *how* power was exercised. Through its emphasis on the governed rather than the governors, this chapter offers an opportunity to hear the voices of ‘ordinary’ Spaniards within the process of government. Current historiography affords little space for such ‘ordinary’ voices, beyond studies of repression.[[583]](#footnote-583) Peter Anderson, for example has shown the readiness of ‘ordinary’ Spaniards to cooperate with the regime, and denounce their neighbours to the military courts.[[584]](#footnote-584) Interactions between both ‘civilian’ and ‘military’ Francoist *mutilados* and the BCMGP were very different, not least because the former were required to talk about themselves rather than their enemies.

This final chapter, therefore, will explore how the BCMGP as an institution was bound up with Francoism’s process of nation building. The interactions between BCMGP bureaucrats and *mutilados* thus offer an insight into the forms and nature of Francoist governance, and reveals the importance of paternalist structures of patronage. A major component of such structures was the preponderance of petitioning by disabled veterans and their families. Francoist *mutilados* wrote thousands of letters to the BCMGP, often addressed directly to Millán Astray or the ultimate paterfamilias, Franco himself. A detailed analysis of these letters not only reveals how patronage structures functioned on a daily basis, but also argues that petitioning formed an important part of how the Francoist regime interacted with its subjects, and established its legitimacy ‘from below’ during and after the war. In their petitions to the state, Francoist *mutilados* not only asked for favours, but also reproduced the linguistic frames of the regime. Within this process, veterans were encouraged to provide brief synopses of their life stories, and to communicate their personal trajectories within the framework of the regime’s broader narrative of the Civil War. In so doing, they acknowledged and reinforced the legitimacy of the Francoist establishment. In addition, the petitions of *mutilados* were assessed by the regime in conjunction with witness statements, which were used to verify veterans’ claims and thus provide a veneer of objectivity to the regime’s very malleable administrative structures. Consequently, the bureaucratic interactions between the BCMGP and *mutilados* exemplified how ‘ordinary’ citizens were drawn into participating with the regime, and how administrative procedures were used to reinforce the dependence of individuals on their contacts within the ‘national community’.

## Speaking Francoist

For many *mutilados*, the BCMGP was their first contact with the New State’s bureaucratic juggernaut. Apparently well-organised institutions such as the BCMGP were intended to showcase Francoism’s legitimacy as a competent peacetime government, and emphasised the organisation, stability and permanence of the Francoist state and its administrative structures. The bureaucratic procedures of the BCMGP obliged veterans to actively engage with the Francoist state; as had been the case for the former Invalids’ Corps, responsibility for starting the process of entering the BCMGP fell on the individual in question and his family. The BCMGP’s application process was time-consuming and required the submission of an official letter of application, the provision of the names and whereabouts of witnesses, collecting together a number of official supporting documents, and undergoing assessment by a military medical tribunal. Veterans were expected to structure their application letters according to a template, which recommended the use of the third person, addressing the recipient as ‘Your Excellency’, and signing off their correspondence with ‘may God protect your life many years’.[[585]](#footnote-585) In a sense, therefore, veterans were taught to ‘speak Francoist’, but they also often elaborated on the template with other flourishes of official rhetoric picked up elsewhere. Once collected, all the necessary documents would then be considered by the local BCMGP tribunal, which would provide a recommendation to the national authority on whether a veteran should be accepted, and with which classification. This process forced veterans to invest time and money in responding to the demands of the state, and helped to consolidate hierarchical citizen-state relations, as individuals were forced to acknowledge, consciously or otherwise, their lowly position within vertical hierarchies of citizenship.

The proliferation of petitioning under Francoism exemplified how ‘ordinary’ citizens interacted with the regime’s paternalism, and thousands of Spaniards within the BCMGP appealed to the authorities for favours. Yet Francoist patronage structures also required Spaniards to adopt a cautious approach in their letters to the state, which toed the line between assertiveness and deference. In his work on the Soviet Union in the 1930s, Stephen Kotkin coined the term ‘Speaking Bolshevik’ to refer to the process by which Russian citizens learnt what the state expected of them as individuals, which included reproducing the discursive tropes of the Soviet regime.[[586]](#footnote-586) Kotkin suggested that it was the population’s willingness to meet such expectations that enabled the Soviet regime to maintain a degree of stability. Despite their ideological differences—and the significant disparity in state power—, the Francoist and Soviet regimes influenced their subjects’ use of language in similar ways. Spaniards living under Francoism also learnt to adopt the language of the regime and frequently deployed Francoism’s narratives in their attempts to improve their personal circumstances. However, Spain’s political and social reality under Francoism differed significantly from the Russian context. Rather than reinforcing central authority and revolutionising traditional power structures, in Spain the specific nature of ‘speaking Francoist’ acknowledged the discretion of state bureaucrats to act in their favour, thus strengthening traditional, patronage-based forms of governance. This implied a certain devolution of central power, which, though appearing to contradict the centralising impetus of the regime, was typical of the heavy but weak nature of Francoist bureaucracy, and its dependence on local agents.

Adopting the language of the regime did not necessarily imply profound, ideological affinity; individuals often ‘spoke Francoist’ for pragmatic, or even deeply unpatriotic, reasons. Yet the ability of citizens to adapt to official rhetoric not only underscores their agency within the authoritarian context of Francoist Spain, but also offers an insight into the regime’s process of legitimisation, particularly with ‘ordinary’ citizens whose ideological commitment to the *Movimiento* was far from assured. Though individuals who ‘spoke Francoist’ often did so in pursuit of personal interests, their adoption of the regime’s narratives reinforced the validity of these. In this way, the Francoist state brought many ordinary Spanish citizens into the regime, in an essential process of legitimation.

Correspondence between Francoist *mutilados* and representatives of the BCMGP offers an insight into this process.Though they had fought in the Francoist army in the Civil War and had thus contributed to its victory, *mutilados* were not necessarily supporters of the Francoist regime; most low-ranking soldiers had been conscripted into the army, while others had volunteered to serve with Franco’s rivals within the coalition of forces which comprised the Nationalist war effort.[[587]](#footnote-587) In addition, the paucity of BCMGP benefits did not necessarily endear Francoist *mutilados* to the nascent regime. Tensions between the need to show deference to new power structures and a desire to improve their personal circumstances can be seen in the letters of *mutilados*, who did not accept the bureaucratic culture of the BCMGP uncritically. Many recognised the system’s malleability and sought to deploy the regime’s rhetoric to their advantage. [redacted]

## Francoism and modernity

Despite its socially conservative character, the Francoist regime positioned itself as a modern state, in touch with broader, international modernising trends. This was reflected in its approach to the issue of war disability. Even in the depths of post-war economic autarchy, the BCMGP’s management of the war disabled drew on international trends, particularly those which favoured ‘workfare’ over welfare.[[588]](#footnote-588) The medicalisation of disability changed the state’s approach to the disabled; thanks to modern medicine, the once ‘permanently crippled’ body became merely ‘temporarily injured’.[[589]](#footnote-589) Disabled soldiers were thus assessed according to their ‘usability’ or capacity for work, particularly in relation to their ‘usefulness’ to the nation.[[590]](#footnote-590) The idea of ‘usefulness’ undoubtedly appealed to the masculine identities of individuals such as Millan Astray, as well as the broader Francoist emphasis on men’s societal role as breadwinners. Yet the BCMGP’s emphasis on the ‘usefulness’ of *mutilados* also reflected wider international trends, and underscored the regime’s desire to find a budget-friendly way of dealing with the *mutilados*.

In the autarchic context of post-war Spain—characterised by severe economic depression and isolation from international markets—the regime’s emphasis on the potential of *mutilados* to work aimed to bolster the ‘greatness’ of the Fatherland by simultaneously increasing the number of producers contributing to the workforce, and reducing the numbers of individuals reliant on disability pensions.[[591]](#footnote-591) In this sense, the regime’s approach to war disability can be understood with reference to the Foucauldian concept of ‘biopower’, or the ‘subjugation of bodies and the control of populations’.[[592]](#footnote-592) The National Board for the Fight against Invalidity (Patronato Nacional de Lucha contra la Invalidez) offers an example of how the regime aimed to render the bodies of the disabled ‘more compliant and productive’.[[593]](#footnote-593) Set up in 1949 in response to the issue of civilian disability, the National Board established specialist care centres for ‘invalids’, and extended the availability of orthopaedic aids to greater numbers of people. Though such efforts were ultimately undermined by fiscal constraints and high unemployment rates, they did demonstrate a clear rejection of traditional attitudes, which viewed forcing the disabled to work as cruel.[[594]](#footnote-594) As we saw in chapter two, such work-oriented attitudes also clearly dictated the regime’s policy on the war disabled.

Spanish medical professionals working on war disability frequently drew on the work of experts abroad, especially those from the Axis countries.[[595]](#footnote-595) In turn, foreign scholars published their work in Spanish scientific journals, while Spanish surgeons paid close attention to foreign innovations such as the Krukenberg procedure, discussed previously.[[596]](#footnote-596) Spanish orthopaedic specialists continued in the long-term to rely heavily on the work of rehabilitation specialists abroad; in his 1965 monograph on orthopaedics and rehabilitation, Dr Rafael González Mas used images of orthopaedic aids developed by companies in the anglophone world, such as J.E. Hanger and Co. and the United States Manufacturing Company.[[597]](#footnote-597)Like their international counterparts, Spanish medical professionals underscored the importance of modern surgical and rehabilitation methods in reincorporating disabled veterans back into the workplace. Such discourses filtered down to companies offering employment to *mutilados*, who presented the fruits of veterans’ labours as evidence of the modernity and national fortitude of the New Spain. Juan Girod, for example, the director of a watchmaking school for Francoist *mutilados* in Madrid boasted that rehabilitated men would make the first entirely Spanish timepieces.[[598]](#footnote-598) In addition, as we have seen, ‘modern’ scientific knowledge was also used by the regime’s psychiatrists and rehabilitation specialists to pathologise *mutilados* who avoided employment.[[599]](#footnote-599)

The contradictions between Francoism’s modernising discourses and the realities of post-war austerity could be observed in 1938, when the Royal College of Spain in Bologna invited twelve ‘glorious war *mutilados*’ to the Rizzoli orthopaedic institute to be treated by the renowned Italian orthopaedic specialist, Professor Putti.[[600]](#footnote-600) The costs of the trip were to be covered by the Spanish Red Cross, and the beneficiaries would receive their normal military salaries in Italian currency via the embassy in Rome. In the end, only two *mutilados* were permitted to take part in the scheme, and were drawn from the officer classes. The unconvincing justification given by the Francoist authorities was that all remaining *mutilados* were needed to continue contributing to the war effort in Spain.[[601]](#footnote-601) The regime’s reluctance to allow groups of *mutilados* to travel abroad for superior rehabilitation treatment reflected a desire to avoid undermining the status of Spanish health professionals. Contact with more advanced medical techniques also risked raising the expectations of *mutilados* with regards to the care they would receive in Spain.

The BCMGP’s emphasis on ‘usefulness’ and the willingness of Francoist representatives and medical specialists to engage with international trends reflected the regime’s desire to present itself as a modernising force. This acknowledgement of the value of international ideas was not at odds with the Francoist state’s nationalism. Rather, as Juan Girod’s comments illustrate, Spain’s ability to utilise modern technology and rehabilitative methods to its advantage helped to present the regime as a force for progress. However, this apparently modern approach to the issue of war disability was matched only superficially by the day-to-day activities of the BCMGP.

## Administrative objectivity

In his work on the Francoist military trials, Peter Anderson has shown how administrative structures were used to legitimise Francoist repression.[[602]](#footnote-602) Within the military courts, the witness statements of ordinary Spaniards were used to depict victims of repression as ‘proven’ criminals.[[603]](#footnote-603) The effect of this was both to justify repressive measures, and to bolster the legitimacy of the Francoist regime itself, not least by incorporating ‘ordinary’ citizens into the judicial process. The desire to project an image of administrative objectivity was not unique to the repressive court system. Through its carefully structured application process, the BCMGP also created the illusion of due process, which reflected the regime’s self-positioning as an ordered, modern state. However, as with the repressive military trials, the BCMGP’s apparently rigid procedures masked a more fluid reality, in which administrators could exercise discretion over individual cases. Yet the BCMGP differed from the military courts which tried the regime’s enemies; as a body established to compensate its supporters for wartime sacrifices, it conveyed the permanence and stability of the Francoist regime, and provided material incentives for accepting its legitimacy.

Like many governmental structures, the BCMGP was a hybrid of new and old organisational features. As with the former Invalids’ Corps, the BCMGP required applicants to provide details on the circumstances of their wounding, and separated those wounded in combat from those injured in accidents. Yet, as highlighted in the discussion of ‘rebranding’ in chapter one, the BCMGP was more than a replica of the Invalids’ Corps. To the former Invalids’ Corps legislation, the BCMGP added a forty-page medical table, based on French war disability legislation from 1919, detailing the precise percentages that should be allocated to different wounds.[[604]](#footnote-604) The extensive detail provided within this long list of medical terms and percentages gave an impression of scientific rigour; percentage disability classifications were not based on the subjective experience of *mutilados*, but on the level-headed classifications of experts. This reliance on medical expertise reflected broader trends in Francoist Spain, which linked the scientific to its self-positioning as a modern state. Attempts to promote this image of modernity could also be seen in the regime’s eulogisation of internationally-renowned medical specialists, such as eye-specialist Ramón Castroviejo, praised for his pioneering development of corneal transplants.[[605]](#footnote-605)

Through its emphasis on witness statements, the BCMGP tried to conjure a similar illusion of modern objectivity. Though this was a practice inherited from the Invalids’ Corps, within the context of post-war purges, witness statements took on new significance. Witnesses were now not only called upon to comment on the circumstances of wounding, but could also be asked to testify to an individual’s conformity with the broader values of the regime. Witnesses were an intrinsic part of applying to the BCMGP, and a *mutilado*’s application could be rejected or severely delayed, depending on the quality and promptness of a witness statement. Veterans were thus reliant on favourable references from fellow members of the ‘national community’ in order to prove their conformity with official Civil War narratives. As Anderson has shown, when it came to the repression of the state’s enemies, a damning (if uncorroborated) witness statement in a military trial could lead to the arrest and even execution of the defendant.[[606]](#footnote-606) In such cases, justice was a social process, in which a person’s life depended on the strength of their personal connections. Although the context of the BCMGP application process was far removed from the punitive courts, a *mutilado* could not successfully enter the Corps acting in isolation. Here, too, the application process was a social one, whereby an individual had to rely on his network of contacts to support his case.

The dependence of a *mutilado* on his social network manifested itself either through witness statements within an individual’s case file, or through the more untraceable intervention of those within the BCMGP administration and medical professions. While military courts were more than willing to accept the flimsy testimonies of witnesses, the BCMGP often adopted a sceptical stance towards the uncorroborated testimonies of its wounded soldiers. This reflected the different purposes of both systems. It was in the regime’s interests for the military courts to prove Republicans ‘guilty’, as this would facilitate the task of purging Spain of ‘undesirable’ elements. In contrast, the greater the number of *mutilados* granted ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ status, the greater the financial cost to the state. However, the BCMGP was far from consistent in its approach, and local contexts and relationships played an important role in the fate of a veteran’s case file. Bureaucrats could, and often did, turn a blind eye to applications which did not fully meet the entry criteria. This could be for legitimate reasons, such as the impracticalities of tracking down witnesses to injuries sustained in war. Witnesses might have since been killed or injured themselves, or moved to a different battalion or company, or the *mutilado* may not have known the names of his witnesses in the first place. Even if witnesses were still alive, given the upheaval caused by the war, it could often take some time to track them down, which could delay a *mutilado*’s application.

A lack of witnesses did not, therefore, necessarily bar a veteran’s entry into the Corps. [redacted]

The notion of bearing ‘witness’ within the BCMGP tribunal system was, therefore, as problematic as in the repressive military trials.[[607]](#footnote-607) Most testimonies were recorded in highly formulaic terms and [redacted] were generally limited to an individual confirming or not that an event had happened, without going into too many details. It was not uncommon for witness statements in a case to appear as almost verbatim copies of each other. [redacted] In some files, we find pre-prepared certificates in which all the witness had to do was fill in their name and the specificities of the case in question.[[608]](#footnote-608) This suggests that the bureaucrats conducting the BCMGP proceedings were not necessarily concerned with complexity, and that time pressures meant they were inclined to record testimonies in the most straightforward way possible. The lack of appetite to delve too deeply into most *mutilados*’ backstories throws J.’s case into relief. The BCMGP bureaucrats presiding over his case could have chosen to overlook the inconsistencies in his statements. The fact that they did not illustrates the flip side to the discretionary nature of the BCMGP application process. Clearly, the Francoist administration could be both benevolent and harsh. In his work on the ancient Roman context, Christopher Kelly has underscored how some uncertainty within a regime’s bureaucratic structures can reinforce the authority of autocratic leaders, as subjects remain dependent on imperial goodwill.[[609]](#footnote-609) The uncertainty which resulted from bureaucratic arbitrariness in the Francoist context reinforced the reliance of ‘ordinary’ citizens on patrons within the administration, and thus strengthened the vertical, hierarchical nature of Francoism’s social base.

The sense of uncertainty fostered by the BCMGP’s discretionary bureaucracy did not end with the entry of a veteran into the corps. The benefits of BCMGP membership could be withdrawn at any time, which helped to consolidate the hierarchical nature of Spanish society. [redacted] Having fought in the Francoist army was not enough to secure a comfortable life under the dictatorship; a supportive network of contacts who would be prepared to vouch for one’s conduct and reputation in front of the authorities was also essential. Failing that, only direct intervention from the highest authority of all, Franco, could change one’s fate. Such emphasis on social networks and the benevolence of a ruling elite echoed the clientelist forms of governance of previous times.

Within the hierarchical administration of the BCMGP, veterans possessed a degree of agency and were often wise to the flexibilities of the system. Many learnt to ‘speak Francoist’, and knew which narratives would be received favourably by BCMGP representatives. This could lead to cases of outright fraud, particularly when *mutilados* were wounded in circumstances which did not meet the regime’s rhetorical emphasis on wounding in battle. [redacted] Attempts to play the system, or exploit its grey areas, undoubtedly worked out for many, but such tactics reinforced the dependence of veterans on the willingness of BCMGP administrators not to delve too deeply into the specificities of their individual claims. Given the often chaotic nature of warfare, in which witnesses could be non-existent or difficult to track down, the success of many applications was dependent on the benevolent blind eye of Francoist bureaucrats. Such discretion was thus key to the social construction of the New State in that it tied the fate of individuals to that of their patrons within the administration. It was thus in the interests of many citizens to support the consolidation of the regime, and subsequently its preservation.

The generosity of BCMGP bureaucrats in overlooking inconvenient truths within an individual’s case file is particularly clear when the question of personal negligence arose. Witnesses testifying in support of an application were usually asked whether there had been any personal fault on the part of the soldier. [redacted] This exact phrase appears frequently within witness statements, and reflected pre-Civil War attitudes towards the work disabled, especially the 1922 Law on Work Accidents which limited access to compensation if the incident had been the result of negligence or imprudence.[[610]](#footnote-610) The question of culpability also reflected the behavioural standards expected of the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’, who, according to article 83 of the 1938 law, were responsible for their own actions and could be removed from the BCMGP for misconduct.[[611]](#footnote-611) However, the criteria used to evaluate negligence was unclear, and over the course of this study, no examples have been found of BCMGP applications being rejected on this basis. That is not to say that there were no cases of negligence within the Francoist army. [redacted]

Despite the discretionary nature of the BCMGP application system, subjective witness statements and evidence were presented as objective ‘facts’ through a process of administrative mediation. Individuals gave their testimonies orally, which were recorded in formulaic terms by a secretary. Statements were then added to a Special Military Tribunal booklet along with other documents, such as medical reports and statements from local and military officials. The involvement of medical experts who provided detailed scientific reports on the nature and percentage severity of mutilations contributed to the apparent objectivity of the tribunal process. However, there was room for manoeuvre even in the apparently scientific reports of doctors and medical health professionals, who could exercise discretion in their assessments of the causes and percentage severity of mutilations. [redacted]

It is impossible to know how widespread the falsification of BCMGP witness statements was, and to what extent the BCMGP judges were complicit in such practices. However, it is clear that many very short and implausible witness statements were accepted by tribunals, apparently at face value, which again highlights the grace-and-favour approach of the BCMGP administration. [redacted] Similarly, other grounds for rejecting applications were not applied homogenously. This was particularly the case for individuals suffering from mental illness. Although veterans with mental illness—‘no matter what the cause’—had in theory been recognised by the BCMGP as ‘absolute accidental *mutilados*’ since 1944, many were excluded from the corps.[[612]](#footnote-612) This was in part due to the fact that the BCMGP’s medical table of recognised lesions was not updated to reflect this legislative change. [redacted]

In this sense, the BCMGP administration questions the strength of military brotherhood amongst Francoist veterans of the Civil War. Ángel Alcalde argues that Francoist veterans helped to sustain a ‘culture of war’ under the dictatorship, ‘based on myths, discourses and rituals’.[[613]](#footnote-613) As a military corps, the BCMGP went some way to maintaining disabled veterans’ links to military life. The most severely mutilated received financial benefits, which usually had to be collected in person from a local pay office. Similarly, though they did not receive pension, ‘useful’ *mutilados* remained connected to the army through their access to the military healthcare system. Yet this military connection did not necessarily entail favourable treatment by one’s military brothers. BCMGP administrators could overlook questionable cases, but this benevolence was inconsistent. [redacted]

The experiences of higher-ranking veterans throw the patronage structures of the BCMGP into sharp relief, and offer a glimpse of how the national community was consolidated higher up the social ladder. In many ways, those pertaining to the officer classes were even more dependent on the regime’s structures of patronage than civilian *mutilados*, given that their privileges and future career prospects were often entirely dependent on favours from their colleagues and commanding officers. Furthermore, the complicity of many officers in exploiting the grey areas in the system for personal gain made them a part of the regime, and thus linked its survival to their own. Higher-ranking *mutilados* benefitted from their elevated position in the system in a multitude of ways. As we saw in chapter two, many officer *mutilados* were given jobs within the BCMGP, which meant they were in a prime position to influence the outcomes of their applications. These men became the gatekeepers of disability benefits, and, unsurprisingly, were likely to act favourably towards the petitions of their friends, colleagues and military superiors. As we have seen, professional soldiers who continued to pursue military careers after the Civil War stood to benefit more financially from war disability legislation than ordinary recruits who left the armed forces. But their rank also meant that they were likely to have a network of contacts which would facilitate their smooth entry into the Corps. Officer *mutilados* were thus less likely to experience delays and complications within their applications than low-ranking or ‘civilian’ veterans. [redacted]

As patrons within the BCMGP’s administrative structures, officer *mutilados* were ideally located to influence the outcomes of their own case files, and examples of such activities abound. [redacted]

The familiarity of officer *mutilados* with BCMGP legislation also allowed them to navigate the system effectively, and to avoid revealing particular details that might count against them in their applications for state recognition. [redacted]

*Mutilados* from the officer classes thus became some of Francoism’s most enduringly loyal supporters, and continued to propagate the discourse of the ‘Crusade’ even well into the 1970s, when increasing numbers of Spaniards were looking beyond the regime and its tired narratives of the Civil War. In fact, in the later years of Francoism, individuals who remained committed to the narrative of the ‘Crusade’ were welcomed into the BCMGP so enthusiastically that they were often not even expected to meet the bureaucratic requirements of its application process. [redacted] From the 1960s, as Spain experienced increasing economic prosperity and contact, via tourism and migration, with the more liberal outlooks of its European neighbours, the Corps increasingly became a relic of ‘Crusade’.[[614]](#footnote-614) In its later years, the BCMGP was thus, perhaps, especially welcoming of those who, like W., continued to promote the narratives of the late 1930s and 1940s.

Others came to the BCMGP late in life following the deterioration of their health. [redacted]

A cursory glance at the records of the BCMGP, bursting with medical diagnoses and uniformly-typed witness statements, leaves an impression of bureaucratic objectivity. Such objectivity was, however, an illusion, and the BCMGP application process could be manipulated from all sides, not least by officer *mutilados* employed within the Corps. This state of affairs reflected the importance of social networks in Francoist Spain, and the fact that service within the Nationalist army was, by itself, insufficient to secure veterans a place within the BCMGP. The victim/vanquished dichotomy thus fails to accurately reflect the experiences of many Francoist *mutilados*, who often struggled to convince the regime to support them. Equally, the BCMGP’s skeptical stance, though increasingly benevolent in the regime’s later years, betrayed the state’s recognition that service within the Francoist army did not guarantee loyalty. The BCMGP’s administrative structures thus co-opted veterans into the regime while subordinating them to its patronage structures.

## Paternalistic benevolence in practice: the case of the *Damas Mutiladas*

Most people mobilised by the Francoist war effort were male. For supporters of the rebel cause, Republican *milicianas* who served on the front were an abomination, and living proof of the dangers posed by ‘Marxism’ to family life.[[615]](#footnote-615) Yet Nationalist women did play an active role in the conflict through various channels, such as the Falange’s Sección Femenina (Women’s Section) or the Carlist *Margaritas* (Marguerites). As nurses and washerwomen, women on the Nationalist side worked in dangerous conditions, and some were killed or injured as a result.[[616]](#footnote-616) The numbers of mutilated women were so small that no separate procedures were established to manage their claims to war pensions. Such women therefore ended up within the BCMGP, and, somewhat unusually, were categorised as ‘ex-combatants’. Referred to as ‘Mutilated Ladies’ (*Damas Mutiladas*), the BCMGP’s management of the *mutiladas* epitomises Francoist regime’s ‘grace-and-favour’ approach to government. While the ‘veteran’ status of such women certainly contradicted Francoist understandings of gender—particularly the association of war with masculinity, and the feminisation of the domestic sphere—this categorisation reflected the discretionary nature of Francoist governance, and its willingness to grant concessions to certain individuals, even when this contradicted its broader gender ideology.

[redacted]

The regime’s management of the ‘Mutilated Ladies’ epitomises its grace-and-favour approach to government. The categorisation of female *mutiladas* as ex-combatants had no formal basis within Francoist legislation, but depended entirely on the discretion of BCMGP bureaucrats.[[617]](#footnote-617) Fortunately for the *Damas Mutiladas*, despite the apparent contradiction with Francoist gender norms, BCMGP administrators saw no harm in using forms replete with masculine pronouns for the odd woman who came their way. The discretionary benevolence of the Francoist regime recalled the governing ethos of a monarch or emperor towards their subjects. Indeed, the 1947 Law of Succession re-established the Spanish monarchy, though mandating that Franco would act in its stead as Caudillo during his lifetime.[[618]](#footnote-618) Franco was not a monarch in a conventional sense, but his regime’s willingness to grant favours on some occasions, while refusing support on others reinforced Spanish citizens’ dependence on the favour of those higher up the chain of patronage.

Through its analysis of bureaucratic interactions between citizens and state, this chapter has underscored both the agency of Francoist veterans and how administrative structures like the BCMGP co-opted ‘ordinary’ citizens into the regime, thus helping to consolidate and preserve its authority. Combining both modern and traditional forms of governance, the BCMGP application process gave an impression of bureaucratic objectivity, but its percentages, medical judgements and formulaic application forms masked a more malleable reality in which individual administrators exercised a degree of discretion over the outcome of different cases. Such discretion increased the reliance of veterans on the paternalistic benevolence of different actors within the regime’s patronage structures, particularly during the post-war years of economic hardship. Such structures also meant veterans were dependent on fellow members of the ‘national community’ to vouch for their character in formal witness statements. The discretionary nature of the BCMGP thus encouraged the proliferation of petitioning to the regime’s largesse, as well as the art of ‘speaking Francoist’, which saw citizens incorporate their own life stories into the regime’s broader narratives of the Civil War. The willingness and ability of many Spaniards to secure improvements to their personal situations in this way testifies to the potency of such narratives both in the post-war, and throughout the dictatorship. Although applications to the BCMGP declined over time, we see remarkably little evolution in the *way* in which citizens interacted with officials via the Corps. However, while the BCMGP remained static, Spain changed around it, cementing its increasing irrelevance in society over time, despite the persistence of official ceremonies such as the annual San Rafael celebrations, and periodical visits to the head of state.

# Conclusion

The case of the Francoist war disabled makes an important contribution to the historiography of war disability in the modern period. As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, narratives of stigmatisation and emasculation have tended to dominate accounts of war disability, particularly within democratic contexts where understandings of nation and citizenship were not intrinsically linked to military successes in war. The Francoist regime offers an alternative view. Under a dictatorship which, especially in its early years, exalted military culture and used the victory in the ‘Crusade’ to legitimise its authority, ‘old and broken’ Francoist veterans of the Civil War could not be left to languish on the streets of the ‘New Spain’. Furthermore, Spain’s post-war context of repression and economic penury upset traditional stigmatising hierarchies. In a context of severe economic depression in which former Republicans were heavily stigmatised, Francoist ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ with their—albeit meagre—pensions and favourable access to the labour market were in a position of relative privilege. As living standards increased across the board with the economic growth of the 1960s, this relative privilege was gradually eroded compared to other, able-bodied Spaniards, particularly given that Francoist *mutilados* tended to be employed in jobs with few prospects for career advancement. Nonetheless, mounting publicity surrounding the unending disenfranchisement of Republican *mutilados*—who would only be recognised some years after the dictatorship—ensured that the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ continued to be perceived as the victors of Francoism. This was reflected in cultural productions in the 1970s, which used the trope of the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ to critique the regime’s decrepitude.

This analysis of the Francoist war disabled reflects increasing emphasis, particularly in the social sciences, on the concept of ‘intersectionality’, and the idea that it is insufficient to assess one aspect of an individual’s identity in isolation from other identity markers, or from broader socio-political contexts.[[619]](#footnote-619) In the Spanish case, as has been underscored throughout the thesis, an individual’s experience of being a ‘Francoist veteran’ can only be understood with reference to broader structural inequalities within Spain—notably the discrimination of those with Republican pasts—and Spain’s evolving economic prosperity. As we have seen, post-war employment status was vital to veterans’ experiences, and there were marked differences between those who remained within the armed forces and those who did not. BCMGP legislation was conceived in such a way that it would benefit long-term service personnel the most, a point particularly marked in the case of the mentally infirm, as explored in chapter three. Those who returned from the war to civilian employment were less likely to reap the rewards of their condition as veterans of the Francoist army. While this civilian/military dichotomy was particularly crucial under a military dictatorship like Franco’s, the differences in how conscripts and professional soldiers experienced war disability would merit greater attention from scholars of war disability in a multitude of contexts, as would a greater sensitivity to the intersection of disability with other identity markers, such as race and class.[[620]](#footnote-620)

Yet this thesis has also shown how war disability is only a starting point for discussing the broader nature of life under the Francoist dictatorship, particularly with regards to the relationship between the regime and its citizens. Chapter four, in particular, has emphasised the importance of patronage structures to the regime’s governance of Spaniards. Again, the relationship of Spaniards with the Francoist authorities was often dependent on the broader positioning of the former within the regime’s social and military hierarchies, which affected their ability to benefit from structures of patronage. As we have seen, ‘military’ *mutilados* employed within the BCMGP administration were more likely to benefit from the system on a number of levels. First, their rank and contacts within the military administration meant they were more likely to receive a positive verdict on their applications for state recognition. Second, their proximity to the military establishment also meant they were more likely to hear about amendments to BCMGP legislation which might act in their favour. ‘Civilian’ *mutilados* remained linked to the armed forces through their BCMGP membership, but without the contacts and authority of rank, they were less likely to benefit from legislative updates, to be protected in case of misdemeanours, or to be supported in old age when their wounds deteriorated. In this sense, not only do war disability provisions underscore the importance of Francoist patronage structures on the lives of ‘ordinary’ Spaniards, they also help to nuance our understanding of what it meant to be a ‘Francoist veteran’ of the Civil War. Francoist veterans were certainly not a homogenous group, and many of them did not reap the rewards of the 1939 victory over Franco’s nearly four decades in power.

This appreciation for the vast panoply of ‘Francoist veteran’ experiences also allows us to access a more nuanced understanding of masculinity under Francoism than current scholarship has allowed for. This is mainly the result of the fact that previous studies have drawn exclusively on cultural sources and official representations to draw conclusions on what is ultimately a very personal, intimate phenomenon—masculine identity. This thesis constitutes the first sustained attempt to access masculinity ‘from below’ under the Francoist regime, and it is perhaps, therefore, unsurprising that its findings challenge current historiographical emphasis on the dominance of ‘top down’ military masculine models. Despite the permanent marks which their military experiences left on their physical and mental health, ‘civilian’ Francoist *mutilados* rarely conformed to official narratives of how an upstanding ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ should behave. Those aspects of *Caballero Mutilado* identity which appear to have resonated most with veterans—marriage, fatherhood, employment—did so precisely because the ideal built on values which were already present in Spanish society, rather than vice-versa. The common practice of ‘speaking Francoist’, whereby Spaniards paid lip service to the regime while in many ways subverting its emphasis on deference, underscored the superficial nature of many citizens’ engagement with the ideological tenets of Francoism. Instead, deeply-entrenched ideals of home and work proved far more appealing to ‘ordinary’ *mutilados* than the military models peddled by the regime’s wartime propaganda.

## The legacy of the *Caballeros Mutilados*

When I began the research for this project in October 2014, I expected to encounter a degree of animosity towards Francoist war disability policy given its complete disenfranchisement of the Republican war disabled. During Spain’s transition to democracy, recognition of Republican *mutilados* became symbolic of the steps that needed to be taken to redress the political and social injustices of the preceding four decades. The late 1970s and early 1980s saw increasing protests from surviving Republican disabled veterans and their families, who decried persisting inequalities in war disability legislation between ex-combatants of both sides.[[621]](#footnote-621) In 1973 and 1974, 47 *procuradores* (representatives in the Spanish Cortes) agreed to sign a document supporting Republican *mutilados* in their attempts to secure pensions, to no avail.[[622]](#footnote-622) In the end, Republican *mutilados* had to wait until June 1980 for legislation to be passed granting them pensions for their Civil War service.[[623]](#footnote-623) Even this legislation failed to compensate Republican veterans and their families for decades of hardship, missed job opportunities, and military promotions had they chosen to remain within the armed forces.

Less expected, however, was the bitterness which continues to be felt within certain military circles surrounding the fate of the BCMGP and its waning numbers of *Caballeros Mutilados*. As post-transition governments have sought to distance themselves from the negative associations of the Francoist dictatorship, disabled veterans of the regime’s armed forces—particularly those ‘military’ *mutilados* who had become accustomed to visits to El Pardo and other state honours—have seen the definitive deterioration of their privileged position in Spanish society. Finally, in 1989 a law was passed extinguishing the BCMGP and forcing all members into retirement.[[624]](#footnote-624) This left just a handful of staff in the former Madrid headquartersto deal with the remaining pension files of those wounded in military service during the Civil War and subsequent decades of dictatorship. The magazine for the Association of ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ (*Asociación de Caballeros Mutilados*, ACM)—established in 1992—offers an insight into how some Francoist *mutilados* responded to legislative changes during and after Spain’s transition to democracy. The anonymous author of a poem published in the first issue of the magazine lamented that the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ had been pushed away from the ‘big military family’ so that they now stood ‘on the threshold of oblivion’.[[625]](#footnote-625)

Some BCMGP traditions live on, particularly through ACIME, or the *Asociación Española de Militares y Guardias Civiles con Discapacidad* (Spanish Association of Military Personnel and Civil Guards with Disabilities). ACIME is a not-for-profit organisation established in 1989, which exists as a support network and pressure group for disabled military personnel. Though it declares itself apolitical and non-religious, ACIME has inherited some of the traditions of the former BCMGP, including the annual celebration of the *Caballeros Mutilados*’ patron saint, the archangel St Rafael. The BCMGP’s headquarters in Madrid’s upmarket Salamanca district also remained dedicated to managing remaining Francoist disabled veterans’ case files until relatively recently, when in 2016 it was sold to the Rey Juan Carlos I University.[[626]](#footnote-626) In a somewhat bizarre throwback to Millán Astray’s brand of right-wing welfarism, in the same year the former BCMGP mansion was occupied by the neo-nazi social welfare organization, *Hogar Social Madrid*.[[627]](#footnote-627) By the time much of the fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken, in October 2015, the BCMGP’s archive and remaining active personnel files had been transferred to a basement office just north of Madrid’s Plaza de Castilla. Though it is now called the *Unidad de Gestión de Mutilados* or *Mutilado* Management Unit, echoes of the BCMGP remain in the paintings of San Rafael and the Malagan mutilated Christ which adorn the walls.

The acrimony with which some surviving *Caballeros Mutilados* have faced the gradual decline of the once prestigious corps might be viewed with some irony given the conditions endured by Republicans under the dictatorship.[[628]](#footnote-628) Certainly, despite being forced into retirement, *mutilados* of the former BCMGP were never stripped of their pensions or military honours. Yet the sentiment that Francoist *mutilados* are fighting a losing battle against the forces of history reflects the very nature of the BCMGP, which was always more than an administrative, pension body. The BCMGP and the ‘officer’ *mutilados* who served within it enjoyed a long-term prestige rarely conferred on the war disabled of other twentieth-century conflicts. Now that the royal visits and prestigious headquarters have been consigned to history, there is little to distinguish the ‘Mutilated Gentlemen’ from the so-called *jodidos cojos* of former times.

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10. See Javier Rodrigo, *Cautivos: Campos de Concentración en la España Franquista, 1936-1947* (Barcelona, 2005); Santos Juliá (ed.), *Víctimas de la Guerra Civil* (Madrid, 1999), pp. 277-405; Juan Manuel Fernández Soria and María Del Carmen Agulló Díaz, ‘Depuración de Maestras en el Franquismo’, *Studia Historica: Historia Contemporánea* 17 (2010), pp. 249-270. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco’s Spain, 1936-1945* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 60-61. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Michael Richards, ‘Spanish Psychiatry c.1900-1945: Constitutional Theory, Eugenics, and the Nation’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81:6 (2004), p. 840. See also Enrique González Duro, *Los Psiquiatras de Franco: Los Rojos no Estaban Locos* (Barcelona, 2008); Rafael Huertas, *Medicina, Ideología e Historia en España (siglos XVI-XXI)* (Madrid, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
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14. Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, ‘Patria Mártir: Los Españoles, La Nación y la Guerra Civil en el Discurso Ideológico del Primer Franquismo’ in Javier Moreno Luzón (ed.), *Construir España: Nacionalismo Español y Procesos de Nacionalización* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 289-302. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Geoffrey Jensen, *Irrational Triumph: Cultural Despair, Military Nationalism, and the Ideological Origins of Franco’s Spain* (Reno, 2002); Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford, 2002); José E. Alvarez, *The Betrothed of Death: The Spanish Foreign Legion during the Rif Rebellion, 1920-1927* (London, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. A collection of Carlist propaganda produced during the Civil War can be viewed at the Museo del Carlismo (Carlist Museum) in Estella, Spain. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. ‘Y tú ¿qué has hecho por la Victoria?’. See Imperial War Museum, Art. IWM PST 8482, <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/13911> [accessed 22 January 2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. The absence of images of disabled bodies is particularly striking given how keen the Francoist authorities were to display incidences of material damage, particularly to religious objects, but also to places particularly affected by the Civil War. The Aragonese town of Belchite, for example, was kept in a ruinous state ­as a reminder of ‘red’ atrocities. See ‘Le Martyre des Oeuvres D’art: Guerre Civile en Espagne’, *L’Illustration* (January 1939); *ABC*, 30 May 1940; Ricardo Centellas Salamero, Carlos Forcadell Álvarez and Alberto Sabio Alcut­én (eds), *Paisajes para después de una Guerra: El Aragón Devastado y la Reconstrucción bajo el Franquismo* (Zaragoza, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Nerea Aresti, ‘Masculinidad y nación en la España de los años 1920 y 1930’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 42:2 (2012), p. 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. See, for example, Seth Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain’, *American Historical Review* 99:4 (1994), pp. 1167-1202; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The *Asociación de Caballeros Mutilados* was established in 1992. See *Asociación Caballeros Mutilados por la Patria: Revista ACM* 1:1 (February 1994). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
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23. Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Mary Vincent, *Spain, 1833-2002: People and State* (Oxford, 2007), p. 160. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. On ‘hegemonic’ masculinity, see R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Bodmin, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Ismael Saz and Mary Vincent have argued that the Francoist regime sought to establish its legitimacy from the very beginning of the Civil War. Such discussions help to nuance current narratives which emphasise the importance of repression in the subjugation and acquiescence of Spaniards. See Alberto Gómez Roda and Ismael Saz Campos, ‘Politics and Society: Valencia in the Age of Franco’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 75:5 (1998), pp. 157-185; Mary Vincent, *‘*La paz de Franco: el concepto de jerarquía en la España de la posguerra’, in Carolyn Boyd (ed.), *Religión y política en la España contemporánea. (Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales)* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 83-105. For arguments which emphasise the importance of repression to the consolidation of Francoist authority, see, for example, Peter Anderson, *The Francoist Military Trials: Terror and Complicity, 1939-1945* (New York, 2010); Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Paul Preston, *Franco: A Biography* (London, 1995), p. 778. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Enrique Moradiellos, *1936: Los Mitos de la Guerra Civil* (Barcelona, 2004), p. 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Hugo García and Neil Herman, ‘War and Culture in Nationalist Spain, 1936-39: Testimony and Fiction in the Narrative of the “Red Terror”’, *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 2:3 (2009), p. 290. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Julius Ruiz, *The ‘Red Terror’ and the Spanish Civil War: Revolutionary Violence in Madrid* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 231-283. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, p. xi, xviii. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco, *Hambre de Siglos: Mundo rural* y *apoyos sociales del franquismo en Andalucía oriental, 1936-1951* (Granada, 2007), p. 312; Stanley Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (Madison, 1972); Richards, *Time of Silence*, pp. 11, 26-46. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Ian Gibson, *La Represión Nacionalista de Granada en 1936 y la Muerte de Federico García Lorca* (Paris, 1971). [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. This view of events, has been contested by Julius Ruiz, amongst others, whose *Red Terror* offers evidence that not all Republican violence was spontaneous or the product of the irresponsible actions of the pro-Republican masses. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
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38. Paul Preston, *The Politics of Revenge: Fascism and the Military in 20th Century Spain* (London, 1995), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Michael A. Ledeen, ‘Renzo de Felice and the Controversy over Italian Fascism’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 11:4 (1976), pp. 269-283. On the notion of ‘consent’ in the Francoist context after the initial period of repression, particularly in the Republican stronghold of Valencia, see Gómez Roda and Saz Campos, ‘Politics and Society’, pp. 171-173, 177-178; also Carme Molinero, *La Captación de las Masas: Política Social y Propaganda en el Régimen Franquista* (Madrid, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Cazorla, *Fear and Progress*, pp. 3, 10, 78-94; Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Las políticas de la victoria: la consolidación del Nuevo Estado franquista (1938-1953)* (Madrid, 2000), pp. 216, 221. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
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44. Ángel Alcalde, *Los Excombatientes Franquistas: La Cultura de Guerra del Fascismo Español y la Delegación Nacional de Excombatientes (1936-1965)* (Zaragoza, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
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46. Claudio Hernández Burgos, *Franquismo a Ras de Suelo: Zonas Grises, Apoyos Sociales y Actitudes durante la Dictadura (1936-1976)* (Granada, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
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90. John Tosh, ‘What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain’, *History Workshop* 38 (1994), p. 183. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
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93. Ana Carden-Coyne has discussed how different wounds and disability categories were valued differently by the state, and Serge Durflinger has underscored the importance of studying groups such as the blind separately from veterans with different kinds of disability. Similarly, Julie Anderson has challenged the traditional distinction between physical and mental disability, arguing that physical injury could also trigger profound mental disturbance. Anderson and Heather Perry have also underscored how conceptualisations of the disabled can differ between countries. See Ana Carden-Coyne, *Politics of Wounds*, pp. 343-349; Ana Carden-Coyne, ‘Gendering the Politics of War Wounds since 1914’ in Ana Carden-Coyne (ed.), *Gender and Conflict since 1914**: Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 84-87. Serge Durflinger, *Veterans with a Vision: Canada’s War Blinded in Peace and War* (Vancouver, 2010); Julie Anderson, ‘“Jumpy Stump”: Amputation and Trauma in the First World War’, *First World War Studies* 6:1 (2015), pp. 9-19; Julie Anderson and Heather Perry, ‘Rehabilitation and Restoration: Orthopaedics and Disabled Soldiers in Germany and Britain in the First World War’, *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* (2014), pp. 1-25. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. For some initial thoughts on pension payments to veterans of civil wars, see Marie Coleman, ‘Military Service Pensions for Veterans of the Irish Revolution, 1916-1923’, *War in History* 20:2 (2013), pp. 201-221; Brian Craig Miller, *Empty Sleeves: Amputation in the Civil War South* (Athens, 2015), pp. 141-172; Jeffrey Vogel, ‘Redefining Reconciliation: Confederate Veterans and the Southern Responses to Federal Civil War Pensions’, *Civil War History* 51:1 (2015), pp. 67-93. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
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99. Mary Ann Newman, Àngels Carabí and Josep M. Armengol, ‘Beyond Don Juan: Rethinking Iberian Masculinities’, *Men and Masculinities* 15:4 (2012), pp. 343-345. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Nerea Aresti, *Masculinidades en Tela de Juicio: Hombres y Género en el Primer Tercio del Siglo XX* (Valencia, 2010); Aresti, ‘Masculinidad y nación’, p. 55. See also Cleminson and Vázquez García, *Invisibles*, pp. 175-198. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Mary Nash, ‘Mass Tourism and New Representations of Gender in Late Francoist Spain: The Sueca and Don Juan in the 1960s’, *Cultural History* 4:2 (2015), pp. 136-161. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Mary Vincent, ‘La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista’, *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* 28 (2006), pp. 135-151. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Ángel Alcalde, ‘El Descanso del Guerrero: La Transformación de la Masculinidad Excombatiente Franquista (1939-1965)’, *Historia y Política* 37 (2017), pp. 177-208. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
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106. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp. 21-23. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester, 2009);

     Martha Hanna, ‘A Republic of Letters: The Epistolary Tradition in France during World War I’, *The American Historical Review* 108:5 (2003), pp. 1338-1361. On the importance of domesticity even in military settings, see also Kara Dixon Vuic, ‘Where the Boys Are: Militarization, Sexuality and Red Cross Donut Dollies in the Vietnam War’ in Carden-Coyne, *Gender and Conflict since 1914*, pp. 138-153. Benjamin Ziemann’s work on rural German soldiers in the First World War also questions the traditional distinction between front and home front, and highlights how the experiences of demobilised soldiers were framed by the ‘desire to return to everyday normality’ rather than shame at Germany’s military defeat. See Benjamin Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914-1923* (Oxford, 2007), esp. p. 217. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Many soldiers advertised for *madrinas* in the military press, and found such correspondence a source of comfort and, often, romantic intrigue. Matthews, *Reluctant Warriors*, pp. 119-123, 166-167. The act of writing to one’s loved ones at the front was immortalised during the Civil War in the Republican song ‘Si me quieres escribir/Ya sabes mi paradero’ (If you want to write to me/You know where I am posted). See *Spain in My Heart: Songs of the Spanish Civil War* [CD], Various artists (Bear Family Records, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Pilar Folguera, ‘La construcción de lo cotidiano durante los primeros años del franquismo’, *Ayer* 19 (1995), pp. 165-187. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Aresti, ‘Masculinidad y nación’, p. 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. See, for example, José Millán Astray, *Franco: El Caudillo* (Salamanca 1939), pp. 17, 250-253; Michael Richards, *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re-Making Spain since 1936* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. A catalogue of Jalón Ángel’s photography can be viewed online, see ‘Galería’, *Archivo Jalón Ángel*, <http://www.jalonangel.com/galeria.php> [accessed 23 April 2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. On the social model of disability see, for example, Altman, ‘Disability Definitions’, p. 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Joan W. Scott, ‘Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis’, *American Historical Review* 91:5 (1986), p. 1065. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Nadja Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Society* (Berkeley, 2009), pp. 14-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. See, for example, Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment’, pp. 1167-1202; Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*; Cohen, *War Come Home*; James Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill, 2011), pp. 100-120. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Aguilar, ‘Justice, Politics and Memory’, pp. 92-118. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Archivo General Militar de Ávila (henceforth AGMAV), C.46964, ‘Anteproyecto de Ley de Mutilados por la Patria Para la Subsecretaria de este Ministerio’, 2 July 1974. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Martos-Contreras, ‘Sobrevivir a la Guerra’, p. 153. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. For reports on St Raphael festivities, see, for example: *ABC*, 25 October 1956; 25 October 1964; 24 October 1968; 26 September 1973; 23 September 1975. For examples of how the ‘Mutilated Gentleman’ title was used in news stories unrelated to the issue of war disability, see *ABC*, 19 January 1950; 16 July 1954; 9 February 1966;26 December 1976. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Dror Wahman, ‘Change and the Corporeal in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Gender History: Or, Can Cultural History Be Rigorous?’, *Gender and History* 20:3 (2008), p. 584. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Peter Mandler, ‘The Problem with Cultural History’, *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004), p. 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Ibid*.*, p. 103. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Carden-Coyne points to the omnipresence of war disability representations in post-First World War Britain. Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Gerald Brenan, *The Face of Spain* (Harmondsworth, 1987), p. 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. On press censorship under Francoism, see Justino Sinova, *La Censura de Prensa durante el Franquismo (1936-1951)* (Madrid, 1989). See also Ángel Llorente, *Arte e Ideología en el Franquismo (1936-1951)* (Madrid, 1995), p. 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Carlos de Silva, *General Millán Astray (El Legionario)* (Barcelona, 1956); Garc­ía, *Mutilados de Guerra*; Millán Astray, *Franco*. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Geoffrey Cubitt, ‘Introduction’, in Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (eds), *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* (Manchester, 2000), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Karen Harvey, ‘The History of Masculinity, circa 1650-1800’, *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005), p. 296. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2006), p. 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Joan W. Scott, ‘The Evidence of Experience’, *Critical Inquiry* 17:4 (1991), pp. 777-779. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Jane Caplan and John Torpey, ‘Introduction’ in Jane Caplan and John Torpey (eds), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton, 2001), p. 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Mark Peel, *The Lowest Rung: Voices of Australian Poverty* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Miriam Dobson, ‘Letters’ in Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann (eds), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteeth-and Twentieth Century History* (London, 2008), p. 65; Juliane Fürst, ‘In Search of Soviet Salvation: Young People Write to the Stalinist Authorities’, *Contemporary European History* 15:3 (2006), p. 328. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. Scott, ‘Evidence of Experience’, pp. 773-97. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Frank Mort, ‘Social and Symbolic Fathers and Sons in Postwar Britain’, *Journal of British Studies* 38:3 (1999), p. 364. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Penny Summerfield, ‘Concluding Thoughts: Performance, the Self and Women’s History’, *Women’s History Review* 22:2 (2013), p. 351 [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. In accordance with Spanish data protection laws, the anonymity of veterans has been safeguarded through the use of pseudonyms throughout the thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Olwen Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 7-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Ana Antic, ‘Psychiatry at War: Psychiatric Culture and Polticial Ideology in Yugoslavia under the Nazi Occupation’, PhD thesis (Columbia University, 2012), p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Ibid., p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Julia Adeney Thomas, ‘The Evidence of Sight’, *History and Theory* 48 (2009), pp. 151-168. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Robert Bogdan with Martin Elks and James A. Knoll, *Picturing Disability: Beggar, Freak, Citizen, and Other Photographic Rhetoric* (New York, 2012), esp. pp. 2-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Ibid., p. 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Ibid., p. 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. Ibid*.*, pp. 31, 51; Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies*, pp. 186-187. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Bogdan, *Picturing Disability*, pp. 144-164; see also Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester, 1997). [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. For criticism of the social model’s neglect of the difficulties caused by impairment, see Julie Anderson and Ana Carden-Coyne, ‘Enabling the Past: New Perspectives in the History of Disability’, *European Review of History* 14:4 (2007), pp. 447-448; Jenny Morris, *Pride Against Prejudice: A Personal Politics of Disability* (London, 1991); Tom Shakespeare, *Disability Rights and Wrongs* (London, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. See, for example, Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas, *¡Fuera el invasor!: Nacionalismos y Movilización Bélica durante la Guerra Civil Española (1936-1939)* (Madrid, 2006), p. 177. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Saz, *Fascismo*, pp. 161-165. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison, Wis., 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. Matthews, *Reluctant Warriors*; see also Seidman, *Victorious Counterrevolution,* and Francisco J. Leira Castiñeira, *La Consolidación Social del Franquismo: La Influencia de la Guerra en los ‘Soldados de Franco’* (Santiago de Compostela, 2013). For criticism of Seidman’s position, see Hugo García, *Rethinking Antifascism: History, Memory and Political Uses, 1922 to the Present* (New York, 2016); Chris Ealham [review], ‘Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War by Michael Seidman’, *History* 89:4:296 (2004), p. 662; Paloma Aguilar [review], ‘Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War. By Michael Seidman’, *Journal of Modern History* 76:4 (2004), pp. 978-980; Manuel Pérez Ledesma [review], ‘Seidman, Michael. Republic of Egos. A Social History of the Spanish Civil War’, *International Review of Social History* 49:3 (2004), pp. 525-527. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. James Matthews, ‘“Our Red Soldiers”: The Nationalist Army’s Management of its Left-Wing Conscripts in the Spanish Civil War 1936-9’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 45:2 (2010), p. 355. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Hernández, *Franquismo a Ras de Suelo*; Hernández,‘Triumph of Normality’, pp. 291-310. [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. Alegre, ‘New Fascist Man’, pp. 220-223. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. On civilian disability in Franco’s Spain, see Gilgas Brégain, ‘“Nous ne demandons pas la charité. Nous voulons du travail!” La Politique Franquiste D’Assistance aux Invalides’, *Alter* 7:3 (2013), pp. 206-221; José Martínez-Pérez and María Isabel Porras Gallo, ‘Hacia una nueva percepción social de las personas con discapacidades: Legislación, medicina y los inválidos del trabajo en España (1900-1936)’, *Dynamis* 26 (2006), pp. 195–219; José Martínez-Pérez and Mercedes Del Cura­, ‘Bolstering the Greatness of the Homeland: Productivity, Disability and Medicine in Franco’s Spain, 1938-1966’, *Social History of Medicine* 28:4, pp. 805-824. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. The best work on professional soldiers and the military bureaucracy remains Julio Busquets, *El Militar de Carrera en España* (Barcelona, 1971). [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. See David Wingeate Pike, *Spaniards in the Holocaust: Mauthausen, the Horror on the Danube* (London, 2000); Soo, *Routes to Exile*, pp. 57-92. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. This support was limited by the JARE’s lack of income. See Archivo General de la Administración (henceforth AGA), 12/2998, ‘Liga de Mutilados e Inválidos’; 12/2956, ‘Inválidos y Mutilados en Dominicana’; see also Porras, ‘Vulnerable Populations’, pp. 440-442. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. To date, most work on the experiences of the Republican *mutilados* has been produced by organisations or individuals acting on their behalf for improved pension rights. See A.A. Bravo-Tellado, *Los Mutilados del Ejército de la República* (Madrid, 1976); Pedro Vega, *Historia de la Liga de Mutilados* (Madrid, 1981). On the experiences of the Republican disabled in relation to Spain’s transition to democracy in the 1970s and 1980s, see Paloma Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy* (New York and Oxford, 2002). Thus far, no historian has addressed the long-term experiences of the Republican disabled either under the dictatorship, or in exile. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Roberto Garvía, *En el País de los Ciegos: La ONCE desde una Perspectiva Sociológica* (Barcelona, 1997); Fundación ONCE, *75/25: Aniversarios de Ilusión* (2013), available at <http://www.once.es/new/que-es-la-ONCE/75-25.-aniversarios-de-ilusion/aniversarios-de-ilusion.pdf> [last accessed 23 February 2018]. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. # *Porque te vi llorar* [film], directed by Juan de Orduña(Cifesa, 1941). The film received positive reviews and remained in cinemas until at least November 1942. See *ABC*, 30 December 1941; 6 November 1942; *Blanco y Negro*, 8 March 1958.

     [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. See Luis Deltell Escolar, ‘La construcción del lenguaje del franquismo: el creador anónimo (1945-1955)’, in Javier Marzal Felici and Francisco Javier Gómez Tarín (eds), *El Productor y la Producción en la Industria Cinematográfica* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 179-181; Peter Besas, *Behind the Spanish Lens: Spanish Cinema under Fascism and Democracy* (Denver, 1985), pp. 25-28; Francisco Llinás, ‘Redundancy and Passion: Juan de Orduña and CIFESA’, in Jenaro Talens and Santos Zunzunegui (eds), *Modes of Represenation in Spanish Cinema* (Minneapolis, 1998), pp. 104-112; Begoña Gutiérrez San Miguel, ‘*Porque te vi llorar* o los primeros bocetos de la educación sentimental de la España de la postguerra’, *Arenal* 23:2 (2016), pp. 247-266. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. *The Best Years of Our Lives* [film], directed by William Wyler (The Samuel Goldwyn Company, 1946); *The Men* [film], directed by Fred Zinnemann (Stanley Kramer Productions, 1950); David A. Gerber, ‘Heroes and Misfits: The Troubled Social Reintegration of Disabled Veterans in *The Best Years of Our Lives*’, in Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*, pp. 70-95. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Vincent, ‘Martyrs’, pp. 68-98; Vincent, ‘Reafirmación’, pp. 135-151; Mary Nash, ‘Towards a New Moral Order: National-Catholicism, Culture and Gender’, in José Alvarez Junco and Adrian Shubert (eds), *Spanish History since 1808* (New York, 2000), p. 295; Rosón, ‘El álbum fotográfico’, pp. 215-238; Richards, *Time of Silence*, pp. 7-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. See Goffman, *Stigma*, esp. pp. 2-3. For more recent work on stigma, see discussions of enacted/external vs felt/internal stigma in Graham Scrambler and Anthony Hopkins, ‘Being Epileptic: coming to terms with stigma’, *Sociology of Health and Illness* 8:1 (1986), pp. 26-43; Laura Smart Richman and Mark R. Leary, ‘Reactions to discrimination, stigmatization, ostracism, and other forms of interpersonal rejection: A multimotive model’, *Psychological Review* 116 (2009), pp. 365-383. [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn. and London, 2007), p. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Vincent, ‘Reafirmación’, pp. 135-151. See also on Vichy France, Luc Capdevilla, ‘The Quest for Masculinity in a Defeated France, 1940-1945’, *Contemporary European History* 10:3 (2001), p. 428. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. The Second Republic had criminalised prostitution in 1935. Jean-Louis Guereña, *La Prostitución en la España Contemporánea* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 400-444. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. Vincent, *Spain*, pp. 166-167; James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, 1998). [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Francoist policy makers were particularly inspired by the French model, as will be discussed in greater detail within this chapter. See J. Garnaud, *Application de la loi du 31 mars 1919: Guide de L’Expert aux Commissions de Réforme* (Paris, 1919). [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Barnartt, ‘Disability as a Fluid State’, p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. Aguilar, ‘Agents of memory’, p. 86. [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. AGMAV, C.2326, 50, 91, 27-31, Mutilados de Guerra. Expediente relativo a las instrucciones para poner en marcha el reglamento de Mutilados de Guerra, 1938-1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. *ABC*, 23 October 1941; 24 October 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. *ABC*, 23 October 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Puell, *Historia de la Protección Social*, p. 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. *BOE*, 112, ‘Reglamento del Cuerpo de Inválidos Militares’, 22 April 1927, p. 538-540, articles 1, 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. See Michael Alpert, *La Reforma Militar de Azaña (1931-1933)* (Madrid, 1982). [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. *BOE*, 261, 17 September 1932, pp. 2002-2001; *BOE*, 363, 28 December 1932, p. 2177. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Manuel de Cárdenas, ‘La recuperación de los amputados de los miembros como consecuencia de las heridas de guerra’, in *Recuperación Quirúrgico-Ortopédica de los Mutilados de Guerra: Primera Ponencia: Sanidad Militar* (Madrid, 1941), p. 223. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. *BOE*, 540, ‘Reglamento Provisional del Benemérito Cuerpo de Mutilados de Guerra por la Patria’, 14 April 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. Garnaud, *Application de la loi*. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. Arturo Álvarez-Rosete, ‘Social Welfare Policies in Non-Democratic Regimes: The Development of Social Insurance Schemes in Franco’s Spain’, PhD thesis (University of Nottingham, 2011), p. 201. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. Ex-member of the Blue Division, E.A.A., lost both legs (101 per cent) while fighting for Hitler on the eastern front in the Second World War. He also lost the vision in his right eye (30 per cent), which meant that his total percentage of disability was 131 per cent. Archivo General Militar de Segovia (henceforth AGMS), 2194-4, E.A.A. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938, pp. 19, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, p. 212. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Both Carlos de Silva and Agustín García Laforga praised how Spain had ‘solved the problem of those who had lost their physical capacity in service to the Fatherland’ with just 88,000,000 pesetas. This was compared to the 2,000,000,000 pesetas spent by the British government, and 600,000,000 pesetas spent by France following the First World War. No allowance was made for the relatively small number of men covered by the BCMGP legislation, which naturally excluded Republican veterans, and also those suffering from the effects of illness contracted at the front. De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, pp. 218-220; García Laforga, *Mutilados de Guerra*, pp. 242-243. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. AGMAV, C.2396, 190,4/1, Letter from the head of the Southern Army to the *Generalísimo* of the National Armed Forces, 4 October 1937. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. Geoffrey Jensen, ‘José Millán-Astray and the Nationalist “Crusade” in Spain’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 27 (1992), p. 427; Alvarez, *Betrothed of Death*. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. Alvarez, *Betrothed of Death*, p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Preston, *Franco*, p. 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. *¡A Mí la Legión!* [film], directed by Juan de Orduña (Cifesa, 1942). [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. Alvarez, *Betrothed of Death*, p. 20; Jos­é Millán Astray, *La Legión* (Madrid, 1923), pp. 13, 15, 121-128, 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. Alvarez, *Betrothed of Death*, p. 240. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. Millán Astray, *Legión*, pp. 57, 66; Balfour, *Deadly Embrace*, p. 165. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. Millán Astray is still praised in military circles for his founding of the Spanish Foreign Legion and his purported role in preserving Melilla as a Spanish enclave in North Africa. Unsurprisingly, though, he remains a controversial figure given his links to Francoism. In 2010 a statue of Mill­án Astray was removed from his home town of A Coruña, and efforts are ongoing to change the name of a street bearing his name in Madrid, meeting staunch resistance from veterans of the Legion. See *El País*, 22 January 2010; 2 August 2017; *El Mundo*, 5 September 2011; 3 August 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, pp. 241-243. [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. Millán Astray, *Legión*, p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. Felix Ortega, ‘Militar y caballero: José Millán Astray’, *El Figaro*, 1 October 1995, pp. 33, 57. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, p. 165. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. Ibid., pp. 185-186. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. García, *Mutilados de Guerra*, p. 243; De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, pp. 184-185, 189, 196; Paul Preston, *¡Comrades!* *Portraits from the Spanish Civil War* (London, 2000), p. 24. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. He was, however, promoted posthumously by Franco to Divisional General. García, *Mutilados de Guerra*, p. 243. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, p. 184. This story is recounted verbatim in García, *Mutilados de Guerra*, p. 240. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. Rodolfo Viñas, *¡Eres útil a la patria!* (Madrid, 1937), p. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. See chapter two for a more detailed discussion of how the Republican government in exile sought to manage its war disabled. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938, p. 18, article 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. Salvante; ‘Italian Disabled Veterans’, pp. 111-129; Garnaud, *Application*, pp. i, 7, 12, 17, etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Álvarez, *Betrothed of Death*, p. 7; Millán Astray, *Legión*, p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. The differentiation of the war wounded and those injured in accidents began under the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera in the 1920s. *BOE*, 237, 24 August 1940, pp. 5859-5860; Fernando Puell de la Villa, ‘La Protección de la Discapacidad en los Ejércitos: Una Mirada Retrospectiva’, in Andrés Medina Torres and Juan González-Badía Fraga (eds), *Apuntes y reflexiones sobre discapacidad militar: Actas del IV Seminario Internacional sobre Discapacidad Militar* (Granada, 2014), p. 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. Preston, *Comrades*, p. 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Tosh, *Man’s Place*, p. 2; Tosh, ‘What Should Historians’, p. 185. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. On war disability and domesticity in other contexts, see Gerber, ‘Heroes and Misfits’; Meyer, ‘Not Septimus Now’, pp. 117-138; Marina Larsson, *Shattered Anzacs: Living with the Scars of War* (Sydney, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. *ABC*, 24 December 1939; 27 November 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. *ABC*, 3 May 1939. On the role of photojournalism in shaping culture and social change, see Tom Allbeson, ‘Visualizing Wartime Destruction and Postwar Reconstruction: Herbert Mason’s Photograph of St. Paul’s Reevaluated’, *The Journal of Modern History* 87:3 (2015), pp. 532-540. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Guereña, *Prostitución*, p. 410. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. The Second Spanish Republic's introduction of divorce and recognition of illegitimate children was seen by the right as an attack on the family. See Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, *Armas Femeninas para la Contrarrevolución: La Sección Femenina en Aragón (1936-1950)* (Malaga, 1999), pp. 11-12. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. Preston, *Comrades*, pp. 38-39. [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. Ibid., pp. 13, 41; Ortega, ‘Militar y caballero, p. 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. See Aresti, *Masculinidades*. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. See *BOE*, 199, ‘Fuero de los Españoles’, 18 July 1945, p. 359; Vincent, *Spain*, p. 169; Ruiz, ‘La Situación Legal’, p. 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Ortega, ‘Militar y caballero’, p. 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. *¡Harka!* [film], directed by Carlos Arévalo,(Cifesa, 1941). On Spanish military brotherhood and homoeroticism, see Susan Martin-Márquez, ‘Performing Masculinity in the Moroccan Theatre: Virility, Sexuality and Spanish Military Culture from the African War to the Civil War’, *European Review of History* 11:2, pp. 225-240. [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Rafael Moreno and José F. Demaría Campúa, *José Demaría Campúa: Viviendo Entre Fotos: Antología de un Reportero y Artista Gráfico* (Barcelona, 2013). A catalogue of Campúa’s work can be consulted within his online archive, see ‘José Demaría Campúa “FOTOGRAFO Y PERIODISTA”: Sus Reportajes de la Guerra Civil Española’, *Archivo José F. Demaría “Campúa”*, <http://foto-campua.com/la-guerra-civil-espa-ola.html> [accessed 1 November 2017]. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. AGMAV, F.195, 41, José Demaría Campúa, ‘San Sebastián. Un teniente mutilado ciego recibe el título de ingeniero’, 1938. The rights to figure 2.1 belong to José Demaría Vázquez “Campúa” and his archive, ‘Archivo José F. Demaría “Campúa” ®’. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. AGMS, M-2008, Ricardo Martínez Ojinaga; AGMAV, C.20602, 2, Documentation relating to the Hogar Escuela Franco. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. *ABC*, 31 January 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. Bogdan, *Representing Disability*, p. 144-164. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. Medals of Suffering were awarded to injured veterans and other individuals who had been injured, imprisoned or who had lost family members during the war. See below. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. The portrait, still in the Legion Museum in Ceuta, can be viewed online here: ‘El Retrato que Zuloaga no acabó por los líos de faldas de Millán Astray’, *Ceutaaldia.com*, 26 February 2017, <http://www.ceutaldia.com/articulo/cultura/retrato-zuloaga-no-acabo-lios-faldas-millan-astray/20170226194107156219.html> [accessed 23 October 2017]; Eric Storm, ‘Crushed between Gauguin and Picasso: Ignacio Zuloaga’s Depictions of Spain and the Politics of Nationalism’ in Ingrid Hanson, Wilfrid Jack Rhoden and E.E. Snyder (eds), *Poetry, Politics and Pictures: Culture and Identity in Europe, 1840-1914* (Bern, 2013), pp. 67-91. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. AGMAV, F. 189, 26, ‘Audiencia a la Comisión de Caballeros Mutilados, presidida por el Director de Mutilados General Montero’, 5 November 1969. [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, pp. 129, 142; Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria: politics, history and national identity in Spain, 1875-*1975 (Princeton, 1997), pp. 283-284; Hernández, *Franquismo a Ras de Suelo*, pp. 47, 300. [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. See, for example, Vincent, ‘Reafirmación’, pp. 138-147; Mary Vincent, ‘Gender and Morals in Spanish Catholic Youth Culture: A Case Study of the Marian Congregations’, *Gender and History* 13:2 (2001), p. 287; George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford, 1996), p. 4; Tosh, ‘What Should Historians’, p. 183; Janet Oppenheim, *‘Shattered Nerves’: Doctors, Patients and Depression in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1991), p. 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. See José Luis and Isabel Sánchez, *Caballeros de la Real y Militar Orden de San Fernando (Infanteria)* (Madrid, 2001), p. 415. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. The quixotic ideal manifested itself in other spheres within Francoist Spain, notably the regime’s football stadiums. See Alejandro Quiroga, ‘Spanish Fury: Football and National Identities under Franco’, *European History Quarterly* 45:3 (2015), pp. 510, 517; Analisa Argelli, ‘Cervantes y la “Pérfida Albión”: Del Caballero Andante al Caballero Doméstico en *Hudibras* de Samuel Butler’, *CRITICÓN* 76 (1999), pp. 165-178. [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. Millán Astray, *Franco*, p. 249. [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. Ibid., p. 249. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. *La Codorniz*,26 October 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Crotty and Edele, ‘Total War and Entitlement’, pp. 15-32. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. García, *Mutilados de Guerra*. [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. Ibid., p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. Enrique López Sánchez, *Al Servicio de la Patria: Del Frente de Asturias al de Madrid Pasando por el Quirófano (Un diario de un combatiente)* (Lugo, 1939), p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Millán, *Franco*, pp. 9, 108, 109. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. Puell, *Historia de la Protección Social*, p. 42; John Jay Allen (ed.), Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha* II (Madrid, 2008, 27th edition), pp. 237-238. [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. See Tobias Locker, ‘The Baroque in the Construction of a National Culture in Francoist Spain: An Introduction’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 91:5 (2014), pp. 657-671; Paula Barreiro López, ‘Reinterpreting the Past: The Baroque Phantom during Francoism’, *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 91:5 (2014), pp. 715-734; Mercedes Carbayo-Abengózar, ‘Shaping women: national identity through the use of language in Franco’s Spain’, *Nations and Nationalism* 7:1 (2001), pp. 77-78. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. *ABC*, 12 January 1941, p. 7; De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, p. 231. [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. Millán Astray, *Franco*, p. 135. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Vincent, ‘Gender and Morals’, p. 288. For an example of modesty as a virtue in Francoist Spain see Millán Astray, *Franco*, p. 120: ‘[General Davila] is one of our best and most cherished Generals and in addition, I will allow myself to tell you that he possesses an exquisite modesty…’. On the praising of modesty in a non-military context see, for example, Alina Danet and Rosa M. Medina-Doménech, ‘Españolismo, masculinidad y la modernidad científica de los trasplantes de córnea. La representación periodística de Ramón Castroviejo (1930-1975)’, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 15:4 (2014), p. 443. [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. Millán Astray, *Franco*, pp. 127-128. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. See, for example, Vincent, ‘Paz de Franco’, pp. 83-105. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. Millán Astray, *Franco*, p. 233; García, *Mutilados de Guerra*, pp. 241-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. Prost, *In the Wake of War*, p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. Millán Astray, *Franco,* p. 171, 233. Needless to say, the Republican disabled would have to wait many years to be recognised by the Spanish state. [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. At the top end of the scale, generals would receive double the amount of their normal salary from the date of their injury, while at the other end, soldiers would receive 6000 pesetas per year which would gradually increase to 12,000 over 12 years. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938, pp. 4-6; AGMAV C.2537, 13, ‘Proyecto del General Millán Astray sobre la asistencia al desfile de la Victoria de Madrid de Cuerpo de Mutilados’, May 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. These were granted to wounded veterans as well as individuals who had not known active combat in the war, such as grieving mothers or widows. The medals were not a new invention, but predated the Francoist regime by over a century. Luis Grávalos González and José Luis Calvo Pérez, *Condecoraciones Militares Españolas* (Madrid, 1988), pp. 47-8. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. The use of Christ’s suffering on the cross as a model for disabled masculinities has been discussed in Jennifer L. Koosed and Darla Schumm, ‘From Superman to Super Jesus: Constructions of Masculinity and Disability on the Silver Screen’, *Disability Studies Quarterly* 29:2 (2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. ‘Le Martyre des Oeuvres d’Art’; Mary Vincent, ‘Made Flesh? Gender and Doctrine in Religious Violence in Twentieth-Century Spain’, *Gender and History* 25:3 (2013), pp. 668-669. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. García, ‘War and culture’, pp. 289-304. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. Zira Box Varela, ‘La Fundación de un Régimen. La Construcción Simbólica del Franquismo’, PhD thesis, (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008), p. 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. Marion Reder Gadow, ‘Una Imagen Controvertida de la Semana Santa Malagueña: el Cristo de los Mutilados’ *Los crucificados, religiosidad, cofradías y arte: Actas del Simposium* 3-6 September 2010, p. 214. [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. Ibid., p. 215; Another such *cofradía* was established in Huelva in 1943 by *mutilados* and ex-combatants of the Civil War. ‘Mutilados’, *Consejo de Hermandades y Cofradías de la Ciudad de Huelva*, <http://consejohermandadeshuelva.org/paginas/hermandades/mutilados> [accessed 21/03/2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. ‘NO-DO’, short for ‘Noticiarios y Documentales’ (News and Documentaries), was the Francoist regime’s newsreel service, which operated between 1942 and 1981. NO-DO produced short propagandistic films which were compulsory viewing in cinemas until 1975. See Saturnino Rodríguez, *El NO-DO: Catecismo social de una época* (Madrid, 1999); Vicente Sánchez-Biosca and Rafael R. Tranche, *NO-DO: El Tiempo y la Memoria* (Madrid, 2006). Clips of the Venerable Guild of the Most Holy Mutilated Christ can be viewed on Spain’s National Television archive: Filmoteca Española, NO-DO (NO-DO), ‘NOT N 68 A’, (17 April 1944), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-68/1468471/>, [accessed 22 March 2016], 10”30; ‘Semana Santa en España’, (1 January 1946), <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/documentales-b-n/semana-santa-espana/2847705/>, [accessed 22 March 2016], 8”16; AGMAV, F.173,27, Ricardo Argibay Serrano and Santos Yubero, ‘Audiencia a la Cofradía del Santísimo Cristo Mutilado de Málaga’, (10 March 1966); *Archive of José Demaría Vázquez “Campúa”*, <http://foto-campua.com/Las%20Audiencias/Las%20Audiencias%201.html> [accessed 22 March 2016]. On the importance of Holy Week celebrations under Francoism, see Mary Vincent, ‘La Semana Santa en el Nacional-Catolicismo: Espacio Urbano, Arte e Historia. El Caso de Valladolid, 1939-49’, *Historia y Política* (2017); Emilio Luis Lara López, ‘Nacionalcatolicismo y religiosidad popular (1939-1953). Un análisis de documentación fotográfica’, *Historia, Antropología y Fuentes Orales* 29 (2003), pp. 71-83; Timothy Mitchell, *Passional culture: emotion, religion, and society in Southern Spain* (Philadelphia, 1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. Box Varela, ‘Fundación de un Régimen’, pp. 60-63; Jensen, *Irrational Triumph,* p. 153. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. Box Varela, ‘Fundación de un Régimen’, p. 63. The religious symbolism of the regime’s decision to declare the end of the war on 1 April (Palm Sunday) is discussed in Vincent, ‘Expiation as Performative Rhetoric’, p. 244. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. Luis Fernández Ardavín, *Madrid en Sangre: El Cristo Mutilado y Otros Poemas, 1936-1939* (Madrid, 1942), p. 18: The original reads: ‘Pero el Cristo está manco… El brazo aquel no se volvió a encontrar. Buscóse en vano. Y - ¡lo que son las cosas! – hoy, sin él, nos parece más bello y más humano. Un mutilado más… Uno de tantos que se ven por las calles sin que asombre. Ya sé que ellos son hombres y no santos; pero Cristo era Dios y, además, hombre.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938, p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. The Law of Political Responsibilities, introduced in the Nationalist zone from February 1939, charged all those who had not joined the military coup as guilty of military rebellion. On the stigmatising effects of repression see Richards, *Time of Silence*, esp. pp. 13, 26-46. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. Sánchez-Bravo and Tellado, *Mutilados*, p. 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. *La Voz del Mutilado*, 20 November 1946. [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. *Der Spiegel*, 2 April 1973. [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, p. 110. [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. See for example *Hermano Lobo*, 17 June 1972; 8 July 1972; 15 July 1972; 22 July 1972; 5 August 1972; 17 February 1973. [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. Carla Garrido Zanón, ‘La Construcci­ón de la Imagen de la Mujer en el Humor Gráfico del Seminario Hermano Lobo (1972-1976)’, *Revista de la SEECI* 36 (2015), p. 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. Puell, *Historia de la Protección Social*, p. 203; *Diario de Burgos*, 7 February 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. The Carlist movement was deeply reactionary, Catholic and traditionalist in nature, and had its origins in the Carlist Wars of the nineteenth century. The Carlists originally fought to replace the relatively liberal monarch, Isabel II, with their own absolutist candidate, Don Carlos, who gave the movement its name. The movement proved remarkably resistant to the passage of time, particularly in the northern regions of Navarre and the Basque Country. On Carlism in the nineteenth century, see Mark Lawrence, *Spain’s First Carlist War, 1833-40* (Basingstoke, 2014). On Carlism in the twentieth century, see Pablo Larraz Andía and Víctor Sierra-Sesúmaga, *Requetés: De las Trincheras al Olvido* (Madrid, 2010). For an overview of the movement, see Jordi Canal, *El Carlismo: Dos Siglos de Contrarrevolución en España* (Madrid, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. See Pablo Larraz Andía, *Entre el Frente y la Retaguardia: La Sanidad en la Guerra Civil: El Hospital “Alfonso Carlos”, Pamplona 1936-1939* (Madrid, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. AGMAV, C.42069, 4, 33, Letter from Carmen Resines, Inspectorate of Feminine Services in the Hospitals of War, Delegate for Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya, to Mercedes Milá, Inspector of the Feminine Services of the *Hospitales de Sangre* (‘Blood Hospitals’), Burgos, 26 April 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. Museo del Carlismo (henceforth MC), 010/003/29, ‘Tarjeta Postal’, Hospital Militar de Zaragoza, 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. The mansion on Calle Velazquez that became the BCMGP’s headquarters was itself a donation, offered to the *mutilados* in 1940 by María de la Gloria Guadalfajara y Soto. A plaque on the building describes her as the widow of ‘Allendesalazar’. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. De Silva, *Millán Astray*, p. 217. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. Bogdan, *Picturing Disability*, p. 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. MC, Delegación Provincial de Asistencia a Frentes y Hospitales de Navarra (1937-1939), 002/FF004/02. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. See Priscilla Scott-Ellis, *The Chances of Death: A Diary of the Spanish Civil War* (Norwich, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. MC, Delegación Provincial de Asistencia a Frentes y Hospitales de Navarra (1937-1939), 002/FF004/21. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. See Larraz Andía, *Entre el Frente y la Retaguardia*, pp. 27-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. AGMAV, C.2323, 46, 21, Teniente Coronel Ayudante Secretario to Jefatura Nacional de Sanidad de Requetés, 13 June 1937. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. Saz, *Fascismo*, pp. 130-150. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. Larraz and Sierra-Sesúmaga, *Requetés*, pp. 833, 846. [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. Benito Nogales Puertas, *La Reorientación y Colocación Profesional de Mutilados de Guerra (Estudio de Organización Nacional)* (Santiago de Compostela, 1939), p. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. NO-DO, ‘NOT N 775 B’ (11 November 1957), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-775/1486378/>, [accessed 23 March 2016], 1”42; ‘NOT N 1066 A’ (10/6/1963), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1066/1469137/>, [accessed 23 March 2016], 1”31; Bogdan, *Picturing Disability*, pp. 7-21; Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show* (Chicago, 1988); Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity*; Elizabeth Stephens, ‘Cultural Fixions of the Freak Body: Coney Island and the Postmodern Sideshow’, *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 20:4 (2006), pp. 485-498; Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York, 1997). [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. For examples of NO-DO features on German, Canadian and British disabled veterans see NO-DO, ‘NOT N 116 B’ (19 March 1945), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-116/1467127/>, [accessed 16 October 2017]; ‘NOT N 213 A’, (3 February 1947), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-213/1467164/>, [accessed 16 October 2017]; ‘NOT N 221 B’ (31 March 1947), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-221/1467434/>, [accessed 16 October 2017]. [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. NO-DO, ‘NOT N 221 B’ (31 March 1947), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-221/1467434/>, [accessed 16 October 2017]. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. Perry, *Recycling the disabled*, pp. 3-4; Anderson and Perry, ‘Rehabilitation and Restoration’, p. 237; see also Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies*, p. 127. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. Ibid., p. 4; Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies*, p. 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. Only one other NO-DO clip featured a Francoist *Caballero Mutilado*. A short report from August 1968 described how a young soldier, ‘became mutilated when carrying out a heroic act in order to save the life of his companions’. Too young to have served in the Civil War, the clip centred on the soldier’s military honour rather than his physical functionality. See NO-DO, ‘NOT N 1337 B’ (19/8/1968), <http://www.rtve.es/filmoteca/no-do/not-1337/1486395/>, [accessed 23 March 2016], 00.39”. [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, pp. 129, 142; Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 283-284; Hernández, *Franquismo a Ras de Suelo*, pp. 47, 300. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. On individuals who become representatives of their stigmatised groups and thus, paradoxically, lose affinity with them, see Goffman, *Stigma*, p. 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. Kinder, *Paying with their Bodies*, pp. 37-39; Antonio Miguez Paredes, ‘Pinza Cubito-radial’, *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 3:17 (January 1940), pp. 59-61; Alfonso Gila Sancho, ‘Pinza de Crustáceo’, *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 1:3 (November 1938), pp. 148-163. [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. See, for example, Mario Oliveras Devesa, ‘La Reeducación Funcional Protésica en los Amputados de Brazo’, *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 1:2 (1938), p. 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. AGMS, 2194-10, A.C.C. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. De Silva, *General Millán Astray*, p. 221. [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. Carden-Coyne, *Politics of Wounds*, pp. 343-349; Carden-Coyne, ‘Gendering the Politics of War Wounds’, pp. 84-87. [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. Gila Sancho, ‘Pinza de crustáceo’, p. 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. See ‘Un hombre sin manos en Aragón Televisión (España)’, *Youtube* (23 January 2008), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KwTV1wKy4Ds>, [accessed 2/12/2016]; ‘Los mutilados civiles de la guerra civil’, *Youtube* (8 July 2009), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RKP7yAACl2c>, [accessed 2 December 2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. Debra Lennard, ‘Censored flesh: The wounded body as unrepresentable in the art of the First World War’, *The British Art Journal* 12:2 (2011), p. 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. Francesca Kubicki, ‘Recreated faces: Facial disfigurement, plastic surgery, photography and the Great War’, *Photography and Culture* 2 (2009), p. 184. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. R. Galeazzi-Lisi, ‘La Cirugía Plástica Estética en Italia’, *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 2:9 (May, 1939), p. 415. [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. See *José Sánchez Galindo*, <http://www.josesanchezgalindo.com/> [accessed 21 December 2017] [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Carden-Coyne, *Politics of Wounds*, pp. 343-349. [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. On the ‘grey zones’ see Hernández, *Franquismo a Ras de Suelo*. [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. Julián Moreiro, *Españoles Excesivos: Cabeza de Vaca, I Duque de Lerma, Balmis, Sor Patrocinio, XII Duque de Osuna, Aurora Rodríguez y Millán Astray* (Madrid, 2008), pp. 393-394. [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. Emilio Hernández Pino, *Muchachas de blanco. Comedia en tres actos* (Zaragoza, 1938), p. 83; Nelly Álvarez González, ‘El teatro como arma de combate durante la Guerra Civil en la España sublevada (Valladolid, 1936-1939)’, *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 2:4 (2013), p. 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. *ABC*, 21 April 1939; 14 December 1957. [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. Llinás, ‘Redundancy and Passion’, p. 108. [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. Jo Labanyi, ‘Three Nationalist film versions of the Civil War: España heroica (Reig,1937), Sin novedad en el Alcázar (Genina, 1940), ¡El Santuario no se rinde! (Ruiz-Castillo, 1949)’, *Tesserae* 2:2 (1996), pp. 157-158. [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. *ABC*, 23 October 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. St Raphael is associated with healing, and was selected as patron saint of the BCMGP in 1938. In Spain it was common for military corps to have their own patron saints, and this practice continues to this day. See ‘Patronos y Patronas de las FAS y la Guardia Civil’, *Portal de Cultural de Defensa* (2011), [http://www.portalcultura.mde.es/actividades/aniversarios/Conmemoraciones/ Patronos\_Patronas/](http://www.portalcultura.mde.es/actividades/aniversarios/Conmemoraciones/%20Patronos_Patronas/) [accessed 24 April 2018]; AGMAV, C.2331, 60, 24, ‘Santos Patronos. Propuesta del general de la Dirección de Mutilados para que se le designe como patrono del Cuerpo de Mutilados de guerra al arcángel San Rafael’, December 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. José Mario Armero, ‘El Circo en el Franquismo’, *Historia 16* 9:103 (1984), pp. 49-50. [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. No script has been found, and there were no further references to the piece in the press. [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. Rodrigo Royo Masia, *¡Guerra! (Historia de la Vida de Luis Pablos)* (Madrid, 1944), p. 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. Ibid., p. 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. Ibid*.*, p. 222. [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. Following a failed attempt in May 1941 to acquire greater powers, by 1942 the regime definitively side-lined the Spanish Falange. See Saz, *Fascismo*, pp. 161-165. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. Juan Marsé, *Si te Dicen que Caí* (Barcelona, 1993). See also the film adaptation, *Si te Dicen que Caí* [film], directed by Vicente Aranda (IPC and TV3, 1989). [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. The sex scenes orchestrated by Conradito are humiliating in nature; in one scene, for example, the character Java urinates over Ramona. Marsé, *Si te Dicen*, esp. pp. 21, 93, 113. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. *BOE*, 67, 19 March 1966. [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. *La Prima Angélica* [film], directed by Carlos Saura(Mercury Films, 1973). On the short-lived history of the fascist salute in Francoist Spain, see Vincent, ‘Expiation as Performative Rhetoric’, p. 240. [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. *Espérame en el Cielo* [film], directed by Antonio Mercero (Mercury Films, 1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. Santiago Prieto, ‘Camilo José Cela: Genio Figure y el Mundo por Montera’, *Dendra Médica. Revista de Humanidades* 13:1 (2014), p. 90; Ana María Platas Tasende, ‘Galicia en la Obra de Camilo José Cela’, *Hispanística XX* 23 (2006), p. 415. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. See Michael Ugarte, ‘The Literature of Franco Spain, 1939-1975’ in David T. Gies, *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 611-619. [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. Camilo José Cela, *La Colmena* (Madrid, 2007), p. 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. Cela, *La Colmena*, pp. 216-218 The original passage reads: ‘El en frente de Asturias, un mal día le pegaron un tiro en un costado y desde entonces el Julio García Morrazo empezó a enflaquecer y ya no levantó cabeza; lo peor de todo fue que el golpe no resultó lo bastante grande para que le diesen inútil y el hombre tuvo que volver a la Guerra y no pudo reponerse bien.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. Juan Benet, *Otoño en Madrid hacia 1950* (Madrid, 1987), pp. 54-55. [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. Bogdan, *Representing Disability*, pp. 165-168. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. Barnartt, ‘Disability as a Fluid State’, p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. Del Arco Blanco, ‘Hombres Nuevos’, pp. 237-267; Alcalde, ‘Descanso del Guerrero’, pp. 177-208; Alcalde, *Excombatientes Franquistas*. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare* (London, 1999); Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*; Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment’; Meyer, *Men of War*; Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*; Robert Weldon Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914-1939* (London, 1984); Ben Shepherd, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists, 1914-1994* (London, 2002)*;* Jay Winter, ‘Shell-Shock and the Cultural History of the Great War’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 35:1 (2000), pp. 7-11. [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. Original emphasis. Gerald Izenberg, *Identity: The Necessity of a Modern Idea* (Philadelphia, 2016), p. 2.

     Gregorio Alonso and Richard Cleminson, ‘*Sujetos frágiles*: the Fragility of the Liberal Subject in the Modern Hispanic World’, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 22:1 (2016), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. Scott, ‘Evidence of Experience’, p. 777. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. Hernández, *Franquismo a Ras de Suelo*. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. See, for example, Cohen, *War Come Home*; Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*; Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*. [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938, article 83. [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. AGMS, 2194-14, A.A.F. [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. Cazorla Sánchez, *Políticas de la victoria*, p. 230. [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. José Mira Rizo, *La Muerte Espera: Me Hice Novio de la Muerte* (Barcelona, 1995); Ramón Farré Palaus, *Impresiones: Centinela Junto al Ilmen* (Alicante, 1991); Dionisio Ridruejo, *Los* *Cuadernos de Rusia: Diario* (Barcelona, 1978). [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. ‘Testimonios’, *ACIME: Soldados Viejos y Estropeados* 23:91 (2014), p. 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. Ibid., p. 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. The 18 July symbolised the beginning of the military uprising in 1936, while 20 November was the date on which the founder of the Falange, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, was executed by the Republic. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 261. [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. Examples of such medals can be viewed at the Army Museum in Toledo. [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. Mira Rizo, *Muerte Espera*, p. 149. [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. Ibid., pp. 145-146. [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938, p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. Álvarez, *Betrothed of Death*, pp. 237-238. [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. López, *Al Servicio de la Patria*, pp. 84-85. [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. Alcalde, ‘War Veterans and Fascism’, p. 90. [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. AGA, 65/14123, Memorias: 1. Memoria de la Hermandad Provincial de antiguos combatientes de Lugo de 1963. [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. AGA, 65/14123, 5, Memoria de la Hermandad Provincial de antiguos combatientes de Lugo de 1974. [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. Puell, *Historia de la Protección Social*, p. 204. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, p. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. *BOE,* 237, 24 August 1940, pp. 5859-5860. [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. *BOE,* 364, 30 December 1942, pp. 10695-10700. [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. *BOE,* 311, 29 December 1958, p. 11907. [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. *BOE*,63, 5481, 13 March 1976, pp. 5209-5219 [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. AGA, 65/14123, Memorias, 5, ‘Memoria de la Hermandad Provincial de antiguos combatientes de Lugo de 1974’. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. AGMS, 12, 121, 4, ‘Reglamento de la Medalla de Sufrimientos por la Patria’, 11 March 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. *BOE*, 311, 29 December 1958, art. 28, p. 11910. [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. Puell, ‘Protección de la Discapacidad’, pp. 135-136. [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. *ABC*, 24 October 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. Puell, ‘Protección de la Discapacidad’, p. 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. Cenarro, *Sonrisa de Falange*; Angela Cenarro, ‘Memories of Repression and Resistance: Narratives of Children Institutionalized by Auxilio Social in Postwar Spain’, *History and Memory* 20:2 (2008), pp. 39-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. See, for example, Ángel Alcalde, *War Veterans and Fascism in Interwar Europe* (Cambridge, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. Marten, *Sing Not War*, pp. 159-198. [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. AGMAV, C. 20602, 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. Sánchez-Bravo and Tellado, *Mutilados*, pp. 30-31, 38, 68. The Liga managed to establish three short-term residences for Republican ­*mutilados* in France, two in Montauban and one near Orléans. However, Sánchez-Bravo and Tellado describe how the Francoist government via its embassy in Paris intervened against attempts to make the Orléans residence permanent. On the implications of mass separation on disabled veterans in the Russian context, see Beate Fieseler, ‘“La protection sociale totale”: Les hospices pour grands mutilés de guerre dans l’Union soviétique des années 1940’, *Cahiers du Monde russe* 49:2-3 (2008), p. 422. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. See especially Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco, ‘“Las cruces de los caídos”: instrumento nacionalizador en la “cultura de la victoria”’ in Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco et al. (eds), *No solo miedo. Actitudes políticas y opinión popular bajo la dictadura franquista (1936-1977)* (Granada, 2013), pp. 65-82. [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. *ABC*, 26 April 1942;9 April 1940; AGMAV, C.19661, 2, Note from the Director General for the War Disabled to the Director General for Recruitment and Personnel, 26 December 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. *ABC*,13 December 1938; 22 January 1939; 25 January 1939; 21 December 1938; 4 October 1938; 28 January 1939; AGMAV, C.19661, 2, Note from the Director General for the War Disabled to the Director General for Recruitment and Personnel, 26 December 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. *ABC*, 5 March 1939; 7 March 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. Ruiz Franco, ‘La Situación Legal’, pp. 122-124. [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. See Mary Nash, ‘Pronatalism and motherhood in Franco’s Spain’, in Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (eds), *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s* (London, 1991), pp. 168-172. [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. Teresa L. Amott and Julie Matthaei, *Race, Gender and Work: A Multi-Cultural Economic History of Women in the United States* (Boston, 1996), pp. 11-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
386. Heli Leppälä, ‘Welfare or Workfare?: The Principle of Activation in the Finnish Post-War Disability Policy, Early 1940s to Late 1980s’, *Journal of Social History* 49:4 (2016), p. 960; Beate Fieseler, ‘The Bitter Legacy of the “Great Patriotic War”: Red Army Disabled Soldiers Under Late Stalinism’, in Juliane Fürst (ed.), *Late Stalinist Russia: Society Between Reconstruction and Reinvention* (London, 2006), p. 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-386)
387. Ibid; Gareth Millward, ‘Social Security Policy and the Early Disability Movement: Expertise, Disability and the Government, 1965-1977’, *Twentieth Century British History* 26 (2015), pp. 277-78; Robert F. Drake, ‘Welfare States and Disabled People’ in Gary L. Albrecht, Katherine D. Seelman and Michael Bury, *Handbook of Disability Studies* (London, 2001), pp. 414-415. [↑](#footnote-ref-387)
388. Oliveras, ‘Reeducación Funcional’, pp. 91-102; Mario Oliveras Defesa, ‘La Caligrafía en los Amputados por el Miembro Torácico Derecho’, *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* 2:9 (1939), pp. 384-398. [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
389. Paredes, ‘Pinza Cubito-Radial’, pp. 62-63. [↑](#footnote-ref-389)
390. Meyer, *Men of War*, pp. 103, 113-114. [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. Nogales, *Reorientación*, p. 208 [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. Pablo Martín Aceña and Elena Martínez Ruiz, ‘The Golden Age of Spanish Capitalism: Economic Growth without Political Freedom’, in Nigel Townson, *Spain Transformed: The Franco Dictatorship, 1959-75* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 30-46. [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. Cazorla, *Fear and Progress*, p. 9; Del Arco Blanco, *Hambre de siglos*, p. 312. [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
394. Cazorla, *Fear and Progress*, p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-394)
395. Ibid., p. 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. Cenarro, *Sonrisa de Falange*, pp. 147-148.  [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. Leppälä, ‘Welfare or Workfare?’, p. 968. [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. Pilar Folguera, Pilar Díaz, Pilar Domínguez, and José María Gago, ‘La identidad de los ferroviarios de RENFE, 1941-2001 a través de las fuentes orales’, *Historia, Antropología y Fuentes orales* 28 (2002), p. 130; Oliveras, ‘Reeducación Funcional’, p. 92. [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. Folguera, Díaz, Domínguez, and Gago, ‘Identidad’, p. 126; Cenarro, *Sonrisa de Falange*, p. xviii. [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. Anderson, *Francoist Military Trials*, p. 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. Alcalde, *Excombatientes Franquistas*, p. 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
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405. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York, 1965), pp. 58-59. [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
406. Nogales, *Reorientación*, p. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-406)
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408. Ibid., pp. 1, 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-408)
409. Nogales, *Reorientación*,p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. Ibid., p.18. [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. Ibid., p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. Ibid., pp. 19, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
413. Ibid., p. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-413)
414. Nash, ‘Pronatalism’, pp. 168-172. [↑](#footnote-ref-414)
415. *BOE*, 505, ‘Fuero del Trabajo’, 10 March 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-415)
416. On the victor/vanquished dichotomy, see, for example, Cazorla Sánchez, *Políticas de la Victoria*, pp. 67-110; Cenarro, *Sonrisa de Falange*, pp. 145-174. [↑](#footnote-ref-416)
417. On how stigma intersects with other forms of identity, see, for example, Guy A. Boysen, ‘Explaining the Relation between Masculinity and Stigma toward Mental Illness: The Relative Effects of Sex, Gender, and Behavior’, *Stigma and Health* 2:1 (2017), pp. 66-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-417)
418. *ABC*, 13 November 1954. [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. *Der Spiegel*, 2 April 1973. [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. Sánchez-Bravo and Tellado, *Mutilados*, p. 83. Other advocates for the rights of Republican *mutilados* did, however, emphasise the precarity and recourse to begging of many disenfranchised veterans. See *La Voz del Mutilado*, 10 November 1946; *Mundo Diario*, 15 July 1977; *El País*, 26 January 1982. [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. Sánchez-Bravo and Tellado, *Los Mutilados*, p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. Ibid., p. 132; *Mutilado: Órgano de la Liga Nacional de Mutilados e Inválidos de Guerra*, 5 August 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
423. AGA, 12/2998, 3, ‘Liga de Mutilados e Invalidos’**.** [↑](#footnote-ref-423)
424. Michael Seidman, *Workers against work: Labor in Paris and Barcelona during the Popular Fronts* (Berkeley and Oxford, 1991), pp. 7-8; Meyer, *Men of War*, pp. 102-107; Leppälä, ‘Welfare or Workfare?’, p. 968; Maria Cristina Galmarini, ‘Turning Defects to Advantages: The Discourse of Labour in the Autobiographies of Soviet Blinded Second World War Veterans’, *European History Quarterly* 44 (2014), pp. 651-6. [↑](#footnote-ref-424)
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428. Aurora G. Morcillo, ‘Walls of Flesh. Spanish Postwar Reconstruction and Public Morality’, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 84:6 (2007), p. 748. [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
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430. *BOE*, 165, 10 July 1980, ‘Ley 35/1980, de 26 de junio, sobre pensiones a los mutilados excombatientes de la zona republicana’. [↑](#footnote-ref-430)
431. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-431)
432. Salvante, ‘Thanks to the Great War’, pp. 23-24; Reznick, ‘Work therapy’, p. 196; Leppälä, ‘Welfare or Workfare?’, p. 966. [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. *ABC*, 24 June 1947; 20 January 1940; 13 May 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. *ABC*, 26 May 1943; 25 February 1942; 17 June 1943. [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
435. *ABC*,26 January 1940; 17 May 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-435)
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437. *ABC*,17 October 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-437)
438. *La Vanguardia*, 8 December 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-438)
439. Cenarro, ‘Memories of Repression’, p. 50; Walter Gregory, *The Shallow Grave: A Memoir of the Spanish Civil War* (Nottingham, 1996), p. 147. [↑](#footnote-ref-439)
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443. *ABC*,18 October 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-443)
444. *BOE*, 364, 30 December 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-444)
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447. *ABC*, 26 August 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-447)
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464. *BOE*, 364, 30 December 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
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467. On promotion structures within the Francoist army, see Busquets, *Militar de Carrera*, p. 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. García, *Mutilados de Guerra*, p. 242. [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. Seidman, *Workers against Work*, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
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473. López, *Al Servicio de la Patria*, p. 125. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Oliveras, ‘Reeducación Funcional’, pp. 95-96. [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
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477. Tosh, *Man’s Place*, p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
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479. *ABC*, 30 August 1939; 31 May 1939; *Y*, 1 September 1941; *La Vanguardia*, 22 June 1937. [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
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489. AGMAV, C.2925, 16, 4, Unsigned letter to Sr Jefe de la Oficina de S.I.P.M, 11 July 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
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491. AGMAV, C.3063, 17, Note to Señor Gobernador Militar de la Plaza, Zaragoza from Guardia Civil, Comandancia de Zaragoza, Zaragoza, 10 April 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. *ABC*,17 November 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. On post-war food shortages and the black market, see Del Arco Blanco, *Hambre de Siglos*, pp. 227-370. [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. AGMAV, C.46964, España. Ministerio del Ejército. Asesoría Jurídica, ‘Mutilados. 1968-1978’; AGMAV, C.46963, 4, España. Ministerio del Ejército. Asesoría Jurídica ‘Mutilados. 1946-1962’. [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. *El País*, 11 June 2001. [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. José Manuel Castañón, *Cuba: Hablo Contigo; Sigo Hablando Contigo* (Madrid, 2001), p. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. Saz, *Fascismo*, pp. 161-165. [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. See Pedro García Cueto, ‘Dionisio Ridruejo, falangista y demócrata’, *El Ciervo* 61:736 (2012), pp. 32-35; Richards, *After the Civil War*, pp. 162-163. [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. Castañón, *Cuba*, pp. 8-10. [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. *BOE*, 2, 2 January 1945, pp. 69-70. [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. *BOE*,119, 28 April 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
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503. Most recently, see Ricardo Campos and Enric Novella, ‘La Higiene Mental durante el Primer Franquismo. De la Higiene Racial a la Prevenci­ón de la Enfermedad Mental (1939-1960)’, *Dynamis* 37:1 (2017), pp. 65-87; Ángel González de Pablo, ‘Por la Psicopatolog­ia hacia Dios: Psiquiatría y Saber de Salvación durante el Primer Franquismo’, *Dynamis* 37:1 (2017), pp. 45-64, Richard Cleminson, ‘Iberian Eugenics? Cross-overs and contrasts between Spanish and Portuguese Eugenics, 1930-1950’, *Dynamis* 37:1 (2017), pp. 89-110; González Duro, *Los psiquiatras de Franco*; Michael Richards, ‘Antonio Vallejo Nágera: Heritage, Psychiatry and War’ in Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco and Alejandro Quiroga Fernández (eds), *Right-Wing Spain in the Civil War Era: Soldiers of God and Apostles of the Fatherland, 1914-1945* (London, 2012), pp. 195-224*.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
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512. Javier Bandrés and Rafael Llavona, ‘La psicologia en los campos de concentración de Franco’, *Psicothema* 8:1 (1996), pp. 1-11; Richards, ‘Spanish Psychiatry c.1900-1945’, pp. 823-848; Ricardo Campos and Ángel González de Pablo, ‘Psiquiatría en el Primer Franquismo: Saberes y Prácticas para un “Nuevo Estado”’, *Dynamis* 37:1 (2017), pp. 13-14. [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. Vázquez and Villasante, ‘Psychiatric care’, p. 59. [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. Vincent, ‘Reafirmación’, p. 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. Antonio Vallejo Nágera, *La Locura y La Guerra: psicopatología de la guerra española* (Valladolid, 1939), p. 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
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522. See, for example, M. Schachter y J. Grunblatt, ‘La terapéutica con la vitamina C en neurología y psiquiatría’, *Actas Españolas de Neurología y Psiquiatría* 2:1 (1941), pp. 75-82; Ricardo Bordas y Jané, ‘Necesidad de la creación de dispensarios psiquiátricos en la provincia de Barcelona’, *Actas Españolas de Neurología y Psiquiatría* 4:1-2 (1943), pp. 91-92. The relevance of the politicised work of Vallejo Nájera is questioned in greater detail in Stephanie Wright, ‘Political discourse in the psychiatric realm during and after the Spanish Civil War’, M.A. thesis (University of Sheffield, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. Although some Republican psychiatrists had attempted to modernise the psychiatric care system, such measures were swept away during and after the Civil War. Huertas, ‘Spanish Psychiatry’, pp. 54-65. [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. Carlos Castilla del Pino, *Casa del Olivo: Autobiografía (1949-2003)* (Barcelona, 2004), esp. pp. 426-427. [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. See, for example, Cazorla, *Políticas de la Victoria;* Richards, *Time of Silence*; Cenarro, *Sonrisa de Falange*, p. xii. [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. Hernández, *Franquismo a Ras de Suelo*. [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. The psychiatric institution in Oviedo registered a number of individuals suffering from ‘war psychosis’ or ‘war neurosis’. See Archivo Histórico de Asturias (henceforth AHA), Ingreso de Enfermos, 1 July to 31 December 1936. [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. AHA, 1792, F.G.S. [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. The difficulties of compiling statistics on incidences of mental infirmity are well acknowledged amongst medical professionals. See, for example, Christopher H. Warner, George N. Appenzeller, Thomas Grieger, Slava Belenkiy, Jill Bretibach, Jessica Parker, Carolynn M. Warner and Charles Hoge, ‘Importance of Anonymity to Encourage Honest Reporting in Mental Health Screening after Combat Deployment’, *JAMA* 306:23 (2011), pp. 1065-1071; Bernard Ineichen, ‘The Mental Health of Asians in Britain: Little Disease or Underreporting?’, *British Medical Journal* 300:6741 (1990), pp. 1669-1670; Katherine J. Gold, Louise B. Andrew, Edward B. Goldman and Thomas L. Schewenk, ‘“I Would Never Want to Have a Mental Health Diagnosis on my Record”: A Survey of Female Physicians on Mental Health Diagnosis, Treatment, and Reporting’, *General Hospital Psychiatry* 43 (2016), pp. 51-57. [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. Richards, ‘Spanish Psychiatry c.1900-1945’, p. 824. This approach was not unique to Spain, as Peter Barham has shown. See Barham, *Forgotten Lunatics*, p. 306. [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. See, for example, Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, pp. 265-269; Ana Antic, ‘Therapeutic Fascism: Re-educating Communists in Nazi-occupied Serbia, 1942-1944’, *History of Psychiatry* 25:1 (2014), pp. 35-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. Mills, ‘Dead People Don’t Claim’; See also Burstow, LeFrançois, Diamons, *Psychiatry Disrupted*; Clarke and Newman, ‘Alchemy of Austerity’, pp. 310-312. [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. Dan Goodley, ‘“Learning Difficulties”, the Social Model of Impairment: Challenging Epistemologies’, *Disability and Society* 16:2 (2001), p. 215. [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. Mira, *Psychiatry in War*, p. 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. Goodley, ‘Learning Difficulties’, p. 209. [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. Castilla, *Pretérito Imperfecto*, p. 439. [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. Barham, *Forgotten Lunatics*, p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. Antic, ‘Psychiatry at War’, p. 133. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
539. Rodrigo, *Cautivos*, p. xxiv. [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. Antic, ‘Psychiatry at War’, p. 133. [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. Richards, ‘Spanish Psychiatry c.1900-1945’, p. 824. [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. Reid, *Broken Men*, p. 165. [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. Vallejo Nágera, *Locura*, p. 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. López Ibor, *Neurosis*, p. 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. Villasante, ‘War neurosis’, p. 426. [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. AGMAV, C.22205, 7, ‘Expedientes de Sanidad ordenados por la voz “Dementes”’, Letter from Minister of the Interior to the Minister of National Defence, 13 March 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. Preston, *Comrades*, pp. 16-18, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 35, 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. Carlos Castilla del Pino was a protégé of the monarchist psychiatrist Juan José López Ibor, and became increasingly critical of the Francoist regime, articulated through his underground activism with the PCE (Spanish Communist Party). Richards, *After the Civil War*, p. 218. See also the case of Gonzalo de Aguilera in Preston, *Spanish Holocaust*, pp. 526-528. [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. Castilla, *Pretérito Imperfecto*, pp. 450-464. [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. Castilla del Pino, *Pretérito Imperfecto*, pp. 464-465. [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. Ibid., p. 465. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. See Kirtland C. Peterson, Maurice F. Prout and Robert A. Schwartz, *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: A Clinician’s Guide* (New York and London, 1991), p. 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. Castilla, *Pretérito Imperfecto*, p. 464. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Hemel Hempstead, 1989); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass, 1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. Jordanova, *Sexual Visions*, pp. 23, 27-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. *BOE*,119, 28 April 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. *BOE*, 311, 29 December 1958, pp. 11907-11911. [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. Incidences in which syphilitic veterans were able to circumvent the legislation in this way will be discussed in chapter four. See pp. 270-273. [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. On the frequent use of the term ‘demente’, see *BOE*, 2, 2 January 1945; *BOE* 119, 28 April 1948; *BOE*, 44, 13 February 1954; AGMAV, 22205,7. [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. AGMAV, C.2326, 50, 91, 9-12, Letter from the President of the Royal Academy of Medicine of Zaragoza, 25 June 1938; response from the Inspector General of Health, 22 July 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, pp. 199-240. [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. Goffman, *Stigma*, p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. Mira, *Psychiatry in War*, pp. 15-23; Jolande Withuis, ‘The Management of Victimhood: Long term health damage from asthenia to PTSD’, in Jolande Withuis and Annet Mooij (eds), *The Politics of War Trauma: The Aftermath of World War II in Eleven European Countries* (Amsterdam, 2010), p. 208; Reid, *Broken Men*, p. 1; Barham, *Forgotten Lunatics*, p. 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. Archivo Histórico del Instituto Psiquiátrico Servicios de Salud Mental Jos­é Germain (henceforth IPJG), historia clínica 1525; 1627; 1394. [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. See, for example, Scott-Ellis, *Chances of Death*, pp. 70-71, 80-81, 137; Marten, *Sing not War*, pp. 100-120; Carden-Coyne, *Reconstructing the Body*, pp. 14, 99; Lori Rotskoff, *Love on the Rocks: Men, Women, and Alcohol in Post-World War II America* (Chapel Hill, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. See, for example, *¡A Mí la Legión!* [film], directed by Juan de Orduña (Cifesa, 1942); *¡Harka!* [film], directed by Carlos Arévalo,(Cifesa, 1941). [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. Castilla, *Pretérito Imperfecto*, p. 439. [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. Reid, *Broken Men*, pp. 4, 166. [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. See Carlos Castilla del Pino, *Un Estudio sobre la Depresión. Fundamentos de Antropología Dialéctica* (Barcelona, 1970); Castilla del Pino, *Casa del Olivo*, p. 317. [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. Richards, *After the Civil War*, p. 218. [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. Antonio Buero Vallejo, *La Doble Historia del Doctor Valmy* (Madrid, 1968), p. 65. [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. Castilla, *Casa del Olivo*, pp. 372-373. [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
573. Psychiatric practice varied across different institutions and such questionnaires were only found in the archives of Oviedo’s psychiatric hospital. [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
574. Certain case files contain outdated questionnaires asking patients to name the current king or queen of Spain. Under the dictatorship, patients were instead asked to name the head of state. See, for example, AHA, 1792, F.G.S. [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
575. Antic, ‘Psychiatry at War’, p. 132. [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
576. Alcalde, ‘Descanso del Guerrero’, p. 179. [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
577. Vincent, *Spain*, p. 167. [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. *BOE*, 81, 21 March 1944; Martí Marín Corbera, ‘La Gestación del Documento Nacional de Identidad: Un Proyecto de Control Totalitario para la España Franquista’, in Carlos Navajas Zubeldía and Diego Iturriaga Barco (eds), *Novísima. Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Historia de Nuestro Tiempo* (Logroño, 2010), pp. 323-338. [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
579. See Varela Ortega, *Los Amigos Políticos*; Gellner and Waterbury, *Patrons and Clients*; Heywood, *Government*, p. 125. [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. Anderson, *Francoist Military Trials*; Conxita Mir, ‘Justicia Civil y Control Moral de la Población Marginal en el Franquismo de Posguerra’, *Historia Social* 37 (2000), pp. 53-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. Cazorla, *Políticas de la victoria*, pp. 43-60. [↑](#footnote-ref-581)
582. Cenarro, ‘Elite, Party, Church’, pp. 461-486. [↑](#footnote-ref-582)
583. See, for example, Mir Curcó, ‘Justicia Civil’, pp. 53-72. [↑](#footnote-ref-583)
584. Anderson, *Francoist Military Trials*, pp. 6, 51-58. [↑](#footnote-ref-584)
585. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-585)
586. See Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*, pp. 198-237. [↑](#footnote-ref-586)
587. Falangists, Carlists and other monarchists resented the regime’s attempt to homogenise their cultures, particularly after unification in April 1937. Matthews, *Reluctant Warriors*, pp. 2-3; Saz, *Fascismo*, pp. 130-146. [↑](#footnote-ref-587)
588. Leppälä, ‘Welfare or Workfare?’, pp. 959-981; Perry, *Recycling the Disabled*, p. 4; Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation*, pp. 176, 184, 202; Jeffrey S. Reznick, ‘Work therapy and the Disabled British Soldier in Great Britain in the First World War: The Case of Shepherd’s Bush Military Hospital, London’ in Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*, pp. 186-188. [↑](#footnote-ref-588)
589. Perry, *Recycling the Disabled*, p. 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-589)
590. Ibid., pp. 203-204. [↑](#footnote-ref-590)
591. Martínez-Pérez and Del Cura­, ‘Bolstering the Greatness’, pp. 805-824. [↑](#footnote-ref-591)
592. Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge* (London, 1998), pp. 139-140;Francisco Vázquez García, *La Invención del Racismo: Nacimiento de la biopolítica en España, 1600-1940* (Madrid, 2009), pp. 10-12, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-592)
593. Martínez-Pérez and Del Cura­, ‘Bolstering the Greatness’,p. 812. [↑](#footnote-ref-593)
594. Ibid., p. 821. [↑](#footnote-ref-594)
595. David Brydan, ‘Axis Internationalism: Spanish Health Experts and the Nazi “New Europe”, 1939-1945’, *Contemporary European History* 24:2 (2016), pp. 291-311. [↑](#footnote-ref-595)
596. If carried out successfully, patients were able to use their arms to carry out day-to-day tasks without the need for expensive prosthetics. See Paredes, ‘Pinza Cubito-Radial’, pp. 51-64; Gila, ‘Pinza de Crustáceo’, pp. 148-163. On articles published by foreign scholars in Spanish academic journals, see, for example, Galeazzi-Lisi, ‘La Cirugía Plástica’, pp. 414-417. [↑](#footnote-ref-596)
597. Rafael González Mas, *Guía de Ortopedia en Rehabilitación* (Madrid, 1965), p. 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-597)
598. *La Vanguardia*, 8 December 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-598)
599. Nogales, *Reorientación*, pp. 27-28; Vallejo Nájera, ‘Reacciones psicógenas’, p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-599)
600. *ABC*, 31 May 1938; AGMAV, 1212, 8, Telegram from Director General of the Directorate for War Disabled to General of the Northern Army, 1 February 1938; AGMAV, 2323, 45, 51, ‘Invitaciones. Correspondencia relativa al ofrecimiento del rector del Colegio Mayor de San Clemente de los Españoles en Bolonia para establecer en el mismo un hospital para mutilados de Guerra españoles’, January-April 1938; ‘Professor Putti and the istituto ortopedico Rizzoli at Bologna’, *British Journal of Surgery* 11:41 (July, 1923), pp. 137-147. [↑](#footnote-ref-600)
601. AGMAV, 2323, 45, 51, Letter from Directorate General for the War Disabled to the ‘Generalísimo’, 3 February 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-601)
602. Anderson, *Francoist Military Trials*, pp. 37-51. [↑](#footnote-ref-602)
603. Ibid., p. 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-603)
604. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-604)
605. Bandrés and Llavona, ‘Psicologia’, pp. 1-11; Danet and Medina-Doménech, ‘Españolismo’, p. 440. [↑](#footnote-ref-605)
606. Anderson, *Francoist Military Trials*, pp. 58, 94, 97. [↑](#footnote-ref-606)
607. Anderson, *Francoist Military Trials*, p. 58; Mir, ‘Justicia Civil’, pp. 63-64. [↑](#footnote-ref-607)
608. UGM, 7530. [↑](#footnote-ref-608)
609. Kelly, *Ruling*, p. 191. [↑](#footnote-ref-609)
610. Martínez-Pérez y Porras, ‘Hacia una nueva percepción’, p. 215. [↑](#footnote-ref-610)
611. *BOE*, 540, 14 April 1938. [↑](#footnote-ref-611)
612. *BOE*, 2, 30 December 1944. [↑](#footnote-ref-612)
613. See Alcalde, ‘War Veterans and Fascism’, p. 90. [↑](#footnote-ref-613)
614. Walter L. Bernecker, ‘The Change in Mentalities during the Late Franco Regime’, in Townson, *Spain Transformed*, pp. 73-82, esp. 74. [↑](#footnote-ref-614)
615. *ABC*, 7 June 1939; *La Vanguardia*, 8 February 1939; 21 June 1939; 4 November 1939. [↑](#footnote-ref-615)
616. Movimiento Nacional. Sección Femenina, *Sección Femenina de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N-S.* (1940), pp. 66-67; *Concentración Nacional de las Falanges Femeninas en Honor del Caudillo y del Ejército Español* (Medina del Campo, 1939); UGM, 5892; 10246; 15118; AGMS, C.G/Paisanos/0, 10, 4; C.G/Paisanos/M40, 24; GU/A538, 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-616)
617. Disabled servicewomen in Spain had to wait until 1976 to be formally recognised by the state. See *La Vanguardia*, 21 February 1976; *ABC*, 21 February 1976. [↑](#footnote-ref-617)
618. Jordi Cerdà Serrano, ‘Historicismo y Legalismo en los Discursos Franquistas sobre la Monarquía Española. La Ley de Sucesión en la Jefatura del Estado de 1947’, *Revista Jurídica Universidad Autónoma de Madrid* 32 (2015), pp. 98-126. [↑](#footnote-ref-618)
619. See Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays and Tomlinson, ‘Intersectionality’; Barnartt, ‘Introduction: Disability and Intersecting Statuses’. [↑](#footnote-ref-619)
620. In the Francoist context, for example, Moroccan veterans of the Francoist army experienced war disability differently to their Spanish peers. See Wright, ‘Glorious Brothers’. [↑](#footnote-ref-620)
621. See, for example, *Mundo Diario*, 15 July 1977; *Tele/eXpres*, 15 July 1977; *La Vanguardia*, 15 July 1977; *El País*, 26 January 1982; El *Periódico*, 18 April 1982; *Diari de Barcelona*, 18 April 1982. [↑](#footnote-ref-621)
622. Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia*, p. 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-622)
623. *BOE*, 165, 10 July 1980, ‘Ley 35/1980, de 26 de junio, sobre pensiones a los mutilados excombatientes de la zona republicana.’ Republicans were able to benefit from an earlier law, passed in 1976, which granted pensions in favour of Spaniards who had sustained injuries in the war but who were not permitted to enter the BCMGP. However, this law was so general that its beneficiaries potentially included Francoist veterans with conditions sustained in war that did not meet the BCMGP’s strict entry criteria. [↑](#footnote-ref-623)
624. *BOE* 172, 20 July 1989, ‘Ley 17/1989, de 19 de julio, Reguladora del Régimen del Personal Militar Profesional’, Provision 6, ‘Cuerpo de mutilados de guerra por la Patria’: 23146-23147. [↑](#footnote-ref-624)
625. ‘…Y fuimos declarados a extinguir, …no extintos’, *Asociación Caballeros Mutilados por la Patria: Revista ACM* 1:1 (1994), p. 60. [↑](#footnote-ref-625)
626. *El Diario*, 9 January 2017; *El País*, 14 December 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-626)
627. *El País*, 14 December 2016; 28 March 2017. [↑](#footnote-ref-627)
628. See, in particular, the anonymous piece commemorating the 80th anniversary of the BCMGP published last year in the conservative online newspaper, *La Gaceta*, 22 January 2017. [↑](#footnote-ref-628)