THE ROLE OF WOMEN WITHIN THE FIFTH COLUMN IN MADRID DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR (1936-39)

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN MODERN BRITISH AND EUROPEAN HISTORY

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Abstract 1

The thesis constitutes an original contribution to the gender historiography of the Spanish Civil War (1936-9). It examines the vital and invisible role played by anti-Republican women within Madrid's 'fifth column' during the conflict. While a significant amount has been written on Republican women's roles in the war effort, much less has been written on Nationalist women and in particular those who lived in the Republican held zones. The work explores how and why a sector of Catholic women chose to mobilise against the legally constituted Popular Front government in support of an undemocratic military coup. It re-evaluates the significance of women in the Nationalist war effort.

Although anti-Republican women were the resisters of the first hour in the capital, they have been overlooked in the historical record. Between 1936 and 1939 a significant sector of anti-Republican women chose to mobilise against the Republican regime. These women helped to create a subversive and clandestine national Catholic space in the heart of Republican Madrid. They exercised forms of micro-power and influence within the Republican social, political and disciplinary space. The thesis demonstrates how fifth column women were more effective at mobilisation and recruitment than their male counterparts and how a they occupied key liaison and leadership roles within Auxilio Azul, the Clandestine Falange groups and within dozens of autonomous groups. Hundreds more helped to sustain the spiritual, material and affective life of 'Clandestine Madrid' during a highly conflictive moment when formerly powerful anti-Republican men were excluded from the public space. While women's subversive activities often involved the symbolic

transgression of gender norms, their new-found social and political agency was primarily conceptualised within the objective conditions and precepts of Catholicism and understood within the new national-Catholic discourses of 'holy Crusade.'

Abstract 2

The thesis constitutes an original contribution to the gender historiography of the Spanish Civil War (1936-9). It examines the vital and invisible role played by anti-Republican women within Madrid's 'fifth column' during the conflict. While much has been written on Republican women's war efforts, historians have underestimated women's participation in anti-Republican resistance activities in the Republican held zones. The work explores how and why a small sector of Catholic women chose to mobilise against the legally constituted Popular Front government in support of an undemocratic military coup. This politico-religious mobilisation was conceptualised within discourses of 'holy Crusade.'

During the war Madrid was home to the largest, most well-organised and effective fifth column resistance in the Republican held zones. Anti-Republican women were the first to mobilise a resistance in the rearguard and they played a vital role in the construction of a subversive national Catholic imaginary in the capital which was forged in the crucible of war. Of course, this imaginary predates the Civil War.[1] However, circumstances of war and

[1] See for example Ch.7, "The 'Two Spains'" in Álvarez Junco, José (2011), *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations,* (Manchester: MUP), pp.246-289. The author analyses the failures of

extreme violence lent a new urgency and relevance to ideas of Catholic 'crusade' and 'holy war.' Women's clandestine activities were essential to the spiritual and material survival of Madrid's beleaguered anti-Republican community during the thirty-two months of civil conflict in the capital. Nonetheless, the crucially important role played by these women has been overlooked and underestimated.

The Falangist Auxilio Azul (Blue Aid) was Madrid's first, most extensive and effective resistance network. It was a same-gender network that was founded by a small group of around thirty Falangist women after 18 July 1936. It came to include Catholic monarchist and right-wing women who organised welfare aid, safe-housing, false documentation and embassy escape-lines for political fugitives and it quickly became the capital's largest and most well-organised fifth column organisation, with an estimated 6,000 members by the end of the war. Various mixed-gender Falangist groups made efforts to co-ordinate themselves into a loosely organised 'Clandestine Falange' network in late December 1936, but 'the earliest and most notable' Falangist network was Auxilio Azul.[2] Alongside the Clandestine Falange there existed dozens of 'autonomous' anti-Republican groups and hundreds of disaffected anti-Republicans (*desafectos*) which formed spontaneously after 18 July and operated throughout the conflict. This autonomous resistance was never organised into a coherent network and women also played a significant role in these small groups. The

nationalism in the 19C. The Spanish state failed to cultivate the myths, symbols and rituals of nationhood. The Right continued to identify with traditional Catholic religious, symbols, images and discourses of the 'Cross' and the 'Reconquest.' In relation to national Catholic identity and women's Catholic movements in the early 20C, see Arce Pinedo, Rebeca (2008), *Dios, Patria y Hogar. La construcción social de la "mujer Española" por el catolicismo y las derechas en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria), at pp. 31-148.

[2] Cervera, Javier (2006) (Second Ed) *Madrid en Guerra, La ciudad Clandestina, 1936-9,* (Madrid: Alianza), p.242.

resistance was expressed through active, passive and symbolic resistance practices. The general aim was to impede the Republican war effort and demoralize the civilian rearguard in as many ways as possible and women played prominent roles in both the Falangist and autonomous resistance.

The thesis argues that traditional Spanish gender prejudices and assumptions both during and after the war regarding women's 'passivity' in the public space have been inadvertently reproduced in the legal and historical record. The thesis provides a detailed re-evaluation of the role played by Nationalist women in Madrid during the war. Although the study focusses exclusively on rearguard Madrid, its findings may encourage further research on the role of Nationalist women in other Republican held cities such as Barcelona and Valencia.

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Declaration

I declare that the thesis and the translations from Spanish into English are my own work except as otherwise indicated in the text below.

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Abbreviations

AP	Acción Popular (Popular Action). A right-wing Catholic and Alfonsine monarchist party which was called Acción Nacional (National Action) until 1932.
AR	Acción Republicana (Republican Action). Manuel Azaña's progressive Republican party.
CEDA	Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-Wing Parties). A coalition of right-wing Catholic and monarchist groups founded in 1933 by José María Gil Robles.
CNT	Confederación Nacional del Trabajo. The Anarcho-syndicalist trade union founded in 1910.
CT	Communión Traditonalista (Traditionalist Communion). A Catholic traditionalist and legitimist party that sought to establish a separate line of the Bourbon dynasty on the Spanish throne. This 'Carlist' line descended from Don Carlos Count of Molina (1788-1855). The party was formed during the early 1930's following the fusion of three Traditionalist groups (*Jaimista, Mellista* and *Integrista*).
CPIP	Comité Provincial de Investigación Publica (Provincial Public Investigation Committee). A security organisation formed in October 1936 under the aegis of the DGS and led by the former IR politician Manuel Muñoz.
DEDIDE	Departamento Especial de Información del Estado (Special Department of Public Information).
DGS	Dirección General de Seguridad (General Directorate of Security). The Republican police force.
FAI	Federación Anarquista Ibérica (The Iberian Anarchist Federation). An anarchist group created in 1927 as a break-away from the CNT.
FE	Falange Española (The Spanish Falange Party). A fascist party formed by José Primo de Rivera in 1933.

FET y de Las Jons	Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Jons (The Traditionalist Falange and Jonsist Party). Also known as the "National Movement." Created after the 'Unification' of the rebel factions in April 1937.
FNTT	Federación Nacional de Trabajadores de la Tierra (The National Federation of Landworkers). The agricultural labourer's section of the UGT.
FUE	Federación Universitaria Escolar (University Student Federation). A pro-Republican university student union established during the Primo de Rivera era.
IR	Izquierda Republicana (Left Republicans). A coalition of AR, the Left of the PRRS, Santiago Casares Quiroga's party and other small Republican parties.
JAP	Juventudes de Acción Popular (Popular Action Youth). The youth section of the AP and CEDA.
JDM	Junta de Defensa de Madrid (Madrid's Defense Committee). An emergency military defence committee established on 6 November 1936 and led by General Miaja following the departure of the Largo Caballero government to Valencia. The head of security was the Communist Santiago Carillo.
JONS	Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista (National Syndicalist Offense Juntas).
JSU	Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas (United Socialist Youth group). Created in Spring 1936 through the fusion of the Communist and Socialist youth groups and controlled by the Communists.
MVR	Milicias de Vigilancia de la Retaguardia (Rearguard Security Militias).
NIA	Non-Intervention Agreement, an international agreement ratified by 27 nation states in September 1936 with the aim of ensuring the isolation and arms blockade of the Spanish Civil War.
NKVD	Narodnyi Komisssariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs). The Soviet secret police and intelligence service led by Alexander Orlov in Madrid.

PCE	Partido Communista de España (Spanish Communist Party) which arose from the merger of two small Spanish Communist parties in November 1921.
PNV	Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque Nationalist Party). The leading Nationalist Basque party founded by Sabino Arana in 1895.
PRRS	Partido Republicano Radical Socialista (Radical Socialist Republican Party). The Jacobin and anticlerical party which formed part of the governmental coalitions of 1931-3. Divided in 1933, the left of this party joined Manuel Azaña to form IR and the right joined Diego Martínez Barrios to set up UR.
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party) founded in 1879.
RE	Renovación Española (The Spanish Renewal Party). An Alfonsine monarchist party led by José Calvo Sotelo after 1934.
SEU	Sindicato Español Universitario (Spanish University Syndicate). The Falangist student union formed in November 1933 by Manuel Valdés Larrañaga, David Jato and others. Valdés became the leader of the Clandestine Falange in 1937.
SIFNE	Servicios de Información del Frente Noreste. Bertrán i Musitu's intelligence organisation which was based in France and created with funding from Juan March and Francesc Cambó.
SIM Nacional	Servicio de investigación Militar (Nationalist Military Intelligence Service). Established in July 1937 in co-operation with Axis (German and Italian) intellligence services. It merged with other rebel intelligence services such as the SIFNE into a centralised intelligence service the SIPM in November 1937.
SIM Republicana (Madrid)	Servicio de Investigación Militar (Republican Military Intelligence Service). Created in August 1937 and led by Ángel Pedrero former second-in - command of the García Atadell Brigade.

SIPM	Servicios de Información Política y Militar (Political and Military Information Services). A centralised Nationalist intelligence service formed in November 1937 through the merger of the intelligence services of the military, Traditionalist and Falangist rebel factions.
TYRE	Tradicionalistas y Renovación Española (Traditionalist and Spanish Renewal Party). A fusion of members of the CT and RE.
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores. (The United General Worker's Union). The main socialist trade union created in 1889.
UME	Union Militar Española (Spanish Military Union). An anti-Republican military association that included former members of the UP.
UP	Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union). The political movement that supported the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera in 1923.
UR	Unión Republicana (Republican Union). A party founded in September 1934 by former members of Radical Party and the PRRS. The leader was Diego Martínez Barrios.[3]

[3] See Romero Salvadó, Francisco (2005) *The Spanish Civil War, Origins, Course and Outcomes* (Hampshire: Palgrave).

INTRODUCTION

A 'Fifth Column' in Madrid

The thesis constitutes an original contribution to the gender historiography of the Spanish Civil War (1936-9). It examines the vital and invisible role played by anti-Republican women within Madrid's 'fifth column.' While a great deal has been written on Republican women during the war, there is still a significant historiographical gap regarding the roles performed by Nationalist women, and in particular those who lived in the Republican rearguard.[4] The work explores how and why a sector of Catholic women chose to commit acts of treason in support of an undemocratic military coup against the Popular Front government. It also prompts a more general re-evaluation of the role played by women in the Nationalist war effort.

The resistance of the first hour in Madrid was performed by women.[5] In part, this resistance arose as a survivalist response to the violent extra-judicial repression which occurred during the first months of the war.[6] The women of the Falange were the first to organise welfare-aid, safe-housing, false documentation and embassy escape-lines for political fugitives.[7] The leader of the Falange's women's section, Pilar Primo de Rivera, and her closest associates were forced into hiding at the start of the war on 17 July 1936. In August 1936 a young Falangist student named María Paz Martínez Unciti facilitated Pilar's

[4] Martínez Rus, Ana María "Mujeres y guerra civil: Un balance historiográfico," in *Studio Histórico de la Historia Contemporánea,* 32, (2014) pp. 333-343 at p. 343.
[5] See Ch. 9 "*Las primeras las mujeres"* in Cervera, Javier (1998)*, Madrid en Guerra, La Ciudad Clandestina, 1936-9* (Madrid: Alianza), pp.263-282.
[6] Ruiz, Julius (2012), *El Terror Rojo, Madrid, 1936* (Barcelona: Espasa), p.218.
[7] Primo de Rivera, Pilar (1983), *Recuerdos de una vida,* (Madrid: Dyrsa), p.76.

escape from Madrid and became the leader of a network of around thirty women. At the end of October 1936 María Paz was executed by communist militias and her elder sister, Carina, a devout Catholic, took over as leader of what came to be known as Auxilio Azul (Blue Aid). It was the earliest resistance group and over the course of the war it grew into the most extensive and effective of all the fifth column networks in Madrid.[8] By March 1939 it had an estimated 6,000 members.[9] In circumstances of extreme violence and social dislocation anti-Republican women were afforded new opportunities for agency during the thirty-two months of civil conflict in the capital.

Although Madrid's anti-Republican women were the first and most effective fifth columnists, they have been overlooked in the historical record. This is because women's resistance practices mainly involved safe-housing and welfare-aid roles which were perceived, both at the time and afterwards, as forming part of women's routine domestic duties, chores and social obligations. Consequently, the serious risks and dangers associated with this gender-specific form of resistance have been underestimated and undervalued. In circumstances of severe social conflict, the ordinary and everyday became fraught with danger and the 'feminine' domestic space was politicized and transformed into a clandestine and subversive political space. Underground Falangist cells came into existence immediately after the outlawing of the Falange party in March 1936, and the most significant was the Falange's Women's Section (Sección Femenina) network which evolved

[8] Cervera, Javier (1998) *Madrid en Guerra,* p.282.
[9] Source: Pastor Petit, Domènec (1978), *Los dossiers secretos de la Guerra Civil,* (Barcelona: Argos), pp. 486 and 489. See also Heiberg, Morten and Ros Agudo, Manuel (2006) *La trama oculta de la Guerra Civil, Los servicios secretos de Franco 1936-9,* (Barcelona: Crítica), p. 194. See also, Ruiz, Julius (2012) *El Terror,* p.326.

into Auxilio Azul during the first months of the war. "Madrid's fifth column was created in December 1936, in the wake of earlier organisations like Auxilio Azul-María Paz."[10]

After 17 July 1936 the term 'fifth columnist' came to denote any rebel supporter, whether real or potential, active or imprisoned.[11] It is generally believed that General Emilio Mola first coined this expression during an international press conference on the eve of the rebel offensive against Madrid in early October 1936.[12] When journalists enquired as to which of General Varela's four columns would first reach the capital, Mola replied that the attack would commence with a fifth column which was already in Madrid. It is believed that Mola's words formed part of a deliberate campaign of psychological warfare aimed at lowering civilian morale prior to the rebel offensive.[13] The popular rumours of an armed fifth column, when combined with press reports of the violent repression in Badajoz and in other rebel occupied zones, generated a "powerful collective paranoia in the capital."[14] Such rumours prompted a mass obsession with spies and hidden enemies.[15] The obsession was shared by Madrid's security leaders.[16] In early October 1936 the communist leader

[10] Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006), *La Trama,* p. 188.
[11] Preston, Paul (2012) *The Spanish Holocaust, Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain* (London: Harper Press), pp. 293-4.
[12] Cervera (1998), *Madrid*, p. 139-40. See also Thomas, Hugh (2003), The Spanish Civil War, (London: Penguin), p.456. According to Thomas, the expression was also used in relation to the Russian supporters inside the fortress of Ismail which was besieged by Suvarov in 1790.
[13] Pastor Petit, Domènec, (1978), *Los Dossiers Secretos de La Guerra Civil* (Barcelona: Argos), p.269.
[14] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror*, p. 26. See also "The horrors committed by the Fascists in Badajoz, Thousands shot in the Bull Ring," *ABC*, Madrid, 24 September 1936, p.9. The article reported that "thousands and thousands of militias, communists and socialists were put to death for the sole crime of having attempted to defend the legitimate government of the Republic."
[15] Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006) *La trama,* p. 186.
[16] Aróstegui, Julio, Martínez, Jesus, (1984) *La Junta de Defensa de Madrid*, (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid), pp. 226-234 at p.234.

Dolores Ibárruri was the first to refer to the 'fifth column' in print in the Republican zone in order to generate fear and rally resistance.[17] More recently, it has been argued that the rumours of a dangerous internal enemy may have been deliberately instigated by Russian agents in Spain in order to rally popular resistance.[18] These forms of 'othering' in the rearguard fuelled the flames of a violent extra-judicial repression which mainly took place between 18 July 1936 and December 1936.[19]

Anti-Republican women were the first to mobilise an effective resistance and they played a vital role in the construction of a subversive national Catholic imaginary in the capital. Women were instrumental in the development of mixed-gender Falangist resistance networks in early 1937. They ensured the spiritual and material survival of Madrid's beleaguered anti-Republican community during the thirty-two months of civil conflict. The prevailing historiographical consensus is that it was only in late December 1936 that the Falange groups began to co-ordinate themselves into around nineteen 'Clandestine Falange' networks (See Part I) together with dozens of small 'autonomous' resistance groups which came into existence soon after 18 July (See Part II). We will see in Chapter I that the origins of Auxilio Azul lay in the undergound activities of the Sección Femenina after March 1936. Together these groups and networks constituted what was popularly known as Madrid's 'fifth column.' The aim was to impede the Republican war effort using a variety of

[17] Ibárruri, Dolores, *El Mundo Obrero*, 3 October 1936. Cited in Preston, Paul (2012), *The Spanish Holocaust*, at p. 293.
[18] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror,* pp. 215-218.
[19] In relation to the political uses of violence see Ruiz (2012), *El Terror* and Semelin, Jacques (2013), *Purify and Destroy, The political uses of massacre and genocide* (London: Hurst & Co) and Stathis, Kalyvas (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (NY: CUP).

subversive and treasonous practices including espionage, sabotage and defeatism in order to demoralize the rearguard in as many ways as possible.

The fifth column's active and passive resistance practices served an important cultural and symbolic function. It bolstered anti-Republican morale and provided 'safe spaces' in which to imagine a national Catholic nationhood.[20] It was also believed to be effective at lowering civilian morale. The civilian resistance practices examined here were similar to those performed in German-occupied Europe between 1940 and 1944 by a good number of women (both young and middle-aged) who came from bourgeois Catholic, patriotic and military backgrounds.[21] Nonetheless, the context and the ideological motivations underpinning the Spanish anti-Republican fifth column resistance were different and combined strands of anti-communism, authoritarianism and Falangism.[22] In the main, such resistance was non-violent and involved espionage, intelligence gathering and civilian sabotage. In addition, while the groups and networks disseminated defeatist news and rumours (*bulas*), there were no significant clandestine publication networks. Furthermore, the Clandestine Falange did not have the organisational skills, funding, or indeed the political backing from Franco to mount any significant armed resistance in the capital.

[20] Anderson, Benedict, (1983) *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Spread and Origin of Nationalism* (London: Verso). Anderson defines the concept of 'nation' as "an imagined political community… imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" at p.6.
[21] I am indebted to Professor Martin Conway for these observations and his discussions on Andrée de Jongh the leader of the Belgian Comète escape network. See also Marie-Pierre d'Udekem d'Acoz (2016) *Andrée de Jongh, Une vie de résistante* (Paris: Racine).
[22] Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006), *La Trama,* p. 189.

The fifth column also operated in cities and large towns throughout the Republican-held zone. Madrid harboured the largest and most well-organised fifth column with an estimated 3,000 active members "and 30,000 collaborators including the 6,000 women of Auxilio Azul."[23] The capital's proximity to the front-lines provided ample opportunities for contact with the Nationalist intelligence services which were stationed along the fronts. Barcelona had around 2,000 active members and another 20,000 collaborators. Valencia another 500 activists and 5,000 collaborators.[24] Estimates for Murcia, Cartagena, Bilbao, Santander and other Republican-held cities are not available but it is believed that fifth column operations in these areas were more limited. However, it is impossible to accurately assess the size of the resistance because no records were kept for reasons of security, confidentiality and anonymity.[25] However, after the war a few of the most distinguished members enjoyed the privileges associated with ex-combatant status and received military and civil honours including The White Cross of Military Merit, the Medal of Suffering for the Nation and even pensions.[26] After the war, a few individuals claimed to have supported the fifth column during the war in order to avoid the sanctions of Franco's post-war repression or to retain their jobs within the civil administration.[27] Consequently, it is difficult to estimate the number of 'active' fifth columnists. It is likely that the above

[23] Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006), p. 189. Note how Auxilio Azul women are classified as 'collaborators' rather than resisters in and of their own right.
[24] Source: Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006) *La Trama,* at p.194. Note the authors' relegation of the women of Auxilio Azul to the role of 'collaborators' rather than active resistants.
[25] Bertrán í Músitu, Josep (1940) *Experiencias de los Servicios de Información del Nordeste de España (SIFNE)* durante la guerra, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe) cited in Pastor Petit, Domènec (2006) *Traidors a catalunya, la cinquena columna en Barcelona 1936-9* (Barcelona: Base) at pp. 66 and 72.
[26] Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006) *La Trama,* p. 194.
[27] Paniagua, Javier and Lajo Cosido, Benjamín (2002), *Sombras en la Retaguardia: Testimonios sobre la Quinta Columna en Valencia* (Madrid: Francisco Tomás y Valiente).

estimates may have been exaggerated both during and after the war in order to boost a pro-Franco war-time resistencialist myth. In any event, few individuals were willing to admit to an involvement in the more compromising and illegal aspects of resistance including black-market activities, espionage, sabotage and denunciatory practices evidenced in the popular tribunal records examined below.[28]

1. Background and Context

Madrid was Spain's most densely populated city with a population of 980,000 in 1936.[29] It was the civil and administrative capital and had a well-developed building, construction and services sector which was rocked by mass strikes and industrial unrest in the months leading up to the 18 July 1936 coup.[30] It was one of only a few cities to witness a socialist victory in 1933 and was widely regarded as the capital of Socialism in Spain.[31]

The failed military coup of 17 July 1936 immediately divided Spain into two separate and warring zones. The coup originated in Spanish Morocco and spread to the Spanish mainland the following day. It was organised by a dozen or so disaffected army Generals and junior officers under the leadership of General Emilio Mola (the 'Director'). The military conspiracy arose soon after the Popular Front coalition victory of 16 February. The military insurgents (rebels) aimed to restore a hierarchical, centralist and authoritarian regime which

[28] Pastor Petit, (2006) *Traidors,* p. 66.
[29] Source: Romero Salvadó, Francisco (2013) *Historical Dictionary of the Spanish Civil War* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press), p.198.
[30] See Juliá, Santos (1984), *Madrid 1931-34, De la fiesta popular a la lucha de clases,* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno).
[31] Source: Ruiz (2012), *El Terror,* p.32.

was anti-democratic, anti-communist, Catholic and patriarchal. The rebels justified their actions against the legally constituted Republican government by claiming that the coup was unleashed in order to 'save the Fatherland' from regional separatism and the threat of communist revolution following the Asturian Revolt of 1934 and episodes of civil and industrial unrest after the February 1936 general elections. The prompt intervention of Germany and Italy (on behalf of the rebels) and then of Russia (on behalf of the Republic) and the policy of non-intervention of the UK and France 'Great Powers' ensured that the failed coup would rapidly evolve into a prolonged, modern and mechanized total war.[32]

Religion played a significant role in the social and political polarisation of the Second Republic culminating in the bloody civilian conflict. The religious conflict was a determining part of the Civil War and the ambition to shape the religious and moral beliefs (or at least behaviours) of others was a crucial component of the desire to determine the future of Spain.[33] There was a long tradition of violent popular protest against the Catholic Church and a pronounced anticlerical discourse was disseminated by the popular Republican press during the first third of the twentieth century.[34] Secularism and anticlericalism were basic components of the ideology of the majority of the Left. In particular, the alienated industrial workers in Madrid, Barcelona and other large cities and the semi-starving landless

[32] Preston, Paul, "The Great Civil War: European Politics, 1914-45," in Blanning, Tim (ed) (1996) *The Oxford Illustrated History of Modern Europe,* (Oxford: OUP), pp. 169-173.
[33] Vincent, Mary "The Spanish Civil War as a War of Religion" in Baumeister and Schuler-Springorum, Stefanie (eds) (2008), *"'If you tolerate this…' The Spanish Civil War in the Age of Total War"* (Frankfurt: Campus), p.75.
[34] Salomón Chéliz, María Pilar "El anticlericalismo en la calle. Republicanismo, populismo, radicalismo y protesta popular (1898-1913) in de la Cueva, Julio, Montero, Feliciano (eds), (2007) *La secularización conflictiva, España (1898-1931),* pp. 121-139.

agricultural workers (*braceros*), believed that the interests of the Catholic Church were aligned with those of the propertied classes, the industrialists and the land-owners.

The secularizing measures implemented between 1931 and 1933 were the most conflictive and divisive of all the Republican constitutional reforms.[35] They were greeted by a vocal opposition from a powerful Catholic constituency. They included the separation of the Church from the State, the introduction of civil alternatives to baptism, civil marriage and divorce, the secularization of burials, the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, the prohibition of Catholic teaching orders, the closure of Catholic schools and day care nurseries and the banning of traditional forms of public confessional and devotional practice. The reforms were perceived by both the devout and many ordinary Catholics as a direct assault on the ordinary rights of the Church and its members.[36] They provoked wide-spread protest and mobilised a mass resistance within Catholic society. Anticlerical violence flared up during the May 1931 Church burnings and again during the Asturian Revolt in October 1934. However, it was only after 18 July 1936 and amid the shattering conditions of the civil war that "a full-scale and iconoclastic religious violence erupted which was among the most murderous ever seen in Europe."[37]

[35] De la Cueva, Montero, (eds) (2007), p 21.
[36] Lannon, Frances "The Church's Crusade against the Republic" in Preston, Paul (ed)(1984) *Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939,* (London: Methuen), p.36.
[37] Vincent, Mary "Made Flesh? Gender and Doctrine in Religious Violence in Twentieth Century Spain," in *Gender and History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, (November, 2013), pp. 668-680 at p. 668. See also Thomas, María "The Civilisation that Is Being Forged Amid the Thunder of the Cannons" in Anderson, Peter and del Arco Blanco, Miguel Ángel (eds) (2015) *Mass Killings and Violence in Spain, 1936-1952: Grappling with the Past* (NY: Routledge), pp.112-32. These authors investigate the cultural semiotics and the rationale behind the religious violence.

The illegal coup of 18 July 1936 resulted in a partial breakdown of the mechanisms of state and administrative power in the villages, towns and cities such as Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Malaga and Alicante which remained under the nominal control of the Second Republic. The power vacuum resulted in a period of violent extra-judicial repression in the Republican-held zones.[38] Paradoxically, popular revolution was unleashed in response to an allegedly pre-emptive counter-revolution.[39] The Republican government was forced to compete for power alongside socialist, communist, anarchist parties, unions and syndicates. These competing political forces mistrusted the Republican authorities because in many regions the local administration and security forces had sided with the rebels. Although the coup was not motivated by religion, the rebellion was promptly sacralised by the Right as a religious Crusade.[40] While the Catholic Church was not involved in the military conspiracy, it immediately rallied to the rebel cause.[41] The conflict has been interpreted on its own culturally specific terms as a war of religion: "*Una guerra civil de la espiritualidad."*[42]

The failure of the insurrection in the capital was due to the inaction of the rebel Generals Fanjul and Villegas and the effective defensive action of loyal Republican assault guards and armed popular militias. The soldiers remained stationed in the garrisons following government orders of 13 July and "a great confusion ensued, the rebel liaison agents

[38] Cervera, Javier (2015), *Contra el enemigo de la Republica…Desde la Ley. Detener, juzgar y encarcelar en Guerra* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva), p. 14.
[39] Tusell, Javier (2003) *Vivir en Guerra, Historia Ilustrada, España 1936-1939* (Madrid: Silex), p. 36.
[40] Ráguer, Hilarí (2001), *La pólvora y el incienso, La Iglesia y la Guerra Civil Española (1936-39)* (Barcelona: Península), pp. 83-98 at p. 83.
[41] Ráguer (2001), *La pólvora,* pp.78-81.
[42] González Cuevas, Pedro Carlos, "La guerra civil de la espiritualidad: el catolicismo español y sus enemigos (1898-1936), de la Cueva, Montero (eds) (2007), *La secularización,* at p. 68.

received no clear orders and lacked morale."[43] Madrid's anti-Republicans "were paralysed by fear and unable to react."[44] After the suppression of the barracks, there were episodes of rebel sniper fire (*pacoteo*) from the rooftops of buildings and vehicles, but there was no organised *armed* resistance in the capital until late December 1936.[45] At the start of the war the Falangists and the Carlists lacked the necessary arms and, in any event, risking life and limb was deemed unnecessary because a swift occupation of the capital was anticipated within a matter of days, if not weeks.[46] Consequently, after the fall of the Montaña Barracks on 20 July, the most prominent pro-rebels went into hiding, although a few escaped to the fronts to fight on the rebel side.[47] Falangist leaders like Joaquín Romero-Marchant and David Jato immediately went underground, the latter seeking the protection of a socialist cousin.[48] The earliest forms of organised resistance took shape in various welfare-aid and escape-line initiatives performed by the Sección Femenina. Despite the popular fears of an enemy within, there was no dangerous fifth column in Madrid at the start of the war. The earliest resistance was a survivalist response to the arrests and violent repression perpetrated by Madrid's security forces and popular militias at a time when the rebels were rapidly advancing towards the capital and news of the 'cleansing' (*limpieza*) which was being perpetrated in the rebel held zones began to reach the ears of Madrid's terrified civilians. It was only during Winter 1936-7, after the failure of the rebels to take the capital and when a protracted conflict appeared inevitable, that steps were taken to co-

[43] Jato, David (1953) *La rebelión de los estudiantes* (Madrid: Cies), pp. 234-238 at p. 234.
[44] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror,* p.220.
[45] This euphemism conflated the traditional Catholic name "*Paco*" with the onomatopoeic word "*tiroteo*" (gun-fire).
[46] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror,* pp.73 and 219.
[47] *Gesto Glorioso del Requete en Madrid* (Julio 1936-Marzo 1939), *Archivo General Militar de Ávila,* C2505, Cp.4/43 and C.2498.20, Legajo no. 285, Carpeta 20, Armario 5. at pp. 6-8.
[48] Ruiz, Julius (2012), *El Terror,* p.73.

ordinate armed resistance groups, the most important of which was the Clandestine Falange.[49] While survival was the main priority for Madrid's anti-Republicans in 1936, repression fuelled resistance. In addition, Madrid's rearguard quickly came to experience severe material deprivation which lasted throughout the conflict. The capital was bombed and deprived of essential food, medical and fuel supplies by the rebel forces for the duration of the war. Disaffection and resistance also grew in measure with a succession of devastating Republican military defeats and political reversals over the course of 1937-8.

Madrid experienced a severe and bloody extra-judicial repression at the start of the war. An estimated 8,815 persons were extra-judicially killed in the capital.[50] This estimate includes around 617 women.[51] Women constituted around 4.4% of the total victims.[52] The victims were perceived enemies of the Republic, most notably right-wing politicians, military and religious and also aristocrats, journalists, industrialists, academics and lawyers. The 'terror' mainly occurred between 18 July and December 1936 and it took the form of *paseos* (illegal executions) and *sacas* (extra-judicial prison removals). The *sacas* resulted in the execution of around 2,400 military and political (including male religious) prisoners in wasteland areas outside Paracuellos del Jarama and Torrejón de Ardoz.[53] These organised mass executions occurred within the context of a country-wide and bloody civilian conflict when the rebels

[49] Ruiz (2012)*, El Terror,* "Supervivencia, no Resistencia" at pp. 218-228.
[50] Source: Preston, Paul (2012), *The Spanish Holocaust, Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth Century Spain,* (London: W.W. Norton & Co), Appendix, p.667.
[51] Source: Casas de la Vega, Rafael (1994), *El Terror: Madrid 1936: Investigación histórica y catálogo de víctimas identificadas,* (Madrid: Fénix), pp.399-407.
[52] Source: Cervera, Javier (2006) *Madrid en Guerra, La Ciudad Clandestina* (Madrid: Alianza), p. 80.
[53] Gibson, Ian (1983) *Paracuellos, Como fué* (Barcelona: Argos), p. 191, See also Ruiz, Julius (2015) *Paracuellos, Una verdad incómoda,* (Madrid: Espasa).

surrounded the capital and occupied positions in the Casa de Campo which was less than a kilometre away from the Model Prison. Around 33% of the extra-judicial killings occurred in August 1936 and the repression reached its height in the Autumn of 1936.[54] December witnessed only 4.4 % of these extra-judicial deaths.[55] However, by January 1937 the violence had almost completely subsided.[56]

Over two hundred illegal *checas*, and 'health and defence' committees sprang into operation after 18 July. The killings took place across the whole of Madrid but were concentrated in the Western Zone (21%) the Carretera de Andalucia (11%), the Pradera de San Isidro (8%) or near municipal burial grounds such as the Eastern Cemetery (18%).[57] It was only in June 1937, when the battle fronts were stabilised around Madrid, that any semblance of 'normality' returned to the capital's rearguard.[58]

The religious were the first and the most visible targets of the extra-judicial repression.[59] They represented some 18.11% of the total extra-judicial deaths in Madrid.[60] Catholicism was deemed *prima facie* disloyal to the Republican regime.[61] Anticlerical violence throughout the whole Republican zone, with the exception of the Basque Region, resulted

[54] Juliá (ed) (1999) *Víctimas,* p. 121.
[55] Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* pp.69-73.
[56] Cervera, Javier "Violencia en el Madrid de la Guerra Civil: Los "paseos" (julio a diciembre de 1936), *Studia Histórica. Historia Contemporanea*, No. 13014, (1995-6), pp. 63-82. Ruiz, Julius (2012) *El Terror*, pp. 173-198. Esparza Torres, José Javier (2007) *El Terror Rojo en España: Epílogo el Terror Blanco* (Madrid: Altera).
[57] Source: Cervera (1998), *Madrid*, p.77.
[58] Montoliú, Pedro (2000) *Madrid en la guerra civil, Vol. 1,* (Madrid: Silex) p. 147.
[59] Juliá (ed) (1999) *Víctimas,* p. 121.
[60] Source: Cervera (2006), *Madrid*, p. 80.
[61] Rodríguez López, Sofía and Oscar Rodríguez Barreira, "La Quinta Columna y la Guerra Civil en Andalucia," *Andalucia en la Historia*, 46, (October-December 2014), p.73.

in the deaths of 6,832 religious including 4,184 diocesan priests and seminarians, 13 Bishops, 2,365 male religious and 296 nuns.[62] Around 90% of all anticlerical murders in the Republican-held zone took place by 30 November 1936.[63] In the Madrid-Alcalá diocese 435 diocesan priests were killed.[64] Some fifty churches were sacked and/or burned in the capital and many were re-purposed as warehouses or dance halls. These figures evidence the "determination of some political groups, especially the anarchists, to wipe out the church completely."[65] The religious were murdered, not in their capacity as individuals, but as the living symbols and embodiments of hated Catholic Institutions. Don Anselmo Pascual López's corpse was found on the Carretera del Pardo bearing a note which stated: "Died on account of being a priest."[66] The revolutionary atrocities created their own moral fervour and animated a pre-existing disposition for Catholic crusade.[67] Churches remained closed and public acts of worship were made illegal for the duration of the war despite the efforts of Manuel Irujo the Basque Justice Minister to reinstate public worship in June 1937. His efforts met with little support from the Catholic hierarchy in Burgos or Rome.[68] The religious persecution caused grave and lasting damage to the Republic's international reputation.

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[62] Source: Oviedo Silva, Daniel, Pérez-Olivares García, Alejandro (eds) (2016) *Madrid, una ciudad en guerra* (1936-48), (Madrid: Catárata), p. 60. See also, Montero Moreno, Antonio (1961), *Historia de la persecución religiosa en España 1936-9* (Madrid).

[63] de La Cueva Merino, Julio "Si los frailes supieran…la violencia anticlerical", in Santos Juliá ed. (2000) *Violencia Política en la España del Siglo XX.* (Madrid: Taurus), p.223.

[64] Source: Alfaya, José Luis (1998) *Como un río de fuego, Madrid, 1936* (Barcelona: EIU), p.103.

[65] Lannon, "The Church's Crusade…," p.53.

[66] AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,1557, Exp.11, Imagen 4/81.

[67] Vincent, "The Spanish Civil War as a War of Religion," pp. 74-89 at p. 83.

[68] Marqués, Pierre (2,000) *La Croix-Rouge pendant la guerre d'Espagne (1936-9)* (Paris: L'Harmattan), p. 242.

The popular assault on the Model Prison on 22-23 August 1936 resulted in the extra-judicial killing of around 23 political prisoners and caused an international outcry. The government sought to limit the political damage and to curb the extra-judicial violence while at the same time satisfying the popular demand for a new and expedited 'people's justice.' This resulted in the creation on 23 August 1936 of 'special emergency civil and military courts' in order to expedite crimes of rebellion, sedition and crimes committed against the security of the state.[69] These tribunals were created to put an end to the extra-judicial 'summary justice' of the early months.[70] They were initially established in the prisons in order to expedite hundreds of cases of military rebellion, espionage and high treason and they operated around the clock during the first weeks. On 25 August these new popular courts were rolled out throughout the whole Republican zone. Due legal and evidential process was not observed. The emergency tribunals were presided over by 3 court-appointed judges (who determined the law) and 14 jurors (who determined facts). The jurors were the court appointed representatives of Madrid's Popular Front parties. The lay judges had considerable control over the legal process including the admission of evidence, sentencing and appeals.[71] This new politico-judicial legislation constituted a decisive break with the civil and criminal safe-guards enshrined in Republican Constitution of 1931. Addressing 'the problem of the enemy within' involved surveillance and interrogation techniques that

[69] *Gaceta de la Republica, No.* 237, 24 August 1936. See also, "1.3 Los nuevos organos de la justicia popular," in Cancio Fernández, Raùl (2007), pp. 55-95 at p. 55.
[70] Graham, Helen (2002), *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-9,* (Cambridge: CUP), pp. 160-161.
[71] Canció Fernández, Rául (2007), *Guerra Civil y Tribunales: De los jurados populares a la justicia Franquista (1936-9),* p.56.

violated the Republican commitment to constitutional guarantees and the equality of all citizens before the law.[72]

In addition, a tribunal of civil responsibilities was created by decree on 23 September and 6 October 1936 in order to impose economic penalties on *desafectos* and a new Reparations Bank was opened.[73] The 'enemies of the regime' were also denied employment, pensions, ration-book and other important civil and citizenship rights. The raft of new legislation was purportedly enacted in order to protect the Republic from spies and 'dangerous fascists.'[74] In addition, new military tribunals (*jurados de guardia*) were created in Madrid in order to prosecute public order crimes including the dissemination of pro-Rebel propaganda, illegal hoarding (*acaparamiento*), price-tampering and acts of sabotage or terrorism.

A new crime of 'disaffection' was created by emergency decree on 10 October 1936 which sought to catch all anti-Republican practices that fell outside the scope of all criminal laws enacted prior to 18 July 1936. It sought to punish all those actions, beliefs and behaviours that, while legal under the existing legislation, nonetheless constituted acts of hostility against the [Republican] regime.[75] This new legislation was retroactive and attracted

[72] Graham, Helen (2005), *The Spanish Civil War,* (Oxford: OUP), p. 108. See also, AHN, ES.28079.AHN/2.1.2.28.4, CAUSA_GENERAL, D. *Pieza Cuarta de Madrid. Checas.*
[73] *Gaceta de la Republica,* 25 September and 7 October 1936. See Sánchez Recio, Glicerio (1991) *Justicia en Guerra en España, Los Tribunales Populares* (1936-9), (Alicante: Diputación de Alicante), p. 64.
[74] *Sumario 81/1938 contra various (including Carmen Torres Pino) por espionaje y otros delitos contra la seguridad del Estado.* The proceedings commenced in *Expte. 3700,* AHN, FC-CAUSA-GENERAL_110. EXP.29.
[75] *Gaceta de Madrid*, Núm.285, 11 October,1936, p.289, www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1936/285/B00289-00289.pdf

substantial fines and/or terms of imprisonment of between one to three years together with the suspension of civil and political rights.

On 17 October three new emergency military courts (*Jurados de Guardia*) were established in Madrid which were presided over by a professional judge and six lay jurors. These were created in order to 'maintain collective security' and expedited public order crimes including rebellion, espionage and the illegal possession of arms and explosives for terrorist activities.[76]

On 22 June 1937 new high courts of treason and espionage were established following the arrest of Barcelona's POUM leaders on charges of treason. A new treasonous crime of 'Defeatism' was also created at this time in order to repress the increasing instances of defeatism and disloyalty in the civilian rearguard. In the most serious cases, defeatist crimes might attract life imprisonment and in rare instances capital punishment. These new courts were composed of three ordinary judges or magistrates and two military or naval officers who were also lawyers. After 24 March 1938, a rapid increase in treason, rebellion and espionage cases led to the use of 'special military tribunals' (*tribunales especiales de guardia*) that had existed before the war but were now used in a new and more repressive capacity.[77] Most of the cases discussed below were heard in the 'emergency military courts' and the 'special military tribunals.'

[76] *Gaceta de la Republica,* 18 October 1936. Sánchez Recio (1991), *Justicia en Guerra,* pp.61-62.
[77] Sánchez (1991), *Justicia,* pp.66-67.

By the end of the war an impressive 14,862 cases were heard in Madrid's popular tribunals. This figure evidences the importance attributed to the perceived need to 'cleanse the enemy within.' The majority of these cases (some 73%) related to minor crimes of disaffection.[78] The majority of the cases examined below relate to the more serious crimes of treason and espionage which were heard in the emergency tribunals, the new high courts of treason and espionage and the 'special military tribunals.'

By November 1936 around 10,000 persons including around 1,500 women were imprisoned as enemies of the state by the Republican authorities.[79] Most of these women were imprisoned on suspicion of disaffection and some 500 of these cases were examined in *Las Desafectas.*[80] A mass evacuation of the male political prisoners took place between October and December 1936 at the instigation of public order officials within the Dirección de Seguridad (DGS) and Madrid's Defence Junta (JDM) and many of the evacuees were victims of the *sacas*. Interestingly, there were no recorded *sacas* from the women's prisons and this may have been due to the successful intervention of the Norwegian attaché Félix Schlayer.[81]

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[78] Disaffection is examined in Flynn, Angela (2013) "Las Desafectas al Régimen, Anti-Republican Women and Republican Justice in Madrid (1936-9)" [Oxford: Unpublished Mphil]. In particular, see Ch. 2 "Republican Justice" which examines the legislative measures implemented by the Republican government in order to combat anti-Republicanism in the rearguard, pp. 32-52.

[79] Source: Ruiz (2012), *El Terror*, p.239

[80] Flynn, Angela (2013) "Las Desafectas al Régimen, Anti-Republican Women and Republican Justice in Madrid (1936-9)" [Oxford: Unpublished Mphil].

[81] See "La cárcel de mujeres en el antiguo convento," Schlayer, Félix (2008), *Diplomático en el Madrid Rojo* (Madrid: Espuela de Plata), pp.155-164. Schlayer's intervention on the night of 4 November 1936 in the Conde de Toreno women's prison is also related in the testimony of Dr. Amelia Azarola Echevarría (widow of Julio Ruiz de Alda) in FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,1526, Exp.6. This episode is discussed in Flynn (2013), *Las Desafectas,* at p.77.

Around 11,000 men, women and children sought diplomatic asylum within foreign embassies and consulates during the first six months of the war.[82] Hundreds more went into hiding in safe-houses, hotels and boarding houses. On 28 October 1936 Prime Minister Largo Caballero informed Willie Forrest, the London *Daily Express* correspondent, that the lives of 100,000 anti-Republicans might be jeopardised during the Battle for Madrid.[83] These figures indicate the extent of the perceived threat of the fifth column in the popular Republican imagination.

Money, food, clothing and medicine were required to aid those anti-Republicans who were the victims of the extra-judicial repression and the professional and employment purges. Hundreds of fugitive anti-Republicans were obliged to go into hiding.[84] The safe-housing of fugitives (including the religious) constituted some of the very earliest forms of anti-Republican resistance. In this way, formerly law-abiding Catholic women were mobilised within an illegal resistance counter-culture and engaged in subversive black-market dealings. Money was required in order to obtain expensive false documentation and remunerate the escape-line guides who facilitated passage into the rebel held zones via the wild Castilian sierras. In addition, the asylum fees at the embassies were often prohibitively expensive. We will see that involvement in the fifth column frequently afforded access to

[82] Source: Moral Roncal, Antonio Manuel, "An analysis of Foreign Diplomatic Aid to the Catholic Clergy during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), *Religions,* 4(1), 2013, pp. 96-115 at p. 96. See also, Moral Roncal (2008) *Diplomacia, humanitarismo y espionaje en la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva).
[83] Source: Ruiz, (2012) *El Terror,* p.235.
[84] Alcocer, Santos (1976) *La Quinta Columna* (Madrid: G. del Toro). This memory text details the experiences of a Catholic *El Debate* journalist who was obliged to go into hiding at the start of the war.

financial and material benefits. The agents of resistance were also sometimes its beneficiaries. The extreme social dislocation was aggravated by sustained enemy aerial bombardments after 27 August 1936 and by the influx of some 250,000 refugees into the capital from the newly occupied rebel held zones.[85]

2. Conceptualisation and Interpretative Frames

The devastating Spanish Civil War (1936-9) represents a defining moment in contemporary Spanish history that shaped Spain's social and political inheritance.[86] The conflict also constituted a period of significant transformation in Spanish gender history and engendered a temporary shift in women's prescribed social roles.[87] After 18 July 1936 around a thousand women joined the fronts as militia women in the Republican held zones and thousands more served in the rearguard.[88] Meanwhile, in the rebel held zones women were encouraged to transcend the domestic sphere and to enter (jointly with men) into the struggle to save the Fatherland.[89] The social dislocation caused by the experience of total war in the rearguards meant that women were able to exercise a new agency in the public space. They attended to the wounded soldiers and their families, established dining halls

[85] For a recent account of the brutal repression in the rebel held zones see Preston (2012) *The Spanish Holocaust,* at pp. 131-179.
[86] Ealham, Chris, Richards Michael (eds) (2005) *The Splintering of Spain, A Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge: CUP), p. 2.
[87] Cenarro, Ángela (2006) "Movilización femenina para la guerra total (1936-9)," *Historia y política: Ideas, procesos y movimientos sociales,* Vol. 16, pp. 159-182.
[88] Nash, Mary (1995) *Defying Male Civilisation: Women in the Spanish Civil War,* (Denver: Arden), pp 105-117. By September 1936 Prime Minister Largo Caballero endorsed military ordinances ordering women to withdraw from the militias. See also, Lines, Lisa, (2011) *Milicianas Women in Combat in the Spanish Civil War* (Lanham: Lexington).
[89] Prado Rodríguez, Julio "Mujeres contra la revolución. La movilización femenina conservadora durante la Segunda Republica Española y la Guerra Civil," in *Femmes et Militantisme,* (2008) Volume 8, para. 20.

and took over jobs left vacant by men.[90] Both the Nationalist and the Republican rearguards were transformed into essentially female spaces.[91]

While much has been written on the role of Republican women in the war, historians have often underestimated Nationalist women's roles, and in particular their activities in the Republican held zones. This is primarily because a false distinction has been drawn between 'authentic' fifth-column activities (predominantly male) and the merely supportive and auxiliary activities where women were crucial and in the majority.[92] The thesis sets out to re-examine anti-Republican women's roles in the Nationalist war effort through an analysis of their practices in rearguard Madrid. The work developes Javier Cervera's findings on anti-Republican women.[93] This author lamented the invisibility of Nationalist women in the historiography of the Spanish Civil War. This work argues that Madrid's 'invisible' anti-Republican women played the most significant role in the fifth column and focusses on their agency, core-values and beliefs and their motivations for resistance. While women were as brave and committed as men, then prevailing masculinist gender prejudices meant that their resistance actions were taken far less seriously. The work explores the symbolic meanings ascribed to women's resistance in order to understand why, in the context of a male-dominated field, women's dangerous and subversive activities were perceived to be less significant and effective than those of their male counter-parts.

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[90] Romero Salvadó, Francisco (2005), *The Spanish Civil War, Origins, Course and Outcomes* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 103.
[91] Cenarro, Ángela, (2006), "Movilización femenina," at p.165.
[92] Rodríguez López, Sofía and Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-9, *Journal of Contemporary History,* 0 (0) (2016), pp 1-22 at p. 1.
[93] See Ch. 9 "Las Primeras, Las Mujeres," in Cervera (1998) *Madrid* at pp.263-282.

Madrid's fifth column consisted of Auxilio Azul and around nineteen mixed gender Clandestine Falange groups (See Part I).[94] These operated alongside a few dozen autonomous resistance groups and hundreds of individuals (See Part II). Anti-Republican women were mobilised into resistance as a result of their politico-religious convictions and personal experiences of repression. Women's 'gender specific' welfare-aid resistance was the most effective form of civilian resistance; women saved hundreds of lives. Meanwhile, Anti-Republican men were forced out of the public space at this time and became fugitives, prisoners and draft-dodgers. They whiled away their hours of captivity and confinement discussing, planning and imagining a Nationalist victory. After the professional purges of 1936, many were reliant on their women folk to support the family.[95] This new movement of middle-class anti-Republican women into the public work space represented a significant (temporary) war-time gender-power shift. The thesis aims to collapse binary conceptualisations of a fifth column 'other' by exploring women's resistance within a complex web of intimate, kinship, professional, religious, associational and neighbourhood networks and loyalties. What came to be popularly perceived as a dangerous 'fifth column' was inextricably embedded within the fabric of Madrid's civil and military society.

[94] Heigberg and Ros Agudo (2006), *La Trama* at p. 194. See also Ch. 10 "La quinta columna autonoma y La Falange Clandestina" in Cervera (1998), *Madrid* at pp. 294-337.
[95] A new government decree provided for the 'dismissal of all those who had participated in the subversive movement or who were notorious enemies of the regime,' *Gaceta de Madrid* dated 22 July 1936 cited in Díaz-Plaja, Fernando (1975) *La Guerra de España en sus documentos,* (Barcelona: Plaza y Janés) at p.31.

There is a positivist bias within secular liberal analyses of women's agency in authoritarian and mainstream religious traditions.[96] This bias tends to represent a cultural ascent towards feminist consciousness and women's emancipation.[97] More recently academics in the humanities and social sciences have recognised the need for new analytical frameworks for the interpretation of modalities of agency among women which exceed liberatory projects (whether feminist, leftist, or liberal).[98] These new frames facilitate the reconceptualisation of religious and anti-democratic women in ways that aim to detach concepts of agency from the goals of progressive politics.[99] The thesis does not seek to demonstrate Catholic women's feminism or their non-feminism or their efforts towards emancipation. It also avoids essentialist assumptions that women are required to liberate themselves and that the best way to achieve this resides in conceptualisations of the subject as an autonomous individual.[100] Instead, the work interprets and represents anti-Republican women's agency within the conditions determined by their Catholic cultural 'habitus' (defined below).

The work is situated within a recent Spanish gender historiography on Catholic and authoritarian right-wing women's movements and political agency.[101] It explores women's

[96] De Groot, Joanna and Morgan Sue, "Beyond the 'Religious Turn'? Past, Present and Future Perspectives in Gender History" *Gender and History,* 25, (Nov, 2013), pp. 395-442 at p. 398.
[97] Blasco Herranz, Inmaculada (Translated from Spanish by Jeremy Roe) "Citizenship and Female Catholic Militancy in 1920's Spain," in *Gender and History,* 19,3, (November, 2007), pp 441-466 at p.443
[98] Mahmood, Saba (2005), *The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*, (Princeton: PUP), p. 12.
[99] Mahmood (2005), p.63. These frames are controversial because they have been interpreted as ploys to 'restore agency' to women who operate within the Muslim piety (*da'wa*) movement. Post-structural frames are 'slippery' because the ideas surrounding the furtherance of post-structuralist debates also have neo-positivist connotations.
[100] Blasco Herranz (2007) "Citizenship and female Catholic Militancy," *p.* 442.
[101] This historiography was inspired by earlier works like Koonz, Claudia, (1987) *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics,* (New York: St Martin's Press) and De

subjectivity and embodied practices rather than the discourses surrounding those practices.[102] It examines the creation of new female resistance identities and practices within a clandestine political space. It is framed within post-structural theories on gender[103] and habitus.[104] In particular, I have appropriated Pierre Bourdieu's reflexive social and cultural theories.[105] These remain current in the social sciences.[106] His theories on class distinction and the reproduction of masculine cultural and social power are framed within central concepts of 'capital' and 'habitus' which operate within diverse social field(s). Bourdieu's analyses are developed within a model of social space whereby humans embody different quantities of both material and intangible capital. His conceptualisations of habitus link objective social structures with subjective experience and agency and his reflexive methodologies also situate the researcher as an embodied historical subject.[107]

Grazia, Victoria, (1992) *How Fascism ruled women in, Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley: California University Press). See also, Richmond, Kathleen (2003) *Las mujeres en el facismo Español, La Sección Femenina de la Falange 1934-59* (Madrid: Alianza), Cenarro, Ángela (2006) *La sonrisa de Falange, Auxilio Social en la Guerra Civil y en la posguerra,"* (Madrid: Crítica), Ofel, Inbar (2010) *Señoritas in Blue, The making of a female political elite in Franco's Spain, The National Leadership of the Falange (1936-37),* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press) and Blasco, Inmaculada (2003) *Paradojas de la ortodoxia. Política de masas y militancia Católica femenina en España (1919-39),* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza), p.13.

[102] Blasco Herranz, Inmaculada (1997) *Armas femeninas para la contrarrevolución: La Sección Femenina en Aragón* (1936-50), (Málaga: Atenea), p.9.

[103] See for example conceptualisations of gender as 'performance' and practice in Butler, Judith (1990), *Gender Trouble*, *Feminism and the subversion of Identity,* (London: Routledge), at p. viii. Butler examines "the signifying gestures through which gender itself is established…" and queries whether "being female constitutes a 'natural fact' or a cultural performance…" Also, the classic and seminal conceptualization of 'gender as a primary way of signifying relationships of power' in Scott, Joan "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?" *American Historical Review,* Vol. 91, No. 5, (1986) at pp. 1053-75 and Scott, Joan "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?" *Diogenes,* Vol. 57, No. 225, (2010). Scott acknowledged her indebtedness to Bourdieu's theories on habitus in her 1986 article.

[104] Adkins, Lisa, Skeggs, Beverley (2006), *Feminism after Bourdieu,* (Oxford: Blackwell).

[105] Moi, Toril, "Appropriating Bourdieu: Feminist Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology of Culture," *New Literary History,* 22.4 (Autumn, 1991), pp.1017-1049.

[106] Savage, Mike (2016) *Social Class in the 21st Century* (London: Pelican), p.5.

[107] Adkins and Skeggs (eds) (2004) *Feminism After Bourdieu*, p. 21.

Masculine domination is a form of 'cultural arbitrary' which is reproduced in religious and state institutions and in the educational and academic fields.[108] It is "a prime example of symbolic violence- the kind of gentle, invisible, pervasive violence exercised through the everyday practices of social life."[109] During the 1930's few women (whether Nationalist or Republican) openly challenged their exclusion from public life and this has tended to confirm women's roles as being irrelevant to the big picture debates about Spanish identity that comprise the official history of modern Spain.[110] Women's historical invisibility is, in part, due to the prevailing masculinist values and discourses of the period which were subsequently reproduced in the historical record. Francoist discourses on the role of Nationalist women during the war informed collective memory and came to outlast the Franco regime. In more recent times, right-wing and authoritarian Spanish women have also been passed over as subjects in the Transition and post-Transition histories of the Spanish civil war, not least because they stand for the values those scholars reject.[111] Anti-Republican women played significant and important roles in the Nationalist war effort and their agency and resistance efforts have for the most part been overlooked.

[108] Pierre Bourdieu (transl. Richard Nice) (2001) *Masculine Domination* (Stanford: SUP), p.86.
[109] Bourdieu (2001), *Masculine Domination,* at pp 1-2, and pp.34-42.
[110] Victoria Loree Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (eds.) (1998), *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, (NY: New York University Press), p.xx
[111] Rodríguez López, Sofía and Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-9, *Journal of Contemporary History,* 0 (0) (2016), pp 1-22 at p.5.

2.1 The Field of Power

The "field of power' is the space of relations between different kinds of capital (cultural, religious, economic, social and symbolic) or, more precisely, between agents who possess different kinds of capital and who struggle to occupy dominant positions within a specific field(s)."[112] These fields include government, police, judiciary, civil institutions, associational and confessional networks and also informal networks of power including neighbourhood and familial and friendship groups. The thesis attempts to link the humdrum details of everyday life to a more general social analysis of power.[113] It examines the practical resistance strategies used by anti-Republican women in their efforts to navigate and negotiate formal power systems (including the police and the judiciary) and informal or 'foucauldian' micro-power networks.[114] The relevant field of power was a male dominated and Republican field. The women discussed below were subjected to forms of Republican repression and also to traditional forms of symbolic violence. In turn, these women continued to exert forms of 'gentle and invisible violence' against working-class women in their efforts to maintain their beliefs and place within a dangerous and conflictive social field.

2.2 Habitus

The women of the fifth column were mobilised into resistance from motives of politico-religious conviction and as a result of bitter personal experiences of repression. They were

[112] Bourdieu, Pierre (2003) *Practical Reason, On the Theory of Action* (Oxford: Polity) at p.34.
[113] Moi, Toril, "Appropriating Bourdieu,"at p.1020.
[114] Muñoz Fernández, Ángela and Ramos Palomos, María Dolores (2009) "Citizenship, Political Participation and Women's Movements" in Borderías, Cristina (ed) *La historia de las mujeres: Perspectivas actuales,"* (Barcelona: Icaria), pp. 82-131, at p. 107.

constructed within their own culturally and historically specific Catholic habitus. The theory of habitus provides a powerful explanatory framework for conceptualising these women's agency as forms of docile agency.[115] Habitus is both an external structure and a structure of the mind which is shared by individuals within a specific social group. It is informed by the social field in a two-way (structural and agentive) symbiosis that shapes and informs lived experience. It is a 'structuring structure' that enables the individual to understand and negotiate the spoken and unspoken 'game-rules,' expectations and proscriptions of a particular social group or field.[116] Habitus is not a determining principle but rather a generative structure which permits the emergence of a concept of agency understood through the idea of regulated liberties.[117]

Habitus is both consciously and unconsciously instilled into members of a specific social group, class or religion from birth. It is acquired through a set of culturally specific and repeated practices, values and dispositions which mould individual subjectivities and inform their conscious and unconscious tastes, practices, values and beliefs. The 'embodied subject' is experienced as 'a social body' made up of meanings which are inculcated through repeated and specific gestures, postures, physical bearing, speech and language.[118] The concept of habitus has been re-framed within feminist embodiment theories that examine

[115] The concept of 'docile agency' is developed in Mahmood's sociological analysis of Muslim women's *da'wa* (piety) movement. See Mahmood, Saba (2005), "The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject, (Princeton, NJ: PUP).
[116] Bourdieu, Pierre (2013), *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* (Cambridge: CUP), p.72.
[117] McNay, Lois (2000), *Gender and Agency, Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory,* (Oxford: Polity Press), p.26.
[118] Adkins and Skeggs (eds), (2004) *Feminism After Bourdieu*, p. 21.

the material and social dimensions of sexual identity as well as the symbolic and discursive construction of gender norms.[119]

The anti-Republican women examined here were constructed within a specific set of Catholic cultural and religious norms, ideals and shared beliefs which predisposed them to to reject the liberal-secular emancipatory projects of the Republican regime. Their embodied culture repeatedly inculcated into them a body of precepts, practices, dispositions and aspirations that were compatible with the objective norms and proscriptions of their religion, culture and society. Socially unacceptable practices were therefore automatically and 'naturally' excluded as *unthinkable* and Catholic women were "inclined to make a virtue of necessity, that is to refuse what is anyway refused and to love the inevitable."[120] Nonetheless, according to feminist theorists, Bordieu's conceptualisation of habitus as a structuring structure allows some wriggle room for individual agency.[121] Further, if the ability to affect change in the world (and oneself) is historically and culturally specific, then the meaning of agency cannot be fixed in advance, consequently what may appear to be abject passivity and docility from a liberal progressivist point of view may be a form of agency, but one that can only be understood from within the discourses and structures of subordination that create the conditions of its enactment.[122]

After 18 July 1936, Catholic habitus in Madrid experienced '*hysteresis'* which is defined as a sudden and catastrophic mismatch between the aspirations of habitus within a particular

[119] McNay (2000), *Gender and Agency*, p. 25.
[120] Bourdieu (2013), *Outline*, p.76
[121] McNay (2000), p.26.
[122] Mahmood (2005), "The Politics," pp.47-50.

social field.[123] Anti-Republicans were subjected to a violent extra-judicial repression. Churches were closed, homes and businesses were impounded and belongings confiscated. Formerly legal activities including CEDA membership or a subscription to the Catholic *El Debate* now provided incontrovertible evidence of the new crime of Disaffection.

In circumstances where new and stable field structures had yet to emerge new opportunities for agency arose. Following the seismic power-shift which took place after 18 July, Catholic anti-Republican women were obliged to 'play new games' within a clandestine political space. They devised strategies of survival and resistance and negotiated valuable forms of symbolic capital in order to maintain "their place and the place of others within the social space."[124] A new female Catholic resistance identity was constructed during the conflict and anti-Republican women forged a new political consciousness. This politico-religious agency was sacralised within traditional Catholic discourses of 'martyrdom' and agentive 'self-sacrifice.'[125] Anti-Republican women helped to sustain imaginings of a new national Catholic nationhood and in so doing became agents of social change.[126] This Catholic and anti-liberal female agency should not be reduced to mere manifestations of 'false-consciousness' in response to patriarchal domination.

3. Sources

[123] Hardy, Cheryl "Chapter Eight: Hysteresis" in Grenfell Michael (ed) (2012) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (London: Routledge), p.126.
[124] Bourdieu, Pierre "Social Space and Symbolic Power" *Sociological Theory,* Vol. 7, No. 1, (Spring, 1989) pp 14-25 at p. 19
[125] Mother María Luisa Fernández & Mother María Leturia (1939) *Catorce meses de aventuras bajo el dominio rojo,* (Rome: ACI), at p. 30.
[126] Blasco (2003) *Paradojas*, p. 43.

I have examined the following sources: (1) The Republican popular tribunal records for Madrid which form part of the Spanish Ministry of Culture's digitalized Causa General documentation[127] (2) The Falange's Sección Femenina Blue Series Archives which are held in the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), Madrid and (3) various memory texts which were published during or soon after the war. I have also consulted the Archivo General Militar de Ávila's (AGMA's) Servicios de Información Político Militar (SIPM)[128] archives but these contain little information in relation to women.

3.1. Popular Tribunal Records in the "*Causa General*" Archives

The Causa General hard-copy archives were transferred from the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) in Madrid to the Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica (CDMH) in Salamanca in 2011.[129] A digitalized version of these archives is available on the Ministry of Culture's (PARES) website.[130] The main source materials relate to Madrid's Republican popular tribunal trials between 1936-9 and, in particular, the cases relating to crimes of high treason, treason, espionage and aiding or assisting rebellion.[131]

The Causa General proceedings were commenced by government decree on 26 April 1940 in order to provide a definitive and complete account of the criminality that existed under

[127] Source: "*Archivo Histórico Nacional, Instituciones Contemporaneas, 2.2, Poder Judicial, Tribunales Populares y Jurados de Urgencia y de Guardia de Madrid."* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.6.
[128] The Nationalist Political and Military Information Services (*Servicios de Información y Policia militar*).
[129] Public access to the *Causa General* archives was made available in accordance with article 22 of the Spanish Law of Historical Memory 2007.
[130] Portal de Archivos Españoles.
[131] Source: PARES, Archivo Historico Nacional, Instituciones Contemporaneas, 2.2, Poder Judicial "*Tribunales Populares y Jurados de Urgencia y de Guardia de Madrid,"* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.6.

the Marxist rule.[132] The proceedings constituted an official post-war enquiry into what the Nationalist victors referred to as the "Red Terror" i.e. a period of extra-judicial repression which took place in the Republican held zones. The Causa General was central to Franco's *post facto* justification for the military coup and Serrano Súñer described the *Causa's* findings as a form of 'back to front justice' (*justicia al revés*) that served the interests of Franco's nascent dictatorship.[133] The enquiry was composed of a complex web of truths and falsehoods.[134] A manifest conviction bias underpinned its compilation.[135] The quality of the evidence varied from region to region and due and proper standards of legal proof were seldom maintained. Testimonies such as those of Ángel Pedrero (the head of Madrid's Republican military intelligence services) were obtained under torture and with the certain expectation of execution. [136]

Nevertheless, the records examined here, for the most part, represent a valid historical source in their capacity as the original and complete legal records (preserved as complete trial bundles) of the Republican popular tribunal trials which took place in Madrid during the war. There is no indication that the trial bundles were redacted or tampered with in any way

[132] *Boletín Oficial de España*, 4 May 1940.
[133] Serrano Súñer, Ramón (1977) *Entre el silencio y la propaganda, la Historia como fué. Memorias* (Barcelona: Planeta) p.244-5, cited in Ruiz, Julius (2009) "Seventy Years On: Historians and Repression During and After the Spanish Civil War," *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol. 44(3), pp.454.
[134] Gibson, Ian (1983) *Paracuellos: Como fué* (Madrid: Argos), pp. 20-22.
[135] See for example, Ruiz, Julius (2005), *Franco's Justice*, *Repression in Madrid after the Spanish Civil War*, Oxford, OUP, pp.3-5 and Vincent, Mary (2005), "Religious Violence in the Spanish Civil War" in Ealham, Chris and Richards, Michael (eds.) *The Splintering of Spain, Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939,* (Cambridge: CUP), p.74.
[136] e.g. *Testimonio del Fiscal Secretario de la pieza segunda de particulares del procedimiento sumarismo de urgencia no. 1549 seguido por la Jurisdicción Militar Nacional contra Ángel Pedrero García, jefe del Servicio de Investigación Militar* (SIM), FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1520 Exps. 2 y 3 dated 12 May 1942.

by the Francoist authorities. Perhaps the Causa experts believed that the tribunal documents were sufficient in and of themselves to demonstrate the 'injustices of the Republican regime.' As indicated above, the popular trials were heard in the new 'special emergency courts' created on 23 August 1936, the 'high courts of espionage and high treason' created on 22 June 1937 and the 'special military tribunals' (tribunales especiales de guardia).[137] These last courts were established in November 1937 and March 1938 and entailed the suspension of normal constitutional guarantees for defendants. By way of safeguard, death penalties imposed by the emergency courts had to be ratified by the cabinet.[138]

The largely complete trial bundles have now been recorded in the form of digitalized pages (*imágenes*) and include thousands of pages of police reports, interrogation and witness statements, legal and medical reports, interlocutory and asset-tracing documents and trial transcripts. The easiest way to search for individuals is to input their names into the primary search engine. A secondary filtering engine facilitates searches by reference to specific criminal categories (e.g. treason, espionage, rebellion, defeatism, disaffection) and this made it possible to compile the statistics set out below and in Part II.

These digital archives offer a wealth of detail on the disciplinary regimes of the Republican police and the courts at this time. A total of 14,862 cases were heard in Madrid's emergency popular tribunals between 1936-9. This figure reflects the Republican

[137] Sánchez Recio, Glicerio "El control político de la retaguardia republicana durante la Guerra Civil. Los tribunales populares de justicia," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma,* Serie V, Historia Contemporanea, Vol. 7, (1994) pp. 585-598 at p. 591-2.
[138] Graham, Helen (2002), *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939* (Cambridge: CUP), p.347.

government's desire to repress anti-Republican activities. During the first months of the conflict the popular courts operated daily and around the clock within the prisons. Approximately 2.4% of the total 14,862 popular tribunal cases related to crimes of treason, another 2.4% related to espionage, 3.6% related to defeatism, 8% related to military rebellion, 1.3% related to military desertion and 73% related to disaffection.[139] Around 2.5% of the trials related to the use or possession of illegal weapons, 2.4% to black market crimes and 1.6% to 'public enquiries into unlawful deaths' including deaths caused by explosions, the unauthorized use of machine guns and hand grenades or death by drowning. 'Accidental death' accounted for 0.04% of cases. Still fewer cases related to common crimes of rape (0.04%), homicide (0.22%), bodily harm or assault (2.1%) and robbery (0.6%). These common crimes were mainly heard in the conventional courts which operated alongside the popular tribunals.

The conservation of public order and civilian morale became more pressing during 1938 in measure with a succession of serious Republican military defeats and reverses. Over the course of 1938 crimes of treason and defeatism came to attract severer punishments. However, the number of death sentences and life sentences which were delivered in Madrid's courts of espionage and high treason and the 'special military courts' were low in comparison with those of other Republican-held cities. Of the 566 treason trials which were heard in the Madrid popular tribunals some 8.48% resulted in the death penalty, 30.50 % resulted in imprisonment and a further 24.20 % in absolution or suspension. These figures

[139] The percentages in relation to treason, espionage and defeatism are approximated because the website filter engine duplicates findings, so that, for example, cases of espionage are also retrieved as cases of treason. The crime of defeatism is included as a form of treason.

should be compared with those for Valencia where out of 89 cases 43,82% received the death penalty, Barcelona where out of 427 cases 32,79% received the death penalty and Bilbao where out of 403 cases 31,76% received the death penalty.[140]

Because men tended to dominate the record it was necessary to read closely and 'against the grain' for evidence of women's resistance. After the review of thousands of pages of documentation, it was interesting to discover that the infirm body and the diseased mind also constituted fertile sites of resistance within the regimes of the prison and the court. All manner of diseases, feigned and real, mental and physical were invoked by the defendants in order to suspend trials and obtain conditional releases.[141] The archives contain thousands of medical reports, doctor's letters, psychiatrist reports and invalidity certificates. Sympathetic doctors and medical experts were important fifth column collaborators.[142] The defendants invoked a wide range of diseases including psychosis and sexual hysteria.[143] Also, tuberculosis, chronic bronchitis and pulmonary emphysema.[144] There were several cases relating to prescription drug addiction, sexually transmitted diseases, mania and

[140] Source: Sánchez "El control político…", p. 596.
[141] See oral testimony of Dolores Muñoz Tuero in an undated interview with Borrás, (1965), pp. 201-208 at pp 202-204.
[142] Ángel Bahamonde has also identified "an abundance of false medical certificates which were certified by Madrid's military medical tribunals which were presided over by Lt. Colonels Antonio Jiménez Arrieta, Clodoaldo Padilla Casas and Emilio Romero Maldonado who formed part of the Clandestine Falange" in Bahamonde, Ángel (2016) *Madrid, 1939, La conjura del coronel Casado* (Madrid: Cátedra) Kindle ed. at Loc 1510 of 3765.
[143] *Causa 1615 instruida contra Enriqueta Mariateguí Rollán por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,198, Exp. 14. Imágenes 8/52. *Auto* dated 9 September 1937.
[144] See for example Medical Letter into Court dated 2 May 1938 requesting a transfer for Manuel Albarán Ordoñez aged 53 years to 'a place in the countryside with space and air to convalesce,' *Sumario no 81/1938 del Juzgado Especial por espionaje y otros delitos contra la seguridad exterior del Estado contra Antonio Rodríguez Aguado y otros,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1540, Exp. 1, Imagen 1727/1805.

nervous exhaustion.[145] María Jesus Roman Escribano was charged with espionage for her involvement in the Iglesia de Francisco el Grande group which involved a group of devout Catholics who looked after the artwork and the church buildings.[146] She was transferred from Ventas prison to an observation ward at the Madrid Provincial Hospital and her defence argued that she was unfit to appear in court. A medical certificate (signed by two court psychiatrists) indicated that she was unfit for trial on account of "severe dystemic attacks within the affective sphere combined with acute amnesia" the aetiology of which was unspecified.[147] The aim of many 'sympathetic' lawyers and medical experts was to delay or suspend the trials on frequently fabricated medical grounds in order to wait out the war.[148]

The legal archives under-represent the confessional aspects of the resistance. Most of the proceedings examined below were commenced between 1937 and 1939. At this time private religious practice was cautiously tolerated by the authorities, although clandestine religious gatherings were regarded as potential hot-beds of fifth-column subversion and were subject to denunciation by suspicious neighbours. The Republic was keen to repair the damage to international relations caused by the religious persecution of the earliest months. Religion belonged to the private sphere and the authorities appear to have been

[145] *Causa instruida contra* Ricardo Guerra Blanco por el delito/s de Alta Traicíon, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 145, Exp. 44. This magistrate was charged with treason following his sudden and suspicious resignation from office.
[146] *Expte. 1344 instruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Adhesión y Auxilio a la Rebelión,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 50, Exp. 45.
[147] *Expte. 1344*, Imagen 3/12.
[148] Ellwood, Sheelagh "Entrevista con Dolores Muñoz Tuero "Los tribunales populares fueron buena gente" in *Guerra Civil de Historia 16, "Sociedad y Guerra" vol 14* (1986), p. 125-129 at p. 126.

careful not to encroach on this private space during interrogation and cross examination.[149] In addition, few defendants were willing to further incriminate themselves or their associates by openly avowing to their religious beliefs and practices. Consequently, we must look to the Blue Series archives (described below) and memory texts for evidence of the religious motivations which often underpinned the political resistance.

Finally, evidence contained in the popular tribunal records examined below indicates that Madrid's fifth-columnists frequently compiled lists of prominent and active Republicans which were forwarded to the General Staff in Burgos on a regular basis. This indicates that Madrid's fifth columnists collaborated in 'local and intimate' denunciatory practices that provided a vital 'glue' for the nascent Francoist regime and suggest the construction of Francoism 'from below' as well as from above.[150]

3.2. The Sección Femenina Blue Series Archive

The Sección Femenina (SF) Blue Series legal archives form part of the Asociación de la Nueva Andadura (ANA) archives which are held in Madrid's Real Academia de la Historia (RAH).[151] Few Sección Femenina pre-war and war-time records have survived because in 1938 most of the documents held in the organisation's Salamanca offices were destroyed in a fire.[152] Later, during the Transition Period (1975-8) many important records relating to the Falange

[149] I am grateful to Professor Mary Vincent for these observations.
[150] See in particular Part III in Anderson, Peter (2010), *The Francoist Military Trials, Terror and Complicity, 1939-45* (Oxford: Routledge/Cañada Blanch) pp 60-107 at p.89.
[151] ANA was an official association of veterans of the Sección Femenina created after the dissolution of the organisation in 1977. In turn, the ANA association was dissolved in 2006 and its offices were closed. The ANA Archives were transferred to RAH in 2007.
[152] Gallego (1983), *Mujer, Falange y Franquismo,* p. 53.

and its Women's Section were either hidden in private archives or destroyed because of fears that the democratic transition "would revive old conflicts and result in repression and reprisals."[153]

The ANA archives contain a typescript by Pilar Primo de Rivera entitled *Historia de la Sección Femenina.*[154] This typescript was created during or soon after the events and a serialized version was published in *Revista Y* in fifteen separate instalments between March 1938 and May 1939.[155] The memory text provides a rare insight into the organisation's activities from its formation in June 1934. The typescript relates women's complicity in dangerous and illegal political activities prior to 17 July 1936.[156] The text both performs and contests the official Falangist discourses that highlight women's 'natural' inclination towards 'self - abnegation and submission.'[157] It also deviates from the standard portrayals of Pilar Primo de Rivera and Falangist women as a meek, submissive, pious and dutiful. Here, Pilar fashions Falangist women as determined political activists who were prepared to condone violence and break the law in furtherance of their ideological aims. The typescript provides rare and valuable insights into the subversive political activism of the Falange's early female activists (old shirts).

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[153] Blasca (1997) *Armas Femeninas,* p.18.
[154] *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte* (undated typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid.
[155] Sections of the typescript were reproduced in *Y, Revista de la mujer nacional –sindicalista,* between January 1938-May 1939, See Vincent, Mary, (2003) "Chapter 12, Spain" in Passmore, Kevin (ed), *Women Gender and Fascism in Europe* (Manchester: MUP), p.209
[156] *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera* (undated typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid.
[157] Gallego (1983), *Mujer,* p. 34.

These archives also contain one hundred and fifty-three depositions which were made by former members of Madrid's Auxilio Azul. Every deposition was formally sworn in the presence of lawyers and ratified by the leader of Auxilio Azul Carina Martínez Unciti. These brief testimonials were made pursuant to applications for the prestigious post-war Queen Isabel Silver "Y" Awards which were bestowed for 'significant services in aid of Franco's Glorious Movement.' These awards formed part of a concerted post-war effort to construct a body of ceremonial practice that would reflect the Sección Femenina's new status as an instrument of the state.[158] Some 6,000 awards were bestowed between 1939 and 1945 of which over 3,000 were granted between 1939-40.[159] This number was high because collective awards were granted to the members of the Regional Divisions, laundry services and nursing units.[160] These depositions together with the popular tribunal records discussed above form the basis of Chapters I and II below. They are filed in ANA, Serie Azul, Asesoría Jurídica, Carpetas B-12 and B-18.

The depositions were generated by the Sección Femenina's Legal Department (Asesoría Jurídica) between September 1939 and February 1940. The sworn testimonies include those of Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez who was General Secretary of Auxilio Azul,[161] and Carina Martínez Unciti who was "leader until the group's demobilisation in April-May 1939."[162]

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[158] Richmond, Kathleen (2003) *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange 1934-1959,* (London: Routledge), p.40.
[159] Biganne, "The Rewards of Female Fascism," at p.1315.
[160] E.g. the Sección Femenina of Medina del Campo, was granted a collective Silver "Y" on 16 November 1939. See Declaration dated 16 November 1939, Document RSA:1095, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[161] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez dated 6 November 1939, Document 143, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. She joined the Falange in June 1936.
[162] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Carina Martínez Unciti dated 1 February 1940, Document 95, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

I was unable to locate the official Demobilisation Records[163] in any of the RAH,[164] AHN,[165] AGA[166] and CDMH[167] archives. These records may still exist in a private archive. The short testimonies represent highly mediated recollections of resistance among a group of self-selected Falangist women who wanted to gain recognition for their resistance efforts after the war. The Y insignia was a useful asset during the repressive and economically catastrophic early 1940's.[168] The insignia bestowed a measure of political capital and professional preferment.[169] The awards were published in the *Boletin Oficial del Movimiento* (BOM) which testifies to the prestige accorded such awards.[170] There were three categories of "Y" award (Gold, Silver and Red). Gold was almost exclusively reserved for those women who had 'died in active service' including María Paz Martínez Unciti and

[163] Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil,* pp.251-272. These Appendix pages contain photocopies of various "Demobilisation Documents" as evidence of the existence of Auxilio Azul.
[164] Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
[165] Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca.
[166] Archivo General de la Administración, Álcala de Henares.
[167] *Centro de la Memoria Histórica.*
[168] Biganne, Julia, "The Rewards of Female Fascism in Franco's New State: The Recompensas Y of the Sección Femenina de la Falange, 1939-45," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies,* Vol. XC, No. 8 (2013), pp.1313-1337, at p.1317.
[169] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Isabel Arroyo Pertasse dated 4 October 1939, Document 202, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. This operative, known by the code name 1-K-2 during the war. She began voluntary work for Madrid's Auxilio Social in April 1939 and was one of only a few women who were promoted to salaried employee status from May- October 1939.
[170] E.g. A collective Silver "Y" award was granted to all the Sección Femenina members of Medina del Campo. A notice of this award was published in BOM. Source: *Asesoría Jurídica,* Declaration, dated 16 November 1939, Document RSA: 1095, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

Carmen Tronchoni.[171] The quasi-sacralisation of the Falange's heroic '59 Fallen Women' served to reinforce new constructions of an elite Falangist female identity after the war.[172]

The testimonies are important because they provide evidence of Auxilio Azul's resistance activities during the war. Most are very short and somewhat impersonal in tone and this makes them difficult to read 'against the grain.' In addition, the depositions provide no substantive chronological evidence of the origins, growth and development of the organisation during the conflict. Nonetheless, several testimonies provide detailed evidence of the the group's activities and reveal aspects of its distinctive 'emotional regime' discussed in Ch.I.[173] Unsurprisingly, most testimonies exclusively referred to the welfare-aid and humanitarian activities. Meanwhile, the Republican popular tribunal records emphasized the more treasonous, illegal and black-marketeering and denunciatory aspects of women's resistance efforts.

The detailed testimonies also represent a site of construction of a new female politico-religious resistance identity. Auxilio Azul's distinctive emotional regime incorporated strands of Catholic mysticism, ardour, self-abnegation and ascetic military discipline. These discourses reflect the idealistic and self-sacrificial tropes that were characteristic of José

[171] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Report on Carmen Tronchoni, Document 7, ANA, Carpeta B 18, RAH, Madrid.
[172] Ofer, Inbal, "Historical Models. Contemporary Identities: The Sección Femenina of the Spanish Falange and its Redefinition of the Term 'Femininity," *Journal of Contemporary History,* 40, 4, (2005), at p. 666.
[173] "Emotional regimes" and and "emotives" are conceptualised in Reddy, William (2001) *The Navigation of Feeling, A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: CUP). In particular, see Ch. 3 "Emotional Expression as a Type of Speech Act" at pp 63-111.

Antonio Primo de Rivera's martial and quasi-mystical pre-war political writings.[174] The depositions deployed a distinctive and subaltern gendered rhetoric which simultaneously performed and contested traditional Catholic normative gender discourses relating to female modesty, self-abnegation and self-sacrifice.[175] In addition, these women's attestations of suffering and bereavement also helped to construct a 'community of suffering' that served to consolidate and unite the factions within the post-war Francoist regime.[176] It should be noted that the depositions are rather guarded in tone and do not specifically identify or name any alleged 'persecutors.' Consequently, while they form part of a Francoist discourse of suffering and martyrdom, they are not, in and of themselves, accusatory texts (we cannot speculate as to whether these women also made formal complaints and denunciations within the framework of the *Causa General* enquiry). It would appear that the function of these official depositions was solely to adduce evidence of involvement in Auxilio Azul.

The *Asesoría Jurídica* depositions were created by a group of self-selected and politically engaged Falangist women, mainly of middle and upper-middle class extraction, for the purposes of gaining recognition and preferment within a post-war Sección Femenina

[174] Primo de Rivera, José Antonio (1971) *Textos de doctrina política,* Augustín del Río Císneros (ed.) (Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina).
[175] See Kebadze, Ninno, "The Right to be Selfless and Other Prerogatives of the Weak in the Rhetoric of the Sección Femenina," *Romance Quarterly,* Vol. 55:2, (2008), pp.109-27. See also Gahete Muñoz, Soraya (2015) "La Sección Femenina de Falange. Discursos y Practicas en Madrid," *Arenal,* 22.2 (July-December 2015) pp. 389-411 at p.402.
[176] Richards, Michael ed. (2013) *After the Civil War, Making Memory and Re-Making Spain since 1936* (NY: CUP) [Ebook], p. 41.

hierarchy which became the official post-war transmission belt of Falangist ideology.[177] Therefore they patently constitute highly mediated and therefore potentially unreliable sources. However, the findings here are generally corroborated by the findings in the Republican popular tribunal records discussed in the chapters below. In addition, 'Clandestine Madrid' was a tight-knit community and it was relatively easy to verify who had and who hadn't been involved in the fifth column after the war.[178] In light of the repressive and punitive atmosphere of the immediate post-war regime, it would appear to be an extremely high-risk strategy to deliberately volunteer false evidence in exchange for the largely symbolic rewards afforded by the "Y" insignias. It is quite possible that a minority of these women may have provided false testimonies, perhaps from motives of fear, peer pressure or the desire for prestige. However, it may be safe to assume that the brief and guarded testimonies of the majority retain a measure of truth-value.

4. Memory Texts

Little has been written on Falangist women's activism prior to or during the war. This is, in part, due to the deliberate post-war 'self-censorship' of many of the protagonists and to a lack of publishing interest in Catholic and right-wing women activities during this period. [179]

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[177] Gallego, María Teresa (1982), *Mujer, Falange, Franquismo,* (Madrid: Taurus), p. 200-201. Most women worked within the Sección Femenina on a voluntary and unpaid basis and only the most senior 'elite' cadres were financially remunerated.

[178] E.g. *Asesoría Jurídica,* Certificate dated 1939, Document 294, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. The Auxilo Azul Group Leader María Carmen Timmermans made a sworn declaration to the effect that Mercedes Pagés López Guerrero was a member of Auxilio Azul.

[179] The scarcity of memory-texts has been noted in Tavera García, Susanna (2011) "Las mujeres de la Sección Falange: Una afirmación entre el activismo político y la sumisión patriarcal, 1934-1939" in Ana Aguado and Teresa Ma. Ortega (eds.) (2011) "*Feminismos y antifeminismos, Culturas, políticas e identitdades de genero en las España del Siglo XX* (Valencia: PUV) pp. 207-228 at pp. 209-10.

Pilar Primo de Rivera's *Historia de la Sección Femenina* provides evidence of women's complicity in dangerous and illegal political activities both prior to and after 18 July 1936. [180] Falangist women's pre-war and war-time activism was also briefly discussed in de Rivera's official autobiography.[181] Mercedes Fórmica wrote very little about her role as a leader of the Falangist student union (SEU).[182] Most texts recount individual experiences of repression and imprisonment at the hands of the 'reds.' Rosario Queipo de Llano's work relates to her imprisonment in the García Atadell *checa* and in the Alacuas labour camp in Valencia.[183] Herta Björnsen de Wedel (a German Catholic) was arrested for espionage and imprisoned in Ventas between April 1937 and March 1938. Björsen had organised asylum and escape-lines for anti-Republicans prior to her arrest in December 1936. However, most of her narrative describes the Republican oppression rather than her own illegal resistance activities. Björnsen vividly recounts her experiences of imprisonment in Atocha and Ventas prisons.[184] Mother María Luisa Fernández provides valuable insights into the religious repression of the early months and relates the invaluable spiritual assistance provided by fifth column women in the prisons.[185] These works all contribute to a distinctive eschatological discourse relating to the 'Red Terror.'[186] Comparisons were drawn between

[180] *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte* (typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid.
[181] Primo de Rivera, Pilar (1983), *Recuerdos de una vida,* (Dyrsa: Madrid), at pp. 59-79.
[182] Fórmica, Mercedes (2013) *Memorias, visto y vivido, escucho el silencio (1931-1947)*, (Sevilla: Renacimiento), p. 180.
[183] Queipo de Llano, Rosario (1939) *De la cheka de Atadell a la prisión de Alacuas* (Valladolid: Santarén).
[184] Björnsen de Wedel, Herta (1941) *La Carcel de Ventas* (Madrid: Águilar).
[185] Mother María Luisa Fernández & Mother María Leturia (1939) *Catorce meses de aventuras bajo el dominio rojo,* (Rome: ACI).
[186] Hernández Holgado, Fernando (2003) *Mujeres encarceladas, La prisión de Ventas: de la republica al franquismo, 1931-41,* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), p93.

Madrid's terror and the Russian revolution in 1917.[187] Rosario Queipo de Llano wrote of the "ferocity of the Spanish *bolcheviques* during a period of massacres and martyrdoms. Humanity will be in awe of such evil and savagery."[188] Decades after the events, Pilar Primo de Rivera continued to refer to the "domination of ideas and practices imported from Russia."[189] These narratives of victimhood, suffering, martyrdom and redemption formed part of a new Catholic social imaginary which denied the victims of Republican repression any personal or collective agency.[190] The suffering of Madrid's anti-Republican citizens was represented as part of a pre-destined Divine Plan whereby 'Catholic martyrdom' would be redeemed by the 'Nationalist Liberation.' Despite their manifest ideological bias, historical inaccuracy, class prejudices and hatreds, the memory texts still constitute valuable source materials. They provide a unique insight into the war-time disruption of Catholic habitus and how individuals fashioned (temporary) war-time resistance identities.

In an effort to nuance and contest these Francoist discourses of abjection and victimhood, the thesis demonstrates, primarily through evidence contained in the Republican trial records, how Madrid's anti-Republican women were not wholly passive victims and martyrs. Instead, many fifth columnists were effective influencers who exercised forms of informal micro-power and agency and were able to curry the support and protection of prominent

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[187] See also Foxá, Augustín, (2001) *Madrid de Corte a Checa,* (Madrid: Bibliotex), pp. 275-276, Borrás (1965) pp.7-8 and Schlayer, Félix, (2001) *Diplomático en el Madrid Rojo,* (Madrid: Espuela de Plata), pp.42-43.

[188] Queipo de Llano (1939) *De la Cheka*, p. 51

[189] Primo de Rivera, Pilar, (1983) *Recuerdos,* p. 76. In fact, Stalinist infiltration within Republican governmental, administrative and military structures was highly disorganised and ultimately ineffective, see Kowalsky, Daniel (2004), *Stalin and the Spanish Civil War,* (New York: Columbia University Press).

[190] Rodríguez López, Sofía and Oscar Rodríguez Barreira, "La Quinta Columna y la Guerra Civil en Andalucia," *Andalucia en la Historia*, 46, (October-December 2014), at p.72.

Republican friends, family and associates. They deployed effective resistance and survival strategies within a highly conflictive social field wherein personal and private loyalties frequently cut across the heightened and violent political and class hatreds and the social and religious divisions that were sparked by the military coup.

5. Secondary Literature

A recent collection of articles entitled *Madrid, Una ciudad en guerra* (2016) has lamented the still scant historiography on rearguard Madrid and on the fifth column in particular.[191] Most histories focus on the repression in the rearguard.[192] The Battle of Madrid (November 1936 until March 1937) has also been examined in detail.[193] Much less has been written on the general social and political conditions in the rearguard. Javier Cervera wrote a thesis on political violence and anti-Republican resistance in Madrid in 1996.[194] It was subsequently published as *Madrid en Guerra, La Ciudad Clandestina, 1936-9.*[195] In 2006 a second edition

[191] Oviedo Silva, Daniel, Pérez-Olivares García, Alejandro (eds) (2016) *Madrid, una ciudad en guerra* (1936-48), (Madrid: Catárata), p. 11.
[192] See e.g. Anderson, Peter and del Arco Blanco, Miguel Ángel (eds) (2015) *Mass Killings and Violence in Spain, 1936-1952: Grappling with the Past* (NY: Routledge), Ruiz, Julius (2012) *El Terror, Madrid, 1936* (Barcelona: Espasa), Ledesma, José Luis, (2003) *Los días de llamas de la revolución* (Zaragoza: IFC) and Espinosa Maestre (ed) *Violencia Roja y Azul, España, 1936-1950* (Barcelona: Crítica) and Prieto Borrego, Lucía, (2013) *Los días de la ira. Entre Mijas y el Guadiaro, de la Republica a la Sierra,"* (Malaga: UCM) and Prieto, Borrego "El terror rojo en la Causa General de Casares," *Baetica,* 22, 2000, 525-545. This prolific author has written 26 articles and 18 collaborative papers on the Civil War and early Francoism in Andalucía see http://dialnet.unirioja.es
[193] Reverte, Jorge (2004) *La Batalla de Madrid* (Madrid: Crítica).
[194] Cervera, Javier (1996), "Violencia política y acción clandestina: La retaguardia de Madrid en Guerra 1936-9,"(Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Thesis), pp.368-398. http://eprints.ucm.es/2456/1/T21383.pdf [last accessed 16/5/17].
[195]Cervera, Javier (1998), *Madrid,* p.236, pp. 235-22 and pp. 283-294.

was published which was substantively unaltered.[196] Cervera provides a detailed socio-political analysis of Madrid's clandestine anti-Republican community (*Madrid Clandestina*). He argued that Madrid's clandestine Falange networks were only co-ordinated in Spring 1937 as a result of the fearful passivity of the anti-Republican community following the violent repression which took place at the start of the war.[197] The author has also written numerous articles on society, politics and culture in Madrid both prior to and during the war.[198] Francisco Alía Miranda has recently written an informative chapter on the Clandestine Falange in Ciudad Real.[199] The journalist and historian Domènec Pastor Petit has also written several notable books on the fifth column in the Republican zone, particularly in Barcelona.[200] *Los Dossiers Secretos de La Guerra Civil*[201] examines the operations of the Nationalist security services in both the Republican and Nationalist zones. Pastor Petit's work is descriptive rather than analytical or synthetic, but it draws from a wide range of original source materials including those held in the Servicio Historico Militar and the *Causa General* archives. His work is cited by academic historians such as Cervera and Morten Heiberg and Ros Agudo who have written the most important monograph on the Nationalist intelligence services during the Spanish Civil War entitled *La trauma oculta de la guerra civil*.[202] An earlier history by Paz Armando on the Francoist and Republican

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[196] Cervera, Javier (Second ed) (2006), *Madrid en Guerra, La Ciudad Clandestina 1936-9,* (Madrid: Alianza),

[197] Cervera, Javier (1998), *Madrid,* p.290.

[198] E.g. Cervera, Javier "La Quinta Columna en la retaguardia republicana en Madrid," *Historia, Antropologia, Fuentes Orales,* No 17, *Tiempos de Transformaciones* (1997), pp. 93-110. Also,

[199] See Ch. 9 "La Quinta Columna" in Alía Miranda, Francisco (2017) *La Guerra Civil en Ciudad-Real, conflicto y revolución en una provincia de la retaguardia Republicana,* (Ciudad Real: BAM), pp.319-338.

[200] Pastor Petit, Domènec (2006) *Traidors a Catalunya, la Cinquena Columna* (1936-9).

[201] Pastor Petit, Domènec (1978), *Los Dossiers Secretos de La Guerra Civil,* (Barcelona: Argos).

[202] Heiberg and Agudo (2006), *La Trama,* at pp. 183-195.

intelligence services also constitutes an interesting and useful secondary source.[203] The Clandestine Falange's "Antonio Luna" network's involvement in the Casado Coup has been re-examined in recent works by Paul Preston (2016)[204] and Ángel Bahamonde (2014).[205] In addition, Javier Paniagua and Benjamin Lajo (2002) gathered the personal testimonies of the civil servants in Valencia's Town Council who claimed to have been involved in the fifth column.[206] Finally, the work of José Luis Alfaya (1998) provides a unique and valuable insight into the operations of the 'Clandestine Church' within the Madrid-Alcalá diocese during the war.[207]

There are very few works on fifth column women, although women's resistance efforts facilitated the rise of the fifth column in 1937.[208] *Seis Mil Mujeres* (1965) by the Nationalist author Tomás Borrás provides a hagiographical account of the operations of Auxilio Azul.[209] This account was used as a valid secondary source in Cervera's *Madrid en Guerra*.[210] However, his work has sometimes been dismissed by academics on account of its Falangist

[203] Paz, Armando (1976), *Los Servicios de espionaje en la guerra civil de España 1936-9* (Madrid: San Martín).
[204] Preston, Paul (2016), *The Last Days of the Spanish Republic,* (London: William Collins).
[205] Bahamonde, Ángel (2014), *Madrid, 1939* (Madrid: Catedra). See also Bahamonde, Ángel, Cervera, Javier (1999), *Así Terminó la Guerra de España* (Madrid: Marcial Pons).
[206] Paniagua, Javier and Lajo Cosido, Benjamín (2002), *Sombras en la retaguardia: Testimonios sobre la 5a Columna en Valencia* (Madrid: Francisco Tomás y Valiente).
[207] Alfaya, José Luis (1998), *Como un río de fuego, Madrid, 1936* (Barcelona: EIU).
[208] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror*, p. 238.
[209] Borrás, Tomás (1965), *Seis Mil Mujeres* (Madrid: Editora Nacional). Borrás (1891-1976) was a journalist and writer who wrote for *Fígaro, La Tribuna, Nuevo Mundo, El Sol, La Voz, ABC, Blanco y Negro.* He also wrote numerous novels, plays and histories including Borrás (2016) *Las Checas de Madrid*, (Madrid: Escolar y Mayo).
[210] Ch. 9 "Las Primeras, las Mujeres" in Cervera (1998) *Madrid*, pp. 263-282. See also, Cervera, Javier (1996), "Violencia política y acción clandestina: La retaguardia de Madrid en Guerra 1936-9," (Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Thesis), pp.368-398. http://eprints.ucm.es/2456/1/T21383.pdf [last accessed 9/9/16].

rhetoric and conviction bias.[211] The work was commissioned by a Francoist imprint in order to celebrate and memorialise Madrid's 'brave and forgotten' women. However, Borrás' interviews with former members provide a source of valuable (albeit highly mediated) oral testimony. In addition, the Appendix contains photocopies of Auxilio Azul's "Demobilisation Records" which were created after April 1939 and which have now been lost or destroyed or may form part of a private archive. Many facts related in *Seis Mil Mujeres* are corroborated in the ANA testimonies and in the Republican popular tribunal records examined here.

In an effort to create a shared collective memory space Sofía López Rodríguez has explored the mixed-gender Socorro Blanco network in Almeria. The network was formed by the women of the Sindicato Católica de la Aguja in 1937 which was led by Carmen Góngora López. It included nuns, carabineers, civil servants, especially doctors and magistrates, CAMPSA, the local Home Office Department and the Port Works Commission. These groups were incorporated into the Clandestine Falange in 1937. By mid 1938 Manuel Fernández Áramburus' Red Hataca group was incorporated into this fifth column network of around 500 women and men.[212] López has also written an article on women, religion and the fifth column in Andalucia.[213] See also her work on the Sección Femenina in Almeria between 1937-77 which argues that the Civil War forged the political identities of the post-war

[211] See for example, Gahete Muñoz, Soraya, "La Sección Femenina de Falange. Discursos y Prácticas en Madrid," *Arenal,* 22.2 (July-December 2015) pp. 389-411.
[212] Rodríguez López, Sofía (2008), *Quinta Columnistas. Las mujeres del 36 en la clandestinidad almeriense,* (Almeria: IEA). See also excellent short article on the fifth column in Almeria by Rodríguez López, Sofía and Oscar Rodríguez Barreira, "La Quinta Columna y la Guerra Civil en Andalucia," *Andalucia en la Historia*, 46, (October-December 2014), pp.72-77.
[213] Rodríguez López, "La Quinta Columna…", pp. 72-77.

leaders of the Sección Femenina.[214] In a recent co-authored article Rodríguez highlights the need to re-evaluate Nationalist women's role in the war effort, and in particular within the Republican held rearguard.[215]

6. Chapter Outline

Part I – The Clandestine Falange. Chapter I explores the origins and operations of Auxilio Azul which provided vital material, economic and spiritual aid to the anti-Republican community. It also explores how and why women were the first and most effective at mobilising the 'fifth column' resistance in Madrid. **Chapter II** examines the organisational structure of Auxilio Azul and its different service divisions. The chapter explores the meanings ascribed by women to their gender-specific welfare-aid resistance and demonstrates how the agents of resistance were also sometimes its beneficiaries. The Clandestine Falange was as much preoccupied with survival as with resistance and women attended to the well-being of 'Clandestine Madrid' and saved the lives of hundreds of fugitives. **Chapter III** provides a brief overview of the structure and aims of the mixed gender Falange groups before examining the role played by individual women who acted as liaison and recruitment agents, spies and escape-line operators. The Clandestine Falange was a closely inter-connected resistance community. During a moment of *hysteresis,* anti-Republican women held the threads of this community together.

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[214] Rodríguez López, Sofía (2010) *El patio de la carcel, La Sección Femenina de FET –JONS en Almeria* (Sevilla: CEA), pp. 27-46 at p. 45.

[215] Rodríguez López, Sofía and Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-9, *Journal of Contemporary History,* 0 (0) (2016), pp 1-22

Part II – Madrid's Autonomous Fifth Column Resistance. Part II examines Madrid's 'autonomous resistance' community. It was composed of dozens of small associational or professional groups and hundreds of individuals who performed acts of dissidence and subversion in the rearguard. **Chapter IV** examines the autonomous resistance from the Republican legal and retributive matrices. It explores women's involvement in capital crimes of treason and rebellion and also the lesser crimes of defeatism and disaffection. Women were subjected to less severe punishments than men because they were seldom perceived as political agents in their own right and, therefore, their treasonous crimes were conceived as arising from the effects of undue (male) influence, mental instability or gender specific medico-legal pathologies and illnesses. **Chapter V** examines female spies and demonstrates how few women, aside from those in the Clandestine Falange, practised espionage in the rearguard. It also reveals how 'class' was an important vector for the signification of relationships of power despite the circumstances of social revolution. Middle-class women used their social, cultural and symbolic power and their networks of influence in order to navigate the disciplinary regimes of the prison and the court-room. They often escaped the severest sanctions of the tribunals, while their poor, working-class counter-parts lacked the necessary social and cultural capital (powerful contacts and education) to deflect the rigours and injustices of the popular tribunals. Despite Republican aspirations for a new and egalitarian social order, poor and uneducated women were routinely treated more unfairly at the hands of the new Republican 'people's justice'.

The following chapter explains how women came to be the resisters of the first hour. They played the most important resistance roles through their provision of urgent and life-saving welfare-aid for fugitive anti-Republicans. These women were active in the public space,

meanwhile their formerly powerful male counterparts were both literally and symbolically forced into the private sphere. This significant but temporary shift in gender-power began several months before the war, in particular after the outlawing of the Falange party in March 1936, when Falangist women began to create a series of underground welfare-aid and liaison networks for Falangist prisoners and their families.

PART I- THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE CLANDESTINE FALANGE

CHAPTER I –THE ORIGINS OF AUXILIO AZUL

La Hermandad de Auxilio Azul- María Paz Martínez Unciti (María Paz Martínez Unciti's Blue-Aid Sisterhood) was the first, most extensive and effective Clandestine Falange group in Madrid.[216] This same-gender network was founded by the Falangist student unionist María Paz Martínez Unciti and its name was shortened to Auxilio Azul (Blue Aid) after the blue-shirted uniforms of the men and women of the fascist Falange. By the end of the war it had mobilised around 6,000 women.[217] "Enough women to ensure that Madrid's streets were festooned with 10,000 Nationalist flags at 8 a.m. on 27 March 1939."[218] Auxilio Azul was intermittently in contact with Sección Femenina groups in the rebel held zones.[219] There were small offshoots in Valencia, Alicante and Murcia. Little is known about the groups outside Madrid. Carmen Tronchoni was the leader of Valencia's Auxilio Azul (also known as Socorro Blanco) until she was arrested in August 1936 and executed for treason in Barcelona's Montjuich prison.[220] Carmen Calvo Alonso founded the Alicante group.[221] There was also a small group in Linares which was led by María Gómez del Olmo.[222] Auxilio Azul was never dismantled by the Republican authorities.[223] Its resistance activities

[216] Cervera, (1998), *Madrid*, p. 282.
[217] Borrás (1965) *Seis Mil*, p.10. Cervera (1998) *Madrid*, p.270. Heigberg and Agudo (2006), *La Trama*, p.194
[218] Carina Unciti, ABC, Madrid, 18 July 1961.
[219] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ángela Ibáñez Calvo dated 9 October, Document 225, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. She also recruited 70 new members and established contact with María Lemus's Sección Femenina Group in Linares (Jaén).
[220] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Report on Carmen Tronchoni, Document 7, ANA, Carpeta B 18, RAH, Madrid.
[221] Borrás (1965) *Seis Mil*, p.159.
[222] Borrás (1965), p. 152.
[223] Cervera (1998), *Madrid*, p. 271.

commenced soon after 18 July 1936 and continued throughout the war until it was demobilised and dismantled by Pilar Primo de Rivera in April 1939. The organisation was also known among its supporters as Socorro Azul (Blue Aid) and was conceived as the clandestine counterpart to the Republican Socorro Rojo (Red Aid). The names Auxilio Azul and Socorro Blanco were used interchangeably by the members.[224] This chapter focusses on the operations of the network in Madrid.

The women of Auxilio Azul enjoyed a freedom and an agency that exceeded that of their male counterparts at this time. The bitter civil conflict provided women with new opportunities for agency by politicizing the role of women within the domestic family space.[225] Gender power was temporarily renegotiated within traditional patriarchal family structures. Many anti-Republican men had lost their jobs during the early professional purges and became ineligible to claim state pensions or rations. Private homes were converted into 'safe-houses' for fugitives and religious personnel.[226] In the absence of the male heads of household who were in hiding, in prison or victims of the extra-judicial repression, anti-Republican women were able to construct new war-time resistance identities. The financial hardship experienced by anti-Republican families meant that many

[224] Paz, Armando (1976), *Los Servicios de Espionaje en la Guerra Civil de España, 1936-9,* (Madrid: Editorial San Martín), p. 141.
[225] This observation has also been made in relation to women's resistance activities in Occupied France between 1940-44. See, Schwartz, Paula "Redefining resistance: Women's Activism in Wartime France in Margaret Higgonet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel & Margaret Collins Weitz (eds) (1987), *Behind the Lines, Gender and the Two World Wars* (Yale: YUP) at p. 147.
[226] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Asunción Escondrillas Gil dated 22 September 1939, Document 187, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. This former Bachiller student testified to having hidden at least five prominent anti-Republican families, together with other individuals wanted by the police. Her Group leaders were Isabel Lacasa and the lawyer Dolores Muñoz Tuero.

middle-class women were obliged to enter the male-dominated work place for the first time. The experience of paid work was a source of new financial agency and pride.[227] These women became temporary heads of household who were responsible for the material, economic, emotional and religious welfare of the family in the absence of their men folk.[228] They were perceived to be less of a security threat than men by the Republican authorities and they performed acts of subversion in the public space while going about their daily chores. Their resistance actions were often 'hidden in plain sight.' This observation does not apply to Falangist activists who went into hiding and assumed false identities in order to avoid arrest.[229]

While Nationalist post-war discourses often deployed subalternist rhetorical strategies in order to represent right-wing and fascist women's agency,[230] these discourses do not adequately reflect the lived experiences of Madrid's Auxilio Azul members who became political agents in their own right at this time. These women were dissidents (*desafectas*) and activists who risked their lives and committed capital crimes of treason, espionage and rebellion against the Republican regime. Women's 'passive' welfare-aid and auxiliary

[227] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Manolita Despierto Vázquez dated 4 October 1939, Document 147, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[228] *Expte. 486 instruido contra Teófila Abad Benito y Mercedes Rivero Calvo por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 116, Exp. 9. Imagen no. 8/66. In this case a former Catholic town councillor and member of Acción Popular who was an asylee in an embassy wrote to his wife granting her full authority over family, property and business matters while he remained in asylum.
[229] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Mercedes Folch Fou dated 26 September 1939, Document 207, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. She was obliged to use a false name Mercedes Palma.
[230] See Labanyi, Jo (2002) "Resemanticizing Feminine Surrender: Cross-Gender identifications in the writings of Spanish Female Fascist Activists" in *Women's Narrative and Fiction in Twentieth Century Spain,* Ofélia Ferrán and Kathleen M. Glenn (eds) (London: Routledge), pp. 75-94.

resistance efforts have been overlooked in resistance histories which tend to prioritize forms of 'active' armed and military resistance.[231] This is because the provision of welfare aid formed part of women's gender-specific 'invisible labour' which was inherent to their 'everyday' prescribed social and domestic roles. The arbitrary relationship of domination of men over women in the social order inscribed itself in bodies through the tacit injunctions which were implied in the routine division of labour with the effect that women were excluded from male spaces and from the noblest tasks and assigned perceived menial and drudging tasks.[232]

I argue here that the gender-specific resistance activities of Auxilio Azul constituted the most significant and effective resistance practices within Madrid's fifth column. The members came to form an extensive 'Sisterhood' which was committed to the difficult and dangerous task of maintaining the physical and moral survival of Madrid's clandestine anti-Republican community. These women performed a variety of legitimate and subversive activities including: safe-housing, distributing food, assisting conscription evasion, taking food, clothing and contraband (including Nationalist war reports) to political prisoners, providing nursing services to fugitives, collecting and distributing money, distributing official war reports from Burgos in the food queues, over the telephone, in Republican offices and within the military barracks, making and safe-guarding possessions including Falangist flags, incriminating documents, jewellery and compromising photographs, procuring favourable

[231] These observations have also been made with regard to women in the French Resistance. See Collins Weitz, Margaret (1995) *Sisters in the Resistance, How Women Fought to Free France,* 1940-45 (Canada: John Wiley), p. 11 and Von List, Corinna (French ed) (2012) *Résistantes* (Paris: Alma), Kindle ed. Loc. 2723.
[232] Bourdieu (2007) Masculine Domination, p. 24.

sentences from 'sympathetic' popular tribunal judges, often by means of bribery or by infiltrating the police and the judiciary, obtaining and administering medicines, aiding the escape of fugitives and finding safe houses, distributing false ration cards and identification documents, donating blood to prisoners and the needy, collecting and distributing blankets and clothing for the orphans of those who had been killed in the extra-judicial reprisals and attending to the children of prisoners, 'washing clothes for those in need, providing consolation and continual aid' including smuggling communion hosts into the prisons.[233] This exhaustive list of women's material and affective resistance activities is recalled here in full because women's timeless and gender-specific labour must be re-evaluated within a context of violent *hysteresis* in the rearguard. These passive and invisible women ventured out of "the timeless back-drop against which men are routinely represented as making history in their capacity as active subjects."[234] The perceived 'menial and drudging tasks' described above constituted brave acts of political subversion and contestation. These women were instrumental to the survival of the anti-Republican community and the creation of safe spaces in which to imagine a national Catholic future. Women assumed the material, affective and spiritual burden of preserving Clandestine Madrid alive in body and soul:

"Auxilio Azul …provided spiritual aid, sustained the Spanish spirit (*la tensión española)*…prayed and united together in God's will, provided Christian burials for the assassinated…organized clandestine and make-shift Chapels, organised safe spaces for the performance of mass, baptism, marriage,

[233] Borrás (1965) *Seis Mil*, pp. 73-74.
[234] Koonz, Claudia (1998), *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York), p. 3.

communion…raised funds and worked tirelessly…and provided examples of fortitude, courage and trust in God and love of Spain..."[235]

The origins of Auxilio Azul within the pre-war Sección Femenina

Until 18 July 1936 the Falange Party was a small and insignificant fascist party which came into being within the context of a specific 'European culture of violent politics' during the inter-war period.[236] In February 1936 it only had around 1,040 male members and 63 Sección Femenina members in the capital and around 9,000 Falangist supporters throughout Spain.[237] During the Popular Front elections of 16 February 1936 the Falange managed to attract a mere 0.7% of the popular vote in all Spain (i.e. 44,000 votes) and 1.2% of the votes in Madrid (i.e. 4,995 votes).[238] However, after the Popular Front victory its membership grew significantly and new members were drawn from the ranks of the disaffected from the Alfonsine monarchist Renovación Española (RE), [239] the Catholic Confederación Española de Derechas Autonomas (CEDA) and Juventudes de Acción Popular (JAP).[240] The Falange's violent rhetoric and utopian fascism appealed to the young,

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[235] Borrás, (1965) *Seis Mil*, pp. 73-74.
[236] Bloxham, D and Gerwarth, R. (eds.) (2001) *Political Violence in Twentieth Century Europe* (Oxford: OUP), p. 154-5.
[237] Source: Payne, Stanley (1999), *Fascism in Spain, 1923-1977,* (Wisconsin: WUP), p. 164.
[238] Source: Payne, (1999), *Fascism in Spain,* p.183.
[239] See for example, Expte. 205, *contra* María Dolores Mazón Sanz *por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 112, Exp. 16, Imagen 15/35. Trial relating to 17-year-old student who had been a member of Renovación Española (RE) and also the Falange which resulted in her arrest on 6 August 1936. She was sentenced to 1 year in a work camp together with a suspension of all civil and political rights for a period of 3 years. The monarchists and Catholic parties shared members, see for example, *Expte 11 contra Josefa Sánchez Sánchez por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 163, Exp 4 and Expte. 510, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,221, Exp. 7. A 38-year-old single woman was found to have been a former member of Acción Popular and Renovación Española but had joined the Falange de las JONS party. She was imprisoned during the war in a labour camp for 4 years for illegal possession of weapons, namely an Astra 6,35 mm pistol and a Saqueta rifle.
[240] The youth wing of the Catholic Popular Action Party.

students, poor white-collar workers and also to a small constituency of blue collar workers.[241] At least half of the total Falangist following in Madrid came from university or secondary level students.[242] From the outset, the Falange also appealed to young middle-class and lower-middle class women who gained a measure of political visibility within this fascist and youth-orientated movement. These women were all Catholics of varying degrees of confessionalism and piety. Modern fascism was readily interiorised and willingly reproduced by them "because fascist gender ideals resonated with traditional authoritarian Catholic values and gender norms."[243]

Despite the standard representations (by men) of women like Pilar Primo de Rivera as being 'modest…agreeably timid and having a childlike voice,'[244] the earliest female members of the Falange were committed activists who willingly embraced the undemocratic rhetoric and the culture of violence of the Falange. Pilar was implicated in the assassination of the socialist youth member Juanita Rico in in June 1934.[245] It was rumoured that she and another woman were in Antonio Ansaldo's car at the time of the attack.[246] During a

[241] Victoria López Jimeno Expte. 263, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 237, EXP.22, a factory worker aged 17 years, was arrested in February 1937 having been denounced by a co-worker for having 'Falangist friends' and owning a signed photograph of José Antonio Primo de Rivera.
[242] Source: Payne (1999), *Fascism in Spain,* p. 164.
[243] Gallego (1983) *Mujer,* p.188. See also Sánchez López, Rosario, *Mujer española: Una sombra de destino en lo Universal (trayectoria histórica de Sección Femenina de Falange, 1934-1977*) and Cenarro, Ángela "Trabajo, maternidad y femeninidad en las mujeres del fascismo español" in Ana Aguado and Teresa Ma. Ortega (eds.) (2011) "*Feminismos y antifeminismos, culturas, políticas e dentitdades de genero en la España del Siglo XX* (Valencia: PUV), pp. 229-252 at p.229.
[244] Author's description of Pilar Primo de Rivera upon their first meeting in 1935, see Ridruejo, Dionisio (1976) *Casí unas memorias* (Barcelona: Planeta) pp. 52.
[245] Primo de Rivera, Pilar (1983) *Recuerdos,* p. 70-1.
[246] However, the contemporary newspaper reports do not identify any of the Falangists, see Melchor Rodríguez in *La Tierra,* 22 June 1934, see also *Mundo Gráfico* 27 June 1934 and *Heraldo de Madrid* dated 25 June 1934 which refers to *"Señoritos desconocidos."* Source:

meeting in May 1935 at the home of the socialite Marichu de la Mora,[247] José Antonio made it clear that violent action was necessary in order to further the Falange's political aims. After the February 1936 general elections, the Falange stepped up its campaign to destabilize the government. It participated in violent street clashes against Federación Universitaria Escolar (FUE) members,[248] the Juventudes Socialistas (Socialist Youth) and communist and anarchist militias on the university campus, working class areas and in the Casa de Campo. Street clashes were provoked by Falangist propagandists who invaded popular spaces such as the Plaza del Sol or the working-class Cuatro Caminos district in order to sell provocative and banned publications including *¡Arriba!* and *¡No importa!* There were at least 444 political killings across Spain including some sixty-nine mortalities in Madrid between 16 February and 17 July 1936.[249] The sectarian violence and tit-for-tat reprisals hastened the military rising on 17 July.[250]

While women were denied official membership of the Falange party because of its use of paramilitary violence, this stance could not be adopted with regard to the Falangist student union (SEU) [251] because in professional terms it made no sense to deny university women membership. Women could join the party via the 'back-door' of student membership.

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anonymous article in htttp//www. agenteprovocador.es [La Felguera Editores: Madrid] [Last accessed 27 November 2017.]

[247] Ridruejo (1976) *Casí unas memorias,* pp. 51.

[248] A Republican student union. Founded in 1926 as a rival secular body to the Association of Catholic Students (*Asociación de Estudiantes Católicos*). It was a protest group against the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and during the Second Republic against Alfonso XIII's monarchy.

[249] Source: Ruiz (2012) *El Terror,* p.38.

[250] Lannon, Frances (2014) *The Spanish Civil War: 1936-1939* (London: Osprey) ebook, Loc 387 of 1536.

[251] *Sindicato Español Universitario,* the first Falangist student syndicate whose leader was Manuel Valdés Larrañaga (an architecture student and National Spanish 100 metres swimmer).

Consequently, Pilar Primo de Rivera (aged 29 years and training to be a nurse) and a small group of non-university women decided to enrol in early 1934. They became "official and active militants within the ranks of the Falange."[252] A few of these women also joined the Falange's para-military militias or 'shock troops' which were led by Agustín Aznar Gerner.[253] The law student Mercedes Fórmica joined the SEU in 1935 and became a senior delegate. The SEU was formed a few days after the Falange's inaugural meeting on 29 October 1933 and it was "dedicated to the mobilisation of civilian 'services' and violent street confrontations."[254] The male leaders were David Jato Miranda, Matías Montero, Alejandro Allánegui and Manuel Valdés Larrañaga.[255] The latter became the leader of the Clandestine Falange in Madrid in 1937. Fórmica recalled that she and other students were motivated to join the SEU because "José Antonio signified the possibility of devising new solutions that were capable of resolving the grave social problems and provided an alternative to Marxism."[256] From the start, José Antonio counted on female university students and nominated them for responsible roles. Fórmica used legalistic arguments in order to 'legitimise' Falangist violence as a form of 'self-defence':

[252] Jato, David (1953), *La Rebelión de los estudiantes* (*Apuntes para una historia alegre del S.E.U*) (Madrid: Talleres Gráficos Cíes), p.94.
[253] See Tavera García, Susanna (2011) "Las mujeres de la Sección Falange: Una afirmación entre el activismo político y la sumisión patriarcal, 1934-1939" in Ana Aguado and Teresa Ma. Ortega (eds) (2011) "*Feminismos y antifeminismos, culturas, políticas e identitdades de genero en las España del Siglo XX* (Valencia: PUV) pp. 207-228, at p. 217.
[254] Gil Pecharromán (2003) *José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Retrato de un visionario* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy), p. 217.
[255] Jato (1953), *La Rebelión*, p.11.
[256] Fórmica, Mercedes (2013) *Memorias, visto y vivido, escucho el silencio (1931-1947)*, (Sevilla: Renacimiento), p. 151.

"The 'dialectic of pistols' pre-supposed a previous dialogue, one initiated by those who had first used these [violent] means. It wasn't based on the medieval dialectic of 'an eye for an eye', rather on the logical response of a person who knows themselves to be under attack….[257]

In June 1934 women's activism was re-directed by the male cadres into a new women's section named the Sección Femenina where female affiliates were assigned new gender-specific welfare-aid roles in order to attend to an increasing number of political prisoners. Nonetheless, Falangist women 'achieved a visibility within the party which was denied to their CEDA and Traditionalist counterparts; they not only sewed the blue shirts of their male comrades but they also wore them. '[258] Despite the Falange's efforts to impose domestic exile upon women,[259] the women of the Falange were the first to form underground networks after the outlawing of the Falange on 14 March 1936 and to mobilise anti-Republican resistance after 18 July 1936.

Pilar Primo de Rivera's accounts of women's activism immediately before the war [260] contest "the prevailing Falangist discourses that consigned women to a subaltern and secondary role."[261] Falangist women were complicit in sectarian violence and played important and active roles within the Falange. While Pilar emphasised women's "natural acceptance of a life of submission, service, self-abnegation to a task."[262] Falangist women

[257] Fórmica (2013), *Memorias*, p. 180.
[258] Vincent, Mary, "Chapter 12, Spain" in Passmore, Kevin (ed.) (2003) *Women Gender and Fascism in Europe 1919-1945* (Manchester: MUP), pp. 189-213 at p.209.
[259] Tavera García, "Las mujeres de la Sección Falange" pp. 207-228 at p.211.
[260] *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "Capitulo II-La Propaganda",* (typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid, p.29.
[261] Monica Orduña Prada (1996), *El Auxilio Social,* (1936-40) *La etapa fundacional y los primeros años,* (Madrid: Escuela Libre Editorial), p. 33.
[262] *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "Las Visitas a la cárcel de Madrid,"* (typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid, p.27.

were also portrayed as 'militants' who participated in political protests. They 'joyfully' undertook dangerous and subversive activities. [263]

Before March 1936 Falangist women were highly visible in the public space. A significant minority were hard-line militants who "provoked riots that evoked the surprise and admiration of comrades."[264] María Paz Martínez Unciti sold Falangist stamps and soaps, edited newspapers and composed songs (*octavillas*) and disseminated copies of *La Conquista del Estado, Arriba and F.E. (Falange Española)*.[265] Although Falangist propaganda was prohibited, women handed out leaflets alongside the Falangist militias. Flouting the orders of the police, Dirección General de Seguridad (DGS), the women of the Sección Femenina spread Falangist propaganda everywhere on trams, in the metro, on shop displays, in cafés and cinemas:

"Women were also useful vehicles for the dissemination of national-syndicalist ideas, given that at this time they still aroused less suspicion among the police than the men of the Movement. And so, with that characteristic joyfulness (*alegría*) with which everything was done in the Falange, extra stamps and propaganda were ordered from the girls (*chicas*) so that they could distribute it and paste it absolutely everywhere…Sometimes we marked the walls with red lipstick, so that the message showed up bright and red, at other times clandestine propaganda leaflets and membership stamps (*sellos de cotización)* suddenly appeared under the plates in some bar where the girls had had a drink, or they posted leaflets into the post boxes like letters so that the post men would find and read them, and one day the national syndicalist women even stuck Falangist membership stamps at the Home Office" [266]

[263] The adjective 'joyful' (*alegre*) used in conjuction with Falangist activities/duties is a key feature of José Antonio's militant rhetoric.
[264] Gallego (1983) *Mujer,* p.41.
[265] Borrás (1965) *Seis Mil,* p 5.
[266] *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "La Ante Guerra,"* (typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid, pp.18-19.

The female activists engaged in a dangerous political game and 'such was the enthusiasm for this type of street sport' that, instead of getting together after work for tea or to go to the cinema as they might have done only two years before, 'our comrades' (*camaradas*) would meet in the City centre in order to go out in pairs in order to stick stamps in every corner and throw their provocative pamphlets onto construction sites so that the workers would find them and finally understand that the Falange wasn't their enemy as alleged by their leaders.[267]

"The police threats were absolutely useless, as were the constant house searches which were ordered by the DGS so that that the women of the Falange would stop hiding Falangist propaganda in their homes…" [268]

Sexual difference may be interpreted as a series of culturally and historically constructed meanings expressed through specific embodied acts or performances.[269] Lipstick as a gender-signifier channelled new constructions of the 'new modern woman.' Falangist women used red lipstick in order to leave distinctive feminine traces in the Republican public space. The use of lipstick represented a subversive visual play on ideas surrounding femininity and political agency. The lipstick slogans were a type of visual pun which both 'made-up the feminine' and 'marked' the public space with women's new political presence. This lipstick graffiti represented a distinctive, playful and subversive cultural practice.

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[267] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, "La Ante Guerra",* pp.18-19.
[268] *Historia de la Sección Femenina*, "*La Ante Guerra,"* pp.18-19.
[269] Butler, Judith (2010) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Oxford: Routledge). 'Normative gender presumptions delimit the field of description that we have for the human' at p. xxiii.

Fascist women staked their place in the public space by leaving provocative 'feminine' traces.

Prior to the war Falangist women's activism was taken less seriously by the Republican authorities. In the months after 16 February 1936 only sixteen Falangist women were imprisoned throughout Spain and this figure was low in comparison with the male detentions.[270] While the Sección Femenina confected blue shirts, bracelets, banners, flags and other Falangist regalia, they also cached weapons and performed gun running operations.[271] Women were also actively involved in the creation and dissemination of anti-Republican propaganda across the capital and the Republican police frequently raided the offices of the Falangist press.[272] These women raised funds and distributed money, food, clothing to the political prisoners and their families despite the escalating political polarisation and an increasing atmosphere of political violence. According to the Falangists, over one hundred male members of the Falange were killed prior to 18 July 1936.[273] Between 16 February and 18 July 1936 269 individuals were killed and 1,287 were gravely injured pursuant to sectarian violence in Madrid. The offices of ten newspapers were razed. 146 bombs were detonated and 251 churches attacked.[274] While the official post-war

[270] Source: Cervera (1998), p. 266

[271] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Luisa Lagunés Torres, Document 253, ANA, Carpeta B-12, RAH, Madrid. See also, Testimony of Carlota Narcisa González de Usqueta, Document 196, ANA, Carpeta B-12, RAH, Madrid.

[272] Source: Jato, David, (1953), *La Rebelión de los Estudiantes* (*Apuntes para una historia alegre del* SEU) (Madrid: Talleres Gráficos Cíes), p.68. The SEU student Francisco de Paula Sampol was killed while reading the second edition of *F.E.* in calle de Álcala.

[273] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, "La Ante Guerra,"* p.81.

[274] Source: Jato, David, (1953), *La Rebelión*, p.231.

Falangist discourses foreground women's auxiliary and secondary role within the Falange,[275] it is evident that the experiences of individual Falangist women as embodied subjects subverted these discourses. Despite the passive and submissive constructions of women in the official Falangist discourses, in practice the Falange cadres accepted women as an integral part of their liaison, fundraising and propaganda activities. The Falange consciously exploited the traditional gender stereotypes surrounding women's perceived conformist and apolitical nature and entrusted women with risky and illegal activities including weapons caching and gun-running. Both before and after 18 July 1936 Falangist women hid political fugitives from the Republican authorities.[276]

Despite the Falange party's 'neo-traditional' gender ideology the Falangist cadres accommodated female activism: "Women were a good medium through which to promote National-Syndicalist ideas, as at this time women did not arouse as much police suspicion as men."[277] Conventional gender boundaries were blurred. Mercedes Fórmica recalled that José Antonio welcomed female involvement in SEU militancy and appointed women into leadership roles.[278] Falangist women were political agents in their own right from the very start. They used active and effective resistance strategies in order to contest and subvert the authority of the Republican government both prior to and during the war. Carmen Díaz

[275] Vincent, Mary, (2002) Ch. 8 "*Camisas Nuevas:* Style and Uniformity in the Falange Espanola 1933-43" in *Fashioning the Body Politic, Dress, Gender, Citizenship,* (Wendy Parkins ed.), (Oxford: Berg), p.172.
[276] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Asunción Escondrillas Gil, Document 187, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. María hid Corporal Emeterio de la Fuente after the fall of the Montaña Barracks on 20 July. See also, *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Josefa Fernández [Florales], Document 191, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid, who also safe-housed an artillery captain who had defected from the Republican army.
[277] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, "La Ante Guerra*," p.18.
[278]Fórmica (2013) *Memorias,* p. 151.

Roca distributed Falangist propaganda and dared to put up a monarchist flag in a local Casa de Pueblo.[279] Marcelina Mateos was arrested on 22 July 1936 and accused of "complicity in the death of [Republican Assault Guard] Lieutenant Castillo." After her release from custody she "continued to work even harder than before on behalf of the glorious National Syndicalist Movement."[280] Dolores Amador went into hiding for 5 months after 18 July 1936 because she was involved in the creation and dissemination of Falangist propaganda prior to the 16 February 1936 general elections.[281] Ana María Rizzo y Goñi, was a Falangist activist and propagandists who worked closely with José Antonio on propaganda for the 1936 general elections campaign.[282]

"During the heady days between February and July 1936 women aided and abetted male violence."[283] Falangist women not only raised funds and disseminated propaganda they were also willing accessories to illegal and violent political practices. While women were officially discouraged from participation in the violent street clashes, they were involved in the planning and logistics and a few learned how to handle fire-arms during illicit target practices in the Casa de Campo. A few were directly involved in the violence. The SEU activist María Laura Colmeiro was mortally 'wounded in action' before the war and her

[279] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Carmen Díaz Roca, Document 261, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. During this war she was imprisoned in the Checa Marqués de Riscal and was transferred to Conde Toreno, San Rafael, Ventas, Alacuas Muchamiel (Alicante) and finally the Provincial Prison (Alicante) until 29 March 1939.
[280] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Marcelina Mateos Mateos, Document 179, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[281] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Dolores Amador López, Document 189, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[282] *Asesoría Jurídica,* testimony of Ana María Rizzo y Goñi dated 29 September 1939, Document 248, ANA, Serie Azul, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[283] Vincent (2002) "*Camisas Nuevas,* p.172.

dying wish was for a "blue shirt from Pilar Primo de Rivera so that she might die wearing the Falangist uniform."[284] The sisters Carmen, Matilde and Ángela Soria were members of Acción Católica who later became members of the Sección Femenina in 1935 and were "involved in the political upheavals and attended various meetings …from which they always returned with unkempt hair and torn clothing."[285] Falangist women also smuggled weapons by concealing guns in their coats and inside their boots and provided *alibis* for the gunmen. [286] During the war women smuggled arms into the embassies including the Finnish and Turkish Embassies.[287] These women risked their lives in order to "safe-house Falangists, weapons and documents."[288] María Luisa Lagunés was a prominent (*destacada*) liaison agent who visited the Falangist leaders in the Model prison and had co-ordinated intensive propaganda campaigns before the war. After 18 July 1936, she was arrested by the Republican Security Services, the Servicios de Información Militar (SIM), on several occasions. After obtaining asylum at the Paraguayan embassy she continued to perform resistance activities including smuggling weapons into the Turkish embassy and physically assaulting a Republican lieutenant in order to steal his identification documents.[289] These young Falangist women were committed and fearless activists who smuggled guns in their '*Katiusa*' boots.'[290]

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[284]Jato (1953), *La Rebelión*, p.289.
[285] SF report re Carmen, Matilde, Ángela Soria Viejo, Doc. 21, *Recompensas (Asesoría Juridica), Historiales de Camaradas Caidas,* ANA, Carpeta B-18, RAH, Madrid.
[286] *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "Capitulo II-La Propaganda",* (typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid, p.29.
[287] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Luisa Lagunés Torres dated 16 August 1939, Document 253, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[288] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Ana Rizzo y Goñi, Document 248, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid, p.21.
[289] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Luisa Lagunés Torres dated 16 August 1939, Document 253, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid
[290] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, "Capitulo II-La Propaganda,"* p.29.

On 14 March 1936 José Antonio Primo de Rivera and other Supreme Junta leaders were arrested and accused of the attempted assassination of the Republican politician Luis Jiménez de Asua. The party was outlawed and the male leaders were imprisoned. The Falangist leadership was effectively beheaded and the only Falange sector that was left relatively intact was the Sección Femenina although 'even the women were hunted by the police and menaced by communist death threats.'[291] This situation created a new space for women to exercise political agency and perform important roles within the organisation. Elena Rodríguez was tasked with safe-guarding the Falange's membership records.[292] In so doing she was able to save many Falangist lives during the period of extra-judicial terror. The Sección Femenina immediately mobilised a series of underground liaison and welfare-aid networks. Pilar Primo de Rivera conducted clandestine meetings in the Prado Museum's Velázquez room from where orders were issued. The Sección Femenina provided a vital link between the Junta de Mando (Junta) leaders and the members who remained at liberty on the ground.

After José Antonio's transfer from the Model Prison in Madrid to Alicante on 5 June 1936, his aunt "Tia Ma, Carmen and Margot Primo de Rivera served as liaison agents (*enlaces*) and one day they were chased under gun fire while taking a message from José Antonio to a nearby village."[293]Margarita Larios (Margot), the wife of Miguel Primo de Rivera, visited her

[291] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, "Capitulo V - Ultimos Tiempos,*" p.79.
[292] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Elena Rodríguez Mazaira, Document 263, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[293] Primo de Rivera (1983), *Recuerdos*, p. 70. These three women were later arrested and incarcerated in Alicante's Adult Reformatory on 1 August 1936, p.77.

husband and José Antonio twice daily in Alicante prison. Margot was accused of military rebellion for passing messages and contraband into the prison and "for organising secret Falangist meetings at her home where orders and instructions would be given to the leaders."[294] Contact with the prisoners was facilitated by a prison guard who had been ordered by the director of Alicante prison to turn a blind eye on the illegal activities of Margot, Agustín Aznar and other leaders who regularly visited José Antonio in the Alicante prison. With the collusion of the prison guards and officials it was possible to smuggle messages, wine and even a gun into Alicante prison. The popular balladist 'La Goya,' (wife of Tomás Borrás) was also a go-between (*enlace y recadera*) for José Antonio while he was imprisoned in Alicante during the war.[295]

Prior to 18 July 1936 Falangist women played key roles in the passing of information between José Antonio and the other Falangist leaders in relation to the rebel conspiracy. Women were also entrusted with passing coded letters from José Antonio to Franco and the other generals. The letters passed the prison censorship controls "because they looked innocuous as they were handwritten by women in different coloured inks."[296]

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[294] Testimonios de fé del Físcal Secretario relativos a las declaraciones, propuestas de pruebas, acusación de Fiscal y defensa de José Antonio Primo de Rivera en el juicio instruido por el Tribunal Popular de Alicante contra José Antonio y Miguel Primo de Rivera y Margarita Larios Fernández por Rebelión militar, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL< 1501, Exp 14. See testimony of Margarita Larios [undated] Imágenes 34-35/195.

[295] See article "Ha Muerto Tomás Borrás," *El Pais* dated 28 August 1976 http://elpais.com [Last accessed on 17 May 2017]. See also article "La Cupletista Bilbaina Aurora Jauffret (1891-1950)" dated 9 December 2014 on http://elcorreo.com [Last accessed on 17 May 2017].

[296] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, "Capitulo II – La Propaganda*," p.20.

Auxilio Azul

According to Pilar Primo de Rivera a small number of committed Sección Femenina members formed Auxilio Azul in Madrid between July and August of 1936.[297] These members included María Paz Martínez Unciti and her older sister Pilar who was also a Falangist. María Paz was a former SEU student activist and a personal friend of José Antonio. The organisation initially provided safe-houses for political fugitives.[298] It also provided child-care, cooking, laundering, medication and food for fugitives, prisoners and their families. These 'services' represented a continuation of the clandestine welfare-aid services performed by the Sección Femenina after the outlawing of the party. However, Auxilio Azul is almost exclusively remembered for its role in arranging escape-lines and obtaining asylum for anti-Republicans within Madrid's foreign embassies during the first months of the war.[299] In addition to providing welfare-aid to 'needy persons' the members were also involved in treasonous and illegal activities. They acted as prison liaison agents, [300] smuggled arms[301] and cached weapons[302]and explosives. They also hid fugitives and military

[297] Primo de Rivera (1983), *Recuerdos*, p. 76.
[298] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Asunción Escondrillas Gil, Document 187, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. See also, *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Josefa Fernández Forarez, Document 191, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid, who also safe-housed an artillery captain who had deserted the Republican army.
[299] Passmore, Kevin (ed.) (2003) *Women Gender and Fascism in Europe* (Manchester: MUP), p.210.
[300] See for example, *Expte. 1697 instruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Adhesión y Auxilio a la Rebelión,* Imágenes 1/1733. This case relates to twenty two persons (including two prison guards and 8 women) who were arrested in August 1937 for illegal activities including passing information and contraband into and out of Porlier prison.
[301] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Carlota Narcisa González [1939], Document 196, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. This woman was arrested when she attempted to smuggle fire-arms into the Finnish Embassy. See also, *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Luisa Lagunés Torres, Document 253, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[302] *Expte. 510 instruida contra* Josefa Sánchez Sánchez *por tenencia ilicita de armas*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,221, Exp. 7. A former member of AP, RE and JONS aged 38 years, sales

deserters, [303] devised escape-lines and obtained false ration cards and identity documentation.[304] Others helped conscripts to evade their front-line duties and "ensured that disaffected soldiers were assigned military posts where they could perform acts of sabotage against the reds."[305] Some infiltrated military hospitals as nurses in order to aid the escape of patients and "save them from the firing squad."[306] These women disseminated defeatist anti-Republican propaganda including Nationalist war reports[307] and communiqués.[308] A few managed to infiltrate Republican civil and military institutions and received their orders directly from the Nationalist Intelligence and Military Police Services (SIPM). Others liaised with the Red Cross in order to obtain food, condensed-milk and other supplies using false vouchers (*vales falsos*).[309] They infiltrated the SIM and other Republican organisations and institutions as administrative assistants, secretaries, office workers and nurses.

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woman, sentenced on 1 June 1937 to 4 years in a labour camp for illegal possession of an Astra Pistol 6,35 mm and a Saraqueta Rifle.

[303] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Lemus González Campusano dated 27 October 1939, Document 254, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Also see, Testimonies of Ángelita Blanco de Castro dated 2 October 1939, Document 144, ANA, Carpeta B 12 and Rosalia Manrique Núñez dated 23 September 1939, Document 145, ANA, Carpeta B 12.

[304] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Milagros Encuentros Buisan dated 27 September 1939, Document 287, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid and *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Lemus González Campusano dated 27 October 1939, Document 254, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid and *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Teresa González de la Puente dated 15 September 1939, Document 166, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

[305] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rosa Sainz de los Terreros Llavador dated [20 September 1939] Document 185, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

[306] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rosalia Manriquez Núñez dated 23 September 1939, Document 145, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

[307] *See Expte. 23 instruida contra María Redondo Piquenque por el delito de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 235, Exp.4. *imágenes* 10-21/73.

[308] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Palmira Miguel Marco dated 20 September 1939, Document 148, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

[309] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María del Carmen Carnicero Espino dated [September 1939], Document 239, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. See also María Eulalia Gómez del Valle Testimony dated 1939, Document 180, ANA, Carpeta B 12.

The founder members were 'old shirts' or the relatives and intimates of male Falangist activists. Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez became the Secretary General in 1937. She had joined the Falange in June 1936 and efforts to re-establish contact with Falangists after the coup resulted in her imprisonment in the Checa de Fomento in September 1936. De Castro's brother was imprisoned in Porlier and killed during an illegal prison *saca* in Paracuellos del Jarama.[310] María González Tablas y Mendizábal had been a Falangist activist since March 1934, she was imprisoned in the Checa de Bellas Artes in late 1936 because her name appeared in a centralised register of anti-Republicans (*Control de Nominas*) held at the DGS head office.[311] Melchora Gutiérrez Monje was arrested by a CPIP brigade on 4 September 1936 and held in Fomento on account of her activism in the Falange.[312]

After 18 July 1936, the public and the authorities became more aware of the specific threat posed by Falangist women; around fifty-nine female activists were killed in the Republican-held zones[313] and a further 1,500 anti-Republican women were imprisoned in Madrid. Pilar was surprised by the coup in Madrid. She was forced into hiding with Marichu de la Mora, Inés and Dolores Primo de Rivera and her friend Dora Maqueda. She made questionable

[310] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez dated 6 November 1939, Document 143, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[311] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Teresa González Tablas y Mendizábal dated 6 October 1939, Document 233, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Sub-leader of Group AY2.
[312] Expte. 364, FC-CAUSA-GENERAL,115, Exp.29, *por delito/s de Espionaje.*
[313] [Primo de Rivera, Pilar?] (1951), "Relación oficial de afiliadas de la *Sección Femenina de la FET y de las JONS caídas en acto de servicio*," *FET y de las JONS: La Sección Femenina – Historia y organización,* (Madrid: n.p.), pp. 21-22; copy held in ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid.

efforts to disguise herself by dyeing her hair blonde,[314] and was safe-housed in a series of houses until María Paz Martínez Unciti organised her asylum at the Argentinian embassy in late July 1936.[315] José María Jardon obtained a false Argentine Passport for Pilar in early August which enabled her to travel to Alicante with her cousin Dolores, the girlfriend of Augustin Aznar, and her sister-in-law Rosario, the wife of Fernando Primo de Rivera. Once in Alicante the women boarded the *Graf Spee* (a German patrol ship) bound for Seville in late August 1936 where they laundered the crew's clothing in 'recompense for their salvation.' Upon arrival in Seville Pilar contacted the leaders of Seville's Sección Femenina*;* Carmen Azancot, Syra Manteola, Amelia Medina and Mercedes Fórmica. After a short stay in Seville, Pilar established a Head Office in Salamanca and by January 1937 she claimed that the organisation had already recruited as many as 60,000 women in the rebel zone.[316]

After Pilar's dramatic escape from Madrid, María Paz became the leader until she was arrested by communist militias during a failed attempt to smuggle Emilio Franco (an 18 year old SEU activist) into the Finnish Embassy on 31 October 1936.[317] María Paz was arrested and taken to the Checa de Fomento from where she was removed and extra-judicially executed during the early hours of 1 November in wasteland area outside Vallecas.[318]

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[314] The choice of blonde (Hollywood film star) hair may have drawn more attention to the fugitive Pilar. Instead of highlighting the pious, subaltern and meek character traits for which she subsequently became known, this 'high femme' blonde transformation underscores an element of risk-taking and transgressive gender performativity which is seldom revealed in Pilar Primo de Rivera's memory texts or those of friends and acquaintances like Dionisio de Ridruejo.

[315] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror*, p. 231.

[316] Primo de Rivera, Pilar [c.1942] "Principales obligaciones que la jefes deben inculcar en las camaradas*"* in *Discursos, Circulares, Escritos* (Madrid: Gráficas Afrodísio S.A.), p.102.

[317] Jato (1953), *La Rebelión*, p.283.

[318] *Sección Femenina* internal report on María Paz Martínez Unciti, Doc. 20, *Recompensas (Asesoría Jurídica), Historiales de camaradas caídas,* ANA, Carpeta B-18, RAH, Madrid.

Thereafter, her elder sister Carina Martínez Unciti aged 24 years became the leader for the duration of the war. Carina claimed that the organisation had helped to save the lives of many prominent anti-Republicans including General Millan Astray's mother, the Catholic Action leader Teresa Luzzati and several Falangist leaders including Raimundo Fernández Cuesta and Manuel Valdés Larrañaga.[319] Carina was a devout Catholic with no prior political affiliations or background in activism. She renamed the organisation "La Hermandad de Auxilio Azul – María Paz Martínez Unciti" in memory of her younger sister. This name change brought with it a shift in the organisation's ideology which moved from the fascist Falangist model to a more traditionalist Catholic framework of core-ideas, values and beliefs. This new 'Sisterhood' began to attract a larger following. After November 1936 membership rose dramatically from within a wider constituency of Catholic and anti-Republican women which included former CEDA and Traditionalist communion members. However, the majority had no prior political affiliations before the war. María del Carmen López Mancisidor testified that she had helped to compile comprehensive membership lists under the direction of her Leader Emilia Martí Melguizo.[320] However, I was unable to locate any comprehensive membership records, although these may still be preserved in a private family archive.[321]

[319] Carina Martínez Unciti, *ABC* (Madrid) 18 July 1961, p.56.
[320] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María del Carmen López Mancisidor Solano dated 6 October 1939, Document 201, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[321] Barrachina, Marie Aline (2007) "La section féminine et ses paradoxes (1934-1977) in Marie Aline Barrachina, Danièle Bussy Genevois and Mercedes Yusta (eds.), *Femmes et Democratie, les Espagnoles dans l'éspace public (1868-1978),* (Paris: Éditions du Temps) at p.147.

This secret organisation was the most efficient and well-organized of all the fifth column networks in Madrid during the war. [322]In April 1937 it fell under the nominal control of the Clandestine Falange and maintained regular contact with Manuel Valdés Larrañaga, the leader of the Clandestine Falange, and with a few Clandestine Falange groups.[323] It grew rapidly during 1937 and came to be organised into 37 separate networks or divisions which were called 'Connections' which, towards the end of the war, came to incorporate around 165 members each.[324] Welfare-aid networks were established within the predominantly upper middle-class districts of Buenavista and Salamanca.[325] Also in Comercio, Hospicio, and Chamberí. Support grew steadily within familial, associational, confessional, professional and friendship networks. Members were united by their Catholic faith and their anti-Republicanism. By February 1937 Auxilio Azul had grown into an extensive clandestine network which was made up of hundreds of members who came from a variety of Catholic, political and social backgrounds including nurses, house-wives, domestic, factory workers and actresses.[326] The members were proactive and effective in their recruitment efforts. In 1938 a member of Auxilio Azul who was resident in the Buenavista district claimed to have "recruited as many as seventy new members."[327] Dolores Núñez provided food for

[322] Cervera (1998), *Madrid*, p.287.
[323] Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* p.265.
[324] Source: Borrás (1965) *Seis Mil,* p.67.
[325] These upper-middle and middle-class districts were spared the Nationalist bombings throughout the war. They also accommodated the foreign embassies and experienced a huge increase in the number of inhabitants at this time due to the influx of refugees and evacuees whose homes had been destroyed during air-raids.
[326] Including Anita Marcos de la Escosura, Tarsila Criado, Fifi Morano, Juliá Delgado Caro and Paso Andrés. Marcos was involved in the Checa Services. Source: Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil,* p. 154. We should recall that Borrás' wife was a liaison agent and a popular ballad singer.
[327] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ángela Ibáñez Calvo dated 9 October, Document 225, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

members and medicines for 'needy' anti-Republicans on a regular basis.[328] Clandestine membership bestowed a sense of mission, higher purpose and belonging during a moment of extreme danger and uncertainty. A careful selection and vetting procedure evolved in order to ensure security. Membership was strictly by invitation only: "in February 1938, I was asked by my good friend Rafaela de Castro [the General Secretary] who was an 'old shirt,' to work alongside her for the good of the National Movement."[329]

The members described their resistance as part of a divine and redemptive plan or "*Magna obra*" (Magnum Opus).[330] Most of the collaborators were unaware that they formed part of an extensive and illegal network. The strict membership rules ensured secrecy and security. The members were only allowed to recruit trustworthy friends, relatives or close acquaintances ('*personas de confianza*'). Prospective members were required to demonstrate evidence of devout Catholicism and a genuine religious conviction. Strangers were treated with suspicion as potential informants and unsolicited membership requests were rejected as a matter of course.

As the network rapidly expanded over the course of 1937 the selection process became more formal. A sub-group leader might invite a friend to collaborate on a specific project, for example, by making clothes for prisoners, visiting them and giving them parcels. The candidates were then invited to an informal initiation meeting (*tertulia*) at the leader's

[328] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Dolores Núñez Fagoago dated 9 September 1939, Document 156, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[329] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Pilar Ortega Iturria, Document 160 dated 8 September 1939, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[330] Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil, p.* 70.

home where the essential aims and ideals of the Work (*el espíritu de la Obra*) was explained. The candidate's reactions and responses were closely monitored. The political convictions and the loyalty of prospective members would be established during this meeting. The principal criterion for selection and the chief guarantee of loyalty was whether the candidate was a practising Catholic. Suitable candidates were subjected to a period of surveillance. Auxilio Azul managed to successfully infiltrate two women within the Republican SIM who were able to perform background security checks on prospective candidates using information which was held in the *Control de Nominas*. This may explain why the network was never dismantled, although individual members were sometimes arrested for disaffection. It was also able to warn members of the Clandestine Falange (see Ch. III) of forthcoming house searches and arrests. One woman was embedded in the SIM's 'arrest and detentions department' and the other within the records department. Both were Group Leaders code-named "J" and "L" respectively. "L" was María Felisa Parés.[331] The main task of these two agents was to expose Republican informants who were infiltrated within the fifth column. Agent J (Emilia Martín Melguizo) was also the Group leader of AA[332] (a detailed description of the structure of the group and the use of alphabetical code names is provided in Ch. II below). Agent J also received intelligence from a communist named Enriqueta López Moncade.[333] López (aged 24 years) was a committed and influential card-carrying member of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) who lived in Calle Cadarso behind a former Carmelite building which was ransacked during the terror. López was also a former work colleague and friend of Carina. She was able to use her

[331] Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* p. 277.
[332] Cervera (1998) *Madrid,* pp. 131 and 157.
[333] "*Ficha de recomendado, prestar servicio en el Negociado de Trabajos Hídraulicos*. CDMH/10.8.10.14.1728.4.7/PS –Madrid, 1825,3,9,7.

Communist contacts to discover where María Paz was being held after her arrest on 31 October. With López's aid Carina obtained the release of several anti-Republicans including an Infantry commander (who was also an old family friend) from a *Checa* known as the *Troika* that was operated by communist and UGT members. López's networks of influence contributed significantly to Carina's reputation as a reliable safe-house and escape-line co-ordinator. In September 1936 López informed Agent J that the Siam Embassy which was situated in Calle Juan Bravo, 12 was a sham operation that had been established by unscrupulous profiteers who merely wanted to exploit wealthy asylum seekers. Group AA issued warnings that the Siam embassy should be avoided at all costs. Following a tip-off from López, agent J was able to warn the Clandestine Falange that the SIM was planning to raid the fake embassy in December 1936. According to Manuel Valdés Larrañaga (the leader of the Clandestine Falange) these women regularly provided vital intelligence to the Clandestine Falange groups: "One of the girls who was infiltrated within the SIM provided us with the card index (*fichero*) of the [Republican] agents who were infiltrated in Burgos."[334]

In order to ensure safety and anonymity only the seven Junta Leaders and thirty-seven Network Leaders (described below) knew of the true size and extent of the operations. The grass roots 'militants' were only ever informed of the identity of their immediate leader (*Jefa*). New members were assigned a code-name which was known only to the most senior members. Most members were led to believe by their sub-group leaders that they were merely helping friends and relatives as part of a spontaneous and *ad hoc* welfare-aid initiative. Carina's 'cardinal rule' was that assistance should only be given to close friends or

[334] Source: Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* p. 277. Interview between the author and Manual Valdés on 14 November 1994.

family. Even Carina's sister Pilar (who was a Falangist) was allegedly unaware of the true size and nature of the organisation.[335] It was only after the war that friends and acquaintances discovered that they had been involved in the organisation.

Auxilio Azul – Motivations for Mobilisation

While the organisation provided practical and economic assistance, it also offered religious, spiritual and emotional support. Auxilio Azul provided an emotional refuge for anti-Republicans.[336] Like-minded individuals were able to "unite with other victims and do something to avenge their dead."[337] The resistance was conceived as a form of spiritual resistance that provided moral as well as material support.[338]

The earliest women were mobilised into resistance because of their politico-religious convictions and/or personal experiences of repression. They wanted to avenge the Republican injustice and 'do something' for the rebel cause. The nurse Trinidad Palacios Gónzalo lost her husband and a brother during the repression.[339] Her husband, Teófilo Peña Franco, was also a nurse and president of the civil guard committee of Calle Gúzman el Bueno. He was executed by POUM militias in September 1936. Her brother, Brother Rufino

[335] Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil,* p.69.
[336] Reddy, William (2001) *The Navigation of Feeling, A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: CUP) See also Stearns, C & Stearns, P, "Emotionology: Clarifying the history of emotions and emotional standards," *The American Historical Review,* Vol.90, (1985) pp. 813-836.
[337] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Juana Sánchez Aguado dated 9 October 1939, Document 234, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. She claimed that nine members of her family had been 'killed by the reds.'
[338] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Dolores Núñez Fagoago dated 9 September 1939, Document 156, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[339] *Pieza décima de Madrid. Persecución Religiosa, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1557, Exp. Imágenes 363-4/364.*

Palacios Gonzalo, was a member of an Augustinian order who voluntarily gave himself up to the DGS in September 1936. He was imprisoned in Porlier from where he was removed during a *saca* on 18 November 1936 and killed in Paracuellos. Ana María Rizzo Goñi was the daughter of retired army general who had served in the Philippines. She was also a Falangist activist and propagandist who had organised clandestine meetings at her house after March 1936. On the eve of the rebel coup she safe-housed "five Falangists with guns and truncheons who were being hunted by the reds."[340] She was sought by Republican security services because she was listed as a member of the Falange in the Control de Nominas.[341] On the night of 17 July 1936, militias came to her home and fired several shots through the door. She and her 'comrades' were forced to flee the house. Her father was imprisoned as a *desafecto* at the start of the war and her mother, two aunts and her sister Dolores were arrested and interrogated at the Checa de Fomento (the notorious CPIP headquarters). The women, together with several other female friends, were mistreated, deprived of food and sanitation and forced to sleep on the floor of an over-crowded cell. They were threatened during interrogation because they refused to reveal the identity or whereabouts of anti-Republican relatives and friends. Doña Dolores Rizzo Goñi (mother of Ana and Dolores) was found guilty of disaffection and incarcerated in Conde de Toreno prison. Meanwhile, Ana María managed to avoid arrest. After the deaths of several male members of the immediate family, Ana and her sister Lolita (Dolores) were involved in

[340] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ana María Rizzo Goñi dated 29 September 1939, Document 248, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Leader Sub-Group 1-A-P. This testimony is largely corroborated by information provided during an [undated] interview between Tomás Borrás, Ana María and Dolores Rizzo Goñi: See Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil,* pp. 178-183.
[341] The Control de Nóminas was a centralised DGS register that contained the card-indexed names and addresses of members of the outlawed CEDA, Falangist, Traditionalist and Renovación Española parties. The Falange had managed to destroy its official membership files before the war.

"raising funds, sewing, hiding fugitives and organising clandestine masses."[342] Ana María also "recruited a considerable number of comrades into the Falange, especially during the time of the communist revolution."[343]

Denunciations, house searches and citizen's arrests became a feature of everyday life for Madrid's anti Republicans during the first six months of the war. Women like María Emilia Azas Trigueras resorted to burning incriminating religious artefacts, monarchist memorabilia or right-wing propaganda because they were fearful of the regular militia searches.[344] By late October 1936 around 1,500 women were imprisoned in Madrid.[345] For women like Rafaela Castro Gutiérrez[346] and Andrea Pariente Suárez the experience of repeated house searches, arbitrary arrests and the wave of *paseos* and prison *sacas* mobilised them into resistance. [347] Virginia Águeda and her husband were arrested pursuant to a citizen's arrest by their 'denouncer' Justiniano Menoyo Mansilla soon after 18 July 1936. While Virginia was imprisoned in Conde de Toreno, her husband was assassinated.[348] Caridad Muñoz del Valle's son was 'taken for a ride' in November 1936.[349] Carmen García Vallejo was arrested

[342] Source: Interview (undated) between author and Ana and Lolita Rizzo Goñi recorded in Borrás, (1965), p. 178-183 at p.182.
[343] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ana María Rizzo Goñi dated 29 September 1939 Document 248, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[344] Expte. 562 contra *María Emilia Ázas Trigueras por delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,227, EXP.40*,* Imagen 5/24.
[345] Source: Ruiz (2012) *El Terror*, p. 237.
[346] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rafaela Castro Gutiérrez dated 6 November 1939, Document 143, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[347] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Andrea Pariente Suárez dated 9 October 1939, Document 169, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[348] *Checas y Sacas de Cárceles, Testimonio de Secretario de la Pieza No. 4 relativa a Checas…cerca de personas imputados por sus actuaciones en checas y cárceles,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1526, Exp.12, Imagen 2/3.
[349] Expte. 352, *contra varias personas* (including Muñoz del Valle, Caridad), *por delito/s de desafección* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 113, Exp.38

because she 'belonged to a fascist family' and was in possession of two military uniforms. García's father was a First Infantry Commander, and her brother was 'a dangerous element' who was killed on 31 October, 1936.[350] Many victims of the repression came to collaborate with Auxilio Azul. Dolores Amador López claimed that she was forced to "remain in hiding for five months because she was fearful of arrest as it was widely known that she had distributed anti-Republican propaganda alongside her brother during the 1936 elections."[351] Consuelo Pérez de Barradas safe-housed a female cousin for a period of twelve months after her release from prison. She was subsequently arrested for aiding a priest. Her mother and grandmother died during the war because of the "many upsets and privations suffered at this time." [352] The Republican militias had searched the family property on four different occasions.

The violent anticlerical repression which occurred at the start of the war posed an unprecedented threat to Spanish Catholic habitus. Madrid's religious establishments were amongst the first targets of the popular anger.[353] The speed with which religious persons and establishments came under assault reflected a deep-rooted popular anticlericalism.[354] This extra-judicial repression was followed by forms of legal repression. Defence militias

[350] Expte. 151, contra Carmen García Vallejo por delito/s de Desafección AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 12, EXP 13.
[351] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Dolores Amador López dated 6 October 1939, Document 189, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[352] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Consuelo Pérez de Barradas y García Ochoa dated 1 October 1939, Document 232, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[353] Religious buildings were ransacked as early as 19 July 1936, see Rodríguez Fernández (2006) *El Hábito y la Cruz, Religiosas asesinadas en la guerra civil Española* (Madrid: Edibesa), p.22.
[354] de la Cueva, Julio "Si los Frailes Supieran…la violencia anticlerical", in Santos Juliá (ed), (2000) *Violencia política en la España del Siglo XX.* (Madrid: Taurus).

entered religious buildings in order to perform searches and confiscations. On 11 August 1936 the government implemented an emergency decree which provided for:

"the immediate closure of all Religious orders and Congregations, now existing in Spain, that in some manner or other participated in the present insurrectional movement, whether directly or indirectly participating in it, or providing aid or assistance of whatever nature to seditious and rebellious persons." [355]

While the Church was not involved in the military conspiracy, the authorities believed that the Catholic church supported the rebellion and harboured dangerous fugitives and illegal weapons. Around 500 religious personnel were forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge within the Catholic community. Amparo Fernández Ceballos belonged to the *Adoratrices of Guadalajara,* she was transferred to a safe-house in Madrid soon after 18 July but was arrested on 15 October 1936 'because of her religious antecedents.' She was eventually absolved and released from prison on 3 May 1937. [356] Public confessional practice was banned and the Catholic religion was forced underground. This continued for the duration of the war, despite the efforts the Basque Minister of Justice Manuel Irujo[357] to re-open the churches and to restore public confessional practice in the Republican-held zones after May 1937.

[355] *Gaceta de Madrid*, Núm. 226, 13 August, 1936, Article 1. www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1936/226/B01222-3.pdf.
[356] Expte,1870, *contra* Amparo Fernández Ceballos, *por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 14, Exp.111,38/44.
[357] Manuel de Irujo Ollo was a Catholic and a Basque Nationalist Party leader. He was appointed Minister of Justice in Juan Negrín's government in May 1937, prior to which he was a 'minister without portfolio' between September 1936-May 1937 in Francisco Largo Caballero's government.

Auxilio Azul members felt a moral compulsion to 'do something' in aid of religion and the beleaguered anti-Republican community. The Republican government was held directly accountable for the revolutionary unrest and the violent repression. Resistance was couched in spiritual and religious terms. Personal experiences of physical and emotional suffering were conceptualised and afforded meaning within specifically Catholic frames of suffering and redemption. The repression was conceived within new Catholic discourses as a 'providential'[358] and potentially redemptive "*Via Crucis* of suffering in Madrid-Golgotha."[359] Resistance was viewed as an imperative Catholic duty. The confessional aspect of this resistance is reflected in the testimonies of former members and in memory texts. Carina recalled that she was unable to remain passive in the face of injustice after the death of her sister. She was 'emboldened to continue María Paz's resistance efforts despite the grave risks and dangers because inaction was a form of suicide and because her sister's death could only be avenged by good works.'[360] The 'hot' repression of the early months mobilised hundreds of Catholics into resistance and strengthened religious convictions. A few openly confessed to the authorities that they had been mobilised into resistance "because they were Catholics and because they [the Republican authorities] would not let me practice the Catholic rites."[361]

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[358] See Ch. 6 Benoit Pellistrandi "La historia y la idea de España en las pastorales de los obispos españoles" in Botti, Alfonso, Montero Feliciano and Qurioga, Alejandro (ed) (2013) *Cátolicos y Patriotas, Iglesia y Nación en la Europa de Entreguerras* (Madrid: Silex), pp.141-160 at p.155. "the Bishops of the inter-war period ...had a providential vision of history (History in general and Spanish History) …Christ himself, during his sermons, had predicted the sufferings of the Catholic church…during future centuries of struggle." The conflict was viewed as a difficult 'trial' or test of faith for Spanish Catholics who were required to mobilise and resist against the Republican government.

[359] Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil,* p. 178-183 at p.179.

[360] Borrás (1965), p. 57.

[361] *Causa No. 2 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Espionaje y derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 148, Exp. 40, Imagen 34/240.

Women were motivated to join Auxilio Azul for reasons which combined personal, political and religious motivations. Some had been politically active within the Falange or Catholic or Monarchist parties such as Acción Popular and Renovación Española.[362] María Baeza Torrecilla de Picatoste (who safe-housed the Martínez Unciti family in November 1936) was a former member of Juventudes Católicas (Catholic Youth) and Acción Popular.[363] On 28 October 1936, the Falangist Carlota Narcisa González (who later became the Treasurer of Auxilio Azul) was arrested during a failed attempt to smuggle arms into the Finnish Legation.[364] Communist militias took her to the Checa de la Calle Españoleto where she was allegedly "subjected to all manner of ill treatment and humiliations…and beaten with a whip and a belt." She claimed that she had refused to betray other members of her group or to divulge the final destination of the weapons. Despite 'threats of execution by firing squad' she was subsequently released. González joined Auxilio Azul in January 1937 in order to fight back against her experiences of repression. María del Carmen Díaz Aguado was motivated to join Auxilio Azul after five of her brothers, one of whom was a Falangist 'First Centurion,' were imprisoned. Her father died shortly afterwards "on account of the suffering and upset caused by these persecutions."[365] Some like Consuelo Rocha Muñoz

[362] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Consuelo Rocha dated 16 August 1939, Document 181, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Rocha had been affiliated to Renovación Española since its foundation.
[363] *Expte. contra María Baeza Torrecilla por delitos de Desafección al Régimen por pertenencia a Acción Popular,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 184, Exp. 14, Imagen 2-3/46.
[364] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Carlota Narcisa González de Uzqueta y Cerrillo dated 20 September 1939, Document 196, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[365] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María del Carmen Díaz Aguado Arteaga [dated 1 September?] 1939, Document 158, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Aguado joined the *Sección Femenina* in March 1936 and was also a Defendant in the famous Golfín-Corujo Espionage trial discussed in Chapter III.

joined Auxilio Azul after their release on charges of disaffection.[366] Andrea Pariente Suárez claimed that her brother was killed by Republican militias on 21 August 1936.[367] Dolores Amador López was a former Falangist activist who was forced into hiding after her brother, who was a Falangist squad leader, was arrested and shot. She joined Auxilo Azul "in August 1938 at great personal risk despite being a well-known Falangist."[368] Juana Sánchez Aguado testified that nine members of her family were "taken for a ride (*paseados*) by the reds."[369] The Deputy Leader of one group decided to join the organisation after five of her brothers were arrested.[370] María Ugaldezubiaur who worked as a Panamanian embassy liaison agent. She made no pretence of her motivation for joining the Auxilio Azul in 1937: "Two sons had been killed while fighting on the rebel side. Her family had been forced into hiding for several months in Madrid and they had all experienced extreme hardship."[371] She wanted revenge and retribution. Most members, including Carina, were devout Catholics who had no political affiliations before the war. Their experiences of personal suffering, bereavement and repression mobilized them into resistance and prompted them to forge new political identities.[372] Resistance was also driven by powerful emotions which included

[366] E.g. *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Consuelo Rocha Muñoz dated 2 October 1939, Document 224, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Also, Testimony of Matilde Mercader Ximénez dated 5 October 1939, Document 228, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[367] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Andrea Pariente Suárez dated 9 October 1939, Document 169, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[368] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Dolores Amador López dated 6 October 1939, Document 189, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[369] *Asesoría Jurídica* testimony of Juana Sánchez Aguado dated 9 October 1939, Document 234, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[370] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María del Carmen Aguado Arteaga [dated 1 September 1936] Document 158, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[371] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Ugaldezubiaur dated 12 October 1939, Document 218, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[372] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Teresa Pérez Aznar dated 28 September 1939, Document 199, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

feelings of persecution,[373] and the desire for revenge against the wrongs perpetrated by the Popular Front militias.[374] Most of the testimonies revealed a profound resentment and outrage against the persecution of Catholics. In particular, Falangist women and those with Catholic and conservative military backgrounds often harboured a strong desire to avenge the death of intimates and family members following the illegal *paseos* and *sacas* of 1936. We will see in Chapter III below how revenge was often realised in denunciatory practices which became a distinctive feature of the post-war Francoist judicial repression and constituted a form of repression from below.[375]

El Espiritu de Auxilio Azul –Core Values

Auxilio Azul's core values and beliefs and its 'emotional regime' were reflected in its membership "Regulations" and "Action Points." These were created in February 1937 by the General Secretary Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez in collaboration with Carina Unciti.[376] The regulations reflected both traditional Catholic discourses and the emotive politico-religious discourses of José Antonio whose ambition had been to mobilise a 'revolutionary army of

[373] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María del Carmen Aguado Arteaga [undated] Document 158, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Her brother was the leader (*Jefe*) of José Antonio's First Centurion in the National zone, as a result of which she alleged that all her family had been "very persecuted" including five brothers who were arrested in the Republican zone. She became the Sub-Leader of Group AP-3. See also, See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Andrea Pariente Suárez dated 9 October 1939, Document 169, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

[374] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez dated 6 November 1939, Document 143, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

[375] Anderson, Peter "Singling Out Victims: Denunciation and Collusion in the Post-Civil War Francoist Repression in Spain, 1939-45," *European History Quarterly,* (2009) Vol 39, (1), pp. 7-26.

[376] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez (General Secretary) dated 6 November 1939, Document 143, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

Angels with swords.'[377] After his execution on 20 November 1936, Pilar Primo de Rivera adopted her brother's mystical and religious military discourses in her official writings and speeches in order to perpetuate his memory and to disseminate his political beliefs.[378] Sección Femenina's written "Codes of Conduct" which were re-drafted in 1937 stipulated in Item 2: "Be Disciplined, disciplined, disciplined." Auxilio Azul's Rules of Governance and Regulations (set out below) also subscribed to this austere and disciplinarian regime. Former members were expected to "obey and blindly complete all the orders issued by their leaders at great personal risk.[379]" The majority of the depositions were prefaced with: "I performed everything as commanded,"[380] and ended with: "I completed all my orders with great enthusiasm."[381]

The testimonies evidence the creation of a new and distinctive discursive gender identity that collapsed traditional gender binaries by conflating 'feminine' attributes (meekness and self-abnegation) with 'masculine' attributes such as bravery and military discipline. Similar forms of emotional intensity and mystical idealism were reflected in the emotional regimes

[377] See José Antonio Primo de Rivera, *Discurso sobre la revolución Española, Discurso pronunciado en el Ciné de Madrid,* 19 May 1935, cited in del Río Císneros, Agustín (ed) (1971) José Antonio Primo de Rivera, *Textos de Doctrina Política* (Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina), pp.557-70 at p. 570.
[378] See Primo de Rivera, Pilar (1942) *Discursos, Circulares, Escritos, Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS,* (Madrid: Graficas Afrodisio Aguado).
[379] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Inés Martín Monjas dated 28 October 1939, Document 183, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.
[380] E.g. *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Ángelita Blanco de Castro dated 2 October 1939, Document 144, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. Blanco de Castro stated "I belonged from the very first months of the Movement in …Group AY2 no.4, always doing everything within the organisation as commanded by the Group Leader."
[381] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Isabel Arroyo Pertasse dated 4 October 1939, Document 202, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid

of other European fascist groups at this time.[382] The Falange emphasised organic unity and the replacement of parliament by an authoritarian system, while invoking the Catholic religion. An early manifesto, the "Puntos Iniciales," stated that "All reconstruction of Spain must have a Catholic character."[383] This interpretation nuances historical representations that portray the Falange as a predominantly secular political movement which was inspired by laicizing Italian and German fascism.[384] The Falange's brand of fascism was specific and unique to Spain; it was corporatist but it also embraced Catholic, traditionalist and monarchist elements. It encouraged 'virile' and self-sacrificial forms of militancy in both men and women. The Falange's mobilising and militarising discourses also provided fertile sites for cross-gender identification and the performance of new forms of female political agency:

"See women, how we have made a capital virtue of 'abnegation', which is above all a woman's virtue…hopefully we will reach such levels of virtue that through this virtue we shall be so feminine that one day we may also be regarded as being truly like men!"[385]

Auxilio Azul's Rules of Governance

[382] Eksteins, Modris (1989) *Rights of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin) cited in Reddy, W, (2009) "Historical Research on Self and Emotions,"*Emotions Review,* Vol.1, No. 4, pp. 302-315, at p.310.
[383] Payne, Stanley (1999), *Fascism in Spain,* pp. 92-3.
[384] Morant, Toni, "'Para influir en la vida de del estado futuro': Discurso- Y Practica-Falangista sobre el papel de la mujer y la feminidad, 1933-45," *Historia y Política,* 27, (enero-junio, 2012), pp. 113-141, at p. 124. See also Maestre, Gónzalo "El Tema Religioso-Católico en Falange Española durante la Segunda Republica", *Aportes,* no. 90, XXXI (2016/1) pp. 65-100, which explores Spanish Catholic fascism through its publications.
[385] "*Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "La Ante Guerra",* (typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, Madrid, p.27.

The organisation's rules of governance were never written down for fear of reprisals. The rules were memorised by the sub-group leaders and communicated to the new members who were required to memorise the Action Points (set out below) as part of their initiation. The regulations reflected the core values of the Falange and its politico-religious and militaristic 'emotional regime.' Auxilio Azul's discourses resonate with José Antonio's distinctive political rhetoric.[386] The affiliates were encouraged to practice resistance within rigid codes of piety, courage, discipline and self-abnegation. After the death of María Paz in November 1936 the network was led by Carina who was a devout Catholic. Catholicism also pervaded the organisations core values, ideals and beliefs:

Daily and upon rising, offer up your heart to God and entrust your soul to Him and to Spain.
Your security rests entirely upon Him on this difficult path that you have chosen.
During all your daily activities remember that our 'Fallen Ones' look upon all that you do.
No one can give what they do not have, pray that you may recruit into this charitable endeavour new recruits who have a genuine Christian and Spanish spirit.
Our brothers are falling '*cara al sol*' (heads raised to the sun). Take care that your home is never clouded by the darkness of necessity![387]

Once the organisation grew beyond a small circle of founder members, the leaders ('*Jefes*)' devised a set of 'Action Points' which reflected the fierce loyalty and discipline required from all members of the Falange:

Never speak of this organisation except with your immediate liaison agents (*enlaces*), and only when necessary.

[386] See Primo de Rivera, José Antonio (1971) *Textos de doctrina política,* Augustín del Rio Císneros (ed.) (Madrid: Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina).
[387] Source: Borrás (1965), p. 61.

Never ask to know more than that which is required for your purposes, never divulge more information than you have to.
You must become accustomed to immediately obeying instructions, in this way you will achieve the greatest of all satisfactions: That of a duty duly performed.
When in doubt as to the necessary course of action, chose that course which involves the most personal sacrifice.
May your actions speak louder than your words, *¡Arriba España!*[388]

Sub-group leader Inés Martín Monjas testified as follows:

"I performed my duty with great zeal and enthusiasm because of the terrible times that we were going through… it was my duty as a good comrade to sacrifice myself on behalf of our brothers [in arms] who were also honourably suffering …above all, I obediently and unquestioningly (*ciegamente*) followed every single order and instruction given to me by my leaders at great personal risk because, on several occasions, I was the subject of several denunciations but these never came to anything concrete. … I was simply a militant who performed many duties and when I came to have the honour of being promoted to the position of Sub Group Leader these duties only increased. "[389]

Auxilio Azul members self-identified as 'obedient and disciplined militants' who dutifully fought in aid of Franco's 'Glorious Nationalist Movement.' Catholicism constituted a key component of the Falangist ideology. After 18 July, practising and devout Catholics automatically fell within the category of 'enemies of the state.' Pious practice constituted *a priori* evidence of disaffection and hostility towards the Republican regime. These women's allegiance to national Catholic values was reflected in their performance of emotive

[388] Source: Borrás (1965), p.62.
[389] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Inés Martín Monjas dated 28 October 1939, Document 183, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

'speech-acts.' Group Leader Elvira Martínez Ostendi was a devout Catholic and a former member of Acción Popular. She was arrested in August 1937 and briefly interrogated in relation to her "social and religious ideology." She responded: 'I am a Catholic and I am prepared to die shouting *Viva Cristo Rey* (Long live Christ the King).'[390] Such politico-religious performances constituted powerful forms of contestation. Elvira's defiant utterance represented a subversive symbolic occupation of the Republican social space. Only the most brave and defiant individuals openly declaimed the traditional Carlist call to arms or avowed to their Catholic beliefs.

Although the civil conflict represented a period of catastrophic discontinuity and rupture, these women perceived and conceptualised the conflict within traditional Catholic 'apocalyptic' discursive frames. During the 1920's the Church encouraged a new Catholic women's militancy as part of its 'Catholic Crusade to re-Christianize Spain.'[391] After the enfranchisement of Spanish women in 1931, the authoritarian and anti-liberal Right developed new political discourses which encouraged the creation of a collective civic female identity that was constructed along ultra-Catholic, anti-democratic and patriotic axes. Catholic women were mobilised as bulwarks of the family and morality and as defenders of the Faith. They were encouraged to participate in the public space in order to

[390] *Expte. no. 609 contra* Elvira Martínez Ostendi *por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC_CAUSA_GENERAL, 270, Exp. 10. Imagen 4/84. Witness statement dated August 1937. The defendant was initially charged with 'Adhesion to rebellion and disaffection' but the charges were reduced to disaffection.

[391] Blasco Herranz, Inmaculada (Translated from Spanish by Jeremy Roe) "Citizenship and Female Catholic Militancy in 1920's Spain," *Gender and History,* 19,3, (November,2007), pp 441-466.

resolve the problem of the 'Two Spains' and avert the communist menace.[392] Auxilio Azul's 'emotional regime' accommodated traditional Catholic discourses and 'modern and revolutionary' Falangist discourses. The language of the Catholic liturgy required the faithful to 'offer up their hearts to God and to entrust their souls to him and to Spain.' These distinctive liturgical phrases were instrumentalised within a new politico-religious resistance discourse. A new collective Catholic resistance identity was forged within the crucible of a bloody and violent civil conflict. Sub-Group leader Josefina García Folez de Velador proudly declared:

"I completed everything that my leaders ordered with great enthusiasm on account of the great elation of my spirit.[393]"

The women examined here were constructed by these new Catholic and Falangist discourses. While most of the leaders were activists in the Falange party before the war, the majority of the women who were mobilised after 18 July conceptualised their political resistance within traditional Catholic paradigms of suffering, self-sacrifice, martyrdom and redemption. They sought to undermine the Republican war effort in aid of a new religious 'Crusade against anti-Spain.' They collectively understood their 'licensed' agency in spiritual and confessional terms within national Catholic discourses of 'holy Crusade' which were espoused by lay Catholic groups like Acción Católica and instrumentalised by the rebel

[392] Ortega López, Teresa María "¡Cosa de coser…y cantar! La derecha antiberal," in in Ana Aguado and Teresa Ma. Ortega (eds.) (2011) "*Feminismos y antifeminismos, culturas, políticas e identitdades de genero en las España del Siglo XX* (Valencia: PUV), pp.173-206 at p.176.

[393] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Josefina García Folez de Velador dated 27 September 1939, Document 203, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

generals soon after the coup. To the extent that these women helped to sustain collective anti-Republican imaginings of a new national Catholic nationhood, they were also agents of social change.

We will see in subsequent chapters that Auxilio Azul enabled devout Catholics to continue forms of clandestine confessional practice in circumstances of *hysteresis*.[394] Rosario Queipo de Llano (the sister of Seville's notorious rebel General) was tried for treason in 1937. She recalled having performed the following defiant and self-incriminating speech-act that illustrates the influence of Catholic habitus upon the fifth column resistance identity:

"Yes, we are all Catholics. My sister was a nun…our mother taught us to pray and to believe in God, and these beliefs, when implanted from childhood, are difficult to forget. I cannot speak for individual beliefs. But, undoubtedly, during times like these the Faith is exalted. For my own part, I can say that my own faith in God and my belief in His protection have provided me with the courage to bear my situation with patience. I am prepared to resignedly suffer whatever the Good Lord requires of me!"[395]

Auxilio Azul was the earliest, most extensive and most effective fifth column resistance network in Madrid. It was formed soon after 18 July 1936 in order to provide safe-housing and escape-lines for Madrid's fugitives. Its origins lay in the illegal underground activities of the pre-war Sección Femenina. The paucity of original source materials, the self-censorship of the protagonists and the gender-specific and 'everyday' nature of women's resistance

[394] See Madrid, una iglesia de catacumbas' Ch. X "Organización Clandestina" Alfaya, José Luis (1998), *Como un río de fuego, Madrid, 1936* (Barcelona: EIU), pp.155-171.
[395] Queipo de Llano, Rosario (1939), *De la cheka de Atadell a la prisión de Alacuas* (Madrid: Imprenta Castellana), p.111.

meant that their dangerous resistance efforts have been overlooked and underestimated. Many of the women who self-identified as dutiful and submissive handmaidens of the 'national Catholic Cause' were highly politicized activists who engaged in dangerous and illegal activities. Women's routine domestic and affective labour was politicized within a subversive anti-Republican resistance space. Falangist women were political agents in their own right and their gender 'invisibility' was consciously exploited by the party cadres who encouraged them to "conceal guns in their coats and inside their boots." [396]

After the outlawing of the Falange on 14 March 1936 women became key liaison agents between the imprisoned leaders (*Jefes*) and the remaining members on the ground. This explains how women were best positioned to mobilise a 'resistance of the first hour' after 18 July. While the base of the organisation was composed of Catholics with no prior political convictions, most of the leaders (with the notable exception of Carina) were Falangist activists. In November 1936 membership rapidly increased and the organisation came to appeal to a wider constituency of disaffected Catholics including members of the recently outlawed monarchist, CEDA and Traditionalist Communion parties. Auxilio Azul's core values and its distinctive emotional regime reflected the fascist ideology of the Falange and its military and disciplinarian ethos. However, this distinctive 'emotional regime' also accommodated traditional Catholic discourses of 'crusade and martyrdom.' These new discourses of suffering, persecution and redemption came to form part of a new national Catholic cultural currency that enabled the most senior leaders of the Clandestine Falange (mostly men) to enjoy preferment within the nascent bureaucracy of the post-war regime.

[396] *Historia de la Sección Femenina,"Capitulo II-La Propaganda,"* p.29.

After April 1939, a small minority of 'elite' Falangist women were rewarded for their loyalty to the 'Cause' by gaining positions and preferment within the Sección Femenina which became the 'official transmission belt of Falangist ideology.'[397] The next chapter examines the structure and operations of Auxilio Azul and describes how women became both the agents and the beneficiaries of their vital welfare-aid resistance.

[397] Gallego, María Teresa (1982), *Mujer, Falange, Franquismo,* (Madrid: Taurus), p. 200-201.

CHAPTER II -THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF AUXILIO AZUL

This Chapter examines the organisational structure of Auxilio Azul and its resistance practices. By Autumn 1936 Auxilio Azul had mobilised to provide vital material, economic and spiritual aid to Madrid's beleaguered anti-Republican community. This chapter also explores the meanings ascribed by the individual members to their dangerous and illegal resistance practices. Remarkably, the network was never dismantled by the Republican authorities despite the detection of around fourteen other Clandestine Falange groups.[398] However, there are numerous references to the Traditionalist Socorro Blanco (White Aid) in the trial records and the Auxilio Azul members themselves often referred to these two organisations interchangeably. [399]It may have been safer to refer to the Traditionalist Socorro Blanco under the rigours of police interrogation, rather than admit to having formed part of the fascist Auxilio Azul, and this might be why Auxilio Azul never appears in the legal records, despite the fact that a few women, like the liaison agent Francisca Martínez Ramírez (discussed in Ch. III below), explicitly referred to the existence of a war-time Sección Femenina in Madrid. Both groups provided welfare-aid, asylum and escape lines for fugitive anti-Republicans and around two-hundred Margaritas (Traditionalist Women) joined forces with Auxilio Azul in Spring 1937 after the political 'Unification' of the rebel factions.[400] As indicated in the preceding chapter, the majority of the members had no prior political affiliations. Teresa Pérez Aznar claimed that "before 18 July 1936 I had never

[398] Cervera (1998), *Madrid*, p.293.
[399] See also, Paz, Armando (1976), *Los Servicios de Espionaje en la Guerra Civil de España, 1936-9,* (Madrid: Editorial San Martín), p. 141.
[400] [Anonymous Author] *Gesta Gloriosa del Requete en Madrid* (Julio 1936-Marzo 1939), *Archivo General Militar de Ávila,* C2505, Cp.4/43 and C.2498.20, Legajo no. 285, Carpeta 20, Armario 5, at p.5.

belonged to any political party or organisation whatsoever."[401] Most of the women forged their anti-Republican credentials during the violent conflict.

In Autumn 1936 the group was still organised along the same hierarchical and triangular structure as the earlier underground Sección Femenina groups. New affiliates were allocated a number and every three new affiliates would form a 'triangle.' The identity of each member was only known to the two other members who formed part of any given triangle. Initially the leaders knew the identity of all the leaders in the succession of triangles below them and they enjoyed a direct communication with Carina. Orders were issued from the Directory (*Jefatura*) down through each successive triangle and, in this way, an arrest might only result in the detection of three or, in the worst-case scenario, five women if the subject of the arrest was a leader.[402] However, the organisation grew rapidly and Carina Martínez Unciti joined forces with María Baeza Torrecillas de Picatoste in early November 1936 in order to further co-ordinate and expand the network although Carina continued as leader until the end of the war.[403] During the war Carina met weekly with the Group Leaders at secret meetings which were usually held in the Paseo de la Castellana and where the members identified each other by wearing coloured ribbons, a specific item of clothing or carrying a pre-agreed object. In late November 1936, when it became apparent that Franco's troops would not occupy Madrid in the short term, Auxilio Azul began to attract a wider anti-Republican constituency including women like Consuelo Rocha who was

[401] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Teresa Pérez Aznar dated 28 September 1939, Document 199, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. She joined Auxilio Azul in May 1938.
[402] Cervera (1998) *Madrid* p. 267.
[403] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Carina Martínez Unciti, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

a former member Renovación Española.[404] Elvira Martínez Ostendi was an activist in Acción Popular,[405] and Mercedes Folch Fou was a member of the Traditionalist Communion (Traditionalists).[406]

By as early as November 1936, the organisation was structured within a series of Networks (*Conexiones*) that were divided into Groups and Sub-Groups. According to the Secretary Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez, a new Directory (*Jefatura*) was created in February 1937 with Carina as President of a new Leadership Committee (*Junta Directora*) which was composed of six persons including María de los Ángeles Fornier (General Secretary), Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez (appointed General Secretary *bis*), Maruja Sainz (Treasurer) and Father Tomás Ortega (Religious Counsellor) and Vicente Busso (General Accountant).[407] Each Network had its own sub-treasurer who provided detailed accounts to the Treasurer of all donations and sales.[408] The Leadership Committee was expanded so as to incorporate seven leaders including Carlota Narcisa González de Urqueta y Cerillo (also a Treasurer), Cristina Moreno Fernández, Carmen Palacios, Nena Sanz Benito and Asunción Petit. The organisation rapidly

[404] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Consuelo Rocha dated 13 August, 1939, Document 181, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. This woman testified to having been a founder member of Renovación Española.
[405] *Expte. no. 609 contra* Elvira Martínez Ostendi *por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC_CAUSA_GENERAL, 270, Exp. 10. This defendant testified to having been a member of Acción Popular prior to the war.
[406] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Mercedes Folch Fou dated 26 September 1939, Document 207, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. Involved in Soccorro Blanco from October 1936. She joined Auxilio Azul in June 1938.
[407] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez dated 6 November 1939, Document 143, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[408] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Emilia García San Nicolás dated 5 October 1939, Document 163, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

expanded in early 1937 so that by mid 1937 the 'triangular structure' quickly became redundant.

In May 1937 a new 'cellular network' was devised in order to allow for the sub-division of groups into separate and autonomous nuclei or 'cells' which were formed from within informal friendship and associational groups. The organisation was officially 'baptised' as 'La Hermandad de Auxilio Azul- María Paz Martínez Unciti' in February 1937 when its Rules of Governance (*Reglamentos*) were also implemented.[409] However, Rosa Sainz (who joined the organisation in June 1937) claimed that it was formally established at some time August 1938, after which she was appointed as a Sub-Group Leader K1 in November 1938.[410]The ANA testimonies indicate that only the most trustworthy new recruits who demonstrated true leadership potential were informed of the real nature and extent of the organisation. The Leadership Committee gathered formally on three occasions in May, July and November of 1937. The Directory was in charge of the Network Leaders (*Jefas de conexión*) and the Networks were divided into nine 'service sections' or 'Groups':

1) "Embassies, Safe-Houses and Escape Lines" which organised safe-houses, false identification documentation, asylum in embassies and escape lines into the Nationalist zone.

[409] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rafaela de Castro Gutiérrez dated 6 November 1939, Document 143, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[410] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rosa Sainz de los Terreros Llavador dated 26 September 1939, Document 185, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

2) “Labour” (*Trabajos*). This section (together with Clothing Services) had the largest number of members and affiliates. It involved the collection and re-distribution of donations from individuals and businesses. It also established a series of small workshops which manufactured and sold clothing, hats, shoes and other retail items in aid of Auxilio Azul;
3) “Clothing Services”. This Network cleaned, repaired and recycled second hand clothing and re-sold these items via ‘trustworthy’ retailers (e.g. *Florinda’s* boutique) and small market stalls;
4) “Health Services” which distributed medicines and provided medical services including false invalidity and sickness certificates for those who wanted to avoid conscription;
5) “Emergency Aid” (*Socorros)* which provided false documents, union membership cards, ration cards and financial aid for the families of prisoners and fugitives;
6) “Security Services” which dealt with intelligence and security matters. Members were infiltrated within the DGS, the SIM, the Telefónica, the CNT and various Republican administrative offices.
7) “Prison and *Checa* Services*”* which organised aid for prisoners and also negotiated the release of prisoners by liaising with prison officers and militias (bribes were often required);
8) “Judicial Services” which established links with anti-Republican members of the judiciary in order to obtain acquittals, suspensions and lenient sentences for anti-Republicans; and
9) “Spiritual Aid” which safe-housed religious persons. It also organised clandestine masses and facilitated the administration of Catholic rites and sacraments.

By March 1939 there were 37 Network Leaders who each directly supervised a maximum of 165 Network ‘affiliates’. Network Leaders managed the activities of 111 Group Leaders. These Group Leaders oversaw the activities of 333 Sub-Group Leaders. Each Sub-Group

was comprised of 15 affiliates. Three Sub-Groups constituted a Group. Every three Groups were organised into a Network (*Conexion)*.

After the rapid expansion of the organisation in November 1936 a complex system of alphabetical and numerical 'code names' was devised by Carina and Rafaela de Castro. The code names for the 37 Networks were as follows: The first 9 Networks were code named with three letters between A-Z (e.g. ABC, DEF, GHI…XYZ), Networks 10-18 used the same code-names but were pre-fixed with an "A" (e.g. AABC, ADEF, AGHI…AXYZ); Networks 19-27 used the same code-names but were pre-fixed with a "B" (e.g. BABC, BDEF, BGHI…BXYZ). The remaining Networks were prefixed with a "C" or a "D" and the last Network (the 37th) was code-named DABC.

The code names for the 111 Groups were as follows: Groups 1-27 were designated from A-Z; the next 27 Groups were designated from A-Z but prefixed with an "A"; thereafter, each successive batch of 27 Groups was preceded by a B, C or a D with a total of 108 Groups, the last three of which were designated EA, EB and EC. The code names for the 333 Sub Groups involved pre-fixing a number before the code name for the relevant Group, for example Group A had three Sub-Group Leaders whose code names were 1-A, 2-A and 3-A and the last Group EC had three sub-group leaders whose code names were 1-EC, 2-EC and 3-EC.

The 'militants' within each Sub-Group would be code-named as follows: 1-A-1, 1-A-2, 1-A-3, 1-A-4...and so forth. [411] Many of these operatives were completely unaware of the fact that

[411] Source: Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* pp.269-270, Borrás, (1965) *Seis Mil,* pp. 67-8 and p. 71.

they had been assigned code names. As indicated above, the majority of grass roots affiliates only knew of the identity of their Sub-Group Leader, but not in her capacity as a leader of a clandestine organisation, but instead in her capacity as a personal friend who had asked the relevant operative to complete a specific task as a favour or out of loyalty or for personal and familial reasons.

The Committee Leaders (*Jefatura*) and the leaders of each of the Networks, Groups and Sub-Groups devised contingency plans in the event of arrest. Arrests were not uncommon; Carina was arrested and subsequently released on two occasions. The leaders were required to nominate "substitute" or deputy leaders who would replace the relevant Group leader or Sub-group leader in the event of that person's arrest. When any Group had to be led by a deputy leader, the name of that group would be pre-fixed with a '*bis*'. This complex organisational structure probably existed more in theory than in practice, not least because after January 1937 Carina lost direct communication with many of the Sub Group leaders and with the rapidly expanding number of new affiliates.

Auxilio Azul operated in the affluent Buenavista and Salamanca districts and in the Chamberí, Hospital, Inclusa, Universidad and Hospicio districts. Although there was a growth in the construction of new housing for the middle and working classes during the 1930's, many zones in the capital continued to house a wide range of social classes who lived

together in the same buildings: the lower classes lived in basements and attics, the upper-classes inhabited the first floor '*piso principal.*'[412]

The members came from a variety of social backgrounds and were united by their Catholic faith. The membership included students, teachers, farm labourers, nurses, typists, concierges, dress makers, servants, factory workers, actresses, shop assistants, religious and professionals including academics, doctors,[413] lawyers and pharmacists and women occupied in '*sus labores'* (unpaid domestic work in the home). According to the 1930 census only 9.2% of Spain's female population worked outside the home and the largest occupation for women was described as 'being a member of the family.' The census also recorded that 24% of single women worked, 14% of widows and 4% of married women formed part of the paid workforce. [414] At this time women in paid employment were mostly drawn from the working classes and domestic service constituted the largest paid occupation for women. To a lesser extent, women found jobs in textile and paper manufacturing, shoe making, baking, food processing and the tobacco industries. A woman's identity and status were defined by reference to the household in which she lived, and to the occupation of her husband or father. However, these official figures do not reflect the real numbers of 'invisible' and informal female workers. Working-class and lower-middle class women often undertook

[412] Montero, Julio and Cervera, Javier "Madrid en los años treinta. Ambiente social, político, cultural y religioso," *Studia et Documenta: Rivista dell Istituto Storico San Josemaría Escrivá* (2009), Vol no. 3, pp. 13-39 at p. 16.
[413] e.g. Felisa Ruiz de Alda, the cousin of the Falangist leader Julio Ruiz de Alda.
[414] Source: Lannon, Frances, "Gender and Change: Identity and Reform in the Second Republic", Xon de Ros, Geraldine Hazbun (eds.) (2011), *Companion to Spanish Women's Studies* (London: Boydell and Brewer/Tamesis), p. 275.

unofficial and poorly paid piece-work at home like sewing or dress-making. Middle class women gave private lessons or taught piano to family friends on a casual basis.

1.Embassies, Safe-Houses and Escape Lines (Embassy Networks)

After the fall of the Montaña Barracks on 20 July 1936 hundreds of disaffected officers and soldiers went into hiding together with a sector of civil guards. They wanted to avoid the extra-judicial reprisals, imprisonment or conscription with the Popular Front militias. Aristocrats, professionals, businessmen, politicians and religious personnel also required 'safe hiding places.'[415] Madrid's foreign diplomatic corps, the Basque PNV and the Catholic church collaborated in efforts to obtain asylum for hundreds of anti-Republicans.[416] However, it is less well known that the women of Auxilio Azul provided safe-housing for these fugitives.[417] The fugitives would pass through a succession of safe-houses organised by Auxilio Azul until the necessary asylum documentation was obtained. During asylum escape-lines were organized, often using embassy vehicles, into the Nationalist zone or abroad. The women also acted as liaison agents between the Clandestine Falange groups on the ground and the leaders in the embassies. They 'smuggled weapons into and passed

[415] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Inés MartÍn Monjas dated 28 October 1939, Document 183, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[416] In relation to the involvement of the Church see Ch. XI "Enclaves Diplomáticos" in Alfaya, José Luis (1998) *Como un río de fuego* (Barcelona: EIU), pp. 181-188. Regarding the embassies see Moral, Antonio (2001) *El asilo diplomático en la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid: Actas), pp. 25-42. Regarding the actions of the PNV see Galíndez, Jesus de (2005) (first ed. 1945), *Los vascos en el Madrid sitiado; memorias del Partido Nacionalista Vasco y de la Delegación de Euzkadi en Madrid desde septiembre de 1936 a mayo de 1937,* (Tafalla, Navarra: Txalaparta).

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[417] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Andrea Pariente Suárez dated 9 October 1939, Document 169, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

intelligence out of the embassies.'[418] The members were only authorised to help those who were personally known to them.[419] Carolina Illescas worked as an embassy liaison agent, she managed to recruit some twenty friends who helped her to obtain asylum for fugitives.[420]

During the war around twenty-nine nation states continued to operate embassies and consulates in Madrid.[421] The diplomatic buildings were mainly situated in the affluent Buenavista and Salamanca districts and a few embassy properties were located in Chamberí. The Republican authorities and the press, including Julián Zugazagoitia,[422] suspected that the vast majority of the embassies were pro-Nationalist and therefore hot-beds of fifth - column subversion. Negative Republican press reports fuelled the 'popular desire to lay siege to the embassies and to hundreds of private embassy buildings which were believed to have provided refuge to thousands of fascists.'[423] Negative press campaigns occurred periodically in 1936, 1937 and 1938 and posed a serious threat to embassy security because they encouraged illegal incursions against diplomatic buildings.[424]The press campaigns

[418] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Luisa Laguna Torres dated 16 August 1939, Document 253, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[419] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Josefina García Folez de Velador dated 27 September 1939, Document 203, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. Known as K-2, this operative found refuge at various embassies for "various wanted friends."
[420] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Carolina María Illescas Burgallo dated 1939, Document 205, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[421] Source: Cervera (1998), *Madrid* pp. 369-374.
[422] Julián Zugazagoitia Mendiete (1899-1940) was the editor of El Socialista the PSOE's mouth piece until his appointment as Minister of the Interior in Juan Negrín's first cabinet in May 1937. He saved the lives of many Nationalists and tried to improve the treatment of war prisoners. He was arrested by the Gestapo in Paris in July 1940 and executed by the Spanish authorities in November 1940.
[423] Moral, Antonio (2001) *El Asilo Diplomatico en la Guerra Civil Española,* (Madrid: Actas), p. 44. See also Cervera (1998) *Madrid,* p. 360.
[424] Moral, (2001) *El Asilo,* p.187.

fuelled the general resentment against the asylees who were perceived as dangerous (and well-provisioned) fifth columnists.[425]

In fact, most of the fifth column networks operated outside the ambit of the embassies.[426]However, some members of the foreign diplomatic corps maintained regular contact with Burgos and actively worked for the Nationalists.[427]A diplomat at the Chilean embassy informed Burgos (via Franco's representative in Lisbon) that around one hundred anti-Republican asylees were being housed in private property in Calle de Los Hermanos Becquer, 8.[428]

Relations between the Republican government and the embassies reached various crisis points. The German embassy was closed by the government on 20 November 1936. The German and Italian governments recognised the belligerent status of the rebels on 18 November 1936 and Madrid's Defence Junta suspected that the German embassy housed a 'nest of fifth columnists.' The German diplomatic corps was given 24 hours to evacuate the embassy buildings. Santiago Carillo, the leader of public order with the Madrid Defence Committee, authorised the militias to shoot at the tyres of one of the German embassy vehicles in order to impede the escape of fugitives. The incident did not infringe the extra-

[425] Etchébehere, Mitcha (1987) *Mi Guerra de España: Las apasionantes vivencias de una mujer que llego a ser Capitán de fuerzas Republicanas* [POUM], (Madrid: Plaza y Janés), p.170. Also cited in Moral, (2001) *El Asilo,* at p.45.
[426] Cervera (1998), *Madrid* pp. 339-374 at p. See also, Moral, (2001) *El Asilo,* at p.20.
[427] E.g. the Belgian diplomat Baron de Borchgrave who was accused of espionage and executed by anarchists on 20 December 1936, the Belgian diplomat Marc Spaey Engelen, the Romanian Henry Helfant and General Lucco a military attache at the Chilean Embassy who was arrested in possession of plans relating to Republican military campaigns. Also, the Norwegian business attache Félix Schlayer.
[428] Cervera (1998), *Madrid* p. 359.

territorial status of the embassy and the vehicle contained fire-arms.[429] There were also several security raids on embassy buildings of which the most notable were those on the Finnish and Turkish embassies which openly violated political asylum rights. On 4 December 1936 government security forces raided the Finnish embassy and a cache of fire-arms and bombs was discovered and several illegal asylees were detained. The raid on the Turkish embassy on 28 January 1938 led to the arrest of Antonio Rodríguez Aguado and Joaquín Jiménez de Anta who were Falangist leaders who maintained contact with three Clandestine Falange *banderas* and with Lt. Colonel Bonel Huici's Nationalist intelligence services in Torre de Estebán, Toledo.[430] These men used an illegal radio transmitter which was hidden at the embassy and also passed intelligence via diplomatic dispatches. They were assisted by Roseda Blanco Martínez.[431] Ángel Pedrero, [432] was authorised to raid the Turkish embassy by the SIM Headquarters in Barcelona. The raid was planned for over a year and led to the arrest of over one hundred individuals.[433]

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[429] Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* p. 361.

[430] The group was known as La organización Rodríguez Aguado. It was dismantled by Ángel Pedrero's Special Brigade Agents who infiltrated the network in October 1937. See *Sumario no. 81/1938* del *Juzgado Especial por espionaje y otros delitos contra la seguridad del Estado contra Antonio Rodríguez Aguado y otros,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,1540, Exp.1, Imágenes 1-1805. See also Cervera, (1998) *Madrid,* pp. 316-319.

[431] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Roseda Blanco Martínez, Document 277, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. She was agent (1HA).

[432] Ángel Pedrero García was the Head of Madrid's SIM after August 1937. The SIM was created after the dissolution of the Special Brigades in July 1937. Pedrero was also second in command of the García Atadell Brigade until its dissolution in late 1936. See *Testimonio del Fiscal Secretario de la pieza segunda del auto resumen del procedimiento sumarisimo de urgencia no. 1549 seguido por la Jurisdicción Militar Nacional contra Ángel Pedrero García, Jefe del Servicio Militar (SIM),* AHN, FC-CAUSA _GENERAL, 1520, Exp. 3. Imágenes 1-18. Affidavit Ángel Pedrero dated 2 January 1942

[433] Good diplomatic relations with Turkey were vital because Turkey had signed the Non-Intervention Agreement in 1936 and it controlled the straits of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles which was a route for vital Russian material shipments. This may explain the delay in raiding the embassy despite SIM knowledge of fifth-column activities within it.

Despite the government raids, the embassies were perceived to be the safest place for anti-Republicans.[434] Diplomatic extraterritoriality was officially recognised by the Republican government and Madrid's embassies and consulates provided asylum for around 6,000 anti-Republicans in early 1937.[435] There were around 11,000 legal asylees over the course of the war.[436] Legal asylees were individuals (mainly women) who enjoyed embassy protection because of their status as foreign nationals. These persons often wore an official embassy arm-band as identification and continued to live in their own private residences while enjoying a range of much envied diplomatic privileges which included extra food rations and special vehicle parking discs. These privileges were a source of popular resentment because the civilian population in Madrid began to experience hunger and material deprivation in early 1937.

Most of the illegal asylees were anti-Republican men from military, religious, political or professional backgrounds. They lived in cramped and over-crowded conditions and slept on the floor or on camp-beds. Although food was limited, the embassy rations were greater than those allocated to the general public and this fuelled popular resentment. During the first months of war the asylees were not allowed to leave the embassy buildings, all curtains and blinds were drawn and there was no access to the gardens for security reasons. All extra-territorial communications were banned and it was difficult to communicate with

[434] Cervera, Javier (1998), *Madrid,* p. 350.
[435] Source: Moral (2001) *El Asilo,* at p. 44. The author cites the figures in the DPhil Dissertation of María del Carmen Gómez Reollo (1985) *Madrid, 1936-9: El asilo diplomático en la guerra civil española* (Madrid: UCM). See also, Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* at p.351.
[436] Source: Cervera (1998) *Madrid,* p.351. The figure is an approximate because of the discrepancies between sources in relation to the number of legal and illegal asylees.

family members.[437]However, in 1937 it became possible to resume normal contact with the outside world. Nonetheless, life within the embassy was stressful, overcrowded, uncomfortable and monotonous. Embassy living generated feelings of anxiety and 'cabin fever.' Joaquín Calvo Sotelo's play '*La Vida Inmovil*'[438] was based on his personal experiences of the depression and frustration of "life on hold" in an overcrowded embassy. One of the few highlights was listening to the war reports on banned Nationalist radio stations such as Radio Burgos or Radio Sevilla. This defeatist news was circulated via Auxilio Azul into the wider anti-Republican community. Embassy officials also provided other types of assistance, including facilitating escape lines into the enemy zones[439] or negotiating with the Republican authorities in relation to political prisoners. The Norwegian consul Félix Schlayer's was involved in various Red Cross prisoner exchange negotiations, prisoner welfare initiatives and in the prevention of a *Saca* in the women's Conde de Toreno prison on 4 November 1936.[440] He estimated that there were around 10-12,000 asylees in Madrid in November 1936, 1000 of whom were under his responsibility.[441] In around July 1937 the government in Valencia approved the evacuation of around 8,000 embassy refugees from

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[437] *Expte. 486 instruido contra Teofila Abad Benito y Mercedes Rivero Calvo por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 116, Exp. 9. In this case two domestic workers were initially accused of espionage because they had carried messages to and from

[438] Source: Díaz-Plaja, Fernando, (1995) *La vida cotidiana en la España de la Guerra Civil,* (Madrid: Edaf), p.75.

[439] *Causa 25 instruida contra Ricardo Guerra Blanco por el delito/s de Alta Traición*, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 145, Exp. 44. Guerra Blanco was the magistrate who presided over popular Tribunal no. 7 which heard cases of disaffection. He was accused of treason in May 1938 for plotting with Félix Schlayer and Socorro Blanco to organise the escape of fugitives into the Nationalist zone.

[440] See "La cárcel de mujeres en el antiguo convento" in Félix Schlayer, (2008), *Diplomático en el Madrid Rojo* (Madrid: Espuela de Plata), pp.155-164.

[441] Source: Post war declaration of Félix Schlayer, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, cited in Moral Roncal, Antonio (2001) *El Asilo*, p. 32.

the capital, of which some 2,400 were men aged between 18-45 years who were to be exchanged against the same number of political prisoners in the Nationalist zone.[442]

Asylees were required to pay for expensive asylum accommodation and administrative fees. Auxilio Azul raised around 512,225 pesetas towards these expenses.[443] The Chilean embassy accommodated over 1,200 persons at its official residence in Paseo de la Castellana, 29 and another 1,000 persons in various diplomatic properties, the Cuban embassy housed 539 refugees, the Finnish embassy took in between 400-600 persons, the French embassy accommodated around 2,420 persons, the Mexican embassy housed 3,733, the Norwegian consulate housed 524 refugees, the Panamanian embassy took in 847 and the Turkish embassy provided asylum for 808 refugees. [444] Auxilio Azul placed most refugees at the Chilean, Panamanian, Cuban, Mexican, French, Polish, Norwegian, Finnish and Turkish embassies. However, it also had links with embassy personnel at the Argentinian, Columbian, Peruvian, Bolivian, Uruguayan, Haitian and Swiss embassies. Other hiding places were located in small hotels and in individual homes. Embassy vehicles were used to transport refugees to the embassies and, later, to transfer them to the Nationalist zone or to Getafe airport and into foreign exile.

[442]Marqués, Pierre (2,000) *La Croix-Rouge pendant la guerrre d'Espagne (1936-9),* (Paris: L'Harmattan), p.241.
[443] Source: Auxilio Azul Demobilisation Documents, 'Final Accounts' dated 1939, copy documentation reproduced in Borrás, (1965), Appendix, at p.141.
[444] Source: Cervera, (1998), *Madrid,* p. 371-373, See also María del Carmen Gómez Reollo Dissertation (1985) *Madrid, 1936-9: El asilo diplomático en la guerra civil española* (Madrid: UCM).

Auxilio Azul women arranged hundreds of asylums through their embassy contacts and through Republican administrative and associational networks. Concepción Fortis Benedicto[445] testified that she "helped relatives and close friends to avoid the arrests and *paseos* or military service." Her husband was imprisoned throughout most of the war and a warrant had been issued for her son's arrest following a denunciation by their concierge. "With great effort, suffering and personal danger to us both, I managed to obtain a place for my son at the Swiss embassy." The living expenses at the embassies were expensive. The reference to great 'effort and suffering' relates, in part, to her efforts to raise the money to cover her son's embassy fees and her husband's 5,000 peseta criminal fine. She also contributed 25 pesetas monthly to Auxilio Azul and raised an extra 35-40 pesetas monthly in third party donations. The son remained at the embassy for the duration of the war until March 1939 when he joined the Falange.

Auxilio Azul also brought money, clothing and medicines to the asylees on a weekly basis. One woman brought food and other items to the Norwegian and Chilean embassies and Cecilia Antón Medina "hid asylum seekers prior to their transfer to an embassy together with weapons and other munitions."[446] Carlota González de Uzqueta y Cerillo procured asylum for several Falangists at the Finnish embassy and was arrested when attempting to transfer arms into this same embassy.[447] Inés Martín Monjas joined Auxilio Azul in August

[445] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Concepción Pilar Fortis Benedicto dated 14 October 1939, Document 213, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[446] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Cecilia Antón Medina dated 6 October 1939, Document 293, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[447] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Carlota Narcisa González de Uzqueta y Cerillo dated 20 September 1939, Document 196, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

1937 after which she quickly became a Sub-Group leader and "collected money and clothing and …regularly visited an embassy where a male religious had taken refuge."[448]

The Group that liaised between the Norwegian and Panamanian embassies was called Group Y. The Group Leader was Elvira Martínez Ostendi who was the widow of an officer named Martín de Pozuelo. She was aged 48 years at the time of her arrest in 1937 and a resident of Avenida Eduardo Dato, 29. She had been an activist within Acción Popular before the war.[449] Elvira's son (an infantry lieutenant) and her brother (a factory owner) were arrested on 24 August 1936. These men were 'interrogated and badly treated' by communist militias for several days but were released following the intercession of her brother's former factory employees who provided reliable good-character references (*avales*). On 30 August 1936 Elvira was arrested for being a 'fascist' and detained for three hours. She was interrogated and threatened with execution by militias of the socialist García Atadell Brigade. From July until 23 October 1936 the family was subjected to various house searches "and all manner of injuries and persecutions."[450] Finally, with the help of Father Recaredo Ventosa, she found refuge for her son and for Santiago Pineiro (the son of the Count of Canillas) at the Norwegian embassy. These personal experiences of repression motivated her to join Auxilio Azul. Thereafter, she 'dedicated herself to the service' and became a liaison agent for the network and the Norwegian and Panamanian embassies. She organised asylum at various embassies for as many as fifty-seven individuals, mostly military

[448] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Inés Martín Monjas dated 28 October 1939, Document 183, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[449] *Expte. 609 contra* Elvira Martínez Ostendi *por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC_CAUSA_GENERAL, 270, Exp. 10. Image 13/84.
[450] Oral testimony of Elvira Martínez Ostendi in undated interview with author, see Borrás (1965), at p.172.

personnel or their relatives. On 10 August 1937 Elvira was re-arrested and accused of 'Adhesion to the Rebellion.' The charges were reduced to the lesser crime of disaffection. The DGS accused her of the following crimes:

"having served the Nationalist cause with great success by procuring and having procured asylum for fugitive fascists at various embassies…she also obtained false passports in order to facilitate foreign travel for fascists, either using their own names or false names, with the assistance of her extensive knowledge and contacts."[451]

She was also accused of having compiled a list of asylum seekers at the Norwegian embassy who were "willing to rise up one day and take up arms against the legitimate Government."[452] The list contained the names of seven men: two industrial workers, a medical assistant, a scaffolder, a draughtsman, an electrician and a mechanic. The embassies were filled with a cross-section of society including working classes and affluent middle-classes, the religious and the military. Elvira also provided safe-housing for valuables (e.g. jewellery, money, shares, military insignia and religious artefacts) on behalf of friends and neighbours who had been forced into hiding or who had fled Madrid during the early months of the war. "The militias made regular house searches and took everything of value that they found."[453] These confiscations were made pursuant to an emergency war confiscation and reparations legislation which was implemented in Autumn 1936. It is unclear from the records whether such items became the subject to theft or official requisition pursuant to new legislation of 23 September 1936 which established a new War

[451] *Expte. 609*, Imagen 3/84.
[452] *Expte. 609*, Imagen 3/84.
[453] *Expte. 609,* Imagen 4/84.

Reparations Chest (*Caja General de Reparaciones de daños derivados de la guerra civil.*)[454] Article 4 of this new legislation created a special tribunal which was established in order to 'assess the damages arising from Defendant's anti-Republican behaviour.' After her release from Prison in 1937, Fernando Bustillo (the Marquis of Villanueva) one of the senior leaders of Madrid's Clandestine Falange 'ordered her and Elena Cano to form a women's Falangist group' in Madrid. She recalled that her 'Group' had comprised 850 affiliates who collectively received a Silver "Y" award after the war.[455] According to an *ABC* obituary dated May 1970 Elvira Martínez Ostendi was reputed to be:

"an exemplary woman of singular virtues who had consecrated her life to her home and to the immediate service of the Fatherland for which she sacrificed her liberty. On account of her activities during the Liberation Crusade she received those military honours due to an ex-combatant and an ex prisoner."[456]

The members of other Groups were also involved in the Embassy Networks. These included Ana María Rizzo Goñi,[457] and Elena Herzog (widow of Sevilla Bahamonde) who was involved in Group 4K and safe-housed Antonio Sainz de Heredia an uncle of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Herzog also testified to having worked for the Traditionalist Socorro Blanco organisation and to disseminating Nationalist war reports.[458] Ana María Rizzo Goñi was the

[454] See *Decreto del Ministerio de Hacienda* dated 23 September 1936, cited in *Gaceta de la Republica,* 25 September, 1936. See also Sánchez Recio, Glicerio (1991), *La Republica contra los Rebeldes y los Desafectos, La Represión Económica durante la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Universidad de Alicante), pp. 19-23.

[455] Oral Testimony of Elvira Martínez Ostendi, Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil*, p.173.
[456] Obituary of Elvira Martínez Ostendi, *ABC* (Madrid) dated 26 May 1970 at p. 46.
[457] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ana María Rizzo Goñi dated 29 September Document 248, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[458] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Elena Herzog dated 28 September, Document 222, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

leader of Sub-Group 1-A-P. She and her sister Dolores lived near the San Antón prison and provided safe-housing at their home in Calle del Espejo for military deserters, politicians,[459] Falangist spies and various San Antón prisoners who managed to escape during the *sacas* with the aid of a prison guard named Baudilio Fernández Pérez. She also claimed to have safe-housed at least fifty fugitives and supplied them with false identification documents.[460] Both she and her sister Dolores maintained regular communications with the prisoners in San Antón. According to Jesus Laporta Girón who was the Director of San Antón in 1938 these women:

"performed invaluable and courageous services by hiding fugitive prisoners in their own home in grave circumstances and at risk to their own lives…They helped me to save several other comrades who were in grave danger because they had been involved in espionage by providing them with hiding places, food and false ration cards and other documents and they acted as liaison agents between certain prisoners and myself and Commander González Abela. They also organised escape lines for comrades into the Nationalist zone and provided us with some clothing."[461]

The two sisters used their networks of influence within the Republican administration in order to obtain the release of their mother (Dolores Rizzo Goñi) from the Conde de Toreno prison. They utilized contacts within the Republican administration in order to obtain the

[459] The politicians included José Cruz Conde Fustegueras a military officer and former President of Renovación Española who represented the 'canditatura anti-revolucionaria' during the 16 February 1936 general elections. This monarchist politician was a Director of the Ibero-American Seville Exposition (1929), mayor of Cordoba (1924-5), and civil governor of Seville (1926-1931). During the war in Madrid he lived as a fugitive in Madrid in a sucession of safe-houses and embassies including those of Peru, Argentina and Santo Domingo. He died in Madrid aged 60 years of a cardiac arrest on 31 January 1939.
[460] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ana María Rizzo Goñi dated 29 September, Document 248, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[461] Source: *Archivo General Auxilio Azul, Cárceles, Doc 29717.* Letter from Jesus Laporta Girón to the FET de las JONS, dated 18 March 1940 a photo-copy of which is reproduced in Borrás (1965), in Appendix at p.257.

assistance of a '*rabano*' (radish)[462] named Manuel Acal Marín de las Barcenas who was a senior civil servant in the foreign office consular department and in charge of the appointment of new consuls. De las Barcenas had a relationship with a leader of the militias nick named 'Rincón' who guarded the Conde de Toreno prison. This militia leader obtained the release of Dolores but immediately requested that De las Barcenas provide him with a safe consular posting as compensation. Not wishing to comply with Rincón's request, de la Barcena promptly sought asylum in an embassy.

Mari-Nieves Villagarcía Gómez, the leader of Auxilio Azul's Group AY, [463]claimed to have provided 'safe-housing' for many individuals including the Traditionalist Rodrigo Ochoa y de Murga and the journalist Ignacio Catalán Alday who became Editor of Seville's *ABC* newspaper after the war. The brothers Martín and Francisco Parrilla were also safe-housed for a period of six months until they were arrested during a house search. Similarly, Andrea Pariente Suárez testified that her house had been "packed with fugitives …who were being hunted to death, including my brother, a politician, who was taken from the house and assassinated on 21 August 1936."[464] Pariente Suárez also provided safe-housing for priests including Father Eugenio García Gúzman who celebrated masses in her home.

María Baeza Picatoste de Torrecillas was a founder member of Auxilio Azul. She had safe-housed the entire Martínez Unciti family in November 1936 after the death of María Paz.

[462] The colloquial term for someone who was 'red on the outside but white inside' i.e. a secret Nationalist sympathiser.
[463] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Marí-Nieves Villagarcía Gómez dated 20 September 1939, Document 149, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[464] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Andrea Pariente Súarez dated 9 October 1939, Document 169, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

The family had been forced into hiding because of repeated death threats. Picatoste was a housewife (*sus labores*) who was aged 39 years when she was arrested on 1 May 1938. She lived with her three young sons, her father (aged 76 years), her mother in law (aged 71 years) and a bedridden aunt. Her husband and brother in law were disaffected military officers who were imprisoned in Duque de Sexto Prison. Her brother had found asylum within the Chilean Embassy and her sister had fled Madrid. She maintained regular contact with her brother by bringing him food at the Embassy. Following an anonymous denunciation, the DGS searched her home and confiscated 'two gold topped batons, items of ceremonial military uniform, service medals, a photograph of Gil Robles and a small amount of silver currency ("*two two peseta pieces, two one peseta pieces and eight fifty centimos…*") together with various un-incriminating letters from her brother at the Embassy and an illegal "Orbe" radio set and five lamps.[465] Her defence counsel pleaded that the burden of affective labour (the care of the home and family) had fallen upon the Defendant and that:

"these unfortunate circumstances had… isolated her from all social activities and relationships and led to her seclusion within the home in circumstances where she was on less than cordial terms with her husband."[466]

She was found guilty of disaffection on account of being a former member of Acción Popular because her name appeared in the Control de Nominas. The fact that she was a senior leader within Auxilio Azul and the co-ordinator of the 'Embassy Services' was never

[465] *Expte. contra María Baeza Torrecilla por delitos de Desafección al Régimen por pertenencia a Acción Popular,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 184, Exp. 14, Imagen 2-3/46.
[466] *Expte. contra María Baeza Torrecilla,* Imagen 33/46.

disclosed during the trial. Baeza was released from prison on 1 October 1938 and granted a suspended sentence (two years in a labour camp) because the tribunal believed that she did not pose any serious threat to the Republican regime.

2. Labour (*Trabajos*)

This was the largest Network. It organised fund-raising initiatives and distributed financial aid and clothing. It also oversaw the manufacture and sale of clothing, matches, lighter flints and candles. It operated as a clandestine business network within the black-market economy and provided a living income for members as well as charitable funds. The Head of this network was Carina's sister María de los Ángeles Martínez Unciti. The Labour Services were divided into three sectors: Acquisitions, Manufacture and Sales. The Sales section also collected weekly donations and provided false documentation when required. One of the most important Group Leaders was María Felisa Parés (codename "L") who worked closely with Group Leader María del Carmen Timmermans who distributed false documentation.

María Lemuz González Campuzano (Sub-Group Leader L-III) recruited around 100 members and worked under Group Leader María Felisa Parés ("L").[467] Lemus also raised funds and distributed money among "needy persons of the Right" and obtained provisions from the SIM, the Red Cross and other governmental organisations with the aid of false documentation.[468] She stored food, clothing and shoes at her home and distributed these

[467] This member was also involved in the clandestine fifth column operations of the "195 Group" discussed in Chapter III below.
[468] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Lemus González Campuzano dated 27 October 1939, Document 254, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. She was also a liason agent with the Clandestine Falange and safe-guarded valuables.

items within the prisons. She also acted as a liaison agent and provided fugitives with false identity documents so that they 'might enter embassies and hospitals or escape into the Nationalist zone.' Her Group Leader, María Felisa Parés, also guarded money, jewels and other valuable items that had been 'entrusted to the organisation by fugitive anti-Republicans.' María Felisa Parés was also infiltrated as a secretary within the SIM records department. Josefina García Folez (K-2) "collected money, clothing, food, visited prisons, families in hiding and provided whatever was needed [including] ration cards.[469]" Not all the women's testimonies were as forthcoming, many simply provided the following formulaic statement: "I gathered money, helped families in need and followed all the orders of my Group Leader.[470]" Fund raising was possible via neighbourhood, confessional and associational networks many of which were established before the war because in June 1934 José Antonio created a separate gendered space within which to channel Falangist women's enthusiastic activism. The new Sección Femenina was:

"was born from the urgent need to attend to Falangist prisoners and their families. It was a clandestine and rather dangerous social initiative which was performed by female affiliates who would raise funds from friends, organise raffles, sell memberships stamps…and soaps which bore a

[469] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Josefina García Fólez de Velador dated 27 September 1939, Document 203, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[470] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Tejedor Escribano dated 3 October 1939, Document 266, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. See also, *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Cecilia Antón Medina dated 6 October 1939, Document 293, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. Medina distributed Red Cross food to prisoners and those in hiding or in embassies. Amongst many other services rendered she "collected money, distributed raffle tickets, sewed, sold items, and provided emergency aid (*socorros*) …"

political message on a red and black label: "In aid of the National-Sindicalist Revolution, the Fatherland, Bread and Justice, *¡Arriba España!"* [471]

The majority of Auxilio Azul's members participated in the Labour Network whether through fund raising, collecting clothing or distributing food and medicines to destitute anti-Republicans and prisoners. Magdalena Sánchez Velasco "sewed many clothes for the children of prisoners who had given birth in prison."[472] Donations were collected on weekly basis from reliable businesses and trustworthy individuals (*personas de confianza*) who were secretly sympathetic to the Nationalist cause.

By late 1938 Madrid's civilians (especially infants and the elderly) suffered the ill-effects of prolonged malnutrition due to the severe restrictions on food rations. Items such as fuel, clothing, cigarettes and medicines were also extremely scarce. Those who had sufficient financial resources had regular recourse to the black market. Women also travelled to the surrounding countryside in order to barter clothes, jewellery and money in exchange for eggs, potatoes and meat. Thanks to these strategies, 'the majority of Madrid's population managed to survive the war, although, as is always the case, there were some who had no problems at all in obtaining provisions and others who starved to death.'[473]In this context private charitable initiatives within the local community (whatever their political

[471] Suárez Fernández, Luís, (1992), *Crónica de la Sección Femenina y su tiempo,* (Madrid: Nueva Andadura), p.37.
[472] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Magdalena Sánchez Velasco dated 26 October 1939, Document 194, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[473] Montoliú, Pedro (2000) *Madrid en la Guerra Civil, La Historia Vol. I* (Madrid: Silex), p. 257.

complexion) may have sometimes been cautiously accommodated by the Republican authorities.

3. Clothing Services

As the war progressed fabric, thread, wool and other basic items became scarce commodities. The members were involved in the recycling and re-distribution of clothing. The 'Clothing Services' and 'Clothing Sales' was a form of social enterprise. Women began to sell raffle tickets, Red Cross food stamps and even nylon tights in order to raise funds.[474] Almost all of the members were involved in some aspect of the collection, cleaning and recycling. According to Auxilio Azul's accounting records 2,140 items of male clothing were distributed 'to prisoners and the needy, 2,950 female items and 4,630 children's clothes were distributed during the lifetime of the organisation.'[475] These clandestine activities mirrored those which were openly undertaken by Auxilio Social (established by Mercedes Sanz Bachiller in October 1936) in the Nationalist zones.[476]

Goods which had been requisitioned by the popular militias for the war effort were appropriated from official warehouses and storage depots were sold 'under the counter' via

[474] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Pilar Morga Méndez dated 26 September 1939, Document 198, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[475] Borrás, (1965), *Seis Mil,* p.81.
[476] For a detailed account of Mercedes Sanz Bachiller and the origins of Auxilio Social see Orduña Prada, Monica (1996) *El Auxilio Social (1936-40), La etapa fundacional y los primerso años* (Madrid: Escuela Libre Editorial). This work is cited in "Mercedes Sanz Bachiller- So Easy to Judge" in Preston, Paul (2002) *Doves of War, Four Women of Spain* (London: Harper Collins), at pp. 205-293.

a series of retail networks. The confection of clothing was the only source of income for many of the women: "…we had to make and sell embroidery in the shops in order to eat."[477] These workshops also ran fund-raising 'raffles' which were started by the Sección Femenina before the war. Between January and March 1939 raffle revenues generated 228, 185.00 pesetas.[478]

3.1 Acquisitions

The 'Acquisitions Section' collected funds and donations from retailers and businesses that were 'sympathetic' to the anti-Republican cause. Prominent individuals, embassies and businesses donated money, medicines, clothing, milk, food, fabric and sewing materials. Regular benefactors were known as 'protectors' and their aid extended to offering storage space in warehouses, providing transportation for food and fuel supplies and assisting in the collection and distribution of false documentation. The Red Cross supported the work of Auxilio Azul.[479] Similarly, operatives were embedded within Madrid's hospitals, including the Hospital Militar (4th Network). Large quantities of condensed milk and tobacco were acquired and then re-distributed via clandestine Falangist networks.[480] The boundaries between 'legitimate' auxiliary activities and the illegal sabotage of Republican distribution

[477] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Teresa González Tablas y Mendizábal dated 6 October 1939, Document 233, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[478] Source: Borrás (1965), *Seis Mil,* p.140
[479] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Isabel Martín Monjas dated 28 October 1939, Document 182, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. This affiliate and others testified that they secretly obtained milk and other supplies from the Red Cross.
[480] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ángelita Blanco de Castro dated 6 November 1939, Document 144, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

operations were blurred and the sanctions against those who crossed these boundaries were harsh, often involving a significant fine or a term in prison or a labour camp.

Ángelita Blanco de Castro (2-AY-4) was a member of Group AY4 and she dedicated herself to "collecting money and clothing for the persecuted."[481] The leader of her Sub-Group was code-named 2-AY, Rosa Mazarracín Lalanda.[482] Mazarracín was the leader of the Hospicio District Sub Group AY. The overall Leader of Group AY was María de las Nieves Villagarcía Gómez who worked in Madrid's central food depot 'La Empresa Municipalizada del Mercado Central.'[483] The members performed services which included gathering and distributing donations, food and medicines to the needy. Mazarracín Lalanda testified that she had regularly:

"collected money from all the right-wing persons that I knew. I gave the funds to my immediate superior, Manolita Villagarcía, in order to help numerous people who were under the yoke of the Reds, I also collected clothes for the same ends…[484]"

María Dolores Núñez Fagoaga was employed as a 'Delegate' in the Hospital District from August 1937 until the 'Liberation' in April 1939. She was involved in the collection of money and clothing from various donors and collaborators which she then passed on to her

[481] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ángelita Blanco de Castro dated 6 November 1939, Document 156, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. She was the leader of '*Barrio 4*'
[482] Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* p.270.
[483] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Nieves Villagarcía Gómez dated 20 September 1939, Document 149, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[484] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rosa Mazarracín Lalanda dated 21 September 1939, Document 153, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

immediate superior Mercedes Criado.[485] Her sister María Carlota Núñez Fagoaga also worked for the same group and 'distributed food to the needy.' She also circulated copies of Nationalist war reports 'which came from the Generalissimo's Headquarters in Burgos,' both at her office and in private houses, for a period of over twelve months until she was sacked for disaffection.[486]

Financial donations from sympathetic businesses and commercial organisations were vital to operations. The most generous donors included the retailers Simeon, Encarnación Arias, Samaral, Álfaro, Cabezón and a specialist linen shop which was situated in Calle del Barquillo. Some factories kept secret accounts relating to their illegal business dealings.[487] Other benefactors volunteered hundreds of affiliates and donated large quantities of food, clothing and money to fugitives. Helen Garrigues Walker was the daughter of the US international Trade (ITT) representative in Spain during the Second Republic. In 1931 she married the Catholic lawyer Antonio Garrigues y Díaz Cañabete who was a leader of the Falangist Castilla group which was infiltrated within the International Red Aid (Soccorro Rojo) and the Catholic journalist Santos Alcocer was also a member of this group. Garrigues "collaborated with the Falange as one of the notorious fifth columnists in Madrid, devoted to sabotage and propaganda on behalf of Franco." [488] Helen was involved in the Castilla

[485] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Dolores Núñez Fagoago dated 20 September 1939, Document 156, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[486] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Carlota Núñez Fagoago dated 20 September 1939, Document 156, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[487] Source: "*Folio de la contabilidad de Auxilio Azul de la compania de cerillas."* Source: Borrás (1965), p.262.
[488] Antonio Garrigues y Díaz Cañabete, Marqués de Garrigues, lawyer and public servant (9 Jan 1904-24 Feb 2004) "was a unique figure in Spanish politics holding high office under the Republic in the 1930's, the Francoist dictatorship in the 1960's and the restored monarchy of King Juan Carlos in the 1970's." Despite being a devout Catholic he married Helen Walker a

group and also became the leader of Auxilio Azul's Provisions Group (*Víveres).* She was a protestant but the rest of her family were devout Catholics and her daughter Elena took the veil in 1963.[489] She used her social capital and her influence within US business and diplomatic circles and the International Red Cross, the Swiss Red Cross and the Republican Red Cross in order to obtain food, milk and medical supplies. She also used her family's influence and US diplomatic back channels in order to obtain the release of several women (including Carina) who were arrested while celebrating a clandestine mass at the dairy in Calle Velázquez, 46 which operated as a secret chapel. Other benefactors included Helen's husband, Juan Lillo Orzaes, Luis Serrano Novo (one of the Clandestine Falange's Junta leaders) and Vicente Busso who managed Auxilio Azul's secret accounts.

Auxilio Azul members were also embedded within the public administration and various municipal co-operatives. María Nieves Villagarcía was infiltrated in the Mercado Central and, in her capacity as the leader of Group AY, she siphoned off "as many items as possible in aid of the Nationalist Cause." [490] Such resistance strategies meant that these formerly law-abiding women now operated within an illegal counter-culture. The 'illegal stockpiling of rationed goods' was a treasonous activity.[491] The Group Leader Carmen Vera Aguilera

protestant from Des Moines, Iowa in 1931. They had nine children. Helen died in 1944 aged 35. He was most well-known as the close friend of Jacqueline Kennedy after her husband's assassination in 1963. He became Spanish ambassador to Washington in 1962 because of his professional links with North America, his distance from Franco and his friendship with the Kennedy family. See Antonio Garrigues, Obituary, *Guardian* dated 1 March 2004.

[489] See *ABC, Madrid* dated 28 September 1963, p.57. "The daughter of the US Ambassador will make her perpetual vows next Sunday at the convent of the Irish Mothers of Seville."

[490] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Nieves Villagarcía Gómez dated 20 September 1939, Document 149, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[491] *Sumario instruido contra Carmen Vera Aguilera y Antonio Capdevilla Massip por el delito/s de Derrotismo e infracción en materia de substancias,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 59, Exp. 39. Imágenes 1-6.

distributed condensed milk and other rationed goods.[492] On 13 February 1939, Vera Aguilera, a Cuban National, was acquitted on charges of "Defeatism" and "infractions relating to subsistence materials."[493] A cache of twenty-five boxes of condensed milk were discovered at her home. However, she was released from prison because the 'controlled food items' had been legitimately obtained from the Cuban and Panamanian embassies. These 'everyday' forms of resistance were similar to those performed by many ordinary Republican civilians at this time.[494] Madrid experienced severe material hardship during the conflict and black-market practices were frequent and widespread during and after the war.[495]

According to the organisation's accounting records which are dated between 1 August 1936 and 28 March 1939, the acquisition of materials for the Labour section amounted to 735,580.00 pesetas. The acquisition of clothing and other 'sewing items' amounted to 718,875.00 pesetas. Food acquisitions amounted to 2,303,660.00 pesetas. Finally, 57,272.00 pesetas were spent on the acquisition of children's toys as Christmas gifts during 1938 and 1939.[496] The total money spent on charitable acquisitions was 4,339,812 pesetas.[497]

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[492] Borrás (1965), p.159.
[493] *Sumario instruido contra Carmen Vera Aguilera y Antonio Capdevilla Massip por el delito/s de Derrotismo e infracción en materia de substancias,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 59, Exp. 39. Imágenes 1-6.
[494] Rodríguez Barreira, Óscar "Cambalaches: hambre, moralidad popular y mercados negros de guerra y posguerra," *Historia Social,* 77, (2013), pp. 149-174.
[495] See "*De los vales al mercado negro"* in Montoliú, Pedro (2000) *Madrid en la Guerra Civil, La Historia Vol. I* (Madrid: Silex), pp 151-156.
[496] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Lava Casla dated 20 September 1939, Document 159, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. This member testified to having purchased toys and distributed them at Christmas to the children of 'wanted' anti-Republicans.
[497] Source: Borrás (1965), p.76.

3.2 Manufacturing

The 'Manufacturing Section' processed the fabrics and other raw materials which were collected by the Acquisitions Section. These materials were distributed among individuals or small groups who would make clothing and other items the needy.[498] Women worked at home and organised small manufacturing networks based on associational and friendship groups.[499] They made fashionable clothing, slippers, socks, bags, belts, lace, embroideries.[500] Paper flowers and 'painted silk scarves were sold at the embassies.[501] They also improvised clothes, toys and Moses baskets.[502] The baskets were made for prisoner's wives.[503] Also for Falangists activists who had babies in prison.[504] Women embroidered garments in order to augment the monthly revenues and made "flags, arm bands, pendants and bracelets in an anticipation of the day of our liberation."[505] This real

[498] E.g. *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Mercedes Sotillo Sancho dated 11 October 1939, Document 161, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. Also, *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Isabel Martín Monjas dated 1 August 1939, Document 182, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. And, *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Francisca Calero Ruiz de Valbuena dated 26 September 1939, Document 197, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[499] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Dolores Núñez Fagoago dated 9 September 1939, Document 156, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[500] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Carmen Temprano Vidal dated 25 September 1939, Document 206, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. She also collected Red Cross ration books.
[501] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Manolita Despierto Vázquez dated 4 September 1939, Document 147, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[502] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Pastora Vázquez Moreno dated 28 September 1939, Document 152, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. See also Testimony of María Lava Casla dated 20 September 1939, Document 159, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[503] E.g. *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Lillie Arroyo del Real dated 20 September 1939, Document 150, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. A member of Group AY.
[504] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rosa Mazarracín Lalanda dated 21 September 1939, Document 153, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[505] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Inés Martín Monjas dated 28 October 1939, Document 183, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

and symbolic resistance labour was extremely dangerous and organised by Carina. After 18 July 1936, the Sección Femenina mobilised to supply the Falangist militias with blue shirts and bracelets, although these highly incriminating items, (together with religious artefacts and monarchist memorabilia) often had to be hidden.[506] Many also recalled the necessity to burn incriminating items.[507] Soon after 18 July Rosina Frutos was forced to flee from the militias "under cover of darkness and at great risk, with 10 large flags and 45 banners wrapped around my body."[508] In 1938 a Falangist activist in Barcelona named María Coll Codina was sentenced to 6 years in a labour camp in 1938 for 'defeatist practices and for making quantities of Falangist bracelets and banners.'[509]

Felisa Ruiz de Alda was the leader of a manufacturing group which operated from *within* Ventas prison. [510] The prison group produced clothing and other items for distribution and sale to the local community in aid of Auxilio Azul. Felisa was the first cousin of Julio Ruiz de Alda (one of the three founders of the Falange). She became involved in Auxilio Azul after her imprisonment for disaffection along with Matilde Casampallo [sic] and María de los

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[506] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Josefa Cerezo dated [September] 1939, Document 176, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. Cerezo testified to having hidden Falangist flags and false documentation; see also *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Teresa González Tablas y Mendizábal dated 6 October 1939, Document 233, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[507] Primo de Rivera, Pilar (1983) *Recuerdos de Una Vida,* (Ediciones Dyrsa: Madrid), p. 69.

[508] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rosina Frutos Paris dated 20 September, Document 246, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. She became a 'Red Cross liaison agent' who 'gave money to the poor' and safe-guarded 'intelligence, plans and a copy of José Antonio's will together with the organisations financial records.'

[509] See case of the Falangist María Coll Codina in *Testimonios de Sentencias dictadas por el Tribunal especial de Espionaje y Alta Traición de Cataluña en cuasas procedentes del juzgado especial no 1,* AHN, FC-CAUSA GENERAL, 1637, Exp. 38 Imagen [16/161].

[510] *Expte. contra Felisa Ruiz de Alda por desafección al Régimen,5145*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,19, Exp.47 and Expte. 266, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,235, Exp. 5. Felisa Ruiz de Alda was arrested in late February 1937. She served her sentence in Madrid's Conde de Toreno, San Rafael and Ventas prisons and later in Alacuas, Valencia.

Ángeles Fournies [sic] during their time in Ventas.[511] Felisa claimed that the prison director 'don Victor' was sympathetic to 'the Cause' and 'some great old-school prison guards acted as liaison agents (*enlaces*) 'on the outside' (*la calle*).' The Falangist leader Luis Serrano Novo (code-named "Benigno") brought materials into the prison for members to make belts, woollen items, dresses and leather goods which they pretended were for their own families. Felisa set up a work-shop where "all worked secretly together …and contributed to the sacrifices that were being made by people on the outside…We did a great deal and with a great deal of joy…"[512]

The Falangist spy and actress Matilde Casañ Pablo joined Auxilio Azul while in Ventas. She was accused of espionage and imprisoned for high treason on account of her involvement in the Golfín-Corujo espionage network (discussed in Ch. III).[513] She became the Group Leader of prison group H-1. She was an 'old shirt' who joined the Falange in 1934 as member no. 6-6-4. Before the war she was an activist in the Buenavista district under the orders of José Luis de Zaragoza for whom she 'did all types of work in accordance with my orders.' After 18 July and 'the outbreak of the 'Glorious movement' she was disconnected from her group but eventually entered an 'espionage organisation' where she worked as a spy for nine months. She managed to infiltrate into the head office of the General Command of the Militias (Secretario General de la Comandancia de las Milicias) but was arrested on 4 May

[511] Hernández Holgado, Fernando (2003), *Mujeres encarceladas: La prisión de Ventas, de la Republica al Franquismo,* 1931-41, (Madrid: Marcial Pons) p.172. Ruiz de Alda continued to visit Republican prisoners in Ventas after the war. There is a typo here "Matilide Casampallo" is correctly spelt "Matilde Casañ Pablo."
[512] Oral testimony of Felisa Ruiz de Alda in an undated interview with the author in Borrás (1965),pp. 196-201 at p.197.
[513] *Sumario, No. 4/1937 del Juzgado Especial del Tribunal Central de Espionaje no.1 contra Javier Fernández Golfín y otros*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1539, Exp. 1. Imágenes 1134.

1937 and imprisoned in the Checa de los Salesianos. From this *Cheka* she was transferred to Ventas and thereafter to a Valencian prison, and then on to Alacuas labour camp (Valencia), Cehegín (Murcía) and then back to Ventas where she joined Auxilio Azul making products for sale and making propaganda among the Republican prisoners and "helping out our boys for whom, with the aid of my lawyer Gómez Arias, I could always get was needed in the form of false work certificates and I did everything that my leader in the prison Felisa Ruiz de Alda asked of me." [514]

3.3 Sales

The 'Sales Section' supplied and distributed goods within a clandestine network of 'trusted' retail outlets. The leaders of the Group were Carmen Timmermans, María Luisa Rubio and Nena Toffé whose immediate subordinates were Josefina and María Ignacia Sánchez López Guerrero. Women sold fashionable and 'coveted' hand-made items in private boutiques and market stalls. They also sold lighter flints[515] and candles in cafés, bars and restaurants. Dolores Ochoa Malagon successfully sold her 'fashionable creations' at the Torrijas flea market. Florinda Aparicio Prieto sold clothes in aid of Auxilio Azul from her exclusive boutique which was named "Florinda. Latest Fashions.[516]" Several affiliates testified to having supplied clothing for sale at Florinda's Boutique.[517]

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[514] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Matilde Casañ Pablo dated 14 October 1939, ANA, *Carpeta* B 12 folder? Source: www.plataforma2003.org [last accessed 21 February 2017]. The full reference for this document was not provided on the website.
[515] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Emilia García San Nicolas dated 5 October 1939, Document 163, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[516] Cervera (1998) *Madrid*, p. 273.
[517] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ángela Ibáñez Calvo dated 9 October 1939, Document 225, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. See also, *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ángeles García Ochoa Ibáñez dated 9 October 1939, Document 226, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH and *Asesoría Jurídica,*

Carmen Dávila and Carmen Timmermans ran various small workshops including one which reconditioned second-hand clothing and used fabrics which had been donated by anti-Republican shops and business. The women reconditioned summer frocks, *lingerie* and made pretty slippers with cardboard soles covered in black satin. They sometimes received the full retail price of the goods which were sold on their behalf by generous shop keepers who kept secret parallel accounts of their illicit transactions. 'Women transported contraband clothing by wearing it in layers in order to conceal the illegal sales.'[518] This section created a new 'fashion craze for an elegant white jacket (*perchera*)' made from hospital linen. Carmen Cueto Maroto (a nurse) stole sheets from the storage depots of several military hospitals. The women had little scruple or compunction regarding the theft of items which had been requisitioned for the war effort. They believed that these items had been 'stolen' from middle-class families by the authorities. The *percheras* and other fashionable items sold for a profit at retailers such as "*Cabezon*" and Florinda's Boutique in Calle de Hortaleza.

By mid 1937 a sense of 'normality' returned to the civilian rearguard. The *monos* and informal working clothes of the first months were once again replaced with formal suits and middle-class attire (albeit without hats and ties).[519] Fashionable clothing became a scarce and desirable commodity. Middle-class women continued to assert their position in the

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Testimony of María Pilar García Ochoa Ibáñez dated 9 October 1939, Document 227, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[518] Oral testimony of Carmen Timmermans in an undated interview with the author Borrás, (1965), *Seis Mil,* pp.192-5.

[519] See *La ciudad recupera su ritmo* in Montoliú, Pedro (2000) *Madrid en la Guerra Civil, La Historia Vol. I* (Madrid: Silex), pp 279-286.

social space through symbolic violence.[520] Nena Toffé, was a Sales Group Leader who partially lost her eyesight during the war from a combination of malnutrition and 'from sewing from dawn till dusk in cold, damp and dark conditions.'[521] Nena's customers included militia women and the intimates of famous military leaders including General Líster and *El Campesino.* These women formed part of a new economic and social elite who were also a potential source of valuable military or political intelligence. Women like Toffé used their embodied cultural and social capital to keep new working-class customers 'in their place' by asserting their 'innately' superior fashion sensibility and taste.[522] Despite circumstances of *hysteresis,* middle-class anti-Republican women were able to assert their distinction in the social space while also enjoying new forms of economic agency. Toffé 'bitterly swallowed her pride when she knelt down to adjust the hem of a militia woman's dress but she took comfort from going away with 200 pesetas in her pocket.'[523]

[520] Bourdieu's term for the imposition on subordinated groups by the dominant class of an ideology which legitimises and naturalizes the status quo; such as, for example, the imposition of midde-class aesthetic tastes and values and the imposition of 'appropriate' fashion and dress codes on the working-classes. "After so much historical work on the symbolism of power, it would be naïve not to see that fashions in clothing and cosmetics are a basic element in the mode of domination": Bourdieu, Pierre (2010) *Distinction,* (London: Routledge), at p.312.

[521] Oral testimony of Nena Toffé in undated interview with the author Borrás, (1965), *Seis Mil,* p.188.

[522] See the discussion on 'symbolic violence' and discussions on bodily hexis and the 'transformation of self through fashion' in order to acquire cultural and social capital in Angela Mc Robbie, "Notes on 'What not to Wear' and post-feminist symbolic violence" in Adkins, Lisa and Skeggs, Beverley (eds.) (2007), *Feminism After Bourdieu,* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing), pp. 99-109.

[523] Borrás (1965) *Seis Mil,* p.189.

Women found new opportunities to commercialise the skills acquired via middle-class habitus. Some performed poetry recitals[524] or sang during private recitals at home or in the embassies. Others became tutors and music teachers. A proportion of profits from such activities were donated to Auxilio Azul and the rest was retained as personal income. The Rizzo Goni sisters made a living from sewing fashionable bags and belts in suede and cloth: "We sold a huge amount. Most of the proceeds went to Auxilio Azul. We ate, when we could, from a small proportion of the proceeds."[525] They sold special lighter flints and candles which bore the label "*Para Auxilio Azul."* (In aid of Auxilio Azul). [526] This fact might suggest that certain types of charitable enterprise may have been warily accommodated by the authorities, at least after the early months of the conflict. However, the risks were real and ever-present. In one (rare) instance a woman was arrested by militas and charged with espionage in October 1937 for selling Falangist soaps at 3 pesetas each, this woman was denounced as a spy 'because of her relationship with members of the Falange and others.'[527]

Both the Labour and Clothing Services Networks enabled the members to transgress traditional gender norms through their work in the public space and their achievement of a precarious economic independence. The Labour and Clothing Services developed as a series

[524] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Cristina Montez Muñoz dated 7 September 1939, Document 244, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[525] Oral testimonies of Dolores and Ana Rizzo Goñi, in undated transcript interviews with the author in Borrás (1965), at p.187.
[526] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Emilia García San Nicolás dated 5 October 1939, Document 163, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[527] *Causa 1753 instruida contra Gabrielle Dumont por el delito/s de Rebelión y Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 201, Exp. 5. Imagen 5/9. This case (9 pages) was referred to the popular courts and the final judgement is unknown.

of informal associational business networks that generated 'secret profits' within the wider black-market economy. Many of these women became responsible for their own survival in terms of economic well-being. The stronger the network of support these women connected to, the greater their chances of surviving the socio-economic impact of the conflict. Household networks were forged, thus fuelling larger, local networks.[528]

Auxilio Azul afforded new opportunities to re-negotiate the notion of separate spheres of home and work. The activities described above indicate the existence of extensive familial, friendship, associational and Republican commercial support networks. The organisation provided women with opportunities to exercise economic agency, spread economic risk and allay the economic shocks produced by the civil conflict. Paradoxically, the circumstances of war and political repression enabled these women to acquire personal independence and economic agency. In the absence of their men-folk, many became 'heads of household' and were solely responsible their family's survival. In many instances women were both the agents and beneficiaries of welfare aid.

4.Health Services

Around forty-three male doctors, and female nurses led by Carmen Cueto Maroto, together with pharmacists, nursing auxiliaries and administrative assistants collaborated with Auxilio Azul in hospitals and clinics across Madrid. The Health Services formulated its own set of

[528] See Kay, Alison, (2006) *Reconstructing the role of the household in businesswomen's networks of support, London 1851-1861,* Session Paper, "Women and business networks in industrializing Europe, 1700-1900." XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, Finland 21-25 August 2006, p.1.

code-names using the 'College of Medicine's Directory' as a key. A list of medics was transcribed 'onto a small piece of thin onion paper which could be easily circulated and then swallowed in an emergency.'[529]

The Auxilio Azul doctors offered free medical assistance to fugitives. They also provided the organisation with false medical reports and sickness and disability certificates for the purposes of evading conscription. The networks organised the transfer of healthy inmates into prison hospitals with the aid of false medical reports. They fabricated evidence of bogus ailments including stomach ulcers, renal lesions, cardiac diseases, epilepsy and psychosis in order to prevent anti-Republican men who were aged between 16 and 55 years of age from conscription. Medics coached their patients on how to fake symptoms during examinations. The doctors also provided supplies of milk for infants, children and the infirm from hospital rations. The pharmacists, when possible, provided free medication and medical supplies. Many operatives obtained contraband medicines and distributed them via the Auxilio Azul networks.

The leader of Auxilio Azul's medical operations was Dr. Emilio Franco Martín, who had been the Director of Radiography at the Carabanchel Military Hospital before the war. His deputy was Dr. Antonio Martín Calderín and the Group Secretary was Isidoro García. Father Tomás Revilla was a qualified doctor who was the leader of Group VA-2 as well as being one of the organisation's spiritual advisors (see below).

[529] Borrás (1965), pp.101.

Carmen Cueto Maroto (who took the veil after the war) was Group Leader of Health Services. She was in charge of fifteen Sub-Groups which incorporated around 289 female nurses of whom only a few knew about Auxilio Azul. The Leader of each Sub-Group was in direct contact with one doctor. María Luisa Miret de Grassa worked for Auxilio Azul's Health Section from April 1937. She joined this section in her capacity as a member of Group E, whose leader was Mercedes Criado and, together with Carmen Perla, she worked under the direct orders of doctors Enrique Martí and José Moza.[530]These operatives "saved many from being shot"[531] by assisting in the falsification of medical records. The medics issued false medical certificates which stated that soldiers were unfit for active duty. Pilar Allas López[532] was a medical assistant who had worked in Buenavista's anti-Tuberculosis clinic. She was involved in the falsification of medical records and in the generation of false invalidity certificates for men who wanted to evade conscription. Pilar claimed that her actions were taken with the full collaboration and knowledge of the medical staff. Finally, María Josefa Fernández Fournier was involved in the production of "invalidity and medical certificates for wanted persons." She also safe-housed soldiers.[533] Other forms of sabotage included the illegal distribution of medicines and medical supplies from hospitals and clinics.

Anti-Republican nurses posed a significant security risk because they were infiltrated in civilian and military hospitals, treatment centres and surgeries. They were also able to act as

[530] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Luisa Miret de Grassa dated 1939, Document 252, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[531] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Rosalia Manriquez Núñez dated 23 September 1939, Document 145, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[532] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Pilar Allas López dated 9 October 1939, Document 255, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[533] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Josefa Fernández Fournier dated 23 September 1939, Document 191, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

liaison agents between the Clandestine Falange and the political prisoners in the prison hospitals. In one case nurse Margarita Álvarez Santiago was arrested (but later acquitted) for organizing 'fascist meetings' with other nurses 'in order to conspire against the Republic.'[534] The organisation was also infiltrated within the nursing and laundry services at the battle fronts. Teresa Monge Dávila worked on the fronts and was imprisoned for seven months for the illegal distribution of army food rations.[535]

5. Emergency Aid (Socorros)

This section was involved in the distribution of false identification documents with the aid of the journalist and author José Silva de Ambaru who had been a civil servant in the documentation department of Madrid's Town Hall before the advent of the Second Republic in 1931. Luis Cebrían Goyanes and Hípolito Escrivá de Romani were also embedded in the Town Hall and falsified as many as 3,500 family ration cards in the space of twenty months in order to help 17,000 individuals.[536] Caridad Rapallo Comaje was involved in Group K activities which included the "distribution of false ration cards and other false documentation."[537] María Piedad Torres Montero was infiltrated in the Federal Republican Youth Organisation (Juventud Republicana Federal*)* where she generated false work certificates and good character references.[538]

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[534] Expte.115 *contra* Margarita Álvarez Santiago, *por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 231, Exp.11.
[535] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Teresa Monge Dávila dated 9 October 1939, Document 255, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[536] Source: Borrás, (1965), p.85.
[537] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Caridad Rapallo Comatje, dated 3 October 1939, Document 192, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[538] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Piedead Torres Montero dated [1939] Document 192, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. She also raised funds.

Milk supplies were obtained from the International Red Cross with the aid of Lt. Barrios the head of its "Civilian Provisions Section" who personally supplied the organisation with around 100 kilos of dried milk together with 35 kilos daily of lentils and between 20-35 litres of cooking oil. Red Cross trucks were diverted from official storage depots and their contents were unloaded in secret warehouses. Auxilio Azul also distributed false milk coupons which were redeemed at the Red Cross. Provisions were also obtained with the aid of Group Leader Helen Garrigues Walker (discussed above) who worked with the International Red Cross, North American Aid and Swiss International Aid. Carina also obtained supplies from the Republican civilian evacuation committee which was organised by the JDM (Madrid's defence junta). The women also went on foraging expeditions into the surrounding provinces in order to barter for local produce.

Individual members were assigned the care and supervision of particular individuals and families for the duration of the war or until such persons were able to escape into the Nationalist zone. As indicated above, money was raised from revenues derived from work-shops, raffles, clothing sales and private donations from within the business and local community. Manolita Despierto Vázquez 'never failed to collect less than 50 pesetas per month from families who supported the Movement.'[539] Matilde Babé y Gómez (Agent 5E-3)[540] looked after the widow of a Civil Guard Commander who had been killed at the start of the war. Auxilio Azul entrusted Matilde with a monthly allowance for the care of the

[539] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Manolita Despierto Vázquez dated 4 September 1939 Document 147, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[540] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Matilde Babé y Gómez dated 9 October 1939, Document 260, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

widow and her family. Matilde also gave the widow an additional 200 pesetas per month out of her own pocket and 'donated thousands of pesetas to Auxilio Azul.' At first, the sums allocated to the families of prisoners were between 75-200 pesetas. These were increased to 150 pesetas per adult and 60 for children with a minimum of 200 and a maximum of 1,000 per family. In total Auxilio Azul distributed 1,316.844 pesetas. Around 418, 300 pesetas were spent on bribes for Checa officials and prison wardens in order to obtain the release of condemned prisoners. 512,225 was spent on embassy asylum fees and another 328,150 pesetas was spent in aid of the religious.[541] Matilde Babé y Gómez maintained regular contact with the Nationalist SIPM and transmitted messages to the Nationalist intelligence services using code. She performed a variety of services that involved varying levels of risk and illegality including:

"raising funds, making clothing and on several occasions providing false documents… [I] raised thousands of pesetas for Auxilio Azul…and broadcasted a special message in code over Radio Nacional that some money had arrived safely to its destination."[542]

6.Security Services

Auxilio Azul was infiltrated within the Republican police and security services. It passed military and political intelligence to the Nationalist side, "sometimes with favourable results."[543] Its members performed acts of espionage.[544] They smuggled guns into

[541] Source: Borrás, (1965), p.89.
[542] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Matilde Babé y Gómez dated 9 October 1939, Document 260, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[543] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María García Díaz dated 28 September 1939, Document 193, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[544] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Carlota Narcisa Gónzalez de Uzqueta y Cerillo dated 20 September 1939, Document 196, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. See also, *Asesoría Jurídica,*

embassies and safe-housed valuables and weapons on behalf of the clandestine Falange.[545] María Luisa Laguna claimed to have physically assaulted a police office in order to steal his identification papers.[546] Many militants were involved in the organised dissemination of anti-Republican propaganda in order to further demoralize Madrid's already starving rearguard.

María Felisa Parés was Group Leader "L" who was infiltrated within the SIM records department. María Pilar Ortega Iturria disseminated the latest war reports from the rebel zone via a male contact who worked at the Telefónica and for which he [the contact] was condemned to death but managed to obtain a reprieve.[547] Amalia Martín was a civil servant in the Home Office who provided Auxilio Azul with intelligence relating to home office affairs. She was arrested and imprisoned by the DGS on three separate occasions following denunciations on account of her frequent prison visits and the safe-housing of right-wing individuals.[548]

Testimony of María García Díaz dated 28 September 1939, Document 193, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[545] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Carlota Narcisa Gónzalez de Uzqueta y Cerillo dated 20 September 1939, Document 196, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
Asesoría Jurídica Testimony of Ana María Rizzo Goñi dated 29 September Document 248, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[546] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Luisa Laguna Torres dated 16 August 1939, Document 253, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

[547] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María Pilar Ortega Iturria dated 20 September 1939, Document 160, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. After the war her name appeared in the Nationalist 'Delegación Nacional de Servicios Documentales' which was created in 1944. This is because the Republican *DGS* had kept records about h er during the war: Source: CDMH, DNSD, *Secretaria Fichero*, 48,00033079 and 33080.

[548] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Amalia Martín García dated 4 October 1939, Document 210, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

María de los Ángeles Las Heras Sanz worked at the Junta de Compras de Material del Ministerio De Guerra (the War Ministry's procurement and acquisitions department). She had been involved in anti-Republican activities alongside her brother Antonio, who was a senior ranking member of the Falangist Group 'Grupo Antonio' (Antonio Luna's group) which had direct links with the SIPM. María joined Auxilio Azul in December 1937. She raised money (around 100 pesetas monthly) from anti-Republican colleagues who worked at the Junta de Compras. All monies raised were passed on, via Esperanza Canizares, to the Group Leader Carmen Vives. María joined the Work's Group A-2:

"but because I was unable to perform this group's specialism –general needle work (*labores*)- I dedicated myself instead to raising funds which I gave to Esperanza Canizares.[549]"

7.Prison and Checa Services

These services represented a continuation of the Sección Femenina's pre-war underground welfare-aid activities. According to Pilar Primo de Rivera after the February 1936 general elections, the number of Falangist prisoners grew to around 2,000 in Madrid.[550] There were around 10,000 nationwide.[551] In particular, after the 16 February 1936 general elections Madrid's prisons "began to seem less like prisons and more like the headquarters of the Falange Española y de las JONS."[552] The escalation of sectarian violence after the 16

[549] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María de los Ángeles Las Heras Sanz dated 9 October 1939, Document 212, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[550] Source: *Historia de la Sección Femenina por Pilar Primo de Rivera, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "Las Visitas a la cárcel de Madrid",* (undated typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, p.13.
[551] Source: *Historia de la Sección Femenina, Libro Primero, Capitulo V - "Ultimos Tiempos*", p.79.
[552] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "Las Visitas a la cárcel de Madrid*", p.13.

February general elections resulted in the outlawing of the Falange party on 14 March 1936. After the attempted assasination of Luis Jiménez de Asua, José Antonio was charged with illegal arms possession and imprisoned in the Model Prison together with most of the Falange's Executive Committee (Junta de Mando) including Julio Ruiz de Alda, Raimundo Fernández Cuesta (General Secretary of the Falange Party and original leader of the Clandestine Falange) and Agustín Aznar.[553] Many of the provincial leaders were also arrested at this time.[554] The party went underground and was immediately re-mobilised as a clandestine organisation. After 14 March 1936, around twenty to thirty Sección Femenina members began to visit Madrid's male prisons and DGS detention detention centres on a daily basis in order to bring provisions and perform liaison functions. Despite the inconvenient visiting times, "there were a multitude of volunteer visitors, indeed, so many that the prison authorities declared that only family members were allowed to visit prisoners."[555]

As the Falangist prisoner population steadily increased during the lead up to the 17 July coup, the women were each assigned a prisoner who was eligible to receive a weekly food parcel. Women's fund-raising initiatives both in the months before and during the war provided money for hundreds of packets of cigarettes, boiler suits (*monos*) and even for the donation of 100 pesetas per prison gallery in order to purchase coffees from the local café. Prisoners requested books, footballs, work overalls (*monos*) and slippers. Before 18 July the Model Prison patio became the scene of many renditions of the Falange's anthem, *Cara al*

[553] Agustín Aznar Gerner was an SEU leader who was appointed as *Jefe Nacional* of the Falangist para-military squads.
[554] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, "Ultimos Tiempos,"* p.79.
[555] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "La Ante Guerra,"* p.10.

Sol, and "an atmosphere of gaiety and *fiesta* filled the prison so much that even certain prison officials came to become Falangists, raising their arms in the Falangist salute."[556]

It was prohibited to pass any items through visitor's windows and all food parcels and packages were subject to routine searches. However, 'special visits' were sometimes authorised at 11.a.m in a room that had only one bar between the visitors and the prisoners. During the immediate pre-war period this enabled women to smuggle contraband and copies of *¡No importa!* (which had replaced the censored *¡Arriba!)* a single copy of which would make its way around the galleries.

"Sometimes we even smuggled in bottles of wine, which were prohibited, but because women were not initially subjected to body searches we could hide them in our coats. This is how we were able to smuggle in everything that came into our imagination.[557]"

During the war these women continued to visit the prisoners and brought food parcels and updates of Nationalist war reports and on the latest arrests. Auxilio Azul relied on 'sympathetic' prison guards to turn a blind eye on their illicit prison visits given that, as indicated above, only family members were allowed to visit prisoners.

[556] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "Las Visitas a la cárcel de Madrid,"* p.13.
[557] *Historia de la Sección Femenina, Libro Primero, Primera Parte - "Las Visitas a la cárcel de Madrid",* (undated typescript), ANA, Carpeta 1-B, RAH, p.13.

Women also became prisoners. Felisa Ruiz de Alda Mendivi[558] was widowed after the assault of the Model Prison between 22-23 August 1936. She became a fugitive and was safe-housed together with a male friend. She was arrested on or around 28 February 1937 on account of her regular visits to Porlier prison where she communicated with Federico Valenciano Osenalde and Carlos Serrano Martín. Felisa was imprisoned in a succession of *checas* (San Mateo and Fomento) and prisons; Conde de Toreno, San Rafael and Ventas from February 1937 until March 1939.[559] She was found guilty of disaffection on 17 March 1938 and became the Group leader of a 'works' section in Ventas (as discussed above). An incriminating factor which led to her imprisonment was that she had failed to notify the DGS of her changes of address in accordance with new emergency public order legislation. However, her relationship with the Falange and with Auxilio Azul was never disclosed and she operated as an Auxilio Azul leader throughout the whole of her time in Ventas.

8. Judicial Services

Auxilio Azul established an important network within the popular tribunals, the Supreme Court and the judicial services departments. The network developed contacts among court administrators, lawyers and the judiciary. Dolores Muñoz Tuero became the leader upon Carina's personal request. She had only recently qualified as a lawyer when the war broke out.[560]She operated as a liaison agent in the prisons, the main ones being San Antón, Duque

[558] Expte. 5145, *contra Felisa Ruiz de Alda por desafección,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 19, Exp.47 and Expte. 266, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,235, Exp. 5.
[559] Oral testimony of Felisa Ruiz de Alda in an undated interview with the author, in Borrás (1965) pp. 196-201 at p. 196.
[560] Ellwood, Sheelagh "Entrevista con Dolores Muñoz Tuero "Los tribunales populares fueron buena gente" in *Guerra Civil de Historia 16, "Sociedad y Guerra" vol 14* (1986), p. 125-129 at p. 126.

de Sesto, Porlier and Ventas. She also worked in the prison hospitals in Paseo del Cisne and Calle de Hortaleza, (the French Hospital) and 'another one in Lagasca or Núñez de Balboa.' Her familial relationship with the General Miguel Núñez De Prado[561] served as a 'shield' which protected her from suspicion for some time. She acted as a defence lawyer in the Popular Tribunals and used false medical certificates to delay the trials of many 'comrades' and clients thereby saving their lives.[562] However, after almost three years of clandestine activity within the court and prison services she was arrested on charges of treason which were reduced to disaffection. In 1965 Muñoz recalled that she "had the honour of being entrusted with the judicial mission of Auxilio Azul."[563] She was allowed access into the prisons in her legal capacity in order to conduct client meetings. She claimed that her status as the first and only female tribunal lawyer had generated positive publicity for the Republican regime and her gender and professional status were used by the Republican government "in order to support its unassailable legitimacy" by highlighting the government's progressive stance on gender equality. Muñoz was critical of the 'ignorance, incompetence and bias' of the lay tribunal members. She routinely advised her defendants to deny any involvement or plead that they had joined the Falange 'only in order to get a job with the monarchists.' She fabricated evidence of 'loyalty to the Regime' through the use of false good-character references ('*avales*') which were provided by associates who were infiltrated 'within the CNT or other [Left] parties.' When there was no realistic possibility of

[561] General Miguel Núñez de Prado was the Head of Republican Aviation (*Dirección General de Aeronauticas*). He was also affiliated to the *Union Militar Republicana Antifascista* (UMRA). On 18 July 1936 he flew to Zaragoza to negotiate a cease-fire with rebel General Cabanellas. He was immediately arrested and executed on 24 July 1936 in Pamplona under the orders of General Mola.

[562] Sánchez López, Rosario (2007) *Entre la importancia y la irrelevancia, sección femenina: de la Republica a la Transición,* (Murcia: Editora Regional), p. 42.

[563] Oral Testimony of Dolores Muñoz Tuero in Borrás (1965) pp. 201-8 at p.202

concealing the defendant's ideology, she would request a trial suspension on medical grounds (using 'favourable medical certificates') whereupon the defendants would be transferred to a suitable prison hospital. According to Muñoz, the prison doctors were happy to extend the sick-notes of 'those who were destined for the firing lines.' Dolores particularly recalled the bravery of a doctor named Sánchez, who didn't hesitate to falsify his diagnoses from any scientific or professional scruples:

"[Sánchez] was capable of saying that a man who had two legs didn't have any...and he could prove it. Also, with the use of good character vouchsafes from very influential people, I could get a provisional release order pending judgement, I could then delay the judgement in collusion with an official in the secretariat, under the pretext that the hearing that we wanted to delay clashed with other hearings, or as a special favour, when I wasn't sufficiently confident that I could get a stay in proceedings. In some secretariats (clerk's offices) I could ask for whatever suited my plans with complete freedom, because the court officials were all hidden *'rabanos.'"*[564]

In 1986 Dolores Muñoz Tuero was interviewed by the British historian Sheelagh Ellwood for *Historia 16* magazine. She recalled that she was:

"…very lucky, partly because I was a woman, and partly because of the benign nature of the popular tribunals. Whatever people say, I worked with those tribunals and they acted with great justice. Leaving aside the problems of the *paseos* and the *chekas.* We should forget about those and wipe them from our memory, like good Spaniards. That was deplorable, but I repeat that after [the war] I realised that one side had as many *chekas* as the other. As regards the justice, however, that was composed of people's tribunals, they were juries. Good people, noble people. If one defended a case, one could pull their heart-strings and get an absolution…."

This subsequent interview was aimed a general audience and it resonates with the post-Transition discourses of 'we were all to blame' which underpinned the 'the pact of

[564] Oral testimony of Dolores Muñoz Tuero in Borrás (1965), pp. 201-208 at pp 202-204.

forgetting.'[565]It is markedly more conciliatory in tone and content than the 1965 interview with Borrás where she disparagingly referred to the 'tribunal rabble' (*tribunaleros*). The marked memory-shift between 1965 and 1986 indicates how individual stories of the self demonstrate the effects of historical change at a 'molecular' level; they illustrate how memories are recalled, emerge, resonate and react with collective myths and grand narratives.[566]Here Dolores' recollections are linked to processes of social change and the shifting ideological master narratives of the Franco regime. Her earlier recollections reflected the early post-war narratives of 'mission' and 'crusade.' Meanwhile her later recollections reflected new ideological master narratives of 'fratricidal struggle' and the discourses of 'we were all to blame' which gained momentum during the 60's and 70s at a moment of rapid structural and economic change.

Ángeles García López was arrested on 6 March 1937 for disaffection and may have been helped by a 'sympathetic' Republican tribunal. She was acquitted on charges of disaffection despite the strong evidence against her. García López was a member of Acción Popular*;* her name had appeared as such in the Control de Nominas and she had already been imprisoned in October 1936 'for hiding a Jonsist gunman from the police.'[567] Evidence was produced at her trial[568] which indicated that her brother was a communist who was

[565] See Águilar Fernández, Paloma (1996), *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid: Alianza). See also Boyd, Carolyn P 'The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617 (The Politics of History in Comparative Perspective), (2008), pp. 133-48.
[566] Richards, Michael ed. (2013) *After the Civil War, Making Memory and Re-Making Spain since 1936* (NY: CUP) [Ebook] pp.41-2/413.
[567] Expte. 572, *contra* Ángeles García López *por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 234, Exp. 13, Imagen 14/37.
[568] Expte. 572, Imagen 22/37.

executed in Seville and that she was also a card-carrying member of the CNT. It is likely that she joined the CNT after 18 July in order to disguise her former political allegiances, the CNT was known to be lax with its membership security. She joined Auxilio Azul in February 1938 and worked under the orders of group leader Enriqueta Bustos and later for the lawyer Dolores Muñoz Tuero. She was decorated with the Silver 'Y' on 30 May 1939 for her wartime services in Auxilio Azul.[569]

Evidence suggests that many members of the judiciary and the legal profession were sympathetic to the fifth columnists. For example, the popular tribunal magistrate Ricardo Guerra presided over Jurado de Urgencia No. 7 which was one of the two tribunals that adjudicated in the San Rafael women's prison. Ricardo Guerra resigned from his job in May 1938 on account of 'severe nervous exhaustion and depression brought on by an excessive work load. [570] He was associated with Félix Schlayer and it was alleged that he was a member of Socorro Blanco and that, in concert with Schlayer, he had organised asylum and escape-lines for defendants. Guerra's defence alleged that an underlying disease in combination with the stresses of tribunal work had precipitated his mental breakdown. His case was suspended and he was released from prison into a private sanatorium from where he was quickly released into the exclusive care of his family. On 24 February 1943, following a detailed judicial investigation into his war time activities by a post-war Francoist tribunal,

[569] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Ángeles García López, Document 164, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[570] See *Causa instruida contra* Ricardo Guerra Blanco por el delito/s de Alta Traición, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 145, Exp. 44.

Guerra was "readmitted into active judicial service on full pay without the imposition of any sanctions."[571]

9.Spiritual Aid

The provision of 'spiritual aid' was central to the 'Work' of the organisation. The Catholic faith was intrinsic to the collective identity and core beliefs of its members. After the closure of religious buildings in August 1936, Auxilio Azul provided safe-housing for the Catholic religious which included clergy, priests, monks, nuns and members of lay Catholic associations like Teresa Luzzati who was a leader of Acción Católica. Auxilio Azul women arranged for the performance of weddings and other religious rites in their own homes at great personal risk.[572] Both Auxilio Azul and Socorro Blanco provided material and economic aid to Madrid's religious community within what was known as "El Socorro Blanco Sacerdotal." As a result of the efforts of this organisation thousands of persons received holy communion and hundreds of secret chapels were maintained across the capital. During the war around 1,815,000 communion hosts were secretly fabricated in various clandestine workshops.[573] Father Tomás Ortega Orgaz was the 'Spiritual Advisor and Leader of Auxilio Azul's Spiritual Services' (*Consiliario y Jefe del Servicio Espiritual de Auxilio Azul).* This welfare initiative was supported by the communist International Red Aid (Socorro Rojo) "which lent a huge and unanticipated aid to the persecuted 'Clandestine diocese.'"[574]

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[571] BOE, 8 March 1943, at p. 2156.
[572] *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of Amparo Sanz Fernández, dated 28 September 1939, Document [192 bis], ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. A resident of *Hospicio* District, this woman facilitated the Catholic marriage of her 'maidservant' who also became her Goddaughter.
[573] Source: Alfaya, José Luis (1998), *Como un río de fuego, Madrid 1936* (Barcelona: EIU), 147.
[574] Alfaya, José Luis (1998), *Como un río*, pp. 158-180 atp.158.

The continuation of Catholic confessional practice was central to Auxilio Azul's collective identity and meaning. Auxilio Azul provided safe spaces in which to secretly practice the faith, safe-housed the religious and brought the sacraments into the Checas and prisons. The organisation also established clandestine chapels in private homes. One was set up at the residence of Ana María and Dolores Rizzo Goñi in Calle Espejo, 14, in the Palacio District. The masses were officiated by a priest in plain clothing with the sisters in attendance.[575] Another chapel was established at the home of Margarita Cuevo LaPeña. The main chapel was set up in the basement of a dairy shop situated in Calle Velázquez 46, directly opposite the SIM headquarters wherein masses, communions, baptisms, weddings and confessions were regularly performed. This building also served as the Auxilio Azul 'bank' where money was concealed within a brick wall cavity. The chapel was raided by the SIM in 1938 while a mass was in progress which was officiated by Father Tomás Ortega Orgaz was arrested and taken to the Checa de San Lorenzo. Carina Martínez Unciti and three other women were able to burn a large amount of money (*Díez mil duros*) and incriminating documentation in the dairy's furnace prior to their detention at San Lorenzo. The Catholic lawyer and socialite Antonio Cañabetes Díaz and his American protestant wife Helen Garrigues Walker first established the secret chapel in Calle Velázquez, 46.[576] Another religious centre was established by a small community of *María Reparadora* nuns who had been evacuated from their convent in Calle Torrijas. The clandestine chapel was known as the 'Catedral de

[575] Borrás (1965), pp.92-3.
[576] Undated oral testimony of Antonio Cañabetes in Cervera, Javier (1996), *Violencia política y acción clandestina: La retaguardia de Madrid en Guerra 1936-9,* [thesis], Universidad Complutense de Madrid, pp.368-398. http://eprints.ucm.es/2456/1/T21383.pdf [last accessed 16/5/17], p.397.

Hermosilla' and it operated from a first floor flat in Calle Hermosilla, 12 which belonged to Commander Ucelay and which was under the protection of the Cuban embassy. One of the nuns was a Cuban national whose sister also lived in the building. Fathers Hermenegildo López, Verdasco and other priests worked with these nuns in order to provide hundreds of masses, confessions and other sacraments to the members of Madrid's 'clandestine diocese.' Other priests included José María de la Higuera, Mariano Villapun, Ernesto de Santa Teresa, Alejo Revillo, and Canon Andres Trillo Marín. Another priest, Father Tomás Revilla was also a doctor and the spiritual advisor and the leader of Group VA-2.[577]

The communist International Socorro Rojo organisation (Red Aid) may have unwittingly supported the efforts of Auxilio Azul on behalf of the Madrid's clandestine church network (*iglesia de catacumbas*).[578] Auxilio Azul's chief Spiritual Advisor was none other than Father Tomás Ortega Orgaz who was infiltrated as a teacher within Socorro Rojo together with around seven or eight priests.[579] At the start of the war Father Ortega Orgaz joined a communist Radio in order to avoid the repression with the aid of his communist brother who went on to join Socorro Rojo. Father Ortega was also able to join this last organisation and he organised a clandestine network of priests, nuns and lay devout persons from within its headquarters who were also aided by the women of Auxilio Azul. We will also recall that We will also recall that Elena Walker's 'Castilla' network operated from within the Socorro Rojo headquarters. It is unclear whether Socorro Rojo chose to 'turn a blind' eye on the

[577] Source: Borrás (1965), pp.95-96.
[578] Alfaya, José Luis (1998), *Como un río de fuego, Madrid* ,1936 (Barcelona: EUI), pp. 160-1. See also Part II, "Madrid, una iglesia de catacumbas" pp. 119-188, and in particular Ch. X "Organización Cladestina" pp. 155-171.
[579] Alfaya (1998), p.158.

clandestine activities of the priests and Auxilio Azul or whether it tolerated private confessional practices in order to enhance the Republic's international reputation. The priests administered the sacraments in private homes, hospitals, prisons, *checas* and the DGS with the aid of Auxilio Azul. As indicated above, around eight or nine priests were infiltrated within Socorro Rojo. Father Ortega was able to obtain work permits and passes for the priests who included Fathers Hermenegildo López, Ildefonso Miguelánez, Enrique Masso and Jesús Catalán García. These men operated their ministries from within four Socorro Rojo centres in Calles Lagasca 88, Zúrbano, Francisco Giner, 31 and Orfila. The priests volunteered as teachers and were provided with Socorro Rojo or CNT union cards which meant that they could move around the City more easily:

"As with all the best detective stories, a secret code was devised so that the Faithful could communicate with the priests without raising the suspicion of the security services. One only had to make a single call to a *Socorro Rojo* office or another centre and 'request the services of a medical practitioner,' and then provide details of the address and the name of the infirm/dying person in order to obtain rapid assistance… the medicinal 'camphor oil' was in reality an extreme unction; the 'pills' were the Communion hosts and, if 'laxatives' were mentioned, then what was being asked for was the sacrament of Confession (a true spiritual laxative)…the hosts were made in different sizes and, so as to divert attention, they were kept in different [medical bag] compartments..The extreme unction was stored in face cream jars…the practitioners carried a brief case which contained a tiny missal, a host vessel and a crystal glass, the hosts and small flask of wine. In that way we managed to perform the Holy Mass...We were transported …in an FAI vehicle accompanied by two militia men who were ignorant of our activities…"[580]

[580] Oral testimony of Father Félix Verdasco recorded in Alfaya, José Luis (1998), *Como un rio de fuego, Madrid,*1936 (Barcelona: EUI), pp. 160-1. Alfaya cites Montero, Antonio (1961) *Historia de la persecución religiosa* (Madrid: BAC), at p. 105.

Auxilio Azul was responsible for arranging the visits and obtaining the hosts and other liturgical objects and it "devised various ways to deliver the sacraments, in particular, confession and communion into our homes."[581] Women were instrumental to the survival of the clandestine Catholic ministry. They sheltered priests and nuns, set-up secret chapels in their homes, raised money for the religious and made 'thousands of hosts' from fine white flour which, when possible, was made from premium grade flour (donated by the wealthier families) and then shaped into hosts with hot irons. The hosts were also made from ordinary white bread from the bakery which was carefully moulded into shape, wrapped in fine linen and stored in medicine boxes, rouge tins, jewellery boxes or biscuit tins. The women smuggled these into the *checas*, prisons, hospitals and private home spaces at great personal risk. Canon Trillo Marín's niece was involved in this mission 'heart and soul' *(pertenecia con alma y vida*).[582] The provision of 'Spiritual Aid' was made difficult because of the scarcity of priests who were available to administer the sacraments in particular within the prisons. According to Mother María Luis Fernández, who spent four months in Conde de Toreno after her arrest in September 1936, confessional practice continued in the prisons despite its official prohibition and the manifest dangers involved.[583] The actress María Cristina Montes Muñoz claimed to have safe-housed twenty-three

[581] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Ángela Ibáñez Calvo dated 9 October, Document 225, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[582] Borrás (1965), pp.95-96.
[583] See Mother María Luisa Fernández & Mother María Leturia (1939) *Catorce meses de aventuras bajo el dominio rojo,* (Rome: ACI). p. 49. Contraband hosts were regularly smuggled into this prison.

Adoratrice nuns who were later killed on 10 November 1936 outside the Eastern Cemetary.[584]

The testimonials often compared Madrid's '*perseguidos*' (fugitives) with the early Christians who sought refuge in Rome's catacombs. This provides evidence of the 'sacralisation' of the war within new national Catholic discourses. The Auxilio Azul testimonies frequently refer to the war as the 'Crusade.' These women wanted to 'protect the religious and keep the faith.' Sometimes sacred rites including marriage and baptism were performed by the women themselves in circumstances where priests were unavailable. Andrea Pariente Suárez hid the Cantor of Ciudad Real's Cathedral at her home because he was 'being hunted to death.' The Cantor regularly performed clandestine masses in her home "despite the fact that the house was full of red refugees."[585] This indicates that the network was also charitable towards refugees from the rebel occupied zones. The 'provision of Spiritual Aid to the needy and the faithful' provided many operatives with a sense of purpose, meaning and identity. They were on a mission to preserve an eternal religious time during a moment of violent secularization.

Auxilio Azul began its operations by providing asylum for fugitive anti-Republicans in Madrid's embassies including the Chilean, Argentinian and Turkish embassies and it also infiltrated Republican institutions including the police, the judiciary and various civil and

[584] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of María Cristina Montes Muñoz dated 7 September 1939, Document 244, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH. See also Rodríguez Fernández, G. (2006) *El habito y la cruz,* (Madrid: Edibesa) pp.88-102.
[585] See *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Andrea Pariente Suárez dated 9 October 1939, Document 169, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.

administrative nerve centres. Anti-Republican women used their social capital and networks of influence in order to obtain the necessary asylum documentation and escape strategies. The women also developed successful fund-raising networks and received regular donations from 'sympathetic' individuals and private businesses. Its products were sold in well-known shops and market stalls. It also manufactured lighter flints and candles which were labelled 'in aid of Auxilio Azul' and sold in cafés and bars.[586] The organisation also established various informal business networks which became vital to the survival of the members as well as the recipients of welfare aid. These informal business networks evidence the creation of clandestine networks of mutual co-operation and assistance.

Most importantly, the organisation was essential to the preservation of a Catholic habitus during a moment of *hysteresis* and religious persecution. While a 'sense of normality' was restored in June 1937, public mass was only reinstated after the arrival of Franco's troops on 27-28 March 1939. The organisation offered a 'safe-space' within which to imagine a new national Catholic nationhood, maintain religious identity and conserve morale. These women helped to preserve the anti-Republican community during a moment of severe political, material and spiritual crisis. Their affective labour 'transformed conceptualisations of family and immediate community from nominal fictions into real groups whose members were united by intense affective bonds.' [587]

[586] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Emilia García San Nicolas dated 5 October 1939, Document 163, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH.
[587] Bourdieu, Pierre, (2003) *Practical Reason, On the theory of Action,* (London: Polity), p. 68.

Auxilio Azul was the largest and most effective fifth column network in Madrid. Years later Elvira Martínez Ostendi claimed that she had "formed part of a clandestine group of 6,000 women in Madrid during the war."[588] It was never dismantled by the Republican authorities although the legal archives provide evidence of the dismantlement of several Socorro Blanco groups. Very likely the defendants felt more able to acknowledge their involvement in the Traditionalist groups given the severe repression against Falangists. However, it may also be that a 'blind-eye' was turned on women's legitimate social welfare activities by a resource strapped Republican administration. Manuel Uribarri (head of the SIM in 1938) claimed to have deliberately ignore women's resistance efforts. While he viewed women as 'the nerve-centre' (*entronque*) of the fifth column and believed that 'for every man we should have had to arrest ten women,' he decided to leave the 'feminine hydra' well-alone 'since evil resided in the fair sex.'[589] Misogyny and gender prejudice may have informed these opinions, but practical considerations were also evident and it is likely that anti-Republican women's legitimate social enterprise and welfare-aid initiatives were warily accommodated by the authorities. In contrast, illegal activities were not tolerated and a good number of these women appeared before the popular tribunals, mainly on charges of disaffection.

After the arrival of Auxilio Social on 28 March 1939, the official Sección Femenina hierarchy was re-established in the capital and Auxilio Azul was demobilised. The Sección Femenina

[588] *La Vanguardia,* 28 May 1970 at p.6.
[589] Uribarri, Manuel (1943), *La Quinta Columna Española. Verdad y Justicia* (La Habana: La Universal), pp. 118-24. See also comments in Rodríguez López, Sofía and Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-9, *Journal of Contemporary History,* 0 (0) (2016), pp 1-22 at p. 15.

was tasked by the Franco regime with the provision of health, education and welfare services across Spain and women's political impulses were channelled into gender-specific social welfare roles. In June 1939 Carina married and resigned as Regional Delegate (married women were excluded from the ranks of the 'elite'[590]). Meanwhile, the male leaders of the Clandestine Falange enjoyed the respect and privileges afforded to ex-combatants.[591] and men like Manuel Valdés Larrañaga became 'state makers.' Such men enjoyed the economic, social and symbolic rewards arising from their involvement in Madrid's fifth column resistance. In contrast, the former members of Auxilio Azul withdrew into anonymity. After the occupation of the capital by the Nationalist troops, the imperative to preserve Catholic habitus vanished and these women chose to demobilise within the invisible domestic space in accordance with the values and durable dispositions of their gendered Catholic habitus.

[590] Ofer, Inbal, (2010), *Señoritas in Blue, The making of a female political elite in Franco's Spain* (Padstow: Sussex Academic Press) pp. 55-103. Ángela Cenarro provides an interesting critique of Auxilio Social's social welfare programmes in Cenarro, Ángela (2006) *La Sonrisa de La Falange, Auxilio Social en la guerra civil y en la posguerra* (Barcelona: Critica).
[591] Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006) *La Trama,* p. 194. See also Alcalde, Ángel (2014), *Los excombatientes Franquistas* (1936-1965), (Zaragoza: PUZ), p. 354.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE MIXED GENDER CLANDESTINE FALANGE GROUPS

This chapter examines women's roles within the mixed-gender Falange groups. Women comprised some 10-15% of the membership of these groups. This minority was composed of senior women who were prominent recruitment and liaison agents, spies and escape-line co-ordinators. Some were infiltrated as voluntary nurses, auxiliaries and administrative assistants within civil and military institutions. These women deliberately ventured into the realms of treason and illegality through their performance of "more significant and dangerous masculine tasks." In so doing they transgressed traditional gender boundaries and 'the precepts of masculine domination wherein men perform all the public, official or dangerous and spectacular acts, while women are assigned all domestic labour, in other words, the tasks that are private and hidden, even invisible and shameful.'[592]Paradoxically, these women made use of a clandestine political space in order to acquire a measure of political 'visibility' and agency.

The women who joined the riskier mixed-gender groups were committed political dissidents who knowingly engaged in crimes of treason, rebellion and espionage. The most prominent were 'old shirts'[593]or the wives of disaffected military officers who were killed during the

[592] Bourdieu, Pierre (2007) *Masculine Domination,* (Cambridge: Polity) at p.30.
[593]*Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Marcelina Mateos Mateos dated [28 September 1939, Document 179, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid. This activist claimed that she was arrested after 18 July 1936 on account of her alleged involvement in the death of Lt. Castillo "after her release she worked [for the cause] with even more ardour."

sacas in 1936. As with the women of Auxilio Azul*,* their homes were used as safe-houses and weapon stores and, because women were traditionally expected to provide food and entertainment, female spaces were transformed into clandestine political spaces where high-level meetings, secret masses and 'clandestine dinners' were conducted.

María Ángeles Orozco del Riego (aged 50 years) was a leader of a mixed gender group.[594] She hosted lavish dinners[595] and held subversive meetings at her home in Calle Juan de Austria, 10 where senior Falangist leaders were regularly in attendance. She was a devout Catholic and related by marriage to the famous Colonel Rafael del Riego y Florés (1784-1823) whose death inspired the anthem *El Himno de Riego*. She regularly exploited this life-saving social capital and was accused of being a 'high-living and ostentatious woman who dreadfully abused her association with the del Riego name for her own economic ends.'[596] Her Republican husband, General Alfonso del Riego, was believed to have been killed in action and three of her sons were missing in action, the fourth was a novice priest who died of an unspecified illness in Madrid. The group was dismantled in late August 1937 and twenty-two individuals were arrested including seven women, young Falangist draft-dodgers and middle-aged professional men. The liaison agent Rosina Cornide was

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See also *Expte. 497 instruida contra* María Martín Villate *por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,224, Exp. 13. A 26 -year-old, single, student arrested in April 1937 for being a member of the Falange.

[594] *Expte. 1679 instruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Adhesión a la Rebelión,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 373, Exp.1, 1/1733. The group gathered intelligence and organised embassy asylums and escape-lines (primarily with the Cuban embassy) and provided welfare aid to the anti-Republican community.

[595] She aroused the resentment of neighbours who accused her of re-selling rationed items at prohibitively high prices. The contraband goods were obtained from socialist and anarchist storage depots.

[596] Expte. 1679, Witness statement of Antonio Sanz García, Imagen 9-10/1733

intercepted en route to Valencia in possession of sensitive military intelligence. She made a full confession to the Valencian DGS naming all the members of the group. Ángeles and her two Falangist daughters were apprehended before their planned escape to Seville with passports which were facilited by Melchor Rodríguez García (the Red Angel).[597] María Luisa, was an 'old shirt' who was engaged to a prisoner named José Rodríguez de la Puente ("Tarduchi") who was 'a well-known and extremely dangerous element, the son of a founding member of the Falange.' Both daughters were dismissed from the Ministry of Agriculture in 1936 for disaffection. All three women were caught *in flagrante* preparing parcels for Falangist and Acción Popular prisoners. After a search of the premises the DGS discovered documents and letters revealing:

"the existence of a significant Soccorro Blanco organisation which was in active collaboration with a nucleus of Falangist leaders. Regular meetings were held at the home of the widow Ángeles Orozco in order to plot against the Republic, and Ángeles was the instigator and leader of these reunions."[598]

[597] Melchor Rodríguez GarcÍa (1893-1972) was a leader of the CNT and a founding member of the FAI in 1927 who became secretary of the woodworker's union in Madrid in 1933. His frequent spells in prison during the monarchy and the Second Republic earned him the sobriquet of "dean of Madrid's central prisons." When the anarchist Juan García Oliver became minister of justice in November 1936, he made Rodríguez director general of the prisons. He was bravely and vehemently opposed to the *sacas* in 1936 and resigned from his post on this account on 14 November 1936 but regained this job at end of the month after the lobbying of the foreign diplomatic corps. His speech at the gates of the Alcalá de Henares prison on 8 December 1936 prevented a *saca* and saved the lives of some 1,500 political inmates. By March 1937 when he left his post, he had "resotered order to the prison system and saved the lives of thousands of prsioners." See entry in Romero Salvadó, Francisco (2013) *Historical Dictionary of the Spanish Civil War,* (Plymouth: Scarecrow), at pp. 283-4.

[598] *Expte. no. 1679,* Police interrogation transcript of Falangist Rosina Cornide Alverola (resident of Calle General Porlier, 30, aged 23 years, born in Burgos) dated 25 August 1937, Imagen 7/1733. This woman planned to travel to Marseille and then return to Burgos in order to volunteer as a Red Cross nurse.

Committed Catholic and anti-Republican women were obliged to devise novel rules of engagement and 'play new games' in their efforts to both resist and survive within a new and revolutionary social space that was perceived as "a deeply hostile environment, more dangerous and difficult than the trenches."[599] They developed networks of influence within the Republican regime and exploited their reserves of social capital. Ángeles managed to obtain a widow's pension and family passports with the aid of Melchor Rodríguez because she had successfully safe-housed his wife and family in 1936.[600] She also stock-piled contraband ritems which were obtained from military and governmental depots. Friends and contacts in high (and low) places were key to the safe navigation of the disciplinary fields of the police and the judiciary. The charges against Ángeles and her daughters were reduced from rebellion to disaffection and her case rumbled along incurring delays in the court system until the end of the war.

Despite the initiative, organisational skills and resilience of women like Orozco, women's perceived lack of power, influence and agency in the public space meant that less political and symbolic value was attributed to their subversive practices. The persistence of traditional patriarchal gender norms meant that the police and the popular tribunals 'failed to entertain the possibility that women posed a serious threat to Republican security and the punishments and fines imposed upon them were seldom harsh or excessive.' [601] Concepción del Rosal was initially charged with treason and rebellion alongside her husband

[599] Source: *Gesto Glorioso del Requete en Madrid* (Julio 1936-Marzo 1939), *Archivo General Militar de Ávila,* C2505, Cp.4/43 and C.2498.20, Legajo no. 285, Carpeta 20, Armario 5. at pp. 6-8.

[600] The trial bundle contains dozens of letters of preferment, rationed goods and welfare entitlements from the FNTT, socialist and anarchist organisations and various government bodies.

[601] Cervera, (1998), *Madrid,* p.171.

and her brother, Antonio del Rosal.[602] Her case was remitted to the lower courts for disaffection. Although she shared the same roof with one of the most notorious leaders of the Clandestine Falange, Concepción successfully convinced the tribunal that she was a loyal Republican who had "never undertaken any political activities and had exclusively dedicated herself to domestic duties, and in particular, to looking after her son who was only eight months old at the time of her arrest." [603]Following a positive good-character vouchsafe from the concierge of her building in General Arranda, 42,[604]and after almost a year of imprisonment, she was absolved and released. Women were certainly punished for their political crimes, but much less severely than men. Concepción's husband, her brother Antonio and 12 other (male) members of the group were executed for treason in around September 1938. Only a very small minority of women were found guilty of capital crimes, and their sentences were almost invariably commuted to life-sentences. The case of Carmen Tronchoni, who was executed in Montjuich prison, constitutes a notable exception. Most of the Falange's '59 Fallen Women' were the victims of extra-judicial reprisals not legal repression.

The general 'absence' of fifth-column women in the record is compounded by the fact that the Clandestine Falange groups were often remembered after male leaders, despite the fact

[602] See *Expte. 1071 instruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Conspiración a la Rebelión,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 197, Exp. 1. Imágenes 1/51. See also article, "The Fifth Column Still Exists, The Police discover a vast Fascist organization and arrest its members," *ABC Madrid,* 13 March 1937, p. 10. http:// hemeroteca.abc.es [Last accessed on 1 November 2017].
[603] *Expte. 56 instruido contra Concepción del Rosal López Vinuesa por el delito/s de Desafección,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 305, Exp. 35. Imagen 52/60
[604] *Expte. 56,* 34/60.

that the press reports of the time highlighted the importance of female fifth columnists.[605] The 'Ciriza organisation' was memorialised after a young draft-dodger who spent many hours confined in a secret room which was installed behind his sister Candida's kitchen cupboard. Félix Ciriza was reliant upon his sister for food and shelter and it was the women in the group who were tasked with raising funds and disseminating propaganda. María García Herraíz de Amilibia, Félix's girlfriend, was the general secretary of the 'organisation.' She contacted the members and distributed the propaganda pamphlets, relayed orders and instructions and warned most members of their imminent arrest in April 1937. Ernestina Pagés Lorner was the second most senior liaison agent. Carmen Gabuccio Sánchez-Mármol (alias *Camisita*) was one of seven senior go-betweens.[606] María and three other women were acquitted and released while the male leaders received capital sentences and were executed some months after.[607] In fact, opportunities for male resistance were extremely limited at this time. "The truth was that very little could be done from within the confines of the prison."[608] Most of the senior male leaders spent the war in prison, confined to the home-space or in asylum in the embassies. In these circumstances anti-Republican women were the beneficiaries of a temporary gender-power shift.

The chapter primarily examines the lived experiences of a few of the most prominent female leaders in order to better understand women's agency within the groups. However,

[605] "Detenciones y registros," in *ABC* (Madrid), 18 April 1937, p. 11.
[606] Translated as "Little [Blue] Shirt."
[607] *Expte. no. 1189 instruido contra Félix Cirizon [sic] Zarrandicoechea por el delito/s de conspiración y auxilio a la Rebelión*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,191, Exp. 4. Imagen71/85
[608] See "Nace la Quinta Columna" in Tarín Iglesias, Manuel (1985) *Los anos rojos. Un testimonio capital sobre la Quinta Columna en la zona republican durante la guerra civil* (Barcelona: Espasa), pp. 56-62 at p. 60.

the next paragraphs will provide a brief overview of the overall structure and aims of the mixed gender groups.

1.Overview of the aims and structure of the mixed gender Clandestine Falange

According to historians the Falange groups were created 'in the wake of the earlier women's welfare-aid organisations which greatly facilitated their formation.'[609]The separation of women's collaborative 'welfare-aid' resistance and men's 'active' resistance is reproduced in the record. In late December 1936, after the failure of the rebels to take Madrid, the Falange and the Traditionalist Communion united forces in order to "do something while awaiting the right moment to take violent action."[610] Ultimately, this moment would coincide with the arrival of Franco's troops. After the repression of 1936 had passed, membership of the Clandestine Falange grew rapidly over the course of 1937 and despite the fact that the groups were regularly dismantled by the authorities.

1.1 Aims and Objectives

The mixed gender groups gathered vital social, political and military intelligence which was forwarded to Burgos via liaison agents or hidden radio transmitters. This intelligence included reports on government activities, civilian morale and the size and location of Republican combat units, armament depots, anti-aircraft artillery or the status of supply lines. The main function of the "Antonio Bouthelier y Antonio Ortega Group" was to provide

[609] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror,* p. 326.
[610] *Sumario no. 4/1927 del Juzgado Especial del Tribunal Central de Espionaje no. contra Javier Fernández Golfín y otros,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1539, Exp. 1. Imágenes 26/1134. Declaration of the Falangist Juan Manuel de La Aldea, aged 23 years dated 8 May 1937.

political and military intelligence to Lt. Colonel Bonel Huici's Nationalist SIMP 'Services.'[611] From Burgos' perspective the most important intelligence related to the levels of morale and attitudes of the senior Republican officers '*who might be counted on*' during an occupation of the capital.[612] The social and political intelligence was used for the purposes of repression both during and after the war. The groups compiled detailed lists of Republican sympathisers. This activity generated alarm among certain sectors of the Republican community who believed that Falangists were embedded within the CNT and could 'bump you off (*apiolar*) at any moment.'[613]

It has been argued that defeatism was the most effective resistance activity practised by the fifth column.[614] However it is impossible to assess the impact of the Clandestine Falange in this regard because by as early as mid June 1937 defeatism became a problem within the general civilian population (see Ch.IV). Defeatist practices certainly served to boost morale and foster a sense of community and shared identity among the resisters. Benedicta Lobo rallied her group with comments like: "When the Fascists enter Madrid they [the Republicans] will cry tears of blood and our left-wing neighbours will have to perform the straight armed [Falangist] salute."[615]By February 1939 defeatist pamphlets were so

[611] See Bouthelier, Antonio y José López Mora (1940), *8 dias. La revuelta comunista. Madrid, 5-13 March 1939* (Madrid: Editora Nacional), p. See also Cervera (1998), pp. 333-335.
[612] Bahamonde, Ángel (2014) *Madrid, 1939* (Madrid: Catedra), ebook, Loc 572 and 909 of 3765
[613] Oral testimony of communist commissar Julia Manzanal Pérez ("Chico") dated 24 July 1996. This Republican woman was a former PCE militant in the Carabanchel district who was appointed as a political commissar within the 5th Regiment's Comuna Batallion on 3 November 1936, cited in Montoliú, Pedro (1999) *Madrid en la Guerra Civil, Los protagonistas, Vol II,* (Madrid: Sílex) at p. 253.
[614] Pastor Petit (1978), *Los Dossiers,* p.269.
[615] See witness evidence against Benedicta Lobo Pérez in *Causa instruida contra Jesusa Arnaíz Sandino, Manuel Muro Vázquez, Soledad Portomarín Serrano, José Soria Ortíz, Benedicta Lobo*

widespread that an illiterate tram-worker was arrested because he had inadvertently wrapped his salary in a 'clandestine pamphlet' which called for the 'Mother's of Madrid' to 'rise up in protest against the government's murderous continuation of the war and the starvation rations which were killing their children.'[616]

Another key aim was to sabotage, impede or disrupt the Republican war effort in as many ways as possible. The Nationalists sent under-cover agents into the capital to provide training in the sabotage of military equipment, although the large-scale sabotage of military material was rare.[617] However, small-scale civilian sabotage was rife and included the circulation of false identification documentation, passports and ration cards, defeatist graffiti and vandalism 'the aim was to produce a breakdown in the rearguard. We never ceased in our efforts.'[618] Forms of economic sabotage included the deliberate disruption of food and fuel supply chains, black-market activities or the introduction of large amounts of Republican currency into the capital from the newly occupied rebel zones. Candida Ciriza was arrested in possession of defeatist pamphlets which called for acts of 'everyday sabotage' and defeatism:

"Comrades: It is necessary to create the maximum amount of conflict for the reds, to sow discontent *(desaliento)* among all those who surround you and provoke discord amongst the various organisations of the Popular Front… also abstain from buying the Republican press, going to the

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Pérez por el delito/s de Derrotismo, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,148, Exp.61. Imágenes 2-3/158.

[616] *Causa no.21 contra Ángel Villa Fernández por delitos de Desafección por tenencia de hoja clandestina*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 258, Exp. 19. The defendant was acquitted.

[617] Heiberg and Ros Agudo (2006), *La Trama,* p. 257 and p.262.

[618] Oral evidence of an anonymous Valencian fifth columnist, in Pastor Petit, Domènec, (2013), *Resistencia y Sabotaje en la Guerra Civil, Espias, Agentes y Quinta Columnistas,* (Barcelona: Argos), cited at p. 429.

theatre or entertainments, paying subscriptions or paying for light, water, telephone services and rent when these are controlled by reds. In a word, you must wage a passive war against the reds; Help our friends in battle and do what you can to reduce the length of our captivity. Signed: *Falange Española de las JONS Junta local.*"[619]

Finally, as we will see below, a key aim was to ensure public order and the continued function of key public and administrative services and the capital's infrastructure in the event of a Nationalist occupation.

1.2 The Structure of the Clandestine Falange

Efforts were made to structure the groups into a series of *Banderas, Tercios, Centurias, Falanges and Escuadras* (Squads) in accordance with the structure of the pre-war Falangist 'Death Squads.' A *bandera* notionally incorporated around 900 individuals, a *Tercio* 300, a *Centuria* 99 plus 1 *Jefe*, a *Falange* 33 and an *Escuadra* 9 individuals plus 1 *Jefe* and a *sub-Jefe*. At the lower levels the organisation adopted the same triangular structure as that of the early Auxilio Azul organisation (described in Ch. II above). The leaders of every 'triangle' received their orders from their local 'squad leader' (*jefe de escuadra*) who, in turn, received orders from a 'district leader' (*jefe de centuria*). As with Auxilio Azul, the triangles formed part of a 'clock-work system and each new member was obliged to recruit two additional members.'[620] According to French intelligence reports, by late 1938 Madrid's Clandestine

[619] *Expte. no. 1189 instruido contra Félix Cirizon* [sic] *Zarrandicoechea por el delito/s de conspiración y auxilio a la Rebelión*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,191, Exp. 4. Imagen 40-41/85.
[620] *Expte. no. 42 contra Daniel Ismael Fernández García, Ángel Naredo Fabian, Herminio Zapico Liebala, Jaime Abad García por el delito/s de Alta Traición, espionaje y derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 154, Exp. 8. Imagen 7/104.

Falange comprised "five *banderas* of around 800 men [sic][621] who were ready for action within the spheres of welfare-aid, provisioning and transportation, public security and the army and assault guards."[622]

Recruitment was based on associational relationships and kinship or friendship groups. The members referred to each other as '*un amigo/a de confianza'* (a friend who can be trusted). Although a significant minority of women played prominent roles, Madrid's 'Supreme Junta' was composed exclusively of men. The first leader was Raimundo Fernández Cuesta who was also the General Secretary of the Falange. He was imprisoned in March 1936 and his ability to co-ordinate an effective resistance was compromised by his notoriety. In October 1937 he was exchanged into the Nationalist zone for the Republican Justino de Azcárate.[623] After Cuesta's departure, his second-in-command, Manuel Valdés Larrañaga, became leader. Valdés was also imprisoned in March 1936 and later evacuated from the Model Prison to Porlier in November 1936. Thereafter he was transferred to the Duque de Sesto prison and finally to a prison hospital from where he was able to initiate contact with agents attached to Lt. Colonel Francisco Bonel Huici's Nationalist SIM 'services.'[624] Bonel's

[621] The French intelligence services also ignored the involvement of women, even within the 'spheres of welfare aid…'

[622] *Archives de la Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine, Université Paris X Ouest Nanterre: Espagne-Guerre, 1936-9, F.A, 167.* Cited in Francisco Alía Miranda, (2017) *La Guerra Civil en Ciudad-Real, conflicto y revolución en una provincia de la retaguardia Republicana,* (Ciudad Real: BAM), at p. 320.

[623] *Nota incompleta relativa a la declaración de Julián Zugazagoitia Mendieta sobre el canje de Raimundo Fernández Cuesta, el Servicio de Expatriación de Republicanos Españoles y el yate 'Vita'*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1564, Exp. 2, Imagen 3/5. The prisoner exchange negotiations were conducted between Burgos, the International Red Cross and Indalecio Prieto and Julián Zugazagoitia. Prieto believed that Fernández Cuesta might be able to assist in the conclusion of a negotiated peace settlement with the Nationalists.

[624] In 1938 Bonel's official title became Jefe de la Sección Destacada del SIPM del primer cuerpo de Ejercito (Madrid).

intelligence out-post was based in Torre de Estebán de Hambrán (Toledo), a small village situated close to Madrid's front-lines. Bonel employed around one hundred agents. Another SIM group was stationed in the *Sección Destacada* on the Sepulveda-Guadalajar front-lines under the command of colonel Justo Jiménez Ortonela.[625]

1.3 The individual groups

There were around eighteen or nineteen Clandestine Falange groups in Madrid,[626] fourteen of which were dismantled by the Republican security services with the aid of informants like the former Falangist Alberto Castilla Olavarría. Castilla was employed by Fernández Valentí's Special Brigade after his arrest in 1937 and he was involved in the demise of the Antonio Rodríguez Aguado and Golfín-Corujo Groups.[627] Aside from Auxilio Azul, the largest group was El Grupo de los 195 which was dismantled in 1938. Others included España Una (Antonio del Rosal's organisation which infiltrated the CNT), El Grupo de la Iglesia de San Francisco el Grande, El Grupo de Carlos Viada, El Asunto Círiza, Las Hojas del Calendario, La 16 Bandera, La Bandera Diego Alonso, La Organización Rodríguez Aguado, El Asunto de la Telefónica, El Complot de los 163, El Grupo de Jesús Hernández Cid y 63 mas, El Grupo de Antonio Bouthelier Espasa and La Organización Antonio (Luna). Auxilio Azul and Socorro

[625] Alía Miranda, Francisco (2015) *"Negrín ante un enemigo 'invisible' la Quinta Columna y su lucha contra la Republica durante la guerra civil Española"* (1937-9), *História y Política,* núm 33, Madrid, enero-junio (2015), pp. 183-210 at p.188.
[626] Oral testimony of Manuel Valdés Larrañaga [dated between 1995-6] in Javier Cervera Gil, (1996) "Violencia política y acción clandestine: la retaguardia de Madrid en Guerra (1936-39)," (Universidad Complutense de Madrid: Thesis), p. 402
[627] *Sumario, No. 4/1937 del Juzgado Especial del Tribunal Central de Espionaje no.1 contra Javier Fernández Golfín y otros*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1539, Exp. 1. Imágenes 1134.

Blanco provided auxiliary support to these Clandestine groups.[628] Javier Cervera provides an excellent overview of these groups.[629]

In early Spring 1937 Manuel Valdés was ordered by Franco's General staff in Burgos to co-ordinate all the groups, including Auxilio Azul which continued to operate relatively separately from the mixed groups. After the political unification of the various rebel factions in late April 1937, the overall strategic leadership was transferred to Bonel, although Valdés remained in charge of the day-to-day leadership. While the groups were never fully coordinated, they adhered to the same general aims and objectives and followed standard codes of conduct and practice which were issued by Burgos, particularly in relation to the dissemination of defeatist news and security issues.[630]

After Spring 1937 the Clandestine Falange began to infiltrate every corner of the Republican rearguard.[631] It was embedded within the Telefónica,[632] the DGS,[633] the Red Cross,[634] the

[628] *Gesto Glorioso del Requete en Madrid* (Julio 1936-Marzo 1939), *Archivo General Militar de Ávila,* C2505, Cp.4/43 and C.2498.20, Legajo no. 285, Carpeta 20, Armario 5.
[629] See "La Quinta Columna y la Falange Clandestina" in Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* pp. 283-337.
[630] Paz, Armando (1976), p. 139
[631] Bahamonde Magro, Ángel, Cervera Gil, Javier (1999) *Así Terminó la Guerra de España,* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), p. 247.
[632] *Causa 42 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 159, Exp. 1.
[633] See *Expte. Instruido contra María Luisa López Ochoa Motta por el delito/s de Espionaje y Alta Traición,* FC-CAUSE_GENERAL, 77, Exp.22. Imágenes 1-13.
[634] *Causa 42 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 159, Exp. 1. Imagen 1862/2519. A former Civil Guard, Emilio Fonseca, became an international Red Cross lorry driver after being 'purged' from the Civil Guard in July 1936. He was also implicated in the *Los 195* network.

law courts,[635] the War Office's purchases and acquisitions department[636] and public and administrative buildings including the Town Hall, hospitals, military barracks, government warehouses, supply depots and distribution centres including the central bread distribution centre. It even came to infiltrate the revolutionary militias and syndicates, in particular the CNT.[637]

By the end of the war around 15% of Madrid's public order forces (Assault Guards, Civil Guards and Carabineers) were in regular contact with the fifth column or had acted in favour of the enemies of the Republic at some stage during the conflict.[638] Around 10% of Madrid's *emboscados* were active fifth columnists, many of whom were recognised as official SIPM agents in the post-war.[639] After the violent Casado coup of 5-13 March 1939,

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[635] See *Causa 42 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 159, Exp. 1. The barrister Dolores Muñoz Tuero (discussed in Ch. II) was accused of coaching witnesses in the *Los 195* trial but the charges against her were reduced to *Desafección.* See also, *Causa 25, instruido contra Ricardo Guerra Blanco por el delito/s de Alta Traición, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 145, Exp.44.* Imágenes 112. Ricardo Guerra Blanco was the President of the *Tribunales Especiales de Guardia* (the emergency military courts courts) who was also accused of conspiring with the Norwegian business attaché Félix Schlayer to aid the escape of fugitives from Madrid.
Causa 59 instruida contra Rogelio Periquet y Rufilanchas por el delito/s de Alta Traición, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 146, Exp. 2. Imágenes 1-95. Periquet was a Defence lawyer in the trial of *Los 195.* Periquet was arrested mid trial in July 1938 and accused of coaching witnesses and attempting to pervert the course of justice (discussed below).
[636] Cervera (1998) *Madrid,* p.289. According to information gathered by SIFNE in dispatch no. 24501 Commander Antonio Rodríguez Sastre was the leader of a fifth column group within the *Junta de Compras del Ministerio de Guerra.* This man was also involved in the *Organización Golfín-Corujo*.
[637] *Expte. no 1071 instruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Conspiración a la Rebelión,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,197, Exp. 6. This group was also known as "*España Una*" – the group's radio code name. It was led by Antonio del Rosal y López de Vinuesa and it managed to infiltrate various CNT groups.
[638] Proportionally, 30% of were infiltrated in the civil guards, 43% in the Assault guards and 27% in the carabineers.
[639] Source: Cervera, Javier, "Infiltración del quintacolumnismo y espionaje en el orden public y seguridad republicanas" *Diacronie, Studi di Storia Contemporanea: La voce del silenzio:*

the widespread infiltration of the Clandestine Falange within the Republican civil, security and military institutions assisted in a peaceful hand-over of the levers of power in Madrid to Franco's troops on 28 March 1939.[640]

2. The roles played by women within the groups

As with *Auxilio Azul,* the women came from predominantly middle-class and upper-middle class right-wing, monarchist, military and Falangist backgrounds. The majority were committed Catholics. The leaders were mostly 'old' shirts or the relatives of disaffected military officers. The majority were related to senior anti-Republican military officers, civil and military doctors, architects, lawyers, attorneys, civil servants and members of private organisations including artists and a wide range of middle class persons of comfortable means the majority of whom were infiltrated within official organisations who performed sensitive and trusted roles which enabled them to transmit data and confidential information to the fascist side via a variety of different mediums. [641] Most were engaged in unpaid domestic work in the household (*sus labores*) but there is an over-representation of seamstresses, nurses and secretarial and administrative assistants. For example, Candida Ciriza was "a well-known seamstress who was mostly connected with aristocrats."[642] She and fifty-six others (including 13 women) were indicted on 27 April 1937 on charges of

intelligence, spionaggio e conflitto nel XX secolo, No. 28 (April, 2016), http://www.studistorici.com/2016/12/29/cervera_gil_numero_28 [Last accessed 1 June 1017], pp. 1-25 at p.10.

[640] Heiberg and Agudo (2008), *La Trama,* p.262.

[641] DGS Report dated [June 1937] in *Sumario no 4/1937 del Juzgado Especial del Tribunal Central de Espionaje no. 1 contra Javier Fernández Golfín y otros,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1539, Exp. 1 Imagen 880/1134.

[642] *Detenciones,* ABC (Madrid), Sunday, 18 April 1937, p. 10.

conspiracy and aiding rebellion.[643] These well-connected women were able to infiltrate Republican spaces such as military barracks, hospitals, civil and administrative offices in their capacity as voluntary and unpaid nurses, auxiliaries, secretaries and administrative assistance.

They performed the same roles as men in their capacity as recruitment and liaison agents, spies and escape-line co-ordinators while also undertaking welfare-aid roles. A small minority were senior leaders like Francisca Martínez Ramírez who was third-in-command of the 195 Group or the military widow Esperanza Ortega Cebrían who became the leader of an armed '*esquadra*' after the escape of the former leader, Félix Campos Guereta, into the Nationalist zone.[644] In the absence of men, women filled the gaps.

2.1 Recruitment and Liaison Agents

The main role played by women within the groups was as recruitment and liaison agents. Women were more able to initiate contact with potential new recruits in public spaces like the bars and cafés of central Madrid. They were perceived as being less politicized and therefore less threatening than men. Their potentially unwelcome approaches might be more easily dismissed as 'laughable and hare-brained ideas and notions.'[645] Women also acted as go-betweens at the embassies where the leaders of the Supreme Junta were in asylum. They also liaised between the prisons, hospitals, barracks and embassies and their

[643] Expte. no. 1189 instruido contra Félix Cirizon [sic] Zarrandicoechea por el delito/s de conspiración y auxilio a la Rebelión, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,191, Exp. 4.
[644] *Expte. no. 46 intruido contra varias personas por el delitos de Alta traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 156 Exp 53 Imagen 72/668.
[645] *Causa 42,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 159, Exp.1. Trial Testimony of Carlos Alfonso Sanz Imágenes, 1979-80/2519.

homes were venue to clandestine meetings. Such women held the threads of Clandestine Falange communication networks in place.

As indicated in Ch. I, after March 1936 women played key liaison roles between the main Falange leaders (*Jefes*) and the administrative heads (*Mandos*) who remained on the ground. 'Sympathetic' prison guards and prison officials were complicit in the dissemination of Falangist news, war reports and other contraband into and out of the prisons despite the government's attempts to repress this activity by posting militias within the prisons after the Model Prison assault of 22-23 August 1936. [646] Women also recruited within the military barracks in their capacity as auxiliaries, nurses and administrative assistants. The sisters María Juana (typist) and Francisca (nurse) Escalonilla Peña worked as auxiliaries with the *Etapas* First Battalion situated in Calle Juan Bravo. They were accused of high treason together with several soldiers who were attached to the *Etapas* Battalion and the Transmissions Group, Second Division. Francisca would show potential recruits a thermometer that 'when viewed at a certain angle revealed the Monarchist flag.' She would then ask "What do you see here? And then respond: yes, that's correct, the only true Spanish flag, because the current one is false."[647] The women were denounced by a SIM

[646] For example, see *Causa 31 instruida contra Estebán Calleja Verdejo, Eutiquio González Rubio, José Ojeda Gamez por delito/s de Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 149, Exp. 11. This trial dated 8 June 1938 involved three prison guards who were accused of Treason for aiding and abetting the prison escape of Miguel Pereda Pelayo. See also, *Expte. no. 46 contra varias personas por delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 156, Exp.53. Imágenes 40-3/668, this group was in contact with a SIM guard who facilitated the escape of political prisoners.

[647] *Causa 30 instruida contra María Juana Escalonilla Peña, Francisca Escalonilla Peña por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 155, Exp. 43. Imágenes 6/28 See also, *Causa 46, Imagen 51-52/668,* Declaration of Francisca Escalonilla Peña dated 2 August 1938.

informant and eventually acquitted of treason but charged with disaffection in January 1939 and exiled as Argentinian Nationals.[648]

Francisca Martínez Ramírez and "the 195 Group"

This pre-war Falangist activist became the third in command of Madrid's largest mixed gender network which was coordinated in early 1938. The SIM described the organisation as a 'complex fascist-type organisation.'[649]The name "Los 195" referred to the number defendants. Miguel Cortez Rubio, Jeronimo López Batanero, Francisca Martínez Ramírez and José Banús Masdeu and an additional 191 persons were arrested in April 1938 and charged with high treason, espionage and defeatism for their involvement in:

"an extensive clandestine network that was…dedicated to uncovering intelligence in relation to military positions, the movement of troops and supplies, the location of munitions factories and to obtaining plans in relation to military positions in order to offer them to the enemy. It also operated Socorro Blanco services, spread false rumours and there was conclusive evidence that it had actively cooperated with the rebels and it was prepared to use violence in the event of a victorious attack against the capital."[650]

By April 1938 the group had infiltrated various military, governmental, civil service, legal and commercial institutions including The Tenth Urban Transport Battalion, police stations, the DGS and the Telefónica. The organisation was composed of Falangists, Traditionalists and Monarchists whose general aims were to pass military intelligence into the Nationalist zone, sabotage Republican supply lines and services and prepare for the take-over of government

[648] *Causa no. 30, Imagen 27/8.*
[649] *Expte. 42 instruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición, espionaje y derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 154, Exp.1. SIM report dated March 1938, Imagen 249/250.
[650] *Expte. 42,* SIM report dated March 1938, Imagen 249/250.

nerve centres and public services in the event of a Nationalist occupation. The key objective was "to organise a bloodless military coup in favour of the Nationalists in the event of an imminent Nationalist occupation of the capital."[651]Prior to her arrest Martínez and her accomplice Miguel Cortés Rubio had been informing potential new recruits that the group was in the process of 'putting together an organisation whose aims were to effect a bloodless *coup d'etat* and that it could rely on some 40 or 50 thousand men including members of the police force, the *Retiro* Park security forces and military elements, in particular members of the rank and file. In addition, a secret radio transmitter was installed in the basement of the *ABC* newspaper building which ensured direct contact with Salamanca.'[652]

The network was dismantled on 5 April 1938 following a lengthy and detailed SIM surveillance operation that culminated in a raid on the offices of Pablo Moreno Ciges at the Glorieta de San Bernardo. Moreno was caught 'red-handed' in the process of recording sensitive military intelligence which was supplied by two officers from Miaja's General Staff. Martínez was also in attendance and she was later discovered in possession of classified military maps and other incriminating documents (supplied by Manuel Villafranca) including 'information relating to the sabotage of 63 projectile bombs.'[653] On 18 June 1938 the sentencing judge of the *Tribunal Especial de Guardia No. 1* found that:

[651] *Causa 42 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición, espionaje y derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 159, Exp.1. Witness testimony of Antonio Martínez Peinado (aged 37 years) dated 25 May 1938. Imagen, 282/2519.
[652] *Causa 42,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 159, Exp.1. Imagen 282/2519. Witness testimony of Antonio Martínez Peinado dated 25 May 1938. He worked as a CNT security guard.
[653] *Causa 42,* Witness statement of Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Imagen, 48/2519

"…within the various groups which exist in Madrid and are collectively known as the 'fifth column' the 195 Group was established with the specific aim to co-ordinate elements of self-appointed 'people of order' so that, in the event of the legitimate government abandoning the Republican capital, the Group would replace these authorities in the service of the fascists and would maintain public order and ensure the continuation of all public services…in anticipation of a swift and successful Nationalist advance from both the Levant and the East, the group's mission, following examples provided in various other Nationalist occupied cities, was also to undermine rearguard morale by spreading defeatist information (*derrotismo*). They also intended to organise an uprising in the capital that would coincide with an external attack."[654]

Pursuant to the above aims, the group had infiltrated army barracks and security buildings, local police stations, the Town Hall, the artillery and automobile parks, the Telefónica and numerous other nerve-centres in order to 'take-over the levers of power at any given moment.' Martínez gathered Republican military information and passed it to the enemy and disseminated defeatist information in order to enlist new recruits within the civil service. Finally, the 'group provided auxiliary relief services, sometimes using code names, in the form of money and provisions to those who, on account of their hostility towards the Republic had been dismissed from their jobs.' The sentencing Judge caused a public controversy because he found that the fifth column's hostility towards the Republic was, in part, generated by the professional purges of the early months of the conflict.' Repression and financial insecurity had resulted in the creation of secret mutual aid networks within anti-Republican community.

[654]*Causa 42,* Sentencing Report dated 18 July 1938, Imágenes, 2215-6/2519.

Martínez was one of the four main leaders alongside Miguel Cortés Rubio, Jeronimo López Batanero and José Banús Masdeu. Her name appears in most of the witness testimonies. She was the key recruitment and liaison figure and was also central to the high-level negotiations that took place during early 1938 in relation to the integration of all the groups into a single co-ordinated network. She was the main contact for several larger groups (between 25-50 persons) and also in charge of the recruitment of new members and the distribution of money and welfare aid. She also regularly liaised with two other groups led by Antonia Lario and Dolores López Mendizábal (discussed below) and was in contact with Enrique Saiz de la Torre's cell which was led by Manuel Villafranca and included Florentino López, Filomena Serrano and various others. Via this group Martínez was connected with Commander Carlos Alfonso Sanz who, in turn, put her in contact with Muñoz Valcarcel's group. Finally, Martínez was in direct contact with the group lead by José Banús Masdeu and Carmen De Blas Aranteguí wich was linked to several other cells. Martínez played a key role in the co-ordination of the groups in early 1938 and she also commanded a chain of spies that gathered political and military intelligence, including the movement of troops and the placement of anti-aircraft artillery. Martínez collated the intelligence and forwarded it Cortés Rubio who conveyed it to the SIM in Salamanca via a short-wave radio transmitter that was hidden in the basement of the *ABC* offices.[655] Martínez was also involved in escape-line co-ordination.[656]

[655] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Antonio Martínez Peinado, Imagen 282/2519.
[656] *Causa 42,* Witness statement of Francisca Martínez Ramírez dated 17 April 1938, Imagen, 49/2519

At the time of her arrest 'Comrade Fanny' was 35 years old, single and a seamstress. She was known as "Fanny" although her secret code-name was '9-85.' During her first interrogation on 5 April 1938 she revealed that she had been a member of Renovación Española and had 'taught pattern cutting for the Sección Femenina and made clothes for poor people.' She joined the Falange in March 1936 either in response to the 16 February 1936 general election results or in protest at the arrest of José Antonio. The interrogation records and her trial testimony differ in their accounts of her motivations for joining. She was immediately appointed as the secretary to the Palacios District Sección Femenina. Her political activism prior to 18 July 1936 resulted in her arrest on four other occasions by the Buenavista, Palacio and Universidad police stations. During her trial testimony on 24 July 1936 she claimed that she had managed to avoid arrest 'on several occasions' and 'achieved her own release from prison on three separate occasions without anyone's help.' These repeated arrests 'mobilised her to work against the Popular Front Regime and the working classes.' She also gave evidence that in March 1938 around twenty-four soldiers, two Civil Guards and two SIM agents arrived at her home in order to make an arrest and that she had 'feigned a heart attack during her arrest and despite being subjected to threats and verbal abuse, she had avoided arrest at this time.'[657] She self-identified as a brave, resourceful and ardent Falangist.

After the outlawing of the Falange Martínez formed her own underground resistance group which was composed of committed Falangists (*Falangistas de Corazón*) and began to recruit 'in earnest' after she was appointed as Secretary of the *Palacios* District. She was also

[657] *Causa 42,* Trial Testimony of Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Imagen, 1944/2519.

appointed to a liaison role between Rafael Aznar and José Antonio Primo de Rivera while the latter languished in Alicante prison. She liaised between José Antonio, Pilar Primo de Rivera and Aznar.[658] Martínez established these connections at some time in late July 1936. She also became acquainted with Manuel Valdés Larrañaga whilst in prison.[659] After her release for prison in early 1937 Martínez contacted Rafael Aznar who appointed her as the liaison agent for a Nationalist agent named 'Dr Barrado' who was based in Burgos. In May 1937 Martínez was promoted as the leader of the now evacuated Palacios District by Marina Navarro, the outgoing leader. Navarro resigned because she was getting married and Martínez testified that Navarro had 'disappeared.' It is unclear whether Navarro was extra-judicially killed or had escaped Madrid or severed links with the Falange after her marriage.

Martínez first approached Miguel Cortés Rubio in the weeks leading up to the coup 'because he was a committed Falangist.' Cortés was also a Falangist and an ex-Civil Guard who was sacked during the professional purges of 1936. The pair quickly became close associates and their written communications reflected the distinctive Falangist 'emotional regime,' They addressed each other as "Comrade" and communications were signed off with the words *"¡Arriba España!"* Cortés agreed to "unite forces in order to recruit individuals who would be willing to take up arms against the Republic."[660] The members were composed of security personnel from the 10th Urban Battalion, the Security Corps, the Pontejo Barracks, the Home Office, the Automobile Depot, the Orphans School and Madrid University's Literature and Philosophy Faculty. By March 1938 Martínez had also recruited within the

[658] *Causa 42,* Witness statement of Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Imágen, 46/2519
[659] *Causa 42,* Trial Testimony of Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Imágenes, 1945/2519.
[660] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Imágen, 43/2519.

Admiralty, the Airforce, the Telefónica in Gran Vía, the General Staff and officers at the *Palacio del Pardo* which was strategically situated near the Manzanares River. She confessed to having recruited over forty individuals including two captains who embedded within Miaja's General Staff of the Central Zone (Paz Zamarra and Martínez Pérez) and several 'ex-Falangists' who were posted with the Artillery, Aviation and Carabineer Divisions. She also confessed to having taken part in intelligence gathering against 'enemy reds, Jews and Freemasons in order to take the requisite precautions in defence of the Nationalist cause.'[661] The information was used for the purposes of the Francoist repression both during the war and 'pursuant to the state sanctioned economic repression and social marginalization of non-Nationalists after the war.'[662] She also compiled lists of 'sympathetic Republicans who might be given due recognition after the Nationalist victory.'

Martínez was also involved in fund raising for the organisation and she provided welfare aid and financial assistance to members.[663] These included Rogelio Sánchez who was imprisoned in Quiñones Prison and Dolores López Mendizábal who was sacked from the Telefónica because she was a Falangist. Martínez had access to a secret bank account and was authorized to take out significant sums of money for distribution among members. She distributed between 2-4,000 pesetas to various groups and individuals for living expenses and the purchase of weapons. For example, Jeronimo López Batanero lost his job as accountant to the Count of Romanones at the start of the war and he regularly received

[661] *Causa 42,* Witness statement of Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Imagen, 46/2519
[662] Juliá, Santos (ed) (1999) *Víctimas de la guerra civil,* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy), pp. 361-37
[663] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Manuel Villafranca Muñoz dated 9 May 1938, Imagen 79-81/2519

between 300 and 500 pesetas from Martínez via Pablo Moreno.[664] In this way the agents of resistance were also its beneficiaries. Martínez recruited 'many women into a new Sección Femenina that employed needy factory workers who were paid a daily rate and whose products were sold in various shops.' The excess profits "were distributed in order to aid needy persons in particular the deceased, prisoners, fugitives and their families."[665] Martínez recruited María Felisa Parés as a liaison agent and Parés was also a senior member of *Auxilio Azul* who worked at the Republican SIM offices. Felisa Parés denied all involvement in the group activities and only confessed to having authorised Martínez the use her home telephone 'on several occasions.' Parés was acquitted on charges of treason and espionage and her case was referred to the lower courts for disaffection but never came to trial, possibly as a result of helpful back-channels at the SIM.

Martínez was an ardent and committed activist. According to several (male) defendants she was "very important, young and attractive…sympathetic and agreeable, making herself attractive in the way that a female attracts a male."[666]Commander Carlos Alfonzo Sanz claimed that she was talented at 'initiating provocative and dangerous conversations' which might not have received the same reception if instigated by a man. She was affectionately known as *La rubia* (the 'Blonde') and her erotic capital and extroverted character meant that she was often the first to approach potential recruits in bars and cafés. Alfonzo Sanz also testified that during their first meeting he had thought that 'that her proposals were insane and that she could not be taken seriously.' He claimed in mitigation that he had

[664] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Jeronimo López Batanero dated 7 April 1938, Imagen, 55-6/2519
[665] *Causa 42,* Witness statement of Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Imagen, 46/2519
[666] *Causa 42,* Trial Testimony of Commander Carlos Alfonso Sanz Imágenes, 1979-80/2519.

been unduly influenced by this dynamic woman 'who had persuaded him to embark upon treason,' although he and several other defendants took pains to emphasize her ideological commitment, sexual propriety and untainted 'moral character.' She was frequently described as an 'authentic Falangist' and a 'true idealist.' The moral probity and the sexual proclivities of the male defendants were never interrogated in this way. Martínez was also highly valued among the women of the group among whom she inspired a profound and unwavering loyalty and admiration. Dolores López Mendizábal testified that she owed her loyalty to Francisca Martínez, not just because she was her superior, but also because Martínez provided her with regular financial assistance after she was dismissed from her job at the Telefónica. She was referred to by the other defendants as a true "old shirt" and an "authentic Falangist" (*Falangista de corazón*). During the last of several interrogations on 5 April 1938 Martínez was reported to have performed the raised armed salute and declared:

"I have done as much damage as possible to the legally constituted Regime and I deserve the death sentence…I request a great favour from said Regime, I beg that my punishment be administered as swiftly as possible in consideration of all my humanitarian and charitable works. *¡Arriba España!"*[667]

This defiant speech-act constituted an act of brave political resistance and deliberate self-incrimination. The words and the gesture alone constituted the crime of disaffection and few defendants confessed in such an outspoken way. Immediately after performing the illegal Falangist salute, Francisca requested a swift execution because she was afraid that she would be tortured while in custody. This emotive political performance reflects the emotional intensity of the hard-core 'old shirts.' Later, during the trial her defence claimed

[667] *Causa 42,* Testimony of Francisca Martínez Ramírez Imágen, 41/2519.

that her actions were inspired by 'humanitarian and charitable' motives and it was alleged that her confession was made 'under duress and while in a confused state.' Her lawyer argued that Martínez was:

"guided by a spirit of fraternity that had been heightened by her deep religious convictions, she had assisted and saved persons from a variety of ideological backgrounds, as she thought fit, without ever having collaborated with or associated with other persons …motivated by this same spirit she helped, as requested by Pablo Moreno, in order to minimize the negative consequences of the conflict in the event of an entry of enemy troops…"[668]

This plea in mitigation resonates with the 'abnegated and selfless' discourses of the Sección Femenina and Auxilio Azul. While Martínez primarily self-identified as a committed Falangist, she was also a Catholic and her piety was invoked as a mitigating factor which might indicate that by 1938 private religious practices were more tolerated in the Republican rearguard. Martínez was awarded the death penalty which was commuted to life imprisonment together with the women discussed in the paragraphs below with the exception of Carmen de Blas who whose case was dismissed on health grounds. According to Ángel Bahamonde and Cervera, a total of sixty-four individuals who were condemned to death, fifty-eight were shot (all men). The harshness of the repression against 'Clandestine Madrid' continued throughout 1938.[669]

Antonia Lario Alonso

[668] *Causa 42,* Letter into Court in Defence of Francisca Martínez Ramírez dated 12 July 1938, 1651/2519.
[669] Source: Bahamonde Magro, Ángel, Cervera, Javier (1999) *Así terminó la guerra de España,* (Marcial Pons: Barcelona), 247.

Antonia Lario Alonso also formed part of the 5 April 1938 police round-up. After twenty-four hours in custody and "in a fit of candour" she confessed that "when she first became involved in the organisation she knew that she was playing with her life but that, nonetheless, she would happily lose her life knowing that she had proudly served her son."[670] Lario was a Puerto Rican national and a military widow who was aged 49 years at the time of her arrest. She came from a military family and her son, Joaquín García Lario, was a Falangist who had gone into hiding after 18 July 1936. Antonia used her connections to obtain his asylum and the French embassy and also procured a pistol 'which he refused to take' and which was subsequently found at her home. With the help of the embassy she organised his escape into France in 1936 together with several other asylees and the records indicate that Joaquín may have been involved with the Nationalist intelligence services in Paris. After his departure, Lario became 'the leader of an important group and the Republican SIM believed that she was in regular contact with members of Madrid's Supreme Junta.' Her home was venue to high-level clandestine meetings. Lario raised a '*bandera'* and 'recruited Jeronimo López Batanero into the Organisation.' She explained that her group "formed part of a large organisation that was infiltrated everywhere…"[671] In early 1938 Lario hosted a meeting in order to discuss 'the fusion of various groups which had already been working closely together.[672] López first made the acquaintance of "Fanny" (Martínez) and "Don José" the code name for Miguel Cortés Rubio at this meeting. Thereafter, Lario met regularly with Martínez, Pablo Moreno, Miguel Cortés, Paz Zamorra,

[670] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Antonia Lario Alonso dated 6 April 1938, Imágen, 109-112/2519
[671] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Jeronimo López Batanero dated 7 April 1938, Imágen, 55-6/2519
[672] *Causa 42,* Imagen 1927/2519. Trial testimony of Jeronimo López Batanero, Imagen 1928/2519.

Pedro Martín and several assault guards, security officers and officers within Miaja's General Staff. On 12 March 1938 Martínez and Cortés 'informed Lario in the presence of the leader of the *22 Bandera* that the *Junta Nacional* had given orders to recruit more personnel in anticipation of an imminent military coup.'[673] López and Lario obtained a cache of pistols, a sub-machine gun, hunting rifles and ammunition which Lario hid in a wall-cavity. A second cache was hidden at López's office in Calle Españoleto. Lario was accused of having supplied Astra 9mm pistol to Captain Paz Zamorra who formed part of Miaja's General Staff. She had also entered into negotiations for the supply of a large number of munitions from a soldier based in Alcalá de Henares. By April 1938, Lario was so confident of an imminent Nationalist victory that she defiantly performed the Falangist salute in public and became 'more careless and incautious in her recruitment methods.'[674]

Lario was a devout Catholic whose home also became a regular venue to clandestine masses which were attended by members like Jeronimo López Batanero. These religious gatherings provided recruitment opportunities and the priest who officiated mass at her house also performed Sunday mass at the house of a 'high-ranking member of the DGS.' Lario also liaised with agents embedded within various civilian and military institutions and she regularly visited Falangist prisoners. She was also in contact with one of Franco's SIM agents in Madrid named 'Delgado' and she was in communication with a cousin at the *Llorente* Institute, a popular tribunal lawyer named Rumbau (probably Gregorio Rabago), a Health Officer named Botana, various General Staff officers, other security personnel and, finally, a

[673] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Antonia Lario Alonso dated 5 April 1938, Imágen, 111/2519
[674] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Dr Lorenzo Méndez Calvo dated 5 April 1938, Imágen, 55-6/2519

nephew of General Sanjurjo who was in asylum at the French embassy under the pretext of being a French National. This man "had acquired increasing influence within the DGS to the extent that he had on occasion been passed the names of persons who were about to be arrested."[675] Lario was found guilty of co-ordinating 'a large and diffuse network of operatives whose most senior leader was known as Rabago.' Gregorio Rabago Rodríguez was a Supreme Tribunal prosecutor who obtained the acquittal of many fifth columnists. He was detained after the dismantlement of the case of the "The Local Junta of the Falange de las JONS" aka the "Golfín- Corujo" group which was dismantled in 1937. [676]

Lario also performed auxiliary relief services 'at the orders of senior Falangists.' She regularly visited a group of ex Civil Guards imprisoned at the monastery of *Santa María de la Cabeza* and had access to funds which enabled her to assist prisoner's families in places outside Madrid like Jaen. After a house search during the early months of the war she claimed that she had been left penniless and deprived of her widow's pension. She claimed to have relied on 'donations from friends' but it was discovered that she had access to a clandestine account made out in the name of another resistance member whose name she refused to divulge. Lario also raised funds for her auxiliary relief work from 'acquaintances.' Lario claimed that she "had always provided assistance to the needy regardless of their class"[677] and denied that 'the friends' and 'acquaintances' were members of Socorro Blanco.

[675] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Antonia Lario Alonso dated 5 April 1938, Imagen, 111/2519
[676] *Sumario no 4/1937 del Juzgado Especial del Tribunal Central e Espionaje no 1 Contra Javier Fernández Golfín y otros,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1539, Exp. 1.
[677] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Antonia Lario Alonso dated 5 April 1938, Imagen, 110/ 2519

Lario was also a spy who had regular access to several clandestine radio sets, one of which may have been hidden within the offices of the General Staff. In addition, she was accused of having audaciously used the DGS's public telephone services to pass intelligence information into the enemy zone. She was also accused of having revealed the existence of a female Republican double-agent who was a telephone operator who was smuggled over the Republican lines in Victoria Kent's car. Lario also communicated military intelligence including information in relation to the movement of a large concentration of Republican troops in Huesca and also the position of Republican tanks in Guadalarjarra in January 1938. The Tribunal of Espionage and High Treason found her guilty of having passed military information, obtained from the General Staff and the French embassy in Madrid to Salamanca. Finally, like Martínez and Dolores López Mendizábal (discussed below) Lario also compiled lists of 'friends and enemies' within the Republican General Staff (Estado Mayor) and Military Headquarters (Cuartel General). The group gathered this information on behalf of the Nationalist SIPM which relayed this intelligence to the General Staff and to Marcelino de Ulibarri y Eguilaz's 'Documental Recuperation Services' department which was based in the General Staff offices and tasked with 'recovering documents related to Marxist activities.'[678] Lario also provided information on individuals in the Nationalist zone:

"Samuel Luchsinge, Mining Engineer, a Jew, resident in Pamplona, he has relatives in Madrid. An intervention by Nationalist authorities is required in relation to communications between this person and Julia Centeno and Carmen Topete both resident in Biarritz."[679]

[678] See Chapter 4, Espinosa Romero, Jesús, "La delegación del estado para la recuperación de documentos en Madrid," in Oviedo Silva, Daniel, Pérez-Olivares García, Alejandro (eds) (2016) *Madrid, una ciudad en guerra* (1936-48), (Madrid: Catarata), p. 140.
[679] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Antonia Lario Alonso dated 5 April 1938, Imagen 111-12/2519

Lario received the death penalty for her involvement in the group but this sentence was commuted to 30 years life imprisonment.

Dolores López Mendizábal

Martínez introduced Lario to Dolores López Mendizábal in early 1938. This woman was the leader of cell that was embedded within the Telefónica offices and it included Juan Marticorena, Teresa Bayod, Modesta Ramírez, Manuela Vargas, Carmela Rosillo, José Romero, Antonio González Trashorras, Afred Ruíz Crespón, Carmen García and Tomás Bertolín and various military personnel. In March 1938 López Mendizábal supplied Larios with a list of potential recruits within the Telefónica which was discovered along with intelligence documents during a search of Larios' premises.

López was single and aged 35 years at the time of her arrest. She had first met Martínez through her involvement in the Sección Femenina before the war. She joined the Telefónica as a telephone operator in 1929 but was dismissed in or around March 1936 because of her Falangist credentials. She claimed never to have known Martínez' by her real name, only by her code nubmer "9-85." López's code number was "9-67." At a secret street meeting some months prior to her arrest Fanny had 'given López three days to create a list of collaborators at the Telefónica who would be prepared to take-over the building in the event of a Nationalist occupation of Madrid.' López claimed that she always obeyed the orders of Fanny. "The Falange doesn't ever give explanations, only orders."[680] She made efforts to

[680] *Causa 42,* Trial Testimony of Dolores López Mendizábal, Imágen, 1960/2519

recruit 'trustworthy' individuals in order to form a cell that would come into action "in the event of a Nationalist occupation or when the fifth column finally came out onto the streets and took over the public buildings.' Fanny managed to persuade her that "the moment had come to take action and that it was vital that contact should be made with trustworthy elements."[681]

López immediately contacted ex-colleagues (male and female) who were still working at the Telefónica. She went to visit them at their homes. A few flatly refused to collaborate in view of the risks involved. Her colleague José Romero argued that the plan was madness and refused to help. López threatened him: "watch out Romero, we will go ahead without you anyway and you will be punished."[682]Meanwhile, Carmen García Álvarez, Modesta Ramírez, Pepita Messeguer and Teresa Bayod agreed to join the conspiracy. One of Bayod's brothers was killed at the start of the war, another was a senior Falangist who was forced to seek asylum at the Norwegian Embassy. Bayod's father was the Head of the Toledo Post Office. Carmen Carmentia and Manuela Vargas refused to collaborate because that they had already been acquitted of disseminating intelligence received from San Sebastián (probably from SIFNE). Paulina Caballero 'did not want to lose her job and disagreed with the ideas of the Falange.' Carmen Jiménez had already been imprisoned and didn't want to get involved. On 19 March López submitted her list to Fanny and held a meeting at her flat on 24th March 1938 in order to plan the take-over of the Telefónica. López was found guilty of treason and

[681] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Dolores López Mendizábal dated 5 April 1938, Imagen, 105/2519.
[682] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of Dolores López Mendizábal dated 5 April 1938, Imagen, 106/2519

sentenced to death but her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In March 1939 after the capital was occupied, Martínez, Larios and López were released from prison.

Carmen de Blas Arantegui

Carmen de Blas Arantegui was 27 years old and married to an army Commander who was invalided out of service, possibly on false medical pretexts. She had a young son and was pregnant with another child at the time of her arrest. Her husband now worked at the National History Museum. De Blas denied any association with 'active military personnel because her husband belonged to the Invalid Corps.'[683] In fact, de Blas was one of the most well-connected Nationalist SIPM agents in Madrid.[684] She was also in communication with senior officials at the Telefónica. De Blas used ciphers and 'code-breakers' supplied by the Nationalists to key agents. "Three cases of 'Danubio' meant three cases of Dynamite; 150 boxes of tomatoes mean hand grenades; 7 cases of red wine mean flammable liquids, 100 boxes of pineapples meant bombs; 160/m/c.g. means 160,000 cartridges and 150/m of olives means 150,000 bullets."[685] Captains were code-named "onions" and Lieutenant officers were code-named "garlic."[686]

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[683] *Causa 42,* Trial Testimony of Carmen de Blas Aranteguí, Imágen, 197-78/2519
[684] Source: Alberto Vargas Laguna in *La Razón de Domingo* dated 10 February 2013 at http.//*Larazon.es*. [Last accessed 5 May 2017].
[685] *Expte. 42, contra Daniel Ismael Fernández* García*, Ángel Naredo Fabian, Herminio Zapico Liebala, Jaime Abad García por el delito/s de Alta Traición, espionaje y derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 154, Exp. 8. Imagen 5/104.
[686] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of José Banús Masdeu dated 5 April 1938, Imagen 32/2519

De Blas was linked to José Moreno Ciges, Horacio Echevarrieta and José Banús Masdeu who worked as a physiotherapist ('therapeutic masseur') in a private health clinic in Calle Montes where clandestine meetings took place.[687] José Banús made an immediate confession to the SIM on 5 April 1938 which lead to the arrest of Carmen de Blas and the other members of his group. He confessed that he had earlier joined Antonio Rodríguez Aguado's organisation which had established direct links with Franco's headquarters in Salamanca. The group was "comprised of a large number of military and civilian personnel who were infiltrated within the Republican regime and who had been entrusted with significant and powerful roles."[688] Banús claimed that de Blas was only known as 'Carmen Marquina' (her married name).

Banús had also been arrested much earlier, in August 1936, because of his lack of identification documents but released soon after. He was called to the ranks in Autumn 1936 but managed to avoid active service by obtaining a post as a nursing auxiliary in Military Hospital no. 24 in Calle Monte Esquinza. In February 1937, alongside José Luis Moreno Ciges and Manuel Carpio and several others, he established one of Madrid's earliest fifth-column networks known as the 'Grupo Banús' which managed to infiltrate the Usera and the Casa de Campo frontlines, the Grupo de Tren Batallion and a dozen military hospitals. In April 1937 Banús was approached by Paco Llanas (real name Francisco Grañen) the former leader of the Falange in Guadalajar who invited him to join the Rodríguez

[687] José Banús Masdeu became a wealthy and prominent property developer after the war. His influence and contacts within the Francoist regime ensured that he was granted the necessary licences and permissions to develop the coastal town of Puerto Banús among other significant developments.
[688] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of José Banús Masdeu dated 5 April 1938, Imagen 32/2519

Aguado organisation[689] which was ordered by Bonel Huici to organise escape-lines for military officers and gather intelligence. Banús managed to establish communication with Bonel Huici and also with informants in the Republican *'Posición Jaca'* (the secret bunker of the General Staff of the Army of the Centre). After a bounty was issued for the arrest of Antonio Rodríguez Aguado and Joaquín Jiménez de Anta, it was Banús who persuaded a diplomat at the French embassy to safe-house these men until they finally obtained asylum at the Turkish embassy in December 1937.

Carmen de Blas attended meetings at José Banús' clinic in the Monte Esquinza hospital, in Calle Montes and also in Café Granja del Henar and the Café de Europa situated in the Glorieta de Bilbao. She first made his acquaintance in this last café and put him in contact with the Basque multimillionaire Horacio Echevarrieta (one of the most powerful impresarios of the Alfonso XIII period) who was a committed Republican and close friend of Indalecio Prieto the Minister of War in 1938. De Blas, Banús and Echevarrieta met on at least two separate occasions at Echevarrieta's palace which was situated between Calles Diego de León and Claudio Coello. According to Banús, Echevarrieta had claimed that 'although he wasn't a fascist, he did not agree with the current regime' and he had agreed to put 3,000 armed men at Banús' disposal in order to take Madrid within 24 hours. The conspirators agreed that the Union Radio building would be the first to be occupied. [690]

[689] *Sumario no 81/1938 del Juzgado Especial por espionaje y otros delitos contra la seguridad exterior del estado contra Antonio Rodríguez Aguado y otros,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1540, Exp. 1 and 1542, Exp. 1.
[690] *Causa 42,* Imagen 1930/2519. Transcript of interrogation of José Banús Masdeu dated May 1938.

De Blas always denied any involvement in the fifth column. She confessed to meeting José Moreno Ciges in December 1937 at his hair salon in Calle Alcalá no. 2. She had been informed that Moreno's brother was a communist party member and she wanted him to obtain a communist membership card for her brother (aged 16) who had recently received his call-up. De Blas telephoned Moreno a few days after their initial meeting and arranged to meet him at a park in Calle de Lista where she took her young son to play. Eight days later Moreno informed her that he was unable to obtain the necessary documentation. De Blas then asked Moreno if he might organise, with the aid of the International Red Cross, the release of her cousin Jeronimo López Batanero together with another three military prisoners as part of a civilian exchange programme. The International Red Cross had already informed her that it was not possible to organise exchanges on an individual basis, instead, it was necessary to put forward a group of men and the Republican government's prisoner-exchange ratio was two Republicans for every Nationalist.

De Blas claimed that she would never endanger her husband and her infant son by involving herself in 'political matters.' However, Banús confessed that she was an important fifth-column recruitment and liaison agent who was in contact with the Nationalist SIPM. Moreno also testified that he had given military plans to de Blas and that she in turn had passed these on to Banús.[691] De Blas's defence argued that she had become addicted to prescriptions drugs including morphine because of severe back pain during pregnancy and had been hospitalised twice for drug intoxication. She was released and the treason charges against her were dropped because the court found that she had been forcibly removed from

[691] *Causa 42,* Witness Statement of José Moreno Ciges dated 5 April 1938, Imágenes 1934-5/2519.

hospital (while pregnant with her second child) and taken to the SIM headquarters for interrogation while under extreme sedation. The confessions made during her interrogations in April 1938 were made under the influence of drugs and were inadmissible. She pleaded 'ignorance and disorientation arising from drug intoxication' and denied knowledge of the reasons for her arrest. The medical evidence obtained from two medical experts ensured her release and her case was suspended.[692] She was transferred to a psychiatric establishment for treatment for 'prescription drug addiction which was caused by the back pain experienced after the birth of her first child' and absolved on grounds of 'mental irresponsibility' on 2 August 1938.[693] She never forgave Banús for his betrayal.[694] Fortunately, she was a powerful woman in her own right, and an 'influencer' who possessed social capital and an extensive network of powerful Republican friends. De Blas survived the war and lived in Madrid until her death on 17 November 1986. She was remembered as a devout Catholic widow [695] and devoted mother of four children.[696]

While 195 Group was Madrid's largest network, only eighteen women received custodial sentences on 18 June 1938. The women were Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Teresa Bayod Rueda, Carmen de Blas Arantegui, Paulina Caballero Verde, Mercedes Gónzalez del Valle, Carmen Jiménez Crespo, Antonia Jiménez Díaz, Juana Jiménez Prieto, Dolores López

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[692] "La causa contra los ciento novento y cinco, veintitres penas de muerte," *ABC (Madrid),* 3 August 1938, p 4. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/abc/1938/08/03/005.html. But see different death penalty figures provided by Ángel Bahamonde and Cervera Gil in footnote above.
[693] *ABC (Madrid),* 3 August 1938, p. 4.
[694] Source: Alberto Vargas Laguna in *La Razón de Domingo* dated 10 February 2013 at http.//*Larazon.es*. Last accessed 5 May 2017.
[695] Obituary of Pedro Marquina, *ABC (Madrid),* 29 December 1966 (husband of de Blas).
[696] Obituary of Carmen de Blas Aranteguí, *ABC (Madrid),* 20 November 1986.

Mendizábal, Josefa Meseguer Soto, Pilar Merlo Núñez, Matilde Poza Sánchez, María Felisa Parés Pérez,[697] Modesta Ramírez Blasco, Carmela Rosillo Valdivia, Filomena Serrano Ramírez, Manuela Vargas Vergara. Sentencing occurred between 18 July and 2 August 1938. According to an ABC newspaper report dated 3 August the death penalty for High Treason was awarded to 23 men and women including Miguel Cortés Rubio, Jeronimo López Batanero, Pablo Moreno, José Banús Masdeu, José Moreno Ciges, Luis Paz Zamarra, Manuel Villafranca Muñoz, Carlos Alfonso Sanz and three women Francisca Martínez Ramírez, Antonia Lario Alonso, and Dolores López Mendizábal.[698] The women's death sentences were commuted to 30 years imprisonment. Filomena Serrano Ramírez was sentenced to 30 years in a labour camp, Carmela Rosilla Valdívia to 20 years, Carmen García Álvarez to 15 years, Teresa Bayod Rueda to 12 years, Modesta Ramírez Blasco and Manuela Vargas Vergara were sentenced to 6 years each. Mercedes González del Valle was sentenced to exile from Spain for having engaged in conduct that was dangerous to the Republic. Carmen de Blas Aranteguí was absolved on grounds of mental incapacity. Juana Jiménez Prieto, Antonia Jiménez Díaz and María Felisa Parés Pérez (also Group Leader of Auxilio Azul) and Carmen Jiménez Crespo were also absolved. The following women were also absolved of treason but their cases were remitted to the popular tribunals (Jurados de Urgencia) on charges of disaffection: Josefa Meseguer Soto, Matilde Pozas Sánchez, Paulina Caballero Verde. All these prisoners were released when Franco's troops occupied Madrid on 28 March 1939.

[697] María Felisa Parés, 27 years old, was a shirt maker by profession and the "Group L" Leader within Auxilio Azul one of the members of her group, Teresa Juanena Ayuso (Code name 1-L-3) was also involved in "Los 163" Group in May 1938 but was acquitted and subsequently joined Auxilio Azul (See Chapter II).

[698] *Causa 42,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 159, Exp.1., Imagen, 2267/2519.

Josefa Martí Tortajada

The case of the liaison agent Josefa Martí Tortajada (aged 35 years) illustrates how negative gender stereotyping was used to women's advantage by the defence. Josefa was a military widow whose husband had taken early retirement under the Azaña Laws but had 'disappeared without trace' (as acknowledged by the trial judges) during the Model Prison *sacas* in November 1936. Josefa was arrested for high treason along with five soldiers in early 1939. She was a Falangist recruitment and liaison agent who was in contact with a group of around one hundred soldiers and officers embedded within the War Office and others in various barracks. Josefa and her sister had already been arrested for disaffection but released in April 1938. The women had been in possession of an unlicensed camera and various items of fascist propaganda including pamphlets which stated "*Long live Mussolini*" and "*Long live Fascism*." Josefa had also penned a Falangist poem which was entitled "*Melancolia Sentimental*."[699] During trial in 1939, her defence claimed that she was 'incapable of forming the necessary *mens rea* for the crime of high treason.' Her actions were ascribed to a form of 'automatism' which was the fruit of a 'pathological romantic infatuation.'Two court appointed medical experts testified that:

'Josefa…suffered from an inherited, idiopathic, hysterical condition that caused great alterations to her affect, she was also highly suggestible and showed signs of automatism, therefore, although her free-will was not entirely suppressed (*anulación total*) it was intensely modified in the sense that it was diminished.'[700]

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[699] *Expte. 145 instruido contra Julia Martí de Tortajada, Josefa Tortajada Ortola por delito/s de desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC_CAUSA_GENERAL, 179, Exp. 11. Imagen 3/68.
[700] *Expte. 42 intruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición, espionaje y derrotismo*, AHN, FC-CAUSA, GENERAL, 154, Exp. 10, Imagen 56/136. Letter into court of Dr. Fernando Pérez Rodríguez and Dr. Diego González Bernal, 'forensic doctors for tribunals no.

Nonetheless, the SIM surveillance detail provided evidence that she met regularly with soldiers and officers at pre-agreed meeting points on street corners and in park spaces. She also frequented the central bars and cafés late at night. This constituted a startling change in 'respectable' habits and a flagrant contravention of societal gender norms and expectations. Her moral probity was impugned by the prosecution, but she testified that she went out at night to 'ease her heart ache and improve her mood after the disappearance of her husband.' Josefa principally socialised with 'male acquaintances' who were officers and soldiers and she testified that she 'she had no control over the flow and direction of her conversations' (a standard female defence). However, her unusual routines and habits indicated that she was engaged in liaison and courier activities. Her romantic attachment to a younger disaffected officer[701] enabled the court to determine that 'she had been unduly influenced by him' to the extent that her actions constituted 'a quasi-automaton response produced by a morbid and obsessive romantic attachment.' This case was heard in late January 1939. It may be that the defence evidence constituted an effort to indefinitely suspend the trial with the knowledge and collusion of the court.

10 and 4 respectively' dated 11 January 1939. Her male co-defendant was diagnosed with a far less obscure and pathologising medical condition:

"With respect to the defendant Fermín García Ortega, we must dislose that it was not possible to practice a thorough examination on his ear for lack of the necessary equipment although a visual observation would confirm that there is a great deal of wax in his right ear which must be concealing a perforated ear drum…'"

[701] This officer claimed that there were around 100 armed fifth columnists who were embedded within the War Ministry and who were prepared to take over this building during a Francoist occupation.

2.2 Spies

Female spies and informants were often employed in civil and administrative, military or nursing and auxiliary jobs. They provided the General Staff in Burgos with intelligence relating to civilian morale and the political, social and economic situation in the capital. The capital was close the fronts and the militias were billeted within the civilian community which greatly facilitated intelligence gathering operations.

Despite the existence of spies in Madrid, most social intelligence was provided by individuals who managed to successfully escape from the Republican zones. In November 1937 Colonel José Ungria Jiménez became leader of a centralised Nationalist intelligence and security service named the Servicio de Información y Policia Militar (SIPM). Ungria regularly received communiqués compiled from the testimonies of recent escapees in relation to, for example, the location of the capital's key political and military centres or the fortification emplacements located in the main city access routes. Elisa Pardo Ibáñez and her two daughters worked for 'Mil Raguette,' a Socorro Blanco leader. In August 1938 these women escaped from Madrid to Ceuta where they provided the Moroccan army with vital social and military information on rationing ('even pencils were rationed'), the location of artillery emplacements and munitions factories, Casado's movements and Miaja's secret headquarters and, perhaps most importantly (from Burgos' perspective) the extremely low levels of civilian morale in the capital at this time. This information was immediately sent to the General Staff in Burgos.[702]

[702] Source: *Archivo General Militar de Ávila,* C2505, Cp.4/43 and C.2498.20, Legajo no. 285, Carpeta 20, Armario 5, Imagen 2/20.

Informants were also embedded in key civil, administrative and security posts. The DGS's Central Information Office was located in Calle Alcalá, 88 above Café Pelayo and "a certain Mr Espina, an absolutely trustworthy man, was infiltrated there and was able to provide a great deal of intelligence."[703] The double-agent Alberto Castilla Olavarría regularly provided information to the SIPM before falling under the control of Valentí's Special Brigade after his release from prison in 1937. This married assault-gaurd was safe-housed by his former music teacher (and possibly lover) Pilar Ovejas Overjas and both were charged with espionage in September 1938, although Pilar's charges were reduced to disaffection. [704]

The fifth column also managed to establish limited contact with the Gestapo, the German military intelligence services (Abwehr) and the Italian Secret Police (OVRA), [705] particularly in Catalonia and North Africa[706] where the fifth column maintained links with Bertrán í Músito's North Eastern intelligence organisation (SIFNE).[707] However, there is scant evidence of any significant liaisons with these foreign intelligence agencies, although the *Golfín-Corujo* network (discussed below) managed to establish contact with female *Cagoule* liaison agent.

[703] Oviedo Silva, Daniel and Pérez-Olivares García (eds) (2016) *Madrid, una ciudad en guerra* (1936-48), p.142.
[704] *Expte. no 39 (bis) instruido contra Pilar Ovejas Ovejas, Alberto Castilla Olavarría por el delito/s de Espionaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 77, Exp. 7.
[705] Graham, Helen (2002), *The Spanish Republic at War,* (Cambridge: CUP), p.342.
[706] Pastor Petit, Domènec (2006) *Traidors a Catalunya, La cinquena columna (1936-9),* p.69.
[707] *Servicios de la Frontera Nordeste de España*

Matilde Casañ Pablo and the 'Golfín-Coruju network'

The *Golfín-Corujo*[708] network was dismantled in the early Summer of 1937 following its infiltration by Alberto Castilla Olavarría who worked for Fernández Valentí's Special Brigade. The POUM leader Andreu Nin was falsely implicated in this network (possibly by the NKVD leader Alexander Orlov). Nin's mysterious disappearance while in official police custody caused a national and international outcry. [709] The "Junta leaders" were the architect Javier Fernández Golfín, the public prosecutor Ignació Corujo López Villamil, Manuel Rosado Gonzalo, Luis García de Padín and Juan Francisco Jiménez Martín. These men were in contact with the leaders of the Clandestine Falange who were hiding in the embassies including Vicente Busso and 'Teddy' Feltham. Corujo's agents infiltrated various Republican institutions including the Palace of Justice. Rosado was in charge of gathering intelligence information which was received from spies embedded within several Republican institutions and from members of the other three groups. This intelligence was forwarded to General Franco's Headquarters in Burgos. Luis García de Padín was an embassy go-between. Juan Francisco Franco Jiménez also directly channelled information to Burgos, organised embassy asylums and was the main contact between these groups and the Falangist Félix Campos Guereta who was in regular contact with the Falange leaders in the Nationalist zone. Miguel Lomas obtained asylum at a Swiss embassy building located in Calle Velázquez and acted as a liaison agent.

[708] *Sumario no 4/1937 del Juzgado Especial del Tribunal de Espionaje no1. Contra Javier Fernández Golfín y otros*, AHN, FC_CAUSA_GENERAL, 1539, Exp. 104/ 1134
[709] Cervera (1998) *Madrid*, at pp. 300-6. See also Ruiz (2012) *El Terror*, pp.333-4 and 350, Rieger Max (1937) *Espionaje en España* (Madrid: Espuela de Plata).

The network had four main groups which focussed on three areas: (1) gathering military and other intelligence and forwarding these to contacts in Burgos, (2) infiltrating key Republican political and civilian institutions and planning for a Nationalist occupation of Madrid and (3) finding asylum for fugitives within embassies and safe-houses and 'attending to the prisoners, finding out where they were imprisoned and commencing judicial proceedings.'[710]The Special Brigade alleged that leaders were also 'fanatic Falangist militants and a spies who had stealthy and easily infiltrated Republican nerve centres and established contact with officials.[711] The group also planned to take over key government and communication buildings in the event of an occupation.[712] Juan Manuel de la Aldea's cell plotted to cut off Madrid's electricity supply using agents who were infiltrated within the Compañía Electrica.[713] The group leaders formulated detailed plans for the occupation of the capital's key nerve centres including the War Ministry, the Telefónica and Radio Madrid with the aid of fifth columnists who were infiltrated within these institutions.

There were only four senior women within the group. These were Matilde Casañ Pablo (aka "Mati") aged 21 years who joined the Falange in 1934. She was an actress who used the stage name (Matilde Llonellama) because she had lived for some time in Japan. Mati was "prepared to commit all necessary acts of espionage with important elements."[714] Mati worked as a spy for the network for a period of nine months prior to her arrest. She was

[710] *Sumario no 4/1937*, Imagen 104/ 1134. Statement of Ignacio Corujo López-Villaamil dated 19 May 1937.
[711] *Sumario no 4/1937* Imagen 5/1134. Report of the *Comisaria General de Investigación y Vigilancia* report dated 11 July 1937.
[712] *Sumario no 4/1937,* Imagen 33/1134. Witness Statement of Gerardo Sanz Rubert dated 9 May 1937.
[713] Imagen 21/1134. Witness Statement of Augustin Aguirre Enriquez dated 7 May 1937.
[714] Imagen 6/1134.

also the girlfriend of Golfín whom she had known for a period of six years. Mati was arrested on 4 May 1937 taken to the Special Brigade's headquarters in Ronda de Atocha, 21 where she was "brutally tortured in order to obtain a confession, something which they never managed to get from me." [715] Golfín believed that Mati would eventually turn evidence and prison informants alerted the Special Brigade to his fears. The couple communicated with each other through a small hole between their cells, their signal was a whistled refrain from the opera 'Manon.'[716] Initially Mati claimed that Golfín had never discussed politics or asked for any information and that 'favourable things were always mentioned about the Government.'[717] She insisted that she was entirely ignorant of the reasons behind her arrest. In fact, it was Golfín who turned evidence and confessed under torture that Mati had provided him with a detailed millimetric map of Madrid which contained classified information on anti-aircraft artillery positions and munitions storage depots. Thereafter, Mati confessed to having worked from October 1936 at General Secretariat of the Militias as the private secretary to the Secretary General, Enrique Pérez Bolín. Mati had been employed in an 'unpaid and honorary capacity' which enabled her to 'keep up her typing skills while she lived with her mother on her personal savings and that she had never received any compensation or salary for her work and neither did Pérez Bolín pay anything to her on his own account.' She had befriended Pérez Bolín in Segovia before the war and subsequently met him again in Madrid after the 'Movement.' After Pérez Bolín took sick leave due to a heart condition she 'attended to him at home in order to save on

[715] *Asesoría Jurídica* Testimony of Matilde Casañ Pablo dated 14 October 1939, *Carpeta* B 12. Source: www.plataforma2003.org [Last accessed 21 February 2017]. The full reference for this ANA document was not provided on the website.
[716] Imagen 59/1134.
[717] Imàgenes 793/1134.

expenses as he had done such a great deal for the Republican cause.'[718] Although she denied ever having spoke to Golfín about Pérez or her job, Golfín was found in possession of an undated note in her handwriting which stated that "Tomorrow the forces of the International Brigade and the 39th Brigade which is stationed in Cuatro Caminos will be relieved and on this day the 3rd and the 94th will march to the fronts."[719]

María Teresa Abarzuza y Robles (the 'ex Marquise of Fuenrrubia') was "one of the most high ranking spies in the group."[720] Her husband was imprisoned in the Model Prison on 24 September 1936 and transferred to Porlier on 6 November but was subsequently extra-judicially removed (*sacado*) on 18 November "after which he disappeared and, despite having made formal enquiries, she still doesn't know whether he has died or disappeared."[721] Julia Redondo Heredia was an 'old shirt' and the girlfriend of Félix Campos Guereta who founded the network in 1937 but managed to escape into the Nationalist zone. Julia was a liaison agent between the Supreme Junta and a lawyer named Barrobo who had also managed to evade arrest. Sofía Luengo Aras (another widow aged 38 years) was also "a very skilful spy who made use of her son Manuel Espeso Luengo (a minor aged 12 years) as a courier."[722] The prosecution claimed that she worked alongside her cousin Carmen Zuñiga and another woman named Sofía Luengo. Sofía, Manuel and an older son "disseminated war reports and passed intelligence to Dr. José Luis Bono via his aunts who lived in the adjoining apartment."[723] It was also rumoured that Sofía had bought votes

[718] Imagen 794/1134.
[719] Imagen 795/1134.
[720] Imagen, 6/1134.
[721] Imagen, 796/1134. Statement of María Teresa Abarzuza y Robles dated [July 1937]
[722] Imagen,6/1134
[723] Imagen, 796/1134.

during the February 1936 general elections, and in Autumn 1936 she had sought the advice of a lawyer named Torres and taken legal action in order to vindicate her reputation. During a Special Brigade interview, which took place at her home because she was too ill to leave her bed, Sofía denied knowing Fuenrrubia.[724] However, her youngest son Manuel confessed that he had "delivered packages to Mari-Tere (the Marquise of Fuenrrubia) from Emelina Caso [sic] a Cuban national who was housing the evacuated Espeso Luengo family at her home in Calle Blasco Garay, 60."[725] Fuenrrubia, Benito Pérez Moreno and Florencio Martínez formed part of a 'triangle' within a chain of liaison that had access to a clandestine radio transmitter which was used to pass confidential information to the enemy.[726]

Matilde Álvarez González and Concepción Valdés Larrañaga (sister of the leader of the Clandestine Falange) were also involved.[727] Concepción first became involved after she contacted the Chilean liaison agent Jiménez Martín in order to obtain the release of her brother.[728] Matilde was the daughter of Melquiades Álvarez González Posada, the former leader of the Republican Union party who was killed during the assault on the Model Prison on 22 August 1936. She joined the group at the behest of her old friend Corujo and she first met Golfín at a secret meeting at her home. She managed to escape to Valencia with her partner in April 1937 before the group was dismantled. A further sixty men were arrested

[724] Imagen, 6/1134. Declaration of Sofía Espeso Luengo, widow aged 38 years dated 8 July 1937.
[725] Imagen 101/1134. Declaration of Manuel Espeso Luengo (aged 12) dated 8 July 1937.
[726] Imágenes 89/1134 and 98/1134. Evidence of Sofía Luengo Arras who was 'interviewed at home because she was sick in bed' and María Teresa Abarzuza respectively.
[727] Imagen 797/1134.
[728] Imagen 799/1134.

and indicted as 'secondary participants' and another two women named Carmen Reyes Recacho and María Cabezuelo.

2.3 Escape-Line Coordinators

The Falange organised escape-lines for certain individuals pursuant to instructions from the General Staff Headquarters in Burgos.[729] The fugitives were mostly prominent right-wing military and political leaders and officials for whom specific roles had been envisaged within the Nationalist war effort: Around ninety persons were evacuated in this way.[730] The escape-line organisers received travel passes, vehicles and fuel from Clandestine Falange members who were infiltrated within the Republican military.

Matilde Jiménez Bofill (Mati)[731] was a escape-line coordinator one of the most longstanding and successful escape-line organisations. She "was 30 years old, single, attractive, blonde and accustomed to using pseudonyms like Sta. Gutiérrez, Sta. García Rey…"[732] Mati lived in Calle de Goya near the old bull-fighting ring. Her home was venue to clandestine meetings and she sometimes accompanied the escape expeditions. Her main job was to initiate contact with escapees and organise suitable pick-up locations. According to the SIM, the initial contact with potential escapees was made by 'young women who were somewhat gifted in the art of seduction and the liaison agents who moved between the front and rear

[729] Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* p. 290.
[730] Paz, Armando (1976) *Los servicios de espionaje en la guerra civil de España (1936-9),* (Madrid: San Martín), p.143.
[731] *Causa no. 24 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 155, Exp. 34.
[732] *Causa no. 24,* Imagen 4/163.

guards were travelling sales-men and members of the civilian population who lived in villages close to the fronts.'[733]The women's activities were dangerous because sometimes the wrong individuals were mistakenly approached, based on faulty intelligence, and denunciations and arrests ensued.

Mati was second-in-command after Gustavo Villapalos who was an SIPM agent who had been sent on a mission to Madrid to train in sabotage and organise escape-lines. Villapalos 'was a tall, strong, corpulent and arrogant (*de aire flamenco*).'[734] He drove the escapees from pre-agreed locations in city to the Extemadura fronts where local guides would accompany them across the front-lines on foot. Other members were senior elements in the Republican army who were in positions of authority including Lieutenants in the Assault Corps, The Train Corps, Commissars and permanent tribunal members. The economic means 'were provided by Republican officials and agents embedded within the 'motorized Assault Guard', S.T.E vehicles were also used, and military travel passes (*hojas de ruta militares*), petrol and lubricants were obtained from various military supply depots and secret private depots.'[735] Mati and Gregoria Marticorena Muguruza were the key female agents.

Most often the escapees were prominent military or political personnel whose services were specifically requested by the General Staff in Burgos. However, the organisation also helped individuals in the Nationalist zone to make contact with their relatives in Madrid via

[733] *Causa no. 24,* Imagen 3/163.
[734] *Causa no. 24,* Imagen 4/163.This former Assault Guard was invalided out of service at the start of the war. He escaped from Madrid in late 1936.
[735]*Causa no. 24,* Imagen 3/163.

a chain of agents based both in the Nationalist zone and in Madrid. Mati made the initial contact by with the escapees in Madrid by producing 'a letter from a relative together with other forms of identification documentation or photographs 'as proof that her organisation was in good faith.' Prior to any contact security checks was completed so as to ensure that the prospective escapees were genuine '*desafectos'* rather than Republican SIM agents.

On 20 January 1939 fifteen men and two women were arrested on charges of high treason after a group of young men failed in their efforts to cross the front-lines and were arrested by soldiers in the 185 Battalion of the 47th Brigade, 36 th Division. Gustavo Villapalos, Fernando Fuentes Bustillo and José Villaplana 'and two others' managed to escape. The original escape party had set off in two military vehicles on an evening in or around 16 January 1939. Villapalos' car managed to cross into the enemy zone but the second vehicle ran out of fuel at the Extremadura front and its three passengers were obliged abandon the vehicle and cross the mountains on foot. However, the local guide lost his way and frightened fugitives were obliged to shelter in an abandoned mountain hut to await the next morning when their guide promised to return. The evacuees waited without provisions for around 72 hours before leaving the hut and making their way back towards Madrid on foot. They were denounced to the patrol soldiers by local villagers.

The operations were well established. 'Numerous and frequent' evasions were orchestrated via a series of established escape lines along the *Extremadura* front which was a preferred escape route because of its length, its many approaches, the unpopulated territory and 'possibly because of the collaboration of certain commanders and military

leaders embedded within the large units in this area.'[736] The SIM criticized the army in this section and claimed that the security on these fronts was 'null or virtually null.'[737] It was also believed that the group 'may have been started by or, at the very least, had links with and obtained funding from Socorro Blanco.' The trial was subjected numerous procedural delays. As many as one third of the defendants allegedly suffered from a variety of serious illnesses which required immediate hospitalization. Mati Bofill's mother was diagnosed as being clinically insane and a 17-year-old male defendant suffered from severe epilepsy. Another middle-aged male was diagnosed with tuberculosis. The ubiquitous defence attorney Rogelio Rufilanchas Periquet (discussed further in Ch. V below) was employed as a defence counsel and the case rumbled along ineffectually until 'Liberation' in March 1939.

Esperanza Ortega Cebrían and the "Grupo de Jesús Hernández Cid"[738]

Esperanza Ortega Cebrían was the leader of a Falange of around thirty men that formed part of a larger group led by José de Frutos Rey. Sixty-four individuals were arrested, the majority were soldiers. Ortega's group was composed of young conscripts whose units were based on the front-lines and who regularly returned to the capital with intelligence. The group organised escape-lines through unguarded sections of the Guadalajarra fronts using topographical maps which had been stolen from the Army of the Centre's topography department. It also stock-piled weapons. In July 1938 it began to actively recruit soldiers in anticipation of an imminent Nationalist occupation. José de Frutos Rey made 'regular

[736] Imagen 4/163.
[737] Imagen 4/163.
[738] *Expte. 46 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 156, Exp. 53, Imágenes 52-55/668. Interrogation report of Esperanza Ortega Cebrían dated 2 August 1938.

expeditions into the surrounding countryside to villages like Fuentiduena in order to enlist more recruits.[739] New members were informed that 'the Nationalist signal to occupy the streets would be *Madrileños Alerta*.[740] In late Summer 1938 Jesus Cid (the leader of another group) approached Ortega with a view to arranging the escape of two members of his group who were sought by the police.

Ortega was an outspoken woman who asserted her authority and used threats and intimidation in order to counter a 'complete lack of activity and enthusiasm among the recruits.'[741] She may also have been involved in the failed attempt to spring José Banús Masdeu from prison during a transfer from prison to the High Court. The Falangist emotional regime demanded an ardent and unflinching loyalty from its 'comrades.' Group leaders like Ortega not only rallied morale but also threatened to 'eliminate' foot-draggers and informants. Ortega was a military widow aged 24 years. Her disaffected officer husband was imprisoned in early August 1936 and executed during one of the Model Prison *sacas* in November 1936. She had a two-year old son and lived with her husband's mother and a sister- in-law in Calle Hermosilla, 84. Her neighbour (and lover) was a 22-year-old Falangist law student named Emilio Gómez Amigo who was now a corporal in the *Etapas* Battalion situated in Calle Juan Bravo 10. The group members were young and inexperienced and Ramón Gasset Neira (a Socorro Blanco leader) dismissed the group's activities as 'child's play' and refused have any dealings with it.[742]

[739] *Expte. 46,* Imagen 89/668
[740] *Expte. 46,* Imagen 26/668.
[741] Expte. 46, Imagen 8/668
[742] *Expte. 46,* Imágenes 33/668 and 40/668.

José de Frutos Rey was the main leader and Esperanza was second-in-command. The original founder, Félix Campos Guereta, had by this time escaped into the Nationalist zone. Frutos was a soldier with the *Etapas* Batallion. The group was also connected with a Cuban national called José León Breu whose own organisation had been dismantled in 1937. Members were infiltrated within the General Staff and the Chilean embassy. The dentist Eduardo Renard Peruch was the liaison agent between Frutos and the leaders of the 'Counsel of the Falange' who remained in asylum at the embassies. Esperanza claimed that she was also a senior liaison agent who was in direct contact with the Counsel of the Falange.[743]

The leaders met regularly at the *Café Granja del Henar* in the Gran Vía and their careless talk resulted the dismantlement of the group following its infilitration by three soldiers within the Transmissions Group named Jaime Rosello Rotlán, Fernando Téllez Casquero and Samuel de Lucas Pérez. Rosello reported his suspicions to their superior officer, the CNT leader Manuel Salgado. According to Rosello "various persons of rightist tendencies were organising a group in order to fight the legitimate government and to favour the rebels in every way." [744] In early July 1938, with the approval and consent of the General Commisar Estebán Fernández, Salgado ordered the informants 'uncover all the groups' shady dealings.' The case was referred up to the War Ministry's 'Special Services' department which provided the necessary funding and manpower to entrap the leaders together with Jesus Hernández Cid. When Frutos discovered that he was going to be posted to Villacanas,

[743] *Expte. 46,* Imagen 27/668. Interrogation report of the informants Jaime Rosello Rotlán, Fernando Téllez Casquero and Samuel de Lucas Pérez dated 27 July 1938
[744] *Expte. 46,* Imágenes 26/668.

Toledo he introduced the informants to Emilio Gómez Amigo whom he introduced as the new leader of the group. However, the informants identified Esperanza as the effective leader and they testified that she was the person who was in direct communication with the Counsel of the Falange:

"…on one occasion in an effort to intimidate them she [Esperanza] threatened that anyone who attempted to desert the organisation would pay for it with their lives because she claimed to have people on the ground everywhere; she also claimed that the leaders [of the Organisation] were senior generals, and she was ready to approach anyone prepared to listen and ask them to fight in good faith and also to collaborate in terrorist actions…she paid a visit to the Sergeant of the Artillery Park, Francisco Cerezo Rivera, in order to ask about the readiness and morale of the Falange squads in the Park, Cerezo replied that the squads were somewhat neglected and then Esperanza declared that he was under her orders because Federico had entrusted her with the leadership before his arrest, and then Cerezo replied that soon everything would be in order. She also informed one of the informants that the Cousel of the Falange had intimated that 'there would be an imminent coup in Madrid and that she had to go to Calle Toledo, 70 in order to deliver some plans.' She told Captain Lucas (one of the informants) that "the leader of the Falange's civil groups was called José María Guerrero Sánchez who was working in one of the Brigades…"[745]

Ortega was arrested in late July 1938 during her attempted escape to Murcia together with her family, Gómez Amigo, his mother and sister, a member of the Jesus Cid Hernández's group, two Paraguayan embassy asylees and a few others. The Paraguayan's claimed that they needed to escape Madrid because 'they could no longer affort to pay their embassy residence fees' rather than because they wanted to avoid military service. The escape line was organised by Esperanza with the assistance of Fernando Téllez Casquero who was believed to be a 'trusted friend' of Gómez Amigo. In reality, Téllez Casquero was a paid SIM

[745] *Expte. 46,* Imágenes 27-8/668. Testimony of the three informants dated 27 July 1938.

informant who was provided with sufficient funds to provide 'a convoy of three vehicles the last of which was armed with guns and hand grenades.' Esperanza fell readily into this trap and she may have come to some arrangement with the SIM. Several senior members of her network had already been apprehended and the net was closing around many others. She aroused the suspicion of one of the Paraguayan embassy refugees who believed that she was behaving oddly and had deliberately led him into a police trap.[746]The escape plan was convoluted. It involved a pre-arranged pick-up point on a street corner (the asylees were driven to this in an embassy vehicle), followed by a meeting in a bar and a suspiciously long wait at Esperanza's home. Finally, a conspicuous convoy of three vehicles the last of which was armed with guns and grenades made its way out of Madrid. It is possible that Ortega agreed to entrap the male fugitives in order to save herself and her family because she never gave evidence in court and her outcomes are unknown.

Candida Críza

Candida Críza Zarrandicoechea and fifty-six others (including 13 women) were indicted on 27 April 1937 on charges of conspiracy and aiding rebellion.[747] Fernández Valentí staged a surveillance operation outside her home in early April 1937 following the arrest of several fugitives, including a priest, during a failed attempt to cross into enemy territory via a section of the front-lines. The surveillance detail reported that many 'suspicious' persons were seen entering and leaving her premises. The group was charged with 'creating a relief organisation for the prisoners and their families who lacked financial resources and also for

[746] *Expte. 46,* Imagen 204/668
[747] *Expte. no. 1189 instruido contra Félix Cirizon [sic] Zarrandicoechea por el delito/s de conspiración y auxilio a la Rebelión*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,191, Exp. 4.

those who sympathised with the 18 July coup and who lacked economic resources or shelter.'[748] The group had links with several embassy's and organised escape-lines. The men were held in Porlier and the women in Ventas, but on 16 July 1937 the defendants were placed under house arrest.[749] The women were Gila Críza Zarrandicoechea, Miranda Procopio de la Fuente Martínez, Matilde Alcalá Prieto, Adela González Rodríguez, Cecilia Castro Mansilla, Josefa Martínez Goyanarte, Magdalena Zarrandicoechea, Concepción Martínez Vega, Francisca Samper Corral, Carmen Gabuccio Sánchez Marmol, Ernestina Pages Torner, Manolita Pazos Queijas y María García Herraiz Amilibia (the last three were acquitted). The case was referred to the Valencian high court in July 1937. 56 defendants were accused of conspiracy to rebel and/or aiding rebellion under the Code of Military Justice Articles 240 and 421 and 32 defendants were eventually indicted.[750] Candida had been safe-housing her brother Félix at her home in Carrera San Geronimo, 38 and both were arrested while Félix attempted to destroy compromising documents (including a membership list and a Nationalist SIM code deciphering book). Almost everyone was rounded up and arrested except Félix Campos Guereta and a few other senior leaders. [751]

The men and women discussed above regularly practised the faith in clandestine masses which were organised by the women. As indicated in the introduction, the confessional aspects of the Clandestine Falange's resistance are noticeably absent in the legal records. At the time of her arrest in August 1937, Ángeles Orozco was safe-housing two nuns. Like many of the women discussed above, she organised clandestine masses at her home. A

[748] *Expte. 1189*, Imagen 8/85.
[749] *Expte. 1189,* Imagen 36/85.
[750] *Expte. 1189,* Imagen 67/85.
[751] *ABC (Madrid),* Sunday, 18 April 1937, p. 11.

'waiter' (aged 40, resident of Calle Francisco Giner, 10) was arrested in connection with the group but he was immediately released without charge because he confessed that:

"his real profession was that of a priest and he had only ever visited del Riego on this account, in particular, in order to provide spiritual guidance to the two nuns who were being sheltered at the house. He had had absolutely nothing to do with political activities but acknowledged that he practised his ministry in various private homes."[752]

The authorities seldom trespassed into the private religious sphere and nothing more was reported on this matter. While confessional practice was instrumentalised by the Falange as a badge of resistance identity, the upswell of religious sensibility and fervour during the war was genuine and heart-felt. Orozco survived the war and died of natural causes on 17 May 1951. She "received the blessed sacraments and the benediction of Our Lord...The Papal Nuncio and the Bishop of Salamanca administered indulgences in the prescribed form."[753]

Gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power,[754] and while women performed the same or similar roles to men traditional gender prejudices and assumptions meant that they were 'perceived to be less of a threat than men.' [755] The persistence of traditional patriarchal gender norms 'worked in favour of the Nationalist cause.'[756] The Republican authorities routinely underestimated them. Women were not considered to be as dangerous or as intelligent as men, and it was generally assumed that they could not run

[752] Expte. 1679, Witness statement of Miguel Ichaurrondo Arriaran, Imagen 12/1733
[753] *ABC (Madrid)* dated 18 May 1951. Obituary of Doña Ángeles Orozco Viuda de del Riego.
[754] Scott, Joan W "Gender a Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review,* (1986) Vol. 91, No. 5, pp. 1053-1075 at p.1067.
[755] Galíndez, Jesus de (2005) (first ed. 1945), *Los Vascos en el Madrid sitiado,* (Tafalla, Navarra: Txalaparta), p.151.
[756] Ruiz (2012), *El Terror,* p. 327.

or create resistance networks.[757] Therefore, the political and symbolic value attributed to women's resistance was undervalued and this is reflected in the legal record. Women's interrogations and cross examinations were less detailed and they routinely escaped the worst punishments and sanctions. The popular tribunals perceived them as being more naïve, gullible and susceptible to 'undue influence' than men. [758] Defence lawyers were able to invoke these negative gender stereotypes to women's advantage. This subaltern or 'negative gender privilege' constituted a form of symbolic 'compensation' for women's lack of power and status in the public realm.

Despite the prevailing masculinist prejudices, when women engaged in clandestine activities they 'engaged whole heartedly and at great personal risk.'[759] The women of the mixed gender Falange groups were able to infiltrate the prisons, military barracks, hospitals and the civil and military administration. In addition to providing crucial welfare aid, these women also performed 'masculine' resistance roles. Some were the leaders of armed 'squads' and a small number were implicated in acts of attempted terrorism.[760] A close reading of the archives reveals the strategies deployed by women to subvert and contest the Republican regime. Despite their historical 'invisibility,' the women of the mixed groups were just as skilled and effective at liaison and recruitment as their male counter-parts (if

[757] Rodríguez López, Sofía and Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-9, *Journal of Contemporary History,* 0 (0) (2016), pp 1-22 at p. 21.
[758] Ramón y Cajal, Santiago, Nelken, Margarita (1938), *La mujer* (Madrid: M. Águilar). This collection of traditional and bio-medical 'aphorisms' on 'the nature of women' reflects the entrenched misogyny of this period and women's habitual 'interiorisation of symbolic violence'-the feminist Nelken lends her name to this imprint.

[759] Cervera, (1998), *Madrid,* p.171.
[760] See *Expte. no. 46 contra varias personas por delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 156, Exp.53. (discussed above) and *Asesoría Jurídica,* Testimony of María del Carmen Carnicero Espino [1939], Document 239, ANA, Carpeta B 12, RAH, Madrid.

not more so) and it is likely that many more were involved in the activities of the mixed gender groups than is revealed on record. The 'invisibility' of their gender enabled women to circulate more easily within civil and military organisations. Meanwhile, the most senior male leaders were obliged to hide within the safety of the 'feminine' home space or languish in the overflowing prisons and embassies. Part II below examines women's roles within the 'autonomous' fifth column groups.

PART II – THE WOMEN IN MADRID'S AUTONOMOUS FIFTH-COLUMN RESISTANCE

CHAPTER IV- TRAITORS AND REBELS

Part II explores Madrid's 'autonomous resistance' and the possibilities for women's agency within this new clandestine space. This non-organized resistance incorporated individual and group actions and instances of passive resistance. The members of Madrid's 'autonomous resistance' seldom had direct links with the Clandestine Falange or contact with Franco's nationalist intelligence services. Madrid's real and imagined civil resistance community constituted a vital aspect of 'Madrid Clandestina.' It was comprised of individuals and small groups (on average between 5-12 persons) who were ideologically opposed the Republican regime and who were prepared to do whatever was in their means to sabotage the Republican war effort. This resistance imbricated black-market and survivalist resistance strategies. The objective was to hamper and impede the regime, not overthrow it by means of armed resistance or terrorism. Nonetheless, the autonomous resisters also took enormous personal risks and their individual and small group efforts constituted 'a cloud of gestures' that provided an indispensable medium, sympathetic and supportive to the organised resistance cause. [761] This moral and ideological support sustained the co-ordinated Falangist networks in their resistance efforts. The political crimes perpetrated by Madrid's autonomous resistance fell within the following categories: (1) treason including crimes of 'conspiracy to aid rebellion,' 'adhesion to rebellion' and desertion (2) defeatism (3) disaffection and (4) espionage. On 22 June 1937 the Republican

[761] See the sociological arguments on the significance of widespread civilian resistance discussed in Nord Philip (2015) *France 1940, Defending the Republic,* (New Haven: YUP) ebook Loc 183-6/209.

ministry of justice created a new emergency tribunal of 'espionage and high treason' in Valencia that operated separately from the emergency popular and military tribunals (*jurados de urgencia y de guardia.*) This new tribunal was presided by 'three ordinary judges or magistrates and two military or naval lawyers.'[762] This chapter examines crimes of treason, defeatism and disaffection. The final chapter V will examine espionage.

The 'autonomous' resistance arose spontaneously after 18 July 1936 within pre-existing associational, professional, family, friendship and neighbourhood networks. This type of unarmed resistance should be distinguished from the isolated attacks of the '*pacos*' during 1936 whose futile resistance skirmishes represented the final throes of a failed military coup rather than the beginnings of any organised armed resistance. The *pacos* posed little substantive threat to the Republican regime.[763] Nonetheless, the 'Falangist *señoritos* and the disaffected UME officers' were perceived as a significant and dangerous 'hidden enemies' in the anarchist social imaginary.[764] There is evidence that women aided and abetted the *paco* sharp-shooters. For example, Dolores Alonzo Zarzuela and her daughter Zoraida Cardenas Alonso were arrested in November 1936 because Zoraida's husband had been accused of 'military rebellion' for engaging in '*pacoteo'* from the family home.[765] These isolated acts of terrorism served to confirm the popular but misplaced fears of an organised and dangerous armed fifth column in the rearguard in 1936.

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[762] *Gaceta de la Republica,* 23 June 1937.
[763] Oral Testimony Santiago Carillo dated 10 June 1996, Montoliú, Pedro (1999) *Madrid en la guerra civil, Los protagonisatas Vol. II,* (Madrid: Sílex) pp.78 and 83.
[764] De Guzmán, Eduardo (2004) *Madrid rojo y negro* (Madrid: Oberón), p. 54. The author of this memory text describes the anarchist's efforts in July 1936 to 'crush the fascist redoubts in the heart of the city including the Montaña barracks …and other fascist strongholds.'
[765] *Expte. 22 contra Dolores Alonsa Zarzuela, por delito/s de Desafección*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 219, Exp.29.

The autonomous resistance was a socially and culturally significant phenomenon that embraced a wide spectrum of Spanish society that was united by Catholicism and a deep hostility towards the Republican regime. Because Madrid's autonomous resistance involved neighbours, friends and colleagues there was little need for the use of sophisticated security checks or code names. Members were well known to each other and often intimates. Clandestine meetings ocurred within the framework of daily routines and habits, often without attracting any undue suspicion. Paradoxically, the resisters were self-appointed 'people of order' (*personas del orden*) whose declared aims were to 'subvert, sabotage and disrupt daily life in the rearguard in as many ways as possible.' The key aims were to avoid conscription, lower civilian morale and generally sabotage or undermine the Republican war effort. Forms of active resistance included safe-housing and aiding political and military fugitives and draft-dodgers, sabotaging military equipment and falsifying identification documentation. Other forms of resistance included stock-piling controlled or restricted items (*acaparamiento*), diverting goods from official supply depots and the dissemination of false or defeatist rumours (*propalar bulas*) which were often derived from censored Nationalist radio broadcasts.[766] Another aim was to perform acts of everyday sabotage that might impede the routine functioning of Republican institutions.[767] According to the legal archives examined here, there was little evidence of large-scale commercial, industrial or military sabotage and often allegations of military or industrial sabotage were based on

[766] Expte. no. 1743 *instruido contra varias personas por el delito de Espionaje,* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.6/FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 4, Exp. 13. See also Expte. 672, *contra* Matilde Serrano Mannara *por delitos de Desafección y Adhesion a la Rebelión* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 231, Exp.38.
[767] Cervera, (1998) *Madrid,* p. 283.

unfounded allegations that resulted in acquittals.[768] These findings are in line with the earlier historiography.[769] Although there is evidence of instances of industrial and military sabotage in the Republican-held zones in the military archives.[770] Out of a total of 14, 862 popular tribunal cases only some 366 involved the illegal possession of arms including 27 cases which related to the illegal possession of explosives.[771] Small-scale military or industrial sabotage cases included the following: (1) "various acts of sabotage" were allegedly perpetrated in an armaments factory by four German nationals following their denunciation by the factory director,[772] (2) a small number of fire arms were damaged by disaffected soldiers,[773] (3) there was an alleged attempt to sabotage the National Electricity

[768] See for example, *Expte 134 instruido contra Francisco Aguirre Roiloba, Rogelio López Llaser, Andres Martín Bengoechea, Teresa Mayoural Corrales, Donato López LLaser pore el delito/s de Alta Traición,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 152, Exp. 32. The defendants were mechanics who worked in a rivet factory. These three men and a woman were denounced by co-workers for sabotage but were eventually acquitted.

[769] Pastor Petit, Domènec (2013), *Resistencia y sabotaje en la Guerra Civil* (Barcelona: Enigma), p.426. Pastor Petit concludes that, in general, sabotage was not practised by fifth columnists.

[770] López García, Alfonso "Bombas que nunca mataron: el sabotaje pacífico durante la Guerra Civil Española," *Aportes,* no. 95, año XXXII (3/2017), pp.201-246 at p.236. This article examines military sabotage in both zones, military sabotage more prevalent in the Nationalist zone.

[771] Most of these cases involved firearms and ceremonial weapons (e.g. military swords) which were discovered subsequent to routine house searches of suspected fifth columnists. Many of these cases were remitted to the lower courts on charges of disaffection.

[772] *Causa 1655 instruida contra Otto Joost, Egon Wiedwal, Reinhold Hoffman por el delito/s de Sabotaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 198, Exp. 24. Imágenes 1-3. It is not known whether these four German factory workers were connected with German or Nationalist intelligence services because the case was referred to the 'High Court of Espionage and High Treason' in Valencia on 27 August 1937 and there are no further records.

[773] *Causa no 29 instruida contra Joaquín Riu Puyuelo por el delito/s de Espionaje y Sabotaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 258, Exp. 40. This case is interesting because the defendant had made a written pledge to donate 10 pesetas montly to Socorro Blanco in furtherance of the Nationalist cause. The case also evidences the existence of a secret Socorro Blanco bank account.

company,[774] (4) the severing of a communications cable situated between a communications hut and a front line trench,[775] and (5) the deliberate sabotage of fuel supplies belonging to the 111 Mixed Brigade.[776]

Clandestine reunions took place in the private domestic space and also in Madrid's bars and cafés and municipal parks. Large reunions or dinner parties were dangerous because they tended to attract the suspicion of the roving security militias, neighbourhood invigilation committees and building security committees which were formed from various Republican unions, syndicates, parties and associations. The watchful gaze of the concierges and of vigilant members of the local housing committee represented a substantive threat to the activities of Madrid's anti-Republican community.

The autonomous resistance also provided like-minded friends with safe spaces within which to conserve morale and rally to a common cause. Gathering in secret to listen to the illegal

[774] *Causa no 22 contra Carlos Andreu Peracho, Celestino García Rojas, Francisco Sánchez Dorado, Vicente Palancar Pérez por el delito/s de Sabotaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 258, Exp. 29. Imágenes 1-22. The defendants were acquitted on 16 February 1939. Dorado, a carpenter, testified that he and his friends had been scavenging for wood for fuel amongst the detritus on the banks of Manzanares river when they were arrested by a soldier. Imagen, 11/22.

[775] *Expte.no 101 instruido contra Antonio Baringo Sopeña por el delito/s de Sabotaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 5, Exp. 49. Baringo was a 22 year old soldier within the 1st Company of the 597th Battalion of the 150th Mixed brigade. He alleged that he 'accidentally stumbled over and severed a communications cable linked to the headquarters of the 597th Battalion on the Ruinas front line whilst rushing to the lavatory.' Imagen 6/33. There was no evidence that Baringo had actually severed the cable and he was absolved on 17 November 1938. Imagen 28/33.

[776] *Expte. no 5 instruido contra Francisco Sánchez Struch por el delito/s de Sabotaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 79, Exp. 12. The case related to an 18 year old soldier who was denounced for allegedly adding water to the gasoline supplies of the 111th Mixed Brigade in September 1938.

Nationalist radio broadcasts became one of the most powerful forms of passive resistance.[777] Through these subversive actions Madrid's *desafectos* believed that they were making a positive contribution to Franco's holy Catholic crusade. In particular when they went on to disseminate the Nationalist news among the local anti-Republican community. Passive and symbolic resistance practices opened fertile avenues of political agency and contestation in circumstances where many anti-Republicans were denied full citizenship and basic civil rights (including employment, voting and pension rights). During the final months of the war evidence of an involvement in the fifth column provided evidence of pro-Nationalist beliefs and constituted a valuable form of insurance against the repression and professional purges of the post-war period.

This chapter primarily examines forms of ideologically motivated resistance among women. However, this resistance often imbricated survivalist forms of what has been described by sociologists as 'everyday resistance' i.e. forms of disguised, diffuse and invisible subaltern resistance that constitue a type of infra politics that is deployed by individuals or groups in order to both survive and undermine repression in circumstances where rebellion is too risky.[778] The legal records revealed a wide range of everyday resistance strategies including evasion and avoidance, draft-dodging and desertion, foot-dragging, sarcasm, passivity, disloyalty, false compliance, ration and identity card fraud and black market activities. The

[777] See Cervera, Javier, (1998) "La Radio: un arma mas de la Guerra Civil en Madrid"*, Historia y comunicacion social,* num. 3, pp.263-293 at p.275. Listenting to illegal radio broadcasts fell the definition of 'clandestine gathering in order to commit the crime of Defeatism'.
[778] Vinthagen, Stella and Johansson, Anna "Every day Resistance: Exploration of a Concept and its Theories", *Resistance Studies Magazine,* (2013), No. 1, pp. 1-46 at p. 4.

trial records also reveal how physical and mental diseases (whether real or invented) were routinely invoked by skilful defence lawyers (often with the collusion of sympathetic tribunal members) in order to achieve a temporary or permanent dismissal or suspension of proceedings. The defendants were able to 'play' the legal system with the aid of sympathetic lawyers and judges. False identification documentation, ration cards and contraband medical supplies were vital to the survival of Madrid's anti-Republican clandestine community.

1.Treason

Approximately 2.4% of the total 14,862 popular tribunal cases related to crimes of treason. The majority of these cases related to male draft dodgers and military deserters who were charged individually, in pairs or in small groups. Out of some 364 treason cases only twenty-one cases of high treason and three cases of treason related exclusively to women. Most cases involving women related to aiding and abetting intimates or family members who were deserters or conscription avoiders. There were around sixty-eight group trials involving five or more persons. These mainly related to ordinary soldiers or conscripts who had conspired to desert or avoid conscription. Of these group trials only around twenty cases involved male and female defendants and fourteen involved the Clandestine Falange groups discussed in Chapter III. Consequently, when women were accused of high treason or treason they were most often involved in the Clandestine Falange groups. The most serious and committed resisters were ardent Falangists (*Falangistas de Corazón*) and those who chose to affiliate themselves with the Clandestine Falange groups discussed in Part I.

1.1 False Documentation

The anti-Republican community was able to circulate more safely with the aid of false documentation and good character vouchsafes (*avales*).[779] A clandestine black-market in false identification documents, party membership cards and passports arose in response to this new demand. In May 1938, a group of eleven individuals (including four women) were arrested and charged with high treason. The case was known as *El Asunto de los Carnets*. The group was composed of eleven neighbours of between 40-58 years (only six went on to trial). One of the leaders, Josefa Miguélez Peña (a former estate agent) was a member of Acción Popular as was her husband Joaquín Latas Folgueira (who was a rentier 'who had never worked' and was involved in litigation with a bank over a mortgage default relating to his tenanted properties). Carlos Viña Campa was a committed Falangist and another defendant was a nun. The main defendant, Juan Díez Rodríguez, was a former employee of the Orbaz Light factory who had been made redundant before the war, had also been a prominent member of Central Syndicate of the UGT (Varied Works Division) since 1919. The defendants lived close by in Calles Claudio Coello, Ayala and Alcalá. They were arrested on 3 May 1938 by SIM agents and accused of high treason for 'the falsification of syndical and political documents, hiding disaffected persons and passive resistance to government orders.'[780] The men were taken to Porlier and the women to Ventas pending trial on 3 June 1938 in the *Tribunal Especial de Guardia, Juzgado No. 1.*

[779] See Ch. X "La importancia de un carnet" in Alfaya, José Luis (1998) *Como un río de fuego, Madrid, 1936* (Barcelona: EUI), pp. 155-8.
[780] *Causa no. 43 instruida contra varias personas poer el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 146, Exp. 27. Imagen 3/227.

Juan Díez Rodríguez was accused of having supplied false character vouchsafes, union cards and passports to 'notoriously disaffected' persons in exchange for cash 'and such persons were thereby able to avoid the sanctions of the tribunals.'[781] Díez also perjured himself by appearing as a good character witness in political trials where he was paid to provide character vouchsafes for strangers. He also obtained UGT cards and other union cards and passports through his network of Republican contacts. His wife Elvira Rodríguez Borbolla was an accomplice. The former Acción Popular members Josefa Miguélez Peña and her husband Joaquín Latas Folguera (a property owner and *rentier*) provided the prospective clients. Josefa Miguélez' case was aggravated because she 'demonstrated her manifest preference for the government of Order and she believed that Generals Goded and Fanjul 'were technically proficient and knew how to keep everyone in line.'[782] This couple worked alongside a man named José Ramón Tarrazo Gómez and a 'manicurist and podiatrist' who was a 58-year-old widow named Serafina Lecaros Salazar, a Peruvian national who enjoyed the protection of the Peruvian embassy and safe-housed nuns in 1936. These '*desafectos*' found new clients within their local neighbourhood networks, mainly among persons who wanted to avoid the sanctions of the tribunals or who wanted to gain employment or advancement within Republican institutions. The defendant Carlos Viña Campa had some contact with the Clandestine Falange. He was found in possession of a note which identified Antonia Lario (See *Los 195* case in Ch.III) as a potential client whom he had visited, at the request of Antonia's sister, while Larios was detained at the Ministry of Marines.[783] The members also met with potential new clients in the *Bar Retiro.* The go-between (who

[781] *Causa no. 43,* Imagen 159/227.
[782] *Causa 43,* Imagen 9/227, Witness statement of Juan Díez Rodríguez dated 17 May 1938.
[783] *Causa 43*, Imagen 16 /227. Witness statement of Carlos Viña Campa dated 22 May 1938.

passed money and documents) on behalf of Lecaros, Peña, Viña Campa and Díez was a 40-year-old nun named Augustina López Prieto who had been evacuated from her convent in 1936 and now lived with Lecaros as a domestic.

The racket in false documents was a lucrative business and fees varied depending on the client's financial means; some clients provided IOU's. The group was dismantled by the SIM after it was discovered that a popular tribunal defendant had approached an intermediary named Gordizar who put him in touch with Lecaros who, in turn, sent him on to Díez who provided him with safe-housing and a false union card for the sum of 1,700 pesetas (the intermediaries had also received introduction fees).[784]During interrogation Díez was unable to recall the number of false documents he had circulated since July 1936. He claimed that "Josefina [sic] Miguélez Peña approached me because she knew that I was a longstanding affiliate of the UGT." The individuals they had helped included Enrique Corral Águila who, according to Josefa Miguélez, was Antonio Goicoechea's right hand man and also "people who had never worked before":

…she [Josefa] put me in touch with her brother in law who was a doctor and also a friend of Viña Campa…I also obtained a union card for José María López Torres…and received 50 pesetas for this, from Alfonso Múñoz González the ex-marquis of Tarancón 75 pesetas…José María López Torres who was being persecuted for his right-wing ideas was safe-housed in my home and provided with documents for 300 pesetas… I also intervened in the case of Juan Iglesias who was accused of being a priest, he was released without doubt because of my good-character vouchsafe for which I received 150 pesetas…I also provided another vouchsafe for Dr Medina who worked in the Muncipal Benefits Office *(*Beneficiencia Municipal) who wanted a promotion, and I got 204 pesetas from him which I gave to Josefina Miguélez…when asked about a mansuscript note which referred to "the

[784] *Causa no. 43,* Imagen, 159/227.

notes in series A and B from 100 pesetas to 2 million pesetas and the 50 peseta and 25 peseta notes of series A,B,C and D" he answered that Josefa Miguélez had told him that these notes would be valid when 'the others' got in.[785]

The prosecution proposed a life-sentence for Díez Rodríguez and lengthy terms for the other five defendants. Díez was sentenced to 20 years in a labour camp on 10 August 1938. Josefa Miguélez Peña, her husband Juan Latas Folgueira, Serafina Lecaros Salazar and Carlos Viña Campos were each sentenced to six years. The nun Augustina Prieto López and Díez's wife, Elvira Rodríguez Borbolla, were absolved.[786] Elvira "blamed Josefa Miguélez for getting her husband into trouble…he was a good man who had acted out of necessity …and helped persecuted persons" and claimed that "she had had no idea about her husband's business affairs as she always kept herself to the kitchen." [787]The tribunal accepted her testimony and acquitted her. It is hard to believe that Elivra was ignorant of her husband's treasonous and lucrative business affairs. Nontheless, the 'negative privileges' arising from traditional and negative gender stereotypes and prejudices served Elvira well. Republican prejudices regarding women's mental, emotional and intellectual abilities were crucial to the leniency of the popular tribunals towards female defendants.[788]

El Asunto de los Carnets was an exceptional case because it involved an organised criminal network which operated over a sustained period and managed to distribute hundreds of

[785] *Causa 43,* Imagenes 4-8/227. Witness statement of Juan Díez Rodríguez dated 17 May 1938.
[786] *Causa 43,* Imagen 203/227.
[787] *Causa 43,* Imágenes 17-18 /227. Witness statement of Elvira Rodríguez dated 18 May 1938,
[788] Rodríguez López, Sofía and Cazorla Sánchez, Antonio "Blue Angels: Female Fascist Resisters, Spies and Intelligence Officials in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-9, *Journal of Contemporary History,* 0 (0) (2016), pp 1-22 at p. 11.

false documents for profit. The network also safe-housed fugitives and liaised with popular tribunal defence lawyers like Victorino Gómez Jiménez who had some success in obtaining the acquittal and release of *desafectos*. In the main, crimes relating to the distribution or purchase of false documents related to conscription evaders or fugitives. The documents were obtained as a 'one-off' transaction on the black market. In May 1938 six persons were arrested and accused of high treason in the emergency military court (*Tribunal Especial de Guardia no.1*) for 'aiding military desertion, defeatism and document fraud.'[789] The group included a draft-dodger named Joaquín Ortíz Fernández Montes aged 36 years who was a member of the Izquierda Republicana (Left Republican party) and former editor of the *Nueva Republica* newspaper. His father and his girlfriend, Felipa Sancho Cano Téllez, were also arrested. She had allegedly threatened to break up with him 'unless he legalized his situation.'[790] Felipa boarded at a house in Calle San Bartolomé, 12 which was the home of an unemployed seamstress named Concepción Martín Buitrago (aged 50) who had previously worked at Almacenes Félix Gómez. Concha had known Joaquín Ortíz for many years because they had both lived in the village of Herencia. Ortíz also lived with her as a fugitive till May 1937. Concha asked her friend Arturo Barrios (who had been invalided out of the army because of 'nephritic attacks') for a work-permit for Ortíz in order to 'legalize' his situation. Barrios immediately contacted his brother in law Pedro Chamorro Muñoz, who owned a small leather factory in Calle Hernán Cortés 5, who in turn requested the false certificate from José Jurado Escalona who owned a leather shop in Calle del Carmen, 12. According to Arturo Barrio 'there was a certain amount of friendship between the

[789] *Causa 41 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 146, Exp. 28,*
[790] *Causa 41,* Testimony of Felipa Sancho dated 4 June 1938, Imagen 86/134

families.'[791] The defendants were charged with high treason.[792]Concepción was accused of defeatism (she 'spoke badly of the Republic') and of having conducted secret meetings with soldiers. On 4 June 1938 Ortíz was found guilty of 'avoiding his military duties by hiding in various houses, falsifying his age, employment and place of birth' in conspiracy with his father, his girlfriend, Concepción and the other defendants. Ortíz was sentenced to 30 years, Concepción and Barrios to 10 years, Chamorro and Jurado to 9 years and Felipa to 6 years hard labour. This case is representative of how anti-Republicans routinely engaged in illegal and black-market activities in their efforts to avoid repression and/or conscription. Both conscription avoidance and desertion posed significant problems for the Republican regime throughout the war, but particularly after the middle of 1938. The government's concerns were reflected in a new ministerial order that sought to impose sanctions against the relatives of desertors.[793] The sanctions for treason (a capital crime) and defeatism were extremely harsh, especially during 1938 when desertion increased and a general war-weariness began to take hold of the capital's rearguard.

1.2 Illegal Stock-Piling

Around 2.4% of the popular tribunal cases related to treasonous black-market offences which involved illegal stock-piling of controlled items (*acaparamiento)* and ration-card fraud. Dolores Soto Sánchez[794] was an auxiliary nurse (single, aged 37 years) and a resident

[791] Witness statement of Arturo Barios Ortega dated 22 May 1938 *Causa 41 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 146, Exp. 28, 18/134.*
[792] *Causa 41,* Imagen 7/134.
[793] Bahamonde Magro, Ángel, Cervera Gil, Javier (1999) *Así Terminó la Guerra de España* (Madrid: Marcial Pons), p. 253.
[794] *Expte. no. 882 instruido contra Dolores Soto Sánchez por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,234, Exp. 34.

of Calle Sandoval in Chamberí[795] who had been employed in a succession of auxiliary jobs including as a nursing auxiliary in two venereal clinics which were situated in Calle Olavida and Calle Sevilla. And before this she had been a medical assistant under the employment of the Madrid Town Council. She also had previous form '*antecedentes*.' She was arrested on 14 October 1937 because of her previous affiliation with Acción Popular. She managed to avoided arrest after receiving a tip-off from insiders at the Town Council regarding the police plans for her imminent arrest and 'she failed to come into work despite the severe staff shortages at this time.' However, the DGS subsequently arrested her at home and she was imprisoned in Ventas. During her first police interview she claimed that there had been an administrative error and 'she was confident that she would be released because she was a member of the CNT and had voted for the Popular Front during the February 1936 elections.' However, evidence of her pre-war membership within Acción Popular party was presented in court and her name appeared in the DGS's central registry of political enemies (the '*control de nominas'*). Nonetheless, Dolores was absolved and released on 30 November 1937 (Judges Ricardo Guerra, Jesus Alonso and Emilio Ulloa presiding). The judges ruled that although her name appeared as former member of Acción Popular she had never "practised any conduct which, in conjunction with this political antecedent, demonstrated any disaffection or hostility to the Republican regime."[796] This finding was unusual. Normally, proof of membership within one of the CEDA parties constituted *prima facie* evidence of disaffection and usually resulted in conviction and a fine or imprisonment. However, in this case evidence of good conduct was provided – the Defendant had donated

[795] Where she had been resident for 2 years having previously lived in Calle del Cardenal Císneros. She lived a peripatetic existence moving from house to house which was also evidence of disaffection.
[796] *Expte. no. 882,* Imagen 38/47

blood to a socialist town councillor named Arteaga whose good character reference, together with those of three other Republican men, secured her unconditional discharge.

Dolores was arrested once again In September 1938, but this time in relation to the treasonous crime of ration card fraud. She was now employed by the Madrid Town Council as a children's nurse in 'Dispensary No. 18' situated in *Plaza Moret*. Dolores had fraudulently obtained ration cards from two administrative assistants who worked at her dispensary in order to obtain illegal milk rations from a variety of local dairies. She had also acquired milk supplies via a female contact at the Cuban embassy. The illegal milk supplies were stored at the house of a male Republican music teacher (Pedro Hedo Escalera) who lived with his family in Calle Cardinal de Císneros 67 (his wife was the concierge of this building). The family received 3 cans of condensed milk per week in exchange for storing Dolores' contraband items. An administrative assistant named Teresa Moreno Álvarez and a cleaner named Filomena Carretero Durán, who worked with Dolores at the children's dispensary, had illegally supplied her with numerous blank ration cards 'because she had complained of a stomach condition (colitis) that was alleviated with milk.' Dolores confessed under interrogation that "she had been using the false ration cards for a period of around 20-25 days and that she had distributed these illegal milk supplies to local residents whose names and addresses were unknown to her."[797] On this occasion the social capital afforded by her influential Republican allies at the Town Council was of little use. On 20 September 1938 Dolores was found guilty of selling 9 cans of condensed milk daily for the elevated sum

[797] *Expte. no. 69 instruido contra Filomena Carretero Durán, Pedro Hedo Escalera, Visitación Hedo Miguel, Teresa Moreno Álvarez, Dolores Soto Sánchez por el delito/s de infracción en material de substencias,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 146, Exp. 34. Imagen 4/93.

of *2* pesetas and 30 centimos. The Republican music teacher Pedro Hedo Escalera and his daughter Visitación regularly collected a single can of condensed milk in exchange for two ration cards from the local distributors. Around 65 cans were found in Dolores home some of which had been allocated to Carmen Vera (a Cuban National) who would then transfer the milk to the Cuban Embassy. The resistance practices of these individuals combined the desire for economic profit with a desire to provide welfare aid for anti-Republican fugitives (*'emboscados'*). Dolores Soto Sánchez was deemed to be the leader of the group and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and fined 100,000 pesetas. The other defendants received varying prison sentences of between 4 and 2 months imprisonment and large fines of between 4-2,000 pesetas.[798]The case illustrates the dire food shortages this time and the government's efforts to clamp down on black-market activities by imposing extremely punitive penal and economic sanctions.

1.3 Rebellion

Around 9.3% of the total 14,862 popular tribunal cases involved treasonous crimes that were heard in the emergency military courts (Jurados de Guardia*)*. 8% of these trials related to cases of 'military rebellion' and only 1.3% related to cases of 'desertion' despite the increase in deserters over the course of 1938. The popular military courts expedited 197 cases of 'desertion' and 1198 cases of 'military rebellion' and 'assistance and adhesion to rebellion.' [799] In fact, the majority of the rebellion cases related to ordinary conscripts who wanted to avoid the rigours of combat for survivalist reasons rather than because they were

[798] *Expte. no. 69,* Imágenes 60-63/93.
[799] These military crimes were variously designated as 'rebellion' 'assistance and adhesion to rebellion' or 'aiding rebellion'and simple 'treason.'

political dissidents or conscientious objectors.[800] The defendants frequently alleged that the 'food was better and more abundant in the Nationalist zone' and many deserters claimed that they wanted to cross over into enemy lines in order to join relatives and loved ones. For obvious reasons, few soldiers confessed to feelings of disaffection or indifference, fear, war-weariness or anger against the injustices of *enchufismo* (string-pulling and preferential treatment) within the ranks. However, such feelings, together with evidence of dire shortages of food, material and equipment, are amply evidenced in soldier's letters and diaries.[801] The sanction for treason, rebellion or desertion was capital punishment, however because of the scarcity of suitable conscripts many deserters were assigned to disciplinary batallions in the capital where defeatism and disaffection found fertile spaces in which to flourish. The majority of the women who were accused of crimes of military treason or 'aiding rebellion' were the relatives or intimates of conscript evaders or deserters.

After 18 July 1936 hundreds of civilians went into hiding in Madrid in order to evade compulsory conscription (*emboscados*). Dozens of rearguard vigilante committees were established during 1936 from within the anti-fascist women's organisations and various local communist groups with the aim of denouncing draft dodgers to the authorities. [802] Catholic and right-wing soldiers wanted to avoid military duty for ideological reasons and also because many feared that their previous involvement with lay Catholic groups like Acción Católica or their affiliation to right wing Catholic parties like Acción Popular might

[800] Corral, Pedro (2017) *Desertores, Los españoles que no quisieron la Guerra Civil,* (Madrid: Almuzara).
[801] Matthews, James (2012) *Reluctant Warriors, Republican Popular Army and Nationalist Army Conscripts in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Oxford: OUP).
[802] Nash, Mary (1995), *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War,* (Denver, Colorado: Arden), p. 102.

lead to discrimination or victimisation within the Republican army. The conscript Juan Antonio López Santiago was officially reported to have died as a result of a Nationalist bombardment during the Ebro campaign in 1938. However, his widow testified after the war that her husband had repeatedly written to her expressing his fears of being a victim of repression in the ranks. She believed that he had been "assassinated by members of his battalion…. [because he was] a person of 'order,' who was also a member of Acción Católica, and had previously attempted to avoid conscription."[803]

María Luisa Pascual Herrero (aged 31 years) was sentenced to 10 years hard labour for treason because she had helped her lover to avoid conscription.[804] Her lover Ignacio Crespo, an infantry lieutenant, had deserted the Republican army and gone into hiding with María Luisa's aunt who was sentenced to three years hard labour for disaffection on 12 March 1937.[805] On 29 May 1938 Fernández Tebar a Republican school teacher ('*Maestro Nacional'*) aged 61 years and his wife Julia aged 60 years (a house wife) were arrested by the Congreso district police because they had obtained false documents in order to assist their two sons to gain asylum at an embassy and thereby avoid their call-up.[806] Anunciación González was the girlfriend of one of the sons and she managed to obtain the false documentation on the

[803] *Expte. sobre el Ejercito republicano,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1562, Exp. 3. Imagen 3/22.
[804] *Causa no.38 instruida contra Aurelia Sánchez Soria por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC- CAUSA_GENERAL, 145, Exp.19.
[805] *Expte. 4401*, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 20, EXP.2, and Expte, 254, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 114, Exp.8.
[806] *Causa no.36 instruida contra Anunciación* González *Bustamente, Julia Tamargo San Martín, Manuel Fernández Tebar por el delito/s de Alta traición,* AHN,FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,145,Exp.26. This type of case was frequently expedited. On 1 June 1938 the husband (Fernández Tebar) was sentenced to 25 years in a labour camp, his wife (Tamargo San Martín) to 12 years and the girlfriend of one of the draft dodgers (González Bustamente) was referred popular tribunals on charges of handling and using a 'false certificate' (*cedula falsa*).

black market. The parents were found guilty of high treason. The father was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment and his wife to twelve years. Her case was remitted to the *jurados de urgencia* for disaffection.[807] Relatives also aided conscription avoidance and desertion by seeking the assistance of escape-line operators. [808]

The case of Dolores Hurtado Callejón illustrates how 'disaffected elements' devised strategies of resistance within a dangerous Republican social field.[809] In late May 1938 Dolores's brother Francisco deserted the 98th Brigade which was stationed on the Levante front. He returned home to Madrid and sought the help of his sisters Jeronima and Dolores who lived in an attic in Calle Goya, 89. On 1 June 1938 the women 'asked for aid in a crisis' from an 'old Republican friend' named Carlos Alonso Núñez (aged 45 years). Alonso had been a family friend for over thirty years and may have been Dolores's lover. Jeronima and Dolores paid several visits to his flat (as witnessed by the concierge) before finally meeting with him at 9 pm. Alonso was a prominent member of the UGT (General Workers Union), President of the Syndicate of Lithographers (he held *carnet no.70 del Sindicato de Litografos* dated 26 August 1924) and a Socialist Party member (*Carnet no.1923* dated 1 January 1922). It was agreed that Francisco would hide with Alonso or with one of his contacts until Dolores could obtain the 'necessary false documentation in order to obtain a non-combatant position in the reaguard.' Francisco complained to Alonso about the 'terrible conditions at the front' and claimed that 'he would much rather be shot in Madrid that

[807] *Causa no. 36*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 145, Exp. 26.
[808] *Causa no. 24 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 155, Exp. 34.
[809] *Expte. no. 5 instruido contra Gaspar Esteva Sánchez, Dolores Hurtado Callejón, Francisco Hurtado Callejón por el delito/s de Alta Traición,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 59, Exp.41, Imágenes 1-54.

return to where he'd just come from.' A serious argument ensued. Alonso argued that 'at this critical time everyone should go where they are told and if all the soldiers did the same thing as him the Republic would be lost.' During the argument Dolores claimed that she had many:

"friends in high places and these friends would provide her brother with false documents in order for him to join the services of an official Rearguard organization, most probably the SIM, because she was certain that one could join that organization with perfect ease given that half of its employees were fascists."[810]

While Dolores set about acquiring false documents, Francisco required safe-housing. The conspirators feared that Alonso's concierge or his neighbours might become suspicious if an extra bed were moved into his home or if the Hurtado family maid were to be seen bringing food on a daily basis. Therefore, it was agreed that Francisco would hide with Alonso's friend 'Landeira who owned a guest-house somewhere near Plaza de la Cebada.' Alonso gave evidence at trial that he had 'pretended to go along with the plan but that all along he had wanted to discover Francisco's hiding place so that he could denounce him to the SIM.' Via contacts in the 'Eastern Socialist Club' Alonso was 'easily' able to obtain a stolen safe-conduct pass (property of the SIM IV th Army Division) from a man called Gaspar Esteva. The false pass had originally belonged to a rearguard liaison agent who moved between the Republican High Command and the government in Madrid. Alonso gave Dolores the false pass for 'safe-keeping' and the original name was whitened out and replaced with a false

[810] *Expte. no. 5,* Witness Statement of Carlos Alonso Núñez dated 4 July 1938 Imagen 4/54.

name and photograph of Francisco.[811] Dolores trusted Alonso and gave him Francisco's address. A few days later the SIM visited Landeira's guest-house in Calle Oriente, 6 in order to arrest Francisco who then, ill advisedly, fled to Alonso's house where he was soon arrested. Most probably, Alonso had initially intended to help Dolores but subsequent fears for his own personal safety may have compelled him to subsequently denounce Francisco.

After her brother's arrest Dolores contacted a woman named Ofélia de Aragón who was believed to have influence with the SIM (IVth Army Division) and could arrange the destruction of the evidence relating to the false documentation. These efforts were unsuccessful. Francisco was sentenced to death for treason and the records do not indicate whether this sentence was commuted. Dolores was sentenced to 6 years hard labour and Gaspar Esteva Sánchez was condemned to 25 years in a labour camp. Alonso was not prosecuted for his involvement in the affair. In this instance Dolores failed in her efforts to use her social connections to save her brother. However, she had perfectly good reason to believe that many '*rabanos*' were infiltrated within the Republican SIM. She also knew that

[811] *Expte. no. 5,* Imagen 8/54. Witness Statement of Carlos Alonso Núñez dated 4 July 1938 and photograph of forged military identity card (a very basic forgery) which was submitted as evidence. The card stated as follows: "SOLDIER, YOUR DUTY IS TO WIN…BE DISCIPLINED…POSSESS A GENUINE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE…YOU BELONG TO A RACE OF HEROES THAT ONCE AGAIN ARE FIGHTING FOR THE INDEPENDANCE OF YOUR COUNTRY… UPHOLD THE FLAG OF JUSTICE AND LIBERTY AND PROGRESS, THAT OF OUR CAUSE, BE BRAVE AND ABNEGATED, CHOOSE DEATH ABOVE DEFEAT, YOUR DUTY IS TO WIN, AND THOSE WHO WIN ARE THOSE WHO KNOW HOW TO FACE DANGER WITHOUT THE FEAR OF DYING.' Interestingly, such discourses regarding discipline, duty, sacrifice and self-abnegation reveal similarities between the 'emotional regimes' of the Republican army and the Clandestine Falange at this time.

by 'pulling strings' and invoking networks of influence (*enchufes*) it might be possible to save her brother from all charges and from front-line duties by finding him a safe and coveted position within the rearguard SIM security.

While survivalist impulses determined the majority of the cases of rebellion and desertion, a significant number of young men (often Falangists) wanted to avoid conscription, escape the capital and enlist in the Nationalist ranks. In addition, many cases of desertion also involved acts of military sabotage including the theft of personal issue rifles and munitions or 'jamming rifles and tampering with munitions material.'[812] In one case a group of young Falangist conscripts managed to escape from Madrid under the protection of an embassy vehicle. The fugitives made their way from Spain to Marseille by boat from Barcelona. Once in Marseille they made their way by car to Burgos in order to enlist in the Nationalist columns. [813] This was a frequently used route for those who wanted to join the Nationalist ranks.

In April 1938 a group of eight men and two women were arrested on suspicion of high treason. They were subsequently found guilty of having formed a clandestine 'cell' *(nucleo*) whose purpose was to 'aid and abet soldiers who wanted to avoid front line duties.' Pedro Muela Fernández (a bank clerk with *the Banco Hispano Americano*) and his sister Francisca Muela Fernández used her flat in Calle Leganitos, 53 as a safe-house for 'those who wanted

[812] *Causa 26 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta traición.* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,148, Exp.62, Imágenes 1-238.
[813] *Expte.1679 instruido contra varias personas por el delito/s de Adhesion y auxilio a la Rebelion,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 373, Exp. 1. Imágenes 1-1733.

to avoid fulfilling their military obligations by going into hiding.'[814] Pedro went into hiding but pretended to be performing military services in Valencia. He continued to draw his monthly salary from the Banco Hispano Americano and wrote a series of imaginative letters to his sister and to other relatives in order support this fiction. The letters vividly depicted an imagined life in Valencia and contained detailed accounts of flirtations with young Valencian ladies. In fact, he remained in hiding at his sister flat. After several weeks of police surveillance, Francisca's property was raided and items of military and naval apparel were confiscated. These included a naval cap, an old Assault guard's uniform and Argentinian embassy armbands which were used by the men in order to circulate in public without attracting undue attention. Some items were supplied by one of the Defendant's girlfriends, Dorotea Gómez López. The police also confiscated 'a large tubular lantern' which was 'ready for use in order to transmit signals in morse code,' silver coins, around 1.000 pesetas in bills and coins (these were now controlled items), various maps that 'indicated the Nationalist troop movements,' copies of war reports together with a transistor radio 'which was procured in order to receive daily news reports from the fascist radio stations.' It was alleged that the defendants had worn the uniforms in order to circulate defeatist news amongst soldiers at the various fronts.

Pedro claimed that the male members were prominent Falangists who had only sought to avoid the draft because they believed that they would be arrested on the basis of their former political affiliations.[815] The defendants were old school friends and also committed Catholics and Falangists. One was the son of a minor civil servant who had received a full

[814] *Causa no.26 instruida contra varias personas por el delito/s de Alta Traición*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 148, Exp.62. Imagen 237/239.
[815] *Causa no.26,* Imagen 3/239.

bursary at the prestigious Cardinal Císneros school. Pedro was found in possession of a hand- written copy of the Falangist Hymn '*Cara al Sol.*' Another defendant, a graphic illustrator, had designed the original cover illustration for Julián Cortés Cavanilla's[816] work entitled "*San Antón, Prisión Roja*." The cover illustration bore an imprint of the defendant's palm in red ink.[817] Cavanillas was an old school-friend of the defendants.

In a few cases civilians deliberately conspired to facilitate conscription avoidance. Josefina Gisbert Poveda and her husband[818] were found guilty of treason and defeatism for aiding and abetting the desertion of a new conscript. Josefina Gisbert Poveda was a committed Falangist, although both do not appear to have been involved with the Clandestine Falange. She was twenty years old, married and a 'housewife'. Her husband Manuel Entrena Ruiz, also aged twenty years, was a former bank clerk who had been posted to the frontline as a Republican soldier within a signals and communications division. Gisbert arranged to meet the new conscript Luis González at a pre-arranged meeting in the Retiro Park in early April 1937 with a view to helping him to desert. González was a Falangist who was due to be posted to a position in the Sierras. He claimed that he wanted to desert and join the enemy.

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[816] *ABC* Seville, obituary dated 16 October 1991. Julián Cortés Cavanillas (b. 1908 d. 1991) was a Spanish monarchist writer and journalist who worked for the right-wing *ABC* newspaper. He was also involved in Ángel Herrera Oria's early *El Debate* publications. In 1931 he wrote a book on the fall of Alfonso XIII which was a 'best-seller' between 1931-2 and which ran to eight editions and sold 50,000 copies. Together with Ramiro Maeztú, Quintanar, Pemán, Vegas Latapié and Sainz Rodríguez he established the monarchist Catholic Acción Española publication in December 1931. He was imprisoned at the start of the war because of his polemic military publication '*Pajaritos de Papel*'. He was the *ABC's* Rome correspondent between 1945-62 and 1967-71. He also appeared briefly as himself 'the Spanish correspondent for *ABC*' in the famous Hollywood "Roman Holiday" film with Audrey Hepburn and Gregory Peck.

[817] *Causa no.26,* Imágenes 27- 29/239.

[818] *Causa no. 13 instruida contra Josefina Gisbert Poveda y Manuel Entrena Ruiz por el delito de Alta Traición y Derrotismo, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL*, 147, Exp. 50, Imágenes 1-68.

There was no evidence that Gisbert was working under orders of the Clandestine Falange, Auxilio Azul or Socorro Blanco. However, the trial evidence suggests that both she and her husband may have had previous experience of aiding desertion. Gisbert had been actively on the look out for "falangist friends" amongst Madrid's disaffected soldiers. She invited González back to her house and offered to write a letter of recommendation to her husband on his behalf:

'this matter relates to a Falangist friend, and you know how much I like to help these types of friends.'

The court found that Gisbert's husband Manuel Entrena had:

"welcomed [González] with great affection and interest…and informed him of other trustworthy people upon whom he could rely…although he advised González to wait [before crossing over into enemy lines] because he believed that Franco would be sure to triumph in only a few days."[819]

There is no evidence that money was exchanged in respect of the 'services' that were offered by the couple. González successfully escaped into Nationalist territory at some time after April 1937 and was never apprehended. The defendants were originally charged with 'intention to assist an act of military desertion.' They never revealed the names of any accomplices. Gisbert's defence pleaded for an acquittal on the basis that the relevant acts were crimes of disaffection rather than treason. On 14 May 1938 the couple were sentenced to 20 years (Gisbert) and 25 years (Entrena) hard labour. The court found that they were both liable in their capacity as accomplices in a treasonous act that involved "the evasion into the enemy camp of the army recruit Luiz González under articles 7 and 8 of the Decree of 22 June 1938 ."[820]

[819] *Causa no. 13*, Imagen 38/68.
[820] *Causa no. 13,* Imagen 38/68.

1.4 Escape-line organisers

Those who wanted to escape into enemy territory were most often required to navigate the Castilian Sierras with the assistance of local escape guides with the aim of making their way to the ports of Barcelona or Valencia. These ports were used as established escape routes into France. The fugitives and military deserters were able to re-enter Spain via San Sebastián. Another common route for evacuees from Madrid was by car to Valencia then on to Barcelona and from there to Port Bou and into France.[821] Finally, some escape-lines went overland via Barcelona and Andorra and then by foot over the Pyrenees into France.

Trinidad de la Sanz Herraz (aged 52 years) was a devout Catholic peasant small-holder who lived with her husband Natalio (a labourer, aged 66 years) in the small village of Alameda del Valle (near Rascafrios) in the outskirts of Madrid. This village was where the Republican Montaña Battalion had been stationed. The SIM detachment assigned to this Battalion had been detailed with an investigation as to whether there were any fifth column organisations in operation in the villages of the Alameda Valley that were involved in passing information to the enemy and with aiding the desertion of Republican troops from the loyal zones into the enemy zones.[822]" In March 1937 the couple were denounced to the SIM by their neighbours. It was alleged that their anti-Republican activities included encouraging desertion and organising escape lines for the deserters. Two soldiers (Geronimo Martínez

[821] Mother María Luisa Fernández & Mother María Leturia (1939) *Catorce meses de aventuras bajo el dominio rojo,* (Rome: ACI).
[822] *Causa No. 1672 instruida contra Trinidad Heras Sanz and Natalio Heras Sanz el delito/s de Adhesion y auxilio a la Rebelion,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 148, Exp. 40, Imagen 6/120.

and Juan Santos) received orders from the SIM to "entrap the couple by pretending that they were seriously disillusioned with life at the front. They expressed a desire to pass into the fascist camp."[823]

It is not clear whether money was exchanged in relation to the escape. The couple may have been inspired by charitable and humanitarian motives. Trinidad was found to have given the soldiers some fresh eggs because 'they had seemed very hungry.' The couple asked their neighbour, Lozoya Aniceto San González, to act as a mountain guide and he had offered to provide the soldiers with the assistance and the means to reach enemy territory.

The evidence against Trinidad included a manuscript document which was believed to be anti-Republican propaganda. It was signed and dated "The Year of 1937, Alameda del Valle, in the Province of Madrid." The document bore a hand drawn gothic crucifix as a title head. It was written in the rhythmic and imprecatory style of a prayer:

"In the name of God, may he be with us and all of us in general. I ask, in his name, for Peace throughout all of Spain and, God willing, peace will come soon and we will never see such events again.
I also want the Church to be united with the State as it always has been and I ask that we be governed by people of faith, good conscience and charity. I want the rich and the poor, the middling classes, the good and the bad to live together, I forgive them all from the bottom of my heart and I also wish that the present day blasphemy be punished from henceforth and I want the catechism to be restored in all schools and churches…And if any one should doubt the existence of God, he really does exist, I have seen him with my own eyes…I am doing everything in his name and out of love for

[823] *Causa No. 1672*, Imágenes 108-120/120.

everyone in general, I don't want to harm anyone, what I really want is more respect and obedience for the laws of our departed redeemer, Jesus Christ."[824]

The above 'prayer' formed part of an 'expert psychiatric evaluation' which was used by the defence to show that Trinidad was suffering from 'a type of paranoid dementia' more specifically identified as a form of 'invasive paraphrenia of a mystical type which effectively rendered her criminally incapable.'

Trinidad's holy visions might also be interpreted as manifestations of the 'miraculous and prophetic anti-Republican discourses which circulated in Spain at this time.'[825] Trinidad's case was suspended because of the medical findings. She was acquitted on all charges of 'adhesion to rebellion' and on charges of 'dissemination of right wing propaganda' on the grounds of diminished responsibility. In contrast, her husband was found guilty of an attempted adhesion to rebellion (under Article 240 of the Military Justice Code) and sentenced to three years internment in a labour camp. There was no evidence to indicate that the couple had been working in association with the Clandestine Falange resistance networks. The 'blasphemy' alluded to in Trinidad's letter referred to Republican secularising measures and the violent extra-judicial repression which had taken place after 18 July 1936.

On 2 July 1937 fifteen family members and friends were indicted on counts of treason and espionage. The defendants included a minor and two women, Escolastica Ramírez y

[824] *Causa No. 1672*, Imagen 35/120.
[825] See Ramón Solans, Francisco, "Persecución, Milagros y profecias en el discurso Católico Zaragozano durante la Segunda Republica," *Historia Social,* (2014), No. 78, pp. 81-98. See also, Christian, William (1996) *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ,* (California: UCP).

Ramírez and Baldomera Heras Salmeron.[826]The main defendant Marcelo Ramírez y Ramírez was a resident of Aldeanueva de Barbarroya (Toledo) a small village which was situated outside Madrid and was separated from the enemy zone by an easily navigable river. Marcelo worked as a militia man within an 'anti-aircraft defence group' in the Capital. He was accused of having maintained regular contact with his father and other relatives in the 'fascist zone.' He had sent them photographs of the position of anti-aircraft batteries with the aid of his brother -in -law Doroteo García Rivas and his siblings Benito and Escolastica. Another defendant, Saturnino Rivas Bodas, was accused of having been given instructions by 'the enemy forces' (*fuerzas enemigas*) to leave all the doors open upon the arrival of the Moors. Two other defendants, Mariano Bodas Ramírez and Inocente García y García worked at a mill situated in the 'loyal zone' (Republican zone). These men passed letters and information into the enemy zone using a concealed wire cable and a box. They had also encouraged the villagers of Aldeanueva to defect to to the enemy zone and smuggled large quantities of animal feed across the river into the enemy zone using a boat which was provided by the Nationalist forces. Several others in this group had tried to escape into the Nationalist zone but had been intercepted by Republican militias who had placed the group under surveillance. The remainder of the defendants including Baldomera Heras Calderon were in regular communication with the enemy and had organised a local escape line which allowed locals to pass over into the Nationalist zone. This case illustrates the relatively fluid and unsecure nature of the front lines. The local villagers regularly passed back and forth across the lines in order to visit friends or family. This clandestine anti-Republican group was

[826] *Expte. no. 96 instruido contra varias personas por delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,51, Exp. 23. Imágenes 1-15.

in regular communication with the enemy and regularly smuggled contraband across the lines. Madrid's tribunals passed the case on to the courts of espionage and high treason in Valencia and the outcome is unknown.[827]

As indicated above, those who managed to escape Madrid often made their way to Barcelona in order to use the overland mountain escape routes through Andorra and into France. On 6 October 1937 frontier guards (*carabineros*) posted in Seo de Urgell apprehended a group of arounnd "350-400 individuals who were attempting to cross the border clandestinely via Andorra, they were accompanied by various guides who fired at the security forces." [828] The majority of the fugitives were deserters and draft dodgers of 'conscription age' and between seventeen to thirty-three years. However, the party also included a man aged 69 years and María Claustra Subira Serra a devout Catholic who wanted to join her brother who was a priest who had already escaped into France. The escape-line organisers were a married couple name Francisco Boix Betriu and his wife Anita Fuster 'and several others.' The couple were based in Barcelona where they 'actively recruited fugitives and deserters in Barcelona.' They worked in concert 'with several others' including including Carmen Cendros Ibáñez and her husband Jaime Grau Batet, two male religious, two tax clerks, a broker named José Suné Benet and several women who ran 'safe-houses' on the borders between Spain and Andorra. This couple would routinely accompany fugitives arriving in Barcelona to a place near the village of Calaf where a

[827] The PARES website does not contain records of the Valencian proceedings.
[828] Source: "Autos de procesamiento y prisión incondicional, dictados por el Juez del Juzgado Especial no. 3 del Tribunal Especial de Espionaje y Alta Traícion de Catalunya, contra varios individuos que formaban parte de un grupo que fué sorprendido cuando trataban de pasar clandestinament la frontera por Andorra" FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1636, Exp 138. Imagen 2/23.

woman named María Burgues, with the aid of her maid Dolores Vendrell Vives and her partner Juan Fuster, would hide the fugitives at her farm house (Masiá Valcebre) pending their escape. Other safe-houses were located at Can Llere, Can Casanovas, Can Salanet and Can Barres, San Lllei in Valdera and Casa Blanch (which was owned by María Ferrer Tristany who had risked her life by hiding a priest named Subira Serra at the start of the conflict) and located in the municipality of Clariena. From here liaison agents and mountain guides, co-ordinated by Francisco Calvo, would accompany small groups of on average eight persons to Puente de Foltats in private cars and a taxi that belonged to a man named Tonet de Berga. From here, a new set of guides would accompany the fugitives on the final leg of their journey to the French border. María Burgues charged an arrangement fee of 1,000 pesetas which was shared between herself, Carlos Rufi and various safe-house providers. In addition, separate fees of between 500, 700 and 900 pesetas were paid to the guides ('Carlos Rufi Nieto, Luis Sales Masferrer and three others') and to various local liaison agents including a bodega owner in Solana. On average each fugitive was charged a total of 2,300 pesetas to include housing, travel and living expenses. Around fifty-five persons, including several fugitives, were arrested. The court of espionage and high treason found all of the defendants guilty of High Treason. The frontier guards had uncovered:

"an organisation whose aims were to facilitate the escape into France of fugitives, deserters and enemies of the Republic who wanted join the Fascist side (*bando fascista*), the evasions were organised on a large scale and included recruitment agents, liaison agents and guides, all of whom received a fixed fee, all of which activities constituted High Treason…in light of the grave harm perpetrated against the Republic and the serious damage to the normal functioning of military services, the war effort and social discipline in the rearguard."[829]

[829] *Autos de procesamiento y prisión incondicional*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1636, Exp 138. Imagen 22/23

Upon entry into the Nationalist zone Spanish civilians and military deserters were routinely interviewed by the Nationalist SIMP. They were able to provide valuable military and political intelligence. Soon after the front-lines were consolidated in the Nationalist zone observation posts were established and a 'declaration system' was devised (*sistema de declaración*) in order to record the statements of fugitives and deserters from the Republican-held zones so as to supplement official intelligence reports and to make better use of air reconnaissance operations. [830]

2. Defeatism

The maintenance of civilian morale was of primordial concern to the Republican war effort in circumstances of 'total war' that required the mobilisation of civilian society.[831] Madrid's situation was unique because it was besieged by rebel forces from November 1937 until 28 March 1939. Communication and supply lines were compromised and a key issue for Madrid's authorities was how to maintain rearguard morale despite circumstances of increasing scarcity and material want. Rationing was implemented in November 1936 and instances of deliberate and organised fifth-column 'defeatism' had a significant political impact because it helped ot sow a general discontent and dissaffection in the rearguard.[832]Civilian morale was also affected by a concerted campaign of Nationalist aerial

[830] Paz, Armando (1976) *Los Servicios de Espionaje en la Guerra Civil de España 1936-9,* (Madrid: San Martín), p.82.
[831] Campos Posada, Ainhoa "Resistir es fácil con la tripa llena. Escasez y derrotismo en el Madrid de la Guerra Civil," in Oviedo Silva, Daniel and Pérez-Olivares García (eds) (2016) *Madrid, una ciudad en guerra* (1936-48), pp 97-132 at p.97
[832] Cervera (1998), *Madrid,* p. 283.

bombings and artillery bombardment which began on 7 August 1936 and continued for the duration of the war.

The Government adopted a variety of approaches to the problems surrounding the maintenance of civilian morale with little success.[833] It implemented censorship regulations and ran numerous propaganda campaigns, mostly directed at women who were responsible for family provisioning and survival. On 22 June 1937 a new crime of treason known as 'Defeatism' was created which criminalized all expressions of criticism or dissent (whether public or private) against the Republican regime, the war effort and 'all activities that might tend to lower public or military morale or affect public order.' Defeatism included dissemination of innacurate or demoralising information in relation to the progress of the war (*propagar bulas*), circulation of anti-Republican propaganda, criticism of Republican government its policies or personnel, or allegations of governmental or military incompetence or corruption.[834] The censors intercepted hundreds of private letters and defeatist views and opinions, even when expressed in private correspondence, might easily result in arrest. There was no clear rationale as to sentencing procedure and those found guilty of crimes of defeatism were liable to harsh and repressive punishments.

[833] Campos Posada (2016) *Resistir,* at pp. 111-115.

[834] E.g. *Expte. no 100 instruido contra Ángela Rodríguez Amado por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 237, Epx. 4. This woman was arrested for 'behaving in a hostile manner towards the Republic.' She was denounced for declaring that "the government was supported by a bunch of criminals [and that] fascists were also human-beings and they are committing atrocities against them…" Imagen 4/84.

Around 3.6% of the total popular tribunal cases (some 545 cases) related to crimes of defeatism which attracted sentences of between 6 -10 years imprisonment alongside fines and the loss of civil and legal rights. However, defeatism was a crime of treason and individuals were liable for terms of up to 30 years incarceration. Instances of defeatism among military personnel were viewed particularly seriously and attracted the harshest punishments. Around 25.5% (i.e. some 139 cases) involved women of all classes and political backgrounds and the sentences which they received were seldom as harsh as those awared to men in active service. Most cases involved complaints about the scarcity of rations, the most serious cases alleged local and governmental corruption in relation to administration of provisions.

After the Battle of Madrid, the capital was isolated for the remainder of the war and cut- off from vital food, clothing and fuel supplies. Even loyal Republican citizens were obliged to resort to 'everyday resistance strategies' and to participate in the illegal black-market.[835] By June 1937 defeatism was rife in the capital and it straddled social and cultural divides. Working-class building concierges were found to be 'enemies of the Republic' along-side hidden *emboscados*. María Martín Baeza (married, aged 37 years) was the concierge of a building situated in Calle del Oso, 7. On the morning of 6 April 1938 Baeza was denounced by two neighbours for having performed a subversive and defeatist 'speech act' and by 3pm

[835] See Rodríguez Barreira, Oscar "Cambalaches: Hambre, moralidad y mercados negros de Guerra y post-Guerra, "*Historia Social*, No. 77 p. 1-21, at p.2. This author compares black market practices in various European countries during the Second World War and the 1940's using conceptual frames derived from Scott, C. James, (1998) *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.* (New Have: Yale University Press).

of the same day she had been arrested and was being interrogated by officers at the Inclusa police station for having made comments:

"in a bold (*descarada*) and fairly insistent way …that were injurious to the Republican government including that the Government was shameless (*el Gobierno era sin verguenza*) …it takes 15-year-old boys right up to the front-lines and similar comments…that her husband went to work but the Government workers were the ones who ate all the food and took everything meanwhile her own children had consumption."[836]

Felisa Manuel Rabanal was a 63 year old widow from Valladolid who lived in a tenement in Tejar de Frascuelo, Choza numero, 6. She was denounced by three female clients on 9 November 1938 for 'abusing the credulity of the public for profit, for insulting the 'esteemed President of the Republic and other prominent government leaders and for disseminating lies and defeatist news.'[837] By 1938 this former seamstress and civil administrative assistant was reduced to begging and Tarot reading in order to make ends meet. She was denounced by her disgruntled clients for saying that 'the Republians had deliberately orchestrated the bombings so that houses could be looted.' Her case was dismissed and she was freed on 15 November 1938.

Benedicta Lobo Pérez's fifth column group was comprised of five neighbours (three of which were women). The defendants lived in Calle Claudio Coello in the Salamanca district (also the venue of *El asunto de los carnets* above). They met on the roof terrace of their building in order to discuss the progress of the war and listened to illegal 'fascist' broadcasts at

[836] *Causa instruida contra María Martín Baeza por el delito/s de Derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 146. Exp..17, Imagen 5/79.
[837] *Causa no 124 instruida contra Felisa Manuel Rabanal por el delito/s de Derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 147, Exp. 6, Imágenes 6/37 and 35-36/37

home. They were denounced to the police on 9 May 1938 by three female neighbours and accused of 'treason, defeatism and of attending secret meetings in order to conspire against the Republic.' While they had no previous political affiliations, the case was aggravated by the fact that they had compiled detailed lists of local Left -wing sympathizers 'which they intended to hand-over after the Nationalist occupation of Madrid.' The defendants were denounced for being disloyal and critical of the Republican war effort and found guilty of defeatism. Benedicta claimed that "the Republican soldiers are a bunch of idiots…" and "who knows how many crimes they [the Republicans] are committing against our people in Teruel."[838] In addition, José Soria Ortíz, was a driver for the French Red Cross Hospital situated at Claudio Coello 92 who might have obtained military intelligence from the front lines but no evidence was adduced in this regard.

2.1 Defeatism and accusatory practices[839]

The majority of cases of defeatism involved ordinary war-weary civilians rather than fifth-column enemies. "Every denunciation resulted in some kind of drama played at the level of the family, neighbourhood, work place or other centres of assembly and gossip."[840] Often denunciations were personal rather than religious or ideological. Positions of power were

[838] *Causa instruida contra Jesusa Arnaíz Sandino, Manuel Muro Vázquez, Soledad Portomarín Serrano, José Soria Ortíz, Benedicta Lobo Pérez por el delito/s de Derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,148, Exp.61. Imágenes 2- 3/158.

[839] The phenomenon of denunciation in modern European history is examined in Fitzpatrick, Sheila and Gellately, Robert (eds) (1996), *Accusatory Practices, Denunciation in Modern European History, 1789-1989* (Chicago: UCP). Here denunciations are defined at p.1 as "spontaneous communications from individual citizens to the state (or to another authority such as the church) containing accusations of wrongdoing by other citizens or officials and implicitly or explicitly calling for punishment."

[840] Joshi, Vandana (2003), *Gender and Power in the Third Reich, Female Denouncers and the Gestapo (1933-45)* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), p.19.

often abused order to exact petty forms of revenge.[841] Esperanza González López, aged 29 years and resident in Carabanchel, was a variety hall artist who was arrested for defeatism on 16 september 1938.[842] She had been drinking with a male companion and other female friends at the Bar Alhambra, Calle de Sevilla, 6 at around 2 pm in the afternoon when she was overheard by a group of soldiers from the rearguard health security group (Grupo de Sanidad) of the 111th Mixed Brigade 'complaining bitterly and loudly' about the state of the capital's rationing. She was asked 'to lower her voice and change the subject of her defeatist conversation.' During her interrogation Esperanza related the conversation which had constituted the pretext for her arrest as follows:

"This morning I went to the shops to buy some wool to knit a jersey for my son and I was somewhat upset at not being able to find any, I related these events to a male friend at the Bar Alhambra and I told him that I wished I could fly to America in order to bring back wool and everything else that I wanted."[843]

Her male co-defendant Luis Martínez Galiano and other witnesses corroborated her testimony. Luis Martínez also testified that the soldiers had been 'continually firing underhand and insinuating comments at Esperanza and her girl friends.'[844] The situation had escalated into a heated argument and Esperanza had taunted and provoked the soldiers

[841] Zugazagoitia, Julián (2001) *Guerra y vicisitudes de los Espanoles* (Barcelona: Tusquets). [p.25].
[842] *Causa no.113 contra Luis, Martínez Galiano y Esperanza* González *López por el delito/s de Derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 147, Exp. 47.
[843] *Causa no.113,* Statement of Esperanza González López dated 16 September 1936, Imagen 6/39.
[844] *Causa no.113,* Statement of Luis Martínez Galiano, tobacco factory worker dated 16 September 1936, Imagen 12/39.

by telling them that 'instead of interfering in her conversation they were better off marching to the fronts.'[845] This defiant speech act incensed the soldiers who denounced her and her male companion to a police officer. The defendants were acquitted after friends gave evidence at trial that the main denouncer (an army comissar) had sexually propositioned Esperanza five days earlier and:

"his advances had been politely rejected whereupon the commissar had insulted her and called her a shameless woman and then he had stated that he could not understand why she was out in the street at that time…the two women quickly distanced themselves from the comissar who continued to shout out things that the women were unable to hear."[846]

These denunciatory practices should be balanced against instances of tolerance, compromise and accomodation after the fronts were stabilised in around June 1937. Madrid's fragmented society shared common material adversities and ideologically opposed constituencies began to 'cohabit' in novel ways. Middle-class ideological enemies were sometimes able to 'dance together' so long as they 'didn't bring up the subject of politics.' This is illustrated in the recollections of a young male fifth-columnist and draft-dodger who recalled a reasonably peaceable rearguard existence after June 1937 which involved a round of social engagements, birthday parties and Saint's Days that also included loyal Republican families.[847] While there was material deprivation there were also opportunities for merriment and dancing. In many ways life continued as normal despite the conflict and a

[845] *Causa no.113,* Imagen 5/39.
[846] *Causa no.113,* Statement of Carmen Castilla Gianini, aged 32 years, 'profesión vice-tiple' [sic] dated 17 September 1936, Imagen 17/39.
[847] Oral Testimony Marcial González Bonet dated 10 June 1996, Montoliú, Pedro (1999) *Madrid en la guerra civil, Los protagonisatas Vol. II,* (Madrid: Silex) pp.193-205 at pp. 199-201

wary accomodation arose between Republican and anti-Republican neighbours and acquaintances.

In September 1938, an illiterate dairy woman who had been evacuated from the Carabanchel district to a village in the outskirts of Madrid was denounced by her new neighbours for treason and defeatism. She was an anti-Republican and rumours circulated that her husband had escaped across enemy lines in order to join Franco. Hearsay evidence was adduced which indicated that she had been boasting to people that her husband had been invalided out of the Nationalist army "because they [the Nationalists] are more humanitarian and better than us." [848] She was also accused of having 'conducted clandestine meetings with manager of the local bank in order to listen to the illegal Nationalist broadcasts at his home.' The village community disliked this upstart new comer and resented her 'unusual' friendship with a local middle-class notable. Her brother-in-law also gave evidence that his brother had 'most probably deserted in order to escape his bossy wife who was older, wealthier (she owned the dairy) and wore the trousers.' Evidence came to light that one of her denouncers was a former friend who had fallen out with her over her refusal to supply black-market milk following a government crack-down. This case is of interest because it demonstrates how the war-time rationing and regulations created dangerous and festering local resentments and encouraged forms of everyday resistance. When her new neighbours became aware of the treasonous implication of their accusations

[848] *Causa no. 50 contra* María Martínez Gutiérrez, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 156, Exp.32, Imagen 9/49. The case is particularly interesting because this illiterate woman wrote an affectionate and detailed letter to her husband (the letter was written on her behalf by her sister-in-law) that touchingly describes the daily routines in a rural village where food was seemingly less scarce and life continued along its habitual routines; "the doves and the cows are doing well" See Imagen 8/49.

they withdrew their formal complaint. The defendant was absolved in February March 1939. While this popular justice was harsh and failed to follow due and proper evidential and juridical precepts, false accusations often resulted in acquittals.

2.2 Defeatism and the need for anti-Republicans to adapt to the new social field

In order to survive in the Republican rearguard anti-Republicans were required to play new social games. Those who were unable to adapt to the changed social and political situation often fell foul of the new forms of political repression. On 2 July 1938 Gonzalo Tomás Soriano, a forty-year- old unmarried accountant who was also the secretary of the new local housing committee appeared at the Buenavista police station in order to denounce a 'fifth column conspiracy' in his building. The main suspect was Ramona González who lived on the third floor of Tomás' building which was situated in Calle de Jorge Juan, 61 in the Salamanca district. She was aged 61 years and lived alone. On the previous night at around 10.30 pm Tomás had gone to visit her to ask her to join the new housing committee and receive her financial contributions towards the general upkeep of the building. The debate over the membership and the contributions developed into a heated political argument. Tomás reported to the police that Ramonahad declared that:

"she would not join the committee when there was nothing to eat…and the war would not end because the leaders were a shameless bunch (*unos sin vergüenzas*); and that if Negrín had nothing to eat the war would now be over; that the workers were a bunch of donkeys that were now standing on their hind legs and that in Italy things were very good…the defendant continued by saying that she had a friend, who despite having lost all her possessions, continues to defend fascism on account of the fact that it is good for the workers…they [the Republicans] have left corpses abandoned in the roads and this was very bad, and that in response to his [the witness Tomás Soriano's] reminders of the fascist massacres in Seville, the Bull Ring in Badajoz, Zaragoza and in all the fascist dominated zones, she replied that this was not certain and that we can't know anything

more than what's happening right here. With reference to the poor state of the German and Italian economies she told him that he, the witness, could have no idea about this as he'd never been to those countries."[849]

The row continued into the early hours. Tomás went on to claim that:

"From the outset of the 'Movement' the defendant always praised General Franco, criticized the [food] queues and *did not want to make any improvements to the property* [author's italics] ….this denunciation could have important ramifications because the denouncer had the impression that the defeatist and fascist comments of the defendant were not her own ideas (*del criterio personal suya*)… perhaps she's heard of these ideas in certain houses that she frequents and who knows if she's planning to be a defeatist agent (*agente propagador*). The denouncer believes that some of the neighbours, at least, have right wing ideas and that according to some of the other neighbours this woman is against the Republican regime."[850]

González was promptly arrested and taken to the Buenavista police headquarters for questioning. During interrogation she denied all accusations of defeatism. However, 'while she did not recall the remarks she had made against Negrín, it was possible that she may have made these.' Tomás testified that her 'defeatist and fascist' political views appeared to be 'rational and coherent albeit hostile to the regime.' However, he was reluctant to attribute any political agency to an 'opinionated and talkative woman who was incapable of forming her own [political] ideas.' Instead, he testified that her 'mind had been influenced by ideas which emanated from other houses' and that there was a wider community of hidden fifth columnists in the neighbourhood. González was detained in Ventas women's

[849] *Causa no.46 instruida contra Ramona González González por el delito/s de Derrotismo*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 149, Exp. 5. Witness statement of Tomás Soriano dated 2 July 1938 made at the Comisaria Buenavista, Imagen Num 3/39
[850] *Causa no. 46,* Imagen, 6/39.

prison pending trial. On 6 July 1938, she was visited by a forensic medical expert who reported to the court that:

"She is a woman who is extremely exhausted, she is in a physically poor state and at 61 years she expresses herself with an extraordinary loquacity, but, although her ideas appear to be coherent, they lack any real thread and it is really easy for her to jump from one subject to another… she, spontaneously and of her own accord, relates an endless concatenation of facts that bear no relation to each other, nor do they serve as a valid response to questions asked of her. She is, you could say, a 'talking machine' that is automatically and simultaneously playing various records that relate to different ideas, you never reach the end of the discussion unless you break off the conversation."[851]

On the basis of the above expert medical evidence González was absolved and freed on 13 July 1938. The court held that the defendant suffered from "senile dementia caused by malnutrition, vascular sclerosis and a premature cerebral anaemia." Her illness meant that "her political views could not be ascribed as much value as those expressed by more sober minds and consciousnesses."[852] The defendant was acquitted on grounds that, as she was suffering from senile dementia no treasonous *mens rea* could be established. The case illustrates how forensic expert evidence was used to avoid the worst rigours of the 'new popular justice.' 'Weak minded and impressionable' women often enjoyed the benefits of more lenient sentencing practices on account of the prevailing medico-legal discourses that constructed women as irrational, apolitical, gullible and impressionable beings. This case also illustrates how personal rather than political motives often informed denunciations. González refused to play according to a new set of social 'game-rules'. It was not only her 'defeatist and fascist' ideas that brought her before the courts. It was also her stubborn

[851] *Causa no, 46,* Imagen 28/39. Witness statement of Forensic Psychiatrist Dr. David Querol Pérez dated 6 July 1938.
[852] *Causa no, 46,* Imagen, 28-29/39.

refusal to join the socialist housing committee and to pay her allocated share of the building maintenance which led to her arrest. Personal feuds were resolved within the crucible of the wider ideological conflict. However, she was able to successfully navigate the new legal regime and escape the worst sanctions of the law with the aid of a competent lawyer and a sympathetic tribunal.

2.3 Defeatism and War Weariness

By September 1936 food, fuel and other basic commodities were in short supply. Madrid's situation was unique in the context of the conflict. It was virtually surrounded and besieged from October 1936 for the duration of the war and the Valencia Road came to provide the only access to the rest of the Republican held territory. Material scarcity in the rearguard meant that rationing was implemented in early November 1936 and it continued for the duration of the war. The winter of 1936 was particularly bitter; the repeated and sustained Nationalist aerial bombings that commenced in August 1936 shattered thousands of windows leaving civilians to freeze in the winter. Fuel was scarce and civilians froze. Restaurants and bars were only authorized to serve a single menu based on rice soup and meat and potato stew.[853] Women stood for hours in the food queues and were obliged to devise novel strategies to supplement the increasingly meagre family rations. They made frequent excursions into the surrounding countryside for the purpose of bartering clothing and valuables for eggs, meat and potatoes among local farmers. Deprivation and the need to survive straddled socio-economic divides and even privileged women like the monarchist Luca de Tena sisters had to wait in line in the sturggle for basic food items:

[853] Abella, Rafael (2004) *La vida cotidiana durante la Guerra Civil. La España Republicana,* (Barcelona: Planeta), p. 152.

"My sisters went off to queue to buy things, a baker-woman in Calle de Rosario, who was very indebted to my father, would give us bread every day, and my sister who was sick at home for most of the war, got help from the Swiss International Red Cross Aid for the Children of Spain, a few cans of milk and a couple of ounces of chocolate."[854]

Women controlled consumption and subsistence within the domestic space.[855] They steadfastly held their places in the queues despite the continual bombardments. Julio Palacios also remarked upon the unstinting bravery of the 'little women' (including his sister) who 'overcame their survival instincts in order to fearlessly traverse the streets and squares, basket in arms, in the midst of the sectarian gunfire [during the Casado Coup], so that the their homes would not be deprived of a miserable punnet of lentils.'[856] General living conditions rapidly deteriorated over the course of 1937 and Madrid's civilians experienced material want throughout the war and these material constraints fuelled the defeatism in the rearguard. By as soon as January 1937 there were severe restrictions on food, tobacco, fuel, clothing, medicines and other basic items. Throughout the autumn and winter of 1936 and again in January 1937 several government campaigns encouraged women, children and men of non-military age to evacuate Madrid on account of the Nationalist air raids and the alarming food and fuel shortages. These government appeals were mostly ignored, particularly among the working classes who did not want to abandon their homes for fear of losing their possessions. In February 1937, prominent female

[854] Oral Testimony Marcial Gónzalez Bonet dated 10 June 1996, Montoliú, Pedro (1999) *Madrid en la guerra civil, Los protagonisatas Vol. II,* (Madrid: Silex), pp.193-205 at p. 198.
[855] See also, "Physical Survival" in Diamond Hannah, (1999) *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48, Choices and Contraints,* (London: Longman), pp. 50-69.
[856] Palacios, Julio (April 1939) *En la España Roja: Memorias de un agente del SIPM"* AHM (Madrid), Cuartel General del Generalísimo, Armario 5, Legajo 277, Carpeta 18 (Rollo 29). Text transcribed in full in article by Manuel Aguilera 'La Quinta Columna durante el Golpe de Casado', *Aportes 69,* XXIV (1/2009), pp. 99-111, at p.109.

politicians like Dolores Ibárruri (communist) and Margarita Nelken (socialist) exhorted Madrid's mothers to evacuate the city with their children. Madrid was besieged by the Nationalist forces throughout the war and towards the end of the hostilities the capital starved. Defeatism grew in step with increasing levels of material scarcity and a succession of devastating military defeats and political reverses during 1938. The widespread low morale was evidenced by a sharp increase in cases of defeatism: 70% of all cases of 'defeatism' were heard in 1938.[857] The defeatist mood was aggravated by near starvation rations and a succession of devastating Republican defeats over the course of 1938 (22 February, Teruel; 15 April, Viñaroz and 13 June, Castellon). In addition, The Munich Agreement in September 1938 and the disastrous Republican defeat at Ebro during the Winter 1938 made it apparent to most that without the active intervention of France and England or additional aid from Russia the Republicans would most probably lose the war. The loss of Barcelona in January 1939 extinguished the popular will to 'resist at all costs.'

In 1938 supplies of food and fuel became dangerously scarce and the threat of epidemic disease loomed despite the Red Cross vacccination initiatives.[858] A young, single working-class woman was sentenced to 6 years in a labour camp in June 1938 because she had refused to do "voluntary harvest work" and had demanded a fair remuneration for her labours. Her case was aggravated because she had also 'incited others to rebellion' by

[857] Source: Cervera, (1998) *Madrid,* p.377.

[858] By 1939 the standard ration was 55 grams of lentils, beans or rice with occasional sugar or salted cod. According to the Quaker International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees these rations were insufficient to maintain life. It was claimed that 400 people died in Madrid from lack of food each week. Source: Ch. 3 "The power of Exhaustion" in Preston Paul, (2016) *The Last Days of the Spanish Republic,* (London: William Collins), [ebook] Loc. 676.

declaring that she and the other female volunteers had been 'given too little food for so much work…work that the men should be doing.' Her words provoked a labour protest and around 50 female volunteers downed tools and returned to Madrid on account of this woman's 'defeatism and incitement to rebellion.'[859] By late 1938, the civilian population was suffering from severe malnutrition due to the restricted diet of lentils ("Negrín's pills"). A general war weariness took hold in Madrid and defeatism was rife.[860] On 26 December 1938 two working-class women were denounced for complaining about the milk rations on the Canillejas tram. They were immediately imprisoned in Ventas. One was a mother of two young childern who was married to a wounded soldier who suffered from combat-related epilepsy. The other was a 32 year-old mother of three young children. They were returning from an expedition to a farm near Barajas in order to buy cabbages on the date of their arrest and spent several days in prison before their case was dismissed and the women were released on 9 January 1939.[861] Gloria Ruiz Bravo was imprisoned on 27 December 1938 for complaining about the meagre food rations.[862] This 47 year old, single, working class woman was arrested by a policeman after she was overheard telling her friend (who was a concierge) and another acquaintance that her Christmas eve celebrations "hadn't been much fun because all the family had to eat were lentils without oil."[863] The three women were immediately arrested and taken to Cuatro Caminos police station. Ruiz stayed

[859] *Causa no. 43 contra* Ángela Jiménez Ríos *por el delito/s de Derrotismo,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 146, Exp. 26.
[860] Preston Paul, (2016) *The Last Days of the Spanish Republic,* (London: William Collins), [ebook] Loc. 664.
[861] *Causa no. 3 instruida contra Concepción Benitez Flores, María Juana Sánchez,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 258, Epx. 25.
[862] *Causa 11, instruida contra Gloria Ruiz Bravo, por el delito/s de Derrotis*mo, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 155, Exp.16.
[863] *Causa 11,* Imagen 11/19.

in Ventas until 14 January 1939 when her case was suspended and she was released. Men were often much less fortunate because what they 'said' was deemed to have more political import and influence. In January 1939, a printer aged 63 years was sentenced to an exemplary 6 years of hard labour because he was overheard to say that:

"the rebels were certain to win the war and that the Republican authorities were starving the civilians."[864]

3.Disaffection

Around 73% of the popular tribunal cases related to the new crime of 'disaffection against the Regime' which was created by government order on October 1936 during a state of National emergency. [865] This new crime was drafted in a purposely wide and vague manner in order to encompass a variety of dispositions and practices that 'while being legal in accordance with laws enacted prior to 18 July 1936, might in the present circumstances be deemed to be disaffected or hostile to the regime.' The new legislation was created at the same time as the emergency popular courts (*Jurados de Urgencia*) in order to adjudicate actions that 'by their nature are hostile or contrary to the Regime but which do not possess the attributes of a crime.[866] As indicated in the Introduction, this new 'popular justice' broke with the provisions of the Republican Constitution of 1931, Section VII (Justice) and marked

[864] Expte. 1764 *instruido contra Félix Moliner Pons por el delito/s de Derrotismo.* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.26/FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,258, Exp.16, Imagen 9/47.
[865] See Flynn, Angela, (2013) "Las Desafectas al Régimen: Anti-Republican Women and Republican Justice (1936-9" [Oxford: Unpublished Mphil]. Ch. II explores the legislation on disaffection in greater detail.
[866] See *Gaceta de Madrid*, Num.285, 11 October,1936, p.289, www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1936/285/B00289-00289.pdf

a singular departure from the established democratic and judicial norms.[867] Those actions that might be considered 'as acts of hostility or disaffection' were listed in Article 2. They included: (a) impeding orders issued by public authorities in relation to defence, general provisioning, public health and/or the consumption of light, gas and water (b) disseminating false news and rumours in relation to the progress of the war, the Government or the economy (c) any conduct that, while not being illegal, demonstrates disaffection towards the Regime and (d) all other activities 'deemed damaging to the Government, People (*pueblo*) or Republic.'

The punishment for the crime of disaffection was the suspension of civil and political rights for a period of 1-5 years and fines of anywhere between 250-100,000 pesetas. After 31 December 1936, the popular tribunal adopted a harder stance on sentencing practices and most sentences involved a period of imprisonment in Ventas women's prison or in new labour camps such as Cehegín (Murcia), Muchamiel (Alicante) and Alacuas (Valencia).[868]

[867] See "Los Jurdos de Urgencia" in Sánchez Recio, Glicerio (1991), *Justicia y Guerra en España. Los Tribunales Populares (1936-1939)* (Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert), pp. 64-71.

[868] See Ruiz, Julius "'Work and Don't Lose Hope': Republican Forced Labour Camps during the Spanish Civil War," *Contemporary European History,* Vol 18, Issue 4, November 2009, pp. 419-441. The article examines the use of forced labour in Republican Spain during the civil war. It argues that labour camps were an integral part of Republican 'popular justice.' Enforced labour would rehabilitate 'fascists' and enable them to contribute to the economic reconstruction and transformation of Spain.

A former subscription to the monarchist *ABC* newspaper, membership of the right-wing CEDA parties, the possession of religious artefacts, Falangist or CEDA propaganda or monarchist memorabilia was considered *prima facie evidence* of disaffection. All symbolic resistance performances were proscribed. Housemaids were arrested for making the fascist raised arm salute on balconies in solidarity with the rebel fly-overs.[869] The failed coup and the ensuing temporary breakdown of the Republican levers of power in 1936 meant that the rearguard represented a dangerous and hostile environment for those who held (or were perceived to hold) anti-Republican beliefs. Personal enmities, envy and the desire to settle personal scores played a significant factor in many denunciations and denunciatory practices were rife.

Public order offences also fell under the categories of disaffection and rebellion. In December 1937 María Gómez León and around twenty other dairy owners were summarily arrested and imprisoned for disaffection and 'aiding rebellion' because of their failure/refusal comply with new orders issued by the JDM's Ministry of Supplies in regard to the timely delivery of milk to a new central government depot.[870] The authorities believed that the fifth column deliberately incited acts of public protest and disorder and the distribution of pamphlets encouraging 'mothers' and ordinary workers to protest against the food shortages was widespread.

[869] *Expte. 240, contra Gervasia Alonso Álvarez por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 227, Exp.1.
[870] *Expte. 64, contra varias personas por el delito/s de auxilio a la Rebelión,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,10, Exp.24, Imágenes 1-715.

The new legislation explicitly made criminal 'spreading false rumours or news relating to military maneouvres or war operations, Government actions or the economic situation, or whatsoever other information tending to create opinions adverse to the Republic or to create an adverse state of opinion or alarm.' Consequently, any casual or inadvertent criticism of Republican policies or military operations might fall under the scope of this provision and denunciatory practices were rife. In addition, Madrid's press and radio abounded with news of frontline activities and the positions of troops. Such information was valuable to the enemy intelligence and the new legislation sought to address this potential security risk. Traditional gender prejudices meant that women were often unfairly targeted for repression on account of their 'loose talk'. The records indicate that a significant number of women were arrested because they had publicly criticized the Regime, often while they waited for hours in the long food queues which often became sites of grievance and protest against the government. The authorities believed that the fifth column circulated within the food queues disseminating false and defeatist news.

The dissemination of anti-Republican propaganda both prior to and during the war also routinely attracted custodial sentences. María Fernández López was arrested for having a secret printing press and making propaganda for the Falange Español and Acción Popular.[871] This woman was accused of disaffection and adhesion to rebellion for making right wing propaganda in her house and for threatening to burn down the concierge's lodge in her

[871] *Expte. 290, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,12, Exp.95. See also Expte. 123, contra Adriana Vizcaino Gines por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 12, Exp.19. This defendant made propaganda for AP but very few details are provided in this case.

building. She was sentenced to 2 years hard labour in 1936 and released from Cehegín labour camp in August 1938.[872]

Disaffection stradled wide social and cultural divides. María Álvarez de Toledo, (married, aged 35, ex Duchess of Santa Cristina and Alba)[873] was arrested and detained by the DGS for being a senior activist within the monarchist Renovación Española. Magdalena Pla Riquelme, (53 years, single) was a worker at the 'Osram factory' She was arrested for being an activist within Acción Popular.[874] Both the ex Duchess and the factory worker were respectively sentenced to 5 years and 3 years imprisonment in a labour camp. Pla Riquelme was transferred to the Cehegín (Murcia) until her release on 28 November 1938. The 'ex Duchess of Santa Cristina' had 'substantial financial means' and was fined 100,000 pesetas and received the maximum sentence for disaffection i.e. 5 years imprisonment in Alacuás (Valencia). It was found that she had sought to mislead the tribunal by claiming that she was the wife of a simple farmer and ignorant of politics. Her country estate was searched and monarchist memorabilia was confiscated including a signed photograph of Alfonso XIII. Most incriminatingly, she was a Falangist activist. She was the close friend of a female cousin of José Antonio Primo de Rivera with whom she had 'driven around Madrid rallying fascist support after 18 July.'

[872] *Expte. 672, contra Matilde Serrano Mannara por delitos de Desafección y adhesión a la rebelión* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 231, Exp.38.
[873] Expte.2451, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 15 EXP.36 and Expte.222, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,359, EXP.37.
[874] Expte. 149, *contra* Pla Riquelme, Magdalena *por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 110, EXP. 12.

Approximately 1% of Madrid's *desafectas* were professionals (teachers and one pharmacist). 7% were nurses. Another 7% were nuns and 5% were employed in clerical and administrative jobs. A significant proportion came from working class backgrounds which included domestic workers (7%), factory workers (9%), seamstresses (4%) and persons employed in commerce e.g. shop assistants (3%). Around 57% of *desafectas* were employed in '*sus labores*' (i.e. unpaid domestic work at home). The majority of women (around 72 %) who were found guilty of crimes of disaffection were not registered as members of any political party. Consequently, they were charged with being *'fascistas'* '*notoriamente desafectas,' 'manifiestamente derechistas'* or simply '*enemigas del Régimen.'* Around 28% of *desafecta* women were arrested because they were affiliated to proscribed right wing Catholic and monarchichal parties and, in consequence, their names were discovered in the Control de Nóminas. Their political affiliations were as follows: Acción Popular (approx. 45%), Renovación Española (approx. 35%), FE/FE de las Jons (11%), Tradicionalistas (3%), and other Nationalist Parties (6%).[875]

The majority were Catholics and a significant number were devout Catholics who had been involved in lay Catholic groups before the war or they were right wing party activists who had participated in propaganda activities during the February 1936 general elections. Esperanza Ponce de León (58 years, single) was a member of the monarchist party Renovación Española and also "extremely religious."[876] Aurelia Osorio Rivas had worked at the Ministry of Public instruction for 14 years. On 25 December 1936, the tribunal Secretary

[875] Source: Flynn, Angela (2013) "Las Desafectas al Régimen: Anti-Republican Women and Republican Justice (1936-9)" [Oxford: Unpublished Mphil], p. 61.
[876] Expte. 628, *contra* Esperanza Ponce de León *por delito/s de Desafección* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 225, Exp.16, Imagen 5/28.

Ricardo Calderon certified that "she has made propaganda on behalf of Gil Robles and his friends. She is a Catholic person."[877] Some had worked in right wing party offices as archivists or telephone operators.[878] Dolores Molini Burriel (and her 4 sisters) were imprisoned for making propaganda during the February elections on behalf of Acción Popular (AP) and sentenced to six months in prison in December 1936.[879] Similarly, Carmen Carrascal de Espinosa was sentenced to one year in a labour camp having been found to be an active member of the JAP[880] and also the secretary of AP in Azuaga (Badajos). The court sentenced her on the basis that "she has come to Madrid with the intention of conspiring in the fascist movement."[881] Mercedes Urtasan Díaz was arrested on 16 April 1937 by the DGS.[882] During the February 1936 elections she dedicated herself to rightwing propaganda and appeared on the membership lists of Renovación Española, the Falange and Acción Popular.' Devout Catholic working-class women like Magdalena Pla Riquelme were also activists in Acción Popular before the war.[883] In particular, any association with the Falange party constituted *a priori* incriminating evidence of disaffection and potential fifth column

[877] Expte.1764, *contra* Aurelia Osorio Rivas, *por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 363, Exp.19.
[878] Expte, *contra* María Vázquez Paris and Isabel Benito Bajo, *por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 126, Exp.36. (Both worked for Acción Popular, Vázquez as secretary and archivist for 4 years, Bajo as telephone operator).
[879] *Expte. No.76, instruido contra* Molini Burriel, Concepción Molini Burriel, Dolores Molini Burriel, Francisca Molini Burriel, Luisa Molini Burriel *por delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,130, EXP.1. These women also appear in a list of female victims of the extra-judicial repression, see Rafael Casas de la Vega (1994) *El Terror: Madrid 1936, Investigación Histórica y Catalogo de Víctimas Identificadas,* (Madrid: Fénix) Appendix II, *Relación de Asesinados en Madrid y Provincia*, pp.399-407.
[880] *Juventudes de Acción Popular.*
[881] Expte.2698, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 13, Exp.123. Imagen 2/4.
[882] Expte.496, contra Urtasan Díaz, Mercedes *por delito/s de Desafección*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,359. Exp. 39, Imagen 3/37.
[883] Expte, 3691, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 26, EXP.146, *por delito/s de Desafección.* This woman was sentenced to three years in a labour camp.[883]

involvement. María Paz Alonso Cueto gave herself up the Comisario Palacio at some time in late December 1936 because she had 'received repeated death threats.' She had been walking along the Gran Vía when she was apprehended by militias who drove her to the Radio Comunista in Calle Atocha. There she was interrogated for seven hours and subsequently released having been treated "very well". A DGS police report dated 7 January, 1937 stated that Alonso Cueto was "a woman of great courage and strong character, who had wanted to hide the reasons for her stay in prison but that 'after repeated questioning' she had finally admitted to being a member of the Falange Española and to been associated with Primo de Rivera's family. The DGS believed that she was "a very dangerous woman."[884] On 30 May 1937 the Jurado de Urgencia 8 sentenced her to 4 years, 11 months and 29 days imprisonment for disaffection on account of her association with FE and her intimate links with right wing elements.[885] Similarly, two female students (aged 22 and 24 years respectively) were apprehended while hiding in the attic of a building situated in Calle de Embajadores, 47, Inclusa District. They were denounced in November 1936 by the concierge of the building and by various members of a recently established neighbourhood 'security committee.' The sisters were convicted and imprisoned for being members of the Falange Party. Before 18 July they 'had visited the sister and cousin of Primo de Rivera on a daily basis… Isabel Andrade Martín was frequently seen to have been driven about in a car which was owned by the Primo de Riveras.'[886] Victoria López Jimeno

[884] Expte.184, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 112, Exp.3.
[885] Expte. 352, *contra varios por delito/s de Desafección* (including María Paz Alonso Cueto), AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 113, Exp.38, Imagen 106/288. She also lost civil and political rights for 10 years. This woman also appears on *Casas de la Vegas* list of victims of the Terror, but court records indicate that she remained in prison during the war.
[886] *Expte. no. 304 instruido contra Isabel Andrada Martín, Eugenia Andrada Martín por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 263, Exp.24, Imágenes 21/61.

was a teenage factory worker who had visibly fraternised with the management and "came to work an hour late every day.[887]" She was denounced by a co-worker for being a member of the *Falange Española* and it was claimed that she had worn her fascist pin and made the Falangist salute in the lunch canteen before the war. López Jimeno was found to be 'manifestly sympathetic towards fascism.' Aged 17 years, she was sentenced to 2 years and 7 months in a labour camp.

3.1 The importance of Republican networks of influence

In order to survive in the rearguard Republican allies were essential. On 16 April 1937 Mercedes Urtasan Díaz (aged 17 years)[888] was accused of being a member of Acción Popular, Renovación Española and the Falange Española. In normal circumstances such allegations, if proven, would result in a fine and/or imprisonment and the suspension of political and civil rights for a period of years. The DGS provided evidence of aggravating circumstances; she had conducted right wing propaganda before the February 36 elections and had danced with Gil Robles at an election party. Urtasan's father had also been imprisoned for disaffection. However, various influential Republican character witnesses appeared on her behalf during her trial on 18 May 1937. These included the concierge of her building, her husband (who was a Republican soldier fighting on the Teruel front) and a nephew of Largo Caballero. Urtasan was acquitted and released. The case was expedited in

[887] *See case of Victoria López Jimeno por delito/s de desafección* in *Expte. 21,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 112, Exp.31 and *Expte. 263*, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,237, Exp. 22.
[888] *Expte. 496, contra Mercedes Urtasan Díaz por el delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 39, 6, Imágenes 30-37/37.

four weeks. María Vázquez Paris (aged 32, single)[889]was arrested together with her colleague Isabel Benito Bajo (aged 37, single) on 8 May 1937 for working as typists and archivists at the offices of Acción Popular before the war. Evidence of such employment would normally have resulted in a prison sentence. However, Vázquez was acquitted because Julián Besteiro was a family friend and could vouch for both Vázquez and Bajo's pro-Republican beliefs. Besteiro testified that, prior to working for Acción Popular, the women had sought employment at his office in the Congreso de Diputados. They found employment with Acción Popular as a last resort and in desperation of finding paid employment.[890] The case was expedited and both women were acquitted and immediately released on 22 June 1937. Such accounts reflect the partiality of the popular justice which was practised at this time. Interestingly, Bajo's name was also recorded in Rafael Casas de la Vegas' list of persons who were extrajudicially killed during the Terror.[891]

In October 1936 a group of Catholic women, some of whom were members of the Falange and Acción Popular, established a clandestine printing press and disseminated anti-Republican propaganda leaflets with the aim of persuading Madrid's citizens to join the rebel cause.[892] The leader of this group, María Redondo Piquenque, had no political

[889] *Expte.359, contra María Vázquez Paris por el delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 129, Exp.36.
[890]Expte.359, *contra* Vázquez Paris, María, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, *por el delito/s de Desafección,* 129, Exp.36, Imagen, 24/35.
[891] Source: Casas de La Vega, Rafael, (1994) *El Terror Madrid, 1936, Investigación Histórica y Catálogo de Víctimas Identificadas,* (Madrid: Editorial Fénix), Appendix II, *Relación de Asesinados en Madrid y Provincia*, at p.400.
[892] These women were María Redondo Piquenque, María (35 years old and unmarried with no prior political affiliations) Moreno Rodríguez, Rosa Moreno Rodríguez, Navidad Carrasco Viretti and María Fernández López. See *Expte. 23 instruida contra María Redondo Piquenque por el delito de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 235, Exp.4. *Imagen* 10-21/73. The case was heard on 4 November 1936 in *the Jurado de Urgencia no.8.*

affiliations prior to the war but she was accused of 'being a fascist element.' The other women were members of the Falange and Acción Popular. Redondo was a devout Catholic and the co-owner (with a brother) of a small printing press. The case was expedited and she was released from prison on 1 December 1936. The popular tribunal was lenient in this case. Redondo received a non-custodial sentence, a suspension of civil and political rights for a period of years and a modest 1,500 *peseta* fine. The bulk of the case-file documentation relates to tracing funds with respect to the payment of the fine. The sentencing judges, Vicente Manzanares, Daniel Segura and Andres Rueda frequently dispensed custodial sentences for less serious crimes. These judges presided over the women's tribunals (*Jurados de Urgencia* numbers 7 and 8*).* It may be that 'useful connections' within the police or the judiciary may have helped to secure the defendant's release.

The above outcomes may be compared with those of Socorro Usero Fojos, aged 23 years, single and a servant who 'had no-one to vouchsafe her good conduct.' Usero was arrested by CPIP militias on 24 November 1936 for "expressing joy at the sight of enemy planes flying over Madrid."[893] She was also found to have moved home without duly notifying the town hall in accordance with new security legislation, listening to fascist radio emissions and 'awaiting the entry of Nationalist troops in Madrid with satisfaction.' Usero's case took months to process. She remained in prison until her trial on 24 June 1937 when she was sentenced to 'one year and one days forced labour' scheduled for release on 9 May 1938.

[893] *Expte. 538*, *contra* Socorro Usero Fojo *por delito/s Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 222, Exp.29. Imágenes 21-26/33.
[893] *Expte. 538,* Imágenes 21-26/33.

Similarly, Aurea Solano Sánchez (unmarried, 32 years old) was as arrested in the presence of her parents at the *Atocha* station on 27 July 1937 for attempting to resist an 'on the spot security search.' It was believed that she might be a fifth-column spy. She had no prior political affiliations. She was not a resident of Madrid and had been living in temporary accomodation in a hostel with her sister. The building concierge and other neighbours gave evidence that the defendant was not known to them. However, a neighbour gave evidence that the defendant "was out until late every day only returning to her room to sleep…. she was a woman of fairly extremist religious views (*mujer de tendencias religiosas bastante arriesgadas*)."[894] During her trial the prosecution could not produce substantive evidence of fifth-column practices. However, during her trial Solano Sánchez angrily declared in open court that "it was all the same to her whether Franco and his followers won the war whether the legitimate Popular Front government won the war."[895] This defiant and disloyal speech act constituted an act of disaffection which led on 28 August 1937 to a custodial sentence of 4 years detention in Cehegín labour camp together with a suspension of all civil and political rights for a period of ten years. Solano was a stranger in the capital and lacked the necessary contacts to vouchsafe her good character.

Madrid's autonomous fifth column was an imagined community that enabled the construction of a new political and religious national Catholic identity within a social context of severe repression and devastating material deprivation. While predominantly middle-class, it also included a working-class Catholic constituency. Active resistance practices and

[894] *See Expte. 524 instruida contra Aurea Solano Sánchez por delitos de Desafección al Régimen,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,231, Exp. 19. Imagen 29/40.
[895] *Expte. 524, Imagen 34/40.* The presiding magistrate in this case was Judge Ricardo Guerra who was accused of treason and of membership of the Socorro Blanco group in 1938.

forms of everyday sabotage served to boost collective morale and instil a sense of agency among Madrid's beleaguered anti-Republican community. It was made up of dozens of small groups and hundreds of individuals who were united by their desire to sabotage, hamper or disrupt the Republican war effort. Only a handful of the groups examined above were charged with high treason and these groups had orchestrated large-scale documentation fraud or co-ordinated escape-lines. It was the 'idea of resistance' over and above any acts of large-scale sabotage or armed resistance that enabled 'Clandestine Madrid' to preserve its collective identity and morale. Those who were keenest to embrace more active and politically engaged forms of resistance joined the Clandestine Falange which was relatively easy to do. Clandestine Madrid was a tight-knit and interconnected community and it was relatively easy to contact the Clandestine Falange. The vast majority of treason and rebellion cases involved acts of army desertion or draft dodging involving individuals who wanted to avoid the rigours and deprivations of Republican army life rather than join the Nationalist ranks.

Women formed an integral part of this resistance community and were largely responsible for the spiritual and material well being of the family during dire and dangerous circumstances. Disaffected women (*Desafectas*) used their Republican connections in order to buy false documentation, suborn character witnesses, destroy incriminating evidence or find safe positions for their male relatives within Republican civil and military organisations. The vast majority of these women were charged with disaffection despite the fact that by 1938 defeatism was rife. Crimes of disaffection and defeatism were taken seriously and they attracted custodial sentences of anywhere between 1 and 10 years hard labour and harsh (means tested) fines. Forms of active resistance involved the creation and circulation

of false documents, ration-card fraud and black-market activities and most civilians were obliged to have recourse to these illegal practices at one time or another whatever their political complexion.

The emergency tribunals were created on 23 August 1936 in response to the popular assault of the Model Prison on 22-23 August and the urgent need to channel violent forms of extra-judicial 'popular justice' within new legal frames. The new 'popular justice' transformed Republican legal and judicial meanings and represented a dramatic departure from the democratic ideals and legal protections that were enshrined in the 1931 Constitution. These summary trials were expedited, due legal process was seldom observed and the lay judges (who represented the various Republican political parties) had the power to determine sentences and appeals. These new tribunals routinely attributed less political significance to women's resistance actions and women received lighter sentences for similar crimes. There was a general presumption that women had no political agency and were unable to formulate their own political ideas and opinions and, consequently, women's minds might easily be poisoned against the Republic by the 'ideas of others.' Similarly, as discussed above, Elvira Rodríguez was acquitted of treason because she alleged a 'complete ignorance' of her husband's fraudulent and treasonous activities. Luckily for Elivira 'the kitchen' represented a safe-space from the reprisals of the tribunal: There were rewards for those who embraced patriarchal subjugation.

CHAPTER V- WOMEN AS SPIES

This chapter examines the subject of women who acted as spies but were unconnected with the organised Clandestine Falange organisations discussed in Part I. Around 2.4% of the popular tribunal cases related to crimes of espionage (i.e. some 359 cases). Most cases involved male conscripts and officers who operated either individually or in small groups. These men disseminated intelligence from the front-lines to the fifth column in Madrid or were able to send news directly over the lines to the Nationalist SIPM. The popular tribunal records only contain eleven cases of espionage which involved foreign nationals (German, Italian and one Chinese defendant who was a street vendor); foreign undercover agents were rare in Madrid. [896] The autonomous fifth column spies were mainly men who were

[896] (1) *Causa no. 1315 instruida contra Adolfo Hyva Konnsckegg,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 192, Exp.33 (2) *Exp. 33, Exp no.1023 instruido contra Bernhard Funck por el delito/s de espionaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 92, Epx. 22. (3) *Expte. 1198 contra Anna María Becker, José Domínguez Arévalo, Pedro Gallo Rodríguez, Berta Björsen Bethgen por delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC- CAUSA_GENERAL, 53, Exp. 32. (4) *Expte. no. 95 instruido contra Alberto Von Filek,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 90, Exp. 30. (5) *Expte. no. 973 instruido contra León Bruyne por el delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 91, Exp. 12. (6) *Expte. no. 596 contra Margarita (Greta) Robertson por el delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 34, Exp. 115 (7) *Expte. instruido contra Max Germias Schneider, Luís Linartz Voltz por el delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 9, Exp. 7. (8) *Expte. no. 602 contra Ana María Becker por delito/s de espionaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,34, Exp. 1. (10) *Expte. no. 229 contra Alejandro Pistoleci Manzoni por el delito/s de Adhesión y auxilio a la Rebelión y espionaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 25, Exp. 71. (11) *Expte. no 1312 instruido contra Llu (Luís) Sen Cheng por el delito/s de espionaje,* AHH, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL 50, Exp. 14. The cases were referred to the Valencian courts of Treason and Espionage whose records are unavailable in PARES and their final outcomes are unknown.

infiltrated within the Republican civil and military administration, including the battalions, barracks, embassies, law courts and military hospitals.

Apart from the female spies who formed part of the Clandestine Falange groups discussed in Chapter III, only around forty-six women were tried for espionage. Eight of these cases were referred up to the high courts of espionage and treason in Valencia and Barcelona and another four were referred to the 'special military courts' for rebellion. The remainder were reduced to charges of disaffection (12 cases), dismissed for lack of evidence (7), suspended on health or other grounds (6) or acquitted (9).

Those accused of espionage came from a wide variety of backgrounds. However, there is an over-representation of working class women, prostitutes and women who worked in the barracks as auxiliaries. Very often these women were falsely accused and subsequently acquitted. Others worked as administrative assistants, typists in the barracks or as voluntary and unskilled auxiliary nurses. Others were single mothers or variety club actresses, women of "indeterminate profession and dubious morality" and brothel workers. [897]

Less frequently 'socialite' and aristocratic women were accused of espionage. It was suspected that these women were influencers who had access to senior Republican political or military figures and these cases were referred to the courts of espionage and high

[897] *Causa 1247 instruida contra Encarnación Garrido Montiel por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 192, Exp. 7. This case relates to a single, and unemployed hairdresser who volunteered as an auxiliary nurse with the Líster Brigade but who arrested under suspicion of espionage but was found to be soliciting in an evacuated and prohibited zone (the tribunal found that she had prior form with regard to the solicitation of soldiers).

treason in Valencia. Social Class is an important way of signifying relationships of power and notions of difference embedded in inequality. Around a dozen or so espionage cases involved upper and middle-class women and these were viewed much more seriously by the authorities. By summer 1938 a small and visible coterie of well-connected, affluent upper middle-class women were perceived to pose a real threat to Republican security. The subsequent sections examine the Republican spaces within which the female spies operated.

1.Republican Spaces

1.1. Military Units and Barracks

Most cases related to women who were employed as auxiliaries within Republican civil and military institutions including the War Ministry, military hospitals and barracks. María del Pilar Martín Bascarán worked as a typist at the General Headquarters of the Colonel Mangada Battalion which was posted in Navalperal de Pineda in September 1936.[898] She was infiltrated into the battalion by Commander Urbano González Ribera who gave her 1,000 pesetas and her accomplice Carlos del Castillo 'probably more money' in order to take classified documents to rebel contacts across the front-lines. The pair were arrested near the Republican front-lines in Villacastín and returned to Navalperal during which time they were, rather surprisingly, able to return the classified documents into the custody of

[898] *Expte.no. 255 contra María del Pilar MartÍn Bascarán, Carlos del Castillo and Urbano González Ribera por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 81, Exp.6. Imágenes 1-55. On 28 January María del Pilar was found to be in her 8th month of gestation and suffering from 'acute bartolinitis' which required surgery. She was transferred from San Rafael to the Red Cross hospital in Calle O'Donnell 44 and from there to another hospital. The case was eventually transferred to the Valencian hight court of treason and espionage on 13 September 1937 and the outcome is unknown.

González Ribera. They were charged with espionage under sub-sections 1 and 2 of Article 228 of the Military Code of Justice. González was also charged with rebellion alongside another individual named 'Rivera' who managed to avoid arrest.

Women who fraternised with soldiers and those who were actively involved in the war effort were regularly suspected of espionage or treason.[899] These women were most often the intimates of soldiers and officers and the authorities feared that 'confidences exchanged in the bedroom' posed a grave risk to security.[900] In 1937 the Republican government issued a poster campaign warning soldiers of the dangers of inadvertently passing intelligence to the enemy via intimate relationships. Balbina Ledesma Paz was a semi-literate militia-woman who worked as a cleaner in several military barracks. She was arrested for espionage in June 1938 following a denunciation by one of her officer lovers who was the Commander-in-Chief of a battalion in the 150th Brigade. The denunciation set in motion a lengthy investigation which involved numerous military and civilian witnesses. Balbina was married to a Falangist civil guard who was imprisoned for disaffection at the start of the war and it was alleged that she formed part of a fifth column group. Balbina had maintained links with other Falangists who included former friends and colleagues of her husband who was associated with the former monarchist leader Calvo Sotelo. It was also alleged that at the time of her arrest she had been planning to escape into the Nationalist zone.

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[899]Seidman, Michael, (2002), *Republic of Egos, A Social History of the Spanish Civil War,* (London: University of Wisconsin Press), p. 88.

[900] E.g. *Expte. no 1336 instruido contra María Ángeles Miralles Conte por el delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 50, Exp. 36. See also *Expte. contra Eugenia García Arteaga (y otros) por el delito/s de espionaje y auxilio a la Rebelión*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 9, Exp. 16 (discussed below).

After her husband's escape from prison into the Nationalist zone, she was 'bereft of financial support' and volunteered her cleaning services at various barracks with the expectation of eventually obtaining paid remuneration. She also entered into a succession of intimate relationships with military officers. It was suspected that she had been communicating military intelligence to the fifth column as a result of her auxiliary work in the barracks, although no concrete evidence was ever adduced in this regard. During her SIM interrogations Balbina claimed that she was now a member of the Socialist Youth (JSU)[901] and that she was working for Republican officers as a 'mole' and 'counter-spy.'[902] She claimed to have infiltrated various military barracks in order to flush out 'disaffected elements' and alleged that Ángel Dieguez Duenas, who was a commissar with Fortifications Division, was her liaison agent. Balbina had allegedly approached him in December 1937 and 'requested access to General Miaja because she wanted to expose a conspiracy that involved numerous officials whom she had already denounced to the police, but they had not taken any action.' [903]

Economic necessity may, in part, have motivated Balbina's actions. It was alleged that she had no financial means 'other than that which she obtained by cohabiting with several men.' Mariano Grande (the chief commissar) produced evidence from various military witnesses that Balbina had:

[901] *Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas*
[902] Expte. 432 *instruido contra Balbina Ledesma de Paz por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,293, Exp.2, Imagen 154/160.
[903] Expte. 432, Imagen 48/160.

"dedicated herself to an extra-marital life with various individuals, but mostly with the Commander in Chief of the 199 Battalion of the 150th Brigade who had denounced her as being a loose-living (*mujer de vida alegre*), interfering, argumentative and undesirable person on account of which he had ceased all relations with this woman…she also had developed contacts in the 36th Brigade…but she was denied access to this company on account of the fact that she may have been a dangerous element and that her amorous activities may have constituted a form of espionage…she is an openly dissolute woman (*mujer de vida publica*) who actively seeks to make important liaisons for unknown ends…her shady and dubious practices are highly suspicious… as are her claims that she is actively working to denounce disaffected military elements amongst those with whom she consorts…she does not have any means of economic subsistence other than that which she procures by cohabiting with several men… [904]"

Her low status and her inability to successfully cultivate networks of influence and protection ensured that she was unable to negotiate any concessions using back-channels. Juan Saiz Orozco was a married infantry Major at the Pablo Iglesias barracks (aged 31 years). He testified on 24 June 1938 that he had first made the acquaintance of the defendant after his return from the front lines in January 1937. She was working as a cleaner in the Pablo Iglesias barracks and he offered her a job as his personal laundress. From August 1937 onwards, he began to 'notice something strange in Balbina's attitude because she met with elements who were not very loyal to the cause (*no muy afectos a la causa*) for which reason she was arrested.' 'This Balbina woman' wrote directly to him and informed him that he might obtain her release if he provided a good character reference:

"something which the witness took no notice of because he had no concrete proof of her loyalty, which had raised some suspicion on account of the friendships that she kept, although she told him that she had befriended some fascists in order to obtain information from them in order to denounce them…"[905]

[904] Expte. 432, Imagen 10/160.
[905] Expte. 432, 56/160.

Without the necessary social capital or influence Balbina languished in prison. It was only on 3 March 1939 that she was released from Ventas and acquitted on the basis of a 'lack of evidence of any disaffection against the Regime.'[906] Popular Justice was arbitrary and trial outcomes were dependant on the particular tribunal, personal networks of influence and the historical moment. In December 1937 the security authorities were alarmed by the fact that the Clandestine Falange groups were rapidly co-ordinating and consolidating their efforts and new emergency courts were established (*Tribunales Especiales de Guardia*) in order to swiftly process crimes of treason and espionage. These new expedited courts (presided by one qualified judge and two lay judges) dispensed with the most basic legal and juridical safeguards and standards and their creation by decree on 1 December prompted the immediate resignation of Manuel Irujo the Minister of Justice.[907] Sentencing became more severe in 1938 in step with a succession of serious Republican military defeats and with the rise of the fifth column, and this may explain how Balbina came to be held in Ventas pending trial without any substantive evidence against her for nearly one year .

In July 1937 Ángeles Eizmendi Téllez Girón[908] aged 29 years (the divorced ex Countess de la Puebla de Montalban) was arrested by Comisaria de Chamberí police officers on suspicion of espionage. Eizmendi had been an activist with Acción Popular before the war. She was arrested during a raid on an apartment in Calle General Arranda, 8 which belonged to Jacinta Sánchez where she and her mother were lodging. After 18 July Eizmendi and her

[906] Expte. 432, 158/160.

[907] Cancio, Fernández, Raúl C. (2007), *Guerra Civil y Tribunales: De los Jurados Populares a la Justicia Franquista (*1936-39) (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura), p. 87. See *Los Tribunales Especiales de Guardia* at pp.86-93.

[908] *Expte. 847 instruido contra Paulo Calvo Enrique y Ángeles Eizmendi Téllez Girón por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 234, Exp. 55.

mother Bernadina had been obliged to flee their home in Claudio Coello, 28. They eventually secured safe lodgings with Jacinta on the recommendation of Pastora Imperio. The arresting officers testified that Eizmendi had behaved suspiciously during the property search and had attempted to 'physically resist arrest.' The search of her landlady's[909] premises lasted from 3 pm until 11 pm and dozens of valuable items were confiscated including jewellery, cash (which had been illegally hoarded in contravention of the new legislation), identity documents and good-character vouchsafes. Eizmendi was caught *in flagrante* in the bathroom while she was attempting to hide her jewellery within various bars of soap. During the lengthy police search she made efforts to ingratiate herself with the police and offered one of the men a glass of cognac. She maintained that she had been arrested by the Chief of the Chamberí police station pursuant to 'a malicious denunciation' by a domestic following the theft of an item of jewellery which had been reported to the police. However, during trial one of the arresting police officers gave evidence that her surveillance and detention had been ordered by the Director of the DGS in Valencia.[910]

Eizmendi was accused of espionage because she had regularly frequented the military barracks in Chamberí during Summer 1937, in particular the Regimento Motorizado de Ametralladoras (the Motorized Machine Gun Regiment). She had also entertained 'at her own considerable expense'[911]military personnel and CNT members in local bars and cafés. It

[909] Jacinta Sánchez Vilches' flat was protected by the Panamanian embassy even though she was not a Panamanian subject. She gave evidence at the trial that she first made the acquaintance of Eizmendi after 18 July and that she 'appeared at her house dressed in a boiler suit and she believed that she was a Republican official.' Imagen 89/122.
[910] *Expte. 847,* Imagen 89/122. Trial testimony of Rafael González Urria dated 23 November 1937.
[911] *Expte. 847,* Imagen 12-13/122.

was believed that she communicated intelligence which was obtained from these soldiers to Socorro Blanco. Ángeles claimed that she was a loyal Republican and that she had 'donated her home and her two cars to the anarchists at the start of the war.' She cultivated contacts with Republican groups and, 'in particular with the communist organisations' and 'donated many valuable gifts in aid of the cause' including a valuable pearl necklace.[912] She claimed that she had always been in sympathy with the 'people' and that even before the war both she and her employees had regularly eaten 'the same food, at the same table, in the same space.'[913] Two of her former employees (a chauffeur and a carpenter) provided good character vouchsafes to this effect. They claimed that she was a 'great friend of the working classes…and she often got into rows with her family on account …of her democratic beliefs.'[914] Las Águilas de la Libertad (the Eagles of Liberty) had invited her to join their militia group, but her mother had dissuaded her from this course of action.

Eizmendi's defence claimed that she had only frequented the barracks in order to obtain rationed goods in exchange for cash and that she was able to demonstrate her gratitude to the soldiers by inviting them out for drinks. She sought to represent herself as a loyal *miliciana* and made concerted efforts to maintain her social position and status within the newly established Republican elite. During the first months, she decided to 'follow the

[912] The arresting officers confiscated many valuables at her friend Rosario Sánchez Vilchez's flat including three small boxes containing dozens of jewels and precious items that were painstakingly itemized in a two page inventory that included "…a cameo gold broach, a ladies watch and chain, a pair of earrings, a silver signet ring, a pair of pearl earrings, a diamond solitaire ring, a pair of gold and black pearl earrings, two ladies broaches mounted with seemingly fine stones…a platinum and diamond broach…" Imagen 15/122.
[913] *Expte. no 847,* Imagen 21/122. Interrogation transcript of Ángeles Eizmendi dated 5 July 1937.
[914] *Expte. no 847,* Imagen 98/122. Letter from Felipe Sainz Martínez dated 23 November 1937. This carpenter had known the defendant for more than 12 years.

fashion' and dressed in a boiler suit (*mono*). According to her landlady this was evidence of her 'eccentric character.'[915] However, the new dress code conferred power and status and enabled her to be mistaken for an official militia woman.[916] She subscribed to the "*La Traca*" periodical,[917] and also fraternised with 'military and security elements' in cafés and bars. She also retained significant amounts of economic capital which aroused suspicion. Dozens of valuable pieces of jewellery in Toledan gold, platinum, diamonds, pearls and precious stones were confiscated from her residence as potential reparations. Both prior to and after her arrest she made efforts to use her social capital and wealth in order to cultivate powerful and influential Republican allies within the military and the anarchist groups in order to survive within Madrid's hostile rearguard. Her wallet was confiscated during her arrest and it was found to contain dozens of safe-conduct passes and good character vouchsafes (*avales*) which were all carefully itemised and included:

"A certificate [of good character] from La Maternidad, another certificate from Las Águilas de la Libertad, a photograph dedicated signed and dedicated to her by Assault Guard Fermín García, a certificate from the Joint Defence Committee (Junta Delegada de la Defensa), a character reference from Mr Tato y Amat, …a certificate from Mr Vicento Villa in order to obtain provisions from the Argentine Embassy, a pass signed by the DGS to gain access to the Hotel Paris Madrid…another certificate from Las Águilas de la Libertad stating that Ángela [sic] is a person who is loyal to the Regime…"[918]

The legal record reflects the everyday constraints imposed upon civil liberties in the Republican rearguard. The state of emergency placed severe restrictions on the free

[915] *Expte. no 847,* Imagen 27/122. Testimony of Jacinta Sánchez Vilches dated 5 July 1937.
[916] *Expte. no. 847,* Imagen 89/122. Trial evidence of Jacinta Sánchez Vilches dated 23 November 1937.
[917] *Expte. no. 847,* Imagen 86/122.
[918] *Expte. no. 847,* Imagen 16/122.

circulation of people and goods in the capital. Citizens were subjected to routine 'stop and searches' and required to carry valid identification, vouchsafes and travel passes at all times. They ran the risk of immediate arrest if such documentation was not to hand.[919] This made daily existence in the rearguard extremely difficult for those *desafectos* who lacked the necessary Republican contacts or were unable to obtain expensive fake documentation. Eizmendi's wallet contained the 'material cultural symbols' that evidenced the complexities and difficulties of everyday life in the rearguard. Signed photographs and the letters of recommendation from important figures within the new regime like 'Mr Tato y Amat' provided protection for those fortunate enough to obtain them whether legitimately or on the black market. Eizmendi's desire to amass so many vouchsafes evidences the precariousness of her social situation and the quasi-talismanic importance which was ascribed to these valuable objects. The CNT membership card replaced the rosary and the crucifix as material symbols of succour and protection.

In fact, Ángeles was linked to a small fifth column resistance group which was linked to a Valencian fifth column organisation. She frequented the 'La Española Bar' in the Glorieta de Bilbao and was associated with disaffected elements including Anna María Becker, Berta Björsen Bethgen, Pedro Gallo Rodríguez and José Domínguez Arévalo. The group which 'had established links in various ministerial departments' had been entrusted with 400 pesetas by Ángeles and her mother. [920]The group also cultivated 'connections within the Left

[919] See the case of Josefina Sotillo Jiménez who was arrested on suspicion of espionage for failing to show proof of 'financial means' while meeting a male friend in Bar Jauja. This case is discussed below.

[920] Expte. 1198 contra *Anna María Becker, José Domínguez Arévalo, Pedro Gallo Rodríguez, Berta Björsen Bethgen por delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC- CAUSA_GENERAL, 53, Exp. 32. Imagen 8/29. Concepción Lozano "the widow of Gamboa was also implicated in this case

Republican party (Izquierda Republicana), the Communist Party, the FAI and the UGT.'[921] Together with her mother, Bernardina Téllez Girón, Ángeles travelled to Valencia and handed over a valuable diamond-encrusted crucifix together with other jewels to Concepción Lozano Montalvo, the widow of Gamboa, the Marquis of Cerralbo, for unknown ends.[922] It was suspected that the group had links with Socorro Blanco in Valencia and they had sent considerable funds abroad to France.

In November 1937, Ángeles was found guilty of disaffection because the courts could find no substantive evidence of espionage. The fact that she and her mother had transferred large sums of money and valuables into France despite the stringent currency export restrictions represented a seriously aggravating factor. Also, it was established that she was a former member of Acción Popular who had also supported the monarchist Renovación Española and attended a royal gala which had been held in honour of Don Juan de Borbón before the war. The numerous safe-conduct passes and good character certificates in her possession were also aggravating factors. The presiding magistrate Ricardo Guerra (discussed in Ch. II above) absolved Ángeles of the capital crime of treason but found her guilty of the lesser crime of disaffection. She was sentenced on 25 November 1937 to a term of 8 years imprisonment in a labour camp, fined 100,000 pesetas and also lost all civil and political rights for a period of 10 years.[923] On 5 November her mother made efforts to

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and accused of espionage/adhesion to Rebellion. The case was provisionally suspended in September 1937.

[921] *Expte. 1198,* Imagen 9/29.

[922] *Expte. 1198 contra Anna María Becker, José Domínguez Arévalo, Pedro Gallo Rodríguez, Berta Björsen Bethgen por delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC- CAUSA_GENERAL, 53, Exp. 32. Imagen 8/29.

[923] *Expte. no 847,* Imagen 106/122

intercede on her behalf by writing to the Interior Minister Julián Zugazagoitia with the intercession of a close female friend, Concepción Lozano. She also donated 150,000 pesetas into the Republican war chest:

Dear Minister …While making this donation, I should like to clarify a few issues in order to shed a more perfect light on this extremely difficult operation …grave and unfortunate circumstances have resulted in the arrest of my daughter for disaffection last July on erroneous grounds, my only and much adored child (Ángeles Eizmendi) on whose behalf, as is appropriate in my capacity as a mother, I have been trying to manage this whole affair [sic], we declared our adhesion to the Cause in December 1936 and we did this via our friend Concepción Lozano, the widow of Gamboa (an Left Republican politician), who kindly agreed to intercede on our behalf…"[924]

The letter goes on to describe in great detail the byzantine efforts made by Bernardina and her Republican sponsor to transfer monies and valuables from *Credit Lyonais* in Bayonne (France) back into Spain. This case illustrates the strategies used by anti-Republicans to consolidate and maintain their privileged social positions. It demonstrates how women made use of their capital and networks of influence in their attempts to circumvent the law. A receipt from the Home Office dated 7 November 1937 was produced into court as evidence of Bernardina's 'reparation payments'. [925]Despite the social revolution there was continuity in certain Spanish cultural practices; wealth, nepotism and *enchufismo* continued to operate within the Republican rearguard. Although the term of imprisonment was lengthy and the financial reparations substantial, Ángeles managed to avoid a sentence of life imprisonment for a capital crime. The case also provides evidence of how the principle of equality before the law was compromised. Friends in high places were of vital importance. Influential Republicans like the anarchist Melchor Rodríguez and the Interior

[924] *Expte. no 847,* Imagen 93/122. Letter dated 5 November 1937 from Bernardina Téllez Girón (resident at Hotel Victoria, Valencia) to Julián Zugazagoitia at the Home Office.
[925] *Expte. no 847.,* Imagen 87/122

Minister Julián Zugazagoitia interceded in favour of friends and acquaintances so that they might avoid the worst rigours of the new Republican Justice. In practice, personal loyalties and obligations often cut across religious and ideological enmities. For example, In the Golfín-Corujo case (discussed in Ch. III above) Zugazagoitia became personally involved on behalf of one of the defendants to whom he wrote:

" I assume that, given your antecedents and the present circumstances of your case, the tribunal which will hear your case will ensure that justice is done by absolving you; but what I need to tell you is that the matter that you are implicated in has passed up to the Tribunal [Special Military Tribunal] whose intention is to expedite this matter with maximum speed. Luckily, it appears that you won't be spending much more time in prison, as I believe that the Tribunal will transfer your case here [to Valencia] and issue a speedy deliberation, whereupon your situation will be clarified…."[926]

1.2. Bars, Cafés and Food Queues

During the war 'the female *Mata Hari* was not a strange or exotic concept' in the social imaginary.[927] The published exploits of the notorious French spy and *femme fatale* Marthe Richard who operated in Spain during World War I (between June 1916 and December 1917) may also have retained some currency.[928] Negative gender stereotypes of the 'female spy' fell under two main categories: the dangerous seductress and the vacuous and

[926] *Sumario no 4/1937,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1539, Exp. 1. Imagen 983/1134. Letter dated 25 July 1937 from Julián Zugazagoitia (on Home Office letterhead) to Emilio Fernández Peña.
[927] Rodríguez López, Sofía (2008) *Quintacolumnistas, Las mujeres del 36 en la clandestinidad almeriense* (Almeria: IAE), p.58.
[928] In 1932 Commander G. Ladoux published a non-fictional work entitled "*Marthe Richard, Espionne au Service de La France"* (Paris: Librarie Champs Elysees) which was subsequently translated into Spanish. This former director of the French Intelligence Services between August 1914-October 1917 also published an earlier work under the same imprint entitled "*Le Chasseur d'Espions (Comment J'ai fait arreter Mata Hari)".*

indiscrete right-wing chatter-box. According to Josep Bertrán i Musitu attractive and immoral women made the most effective spies, although female agents were generally less intelligent or reliable and needed to be carefully handled. [929]The English journalist Geoffrey Cox decribed a French 'spy' who was arrested outside a bar as a 'drunk and dangerously loquacious little blond.'[930]

Intimate extra-marital relationships with military personnel flouted prevailing patriarchal gender norms surrounding female chastity and modest comportment. Demi-mondaines, actresses and prostitutes were *prima facie* objects of suspicion and discrimination. In particular, the authorities believed that the fifth columnists paid prostitutes to obtain information from their military clients. There was an assumption that 'immoral' women might easily be suborned by fifth column elements as spies and disseminators of defeatist information and 'anti-fascist' propaganda was circulated to this effect. Such women moved freely and 'shamelessly' within (male) public spaces like bars and cafés. These women's relationships with officers and soldiers were believed to be wholly transactional in nature and based on the mutual exchange of money or gifts for sexual services. In addition, the perceived threat to 'the integrity and the physical and moral health' of the military posed by anti-Republican women cut across class boundaries. Working class, middle class and upper-class women might all be potential *mata haris*.

[929] Bertrán i Musitu, Josep (1940) *Experiencias de los Servicios de Información del Nordeste de España (SIFNE) durante la guerra* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe) p. 115.
[930] Cox, Geoffrey (1937) *Defence of Madrid, An Eyewitness Account from the Spanish Civil War* (Dunedin NZ: Otago), p. 156. There were very few 'real' French spies in Madrid and if they had been so indiscrete their names may have appeared more frequently in the legal record.

The outcomes of the case of Balbina (where no good character vouchsafes had been volunteered) may be contrasted with those of the 'ex-Marquise of Valparaiso' Enriqueta Mariateguí Rollán who had money, social status and influence. [931] Following a surveillance operation which was conducted by three Comisaria Buenavista police officers who were also attached to the 'Censor Office' (Oficina Gabinete de Censura), Mariateguí was arrested for 'suspected espionage.' A surveillance detail reported that she had:

"left her house at 18.00 hours on July 1937 heading towards the Retiro Park and on Claudio Coello where she met up with an acquaintance who is an aviator and whose name she only remembered as Manolo, he was accompanied by another gentleman who followed them from a distance until they reached Teatro Barral where they all surveyed their surroundings…then they surveyed the surroundings at another junction….and afterwards they joined a queue which ended at Calle Goya and Claudio Coello. She made a plan to meet Manolo on the following day at 7 pm in the foyer of Cine Carretas [but] Manolo agreed they should meet at the Principe Vergara Café on the corner of Calle Goya, when he didn't show up she wandered around until she arrived at the corner of Torrijos, where she met a young man named Joaquín, whom she had been introduced to by a man who she met in Molineros [café], and Joaquín bought her a bottle of champagne, or sparkling wine, and they went off to Café Pelayo but the waiter took some time to serve them so they moved off to the Moka, where they remained until closing time, after which they said good bye and agreed to meet again on the following day."[932]

The defendant's behaviour was highly suspicious, not least because of its impropriety and failure to conform to the prescribed traditional gender norms and expectations. She was seen drinking alcohol in bars and cafés in the company of soldiers until the early hours. After her arrest on 27 July 1937 she admitted to having been arrested on three previous

[931] *Causa 1615 instruida contra Enriqueta Mariateguí Rollán por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,198, Exp. 14. Imágenes 1/52

[932] *Causa 1615,* Imágenes 16-17/52. Police Report by Agents José Lage, Manuel Alfageme and Blas Araque dated 24 July 1937.

occasions. The first time was at home in 1936 following an anonymous denunciation, but she and other family members were released after the intercession of a Republican friend, agent Antonio Mazas, who worked with the University District police. Mariateguí was again arrested in April 1937 by the (Rearguad Vigilance Militias) MVR Third Group situated in Paseo del Cisne, 15 after being denounced as a spy, but she was immediately released following the intervention of the duty inspector, Jorge Enriques, who provided her with a good character reference.

"When asked why all her acquaintances were military men, she said it was a pure coincidence and nothing more. When asked if she ever saw the Inspector of the Third Group of the MVR (Jorge Enriquez) she replied yes, she had gone to see him at his home several times, and said Inspector suggested that she should repay him for her release and for the good character reference by demanding [sic] sexual relations. When asked if Mazas had suggested something similar, she said that Mazas had accompanied her sister to their house, performed a thorough search of the premises (*levantar los precintos*)…and afterwards they sacked the cook because Mazas denounced her as the anonymous informant. If Mazas had made any inappropriate overtures, then her sister might provide evidence in this regard…."[933]

Mariateguí was imprisoned in Ventas on 27 July 1937 pending trial in the Special Court of Military Rebellion (*Juzgado Especial de la Rebelión Militar*) on charges of 'suspected espionage.' Her husband was a noble-man named Alfonso Barrosso Villanova[934] who was also a lawyer and an artillery captain. He had taken early retirement pursuant to the 'Azaña laws.' He was arrested as a 'notorious *desafecto'* on 20 July 1936 while holidaying with the

[933] *Causa 1615,* 17/52.
[934] The oldest son of Baron de Pallaruelo who entered the Cavalry Academy on 16 November 1922, See *Ecos Diversos, ABC (Madrid)* dated 16 November 1922 p. 12.

family in Torrelodones.[935] He was the victim of *saca* from the Model Prison on either 6,7 or 8 November 1936 ("*detenido y desaparecido"*).[936] According to the General Commissary of Investigation he was "evacuated from the Model Prison to Chinchilla in November [1936] and his whereabouts have been unknown since this date."[937] Mariateguí claimed that 'he had disappeared and she had heard nothing more from him.'[938] The family were all *desafectos.* Mariateguí, aged 37 years lived with her sister and her mother in the wealthy Calle Claudio Coello, 38. When Universidad district officers searched her premises, under the direction of Antonio Mazas, "Monarchist flags and tendentious monarchist propaganda were discovered and our loyal agent [Mazas] referred the evidence to the *Comisaria de Investigación Publica* (CPIP) in Calle Fomento*,* but [despite this incriminating evidence] the women were released." [939] Mariateguí claimed that her brother in law had moved to Palma, Mallorca a fews days before the 18 July coup ("Movement") where he was looking after his mother's estate and they had not heard from him since. There was no evidence that he was in communication with Mariateguí.

The prosecution alleged that Mariateguí frequented the bars and cafés of central Madrid in order to meet with soldiers and to obtain military intelligence for the fifth column. However, no concrete evidence of espionage was ever submitted. Both Mazas and Enriques were called to give potentially self-incriminating evidence at trial but failed to appear before

[935] *Causa 1615,* 47/52. Letter of the *Comisaria General de Investigación y Vigilancia, Madrid* dated 31 August 1937.
[936] *Causa 1615,* 16/52.
[937] *Causa 1615,* 47/52.
[938] *Expte. 494 instruido contra Enriqueta Mariateguí Rollán por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,116, Exp. 18, Imágenes 8/32. Witness interrogation report of Enriqueta Mariateguí dated 11 August 1937.
[939] *Causa 1615,* Imagen 41/52.

the special military tribunal and were never *sub poenaed* to do so. Mariateguí defended her reputation and claimed that she had no control over the subject of her conversations with her military acquaintances:

"in order to forget her recent sufferings, she decided to frequent the bars and cafés of central Madrid, and she acquiesced in whatever conversation was on offer but she never went beyond the limits of polite conversation …her father was a diplomat who had died a long time ago."[940]

The evidence of the Buenavista police officers, together with the earlier arrests and her meetings with military officers, was very incriminating. However, Mariateguí used back channels with the CPIP in Calle Fomento and had the means to access effective legal advice (her husband had been a military lawyer). The 'forensic opinions' of both medical experts was promptly accepted by the tribunal. On 9 September 1937, the Presidents of the Military tribunal (Denla Concha and García Huerta) found that:

"the Defendant has not committed any act which might be considered criminal or hostile or disaffected towards the regime, because there is evidence that, in fact, the case relates to a woman who is highly (*notoriamente*) attracted to the opposite sex in an undisguised way (*que no sabe disimular*) …certainly, upon the evidence of medical experts, the case relates to A PERSON WHO SHOWS SIGNS OF A HYSTERICAL PERSONALITY WITH AN UNDERLYING EROTIC PREDISPOSITION TOGETHER WITH THE RELEVANT RELATED DISORDERS (*TRASTORNOS*) WHICH ARE DERIVED FROM SAID PERSONALITY TYPE, even the General Commissariat of Investigation and Vigilance of Madrid has reported that she is MENTALLY ILL AND THAT THIS MOTIVATED HER EXTRAVAGANT ACTIONS AND LED TO HER BEING SUSPECTED OF ESPIONAGE [sic upper case]…the trial should be BE DISMISSED WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT, the records archived and the Defendant released with immediate effect."[941]

[940] *Expte. 494,* Imagen 8/32.
[941] *Causa 1615 instruida contra Enriqueta Mariateguí Rollán por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,198, Exp. 14. Imágenes 8/52. *Auto* dated 9 September 1937.

Mariateguí's personal connections, her financial resources and her 'erotic capital' may have enabled her to pull the right strings (*enchufismo*). Her in-laws had appeared in the pre-war high society pages of *Ecos Diversos* and her father was a diplomat. Useful Republican friends and contacts at all levels permitted her to skilfully navigate the disciplinary regimes of the police and the judiciary. She had successfully avoided the consequences of two earlier denunciations (with the aid of insiders in the police, the CPIP and the MVR) and the current charges of espionage and disaffection were also summarily dismissed.[942] It is unclear whether Mariateguí was a fifth column spy. Certainly, she had the motive to be one for she was a monarchist whose husband had been murdered in a *saca.* The case illustrates the arbitrariness of the Republican popular justice and the importance of 'friends in high places,' back channels and financial resources.

1.4 Brothels

In February 1937 Dolores Ibárruri observed that fifth column was composed of 'card sharps, thieves and prostitutes' who polluted Madrid's bars and cafés with 'careless and imprudent comments that were subsequently disseminated by hidden enemies.'[943] The government was concerned with the negative impact of 'immoral' anti-Republican women and their defeatist attitudes on army morale. Such women also transgressed traditional standards of acceptable female comportment and behaviour and the 'proscriptions against the profane and sacriligious exchange of sex for financial reward.'[944]

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[942] *Expte. 494 instruido contra Enriqueta Mariateguí Rollán por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,116, Exp. 18, Imágenes 1-32.
[943] "'Pasionaria' aboga por la limpieza de la retaguardia, la depuración de los mandos y la movilización general" ABC (Madrid), 20 February 1937, p.
[944] Bourdieu (2007), *Masculine Domination,* p.16 and pp 100-1.

In particular sex workers raised governmental concerns relating to the moral and physical health of the military at the fronts and in the rearguard. The spread of venereal disease among the troops had been a live and pressing issue since Summer 1936. The authorities believed that brothel owners and prostitutes were secretly 'sympathetic to the fascist cause' and posed a security risk. It was believed that before the war their most important and wealthy clients had often been middle-class and conservative men. Despite the progressive and gender egalitarian platform of the anarchists in government, there is nothing to suggest in the records examined here that the anarchists held substantively different views regarding this perceived security issue. The popular press fuelled the flames of this particular paranoia.[945] *Milicianos* were warned against the perils of 'bedroom confidences':

"In the bed chambers where love is sold the statue of San José which usually resides above the bedhead should be replaced with a red figure whose index figure is pressed to its lips demanding silence…" [946]

These opinions were also shared by the popular tribunals. In March 1937, the prosecution lawyers who acted on behalf of the *Ministerio Publico* argued that:

[945] See for example, Leoncio Pérez, "La prostitución el arma principal de la quinta columna," in *Claridad* dated 4 March 1937 at pp. 4-5. See also ABC (Madrid) dated 2 August 1936, and also *ABC (Madrid)* dated 31 July 1936 and *Claridad* dated 31 October 1936.
[946] Ovidio Gónzalez Díaz (1938) *Guerra Civil en Asturias: Nuestros enemigos entre nosotros. (Vida, critica y exterminio de una quinta columna)* (Barcelona: Antifascistas) at p. 6. Cited in Gemma Mana, Rafael García, Luis Monferrer and Luis A. Esteve (eds.) (1997) *La Voz de los Naufragos, La Narrativa Republicana entre 1936 y 1939* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre) at p. 100.

"…houses of prostitution are centres of espionage, [and] hiding places for fascists which cause moral and material harm to our combatants, a request should be made for the public authorities to close them down…it is also evident that publicly appointed police agents are also conducting [intimate] relationships with brothel ladies (*las damas de las casas de prostitución.)…*and this also poses a grave and evident danger…"[947]

Carmen Montes Cachero (aged 34 years) worked as a brothel-keeper in Calle de Silva, no. 7 in the Hospicio district. The Defendant was arrested by agents of the Comisaria Hospicio on 20 March 1937 and accused of being "a woman who had taken steps to acquire a pistol and hand grenades in order to use these…for terrorist purposes…"[948] The defendant was in a long-term relationship with a Falangist civil guard named Francisco González López who lost his job during the professional purges and later imprisoned for disaffection at some time in 1936. González 'disappeared' from prison and the defendant had no further contact with him. She believed that he was the victim of a *saca*. Between 4-6 May 1937 the defendant was found in possession of a military-issue hand grenade following the denunciation of her female employer (the brothel owner). Montes had threatened to blow up the brothel after a heated argument with her employer who had berated Montes for disclosing the whereabouts of her teenage son who was a Falangist draft-dodger. The police searched Montes' premises and a live hand grenade was discovered in her bedroom wardrobe in Calle Imperial. She obtained the grenade from a conscript named Augusto Núñez Ramírez who was attached to the Mangada Battalion and who was a regular client. This represented a serious security breach, especially as Montes had received instructions on the use of

[947] *Expte. 296 contra Augusto Núñez Ramírez y Carmen Montes Cachero por delito/s de tenencia ilicita de explosivos,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 36, Exp 45 and Expte. no. 70 instruido contra Carmen Montes Cachero por el delito/s de Tenencia Ilicita de explosivos, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 167, Exp. 32. Imagen 54/89. Excerpt from Sentence of the military *Tribunal de Guardia, no. 3* dated 13 May 1937.
[948] *Expte. 296,* 3/89.

grenade. Núñez unconvincingly claimed that he had only given the grenade to Montes for 'safe-keeping because his 'escort was afraid of the grenade and would not have it in her room.' Most probably Montes paid for the grenade. The gravity of this case meant that it was immediately referred from the popular courts (*Jurados de Urgencia*) to the military courts on 20 March 1937.

Aggravating circumstances also included the fact that two 'publicly appointed police men' were involved in 'intimate relationships' with the brothel owner and Montes. This was also perceived as a serious public security risk as brothel keepers and their workers were routinely suspected of collaboration with the fifth column. The Home Office prosecutors alleged that Montes acquired the bomb in order to use it in a terrorist attack against the *Hospicio* police station in revenge for the disappearance of her Falangist civil guard lover. The case was expedited. Although the Home Office sought a sentence of life imprisonment, on 13 May 1938 the defendant was sentenced to 12 years 'hard labour' and transferred from Ventas to Alacuas labour camp (popularly known as the *Carcel de Damas*) 'for good behaviour.' Alacuas was established in a former convent; "a beautiful building surrounded by a leafy park."[949] This was an extraordinary destination for a brothel keeper and indicates that Montes may have had some contact with influential fifth columnists.

Republican soldiers who were billeted in the capital were relatively well paid and provisioned in comparison with the rest of the civilian population. 'Loose-women' who deliberately sought the company of soldiers in barracks, bars and cafés were viewed with

[949] Queipo de Llano, Rosario (1939) *De La Cheka de Atadell a la Prision de Alacuas* (Valladolid: Santaren),

suspicion and resentment. In May 1937, a 'taxi girl'[950] at the *Shanghai Dance Academy,* was arrested for 'espionage and for taking advantage of her intimate relationships with various military personnel'. This unmarried variety club dancer (aged 20) had a baby daughter who was looked after by a nanny while she was at work and this fact was viewed dimly by her neighbours and the tribunal. Her 'habits' were deemed to be 'irregular and predominantly nocturnal.'

The defendant lived in rented accommodation in Calle Montera, 44. She was denounced by two Assault guards (Antonio Martínez and Ángel Jiménez) who lived on the landing above. She claimed that these men had denounced her merely because they had each made unwanted sexual advances which she had rejected. She had also quarrelled with her former landlords over an outstanding rental arrears of between 800-1,000 pesetas and her former landlady accused her of military espionage and defeatism. It was alleged that she had drawn detailed sketches of aeorodromes, artillery emplacements and fortifications from intelligence provided by her lovers and she repeatedly:

"boasted about her opposition to the Republican cause, attacked Republican institutions and authorities and asserted that if the fascists triumphed everyone would be better off." [951]

One of her lovers was a fighter-pilot named Lt. Augusto Lecha Villasuso who was variously posted in Getafe, Madrid, Bararán, Álcala de Henares, Teruel and Barcelona. The other was a 'military doctor' named Antonio Gallo whom she met on a daily basis. Gallo raised

[950] A girl or woman employed by a dance hall to dance with patrons for a fee.
[951] *Expte. 24 instruido contra María Higinia Miralles Conte por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,10, Exp.17, Imagen 8/175. The case was commenced under her false in an earlier *Expte. 1336 contra María Ángeles por el delito/s de Espionaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,50, Exp. 36.

suspicions because he was untraceable and had been unable to join the CNT and the medical unions for the lack of 'good-character vouchsafes.' Her close association with military men meant that she may have been privy to sensitive military intelligence and she also enjoyed access to luxury items and rationed goods during a time of scarcity. Her rent was paid by Lecha.

The Defendant was accused of drawing sketches of secret military and artillery positions and of relaying this information to the Nationalists. The nanny claimed that she had never seen any drawings and a search of the defendant's premises revealed nothing incriminating. Nonetheless, the case was transferred to the courts of High Treason and Espionage in Valencia in summer 1938 and then on to Barcelona in January 1939. However, the key male witnesses (cited above) never provided evidence in court because. Lecha ruthlessly swore an affidavit to the effect that he had 'never divulged any sensitive intelligence and his relationship with the defendant was purely physical and arose from the male urge to obtain carnal access to any woman …'[952] The case rumbled on until March 1939 when it was overtaken by events involving the Nationalist occupation. It is uncertain whether this woman was a spy, no convincing evidence was produced during the Madrid trial but her bail was posted at the punitive sum of 25,000 pesetas and she remained in prison with no one to vouch for her good character until March 1939. Her outcomes are unknown.

[952] *Expte. 24,* Declaration of Augusto Lecha Villasuso dated 29 January 1938. Imagen 147/175.

1.5. Spies within the government, police and judiciary

The case of the socialite Sara Giralt Gómez illustrates how well-connected anti-Republican women used back-channels within the Republican administration in their efforts to navigate a highly conflictive social field.[953] Such women were influencers who could invoke the aid of informal Republican power networks. Giralt's experiences also provide a partial insight into the complex web of personal and political rivalries within Madrid's judiciary. The fifth column was imbricated within the fabric of Republican civil society.

By 1938 the damaging effects of influential fifth column women on Republican Justice was circulated in the popular press:

"various sectors of public opinion and the Madrid press have insinuated in several articles and opinion leaders that there are a group of women who have sufficient influence among the relevant authorities to commence criminal proceedings and imprison people… [954]

Giralt was an upper middle-class socialite who had claimed diplomatic immunity as a Cuban national (her parents were Cuban). She was known among her glamorous social circle as "Baby."[955] She was aged 27 years and lived in Calle Goya, 83 together with her mother,

[953] *Expte. 20 contra Sara Giralt Gómez por el delito/s de Espionaje* AHN, FC-CAUSA-GENERAL, 151, Exp. 16. Imágenes 1/122.
[954] *Expte. 20,* Imagen 66/122. Declaration of Luis Zubillaga Olalde, President of the Regional Court of Madrid dated 28 July 1938.
[955] See "De sociedad. Ecos Diversos," *ABC (Madrid),* 16 February 1932, at p. 44. Cited in Campanario, Juan Miguel "*La aventura política de Albino Lasso Conde, un ingeniero de caminos que fue diputado del Frente Popular y acabó siendo condecorado por Franco,* Paper

father and brother. The family members were accused of being "fascists who frequently hosted celebratory gatherings and small meetings, and…assisted the Panamanian embassy in its crimes of disaffection."[956] Her apartment was situated above the Panamanian Legation but did not form part of it.

In summer 1938 Giralt and her sister, María Teresa, became embroiled in a very public power struggle between two senior officials in Madrid's Regional High Court. The feuding notables were the socialist President of the Regional High Court, Luis Zubillaga Olalde (a former local politician) and the communist Chief Prosecutor, Feliciano López y López de Uribe (former Dean of the College of Lawyers). Zubillaga was a close friend of both the defence attorney Rogelio Rufilanchas Periquet and his secretary (and lover) María Teresa (who also happened to be Sara's sister). Meanwhile, the Chief Prosecutor was 'a close friend' of Sara who, in turn, was 'a close friend' of Madrid's Chief of Police, Commissar Teodoro Illera Martín.'[957]

Sara Giralt was arrested on charges of espionage during one of her frequent visits to the Regional High Court in late June 1938. She moved with ease and confidence in the court space and aroused the keen irritation of court officials who resented the presence of anti-Republican women in the High Court:

"it was ordered that the Sub Commissar of the Chamberí Police Station, Sr. Bermejo, would provide his services in order to search every person entering the building and, above all women…so imagine my shock and surprise when…I caught sight of a young lady, who is a well-known for her fascist activism and who visits the Palace of Justice with excessive frequency, rapidly mounting the stairs

given at the XI Congreso de Historia Contemporánea, Granada (September 2012), last accessed on 8 May 2017 at http://www 3.uah.es/jmc/lasso7ago12.pdf

[956] *Expte. 20,* Imagen 18/122. Prosecution summary.

[957] *Expte. 20,* Witness statement of Rogelio Periquet, Imagen /122

from the lower-ground floor in an arrogant and flagrant manner (*aire jaque y destocado[sic]*) without the least hindrance or impediment from anyone….I immediately called for Sr. Bermejo…"[958]

New police security measures had recently been implemented in order to address the problem of the fifth column in the courts. New regulations meant that everyone, including the wives of lawyers, barristers and court personnel, was subject to routine body searches. On the day of her arrest Giralt had sought the urgent aid of the Chief Prosecutor López de Uribe. Her sister María Teresa, on the good authority of General Miaja's wife, had warned her that President Zubillaga was planning to arrest her in a tit-for-tat reprisal. Zubillaga was angry that his dear friends Rufilanchas together with his personnel secretary (and lover) María Teresa had been arrested on 22 June at the behest of the Chief Prosecutor for coaching witnesses in the *Los 195* case. One of the defendants, Manuel Villafranca (who was later executed), gave evidence, on Rufilanchas' advice, that he had been tortured while in SIM custody. He also accused the trial prosecutor Peinador Porrua of being in league with the Republican SIM. Meanwhile, María Teresa was arrested for disaffection for losing her temper and shouting out *¡Arriba España!* during a prison visit to Rufilanchas who by this time had been imprisoned in Porlier. In light of these arrests, President Zubillaga decided to arrest Sara in an effort to obtain the release of his friends in a prisoner exchange. We should recall that Sara was intimate with the Chief Prosecutor. However, the Chief Prosecutor held firm with is prosecution of Rufilanchas and the exchange never materialised. Sara's case went on to trial, to the acute embarrassment of the government and the court officials.

[958] *Expte. 20,* Statement of Don Nicolás Cortés García, Secretary of the Court, dated 30 June 1938, imagen 36/122.

There was plenty of circumstantial evidence against Sara. In the months leading up to the coup she had entertained the leader of Renovación Española Antonio Goicoechea at her home. She claimed that Goicoechea was merely 'a distant relative' rather than a co-conspirator.[959] In addition, her husband was an Italian national and an artillery captain named José Corsino who promptly sought asylum at the Panamanian embassy after 18 July "in order to avoid military service…given that his loyalties were completely fascist."[960] He was later arrested for disaffection and Sara used her connections with the Chief Police Commissioner and the then Deacon of the College of Lawyers, Feliciano López y López de Uribe, in order to secure her husband's release in November 1936. In mid–December 1936 Sara also obtained the release of her brother-in-law, Carlos Corsini, once again with the aid of López de Uribe and the permission of the Special Delegate of Prisons Melchor Rodríguez García.[961] Finally, Sara obtained the release of José Bielza (her husband's brother-in-law) in the Autumn of 1936, however, Bielza was subsequently arrested by the SIM whilst attempting to board a plane in Alicante. Sara had organised the flight. Bielza was found guilty of treason and executed.

[959] *Expte. no. 20,* Imagen 65/122. Declaration of Sara Giralt Gómez dated 25 July 1938.
[960] *Expte. no. 20,* Imagen 18/122
[961] *Expte. no. 20,* Imagen 57/122. Declaration of Don Melchor Rodríguez García dated 22 July 1938. The anarchist leader and Delegate of Prisons, Melchor Rodríguez was popularly known as 'the Red Angel' on account of the thousands of anti-Republican lives he saved during the war. He was appointed as Special Delegate of Prisons in December 1936 and he played an important role in preventing the prison *sacas*. Rodríguez gave evidence in July 1938 that López de Uribe had gone to visit him at his office after midnight and addressed him using the familiar diminutive "Melchete." He asked him 'in complete confidence' to 'officially endorse'the night-time release of Carlos Corsini although the release of prisoners was strictly prohibited after 6 pm in order to prevent illegal prison '*sacas.*'

After her arrest Sara sought the aid of her lover the Republican MP Albino Lasso Conde. [962] Chief Prosecutor Zubillaga declared in his witness statement that:

"Sara Giralt…constantly boasted about her influence (*se hace gala de esas influencias*) and offered her protection to whomever she pleased… in both word and deed she implied that 'we [the fifth column] are more powerful than you' with reference to the most powerful authorities in Madrid [the Regional High Court] …most recently her arrogance and imprudence have reached unprecedented levels because she has had the audacity to ask her lover, the Republican MP Albino Lasso Conde, to intercede on her behalf at the offices of the President of the Regional court [i.e. Zubillaga]…" [963]

Sara's trial became the theatre of very bitter and public power struggle between the socialist and communist factions within the high court. Both Zubillaga and López de Uribe accused each other of treason and of being 'fifth column collaborators working at the behest of high-society *desafectas*.' López de Uribe compromised the standing and authority of the Regional High Court by declaring during cross-examination that he 'was prepared to throw any judge who dared to accuse him of abetting the fifth column out of the window.' The dispute between the President and the Chief prosecutor came to the attention of the Ministry of Justice and was referred to the Supreme Tribunal (No. 2) in Barcelona on 7

[962] In 1936 Albino Lasso Conde was elected as the Left Republican MP for Cuenca. The outbreak of the war found him on holiday in San Sebastián where joined with the civil governor's forces in their efforts to quash the Rebellion. In July 1938 Lasso Conde continued as a Republican MP but was also a commander in the Engineers Régiment, See *Expte. no. 20,* Imagen 18/122. See also the conference paper by Campanario, Juan Miguel "*La aventura política de Albino Lasso Conde, un ingeniero de caminos que fue diputado del Frente Popular y acabo siendo condecorado por Franco"* given at the XI Congreso de Historia Contemporanea, Granada dated September 2012, last accessed on 8 May 2017 at http://www 3.uah.es/jmc/lasso7ago12.pdf.

[963] *Expte. no. 20,* Declaration of Luis Zubillaga Olalde, President of the Regional Court of Madrid dated 28 July 1933, Imagen 66/122.

September 1938.[964] The ensuing public furore and brought Republican Justice into disrepute and it prompted a special investigation of the Supreme Tribunal.[965] Zubillaga and López de Uribe were suspended from their posts on 10 September 1938.[966]

Although there was no concrete evidence that Sara Giralt had passed intelligence to the Nationalists, her husband José Corsino had escaped into the Nationalist zone in 1936 and she was in regular contact with him. Sara used her influence within the police and the judiciary in her attempts to pervert the course of justice and obtain the release of her sister. Sara was released under house arrest upon the intercession Albino Lasso Conde who was a political ally of López de Uribe. Lasso Conde gave the court a personal guarantee that Sara, who was imprisoned in Ventas pending trial, would not abscond and would duly appear before the Supreme Court in Barcelona. The court granted her special consideration and leave to transfer from prison to house arrest at Lasso Conde's home in Madrid during the Summer of 1938. During the proceedings Lasso Conde obtained a travel visa for Sara and arranged for her and her family to escape to France via Barcelona. However, Sara was intercepted in Alicante by the SIM on 16 September 1938 (together with her parents, her

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[964] *Causa no.8/1938 contra Sara Giralt y otros por Espionaje y Desafección al Régimen*, AHN, FC_TRIBUNAL_SUPREMO_RECURSOS, 150, Exp. 8, Imagen 2/31.

[965] *Sumario no. 8/1938 instruido por el Juzgado Especial del Tribunal Supremo contra Luis Zubillaga Olalde y Feliciano López López de Uribe, presidente y fiscal respectivamente de la Audiencia de Madrid, el diputado a Cortes Albino Lasso Conde y Teodoro Illera Martín, Comisario de Seguridad por su participacion y declaraciones en los hechos que se atribuyen a Sara Giralt ó en otra Causa instruido contra ella por delito/s de espionaje y desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC_TRIBUNAL_SUPREMO_RESERVADO, Exp.8.

[966] Source: "Orden declarando en situacion de disponible gubernativo al Presidente de la Auciencia territorial de Madrid, don Luis Zubillaga y Olalde," *Gaceta de la Republica: Diario Official, num. 253,* 10 September 1938, p. 1172 and *"Orden declarando en situacion de disponible gubernativo a don Feliciano López y López de Uribe, Fiscal Jefe de la Audiencia de Madrid," Gaceta de la Republica: Diario Official num*. 253, 10 September 1938, p. 1172. Also cited in Campanario, Juan Miguel "*La aventura política de Albino Lasso Conde,* last accessed on 8 May 2017 at http://www 3.uah.es/jmc/lasso7ago12.pdf

brother and her daughter Lydia) while attempting to board an Air France Alicante-Barcelona flight. Sara falsely claimed that she was flying to Barcelona in order to give evidence in the new Supreme Tribunal case.[967] In January 1939 the Supreme Court found that, while there was no evidence that Sara was a spy, she was a dangerous disaffected element and she was exiled from Spain.[968] She emigrated to South America with Lasso Conde and her husband.

The case demonstrates how the well-connected and influential were better equipped to navigate the court system and avoid the worst sanctions. Sara's relationships with senior members of the Republican police, judiciary and administration ensured that she was granted house arrest and later exiled rather than imprisoned for treason. Her sister María Teresa and Rufilanchas were also released. However, they were once again arrested on 28 August 1938 for 'seeking refuge at Panamanian Legation' but this new case was also provisionally dismissed.[969] It appears that 'friends in high places' had a material effect on trial outcomes and fifth column women were mindful of cultivating powerful Republican networks. The fortunate and well-connected were more equal before the law at this time.

1.6. Embassy Spies

As indicated in Ch. II diplomatic corps played an important role in the provision of political asylum for anti-Republicans. There were between ten to twelve thousand asylum seekers in

[967] *Expte. 20,* Imagen 19/122. Declaration of Sara Giralt Gómez dated 22 September 1938. Lasso Conde was waiting for her at the Hotel Majestic in Barcelona.
[968] Causa no. 8/1938 contra Sara Giralt Gómez y otros por espionaje y Desafección al Régimen, AHN, FC_TRIBUNAL_SUPREMO_RECURSOS, 150, Exp. 8, Imagen 28/31.
[969] *Expte. instruido contra María Teresa Giralt, Consuelo Gómez Suelto, Santiago Martínez de la Riva, Rogelio Periquet Rufilanchas, Manuel Rogelio Ledesma Adan, por delito/s de Desafección al Régimen* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 71 Exp. 16. Imágenes 1/6.

Madrid's embassies and consulates in November 1936. By early 1937 this number was reduced to just over 6,000 asylum seekers.[970] Madrid's embassies and consulates provided safe spaces for the co-ordination and operation of the Clandestine Falange networks.[971] The networks maintained regular contact with 'a sympathetic diplomatic corps that provided it with safe houses, facilities and an assured means of radio communication with the rebels.'[972]

Joséfina Jiménez Sotillo[973]was twenty years old, single, resident at Calle Castello, 20. She was unemployed at the time of her arrest by police officers of the Centro District on 6 August 1937 but it was believed that she was a spy and a go-between for members of the Falange at the Panamanian Consulate. She was arrested Café Gran Via while meeting her lover José Ordoñez Díez (aka "Hilario") who was a member of Acción Popular. Hilario was a military academy student who was 'a subversive element prior to the outbreak of the movement.'[974] After his release from prison in March 1937, Hilario sought refuge at the Panamanian Consulate. Jiménez met this individual two or three times per week. She

[970] Source: Cervera (1998) *Madrid*, p.350.
[971] *Sumario no 81/1938 del Juzgado Especial por espionaje y otros delitos contra la seguridad exterior del estado contra Antonio Rodríguez Aguado y otros,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 1540, Exp. 1 and 1542, Exp. 1. This organisation was led by the Falangists Antonio Rodríguez Aguado and Joaquín Jiménez de Anta and its headquarters were based in the Turkish Embassy after Rodríguez Aguado sought refuge there in early 1937. See also, Cervera, Ch. 11 "*En busca de un refugio seguro*", pp. 339-374. A list of all the embassies and consulates in Madrid that were prepared to receive political asylum seekers together with the number of refugees in various diplomatic buildings is provided at pp.369-374
[972] Graham, Helen (2002), *The Spanish Republic at War* (Cambridge: CUP), p.342.
[973] Source and copyright: *Expte no 882 contra Josefina Jiménez Sotillo por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 233, Exp. 35. Imágenes 1-207, Imagen 15.
[974] *Expte no 882,* Imagen 107/207. Witness evidence of Felisa Martínez Ezcurra dated 17 August 1937. This woman was Hilario's landlady.

regularly received correspondence 'from a Panamanian subject' at a regular drop off point in the Calle de Goya metro station. The surveillance detail indicated that she would quickly read the correspondence and then immediately destroyed it. A young boy of 12 years had regularly brought letters from Hilario to her lodgings[975] but this method of communication ceased after the boy was knocked down by a car. A key aspect of the incriminating evidence against Josefina was that she regularly met with 'soldiers of various categories and grades' which led the police to believe that she was a liaison agent ('*enlace en la calle'*) for various elements who have sought asylum at the Panamanian Consulate.[976]

Josefina "had no father and her entire family consisted of a mother and a very young brother who were evacuated to Albacete and she had no visible means of support except those which she managed to obtain on her own account."[977] She had also been arrested in the Café Jauja at an earlier date, on 8 February 1937, together with Hilario and 3 others by the Hospicio district police because they were 'not carrying the necessary documentation as proof of their living circumstances.' According to the Control de Nominas, Josefina had been a propagandist for Acción Popular prior to the war and she had also paid a 5 pesetas membership subscription.[978] This reflected both her political and social aspirations. While the Falange's pre-war discourses attracted lower middle-class women, membership within

[975] *Expte no 882,* Imagen 111/207. Witness evidence of Africa Labarge Viese dated 17 August 1937.
[976] *Causa no 1602 instruida contra Josefina Jiménez Sotillo por el delito/s de Adhesión y auxilio a la Rebelión,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 173, Exp. 54.
Imagen 5/23
[977] *Expte no 882 contra Josefina Jiménez Sotillo por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 233, Exp. 35. Imagen 187/207. Plee in mitigation after sentence dated 11 November 1937.
[978] *Expte no 882,* Imagen 121/207.

Acción Popular tended to attract members of the 'local upper middle-classes.'[979] After her release from prison on 11 February 1937 Josefina was evacuated to Alicante where she spent some 15 days. She then spent another 15 days in Valencia where, with the intercession of a Jefe de la Comandancia de Valencia, she acquired a military safe-conduct pass for Madrid to which she returned on or around 15 March 1937.'[980]

Thereafter, Josefina lived an 'irregular life' moving from a succession of guest houses and lodgings. One of her former landladies accused her of being a prostitute.[981]It was also shown that she received regular financial support from a man named Martínez.[982] Carlos Martínez Soriano was a 'tall, white haired gentlemen of a certain age.'[983] He was also a civil servant who worked at the Home Office in Valencia. Martínez provided Josefina with financial support and supplied her with a character reference (*aval*) from the Valencia tax offices, the "*Consejo de Dirección del Ministerio de Hacienda, Secretaria Especial de la Inspección de los Tributos,"* together with the contact details and telephone numbers of various military and police personnel who could 'protect her' – these were Manuel Tarrazo and Juan Santamaría, police inspectors with the Hospicio District police, a man named Pedro Alarcón and an agent with the Criminal Investigation Brigade who were introduced to the defendant by Soriano who accompanied Josefina on her return journey to Madrid.[984]

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[979] Blasco Herranz, Inmaculada, (1997) *Armas femeninas par la contrarevolucion: La Sección Femenina en Aragon (1936-50),* (Malaga: IAM), p. 75,
[980] *Expte no 882,* Imagen 103/207.
[981] During the trial for disaffection *Expte. 882* (see above) evidence was also submitted into court that she regularly attended a venereal disease clinic.
[982] *Causa no. 1602,* Imagen 11/23.
[983] *Expte no 882,* Imagen 109/207. Soriano arranged the accommodation for Jiménez upon her return to Madrid.
[984] *Expte no 882,* Imagen 101/207. These men gave evidence (in their own defence) that they only knew Jiménez in her capacity as the girlfriend of Soriano: Imágenes 130-135.

In March 1937, Josefina joined the International Red Cross (IRC), Western Division as a propaganda co-ordinator. The division was led by Carlos Cuesta. The IRC liaison agent was Enrique Gutiérrez (who was attached to the IRC's Pérez Carballo Group) and regular meetings took place in *Bar Molí.* Josefina was promptly dismissed for dereliction of duties by Eduardo Dato but continued to make use of her IRC membership card. Her defence argued that the defendant had sought to 'redeem her irregular life by marrying [José Ordoñez]' and that the letters received from him were purely personal. A former landlady, África Llaberga Llesca, testified that:

"[She] had only known Josefina for two months, after which she let go of her room, for reasons unknown: She never received any men and, given her shy nature, she had never heard her say anything against the government…she didn't have a great amount of money and, according to the witness, she was fairly ill-educated (*su cultura es bastante deficiente)* and she hardly knows how to write."[985]

Nonetheless, she was literate enough to make a careful note of her weekly expenses which were paid by Soriano and which included sums paid for 'lipsticks, pedicures, sweets, *turrón* and bonbons …' Another witness gave evidence that Josefina had been her lodger for only 15-20 days and that during this time she only saw the defendant with a young man [Eduardo Dato] who was wearing an IRC arm band. The witness also gave evidence that she had asked Josefina to vacate her room because of 'the payment situation'. The defence argued that her 'deficient education' rendered her incapable of 'aiding rebellion.' Meanwhile, the prosecution requested that she be sentenced to 12 years in a labour camp

[985] *Causa 1602,* Imagen *12/23.*

on the basis that 'she was a spy and that had the correspondence from the Panamanian consulate been purely personal it would have been sent via the normal postal services and there would have been no need to destroy it.' The case was transferred from the military tribunal to the Jurados de Urgencia on charges of disaffection where the prosecution submitted photographic evidence which indicated that she 'had frequented bars and cafés together with a French national named Marcela.'[986] The women met with military men like the American brigader Alfredo Rippz at various locations in the capital including the New York Hotel. Josefina only 'used her lodgings for sleep, she always ate away from home and spent the whole day out and about.'[987]

The presiding judge of the Jurado de Urgencia no. 7 was Ricardo Guerra Blanco. He was tried for High Treason in 1938 for aiding Félix Schlayer to organise asylum and escape-lines. The Treason charges against Josefina were dropped and on 11 November 1937 she was found guilty of disaffection "for conducting a relationship with an individual who is refuged at an embassy and is a member of Acción Popular, for whom she acts as a liaison agent (*enlace*)."[988] She was sentenced to one year and one day hard labour at Muchamiel (Alicante) labour camp. She was released on 11 November 1938. This case is illustrative of the security fears surrounding 'immoral women.' Jiménez lacked family, money and education. Nontheless, she was self-directed and exercised political and personal agency. Despite her socially disadvantaged background, she became a propagandist for Acción Popular, she chose to return to Madrid within weeks of her arrest and evacuation in

[986] *Expte no 882 contra Josefina Jiménez Sotillo por el delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 233, Exp. 35. Imagen 100/207.
[987] *Expte no 882,* Imagen 109/207. Witness evidence of land-lady Esperanza Villa Toca dated 17 August 1937.
[988] *Expte. 882,* Imagen 181/207.

February 1937. Using a variety of strategies including guile, initiative and seduction, she managed to obtain valid documentation and financial support from Soriano in order to fund her prompt return to the capital.

2. Presumed Spies

Certain sectors of female Spanish society attracted more suspicion than others. Among the most suspect were the relatives of soldiers at the fronts (especially if the family was known to have right wing sympathies), devout Catholics, nuns, nurses who worked in the military or prison hospitals and those who had relatives in the Nationalist zone or who were associated with members of the Falange. Finally, those who did not conform, for whatever reason, to conventional standards of dress, comportment or behaviour also attracted suspicion.

2.1. The relatives of conscripts and officers.

Intimate relations between soldiers and female civilians constituted a potential security threat. Written communications between soldiers and civilians were subject to censorship. In April 1938 the conscript Cervero Bosch was posted to an observation position with the 108th Mixed Brigade. He sent his girlfriend a copy of an army publication entitled "*The Voice of The Trenches.*" Inserted between the pages were pencil sketches of buildings and locations that had been the subject of artillery bombardments and, therefore, constituted weak and undefended zones close to the front-lines. There were also various maps and plans setting out the position of material and troops. The censors alerted the SIM and both Cervero and his girlfriend fell under surveillance for several weeks. The SIM alleged that:

"the sole and exclusive objective [of the sketches] was to provide vital information in relation to the geographical location and position of military targets like cables, trenches, batteries, reference point buildings, territorial boundaries, all information that was essential to the successful identification of potential targets for enemy air-strikes."[989]

It was feared that his girlfriend Ana Arce Folgara was a spy who was passing this military intelligence on to the fifth column. The defence claimed that the plans merely related to designs and drawings of the couple's future marital farm-house. In January 1939, the courts were still deliberating as to whether 'the plans and sketches detailed in the prosecution documents related to important information regarding the [Republican fronts] which may have fallen into the possession of the enemy.'[990] The case never came to trial because of the Nationalist occupation of Madrid in on 28 March 1939.

2.2. Devout Catholics ('*Beatas*')

During the 1920's the social Catholic movement provided women with new opportunities for agency in the public space through lay confessional groups like Acción Católica. The Catholic church supported the social and political mobilisation of women as part of a modern crusade to re-Christianise society.[991] This new political citizenship confirmed negative gender stereotypes regarding pious and conservative women (*beatas*) and

[989] *Causa 26 instruida contra Vicente Cervero Bosch y Ana Arce Folgara por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 155, Exp. 37 Imagen 39/94.
[990] *Causa 26,* Imagen 82/94.
[991] Thomas, María ((2013) *The Faith and the Fury, Popular Anticlerical Violence and Iconocasm in Spain, 1931-36* (Brighton: Sussex), pp. 49-57. Vincent Mary, "The politicisation of Catholic women in Salamanca, 1931-1936 in Frances Lannon and Paul Preston (eds) (1990) *Elites in Twentieth Century Spain: Essays in Honour of Sir Raymond Carr* (Oxford: OUP), pp. 105-26. See also, Blasco, Inmaculada (2003), *Paradojas de la ortodoxia, política de masas y militancia católica femenina en España* (1919-1939) (Zaragoza: PUZ).

encouraged discourses against women's suffrage prior to 1931 among the Left and anticlerical parties.[992]

During the war the authorities feared that pious Catholic women had mobilised in order to demoralise soldiers billeted among the civilian population. It was believed that such women circulated defeatist news broadcast via Nationalist Radio Burgos and Seville. The case of the 'rebel and spy' Eugenia García Arteaga is illustrative of how confessional motivations played an important role in the mobilisation of anti-Republican resistance.[993] It also demonstrates how resistance communities were united by the Catholic Faith and their imaginings of a Nationalist victory. On 18 October 1937, a group of neighbours who lived in the Colonia de los Rosales, a lower middle-class housing estate in Charmartín de la Rosa, were arrested by Buenavista police officers. Around fifteen members of this Catholic group were imprisoned and charged with 'espionage and aiding rebellion.' The group regularly gathered in a local bar which was owned by a member. They also met privately in order to discuss the progress of the war, profess the Faith and to listen to illegal Nationalist broadcasts which, in and of itself, *prima facie* constituted the crime of defeatism.[994] The defendant's homes were searched and a transistor radio was confiscated. It was believed that the group comprised "various people of a right-wing disposition who had dedicated themselves to espionage and

[992] Salomón Chéliz, Ma Pilar, "Beatas sojuzgadas por el clero: la imagen de las mujeres en el discurso anticlerical en la España del primero tercio del siglo XX" *Feminismo/s, 2, 41-58*
[993] Expte. 1764 *instruido contra Eugenia García Arteaga (y otros) por el delito/s de Espionaje y auxilio a la Rebelión.* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.26/FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,9, Exp.16, Imágenes 306.
[994] Cervera, Javier "La Radio: un arma mas de la guerra civil en Madrid"*, Historia y comunicación social,* num. 3, (1998), pp.263-293 at p.275. Gathering together for the purpose of listening to Radio Salamanca, Sevilla or Burgos constituted *prima facie* 'a criminal clandestine gathering in order to commit the crime of Defeatism.'

to assisting rebellion." [995] The leader was Eugenia García Arteaga. She was a single woman aged 27 years who worked at home (*sus labores*). Her home provided a safe space for clandestine gatherings which aroused suspicion among her Republican neighbours. She was accused of having "dedicated herself to forming relationships with Republican military officials in order to obtain information and pass it to the enemy."[996]

García was intimate with an air force captain and it was suspected that she was able to access classified military intelligence. She also fraternised with soldiers of the 11th Brigade and the 68th Brigade. In early October 1937, the 68th Brigade was billeted at the Nebrija Institute and within private residences in Chamartín. García's father had volunteered to billet four officers at their home on the Colonia de los Rosales estate where he was employed as a caretaker. One of the officers, Alfredo Boigues Serrano (a Lieutenant Carabineer) came to suspect that García was a *desafecta* 'on account of her conversation and conduct, she had secretly confessed that she was looking forward to the entry of the Nationalist troops in the capital. He also alleged that she had offered to "help him escape into the Nationalist zone with the assistance of contacts who were infiltrated within the Republican army."[997] Boigues denounced her to the Buenavista police. He claimed that he had 'instigated romantic relations in order to acertain the nature and extent of her subversive activities.' The DGS took these allegations seriously and launched an intensive surveillance operation in order to establish the 'right-wing and religious antecedents of the

[995] Expte. 1764 *instruido contra Eugenia García Arteaga (y otros) por el delito/s de Espionaje y auxilio a la Rebelión.* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.26/FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,9, Exp.16, Imágenes 2/306.
[996] Expte. 1764, Imágenes 2/306.
[997] Expte. no 1764, *Expte. 1764 instruido contra Eugenia García Arteaga (y otros) por el delito/s de Espionaje y auxilio a la Rebelión* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,9, Exp.16, 299/306.

group' and whether it had performed acts of espionage or disseminated defeatist propaganda.

García Arteaga had two brothers who were presumed to be in the rebel zone. She alleged that she had no idea of their whereabouts but they 'may have been affiliated to the Falange.' The Republican authorities also suspected that she was in contact with agents in the Nationalist zone and had organised escape lines for military deserters. One of García's brothers, Mariano, had fled Rosales after 18 July on the advice of his girlfriend Rosario Polo. He had gone to live in a small hotel 'for fear of personal rather than a political reprisals.' The hotel was run by a notorious *desafecta'* who had been fined for pouring boiling water onto an anti-fascist rally from her balcony. Mariano, a former member of both Acción Popular and the Falange, had been working as a militia prison guard in Ventas. He and García had also been accused of having illegally smuggled letters and packages to the political prisoners.[998] At the time of García's arrest on 18 October 1937, Mariano had deserted his duties and managed to evade arrest.

On 27 October 1937 fifteen individuals, including six women, were charged by the Special Tribunal of Military Rebellion No 4 of being "rebel elements and inciting Rebellion."[999] The women in the group were accused of conspiring to demoralise Republican soldiers and to

[998] Ventas was Madrid's model women's prison which was constructed under the supervision of Victoria Kent Siano who was a republican lawyer and Radical Socialist politician and MP who was appointed Director General of prisons between 1931-34. She later joined the Left Republican party and ran in the February 1936 elections. Ventas opened in 1935. During the first year of the war it was used as a male prison.

[999] *Causa 1764 instruida contra Eugenia García Arteaga por el delito/s de Incitación a la Rebelión,* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,174, Exp. 28. Imagen 11/104.

incite desertion. García (and 14 others) were also accused of espionage and military rebellion.[1000] The group had created detailed plans of various classified military positions in Madrid and gathered intelligence regarding the movements of Republican troops in and around the capital. García was also accused of being 'an accessory to the murder of the brother of the Mayor of Chamartín de La Rosa during the period of revolutionary violence.' She was also charged with disseminating false and defeatist information. Such actions fell within the definition of the military crime of 'conspiracy to aid rebellion.' Both the civil and military courts were involved in this case.[1001]

The other defendants included García's father, her brother Mariano and various Catholic neighbours. A number of soldiers and officers were also implicated. García confessed that her neighbour, a postal worker and a topographer named José Dorda (married, aged 39), had assisted her in the compilation of maps and plans which formed part of a dossier of classified information relating to the movement of troops and current troop positions around Madrid. García was accused of passing this information on to contacts in the Nationalist zone. The defendants were members of Acción Popular or belonged to lay confessional organisations like Acción Católica, Mujeres de Acción Católica and the Juventudes de Acción Católica.[1002] They were also associated with the the Instituto de Las Damas Catequistas. García was accused of being associated with Acción Popular, Acción Católica and Las Damas Catequistas. These organisations were mainly organised and administered by upper-class and middle-class women. The Damas Catequistas was a

[1000] *Expte. 1764 instruido contra Eugenia García Arteaga (y otros) por el delito/s de Espionaje y auxilio a la Rebelión* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,9, Exp.16, Imágenes 1/306.
[1001] *Expte. 1764,* Imagen 102/306
[1002] The Youth Section of Acción Católica de la Mujer established in 1919.

charitable religious congregation which taught the catechism to thousands of young girls in underprivileged working-class suburbs like Cuatro Caminos and Puente de Vallecas.[1003] It attracted the patronage of upper class women and afforded working and lower middle-class women like García opportunities for acquiring a measure of social prestige, social mobility and networking opportunities. It also provided a space for pious and highly visible forms of confessional practice.[1004] While social Catholic organisations provided women with opportunities for employment and preferment, they also perpetrated forms of 'symbolic violence' against working class women that frequently inspired popular resentment. According to María de Echarri, a key spokeswoman and leader of Acción Católica, a key aim of this organisation was to construct young working-class girls as pious and compliant workers:

"as future workers, to acculturate them in Catholic discourses and to construct them as pious Catholic women who would be protected against immorality within the sheltering vale of religion, culture and good example..."[1005]

[1003] The Institute of Ladies of the Catechism was a charitable social Catholic religious congregation that was established in 1901 by María Dolores Rodríguez Sopeña (beatified in 2003). Its aims were to teach piety and the catechism to the poor and underprivileged. It was composed of predominantly upper-class women who were dedicated to the "protection, acculturation and moral teaching of the working classes. By 1929 it had 1469 teachers and 127 honorary '*señoritas*' across Spain." Source: Blasco, Inmaculada (2003) "Movilización en tiempos de Guerra," *Paradojas de la Ortodoxia* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza), p.58. See also http://www.catequistasopena.org [sic].
[1004] Blasco (2003) "Movilización en tiempos de Guerra," p. 58.
[1005] Echarri, María de "*Ninas hoy…mujeres manana"* in *El Universo. Revista de Acción Católica, y de Cultura General, 10,* (9 July 1929). Cited in Arce Pinedo, Rebecca (2008) *Dios, Patria y Hogar, La Construcción Social de la mujer española por el católicismo y las derechas en el primer tercio del siglo XX,* (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria), p. 104.

The female members of this clandestine group were devout Catholics. They were popularly and disparagingly known as *beatas* and, therefore, subject to all the negative associations and prejudices aroused by this anticlerical stereotype. According to Rosario Polo (also a member of the Damas Catequistas), García's visible piety and her involvement in Catholic groups before the war inspired resentment within members of the local Republican community. Several witnesses also testified that the socially aspirational García was 'imprudent, talkative and had an opinionated character'. The motivations behind many denunciations were personal as much as political or anti-Catholic.

García's father was a former member of Acción Popular and had served a short prison sentence for disaffection. The Central Post Office employee José Dorda was accused of being García's principal co-conspirator and of having created maps and plans and interfering with postal communications. He supported Acción Católica and had also been arrested for disaffection and fined 250 pesetas. He had also been a member of the Real Archicofradia de la Corte de María since childhood. "He had religious beliefs and had paid a monthly subscription of 5 pesetas to the Culto y Clero de Santa Teresa y Santa Isabel of Chamberí during 1932 and 1933. According to his testimony, "he stopped paying the monthly subscription in 1934 when the 80 million peseta fund was utilised to vote in the '*bienio negro.*"[1006] Another co-defendant, Leonor Maliche, had been the President of the Chamartín section of the Damas Catequistas and was accused of disseminating defeatist propaganda. The group included the female relatives of Nationalist soldiers and of local right-wing families. For example, Lázaro Arellano, managed small, family-owned, fabric and

[1006] Expte. 1764 Imagen 7/306.

shoe shops. He "wished he were in the rebel zone with his relatives but was unable to leave on account of a lack of funds and he looked forward to Franco's entry into Madrid."[1007]

During the interrogations at the Buenavista police station, García denied being a member of any political group or organization and self-represented as a devout Catholic who "had regularly attended several Churches, in particular, the Church of San Miguel in Chamartín in her capacity as a pious parishioner *(feligresa).*"[1008]

Despite her visible piety, García also stayed out until late at night and fraternised with soldiers and officers in various bars and cafés. Her father amended his original witness statement in order to emphasize that she normally returned home by 9 p.m. García behaviour manifestly flouted the injunctions of Acción Católica which supported a war-time campaign of austerity and modesty in order "to counteract the rebellion of Spanish women, and in particular pious women, against the Church in accordance with the sermons of the Bishop of Palencia."[1009] The Bishop exhorted women to dress and behave modestly and to avoid make-up as part of a war-time National regeneration. The Nationalist zone was undergoing a traditionalist gender backlash at this time. Catholic female self-abnegation and self-restraint represented forms of symbolic collective expiation for the social collapse and ensuing violence attributed by many Catholics to the Republic's modernising and

[1007] Expte. 1764, Imagen 5/306.
[1008] Expte. 1764 *instruido contra Eugenia García Arteaga (y otros) por el delito/s de Espionaje y auxilio a la Rebelión.* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.26/FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,9, Exp.16, Imagen 2/306.
[1009] Blasco, (2003) "Movilización en tiempos de Guerra," p. 302.

laicizing measures before the war. Therefore, women in the rebel held zones were required to practice modesty as part of the war effort.[1010]

These gender normative discourses also circulated amongst Catholics in Madrid's Rearguard. Traditional models of 'respectable femininity' also prevailed in the secular Republican gender discourses of this time and were reflected in the findings of the popular tribunals.[1011] According to various testimonies, the 'pious' García was morally suspect because she had frequented the barracks, bars and cafés of Chamartín without a chaperone. The daily habits and practices of Catholic women like García often balanced constraint and agency in ways that implicitly contested the prevailing discursive gender norms. Her nocturnal meetings transgressed the prescribed feminine scripts which were available to her at this time.[1012] Her comportment challenged traditional gender stereotypes and notions of acceptable feminine behaviour. Practices of amusement, entertainment and desire also informed García's fraternisations with soldiers in addition to religious motivations.

In December 1937, the High Court acquitted her of espionage and aiding Rebellion. Instead, she was found guilty of 'inciting Rebellion' and sentenced to 12 months hard labour. The

[1010]Blasco (2003), p. 301.
[1011] "Gender appropriate behaviour which subscribes to expected social norms of respectable femininity, embodies patterns of belief, customs values and rules of conduct. Male defined social conventions are embedded in social structures and cultural norms…" Nash, Mary (1995) *Defying Male Civilisation: Women in the Spanish Civil War,* (Denver: Arden) at p. 53.
[1012] Loree Enders, Victoria and Radcliff, Pamela Beth (eds) *Constructing Spanish Womanhood,* p.3.

charges against the other co-defendants were reduced to disaffection. The court found that García had been:

"…performing suspicious activities and that she had encouraged Alfredo Boigues Serrano to escape to the enemy side and offered to the provide the necessary assistance with the help of her friends on the other side."[1013]

This case demonstrates how informants were used by the Republican SIM and the police to successfully infiltrate fifth column groups.[1014] The finding of guilt in this case rested almost exclusively on the hostile witness evidence of Boigues. His initial denunciation at Buenavista police station set in train a lengthy surveillance operation. His methods represented an inversion of stereotypically female 'honey-trap'espionage practices. [1015] Boigues was eventually posted to active service at the fronts and therefore was never called to provide evidence at trial. The case demonstrates how the popular tribunals endorsed traditional Catholic and masculinist conceptions of acceptable female behaviour. Questions of chastity, modesty and propriety were relevant with regard to the actions and behaviours of women, whereas, the morality and sexual probity of male defendants were rarely interrogated by popular tribunals.

2.3 Nuns

[1013] Expte. 1764 *instruido contra Eugenia García Arteaga por el delito/s de Incitación a la Rebelión,* ES.28079.AHN/2.2.26/FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,174, Exp.28, Imágenes 66/102.
[1014] See also the case of *Alberto Castilla Olavarría and Pilar Ovejas Ovejas, Expte. no. 39 (bis) instruido por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 77, Exp. 7.
[1015] The classic 'honey trap' espionage tactic involves seduction in order to extract secrets. A precedent already existed in the Spanish social imaginary in the form of the Dutch exotic dancer and spy, Mata Hari, who was executed in France in 1917 for passing confidential information to the Germans.

During the early months of the conflict in the capital hundreds of religious (male and female) were evacuated from their houses and obliged to live as fugitives within the Catholic community. They were also required to adopt secular dress.[1016] In particular, those who had belonged to the enclosed orders sometimes adopted unusual civilian clothes and hairstyles (many wore wigs in order to disguise their close-cropped hair) and their use of antiquated idioms and expressions often aroused suspicion. Very few nuns were denounced as spies but around 7% of women charged with disaffection were nuns.[1017] In a few rare instances nuns were found guilty of espionage for passing sensitive social and military intelligence to the Nationalists. In this way Ginestra Manzano (aged 73) was absolved of disaffection but found guilty of espionage and treason.[1018] Manzano was forced to abandon her convent and go into hiding following the 11 August 1936 Decree. She was arrested and imprisoned together with three other nuns from the same community in November 1936. She had spent over 30 years teaching young girls. In a witness statement dated 23 November 1936 she declared that she had never been affiliated to any political party, never listened to fascist radio stations nor passed any written information to Ramón Miquel Gonzalea. Gonzalea was the brother of one of her co-defendants. He had decided to remain in rebel territory (Santander) after the outbreak of war during his summer vacation. He owned the apartment in Claudio Coello, 14 where all four nuns had been

[1016] Primo de Rivera, Pilar (1983), *Recuerdos de una vida,* (Madrid: Dyrsa), p. The author recalled helping to disguise a nun using a wig that had previously adorned the statue of a Saint, the nun was made uncomfortable by this 'sacrilege' but the dangerous circumstances required it.

[1017] Source: Flynn, Angela (2013) "Las Desafectas al Régimen: Anti-Republican Women and Republican Justice in Madrid 1936-9," [Oxford: Unpublished MPhil], p. 70.

[1018] Expte.319, *contra Manzanos, Ginestra por delito/s de Desafección al Régimen,* AHN, FC-CAUSA, GENERAL,158, EXP.10, See also, Expte.592, *por delitos de Alta Traición*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL.9, EXP.1

hiding. Ginestra Manzano testified that 'she was ignorant of the political events leading up to and after 18 July.' She also professed to have no idea why she was sent away from her convent on or around 11 August. Manzano's evidence was rejected by *Jurado de Urgencia no. 8*, the popular tribunal of first instance. She and her three co-defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in Ventas on 10 March 1937 on charges of espionage and treason (as defined under sub-section 4, Article 125 of the Penal Code). Manzano was found guilty for forwarding news that "favoured the progress of the enemy army."

Catalina Colón Rodríguez[1019] was a Puerto Rican national and a novice nun who, together with the rest of her community, had been evacuated from The Convent of the Daughters of Charity in November 1936. At first the community sought refuge in a flat situated in Paseo de la Ronda, 36, but they were obliged to move into a succession of safe-houses. Colón was arrested on 6 March 1937 on charges of espionage and possession of false documentation. She was initially denounced to the Buenavista police station for behaving suspiciously in the food queues.[1020] Colón and eight other nuns were arrested by two communist militia at a flat situated in Paseo del Doctor Esquerdá. It later transpired that nuns were denounced by the male flat who was a relative of one of the nuns, he was afraid of reprisals and wanted to be rid of his unwelcome guests. The nuns had attracted the unfortunate attention and suspicion of neighbours. Colón was accused of 'attempting to gather intelligence in the food queues.' In a witness statement dated 11 March 1937 she denied all charges and claimed that she had no knowledge of or contact with the rebel movement. Her suspicious

[1019] *Expte. 1041 instruido contra Catalina Colón Rodríguez por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,92, Exp.17, Imágenes 1/28.
[1020] *Expte. 1041,* Imágenes 16/28 and 25/25.

behaviour was due to her religious vocation and to the fact that she was a foreign national. Catalina claimed that she had merely been queuing for food in unfamiliar surroundings. She was acquitted and released in April 1937.

2.4. Nurses and Nursing Auxiliaries

Around 7% of the women accused of disaffection between July 1936 and March 1937 worked as nurses or auxiliaries in Madrid's military and civilian hospitals or at the fronts.[1021] Those who harboured 'hostile ideological beliefs' were often suspected of being spies and saboteurs who passed intelligence to the Nationalists and deliberately injured their patients. Many were initially accused of treason or espionage but the charges were reduced to disaffection because of a lack of evidence. Nurses performed a vital welfare role and 'disloyal' nurses posed a serious security risk. The fears of an 'invisible' fifth column also led to false accusations against those who held 'rightist' ('*derechista*') beliefs. In one case a nurse was arrested and charged with disaffection for 'organizing fascist meetings with other nurses in order to conspire against the Republic.'[1022]

Magdalena Noin Ormachea was a Spanish national (b. 1914) of Cuban parentage who worked as a nurse at *Hospital Militar No. 14.*[1023] She operated as a go-between for the Falangist leader Juan del Amo (who was in prison in Valencia awaiting execution) and his 19-year-old lover María Luisa López Ochoa who was a patient in the military hospital. López

[1021] Source: Flynn, Angela (2013) "Las Desafectas al Régimen: Anti-Republican Women and Republican Justice in Madrid 1936-9," (Oxford: Unpublished MPhil), p. 70.
[1022] Expte.115 *contra* Margarita Álvarez Santiago, *por delito/s de Desafección,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 231, Epx.11.
[1023] *Expte. no 396 instruido contra Magdalena Noin Ormaechea por el delito/s de Espionaje*, AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 187, Exp.50. Imágenes 1-73.

Ochoa was charged with espionage and conspiracy in the the 18 July military coup. Her father General López Ochoa, who was dubbed the "Butcher of Asturias" by the Left, was extra-judicially killed at the start of the war whereupon she and her mother were obliged to go into hiding. Her trial for espionage was suspended due to an illness (Hematosis) which was contracted as a result of the deprivations of living on the run.[1024] Noin Ormachea's case came to the attention of Ángel Pedrero who suspected her of being a Socorro Blanco agent.[1025] It was believed that the poetic love letters between del Amo and López Ochoa contained secret coded messages. Noin was arrested while attempting to smuggle a letter out of the hospital on behalf of another patient. This letter was not submitted as evidence because she was able to destroy it. She had also been disciplined by the hospital authorities for various misdemeanours including passing contraband (a bottle of cologne to a prison patient), providing relatives with the address and contact details of the hospital director and passing information between a lawyer and one of her patients. After several months in Ventas, Magdalena's case was referred to the popular tribunals on lesser counts of disaffection.

3. 'Othering' in the rearguard

The records indicate that foreigners, newcomers (there were hundreds of refugees at this time) and those who behaved in unusual or eccentric ways were more liable to become the targets of unfounded accusations of espionage. Such denunciations must be understood within a context of a virulent fifth-column paranoia, total war and acute material scarcity.

[1024] *Expte. 11 contra María Luisa López Ochoa Motta por el delito/s de Espionaje y Alta Traición.* FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 77, Exp. 22. Imágenes 1-13 only.
[1025] *Expte. no 396,* Imagen 21/73 Letter dated 10 September 1938 from the Head of the SIM, Ángel Pedrero to the Senior Judge of the *Triubnal especial de guardia*.

The influx of refugees from the rebel held zones and the evacuees from the capital's bombed zones heightened feelings of 'stranger-danger' and placed added demands on Madrid's already overburdened and strained infrastructure.

3.1. The vulnerable, intellectually challenged or mentally ill

Those who failed to conform to conventional cultural norms and expectations often aroused fear and suspicion. The fear of 'spies and hidden enemies' lasted for the duration of the war. Consequently, the mad, eccentric, vulnerable and homeless sometimes fell victim to unfounded and 'othering' allegations. The vast majority of these unfounded accusations eventually resulted in acquittals, but the hapless defendants were imprisoned (often for several weeks) pending trial. Jacinta Fernández Lobo was arrested by a patrol officer in early March 1937 for having wandered into the evacuated war zone around the Princesa Bridge and Usera districts without the requisite passes.[1026] She was arrested and prosecuted by the 'Ministry of War, Propaganda and Press' for suspected espionage and held in prison without formal cause for over a month until she was acquitted and released on grounds of 'mental incapacity.' It was established that she was an illiterate person of 'limited intelligence' who had wandered inadvertently into a bombed and evacuated zone. Similarly, Rosario Ballos Fernández was an 'illiterate' domestic who was obliged to sign her witness statement with a thumb-print after her interrogation at the Cuatro Caminos police station.[1027] She had raised the suspicion of the local community because 'she was behaving

[1026] *Expte. con el Registro 608 tramitado contra Jacinta Fernández Lobo por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 34, Exp.4. and *Expte. 1046 instruido contra Jacinta Fernández Lobo por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 45, Exp13, Imágenes 1- 47

[1027] *Causa no 1491 contra Rosario Ballos Fernández por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 196, Exp. 38. *Imagen* 16/34.

oddly' and appeared to be unfamiliar with the surroundings. In fact, she had been sent to scavenge for coal by her employers on the evening of 22 June 1937 and had strayed into the evacuated zone. At the time of her arrest she was 'bare-footed and seemingly lost and confused.' She approached three local women and allegedly 'insistently asked them about the use of the trenches, the situation at the fronts and the troop positions.'[1028] She was denounced and immediately arrested. The case was dismissed on 26 July 1937 on account of a lack of incriminating evidence.

The majority of the espionage cases against individual women were based on misunderstandings or false allegations that resulted in lesser sentences for disaffection or acquittals. Such cases evidence the heightened levels of fear and suspicion against fifth columnists in the rearguard at this time. Frequently, unfounded allegations of espionage arose as a result of altercations in food queues or because of petty neighbourhood jealousies and resentments. An 'argumentative and highly critical' working class widow was the victim of an unfounded denunciation by her neighbours in Calle Argumosa 13 with whom she had previously quarrelled. The tribunals most often treated these malicious and false allegations of espionage as simple acts of disaffection and the women were acquitted.[1029]

3.2. Those with relatives in the Nationalist zones or anti-Republican associations

[1028] *Causa no 1491,* Imagen 15/34. Witness statement of denouncer Felipa Pacheco Núñez dated 22 June 1937.
[1029] *Expte. no 17 instruida contra Amalia Vaquero Puebla por el delito/s de espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 5, Exp.9. Imágenes 1-15.

Those who were associated by blood, marriage or acquaintance with 'notorious' anti-Republicans or whose relatives lived in the Nationalist zone also became liable to suspicion and denunciation. It was feared that relatives and intimates might pass vital social and military information to the enemy intelligence despite the censors. This sometimes occurred. However, most often the denunciations were unsubstantiated and resulted in acquittals. María Riesgo Vázquez was accused of espionage and imprisoned in Ventas in May 1937 for making signals to enemy aircraft with her spectacles whilst saying good night to a male friend at the entrance of her house.[1030] She was denounced by her neighbours because she was intimate with a Falangist. It was commonly known that her male friend had sustained injuries during the Republican assault on the Montaña Barracks on 19 July 1936 and the couple became objects of suspicion. Riesgo remained in custody for several months and her case was referred to the popular tribunals on charges of disaffection in December 1937. María Luisa Moralles Manrique was suspected of espionage and arrested in November 1937 because she had wealthy parents who lived on the Canary Islands and she was married to a 'fascist captain.' The courts could find no substantive evidence against her and she was acquitted.[1031] Carmen Rodríguez Urba was a former insurance worker who was dismissed because of her right-wing associations. She had previously been married to a nephew of General Queipo de Llano between 1931 and 1936 and was accused of espionage by the concierge of her building who alleged that had been recruited into the fifth column by her dress-maker (*modista*). She was arrested in January 1937 and imprisoned in San Rafael. The defendant obtained a good-character vouchsafe from her former employer at

[1030] *Expte. no.1320 instruido contra María Riesgo Vázquez por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL.50. Exp.12. Imágenes 1-25.
[1031] *Expte. 1781 instruido contra María Luisa Morales Manrique por el delito/s de Espionaje,* AHN, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL, 202, Exp. 32.

the *Plus Ultra* insurance company who claimed that she had been an 'exemplary worker and a member of the UGT since 1931.' The case was dismissed after it was discovered that the defendant had been falsely accused by the concierge because of a personal feud. Nonetheless, Rodríguez spent nearly three months imprisoned pending judgement.[1032]

In conclusion, most cases of autonomous espionage involved allegations against women who were the intimates or kin of soldiers or officers. Many were cleaners and auxiliaries or prostitutes who consorted with military personnel. A few cases related to women who worked in civil and military administration or in the military hospitals. Very few cases resulted in convictions for espionage, the vast majority were dismissed or referred to the lower tribunals on charges of disaffection. None of the cases reviewed above involved Nationalist agents or foreign spies, although Falangist women like Carmen de Blas Aranteguí (discussed in Ch. III above) had links to the Nationalist SIPM. Consequently, aside from the female spies who operated within the Clandestine Falange, only a handful of women were actively involved in professional espionage in the rearguard. The most serious cases related to well-connected upper and middle-class women. The security threat posed by such women was acknowledged by the Republican authorities and popular press in 1938. Such cases were referred up from the 'special military tribunals' to the Valencian and Barcelona high courts where the outcomes are unknown. The *mata hari* was, to a great extent, a discursive construction - a figment of the febrile popular Republican imaginary- rather than a lived reality. Personal rivalries, jealousy, revenge and neighbourhood feuds informed many false allegations. Poor and working-class women often spent weeks or months in

[1032] *Expte. nº 799 instruido contra Carmen Rodríguez Urba por el delito/s de Espionaje*, Archivo Histórico Nacional, FC-CAUSA_GENERAL,87, Exp.9, Imagen 30/62.

prison on the basis of unfounded and often malicious denunciations. At least 20% of the cases examined above arose as a result of paranoid 'othering' practices based on unfounded suspicions and around 46% of the espionage cases examined above resulted in eventual acquittals, suspensions or dismissals.

This chapter also demonstrates how class and gender represented important matrices for the signification of relationships of power. Well connected middle-class women used their influence within intimate and informal Republican networks in order to gather valuable military and social intelligence. Wealthy and well-connected women used forms of micro-power and useful Republican connections in an effort to circumvent the sanctions of the new popular justice. Middle and upper-class women often escaped long-term prison sentences, while their poorer and less well-connected counter-parts were sometimes more unfortunate. Working-class women lacked the necessary social and cultural capital to avail themselves of powerful '*avales*' (good character referees) or the economic resources to engage skilled defence lawyers. While the most serious cases related to middle and upper-class women, the majority of the women discussed above belonged to the poorest, most vulnerable and least educated sectors of society. Paradoxically, the 'people's justice' often served the poor and ill-educated with less consideration than the wealthier sorts. The new popular justice frequently delivered harsher and more arbitrary forms of justice to the most economically disadvantaged. 'Bourgeois' social and cultural capital still had currency within the courts and middle-class women still had more influence and agency than their working-class counter-parts despite the revolutionary atmosphere of the earliest months of the conflict.

CONCLUSION

The thesis constitutes an important and original contribution to the historiography of the Spanish Civil War. It re-evaluates women's engagement in the Nationalist war effort through an examination of the role played by women within Madrid's fifth-column. The importance of women's contribution to the Nationalist war effort, in particular in the Republican held zones, has been routinely underestimated and a re-evaluation is overdue. Hopefully this work will prompt further local studies in other Republican held cities such as Barcelona and Valencia.

There was a dramatic and violent change in the social field after 18 July 1936. Anti-Republicans were obliged to change their habits in order to survive, many were forced into hiding or asylum. Over 8,000 individuals lost their lives during the extra-judicial repression. Homes and businesses were impounded and hundreds of anti-Republicans were imprisoned for political crimes. Many middle-class anti-Republican women entered the work place for the first time. Formerly legal activities became retrospectively illegal under the new disaffection legislation. Churches were closed and religion was forced underground. It was only after the stabilisation of the battle-fronts in mid 1937 that any semblance of 'normality' returned to the rearguard, although most civilians continued to endure severe material, economic and psychological hardships for the duration of the war. Between 1936 and 1939 a significant sector of anti-Republican women mobilised against the Republican regime. During the war they helped to create a subversive and clandestine national-Catholic space in the heart of Republican Madrid.

Madrid became home to the largest and most well organised resistance in the Republican held zone. The resisters of the first hour were women who facilitated the creation of the mixed-gender Falangist groups in 1937. Although the Clandestine Falange groups cached weapons, Franco actively discouraged forms of armed civilian resistance or insurrection in the capital. Burgos conceived the eventual occupation of the capital in exclusively military terms. Consequently, the mixed gender Clandestine Falange focussed its resistance efforts on intelligence gathering, minor acts of sabotage and defeatism. While the fifth column was perceived to be effective at sowing defeatism and discontent in the rearguard, the dire material conditions in the rearguard and a succession of devastating Republican military defeats and reversals also served to erode Republican morale.

The chief importance of the fifth column resided in women's welfare aid and auxiliary activities. Anti-Republican women saved hundreds of lives. Their resistance initiatives weren't 'merely auxiliary,' they were key and resulted in the preservation of life, the mobilisation of an underground confessional community and the survival of Catholic habitus during a period of *hysteresis*. Although a temporary gender power shift occurred at this time, patriarchal and masculinist values continued to determine 'the important, dangerous and noble tasks.' Women's welfare-aid fell outside the parameters of authentic and active fifth column resistance in the eyes of the male resistance leaders. Traditional and enduring gender prejudices resulted in the undervaluation of women's significant and effective resistance efforts. In addition, the Republican security services attributed scant importance to the actions of female resisters and this was reflected in their lack of prominence in the legal and police record.

The thesis demonstrates how fifth-column women were more able to mobilise a clandestine resistance their male counterparts who were forced to lie low or hide in light of the severe repression which took place during the early months of the war. Women occupied key liaison and leadership roles primarily within Auxilio Azul, but also within the Clandestine Falange and dozens of autonomous groups. They held the fragile threads of the clandestine networks together. Hundreds more helped to sustain the spiritual, material and affective life of Clandestine Madrid during a highly conflictive moment when formerly powerful anti-Republican men were excluded from the public space. However, while women's subversive activities often involved the symbolic transgression of gender norms, their new-found social and political agency was conceptualised within the objective conditions and precepts of Catholicism and understood within traditional national-Catholic discourses of 'holy Crusade.'[1033]

The earliest, most extensive and most effective resistance in Madrid was mounted by the women of Auxilio Azul. They received scant recognition for their brave contributions to the Nationalist war effort after the war, with the notable exception of the 'Y' Awards' for which 'symbolic baubles' they were required to pay in full. The dubious rewards of female fascism were limited to a small upper and middle-class 'elite' after the war.[1034] In April 1939 Auxilio Azul was demobilized in order to make way for Pilar Primo de Rivera's official Sección

[1033]Mother María Luisa Fernández & Mother María Leturia (1939) *Catorce meses de aventuras bajo el dominio rojo,* (Rome: ACI), p. 30.

[1034] See Ofer, Inbal, (2010), *Señoritas in Blue, the making of a female political elite in Franco's Spain* (Padstow: Sussex Academic Press) pp. 55-103. See also a critique of *Sección Femenina* and Auxilio Social's social welfare ideology and practices both during and after the war in Cenarro, Ángela (2006) *La Sonrisa de La Falange, Auxilio Social en la Guerra Civil y en la Posguerra* (Barcelona: Crítica).

Femenina hierarchy. Carina Martínez Unciti was appointed as the Regional Delegate for Madrid until her resignation a few months later. After the war the majority of Auxilio Azul members returned to the invisibility of the private space. The life trajectories of Madrid's fifth-column women have left few traces in public record with the exception of a small minority who were granted 'the military honours due to an ex-combatant and an ex prisoner.' Nonetheless, even these exceptional women were remembered and lauded for their dutiful roles as pious Catholic wives and mothers.[1035] Apart from notable exceptions like Pilar Primo de Rivera, anti-Republican women seldom achieved power or recognition within the new national Catholic order. Meanwhile, prominent male fifth columnists like José Banús Masdeu enjoyed positions of distinction within the new regime and the privileged status of ex-combatants.[1036] They were able to fully reap the political, social and economic rewards of their loyalty to the Nationalist cause.[1037]

Women were politically active within Madrid's fifth-column resistance space. They performed the same or similar subversive activities as men within both the Falangist and autonomous groups. Although they attracted less attention from the Republican authorities and received lesser punishments than men, their dangerous and subversive actions exposed them to extra-judicial violence and legal repression in the form of imprisonment, fines and the suspension of civil and political rights. While extremely few received capital sentences, hundreds endured the rigours of the prison and the labour camp on charges of defeatism

[1035] Obituary of Elvira Martínez Ostendi, *ABC (Madrid)* dated 26 May 1970 at p. 46.
[1036] See Alcalde, Ángel (2014), *Los excombatientes Franquistas* (1936-1965), (Zaragoza: PUZ)
[1037] At the end of the war Manuel Valdés was appointed as Provincial Head of the Falange. José Banús and Félix Círiza were granted lucrative commercial construction licenses during the Franco regime and became wealthy scions of Spanish society.

and disaffection. Against the then prevailing masculinist assumptions and expectations, it was anti-Republican women who were better placed to rally resistance in the capital and ensure the survival of the family and the wider community. In their efforts to both resist and survive within a hostile rearguard, these women transgressed gender boundaries and performed perceived 'masculine' roles in the public space. They were mobilised and politicized by the extra-judicial and legal repression and by national Catholic discourses of self-sacrifice and martyrdom. However, Catholic habitus ensured that these women's conceptions of both their individual and collective identity and agency were constructed within traditional religious, class and confessional matrices rather than within egalitarian and emancipatory frames. The Auxilio Azul women self-identified as devout guardians of the Catholic religion engaged in a perilous struggle to preserve family, nation and religion during a violently secular moment. When Franco's troops occupied the capital on 28 March 1939 and the *Te Deums* rang-out for the first time in thirty-two months, these Catholic women demobilised and retired into the anonymous private space; their resistance struggle had met with success. Religion and tradition came out of the shadows.[1038]

The Nationalist victory in April 1939 settled the subaltern position of women in Spanish society for decades. The progressive legislation passed by the Second Republic during the Azaña Premiership was repealed including the new laws on divorce and civil marriage. As early as 1936 a decree was issued in the rebel held zones that banned co-education in

[1038] Vincent, Mary "Expiation as Performative Rhetoric: The Politics of Gesture in Post-Civil War Spain" in Braddick M. J (ed) *Past and Present* supplement 4 (2009). This article demonstrates how authentic religious sensibility and religious practice was instrumentalised by the new Franco regime with the assent of a majority of the Catholic hierarchy. Upon 'liberation' Madrid and other cities celebrated a series of spectacular 'campaign' Masses.

secondary schools and female primary school teachers were instructed to orientate young girls towards 'their elevated function in the family and the home' by developing their household skills.[1039] Women's freedom to work in Madrid was restricted in April 1939 when the Nationalist Labour Charter (*Fuero de Trabajo*) dated 9 March 1938 was implemented throughout the whole of Spain. The Second Republic's progressive and egalitarian gender and labour reforms were dismantled. Franco's Charter sought to return women to the private space.[1040] The anti-Republican women examined here experienced the benefits of a temporary war-time gender power shift while consciously participating in a political struggle to 'turn back the clock' and re-instate traditional Catholic and patriarchal norms and values. They were mobilised by enduring dispositions of Catholic and class habitus and the real and perceived threats to their established way of life, class interests and religious beliefs.[1041] After the war and the re-establishment of the old social and religious order, the majority of these women "withdrew into anonymity and were forgotten."[1042]

[1039] Romero Salvadó, Francisco (2013) *Historical Dictionary of the Spanish Civil War* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press), pp, 358-9.
[1040] See Cobo Romero, Francisco and Ortega López, Teresa María "Francoist Anti-feminism and the Violent Reversal of Women's Liberation, 1936-1951," in Anderson, Peter and del Arco Blanco, Miguel Ángel (eds) (2015) *Mass Killings and Violence in Spain, 1936-1952: Grappling with the Past* (NY: Routledge), pp.59-71.
[1041] See Pierre Bourdieu (2013) *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* (Cambridge: CUP), p.76
[1042] Borrás (1965), p. XI.

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