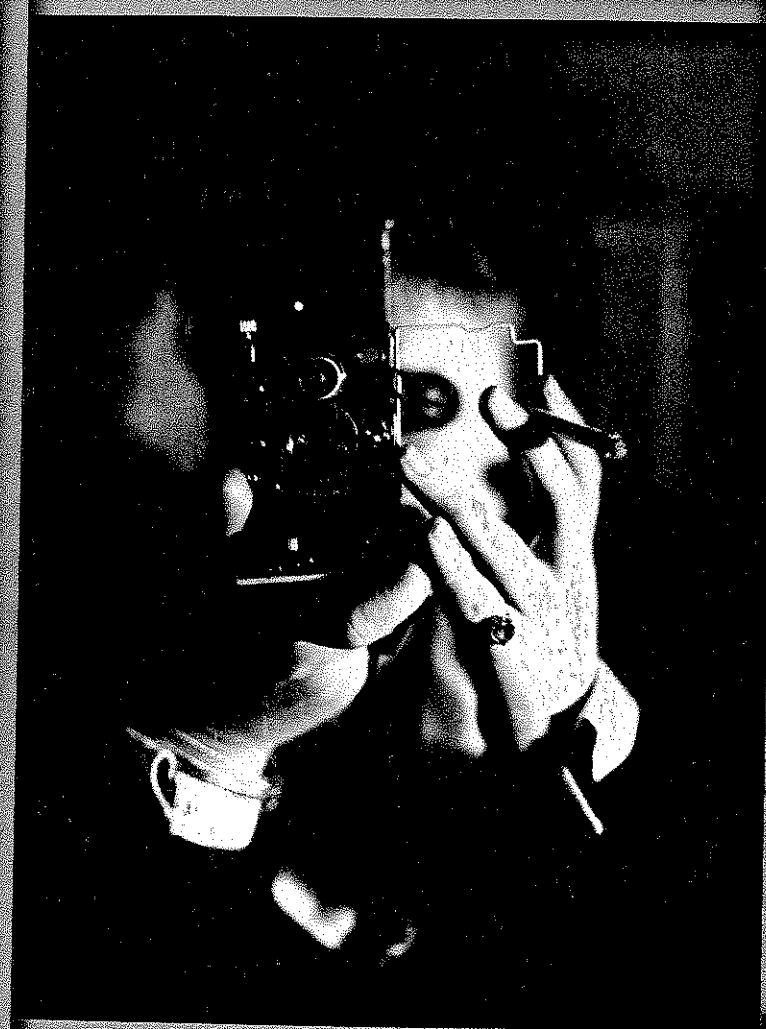


The New Woman International

Representations in Photography and Film
from the 1870s through the 1960s



ELIZABETH OTTO AND VANESSA ROCCO, EDITORS

Foreword by Linda Nochlin

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Women, Fashion, and the Spanish Civil War: From the Fashion Parade to the Victory Parade

KATHLEEN M. VERNON

Among the propaganda films produced by the Francoist side during and following the Spanish Civil War, a short, eleven-minute documentary released in late 1939, *Ya viene el cortejo* (Here Comes the Cortejo), directed by Carlos Arévalo and produced and narrated by actor and soon to be director Juan de Orduña, stands out for two very different reasons.¹ In the first instance it represents the codification of a visual rhetoric that would provide the central model for subsequent documentary and fictional evocations of the civil war as a sacred crusade to recover and preserve the nation's timeless essence. Rejecting narrative or discursive argument for the poetic accumulation of iconic images of a supposed Spanish essence—medieval heralds and castles, panoramic natural landscapes, tolling bells, national flags and crests—the film culminates in the ritual ceremony of the Victory Parade (Desfile de la Victoria) in a final sequence that anachronistically fuses imagery of the Reconquest against the Moorish invaders with the fascist pageantry of mass public spectacle: tightly choreographed displays of marching troops, modern weaponry, and political symbols (fig. 14.1). Not surprisingly, the protagonists, individual and representative or massed and collective, of this mythmaking projection of Spanish military might and heroic deeds are exclusively male.

Yet a second matter overlooked in analyses of *Ya viene el cortejo* by Spanish film historians is a jarringly feminine interlude that occurs some four minutes into the film and lasts just over two minutes.² Set between shots of still more medieval heralds and ringing bells, the sequence is unmotivated and unintegrated thematically and formally into the rest of the film. The opening image shows an ornately carved wooden chest. Hands extend into the onscreen space to extract embroidered fabrics and lace mantillas. Further shots offer women posing in traditional, regional

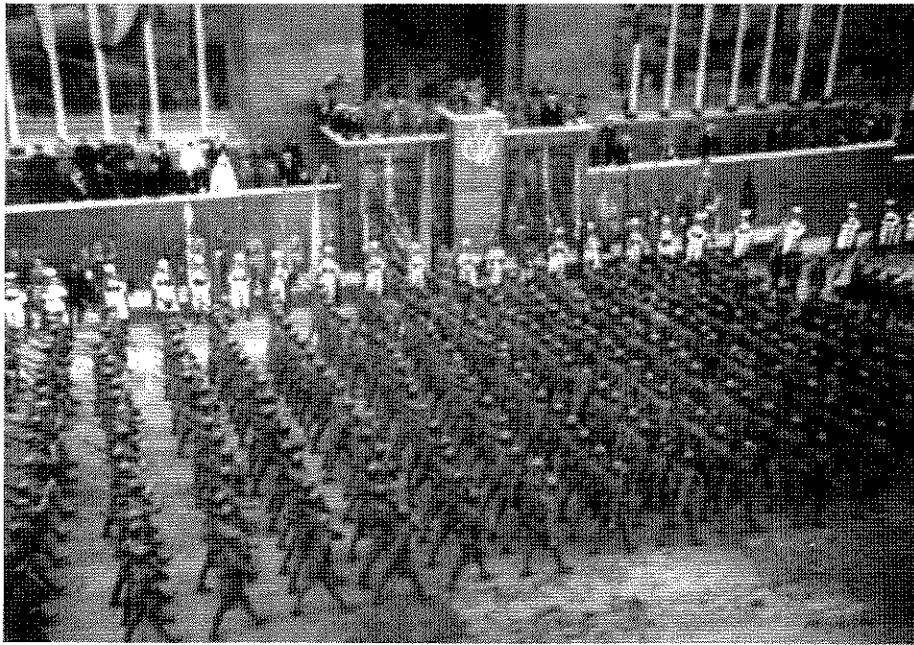


Fig. 14.1. Film still from Carlos Arévalo's *Ya viene el cortejo* (Here Comes the Cortege), 1939. (Filmoteca Española.)

garb juxtaposed against accessories, veils, and clothing animated as they rise, almost unaided, from chests and drawers. The camera work stresses a ritual quality of dresses and dressing while showing the models depicted posing for the camera and before a series of mirrors. Their practiced gestures and knowing smiles acknowledge the presence of other, admiring eyes on them (figs. 14.2 and 14.3). All of these details prompt the question: what are these women doing in the film? The evocation of regional traditions and their sublimation into a unified national essence constituted a central topos of Francoist ideology. And the recovery and preservation of Spanish local cultures, including dress, was a charge taken up following the war by the Falangist women's organization, the Sección Femenina. Still this scene is simply excessive, too long and loving to be easily explained or entirely subsumed into the film. When I consulted a colleague, a Spanish film historian, he pointed to the role of Orduña, a closeted gay man and "women's director" who would come to be known as the Spanish George Cukor. Coincidentally, Cukor's 1939 film classic *The Women*, based on the play by Clare Booth Luce, contains a similarly disruptive fashion show sequence, shot in color in a black-and-white film. However suggestive these hints of a shared cinematic cosmopolitan sensibility, I would argue



Fig. 14.2. Film still from Carlos Arévalo's *Ya viene el cortejo* (Here Comes the Cortege), 1939. (Filmoteca Española.)



Fig. 14.3. Film still from Carlos Arévalo's *Ya viene el cortejo* (Here Comes the Cortege), 1939. (Filmoteca Española.)

that this case has a particularly emblematic value for our understanding of the struggle to incorporate women visually and symbolically into the image of the Francoist “New State.”³

Victoria de Grazia and Eugenia Paulicelli have found evidence of a similar fusion of female fashion and fascist military spectacle in a staged public event that took place in Mussolini’s Italy during the same year.⁴ Working from contemporary newspaper reports and an Istituto Luce documentary, respectively, de Grazia and Paulicelli analyze the May 1939 “Great Parade of Female Forces” in Rome that assembled seventy thousand women from diverse social strata, geographic origins, and professions. In the news report reproduced by de Grazia, the identification of the various groups, from rural housewives, women workers, and leisure-time troops to women professionals and artists, is threaded through with detailed references to articles of clothing and accessories: “scarves and shawls; wide skirts . . . jackets and corsets and belts . . . flowered aprons and lace . . . clogs, sandals and kerchiefs . . . azure jumpsuits.”⁵ The fragmented enumeration concludes with what de Grazia reads as an attempt to tie the heterogeneous collection of women and fashion paraphernalia to the fascist imperial project in its final evocation of the militarized advance of “the Red Cross nurses of the great wars for Africa and Spain, on tanks and ambulances, severe in dress and demeanor, faces to the Duce, then straight ahead, their blue veils lifting off their white headbands.”⁶ Both de Grazia and Paulicelli are struck by a series of unresolved tensions and contradictions revealed in the scene, whether between the “local time-honored traditions” celebrated by the rural women in folkloric costume and the “modern woman wearing the military uniform,”⁷ or more broadly in the clash between the subsuming and sublimation of individual identity into the massed collective and “the pursuit of exclusiveness and individuality typical of the workings of the modern fashion industry.”⁸

Thus the film *Ya viene el cortejo* and the Italian Great Parade reflect the difficulty of mobilizing women, or their representations, into a unitary force. The women depicted resist reduction to a singular essence, their heterogeneity on display in the juxtaposition of rural and urban, individual and collective, modernity and timeless traditions. Furthermore, such binary distinctions themselves are blurred as the women incorporate seemingly contradictory traits and identities. In the Arévalo-Orduña film, despite their largely traditional dress, the women models strike a discordant note of modernity in their self-awareness and practiced exhibitionism. In the Italian parade, the variegated figures fail to coalesce into a single body

of marchers, even at the level of visual spectacle, as Paulicelli points out in observing the contrast between the geometric precision of the women in uniform and the “more disorganized and scattered space” figured by the women in regional dress.⁹ That disparity is further emphasized in the description of the nurses’ warriorlike pose, their purposeful theatricality set against the more random distribution of the “civilian” groups. De Grazia finds in this persistent heterogeneity a measure of women’s troublesome resistance to efforts at visual symbolization that ultimately mark them as “too intractable, too volatile a subject for fascist rule.”¹⁰

The issue of women’s visibility as social and political actors, their move to the center of the frame, is closely tied in the Spanish and Italian documentaries and media accounts analyzed here to the role of fashion in framing and mediating debates over images and identities. Over the last decade scholars have taught us to see fashion not as frivolous or inconsequential, the antithesis of war seriousness and scarcity, but rather as a source of crucial insights into ways of living, attitudes, and behaviors. As Dominique Veillon argues in her study of fashion in occupied France, the subject provides “an observation point from which to view the political, economic and cultural environment of an historical period.”¹¹ This would seem to be particularly true at moments of political crisis and social and economic stress and when more direct means of public expression are closed to certain population groups. Fashion, as language or system, while susceptible to appropriation as an instrument for imposing conformity and social control, is also available as a vehicle for subverting such goals, whether part of a conscious program or as a result of fashion’s very volatility, its function as a bearer of multiple messages. Wendy Parkins alludes to the inherent ambivalence of fashion’s social meanings in noting the “multi-accentuality of dress in political contexts . . . [and] the semiotic capacity of practices of dress to either contest or reinforce existing arrangements of power and ‘flesh out’ the meanings of citizenship.”¹²

Clothing styles and the choices they offered women became early recruits in the culture wars that preceded the military conflicts of 1930s and 1940s Europe. Fashion functioned on the one hand as the harbinger of modernity, the rapid turnover of styles and silhouettes linked to the influence of the media, radio, cinema, and advertising, all part of a burgeoning consumer culture that was key in circulating a cosmopolitan, transnational vision of the New Woman. Clothing could and did assume the role of standard-bearer of varying ideological messages. The cult of the healthy body, developed in Fascist Germany and Italy and adopted by the Sección

Femenina in Spain, despite the disapproval of the Catholic Church, promoted streamlined styles of clothing that facilitated movement and quickness.¹³ But such styles and attendant lifestyles also generated a backlash that spread across the continent.¹⁴ Helen Graham notes the conservative reaction among women themselves against the threat of social change embodied in the figure of the New Woman, more pronounced in Germany but evident in Spain as well, where middle-class women launched boycotts of “communist” and “Jewish” shopkeepers despite the fact that there were no Jews in Spain.¹⁵ In this context clothing also never lost its link to traditional femininity, its role in situating women as pleasing ornament and domestic decoration. This view of fashion effectively reinforced conventional divisions of labor. Clothing reigned at the core of women’s work and women’s play, a safe space of distraction and self-cultivation. Little wonder that these tensions played themselves out in the ritual stagings of public patriotic and national spectacle, in the confrontation between traditional costume and modern everyday dress. Official rhetoric to the contrary, the need for special efforts and programs to preserve national and regional indigenous dress offers inadvertent confirmation of the dominance of international styles. Indeed, as Jesusa Vega documents in a study of Spanish regional dress, the battle may already have been lost in Spain by the early twentieth century. For when the organizers of a centenary celebration of Madrid’s resistance against the 1808 Napoleonic invasion invited representatives from provincial capitals to attend in regional dress, the response from the Badajoz town hall in Extremadura was categorical: “[A]mong this population there is not one person who wears the typical dress of the old Extremeñans, nor is there a model that can serve to reconstruct said dress with accuracy.”¹⁶

Fashioning the New Woman in Spain

Historians and cultural analysts continue to disagree about whether Francoism effectively endorsed or promoted a vision of the New Woman. As I have noted, the polarized political and social atmosphere under the Spanish Republic in the period before the 1936 outbreak of the Civil War was partially driven by anxieties over the changes associated with modernity, including perceived threats to the family and women’s position therein. Yet despite their calls for women to return to the home and traditional roles, the Right moved in the early 1930s to mobilize women, initially through church organizations and later via the founding of the Falangist Sección Femenina

in 1934.¹⁷ This activity would continue, albeit “in an instinctive way and from the perception of their traditional roles,” during the war itself.¹⁸ Mary Vincent reports on much more radical activities taken up by women who participated in Falangist street provocations, “girlfriends of Falangists who aided and abetted male violence, concealing guns in the lining of their coats or in the high boots that were coming into fashion,” despite official opposition from the party.¹⁹ Nevertheless, she concludes in another article, “There was no ‘new fascist woman’ to complement the ‘new fascist man,’” promoted by founders of the Falange.²⁰ It is apparent, though, that for all its talk of exalting traditional Spanish womanhood, Francoist propaganda paid a certain contradictory lip service to the appeal of modernity. In her study of the treatment of gender roles in the regime-supported press in the immediate postwar period, Spanish novelist and essayist Carmen Martín Gaité finds vivid examples of the kind of up-is-down, black-is-white logic that opposed “fad-crazy girls, who adore outrageous things and are wild for anything foreign” with the “old yet always new” image of the modest and industrious Spanish woman.²¹ She emphasizes the pervasiveness of such campaigns, which were “devoted relentlessly to the task of turning the old fashioned yet ever-new woman into something fresh—that is, selling her as modern.”²²

Following the lead of Martín Gaité, but with a focus trained on the role of fashion coverage in attempts to redefine female identity, I turn to two magazines published by the Falange during the Civil War itself: *Vértice*, the organization’s premier graphic and ideological showcase, which began publishing in April 1937; and the women’s magazine *Y* (named for Queen Isabela using the archaic spelling of her name), sponsored by the Sección Femenina, whose first issue appeared in February 1938. As monthly publications, both *Vértice* and *Y* combined coverage of the arts—theater and cinema columns and reviews, short stories, and features on photography and the graphic and plastic arts—and leisure activities, including fashion, with tendentious reporting on the progress of the war, admiring articles on Hitler (e.g., coverage of the Führer’s birthday celebration in issue 10 of *Vértice* and a spread on Hitler’s home in the Bavarian Alps in issue 3 of *Y*), and increasing contributions to the cult of personality building around General Francisco Franco and his immediate family.²³ Directed at a relatively elite and financially well off readership in the Nationalist zone, far from the fighting or the aerial bombardments that targeted Republican-held territory, the two magazines promoted a sense of continuity and normalcy in the conduct of everyday life. Yet their content inevitably betrayed

a certain discomfort or anxiety over the appropriate occupation for women during wartime, on the one hand evincing a determination to maintain women in the frivolous and feminine activities proper to their sex and class standing and on the other seeking to enlist them in suitable acts of devotion to the cause of “nuestra España” (our—that is, Nationalist—Spain). The fashion coverage could not help but reflect this split personality. Emblematic in this regard is an article from the inaugural issue of *Vértice* entitled “Moda: Crónica de abril” (Fashion: Chronicle of April), signed Márgara. In the opening lines the author evokes the Paris spring in which she heard of plans for the new magazine to be published in “liberated” Nationalist territory. Prompted to act, she writes:

I offered my name, my talent, my knowledge, my enthusiasm, my vision of life, a product of my many years removed from the hermeticism of Spanish life and my formation in a universal setting. I asked, imperiously, with all the force of my conviction, that I be allowed to speak to the women of Spain about something as trivial and as transcendent as Fashion.

I thought about my country at war, I thought about the rarified state of all nations, turbulent and terrified, [which find themselves] at every dawn of every day at the edge of the precipice of war or social destruction. And I thought that Fashion is the symbol of the strong woman, the biblical woman, reserve of Humanity, [who is] pleasant and cordial even in the most adverse moments.²⁴

The passage is noteworthy for many reasons. The writer’s Parisian and “universal” existence and vision give her the authority to bring the gospel of fashion to an isolated, if not backward, Spain. And fashion is championed in all its contradictory glory as the attribute of strong, “biblical” women who are called to the heroic (but ultimately restricted) task of radiating feminine affability in a war-torn nation. Nevertheless, it is also clear that fashion and fashion journalism gave women like Márgara access to the public sphere—and to worlds beyond “hermetic” Spain—not just as models and specularized objects of the public gaze but as working professionals.

A case in point is the founding editor of *Y*, Marichu de la Mora, director of the Department of Press and Propaganda for the Sección Femenina and sister of the Republican activist, Communist Party member, and director of international press relations for the Republic, Constançia de la Mora.²⁵ A collaborator in the subsequent Sección Femenina publications *Medina* and *Ventanal* and founder in 1940 of *La moda en España*, de la Mora shaped *Y* into perhaps the most visible representation of the values and concerns

of Nationalist womanhood in all its contradictions. The magazine benefited from its geographic location, headquartered in San Sebastian on the northern Spanish coast not far from the French border and at a significant remove from the military capitals of Francoist Spain in Burgos and Salamanca, which allowed it to acquire “an apparently cosmopolitan touch.”²⁶ *Y* alternated sections charting the history of the Falangist Women’s Section and its female leaders with pieces on more domestic topics such as menu planning and child care. In contrast to the more aspirational fashion features in the decidedly upmarket *Vértice*, the April 1938 issue of *Y* offered its readers practical advice in an article titled “Do You Know How to Take Advantage of a No Longer Stylish Dress?”²⁷ While *Y* sought to guide its audience with respect to contemporary fashions, it also presented a series of pieces on fashion history. Thus in the same April 1938 issue an article explored the timely topic of “Military Influences on Female Fashion.”²⁸ In June 1938 another considered the question of when brides first began to wear white wedding dresses.²⁹ And in May 1938 the magazine offered an account of government policies in the design and enforcement of sumptuary laws (“El gobierno y las modas”), noting that “the freedom, today, to dress in green or blue, to cut one’s hair short or let it grow long, is a very recent conquest.”³⁰ This historical approach offered an implied critique of the essentializing and tautological vision of timeless womanhood espoused by Francoism. Not that such a view was absent from the pages of *Y*; an article by novelist Carmen Icaza in the March 1938 issue proclaimed the proper role of women in the work of reconstructing the nation. Up against alleged “Marxist” demands for women “mechanics, electricians or chemists,” the Spain of Icaza “want[ed] its women to serve the nation exclusively as women.”³¹ In contrast, by recognizing fashion’s imbrication in the contingencies of social, economic and political life, the articles cited offered women readers a suggestive if still restricted sense of their stake in history. At the same time, the scholarly approach elevated fashion as a subject worthy of serious attention.

Perhaps in response to these varied and potentially disruptive implications of fashion, there also existed a clear push to instrumentalize its role. As in the film *Ya viene el cortejo*, the magazines give evidence of an insistent if not always intentional linkage of war and fashion. Both *Vértice* and *Y* enlisted fashion, along with so many other charged rhetorical practices during the Civil War, as a way to distinguish and separate Rebel identities, especially though not exclusively female, from those of the Loyalist side. In some cases this meant explicitly claiming a sense of style or fash-

ion as an index of taste and breeding and thus the proprietary attribute of the Nationalist side. An article in the April 1938 issue of *Vértice* evokes the linkage between fashion and the (female) leisure class: “[W]ar has distanced us from the activities that previously filled our days. . . . Hospitals, the making of clothing for our troops, [and] social work now occupy the hours that before we devoted to films, bridge games, and aperitifs. But the change of seasons necessarily brings our thoughts back to clothes for spring.”³² These distinctions became more explicit still in the immediate postwar context as a famous advertisement published in 1939 proclaimed “Reds didn’t wear hats” (*Los rojos no usaban sombreros*).³³ A page-one poem commemorating the Victory Parade in the inaugural issue of another Sección Femenina publication, *Ventanal*, presents a cautionary evocation of “Life as it is or as it might have been: I look out my window and see the troops of the Generalísimo instead of the horror of Stalin’s legions.” The piece continues, contrasting the fashionably dressed women of Franco’s Spain with the “muchachas desaliñadas,” slovenly female supporters of the Republic.³⁴ A particularly tendentious article by playwright Enrique Jardiel Poncela published in the December 1939 issue of *Y* offers a depiction of Christmas in the Republican “Red zone” among a group of what he portrays as grotesquely unfeminine women soldiers, the portrayal highlighted by the photo of a grizzled militiawoman dressed in overalls.³⁵

The wartime continuity between fashion and political identity is strikingly on display in the work of artist and illustrator Carlos Sáenz de Tejada. A graduate of the Escuela de Bellas Artes de San Francisco who lived in Paris from 1926 to 1935 and created cover art for *Vogue* and *Harper’s Bazaar*, among other well-known fashion magazines, Sáenz de Tejada was also responsible for some of the most recognizable propaganda imagery on the Nationalist side.³⁶ That double identity is reflected in the first issue of *Vértice*, where his work appears on the cover and in a full-page color fashion illustration inside. The cover depicts a phalanx of billowing flags, the Spanish monarchist standard, the Falangist flag and a red flag bearing a swastika, held aloft by uniformed men with muscular forearms. The fashion image shows three stylish blond women in coordinated black-and-white outfits, black suit and frilly blouse, white blouse and long skirt combination, and long dress with ruffled accents. Two women, both standing, wear hats and gloves, while the third sits before a low table bearing a silver tea service. Despite their very different themes, these two images share certain common tendencies in their depiction of the human body in the elongated and mannered figures that stretch to fill the available space.

Sáenz de Tejada's signature traits become clearer still in two subsequent color illustrations, published in issue 4 of *Vértice*, that portray two groups of male marchers: Requetés, members of the Carlist militia, and Falangists, each in their distinctive uniforms, khaki with red berets in the case of the first and blue shirts with embroidered red Falangist emblems in the case of the second. In reference to these images, Mary Vincent has written of the artist's "highly stylized depictions of masculine strength and beauty . . . reminiscent of El Greco."³⁷ While the women models are not subject to the same reverent gaze, they are clearly idealized creatures, seemingly abstracted from everyday Spanish reality in their languorous, aristocratic bearing. A two-page color illustration, signed "atc," in the first issue of *Y* brings a further synthesis of fashion and military imagery. There the blond models wearing the feminine version of the Falangist blue shirt project the slender and youthful insouciance and bodily self-awareness of the international New Woman as they pose first in a group of three against a minimalist white background and then among male and female comrades in a more realistic three-dimensional space that suggests a social gathering or even a bar or other public, commercial setting. Vincent has emphasized the role of fashion as key to the essential "theatricality of the Falangist style or spirit," most evident in the provocative proletarian connotation deriving from the adoption of the blue shirt.³⁸ In contrast to the traditional military uniform with its epaulettes or gold braid, "the [blue] shirts were a new style for a new generation. Blue represented the *mono* or overall, which was the characteristic weekday dress of the Spanish working man."³⁹ Because of this message, she reports, wearing a blue shirt in public could be, and was, construed as an act of political defiance, and more so for women, who during the Republic could be fined for appearing in blue shirts.⁴⁰

Clearly, the woman in uniform posed an especially suggestive and polyvalent image: on one the hand a means of potentially resolving tensions between the calls to selfless devotion to the cause and traditional notions of individualistic femininity; and, on the other, a means of managing anxieties over the potential blurring of male-female roles as women assumed more visible positions, as we have seen, even on the Right. It is also likely that uniforms for women were the source of still more unease, as Vincent argues, as "self consciously modern" projections of control of the will.⁴¹

Fashion at the Front Lines, Left and Right

As much as clothing styles surely worked, as we have seen, to divide women

along ideological and socioeconomic lines, the same fashion imagery could also serve to complicate the divisions between us and them. In his memoir, *El niño republicano*, writer and journalist Eduardo Haro Tecglen evokes the cosmopolitan and womanly world of his childhood just before the war, recalling, “the lengthy afternoons of the only child . . . amid the machine-gun rhythms of the Singer sewing machine, looking and relooking at Mama’s magazines, with [images of illustrators] Penagos, Baldrich, and Sáenz de Tejada [Sainz in the original].”⁴² A photograph shot by Robert Capa in Barcelona in 1936 conveys a similar message. With the caption, “A Loyalist Militia Woman,” it depicts a woman dressed in the characteristic *mono* worn by both male and female members of the volunteer Republican militia that carried out much of the fighting against the Francoists during the first months of the Civil War (fig. 14.4). At rest on a city bench, her rifle at her side, she peruses the pages of a fashion magazine. Clearly fashion had its place on the Republican side in both the mental and material lives of women and men. And just as the image of the female Falangist *flecha* (“arrow,” the name given to blue-shirted women volunteers) or her more committed sister, the Falange-sponsored volunteer nurse in her white uniform, blue cape, and embroidered red crest, was subject to glamorization, the Republican *miliciana* herself could become a fashion icon. A photograph by Capa’s companion in Spain, the German-born photographer Gerda Taro, offers an obviously posed portrait of a woman dressed in militia garb. Shot at ground level against a nearly empty horizon, the image shows the woman tensed and seemingly poised for action in a kneeling crouch as her arm extends to the right, gun in hand. Just below and on the extreme left, the viewer notes her feet, clad in somewhat incongruous high-heeled shoes.

It is instructive to consider both the image and the aura attached to the *miliciana* in relation to a cover illustration in the February 1939 issue of the Sección Femenina magazine *Y* (fig. 14.5). Two women in profile occupy the foreground, a blond nurse and a dark-haired *flecha*. They have adopted a warrior’s pose, their arms raised in the Fascist salute. In the right rear of the frame, a third woman, wearing an apron with a large Falangist emblem, carries what appears to be a basket of laundry, her face in shadows. Not coincidentally, the first two women evoke the marching nurses in the Italian Great Parade of Female Forces, although here their “severe” dress and demeanor are tempered by the representations of cover-girl beauty. For her part, the *miliciana*, source of the “best-known female iconography of the war,” also overshadowed her less visible and alluring sisters (fig. 14.6).⁴³



Fig. 14.4. Robert Capa, "Barcelona, August 1936. A Loyalist Militia Woman," 1936. (International Center of Photography and Magnum Photos.)



Fig. 14.5. Cover image, *Y* magazine, February 1939. (Collection of the author.)

Denounced and demonized by the Right, the *miliciana* never ceased to provoke strong reactions on both sides of the war. Nevertheless, the image ultimately bore little relation to the reality of women's roles. Just three months into the war, the Republican prime minister was calling for the removal of women soldiers from the front.⁴⁴ According to Helen Graham, the "real face of the "new woman' in Spain" was the female factory or farm worker in the rearguard.⁴⁵

Most of the photographs of militia women we possess . . . [were] taken in the early days of the conflict and carry the unmistakable stamp of "war as fiesta." They are highly choreographed images, designed to maximize the decorative effects of their female subjects. Like the famous posters of the *milicianas* they are aimed primarily at a male audience . . . as a recruitment device to persuade the male audience to volunteer for military service.⁴⁶



Fig. 14.6. Cristóbal Arceche, "Les milicies us necessiten," 1936. (Collection of the author.)

This phenomenon notably persists today. The image of the *miliciana* is still called on to recruit readers and spectators, consumers of a potent conjunction of war and fashion, in ongoing efforts to make sense of the legacy of the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁷

These continuities should not lead us to lose sight of the particular role of fashion and fashion imagery during the war years of the late 1930s in Spain, however. On both the Left and the Right, clothing styles and choices were mobilized at the front lines as marking a symbolic fault line between competing notions of gender identity, serving as a highly visibly yet deeply embedded index of values, attitudes, and behaviors regarding women and modernity. The space for debate and dissent generated around the topic of fashion was soon to close, though, as wartime exceptionalism gave way to the imposition of ideological orthodoxy under the victorious Franco regime. In the context of this study, there is perhaps no better evidence of these changes than those seen in the redistribution of symbolic space in

gender terms represented in the filmed depictions of the annual reenactments of the Victory Parade in the official Spanish newsreel founded in 1943, the *Noticiarios y Documentales* (NO-DO). In contrast to the setting of the parade in *Ya viene el cortejo*, with its disruptive two-minute, female-centered entr'acte, in the NO-DO women are kept safely consigned to the margins, visualized only in the inevitable cutaway shots of the audience, thus reaffirming women's proper place and role, on the sidelines lending support to the male protagonists.⁴⁶

Notes

1. This essay stems from research conducted under the auspices of a research grant funded by the British Academy, "Film Magazines, Fashion and Photography in 1940s and 1950s Spain." My thanks go to project director Jo Labanyi and fellow researcher Eva Woods for providing a collaborative context for this work. Special thanks also go to Jordana Mendelson for sharing her expertise on Civil War magazines and graphic arts and to Lou Charon-Deutsch for technical and moral support.

2. See the coverage in Román Gubern, *1936–1939: La guerra de España en la pantalla* (Madrid: Filmoteca Española, 1986), 69–70; and Rafael R. Tranche and Vicente Sánchez Biosca, *NO-DO: El tiempo y la memoria* (Madrid: Catedra and Filmoteca Española, 2001), 296–298.

3. Historian Mike Richards, in "'Terror and Progress': Industrialization, Modernity, and the Making of Francoism," in *Spanish Cultural Studies*, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), studies the Francoist construction and implementation of a model of the "modern state" inspired by Germany and Italy with the goal of "reordering society in fundamental ways to face the challenges of the future" (176).

4. Victoria de Grazia, "Nationalizing Women," in *The Sex of Things*, ed. Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 337–58; Eugenia Paulicelli, *Fashion under Fascism* (Oxford: Berg, 2004).

5. De Grazia, 352.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Paulicelli, 20.

8. De Grazia, 352.

9. Paulicelli, 20.

10. De Grazia, 353.

11. Dominique Veillon, *Fashion under the Occupation* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), vii.

12. Wendy Parkins, "Introduction: (Ad)dressing Citizens," in *Fashioning the Body Politic*, ed. Wendy Parkins (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 4.

13. De Grazia, 343; Mary Vincent, "Camisas nuevas: Style and Uniformity in the Falange," in *Fashioning the Body Politic*, ed. Wendy Parkins (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 176.

14. De Grazia, 344.

15. Helen Graham, "Women and Social Change," in *Spanish Cultural Studies*, ed. Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 105–6.
16. Jesusa Vega, "Spain's Image and Regional Dress: From Everyday Object to Museum Piece and Tourist Attraction," in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. Susan Larson and Eva Woods (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 214.
17. Graham, "Women and Social Change," 104.
18. *Ibid.*, 110.
19. Vincent, "*Camisas nuevas*," 172.
20. Mary Vincent, "The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade," *History Workshop Journal* 47 (spring 1999): 79.
21. Carmen Martín Gaité, *Courtship Customs in Postwar Spain*, trans. Margaret E. W. Jones (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2004), 28.
22. *Ibid.*, 28.
23. E. Jorge Sánchez, "El cumpleaños de Hitler," *Vértice*, May 1938, n.p.; "La case del Führer en los Alpes Bávaros," *Y*, April 1938, 18–19.
24. Mágina, "Moda: crónica de abril," *Vértice*, April 1937, 86. "Ofreci mi nombre, mis conocimientos, mi entusiasmo, mi visión de la vida, alejada tantos años de la vida hermética española y moldeada en escenarios universales. . . . Solicité con toda la fuerza de mi convicción, imperiosamente, se me dejase hablar a las mujeres de España sobre algo tan trivial y tan trascendente como la Moda. . . . Pensé en mi país en guerra, pensé en el enrarecido ambiente de las naciones, todas, turbulentas y atemorizadas, al borde de precipios sociales o bélicos a cada amanecer de cada nuevo día. Y pensé que la Moda era el símbolo de la mujer fuerte, bíblica, reserva de la Humanidad, placentera y cordial hasta en los momentos más adversos."
25. Immaculada de la Fuente, *La roja y la falangista* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2006), is a fascinating dual biography of the two sisters, aristocratic granddaughters of conservative Spanish prime minister Antonio Maura, whose radically different paths offer insight into the political, social, cultural, and personal forces at stake in the Civil War period.
26. De la Fuente, 228.
27. "¿Sabes cómo aprovechar tu vestido pasado de moda?" *Y*, April 1938, 30.
28. Marqués de Lozoya, "La influencia militar en la moda femenina," *Y*, April 1938, 13.
29. Marqués de Torre Hermosa, "Cuando las novias empezaron a vestirse de blanco," *Y*, June 1938, 7.
30. "El gobierno y las modas," *Y*, May 1938, 17–19.
31. Carmen Icaza, "Quehaceres de María y Marta," *Y*, March 1938, 52.
32. Lidia Blanco, "Orientaciones," *Vértice*, April 1938, n.p.
33. In this regard, see the catalog for the 2007 Bellas Artes exhibition in Madrid, Susana Sueiro, ed., *Posguerra: Publicidad y propaganda (1939–1959)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2007).
34. "Así es . . . así ha podido ser," *Ventanal*, April 1946, 3.
35. The author seems to have taken gladly to this cause of ideological gender war-

fare. In the July–August 1938 issue of *Y*, he provides a color-coded guide to the various inferior subspecies of Spanish women (green, red, lilac, and gray women), whom he contrasts unfavorably with the “*mujer azul*” (the blue Falangist or Nationalist woman). Enrique Jardiel Poncela, “*Mujeres verdes, rojas, lilas, grises, y azules*,” *Y*, July–August 1938, 36–37.

36. The family of Sáenz de Tejada has strongly contested his reputation as the prime artistic exponent of the Francoist cause. Professor Jordana Mendelson has shared with me her correspondence with Carlos Sáenz de Tejada y Benvenuti, a trained historian and the son of the artist, in which he details the chronology and nature of his father’s commissions for the Falange and its organizations. He has also worked to document the alterations made to his father’s illustrations and to identify falsely attributed images that continue to circulate.

37. Vincent, “The Martyrs and the Saints,” 75.

38. Vincent, “*Camisas nuevas*,” 170, 167.

39. Vincent, “*Camisas nuevas*,” 169.

40. Vincent, “*Camisas nuevas*,” 170.

41. Vincent, “*Camisas nuevas*,” 176.

42. Eduardo Haro Tecglen, *El niño republicano* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1998), 62.

43. Frances Lannon, “Women and Images of Women in the Spanish Civil War,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth ser., 1 (1991): 217.

44. Lannon, 222.

45. Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 55.

46. *Ibid.*, 55–56.

47. The covers of two recent Spanish best-selling books that explore the role of women Republican activists during the war and the immediate postwar period, Carlos Fonseca, *Trece rosas rojas* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2007), and Dulce Chacón, *La voz dormida* (Madrid: Santillana, 2002), feature photographs of young, attractive *milicianas* whose frank, open gaze directly addresses the buyer-reader.

48. The DVD that accompanies Tranche and Sánchez Biosca’s *NO-DO* reproduces three examples, from 1943, 1961 and 1973, that reveal the unvarying choreography of the ritual.