

Are Sæterbakken Kvikstadhagen

«La nueva España, que ambiciona una honda transformación docente»

A study on the representation of national identity in Francoist history textbooks

Master's thesis in history - Five-year Teacher Education

Supervisor: Jan Frode Hatlen

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Abstract

After the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, the Franco regime sought to redefine the definition of what constituted a Spanish national identity. One method of doing so was to change the way Spanish history was presented in textbooks. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the presentation of key political and ideological aspects of Francoist Spain in selected history textbooks published during the early years of the regime and discuss how it contributed to redefining the Spanish national identity. The thesis uses archival material from the Spanish Ministry of National Education, in addition to selected history textbooks published between 1940 and 1943. The study shows that textbooks were perceived by the Franco regime as an important instrument in redefining the Spanish national identity and thus were used to consolidate the national identity of Francoist Spain.

Sammendrag

Etter slutten på den spanske borgerkrigen i 1939 tilstrebet Francoregimet å redefinere definisjonen på hva som utgjorde en spansk nasjonal identitet. En måte å gjøre dette på var å forandre hvordan spansk historie ble fremstilt i lærebøker. Formålet med denne oppgaven er å undersøke fremstillingen av de sentrale politiske og ideologiske aspektene til Franco-Spania i utvalgte lærebøker i historie utgitt i løpet av de tidligere årene til regimet, og diskutere hvordan det bidro til å redefinere den nasjonale identiteten i Spania. Oppgaven benytter seg av arkivmateriale fra det spanske Nasjonale Utdanningsdepartementet, i tillegg til utvalgte lærebøker i historie utgitt mellom 1940 og 1943. Studien viser at lærebøker ble av Francoregimet ansett som viktige redskaper for å redefinere den spanske nasjonale identiteten og de ble således brukt til å konsolidere den nasjonale identiteten i Franco-Spania.

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Are Sæterbakken Kvikstadhagen

Trondheim, 29/5 - 2020

Oh, the history books tell it
They tell it so well

Bob Dylan, *With God on Our Side*, 1964ⁱ

ⁱ Dylan (1964): *The times they are a-changin'*. New York: Columbia Records.

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Abbreviations

BOE	Boletín Oficial del Estado
BOMEN	Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Educación

1 – Introduction

*The new Spain will not triumph if it does not conquer the School.*¹

In 1940 the Spanish writer and politician Luis Ortiz Muñoz stated the necessity of «conquering» the schools of Spain. The new Spain was the victor of the Spanish Civil War, the Franco regime. Muñoz acknowledge that for Francoist Spain to consolidate the newly established regime, education and the school system were to play a vital role. In that role, textbooks would serve a central part. The presentation and portrayal of central aspects of Spain in history textbooks were aimed at building a new interpretation and definition of a Spanish national identity.

1.1 – Research question

At the beginning of the 1940s, the Franco regime was in a process of redefining the meaning of what, and who, constituted the Spanish nation. One way this came about was through educational reforms. The Franco regime quickly started to substantially alter the academic content of the education system.² The master's thesis will look at and examine selected history textbooks published in Spain in the immediate post-civil war years, and the research question of the master's thesis will be:

How was the concept of a Spanish national identity portrayed and solidified in selected history textbooks in Francoist Spain between 1940 and 1943?

The period between 1940 and 1943 represents the immediate aftermath of the civil war. After the end of the civil war in 1939, the new political regime represented a centralized, authoritarian government, under the rule of the *caudillo*, Francisco Franco.³ The period after the civil war was a time of change, also regarding education. During the years of republican rule, one of their primary goals was a reformation of the education system in Spain. After the fall of the republic in 1939, the Franco regime dedicated itself to uproot the reforms that had taken place in the previous years.⁴ The Franco regime quickly started the groundwork for dismantling the remnants of the second Spanish republic, by means of sacking teachers connected to the republic, as well as shaping the schools themselves to teach what was deemed proper by the new government.⁵ The immediate years after the end of the Spanish Civil War is in the historiography of Francoist Spain the most extreme period of the authoritarian regime. The years following the end of the civil war were characterised by the severe political repression, where the new authorities suppressed any notion of opposition towards the regime.⁶ On account of this, the early years after the end of the civil war represent a clear historiographic divider for the history of the Franco regime. The master's thesis will therefore examine selected history textbooks between 1940 and 1943.

¹ Muñoz, L. O, as cited in Boyd (1997): 233.

² Seidman (2011): 186.

³ Payne (1987): 231-234.

⁴ Herr (1974): 223.

⁵ Seidman (2011): 186.

⁶ Sánchez (2009): 46-47.

1.2 – Historical context

In 1931, on account of political upheavals, the monarchy of Spain went into exile, and the Spanish Republic was proclaimed.⁷ The Spanish Republic, called the Second Republic faced several difficulties from an early onset. The population of Spain was divided in their views on this political transformation, and the political fractionation of the country was made even worse.⁸ The Spanish Republic instituted a series of reforms, which aimed at transforming the country. In the six years between the proclamation of the republic and the beginning of the civil war, the Spanish Republic grew more and more unstable, with fighting between different factions and violent acts devastating the country. Spain was split into several antagonistic factions during the years of the Spanish republic.⁹

In 1936, the Spanish Civil War broke out. The uprising was made up by nationalists, monarchists, semi-fascist groups, as well as military leaders.¹⁰ This faction, which come to be known as the Nationalist, and was led by Francisco Franco, opposed the legal government of Spain when they declared a military uprising on the 17th of June 1936.¹¹ Opposed to the Nationalist was the Republican faction, representing the legal government of Spain. They were formed by several different groups, from republicans, communists, socialists, in addition to anarcho-syndicalists and local worker's association.¹² The capital of Madrid fell to the nationalist forces on March 28th, 1939.¹³ On April 1st, the Republican forces surrendered, and the civil war was over.¹⁴ The new regimes ideological foundation was based on the thought of the *Movimiento Nacional* [National Movement]. The different factions within the Movimiento were combined into one, single party, that was called FET y de las JONS¹⁵ in 1937.¹⁶ It would be the sole legal party in the country, and was designed to incorporated every aspect of political life in Spain within the context of a single party.¹⁷

1.3 – Method

The master's thesis will seek to establish how the central concepts of a national identity within the ideological framework of the Franco regime is portrayed in selected history textbooks. The method for examining the textbooks will be a hermeneutical approach where I will seek to establish a functional explanation on the source material.¹⁸ Within the field of study of nationalism, a functional approach towards the concepts, as of nations and national identity, is a common approach.¹⁹ Breuilly discusses it further: «Nationalism can 'function' as an instrument of class interest, or it can function to furnish an identity need. (...) Within such an approach functionalism could try to account for the effects of a particular practice».²⁰ The process of defining and redefining a national identity can be viewed upon as the process of 'nation-building'.²¹ The basic premise for this approach is that the redefinition of a national identity has a concrete function in a given situation. I will, by using this approach, examine and discuss relevant aspects of the primary sources, highlight their historical context, and establish their function in the process of establishing

⁷ Carr (2000): 242.

⁸ Balfour (2000): 243.

⁹ Brenan (1960): 229.

¹⁰ Beevor (2009): 18-20.

¹¹ Ealham & Richards (2005b): xx.

¹² Beevor (2009): 21-22.

¹³ Ibid: 508.

¹⁴ Ealham & Richards (2005b): xxii.

¹⁵ The name *FET y de las JONS* was the abbreviation of the full name of the party - *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista* – in English: Traditional Spanish Phalanx and the Councils of National Syndicalist Offensive. The full name hinted at the amalgamation of the different parties and factions that were unified into one single party.

¹⁶ Payne (1995): 260-266.

¹⁷ Payne (1999): 273.

¹⁸ Andresen et al. (2015): 148.

¹⁹ Breuilly (1993): 418.

²⁰ Ibid: 418.

²¹ Smith (1986): 231.

a national identity for Francoist Spain. Furthermore, by discussing the textbook within the context of legal regulations from the Francoist authorities, I will examine how the Franco regime perceived textbooks as an instrument to redefine the national identity of Spain. By examining the legal regulations covering textbook policies, as well as the textbooks themselves, I will discuss how the textbook became an instrument and a part of a process in redefining the national identity of Francoist Spain. In addition to examine the concept of national identity as a function for the political and culturally unification of Spain after the civil war, I will also explore the representation of the central aspects of a Spanish national identity, as portrayed in the selected textbooks. This is in line with a representational analytic approach to the source material.²² This method of approach is selected on account of the source material. School textbooks are important elements in the construction and definition of a national community and a common reference point for an identity.²³ The textbook construct different narrative, in which actors are made to be representative of a nation or a national identity. I will identify those aspects and discuss how the different representations serve as a depiction and consolidation of a national identity. I will discuss the representation of national identity in the textbooks, and how the selected textbook labelled the Franco regime, the Spanish Second Republic, general notions of Spanish history, as well as different identifying elements to present a representation of the Spanish nation and a Francoist national identity. The approach is therefore a text analysis, where the study object is the presentation of the phenomenon of a Francoist national identity, and how it was constructed and applied a meaning using different representations in the selected textbooks.²⁴

I will use different forms of primary sources to answer the research question. In addition to textbooks, I will use education and textbook policies from the Ministerio de Educación Nacional [Ministry of National Education], the ministry responsible for overseeing education policies in Francoist Spain. This is done in order to establish a deeper understanding of the reason behind the textbook's portrayal, as well as an understanding of the function behind the texts used in the textbooks.²⁵ The chosen textbooks and sources are further discussed in chapter 1.4. These sources will be used to present the framework for textbook policy in the country, as established by the Franco regime. Functional explanation as a method seeks to establish an understanding of a larger phenomenon, and examine the source material in a synchronic manner and as a function of its time.²⁶ The explanatory method fits well with the historical context of the source material; Spain had been through a civil war where a new political regime had seized power. By looking at the portrayal of a Spanish national identity in the selected history textbooks as a function, the master's thesis will examine how the phenomenon of a national identity in textbooks work within a larger context,²⁷ namely the political upheaval of identities that took place in Spain after the civil war. Moreover, the explanatory method fits well with the fact that school textbooks have a normative function in a society and can help to explain what the presentation and portrayal in the textbooks achieved.

1.4 – Primary sources

The history textbooks to be used in this thesis are the following: *Así quiero ser (El niño del nuevo Estado)* an early textbook used during the Franco regime. It was published for the first time in 1940, and the publishing agency, Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez, is stated as the author.²⁸ *Compendio de historia de España desde las más remotas épocas hasta 1939*, written by Ramón Ruiz Amado, is a textbook originally distributed in 1916.²⁹ A new and

²² Andresen et al. (2015): 111.

²³ Stugu (2016): 46-47.

²⁴ Ryymin (2018): 57.

²⁵ Ibid: 50-56.

²⁶ Kjeldstadli (1999): 252-253.

²⁷ Andresen et al. (2015): 150.

²⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019c).

²⁹ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019d).

edited version was published in 1940.³⁰ It is the 1940 edition that will be examined in the master's thesis. *Historia de España* was written by José María Iguar and originally issued in 1941.³¹ The master's thesis will examine an edition published in 1942. *España nuestra – El libro de las juventudes españoles* was written by Ernesto Giménez Caballero and published in 1943.³² The textbooks have all been acquired in their original form, either through the obtainment of a physically copy, or a digital copy from the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* [National Library of Spain]. The primary sources in the master's thesis are all in their original language, Spanish. Where citations from the primary sources are used, they are presented verbatim. A translation in English is presented immediately following the citation. All translations are my own and any errors or mistranslations are solely my own responsibility.

I have chosen the selected textbooks as they represent a diverse selection of history textbooks, being written by writers ranging from historians, politicians, and a publishing agency. Furthermore, they are examples of textbooks published in different years, thereby offering a variation of styles and contents. In addition, they have all been published and approved by the Spanish authorities, thereby being approved history for public consumption. The selection of the four different textbooks allows for a more substantial analysis of the presentation of a national identity and to further demonstrate similarities and differences in their approaches. In that way, I hopefully will substantiate a conclusion regarding the presentation of a national identity in the selected history textbooks.

A large part of the governmental approvals of textbooks used in Spain were published in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (BOE). The BOE is a governmental gazette and is the official publication of the government of Spain. It is responsible for publishing governmental decrees, laws, and other kinds of publicly available information. In conjunction with governmental minutes regarding the approval of school textbooks, the publications in the BOE contain legal regulations concerning the education system at the time. These regulations will offer an insight into the judicial work done during the early years of Francoist Spain and how it affected the education system and textbook policies. The publications from the government of Spain are used in conjunction with the Ministry of National Education's own publications, called *Boletín Oficial del Ministerio de Educación Nacional* (BOMEN). The BOMEN function in the same manner as the BOE, publishing decrees and minutes of decisions on a ministerial level within the Ministry of National Education. Together, the BOE and BOMEN offer a somewhat comprehensive examination of the governmental work regarding textbooks to be approved and used in the educational system, as well as the legal regulations enacted during the period. The archival material is available to the public. The BOE is available from the Ministry of the Presidency.³³ The BOMEN is attainable from the Ministry of Education.³⁴

There are some deficiencies with using the BOE and BOMEN as sources for ensuring the quality of the source material. One of these is the fact that most of the government documents mentioned the textbooks and whether they are approved or not for use in the education system, but not for how long. Some of the sources mention one or several textbooks that are approved for a given period. However, not all textbooks are present in the lists from the Ministry of National Education. This is the example of *Así quiero ser*. It does not appear in any documents from the ministry, and therefore there is no official document stating that the textbook is approved by the government. Still, the textbook states in its opening that it is «Aprobado por el Ministerio de Educación Nacional» [Approved by the Ministry of National Education] and «Con censura eclesiástica» [With

³⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019b).

³¹ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019e).

³² Wilhelm (1998): 257.

³³ Ministerio de la Presidencia, Relaciones con las Cortes y Memoria Democrática (2019).

³⁴ Ministerio de Educación y Formación Profesional (2019).

ecclesiastical censorship]³⁵ It is therefore reasonable to assume that the textbook was approved by the Spanish government.

All the official publication for the Spanish government and the Ministry of National Education simply state which textbooks that were approved and at what time. The lists function as an overview of approved textbooks, meaning that the books were not necessarily published.³⁶ When lists of textbooks approved were published, the Spanish authorities did not further inspect the textbooks, and lists of data from the publishing houses regarding the size of the editions or its sales were not kept, thereby making it impossible to judge the size of the circulation or to what extent they were used in the classroom.³⁷ An overview of textbooks published in Spain is available through registers from the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*.³⁸ The overview from the Biblioteca Nacional de España offers information of all textbooks selected for this thesis, except for *España nuestra*. This textbook was written by Ernesto Giménez Caballero, a supporter of Franco during the civil war, and it was used as curriculum during the Franco regime.³⁹ Caballero served in the Ministry of National Education after the civil war, as well as several other politically appointments.⁴⁰ However, on the first page of the textbook, it is printed: «Ediciones de la vicesecretaría de educación popular» [Editions of the deputy secretariat of popular education].⁴¹ The deputy secretariat of popular education was an office created in 1941 and existed until 1945. The purpose of the deputy secretariat was to ensure the support of official approved literature, that promulgated the ideology of the *Movimiento Nacional* and FET y de las JONS.⁴²

The publicly authorised sources of historical knowledge are shown through the history textbooks.⁴³ The history textbooks function as a demonstration of the desired historical norms and values to be conveyed to a new generation of pupils.⁴⁴ This is the case for Spain during the early years of the Franco regime. The minutes, decrees and legal regulations demonstrate the normative value the government and ministries put in the education system, and the textbooks more specifically.

1.5 – Textbook policy during the early years of the Franco regime

The Franco regime sought to substantially reform the education system and its content after defeating the Second Republic in the civil war. School textbooks function, in a similar regard as education institution in general, as a transmission of a distinct set of values and norms.⁴⁵ The teaching of different aspects of a national identity to serve the regime's desire for fostering a unified Spanish nation was established rather early by the Franco regime. In 1938, the Francoist Ministry of National Education published a decree that proclaimed the distinct function of schools as an institution for transmitting the desired values to pupils, which read: «La necesidad de mantener en la Escuela de la Nueva España el espíritu religioso y patriótico, que constituye la esencia de nuestro Movimiento Nacional» [The need to maintain in the School of the New Spain the religious and patriotic spirit, which constitutes the essence of our National Movement.]⁴⁶

The Nationalist forces purged teachers hostile to the new government and reorganized the education system in order to better suit the new regime's ideological

³⁵ Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez (1940): 4.

³⁶ Osés *et al.* (2000): 42.

³⁷ Boyd (1997): xix.

³⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019a).

³⁹ Domke (2011): 12

⁴⁰ Rees (1990): 148.

⁴¹ Caballero (1943): 3.

⁴² Sánchez (1991): 73-74.

⁴³ Stugu (2016): 126.

⁴⁴ Bøe & Knutsen (2012): 145.

⁴⁵ Stugu (2016): 125.

⁴⁶ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1938b): 1135.

intentions for a new Spanish state.⁴⁷ The new educational system of Spanish primary education was to be based on the desire to educate pupils to become loyal to the Franco regime, and were to reinforce the political ideals of the new Spain.⁴⁸ The primary education was divided into seven year-courses, where history was a mandatory subject for every year.⁴⁹ A new law, passed in 1940, established the *Consejo Nacional de Educación* [National Council of Education], which fell under jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Education.⁵⁰ The law established the importance of education, as well as the council, for the transformation of Spain. Among other things, the law stated one of the missions of the council: «formular dictamen definitivo en las materias siguientes: (...) declaraciones de méritos de libros y aprobación de los de texto de las distintas ramas de la enseñanza»⁵¹ [to formulate final verdict on the following matters: (...) declaration of merits of books and approval of the text of the different branches of the education]. The importance of education was clearly stated in the preamble of the law that established the National Council of Education: «La nueva España, que ambiciona una honda transformación docente en la que se hermanen con los principios de la más pura tradición los anhelos vigorosos de renovación que impulsan nuestra juventud» [The new Spain, which strives for a profound transformation of teaching in which the vigorous yearnings of renewal that drive our youth are combined with the principles of the purest tradition].⁵² The reform of the educational system aimed at creating a new institution, one that would strive towards the formation of a new generation of pupils, shaped in the ideological concepts of Francoist Spain.⁵³

The Franco regime instituted reforms towards the publications of school textbook, whereby the right to edit and publish school textbooks was rescinded.⁵⁴ Books and publishing houses that were deemed to disseminate viewpoints sympathetic to the republican ideals were deemed illegal, books were confiscated and the publishing houses were closed down.⁵⁵ Illegal books that were banned were promptly removed from libraries and confiscated from institutions.⁵⁶ By 1939, the Franco regime had published a course curriculum for textbooks. The course curriculum contained a list of mandatory subjects that were to be included in the approved and published textbooks.⁵⁷ The list was in effect for the duration of the Franco regime.⁵⁸ As the law that regulated the National Council of Education stated, the council would function «como instrumento para servir disciplinadamente los altos intereses del Estado en materia de educación.» [as an instrument to discipline the high interests of the State in education.]⁵⁹ Schools were viewed as an instrument for transforming the pupils to loyal citizens for a new Spain. Regarding school textbooks as an instrument to redefine the national identity, they serve as a functional device, sustaining an identity for a collective group.⁶⁰

1.6 – Concepts of a Spanish national identity in Francoist Spain

The premise for the examination of the textbooks is that the definition of a Spanish national identity in the early part of the Franco regime rested on some central aspects. The master's thesis will utilize a model of interpretation in which there are three central components of the Francoist Spain national identity. The master's thesis will analyse the selected

⁴⁷ García (2011): 26-28.

⁴⁸ Ibid: 28.

⁴⁹ Osés et al. (2000): 60-62.

⁵⁰ Nieto (2010): 103.

⁵¹ Jefatura del Estado (1940): 6174.

⁵² Ibid: 6172.

⁵³ Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 437.

⁵⁴ Roith (2017): 326.

⁵⁵ León (2012): 494.

⁵⁶ Seidman (2011): 186.

⁵⁷ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 2-36.

⁵⁸ Roith (2017): 326.

⁵⁹ Jefatura del Estado (1940): 6172.

⁶⁰ Tosh (2015): 3.

textbooks for these three distinct components as a framework for the national identity of Francoist Spain. These components are:

- National Catholicism and religion
- National unity
- Spanish tradition and history

I have selected the three components as they represent some central tenets of the Franco regime. They are selected based on previous research of the political and ideological nature of the Franco regime in the early years after the civil war.⁶¹ The central components were the result of an coalescence of several different political factions within the Franco regime, with the different factions having different perspectives of the political-ideological aspects of the Spanish nation. The result was a fusion of a Spanish identity based on religion, Spanish history, and a single unified nation.⁶² The research field on the political nature of Francoist Spain is rather clear on the central aspects of the regime, and will be further discussed in the following sub-chapters. I will argue that the selected history textbooks convey the three central components of the Spanish national identity. The central concepts of a Spanish national identity during the Franco regime will form the basis of the analysis of the selected textbooks, together with the theoretical framework further discussed in the following sub-chapters.

Nacionalcatolicismo [National Catholicism] was a method for cementing the authoritarian regime of Franco. The religious aspect of the Franco regime's ideological foundation was merged with its political basis, creating – in the eyes of the Nationalists – a «new man» of Spain, grounded in Catholicism and its religious culture.⁶³ Defence of the Catholic church in Spain became a legitimizing factor for what was a military uprising against the legally elected government of Spain.⁶⁴ Throughout the autumn of 1936, the Nationalist cemented its religious support by closely integrating its political faction with that of the Catholic church in Spain.⁶⁵ The Vatican had favoured the Nationalist for its defence of Catholicism, but was fearful of outright support for the rebels during the civil war, always considering the political situation of Europe, being afraid of alienating other countries.⁶⁶ Still, when Madrid fell and the civil war ended, the Vatican was quick to congratulate Franco and the Nationalist for its victory for Catholicism in Spain.⁶⁷ Part of the Catholic church in Spain viewed the Nationalist faction as a way of instilling an authoritarian regime in the country, which might foster a cultural and totalitarian unity through the catholic faith.⁶⁸ The civil war was framed as a crusade against the republican state.⁶⁹ National Catholicism became a key foundation of Francoist Spain, one the regime wished to cement further after the end of the civil war. A reform of the education system and textbooks published would therefore bring about a «re-Catholicizing» of Spain.⁷⁰

National unity was another central concept of redefining the Spanish nation and its national identity. Smith writes that the concept of national unity within a community represents a strong bond of solidarity towards the nation, a sentiment of patriotic fraternity towards the national community and attachment and solidarity between individuals and

⁶¹ The Franco regime have been a topic of extensively debate. A thorough examination of the political and ideological nature Franco regime is offered by Boyd (1997) and Payne (1987).

⁶² Boyd (1997): 234-238

⁶³ Payne (1995): 261.

⁶⁴ Payne (1987): 198.

⁶⁵ Ibid: 199-200.

⁶⁶ Ibid: 201.

⁶⁷ Beevor (2009): 508.

⁶⁸ Domke (2011): 9-10.

⁶⁹ Richards (2013): 85.

⁷⁰ Fox (2010): 37.

the nation.⁷¹ For the Franco regime, the Second Republic did not represent a Spanish government, but an illegal usurpation of power that threatened the very unity of Spain. The Second Republic was an external enemy, by being supported by foreign elements, such as international communism, the Soviet Union and foreign volunteers.⁷² Furthermore, the Second Republic had instigated separatist elements in Spain, by granting regional autonomy and local rule to its regional communities. In doing so, the Second Republic had threatened the unity of the country, by beginning the process of the splintering Spain.⁷³ In addition to a political definition of national unity, one can also operate with a more cultural definition of national unity. A component of national unity can be the reinforcement of cultural bonds between the inhabitants of a community.⁷⁴ This cultural aspect, as for instance language, became a source of unification.⁷⁵ Language therefore became a focal point of constructing a national unity in Spain during the early years of the Franco regime. Francoist Spain instituted strong language reforms, in order to achieve this goal.⁷⁶

History and tradition were also invoked as guiding principles for a redefinition on what constituted a Spanish nation.⁷⁷ This reasoning rested on the argument that Spain as a unified state was formed during the conquest of the territory on the Iberian Peninsula, as in addition to that of the globe-spanning Spanish Empire.⁷⁸ By invoking a historical justification, the Franco regime sought to legitimize the uprising against the Republican government, as well as legitimizing the authoritarian nature of the Franco regime. The historical justification of the Franco regime sought to place an emphasis on Spain's national values during its golden age.⁷⁹ The «new history» disseminated would also define the history of the country as the history of a Castilian Spain, a unitary and united country, where the defeat of the Republican forces in 1939 represented the culmination of the united and true Spain.⁸⁰ This «new Spain», rooted in its traditional view of history, would serve as a counterpoint against the modern and un-Spanish ideas, such as liberalism, communism and a fragmentation of the country.⁸¹ The Franco regime stressed the history of Spain as a history of a people chosen by divine providence, that is led by a central leader figure. Being victorious in the civil war, the new political regime could therefore argue that it represented a historical continuation of Spain, where Franco, as the new *Caudillo* of Spain, had divine right and a historical justification for ruling the new Spain.⁸²

The selection of the examination of the three central components of the national identity of Francoist Spain are based on previous research on the Franco regime. The three central components of a Francoist Spanish national identity are established as a model of interpretation in the master's thesis on account of them being the defining characteristics of the Franco regime. Siexas sums it up by stating that the main core values propagated by the Nationalist faction were the «defence of Spain's unity, Catholicism, a return to 'order' and tradition».⁸³ The monograph titled *Historia Patria*, offers an extensive account on the evolution of the politics and history surrounding a national identity in Spain. The central components of the national identity in Francoist Spain, as detailed in this chapter, is summarised by Boyd:

⁷¹ Smith (2010): 29-30.

⁷² Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 442.

⁷³ Ibid: 442.

⁷⁴ Smith (2010): 92.

⁷⁵ Ibid: 29.

⁷⁶ Mar-Molinero (2000): 83-86.

⁷⁷ Boyd (1997): 235.

⁷⁸ Ibid: 236.

⁷⁹ Ibid: 237.

⁸⁰ Ibid: 239.

⁸¹ Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 450.

⁸² Torres (2014): 102.

⁸³ Siexas (2005): 66.

Spanish nationality was definitively determined in the sixteenth-century infusion of the "Catholic ideal" with the "military monarchy". Recourse to this historical mode of legitimation, cultural definition, and political socialisation. By codifying and sacralising a particular interpretation of a particular moment in the Spanish past, National Catholicism invalidated divergence from that model as heretical and "anti-national."⁸⁴

Boyd continues by stating that «The model of "traditional culture" against which both popular and elite culture was measured was Castilian, Catholic, (...). To the extent that individual Spaniards or modern popular culture did not conform to this model, they were target for "Hispanization."»⁸⁵ Given the long history of the Franco regime, the political nature of the regime changed throughout the years. Tusell notes that the Franco regime existed for a substantial time, through different periods and events, thereby being marked by an evolving political nature.⁸⁶ The political aspects of the Franco regime was therefore changing. However, the central components of a national identity were the aspects of the regime, being present in the political foundation of the regime all the way until the death of Franco and the beginning of the transition towards a democracy in 1975.

By establishing the three components as the central defining aspects of the Franco regime, some other distinctions are excluded. The primary element that is left out, is the notion of Francoist Spain as a fascist regime. There were certainly fascist aspects of the Franco regime. The *Falange Española* [Spanish Phalanx], one of the political parties incorporated into what eventually became FET y de las JONS, was founded in 1933 on a fascist ideological platform.⁸⁷ As the Falange Española was eventually incorporated into the larger FET y de las JONS in 1937, the fascist elements in the political party remained. Franco acknowledged that there were members of the party that held fascist ideas,⁸⁸ although they were now relegated to a small minority within a larger amalgamation of right-wing, nationalists and conservatives.⁸⁹ Franco himself described that the political party «could not be considered a strictly fascist movement.», and descriptions of some elements of FET y de las JONS as fascist largely subsided during the early part of the civil war.⁹⁰ Payne states clearly that almost no historical analysis of the Franco regime consider it to be within the ideological aspect of fascism.⁹¹ The political discourse of the Franco regime had fascist elements, but it never amounted to a central, monolithic aspect of the regime.⁹² Even though there were fascist elements in the Franco regime, they do not pertain particularly to the national identity of the members of the Spanish nation. Given that the fascist elements of Francoist Spain were small in number and did not amount to a substantial change in either education policy in general, or textbook policies in particular, fascism and fascist elements are not selected as one of the key components of Francoist Spain's framework for a redefinition of a national identity, and it is not used within the model of interpretation for the selected textbooks.

1.7 – Theoretical framework

The master's thesis will apply two distinct theoretical frameworks in the examination and analysis of the selected history textbooks. The selected theoretical approaches are ethno-

⁸⁴ Boyd (1997): 235.

⁸⁵ Ibid: 235.

⁸⁶ Tusell (1988): 103-105.

⁸⁷ Payne (1999): 93-94.

⁸⁸ Payne (2014): 160.

⁸⁹ Payne (1999): 268-271.

⁹⁰ Ibid: 272.

⁹¹ Ibid: 476-477.

⁹² Campos (2004): 356.

symbolism and historical myths. The theoretical aspect of nations and nationalism, and that of historical myths are important factors in what constitute a national identity.

The master's thesis will use definitions on the different concepts of nations and national identity. Smith presents a definition of what constitute a nation: «a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture and common laws and customs for all members.»⁹³ The master's thesis will examine the concept of nation within the framework of ethno-symbolism. The central component of the ethno-symbolic theory is the concept of subjective elements in the formation of a nation, where national elements are used to reinforce this belief.⁹⁴ These subjective elements take the form of myths surrounding the nation and national identity, symbolic patterns that are important to the community, and values and memories inherent in the construction of what represent a nation.⁹⁵ The importance of these elements rests in their definition of the nation, legitimating its existence, as well as constructing a common framework for cohesion within the community as a whole.⁹⁶ Some of these elements are the existence and importance of myths of origin or a shared historical memory, as well as a common cultural element, herein a focus on language as an important cultural element.⁹⁷ Within these elements, a notion of national identity is important. On the concept of national identity, Smith writes the following definition: «the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that heritage and its cultural elements.»⁹⁸

Within the concept of a national identity lies the notion of a perceived national community as an *ethnie*. An *ethnie* is the perception of a distinct group of people, defined by the group's belief on a shared myth of inception and memory, common cultural attributes, together with a link to a defined and shared homeland.⁹⁹ Smith offers the following definition: «a named and self-defined human community whose members possess a myth of common ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of common culture, including a link with a territory, and a measure of solidarity».¹⁰⁰ The perception of a group as a shared *ethnie* is reinforced by the different elements that able to construct the notion of a shared bond between members of a nation.¹⁰¹ In that regard, a defined *ethnie* can be an instrument in order to create a sense of a national identity.

what we mean by national identity comprises both a cultural and political identity and is located in a political community as well as a cultural one. This is significant because it means that any attempt to forge a national identity is also a political action with political consequences¹⁰²

Smith, in the above quote, describes the action of forming a national identity as inherently a cultural, as well as political process. The different elements innate in a national identity come with political ramification regarding the government of a state. The regime was fearful of the various regional and local identities as possible disruptive and destructive elements, whereby an opposing *ethnie* in Spain could constitute a threat to the unity of

⁹³ Smith (2010): 13.

⁹⁴ Ibid: 61.

⁹⁵ Smith (2009): 24.

⁹⁶ Ibid: 25.

⁹⁷ Smith (2010): 92.

⁹⁸ Smith (2009): 109.

⁹⁹ Smith (2010): 14.

¹⁰⁰ Smith (2009): 27.

¹⁰¹ Smith (1991): 20-26.

¹⁰² Ibid: 99.

the country.¹⁰³ Nations and a national identity can therefore be discussed as a theoretical idea that can be created using certain methods, whereby nations as communities are created by the distinct elements of nationalism.¹⁰⁴ The nation as a community can therefore be said to be a social construct, residing not as an entity within each member of a said community, but rather as a constructed device. In this regard, it can be important to factor in the concept of imagined community. Imagined community is a concept established by Anderson, that propose that nations are imagined communities, that comes by the result of socially constructed notion of people who believe to be a part of a given nation. Anderson offers a definition of a nation as an imagined community:

it is an imagined political community (...) It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in their minds of each lives the image of their communion. (...) it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.¹⁰⁵

A population belongs to a nation on the grounds of a perceived connection to this national group. The perception of this belonging can be affected by shared elements, such as being a part of a religious community or speaking the same language.¹⁰⁶ Within the context of ethno-symbolism, the symbols of a perceived national community are a part of the construction of a definition on a national identity.¹⁰⁷

The past can be thought of as an element that affects the present. It is a central aspect of what forms the sense of identity for members of a society.¹⁰⁸ The past is also an instrument that can be used by leaders of a society, in order to promote a legitimization of a political regime.¹⁰⁹ In an understanding of the past, historical myths play a central role in how a society views the past and how it might influence the comprehension of history. The master's thesis will use a definition by Bernhard et. al. on what constitute a historical myth: «The decisive element of myth is the way in which it creates meaning, by, for instance, offering an interpretation of the world, transmitting norms from generation to generation (...), providing models for the acceptance and assumption of an identity,»¹¹⁰ They continue to write on the function of historical myths: «historical myths is the creation of narrative cohesion within a specific community and the reconnection of the present to a past that infuses it with meaning.»¹¹¹

In the context of education, historical myths might facilitate an orientation for school children in search of an identity.¹¹² As historical myths can be central for the establishment and the development of a sense of identity, historical myths might overlap certain elements surrounding the history of different elements of the past.¹¹³ Bernhard et al. established a set of characteristics of the central tenants of historical myths. These characteristics will be utilized as central features in the examination and the analysis of the formation of a national element in the selected textbooks. Some key elements of those characteristics are:

¹⁰³ Ibid: 124.

¹⁰⁴ Smith (2010): 71.

¹⁰⁵ Anderson (1991): 6-7.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid:12-19, 145.

¹⁰⁷ Smith (2010): 90.

¹⁰⁸ Tosh (2015): 1.

¹⁰⁹ Stugu (2016): 14.

¹¹⁰ Bernhard *et al.* (2019): 13.

¹¹¹ Ibid: 13.

¹¹² Ibid: 27.

¹¹³ Ibid: 22.

- appellative character (especially in a political and/or moral regard)
- variation of themes (notable frequency of war as a theme, as a metaphor representing antagonism between principles)
- a 'sacred' core, i.e. one that is not questioned, but believed uncritically¹¹⁴

By examining and analysing the presentation of Spanish history in the selected textbooks, the master's thesis will apply the definition and the core characteristic on historical myths established by Bernhard et al. Jordanova further expands on the concepts, by stating that myths «suggest an invented story, a narrative devised to achieve certain ends that are usually assumed to have a strong emotional component.»¹¹⁵ Historical myths create a sense of a narrative in the presentation of the history of the past, a narrative that is constructed and not necessarily conveys the past as it actually occurred. It is rather an interpretation of the past, one that is a central aspect of the collective identity of a group. Therefore, historical myths can form the basis of a society's understanding of history.

As part of a thematic interpretation of the past, historical myths become a foundational element of a society, and a framework for consensus and cohesion for members of a group.¹¹⁶ On the collective memory of a group or a society, Tosh writes that collective memory «refers to the stories and assumptions about the past that illustrate – or account for – key features of the society we know today.»¹¹⁷ The attainment of notions or assumptions reinforce the values and deep-rooted beliefs in a society. Tosh continues to write on this aspect within the use of history. He states that political elites have had «an interest in promoting for public consumption a version of history that legitimized their own position in the body politic, either by emphasizing their past achievements, or by demonstrating the antiquity of the constitution under which they held office.»¹¹⁸ Historical myths as a political tool is marked by an embellished story «whose purpose is to consolidate power and dominion».¹¹⁹ The key elements, as presented by Bernhard et al., as well as the overall concept of historical myths, are important factors in how the history of the past is presented and it can be used in order to frame an ideological or political narrative.¹²⁰

1.8 – Structure

The following chapters are based on the three defining concepts of a Francoist national identity, as detailed in chapter 1.6. Each chapter will detail relevant information and passages from the selected textbooks pertaining to the concept in question. The chapters are structured in a way where they first briefly summarize the relevant details regarding the concept, and then introduce several sub-chapters, each presenting a selected history textbook and how the concept is conveyed in that particular book. The presentation of National Catholicism will be examined and discussed in chapter 2. National unity, as it was depicted in the selected history textbooks, will be further examined, and discussed in chapter 3. The portrayal of Spanish history, as an instrument for redefining the national identity of Francoist Spain, will be examined, and discussed in chapter 4. The final chapter will detail the conclusions and the professional relevance of the master's thesis.

¹¹⁴ Ibid: 28.

¹¹⁵ Jordanova (2006): 103.

¹¹⁶ Tosh (2015): 3.

¹¹⁷ Ibid: 254.

¹¹⁸ Ibid: 47.

¹¹⁹ Bernhard et al. (2019): 13.

¹²⁰ Ibid: 15.

2 – National Catholicism in Francoist textbooks

In this chapter, I will examine how the concept of National Catholicism and religion were portrayed in the selected history textbooks. I will explore and discuss the general structures of the textbooks, as well as present and discuss some relevant passages. Furthermore, I am going to assess the relevant passages from the textbooks considering the education regulations and textbook policies, as seen in primary sources from the Spanish Ministry of National Education. Chapter 2.1 will establish a working definition of National Catholicism. Moreover, chapter 2.1 will look at how the religious aspects of Francoist Spain were embedded in educational law. The following sub-chapters will examine the four selected textbooks, each in its own sub-chapter. Chapter 2.2.1 to 2.2.4 will discuss the narrative frequently promulgated in the selected history textbooks, and further examine whether the account substantiated the notion of Spain as an inherent religious nation, and Catholicism as a primordial aspect of the national identity of Francoist Spain.

2.1– National Catholicism as a foundation for a Spanish ethnics

One of the central aspects of the national identity of Francoist Spain was that it again was to be inherently linked to that of the Catholic faith.¹²¹ National Catholicism was a way in which to return to the traditional roots of Spain, deeply embedded in the religious history of the country.¹²² It represented a strong sense of an authoritarian nationalism combined with Catholicism.¹²³ The embedding of religious teaching was perceived as a manner of creating citizens of the new Spanish nation.¹²⁴ Boyd defines National Catholicism as «the reactionary cultural values of traditional Spanish Catholicism with strident authoritarian nationalism and a smattering of corporatist ideas.»¹²⁵ National Catholicism was an idea of reinstating a religious foundation in Spain, both within the political sphere, and additionally in the private sphere. The notion of National Catholicism as a political idea would work for integrating Catholicism in every aspect of life in the new Spanish nation.¹²⁶

The focus of National Catholicism was on religious aspects, like the Nationalist faction's defence of Catholicism or the Reconquista [Reconquest], as a fundamental part of Spain's religious past. These aspects were to be important frameworks in the construction of a religious foundation of a national identity in Francoist Spain.¹²⁷ The Catholic faith was both during the civil war and in the ensuing Francoist Spain, an element used as a common denominator for the population of Spain.¹²⁸ The 1938 education law was quite clear in its definition of the role of religion in Spain: «la formación clásica y humanista ha de ser acompañada por un contenido eminentemente católico y patriótico. El Catolicismo es la médula de la Historia de España.» [the classic and humanist teaching must be accompanied by an eminently Catholic and patriotic content. Catholicism is the core of the history of Spain.]¹²⁹ In the same year, the Ministry of National Education published a decree that proclaimed the unity between religion and the new Spain. "La necesidad de mantener en la Escuela de la Nueva España el espíritu religioso y patriótico, que constituye la esencia de nuestro Movimiento Nacional" [The need to maintain in the School of the New Spain the religious and patriotic spirit, which constitutes the essence of our National Movement.]¹³⁰ This shows that the teaching of religion was given a substantial weight in the curriculum of Francoist Spain.

¹²¹ Lagunas (1997): 92.

¹²² Roith (2017): 341.

¹²³ Hwangbo (2014): 132.

¹²⁴ Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 444.

¹²⁵ Boyd (1997): 168.

¹²⁶ Payne (1984): 183.

¹²⁷ Black (2005): 71.

¹²⁸ Seidman (2011): 159.

¹²⁹ Jefatura del Estado (1938): 1386.

¹³⁰ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1938b): 1135.

A central course curriculum was adopted in 1939 as a mandatory guideline for the content of both the teaching itself and the content of the textbooks to be approved and published in Spain. It stated that the methodological teaching of history should teach the pupils to «adquirir una noción sucinta, pero clara, de las principales etapas de nuestra Historia (...) Se harán oportunas aplicaciones al Glorioso Movimiento Nacional y a la formación de la Nueva España, defensora de la verdadera Civilización que es la Cristiandad.» [to acquire a brief but clear notion of the main stages of our History (...) Timely applications will be made to the Glorious National Movement and to the formation of New Spain, defender of the true Civilization, that is Christianity.]¹³¹ As instructed by the course curriculum, a religious foundation was to be embedded in teaching of both the general history of Spain, as well as that of the Movimiento Nacional.

2.2 – National Catholicism in the selected textbooks

The textbook *Así quiero ser* is an example of an early post-civil war textbook that was published in Spain. *Así quiero ser* is in its essence a textbook largely devoted to the indoctrination of pupils through the intentional portrayal of unambiguous and clearly stated facts about the nature of the Spanish nation. The book is described as a textbook that «defends the regime's absolute power through a tightly structured hierarchical system and indoctrinates the first post-war generation of children with what Franco referred to as 'eternal truths'.»¹³² The textbook can be viewed as a response to the new regime that came to power in Spain after the civil war, being perceived as an instrument that would aid Francoist Spain with its political aspiration of organizing the country under a new ideological-political regime. Its intentions were quite clear. In its introductory preamble, the publishing agency state this notion. The introduction remarks that with the textbook «Vamos a formar a los nuevos ciudadanos en las nuevas doctrinas del Estado.» [We are going to form the new citizens in the new doctrines of the State].¹³³

One of the aspects that the textbook conveys was the definition of Spain as Roman Catholic country. The second sub-chapter in the textbook details the religion of Spain. The first sentence of the chapter serves as a topic sentence for the chapter as a whole, where it states that «La religión católica apostólica romana, es la única verdadera y la que profesamos los españoles.» [The Roman Apostolic Catholic religion is the only true one and the one that Spaniards profess to].¹³⁴ This statement is further defined in depth on the bottom of the same page where it is marked in its own section, with bold letter, stating that «El alma española es naturalmente católica.» [The Spanish soul is naturally Catholic].¹³⁵ This introduction to the religion of Spain shows how the textbook leaves no doubt what it means to be Spanish. There is only one religion that Spaniards confess to, namely the Catholic faith. The religious aspects were to be deeply instilled into the pupils reading *Así quiero ser*, and the textbook firmly established Catholicism as a central identifying aspect for the readers of the textbook, arguing for its deeply enshrined role in the Spanish nation.

Further passages underline how Spain always have fought for the religion of the country. The passages state the following: «Por la Religión católica luchó España contra los árabes, los turcos, los judíos, los protestantes, los enciclopedistas masónicos y los marxistas.» [For the Catholic religion, Spain fought against the Arabs, the Turks, the Jews, the Protestants, the encyclopaedic masonic' and the Marxists.]¹³⁶ The passage conveys the expectation of Spaniards fighting against the enemies of Spain, especially the ones who – as *Así quiero ser* views it – opposes the Catholic religion of Spain. In that way, the textbook

¹³¹ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 23-24.

¹³² Pinto (2004): 651.

¹³³ Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez (1940): 5.

¹³⁴ Ibid: 8.

¹³⁵ Ibid: 8.

¹³⁶ Ibid: 8.

cements the expectation of a Catholic, Spain, thereby constructing the narrative of National Catholicism as a central component of the national identity of Francoist Spain.

Si arrancásemos de nuestra Historia todo cuanto a través de los siglos hemos luchado por la Religión, el resto no sería más que un cadáver, un cuerpo sin alma. Siendo católicos servimos a España y al gran negocio de nuestra alma, que es su salvación.

[If we were to wrest from our history everything that through the centuries we have fought for religion, the rest would be nothing more than a corpse, a body without a soul. Being Catholics we serve Spain and the great business of our soul, which is their salvation. Being Catholics we serve Spain and the great business of our soul, which is their salvation.]¹³⁷

This passage demonstrates the textbook's depiction of the Catholic faith as an intrinsic element of Spain. *Así quiero ser* constructs a cohesion around the notion that Spain is a Catholic nation, and that this is something that all righteous Spaniards must defend. This in turn acts as a justification for the actions taken against the Republican forces during the civil war. The religious aspect of National Catholicism in that regard intertwined with the political actions taken by the Franco regime. Furthermore, the textbook makes a substantial display of the religious connotation of Spain, portraying it as something deeply imbedded in the Spanish nation and something that had to be preserved. *Así quiero ser* also makes a statement concerning the religious aspect of Spain towards the end of the textbook. In a chapter summarizing the content of the textbook, it states that «Siendo españoles serán religiosa» [Being Spanish is being religious].¹³⁸

I would describe *Así quiero ser* as a textbook that fall within the characteristic of a sacred core of a historical myth, where it is given as a fact that Spain is Catholic, and not something that is to be questioned. Examining this in light of the theoretical aspect of nationalism and national identity, the textbook establishes the Catholic faith as a primordial aspect of both Spain itself, but also of the new political authority in the country, thereby vesting a religious justification of its rule. Religion may function as a device to foster a political cohesion and create a sense of a common origin within an ethnic.¹³⁹ The passages demonstrate that the religious aspect of the Spanish national identity was reinforced to construct a common heritage of all Spaniards, one rooted in an ancient, religious heritage. The Catholic faith, heavily intervened with Spanish history, was promulgated as inherently Spanish. Moreover, the religious aspect was also depicted as an element that had to be defended. This illustrates the argument that the textbook conveyed a religious justification for the actions by the Franco regime during and after the civil war. The narrative promulgated in the textbook constructs a framework for an imagined community, in which National Catholicism is a fundamental part of the perceived notion of the national identity. The depiction of Catholicism in *Así quiero ser* as a primordial and intrinsic aspect of Spain served to establish National Catholicism – where the religious faith would be a central element of a traditional, authoritarian nationalism – as an element in the definition of a national identity of Francoist Spain.

Historia de España was written by José María Igual and was published for the first time in 1941.¹⁴⁰ It represents a brand-new edition of books approved and published after the end of the civil war and offers a comprehensive overview of Spanish history from pre-ages until the end of the civil war. The book was approved for publications by the National

¹³⁷ Ibid: 9.

¹³⁸ Ibid: 166.

¹³⁹ Smith (1991): 27.

¹⁴⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019e).

Council of Education on several occasions; in 1940,¹⁴¹ again in 1941,¹⁴² and finally in 1942.¹⁴³ An interesting element in this textbook's depiction of the religious foundation of the Spanish nation, is that it is less direct in its portrayal of National Catholicism. Rather than firmly stating in its depiction of the religious foundation of the Spanish nation and National Catholicism's position within the Spanish society, the textbook rather instils a religious foundation within central aspects of Spanish history.

Historia de España demonstrates the Spanish nation's traditional and religious history and Spaniards defending their religion against enemies seeking to deny Spain its rightful religious foundation. I would argue that the depictions in Historia de España, with the Spanish nation's defence of Catholicism, both in the context of the ancient and the contemporary history of Spain, served as an entrenchment of the religious values of Francoist Spain, and functioned as a way of embedding National Catholicism in the readers of the textbook. The textbook explains the position held by the Catholic faith in Spain in the introductory chapter:

Comienza entonces una nueva Edad, la Contemporánea, que dura hasta el momento actual. Durante ella, la influencia extranjera divide a los españoles en bandos rivales, que ensangrientan España, y se desmorona el Imperio colonial español, que habían iniciado los Reyes Católicos; pero también habrá de ver resurgir los principios fundamentales de la Patria en el Glorioso Movimiento Nacional.

[Then begins a new Age, the Contemporary, which lasts so far today. During this age, foreign influence divides the Spanish on rival sides, which bloodied Spain, and the Spanish colonial empire, which had been started by the Catholic Monarchs, crumbled; but it will also see the re-emergence of the fundamental principles of the Fatherland in the Glorious National Movement.]¹⁴⁴

The first chapter underlines the connotation between the political movement of Francoist Spain, the National Movement, and the Reyes Católicos [Catholic Monarchs]. The Catholic Monarchs are in Spanish historiography often portrayed as central figures in the establishment of Spain as a Catholic nation. Moreover, for the Nationalists and Franco, the Catholic Monarchs of Spain were the manifestation of the Catholic foundation of Spain.¹⁴⁵ The course curriculum for history, passed in 1939, established the teaching of the Catholic Monarchs as a central tenet for the approval of textbook content,¹⁴⁶ and was therefore to be a central part of the religious foundation of Spain as presented in the textbooks. Further on, the course curriculum established mandatory religious principles that were to be central aspects in approved textbooks. Amongst other principles, the course curriculum established that history textbooks should contain aspects regarding «Lucha por la defensa del Catolicismo.» [Fight for the defence of the Catholicism.]¹⁴⁷ It is established in the course curriculum that the depiction of the defence of Catholicism is a central aspect of the history courses in the education system of Francoist Spain.

On page 19, the textbook deals with the process of early Spanish unification and expansion, covering especially the events of the Reconquista. The Reconquista was the conflict between the Christian kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula (the kingdoms of Portugal, Castile-León and Aragón-Catalonia) and the Muslim rule of large parts of the

¹⁴¹ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1940): 69.

¹⁴² Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1941): 250.

¹⁴³ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1942): 1324.

¹⁴⁴ Igual (1942): 4.

¹⁴⁵ Fernández-Armesto (2000): 120-123.

¹⁴⁶ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 18.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid: 23.

peninsula, known as Al-Andalus.¹⁴⁸ By the Nationalist's point of view, the Reconquista was a concept that represented the highpoint of Spanish military and political power, and a historical memory that served to strengthen the legitimacy of the religious and national aspects of the Movimiento Nacional.¹⁴⁹ In *Historia de España*, the history of the Reconquista has a prominent position when examining the history of Spain during the 13th to the 15th century. The Reconquista is framed as a noble struggle by the Spaniards against a foreign invasion, where the ancient Spanish kingdoms fight for the reconquest of their rightful land. In the introduction to the topic, the textbook describes it as «la más heroica gesta que registra la historia de naciones cristianas en la Edad Media: el Reconquista.» [the most heroic deed that is recorded in the history of Christian nations in the Middle Ages: The Reconquest.]¹⁵⁰ The Reconquista is further examined, and the textbook analyse it as the following:

Representa, pues, la Reconquista, la voluntad firme de los españoles de defender sus creencias religiosas (...), de impedir que se destrocen los usos y costumbres venerados y, sobre todo, frente al ideal caballeresco de Europa, ideal que sólo se encuentra mezclado con intereses privados, crear un ideal caballeresco cristiano, militante, que detiene la ruina de la civilización occidental.

[It represents, therefore, the Reconquest, the firm will of the Spaniards to defend their religious beliefs (...) to prevent the revocation and destruction of traditions and customs and, above all, to front the chivalrous ideal of Europe, ideal that is only mixed with private interests, to create a Christian, militant, chivalrous ideal that will stop the ruin of Western civilization.]¹⁵¹

By presenting the Reconquista as a defence of the righteous religious foundation of the Spanish nation, the textbook also constructs a historical parallel between the reconquest of Spain during the middle ages and the contemporary reconquest of Francoist Spain, a victory over the antireligious republican Spain. As the national identity of Spain was to be intrinsically connected to that of religion, the establishment of the Movimiento Nacional and the Franco regime as a true defender of Christianity, Francoist Spain is thereby defined as a defender of the Catholic faith. This notion was further reinforced in the textbook, where the fighting during the civil war is given a religious connotation. The consequences of not defending the Spanish nation against the aggression of the Second Republic is further examined in *Historia de España*:

Pronto tomó carácter el matiz antirreligioso de la Republica. En medio de la indiferencia de los gobernantes, una multitud dirigida por elementos socialistas quemaba iglesias y conventos, martirizando a los religiosos que caían en sus manos. Comenzaba, apoyada por el Poder público, la persecución de los que habían significado su amor al orden y la religión.

[An antireligious character soon took the hue of the Republic. Amidst the indifference of the rulers, a crowd led by socialist elements burned churches and convents, martyring the religious who fell into their hands. They began, supported by the Public Power, the persecution of those who had meant his love for the order and the religion.]¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ O'Callaghan (2003): 2-3.

¹⁴⁹ Torres (2014): 102-103.

¹⁵⁰ Igual (1942): 19.

¹⁵¹ Ibid: 19-20.

¹⁵² Ibid: 98.

The Second Republic is depicted as a violent aggression against religious elements in the country, destroying churches and convents, killing many religious Spaniards in the process.¹⁵³ By being thoroughly labelled as an antireligious element, the textbook creates a narrative of the Republican forces as enemies of the Catholic faith, and in turn, to the Spanish nation itself. The Second Republic itself then becomes the representation of the obliteration of the, in the eyes of the Nationalist forces, true notion of a Spanish national identity, the Spanish nation and its people, namely its religious foundation, a central aspect of Francoist Spain's definition of a nation.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the textbook describes the anti-religious nature of the Second Republic in an aggressive, violent fashion. It continues some pages later with the account of the Movimiento Nacional and the Nationalist faction's opposition against the Second Republic and its anti-religious actions. The description of the Movimiento Nacional is then characterised as largely a defender of the faith and the religious foundation of Spain. The passage describes the Movimiento Nacional and the defence of the religious aspects of the Spanish nation in the following manner:

De aquí la significación religiosa del Movimiento, que ha vuelto a restituir en todo su resplandor la religión de nuestros mayores, dando un sentido católico a la vida nacional, en lugar del materialismo y del ateísmo a que Europa entera parecía condenada por el marxismo. Una vez más España había detenido los enemigos de Europa, de su Cultura y de su Religión

[Hence the religious significance of the Movement, which has once again restored in all its splendour the religion of our ancestors, giving a Catholic meaning to national life, instead of the materialism and atheism to which Europe as a whole seemed condemned by Marxism. Once again Spain had stopped the enemies of Europe, its Culture and its Religion]¹⁵⁵

The passage is reinforcing the notion of Catholicism as a traditional historical memory of the Spanish nation. This creates a narrative in which to construct a national identity.¹⁵⁶ The depiction in the passage, while not explicit in the statement that is used, still conveys the idea of Catholicism as a central aspect of what constitute the Spanish nation. National Catholicism as an aspect that was to penetrate every aspect of the Spanish nation and its perception of the national identity, by depicting the Catholic faith as «the religion of our ancestors», it further reinforces the perception of how the identity of Spaniards are connected with Catholicism. By fighting against the Republicans, the Franco regime was described as protecting Spain from invasion and destruction and, in the eyes of the Nationalists, defending the independence of Spain, a central tenant of the political aspect of what constitute a nation.¹⁵⁷ In that regard, the actions taken by the nationalist before and during the civil war were explained as the defence of the religious foundation of the Spanish nation. The textbook conveys the notion of the Republican forces as an aggressor, attempting to destroy the Spanish nation's religious unity and foundation.

The textbook constructs a connotation between historical parallels in defining eras in Spanish history, as with the case of the portrayal of the Reconquista, and in contemporary Spanish history. The civil war is depicted as a sort of continuation of this struggle. The Republican forces are depicted as attackers that would rob the Spanish nation

¹⁵³ These descriptions are partly based on the violence against enemies - presumed and real - in both the Nationalist and Republican zones of control at the beginning of the civil war. In the Republican zone, several churches were attacked and destroyed, and close to 8 000 religious persons were killed during the first weeks of the civil war. Thomas (1961): 171-173.

¹⁵⁴ Smith (2010): 154.

¹⁵⁵ Igual (1942): 105.

¹⁵⁶ Smith (2010): 109.

¹⁵⁷ Breuilly (1993): 2.

for its true, religious foundation, something the Movimiento Nacional prevented.¹⁵⁸ In that regard, the textbook frames the civil war not as a fratricidal war, but rather as a religious conflict, one in which the Francoists saved Spain from losing its religious foundation. *Historia de España* depicts Catholicism as an elemental part of the Spanish nation, something that has been present in Spain since the unification of the country under the Catholic Monarchs during the 15th century. The Reconquista was elevated to a central part of the history of Spain and is in the textbook presented as a characteristic of the Spanish nation and all members of it, emphasizing the Catholic religion as a crucial aspect of the common cultural elements for all Spaniards. The textbook depicts a resemblance between Spaniards during the Reconquista defending their religion and nation, and the contemporary history of Spain, where the Nationalist and the Franco regime are presented as modern-day equivalent of the Reconquista.

The narrative, where Catholicism is portrayed as an inherent part of Spain, stresses the religious facet of the Spanish nation, and it works as a construction of a collective and national identity, through the depiction of shared values and symbols.¹⁵⁹ *Historia de España* constructs an account where Catholicism is presented as a defining and central aspect of Spanish history and the Spanish ethnics. This is within the definition of what constituted National Catholicism, where the religious foundation was embedded in Spain's history and society. *Historia de España* serves as an instrument for creating a shared element in National Catholicism, to build a national identity. It invokes the imagery of historical parallels, where the history of Spain is used as a device to show that Spaniards always have protected their religious faith from those who would undermined it, creating a contemporary precedence for a religious foundation of the Spanish national identity. The textbook conveys the notion that the Franco regime was to be perceived as a legitimate defender of the traditional values of the Spanish nation, therein the concept of National Catholicism.

España nuestra was a textbook published in 1943. The textbook represents a brand of textbooks that were written and published completely within the legal framework of Francoist Spain. In general, the textbook is structured as a discussion between the writer and the audience, the children of the "new Spain". The writer of the textbook, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, was an early supporter of a Mediterranean fascism years before the outbreak of the civil war.¹⁶⁰ In regard to the presentation of Spain in *España nuestra*, it was the intention of the writer to establish fascist elements in the new generation of Spanish schoolchildren through the dissemination of such in the textbook.¹⁶¹ Even though this is the case, *España nuestra* «follows a pattern (...) found in other Nationalist schoolbooks of the era, in which glorious and critical moments in Spanish history were interpreted as coinciding with a given Falangist doctrine such as militarism, Catholic morality, or national unity.»¹⁶² As Domke says: «For Giménez Caballero and other Spanish fascists, fascism was intricately intertwined with Catholicism.»¹⁶³ The general representation of the concept of a Spanish national identity was in a substantial degree rooted in a religious presentation. On this subject, the textbook works towards establishing the Catholic faith as a traditional and common element for the inhabitants of the Spanish nation. The textbook opens in its preamble with a decree for its purpose, namely, to create a connection between love for the *Patria*, the homeland, and a religious aspiration towards God. The preamble states:

Si el rezo fundamental de España es decir, mirando a Dios: ¡Padre nuestro!, la plegaria nacional deberá ser exclamar, mirando a la Patria: ¡España nuestra! Este libro, escrito siguiendo normas generales prefijadas por nuestra Educación

¹⁵⁸ Payne (1987): 198.

¹⁵⁹ Smith (2010): 21.

¹⁶⁰ Payne (1995): 257-258.

¹⁶¹ Wilhelm (1998): 277.

¹⁶² Ibid: 263.

¹⁶³ Domke (2011): 13.

oficial, no es más que la exposición, para nuestras juventudes, de ese doble amor religioso y español: ¡Padre nuestro! ¡España nuestra!

[If the fundamental prayer of Spain is to say, looking at God: Our Father!, the national prayer must be to exclaim, looking at the Homeland: Our Spain! This book, written following general rules established by our official Education, is nothing more than the exposition, for our youths, of that double religious and Spanish love: Our father! Our Spain!]¹⁶⁴

This passage shows how the textbook was to be an instrument which would create a link between the Spanish nation and the present-day religious foundation. The author clearly understood the role textbooks were to play in the indoctrination of a new generation of Spanish youths, one who was to grow up and live in a Spain that had a radically different definition of the notion of a Spanish nation and the national identity of the country than that of its political predecessor. The selected history textbook can therefore be said to constitute an instrument in the undertaking of Francoist Spain to redefine the national identity of Spain after the conclusion of the civil war.

España nuestra is rather clear on its account of the religious foundation of Spain. The second chapter of the textbook has several sections that delves into the religion of the Spanish nation. The inherent religious aspect of Spain is stated in the chapter: «Destino cristiano ha sido el de España en la Historia.» [Christian destiny has been that of Spain in the History.]¹⁶⁵ The textbook establishes that the history of Spain has always been linked to the Christian destiny, thereby cementing the religious image of the Spanish nation. Further on in the chapter the examination of imagery and symbolism of religion and the Spanish nation continues:

La figura de España tiene la forma de una Cruz. Y recuerda al Cristo que pintó Velázquez: al Redentor del Mundo y de los hombres. Por eso el destino de España es cristiano (...) Pero para cumplir este sublime Destino debió España siempre, a imitación del divino Salvador, sufrir martirios, sacrificios, sangre derramada, infinitas amarguras. Y duras luchas. Por eso - niños míos - es precios imaginés a España como un perpetuo combate y mirés su vida con mirada militar.

[The figure of Spain has the shape of a Cross. And it remembers the Christ that Velázquez painted: The Redeemer of the World and of men. That is why the destiny of Spain is Christian (...) But in order to fulfil this sublime Destiny, Spain must always, in imitation of the divine Saviour, suffer martyrdoms, sacrifices, spilled blood, infinite bitterness. And hard struggles. That is why - my children - you should imagine Spain as a perpetual battle and should look at its life with a military gaze.]¹⁶⁶

The above extract from *España nuestra* contains a rather firm and clear language, leaving no room for ambiguity. The passage refers to the shape of Spain as the shape of a cross. Accompanied by the passage is an illustration on the same page (figure 1).¹⁶⁷ The symbolism behind defining a connotation between the shape of Spain and the cross, is most likely to construct a clear representation in Spain, one heavily connected to a religious aspect. The illustration act as a heavy-handed symbol of National Catholicism,

¹⁶⁴ Caballero (1943): 7.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid: 29.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid: 30.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid: 30.

demonstrating to the pupils reading the textbook a key identifying characteristic of Spaniards.¹⁶⁸

España nuestra utilizes a substantial space for an account of the religious history of Spain and its meaning for Spain as a nation. An entire chapter details important figures and movements in Spain throughout its history.¹⁶⁹ The primary setting of a substantial amount of the chapter is examining those who have fought for or, in any other capacity, defended the Catholic faith in Spain. The reader is left with the impression that the Catholic faith is a primordial trait of the Spanish nation, and by identifying as a Spaniard, one is also intrinsically seeing oneself as a member of the Catholic faith. As Smith remarks on ethnicities and national identities: «Belonging to an ethnic group is a matter of attitudes, perceptions and sentiments (...). This makes it possible for ethnicity to be used 'instrumental' to further individual or collective interests».¹⁷⁰

He further continues: «An ethnic group is a type of cultural collectively, one that emphasize the role of myths of decent and historical memories, and that is recognized by one or more cultural differences like religion».¹⁷¹ España nuestra delves deep into the symbolism of the collective national sentiments of the Spanish nation, intertwining it with religious connotations. Symbols, either implicit or explicit, are an element in conveying notions of what constitute a national identity.¹⁷²

The symbolism used to depict Catholicism as one of the elemental aspects of the Spanish national identity is simple and clear and relies heavily on stating it as a concrete and fundamental fact, in that should and cannot be argued with. In that regard, the textbook heavily underlines the sacred core that is National Catholicism and religion as an essential part of the Francoist Spanish nation. As shown in the passages for España nuestra, the textbook makes sure to use a firm language when establishing the importance of religion in Spain; always making sure it is explained in a manner, as Bernhard et al. defined it,¹⁷³ where the religious foundation is treated as a sacred core. The content of España nuestra is presented as an element containing strong emotional components,¹⁷⁴ one aimed at clearly conveying the notion of National Catholicism, and a Spanish nation where religion is a central part of what constitute the national identity. The narrative presented in the textbook serves as a display of an intrinsic element – National Catholicism – of the Francoist nation. España nuestra was in many ways a textbook that depicted a clear and concrete notion on what it meant to be a part of «our Spain».

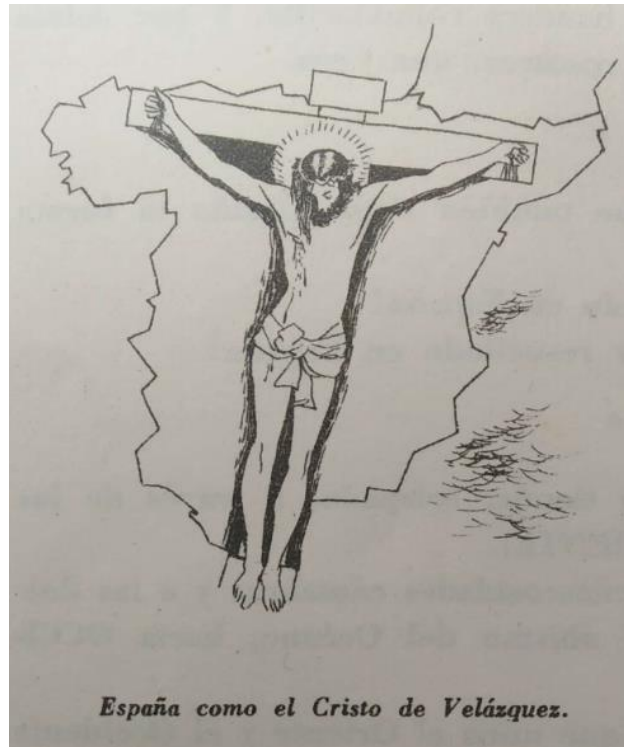


Figure 1 - Facsimile from España nuestra

¹⁶⁸ The description below the illustration reads «España como el Cristo de Velázquez» [Spain as the Christ of Velázquez], a reference to a famous painting by the Spanish painter Diego Velázquez, a court painter working in Spain during the 17th century: Harris-Frankfort (2019).

¹⁶⁹ Caballero (1943): 147-198.

¹⁷⁰ Smith (1991): 20.

¹⁷¹ Ibid: 20.

¹⁷² Ibid: 29.

¹⁷³ Bernhard et al. (2019): 18.

¹⁷⁴ Jordanova (2006): 106.

The textbook *Compendio de historia de España desde las más remotas épocas hasta 1939* is a textbook published in 1940.¹⁷⁵ *Compendio de historia de España* was approved by the National Council of Education for use in the education system in 1942.¹⁷⁶ As stated in chapter 1.4, the 1940 version is a republication of a textbooks originally published in 1916. The legal regulations and textbook policies enacted by the Franco regime were not taken into consideration in the 1916 version. By being an early textbook, written long before the proclamation of the Second Republic, the outbreak of the civil war, or the ensuing Franco regime, the textbook is not that strong in its portrayal of the political-ideological framework of Francoist Spain, as the other textbooks taken into consideration.

The textbook includes the aforementioned *Reyes Católicos*, the Catholic Monarchs, and how their union began the unification of the Iberian kingdoms into Spain.¹⁷⁷ What is special in *Compendio de historia de España*, is that it is a description of the historical process that happened, rather than the renditioning of how the Spanish nation and Spaniards are all naturally and intrinsically Catholic. In that regard, the general layout of the textbook is rather neutral in its portrayal of the religious aspects of Spain. In comparison to the other textbooks examined in this chapter, it is more descriptive in its renditioning of the religious aspect of Spain. There are, however, some instances where the religious connotation is used in the textbook's description of certain events. In the textbook there is a chapter that examine the course of the civil war. The passage in the chapter reads as following:

Viene luego la estratégica división del frente de Levante, con la llegada de nuestro invicto Ejército hasta el mar latino, en cuyas aguas el cristiano General bañó su noble mano, para marcar sobre la frente la señal de la Santa Cruz, símbolo de nuestra Cruzada, el día de Viernes Santo, conquistada Vinaroz. Era el 15 de Abril de 1938.

[Sometime later comes the strategic division of the front of Levante, with the arrival of our undefeated army to the Latin sea, in whose waters the Christian General bathed his noble hand, to mark on the forehead the sign of the Holy Cross, symbol of our Crusade, on Good Friday, conquering Vinaroz. It was April 15, 1938.]¹⁷⁸

This passage examines a military offensive in Valencia. The offensive was a success for the Nationalists and they managed to establish a corridor to the Mediterranean Sea, thereby separating the Republican zone in two.¹⁷⁹ The extract in the textbook make heavily use of a religious imagery when describing the military offensive. The act where the commanding general walks to the shoreline, dipping his hand in the sea and marking the sign of the Holy Cross on his forehead leaves no doubt to the religious nature of the Nationalist army and its commanders. The religious theme when examining the military victories reinforce the notion of the civil war as a divine providence.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, the religious connotation of the representation of civil war facilitated a substantial mobilisation on the Spanish population against the Republicans,¹⁸¹ meaning the passage functioned as a representation of the civil war as whole, whereby the conflict was to be painted as a noble struggle against those – in this case, the Republicans – who attempted to destroy the religious foundation of the Spanish nation. The textbook ends with the Nationalist's victory in the civil war in 1939. Ending on a note for its significance for the country, the final passage of the textbook

¹⁷⁵ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019d).

¹⁷⁶ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1942): 1324.

¹⁷⁷ Amado (1940): 105-107.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid: 248.

¹⁷⁹ Beevor (2009): 426.

¹⁸⁰ Torres (2014): 102.

¹⁸¹ Richards (2010): 130.

goes as the following: «¡Dios salve a nuestra patria! Y nosotros, sus hijos, trabajando cada uno en su lugar, con el fiel cumplimiento del deber, esforcémonos por restituirle su antigua grandeza!» [God save our country.! And we, your children, working each in his place, with the faithful fulfilment of duty, let us strive to restore his former greatness!]¹⁸² The final chapter is a statement to work towards the reestablishment of a religious Spanish nation.

The last two examples are demonstrations of passages in *Compendio de historia de España* where a religious connotation is used in order to create a narrative of a Francoist faction that is fighting for the restoration of a religious Spanish nation, a process that is portrayed as the return to the traditional values of the Spanish identity. In that regard, the examples can be viewed as depiction of National Catholicism, where the religious faith of Spain is deeply imbedded with different aspects of Spanish society. The passages depict the notion of the civil war and the victory of the Franco regime as the return of the traditional element of religion to the national identity of the Spanish nation. These parts of the textbook serve as the illustration of cultural elements meant to instil a common definition of the ethnies of Francoist Spain.¹⁸³

Both examples are obtained from the final chapter of the textbook. The last chapter contains passages about topics that happened after the original publication of the textbook in 1916,¹⁸⁴ meaning it was added in the republication that was published in 1940. Republished textbooks of older publications were edited as to contain «a few words about the civil war».¹⁸⁵ This fact, along with the examples of added text in *Compendio de historia de España*, lend credibility to the argument that the text that was added in the 1940 republication was more in line with the political-ideological framework than the original work. For this reasons, I will argue that *Compendio de historia de España* in that regard is an example of a textbook that was approved by the Ministry of National Education and the National Council of Education, but only in a lesser degree followed the textbook guidelines established by the Franco regime.

2.3 – Summary

The passages in the above chapter shows that there are several similarities between the selected history textbooks in their way of portraying National Catholicism and religion. In all of them, with the noted exception of *Compendio de historia de España*, there are passages that explicitly state the intrinsic and religious values that are to be professed by all Spaniards. The notion of the Spanish nation is either developed through the use of a firm and clear language, one that leaves no room for doubting the religious character of Spain, or through the representation of Spaniards as a religious, collective community, one embedded in its historical roots, and presented in the textbooks as a sacred core, not to be argued against. Accordingly, I will argue that the selected textbooks serve as a conveyer of a Spanish national identity deeply rooted in a religious aspect. Furthermore, the legal regulations concerning history textbooks shows how the Ministry of National Education and the National Council of Education established key guidelines and a general course curriculum that established National Catholicism as a central aspect of the Spanish nation. This shows that National Catholicism was to play an important role in the national identity, as expressed in the history textbooks.

With regards to *Compendio de historia de España*, as shown in the difference between the final chapter and the rest of the textbook, it is an example of a republication of a history textbook that in a lesser degree follows the political-ideological framework as desired by the Franco regime. The textbook, written and published before the civil war and the Franco regime, is rather dissimilar in its depiction of the religion in the Spanish nation. This is on account of the textbook being published long before the general guidelines established by the Ministry of National Education were enacted. On the textbook policy

¹⁸² Amado (1940): 249.

¹⁸³ Smith (2010): 61.

¹⁸⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España (2019d).

¹⁸⁵ López Marcos, as cited in Pinto (2004): 652.

during the Franco regime, Boyd writes that «textbook censorship proved to be more effective in eliminating heterodoxy than in creating a uniform outlook and tone among approved texts».¹⁸⁶ When the textbook then eventually was republished, the final chapter was reedited to contain some excerpts of the contemporary history of Spain for the last 20 years. By adding this section, the new edition included text where National Catholicism was ingrained, on account of the guidelines and textbook policies established by the Ministry of National Education. This shows that even though National Catholicism and the depiction of the Spanish national identity were deeply intertwined in the selected textbooks, there were some disparities in the way it was portrayed. Textbooks that were written and published before the civil war and the Franco regime, as exemplified by *Compendio de historia de España*, were less absolute and contained less firm language when depicting the Spanish nation as a Catholic nation.

The other selected textbooks were written and published after the end of the civil war, when the Franco regime was firmly established, alongside with established course curriculum and textbook policies from the Ministry of National Education. Because of that their depiction and portrayal of the religious aspects of the Spanish nation were firmer and more clearly presented. In the textbooks published after the end of the civil war, National Catholicism was depicted as an inherent part of the national identity of Spaniards and formed a part of a sacred core, as described by Bernhard et al.,¹⁸⁷ thereby transmitting the notion of the religious aspects of the national identity of Francoist Spain to pupils reading the textbooks. This depiction serves as a common element for a nation's ethnic and its national identity.¹⁸⁸ The selected passages from the history textbooks, combined with the archival sources of legal regulations and governmental minutes concerning education and textbook policy, show how textbooks were to be an instrument in redefining the national identity of Francoist Spain.

¹⁸⁶ Boyd (1997): 245.

¹⁸⁷ Bernhard et al. (2019): 18.

¹⁸⁸ Smith (1991): 27-28.

3 – Las dos Españas - unity and enemies

*Ya hay un español que quiere vivir y a vivir empieza,
entre una España que muere y otra España que bosteza.
Españolito que vienes al mundo, te guarde Dios.
Una de las dos Españas ha de halarte el corazón.*

*[There is a Spaniard today, who wants to live and is starting to live,
between one Spain dying and another Spain yawning.
Little Spaniard just now coming into the world, may God keep you.
One of those two Spains will freeze your heart.]*

Antonio Machado.¹⁸⁹

The poem, written by Spanish poet Antonio Machado, refers to Spain as split between two fundamentally opposed groups, describing it as being two distinct «Spains». The poem is an illustration of the divide existing in the years before, during and after the civil war. Los Dos Españas, or, The Two Spains, signified a fraternal struggle on the very idea of what constituted a Spanish nation and a Spanish national identity.¹⁹⁰ In this chapter, I will examine how the notion of national unity was defined and portrayed in the selected history textbooks during the early years of Francoist Spain, as to redefine the national identity of the country around a single, unified ethnies. I will look at the textbooks and focus on some key aspects, in particular the use and depiction of languages in Spain and that of *Hispanidad* [Hispanicity], a sense of a Spanish community. These aspects have been selected as they were crucial to the Franco regime's notion of cultural elements to define the new national identity of Francoist Spain and to construct a framework for national unity. These concepts will be further described in chapter 3.1. Furthermore, in chapter 3.2 I will explore the image of the Second Republic as an enemy to the Spanish nation, to further consolidate the unity of Francoist Spain. In chapter 3.3, I will take a closer look and discuss relevant passages from the selected textbooks.

3.1 – Cultural symbolism as representation of a national identity

The Franco regime feared the breakup of Spain into different and disputing nations, and saw the support of the Spanish Republic as a threat against Spain.¹⁹¹ After the civil war, Spain was to be a unitary state, comprised of a single Spanish nation.¹⁹² In order to facilitate this, the educational system of Spain would promulgate a strong sense of a cultural unity in the textbooks. Smith writes that cultural elements, for instance a common language or a common religion, in itself is not enough to construct a common awareness for people to form a public framework for a national identity.¹⁹³ These notions of common cultural elements must be disseminated and presented to the population in a substantial degree in order to properly define a national identity for an ethnies. The process of creating, or rather, in this case, redefining a nation and its national identity, is a process of investing a new meaning in subjective elements.¹⁹⁴ These elements are vital for the proliferation of a national identity, as Hobsbawm states that the most important aspect of an ethnies is its cultural aspects.¹⁹⁵ The dissemination of these elements in textbook are therefore important in the construction of a national identity.

¹⁸⁹ Machado & Bly (1983): 112-113.

¹⁹⁰ Menéndez Pidal (1966): 134-143.

¹⁹¹ Richards (2013): 76.

¹⁹² Herr (1974): 217.

¹⁹³ Smith (2002): 20.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid: 18.

¹⁹⁵ Hobsbawm (2012): 63.

One manner of using cultural symbolism as a representation of national unity within Spain, was by emphasizing language as a unifying factor. The Franco regime enacted different language policies, where the regional languages were outlawed or removed from the public sphere.¹⁹⁶ This can be seen in lieu of languages as a dimension of the concept of nations as imagined and perceived communities.¹⁹⁷ Hobsbawm notes that language in itself might not be the primary element that distinguishes between different nations and communities.¹⁹⁸ However, Hobsbawm still argues that language can be a crucial element in the formation and definition of a national community and the public perception of it. Language might form the basis of a larger intercommunicating community of a nation, and a common language can appear as a permanent and eternal part of a national community.¹⁹⁹ This is especially true when it comes to the official use of languages, as in institutions like the public school sector.²⁰⁰ When language is portrayed in public as a particularly important or elemental part of a nation, it becomes a relevant for the interpretation of what constitutes a national identity. I will argue that textbooks are a distinct public and official use of language, thereby serving as an instrument in, as Smith states, the identification of individuals with a nation's cultural elements.²⁰¹ This suggests that language, when presented in the selected textbooks, served as an important identifying element for the formation of a new national identity of Francoist Spain.

For the Franco regime, the linguistic minorities were a source of opposition against the idea of Spain as a unified nation. In both Basque and Catalan regional nationalism, language was an important factor.²⁰² The language policy of the Franco regime was therefore quite unrelenting regarding the different linguistic communities in Spain, perceiving regional languages as a threat against a single, unified, Spanish identity.²⁰³ The regional languages of the different nationalities of Spain were banned from public use, and Spanish was to be the only national language of Spain.²⁰⁴ In the education system, the authorities instituted a basis for the Spanish language as an element to create a perception of Spain as a unified nation. In the course descriptions of the different mandatory classes in the education system, presented in a 1938 education law, the account «lengua y literatura españolas» [Spanish languages and literature] only mentions the Spanish language as a mandatory part of the classroom content, omitting the other languages spoken in Spain.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, the course description stated the following regarding the importance of the Spanish language: «Es nuestra lengua el sistema nervioso de nuestro Imperio espiritual y herencia real y tangible de nuestro Imperio político-histórico.» [It is our language that is the nervous system of our spiritual Empire and real and tangible inheritance of our Political-historical empire.]²⁰⁶ The law also regarded language as a vital instrument in fostering a national and patriotic sense for the new Spain.²⁰⁷ As demonstrated from these passages from the Francoist government, language was regarded as an important factor for the new Spain, and was to be a vital part of defining a national identity of Francoist Spain.

Francoist Spain also used the concept of *Hispanidad* [Hispanicity] to define the national identity of Spain. *Hispanidad* was the concept of Spanishness and a community of Spanish speaking people,²⁰⁸ as well as the belief that Spain constituted one single, nation, with one cultural identity. This was in contrast to the notion that the other national

¹⁹⁶ Shabad & Gunther (1982): 443.

¹⁹⁷ Anderson (1991): 145.

¹⁹⁸ Hobsbawm (2012): 58.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid: 59-63.

²⁰⁰ Ibid: 96.

²⁰¹ Smith (2009): 109

²⁰² Shabad & Gunther (1982): 446.

²⁰³ Mar-Molinero (2000): 84.

²⁰⁴ Balfour (2000): 266.

²⁰⁵ Jefatura del Estado (1938): 1394.

²⁰⁶ Ibid: 1386.

²⁰⁷ Ibid: 1386.

²⁰⁸ Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 434.

communities of Spain (Catalonia, Galicia, Basque Country) constituted their own separate national communities.²⁰⁹ On the 19th of August, a little over a month after the beginning of the military uprising and the civil war, the provisional authorities of the Nationalist faction, Junta de Defensa Nacional, published a decree stating some general guidelines on the policies of the content in the educational system:

la escuela de instrucción primaria, que, como piedra fundamental del Estado, debe contribuir no sólo a la formación del niño en el aspecto de cultura general, sino a la españolización de las juventudes de porvenir que, desgraciadamente, en los últimos años, han sido frecuentemente orientadas en sentido inverso a las conveniencias nacionales.

[the primary school, which, as a fundamental stone of the State, must contribute not only to the formation of the child in the aspect of general culture, but to the hispanization of the youths of the future that, unfortunately, in recent years, have been frequently oriented in the opposite direction to national conveniences.]²¹⁰

This decree substantiates how perceived schools as an instrument to reinstate Hispanidad in the education system. The government of Francoist Spain instituted strict controls over schools in regional communities that it deemed in opposition against a notion of a centralized, unified Spanish nation. Payne states that «The myth of Castile and the history of Castilian leadership in Spanish culture and history was important in Falangist doctrine as a counterweight to regional nationalism in the peninsula's periphery.»²¹¹ Schools in regions like Catalonia were closed, as they represented a threat towards the cultural and national unity of Spain, and teachers sympathetic to either the defeated Republican forces or to the notion of an independent Catalan state were dismissed from employment.²¹² The defence of Hispanidad thus became one of the main resources of Francoist pedagogical discourse.²¹³ The importance of constructing a new narrative within the context of history teaching was underlined in the 1938 education law, which stated that the pupils should be taught «las líneas características de la Historia del Imperio Español y fundamentos ideológicos de la Hispanidad.» [the characteristic lines of the History of the Spanish Empire and ideological foundations of Hispanicity.]²¹⁴ Hispanidad was also mandated to be present in history textbooks by the course curriculum,²¹⁵ showing the importance given to the teaching of the concept.

3.2 – The image of the Second Republic as an enemy

The propagation of what constitutes the national «us» and the antagonistic «them» can reinforce the idea of a national identity and legitimize the political power of a regime.²¹⁶ Hence, by establishing the Second Republic in an antagonistic way and in direct contrast to what was defined as the new definition of a Spanish national identity, the selected history textbooks would further reinforce and cultivated a sense of Francoist national identity and a loyalty to the Franco regime. The image of the Second Republic as an enemy of Spain would serve as a reminder of the threat it posed against the Spanish nation. Francoist Spain offered a sharp refutation of the political attitude of the Second Republic.

²⁰⁹ Lagunas (1997): 99.

²¹⁰ Presidencia de la Junta de Defensa Nacional (1936): 35-36.

²¹¹ Payne (1987): 63.

²¹² Boyd (1997): 255.

²¹³ Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 442.

²¹⁴ Jefatura del Estado (1938) 1389.

²¹⁵ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 24.

²¹⁶ Stugu (2016): 41.

Hwangbo writes on the educational policy of the Second Republic: «the republicans formulated their mission in terms of cultivating a national aptitude for democracy and progress. (...) The republicans aimed at the moral and intellectual emancipation of individuals and hoped to establish a basis for a collective national project.»²¹⁷ The republican education reforms during the years preceding the civil war had dissolved the religious foundation of education and school textbook publications, and established a secular basis for education in Spain.²¹⁸ For the Nationalist faction, these aspects were a direct assault on the very foundation of the Spanish nation and what was perceived as a Spanish national identity. The Nationals undertook the endeavour of creating an image of the Second Republic as a public enemy against the Spanish nation, to counteract the republican educational efforts of democratization and secularization.

The war against the Republicans was not presented as a civil war, nor a fratricide conflict between Spaniards. Rather, it was portrayed as a violent conflict between the Nationalists, those who represented the «true and ideal» notion of Spain, and the Republicans, representing a perverted, corrupted and tainted ideal of a Spanish nation.²¹⁹ The enemies of the Nationalist were framed as impure and befouling elements, a threat against the unity and prosperity of Spain.²²⁰ The Nationalists often used religious wordings or other metaphors when naming the conflict. The civil war was called a «crusade», or «Cruzada de Liberación» [Liberation Crusade].²²¹ The civil war was in that context seen in light of the military-religious struggle on the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages.²²² The Spanish civil war was, in the opinion of Franco and the Nationalist faction, considered to be a fight for what constituted the very essence of Spain. Furthermore, it was regarded as a conflict was against the Second Republic, a power that, according to the Nationalist faction, represented a threat against a notion of Spain as a unitary, religious nation, and thereby something that must be opposed by any means.

3.3 – National unity in the selected textbooks

In *Así quiero ser*, in the early part of the first chapter, there is an own section detailing the importance of the Spanish empire and its history. Part of the section is written as the speaking of a child, who conveys wishes for how the new Spain should be. *Así quiero ser* was intended for young schoolchildren attending elementary school,²²³ and the language is therefore somewhat easy and straightforward, structured as a child speaking. The text read as following: «Yo quiero una España imperial, que me recuerde la de los Reyes Católicos, Fernando e Isabel; una España unida que se haga respetar de todo el mundo, por su potencia y por sus virtudes.» [I want an imperial Spain, that reminds me of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel; a united Spain that is respected by the whole world, for its power and its virtues.]²²⁴ The section explains the desire for a strong and unified Spain. In addition to this, the paragraph invokes the old Spanish monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand. They are called the Catholic Monarchs and were central in the history surrounding the unification of the crown of Castile and Aragon, forming a *de facto* unified Spain with their marriage in 1469.²²⁵ The unification of the two dynasties strengthened the Spain, both the state, as well as the nation.²²⁶ Furthermore, the dynastic merger cemented the notion of a single Castilian nation on the Iberian Peninsula, where Spain was a single, undividable entity.²²⁷ The course curriculum for history textbooks stated that textbooks

²¹⁷ Hwangbo (2014): 126.

²¹⁸ Ibid: 126.

²¹⁹ Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 437.

²²⁰ Sevillano Calero (2007): 66.

²²¹ Richards (2013): 145.

²²² Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 438.

²²³ Pinto (2004): 650.

²²⁴ Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez (1940): 15.

²²⁵ Kamen (1991): 2.

²²⁶ Ibid: 57-59.

²²⁷ Fernández-Armesto (2000): 121.

should display the connection between the Catholic Monarchs and the national unity of Spain.²²⁸ By transmitting the notion of pupils reading *Así quiero ser* that they should want a Spain «that reminds me of the Catholic Monarchs» and «a united Spain», I would argue that the textbook firmly introduces the reader to a perception where the national identity is intrinsically tied to the idea of Spain as a single, unified nation.

As shown by the introductory remarks, *Así quiero ser* conveys the notion of Spain as a unified nation, with its depiction of a national sentiment that firmly states that the Spanish nation should not be ruptured. The textbook uses the phrase «una, grande y libre» [«One, great and free»]. The phrase was a slogan used as a national motto of Francoist Spain.²²⁹ It is a traditional, tripartite motto, used to enshrine a central aspect of Francoist Spain, its national unity, and its greatness. The tripartite motto was also used as a way for encapsulating the highpoints of Spanish history, marking the zenith of Spanish territorial, religious and cultural unity.²³⁰ In the first chapter of the *Así quiero ser*, the textbook presents an introductory remark on the nature of the Spanish nation:

Hoy la nación española es UNA: porque no admite desgarraduras geográficas ni morales que destruyan su único cuerpo y su única alma
Es GRANDE: porque se ha impuesto al mundo por el sacrificio heroico de sus hijos, que han demostrado que la dignidad es superior a la vida
Es LIBRE: porque se ha sacudido la servidumbre de los pueblos extraños que quisieron arrebatarse las esencias de su personalidad histórica.

[Today the Spanish nation is ONE: Because it does not accept geographical nor moral ruptures that destroys its unique body and its unique soul. It is GREAT: because the world has been imposed by the heroic sacrifice of their children, who have shown that dignity is superior to life. It is FREE: because it has shaken the bondage of strange people who wanted to wrest the essences of their historical personality.]²³¹

The slogan presented in the textbook is emphasised as a main topic of the Spanish nation, being present already on the textbook's second page. The presentation of the tripartite motto is also presented in such a way to demonstrate that «today the Spanish nation is one, great and free», in contrast to before, during the republican rule, further substantiating the claim that the Franco regime acts as a defender against the political chaos, anarchy and disunity that existed during the Second Republic. In that way, the slogan works as a device to portray the Spanish nation during the Republicans as inherently disunited. Regarding this, the passage works as a presentation of the Franco regime's effort towards the unification of the Spanish nation and defeating those who oppose to the unity of Spain. Furthermore, the use of the tripartite motto demonstrates how the textbook conveys to pupils reading it that Spain «does not accept geographical» disunity. For this reason, I will argue that the textbook further highlights the Francoist perception that the Spanish nation is firmly united into one, distinct nation, not consisting of regional nationalities.

The textbook further makes the case for the political unification and centralization of Spain. Francoist Spain was marked by being an authoritarian government, with limited political participation from its citizens.²³² A political regime must acquire legitimacy from the nation it seeks to represent.²³³ Hobsbawm writes that in a democratic society the

²²⁸ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 18.

²²⁹ Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 451.

²³⁰ Boyd (1997): 262.

²³¹ *Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez* (1940): 7.

²³² Payne (1987): 231.

²³³ Smith (1991): 168.

government can procure its legitimacy from the fact that the people are sovereign and have democratic privileges, as for instance the right to vote.²³⁴ This is important, as obtaining a legitimacy for the Franco regime was not possible through democratic means, given that Francoist Spain, especially in the years immediately after the civil war, was a military and authoritarian dictatorship.²³⁵ The nature of the political structure of Francoist Spain meant that the regime did not acquire the mandate and source of legitimacy from the fact that its population had political sovereignty. The Franco regime therefore had to acquire political justification from another source. In the context of the presentation in *Así quiero ser*, I would argue that this source was to be the regime's ability to establish a unified, coherent Spanish nation, free of the political chaos and anarchy during the republican rule. Constructing a national identity is a political process,²³⁶ something that is underlined in the textbooks. This is demonstrated in the chapter explaining the political structure of Francoist Spain: «España es un Estado totalitario: un solo Jefe, un solo mando, una sola obediencia. Antes España era un caos, una anarquía. Hoy es un Estado ordenado, disciplinado y ejemplar.» [Spain is a totalitarian state: only one Commander-in-Chief, a single authority, one obedience. Before Spain was a chaos, an anarchy. Today it is an orderly, disciplined and exemplary State.]²³⁷ The passage delves into the authoritarian nature of Francoist Spain, explaining that the function of the totalitarian state is to combat chaos and anarchy. The section function as justification for the role of the Franco regime: without it there is political chaos, exemplified by the recent Second Republic and the civil war. This shows that *Así quiero ser* conveys the idea of Francoist Spain being the defender of a politically unified nation, vesting legitimacy in the regime, a notion transmitted to the reader of the textbook.

Así quiero ser also makes the argument of cultural aspects that unifies the country. In a later sub-chapter, it states that «los españoles llevamos la misma sangre, y hablamos el mismo idioma» [we Spaniards carry the same blood, and we talk the same language].²³⁸ The passage explains how Spain is a united nation, that is linked by its common language and racial fraternity. This sentence is in concordance with both the decree issued by the Junta de Defensa Nacional in 1936, as well as the 1938 education law, stating how Spaniards are united in their common race and with a common language, supporting the fact that the textbook serves to convey the cultural elements for the new definition of a national identity of Francoist Spain. Continuing, on page 166, there is a final chapter, that deals with the unity of the Spanish nation.²³⁹ The chapter ends on a concluding remark about the need for national unity. The passage states the following: «Unidad entre todas las regiones o comarcas españolas para que España sea una pieza trabada por el sentimiento común de amor a la Patria.» [Unity between all the Spanish regions or territories so that Spain can be one whole that is joined together by the common feeling of love for the Homeland.]²⁴⁰ This final statement uses a patriotic sentiment for the love of the homeland to carry an expectation of unity for the perceived community of the Spanish nation.

The textbook substantiates the historical connection with this past, stating that the new Francoist Spain shall be like the unified Spain during the times of the Catholic Monarchs. This shows that the textbook is reinforcing notion of the national identity of Spaniards being innately linked to the Spanish nation as one entity. This is essential, as Smith states that history is an important factor in a nation's understanding of itself as a perceived community.²⁴¹ The historical perception concerning national unity functions as an assumption transmitted to the pupils reading the textbook, that reinforces a set of

²³⁴ Hobsbawm (2012): 89.

²³⁵ Tusell (1988): 173-174.

²³⁶ Smith (1991): 99.

²³⁷ Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez (1940): 25.

²³⁸ Ibid: 48.

²³⁹ Ibid: 166.

²⁴⁰ Ibid: 166.

²⁴¹ Smith (1991): 78.

beliefs.²⁴² I would say that *Así quiero ser* is an example of a textbook that brings about the notion of Spain as a unified nation in a manner deeply ingrained with a sacred core and a strong emotional component, as the textbook uses symbolic elements that are important in the construction of a national community.²⁴³ The textbook displays the image of Spaniards as members of a unified community, one which is deeply connected by shared history, language and by invoking the notion of Spain as a homogeneous, unified nation. This demonstrates that the textbook reinforces the ethnic aspect of Spaniards, conveying the idea that they are members of the Spanish national community, a community that is unified both politically and culturally.

España nuestra further examine the notion of national unity in Spain. It is a textbook that uses strong emotional sentiments to create a clear representation of what constitute a national identity for Francoist Spain. The textbook relies heavily on cultural elements for depicting a unity in the national identity for Spaniards. *España nuestra* depicts language as a central element, both in its vilifying of those opposed to Spain as a centralized and unitary nation, but also as a marker for national identity for those adhering to Francoist Spain. On several occasions, the textbooks allude to the linguistic situation of the country, where the different regional languages, especially Basque and Catalan, are made equivalent to the threat of regional separatism and a factor in the warning against the national unity of the Spanish nation. *España nuestra* summarizes the civil war as a struggle for maintaining the national unity of Spain, shown in the following passage:

Los catalanes también se apartaron de España, y los vascos. Por toda España, nuestros enemigos predicaron el separatismo, la desunión... Y así surgió nuestra guerra, la nueva "línea de frentes". Así surgió el Caudillo, quien, poco a poco, con los buenos españoles nacionales, fue ganado líneas, ensanchando frentes, hasta llegar al nuevo triunfo de España: Una, Grande y Libre en su Destino.

[The Catalans also departed from Spain, also the Basques. Throughout Spain, our enemies preached separatism, disunity ... And so, our war came, the new "frontlines." This is how the Caudillo emerged, who, little by little, with the good Spanish nationals, winning on the lines, widening fronts, until he reached the new triumph of Spain: One, Grand and Free in its Destiny.]²⁴⁴

The struggle for unity is further accounted for, when *España nuestra* discusses the languages in Spain. In the textbook, language is framed as a cultural representation of a national unity in Spain. The textbook makes a reference to the decline of Spain during the 19th and early 20th century. In a paragraph about the losses Spain had to endure, one sentence reads: «Pierde el orgullo de su Lengua.» [It (*Spain – own remark*) loses the pride of its language.]²⁴⁵ The importance of the loss of the pride of the Spanish language is emphasised when the paragraph ends with the statement: «Y cae en república. Y estalla, al fin, en revolución aniquiladora y total.» [And it (*Spain – own remark*) collapses into a republic. And it explodes, finally, in a destructive and total revolution.]²⁴⁶ The

²⁴² Tosh (2015): 254.

²⁴³ Smith (2009): 24-25.

²⁴⁴ Caballero (1943): 40.

²⁴⁵ Ibid: 43.

²⁴⁶ Ibid: 43.

establishment of the republic and the violent and destructive revolution that followed it was a result of the disunity that reigned in Spain. The passage displayed from *España nuestra* further implies that to make the notion of national unity a reality again, the population of Spain needs to embrace a common language and remove the notions of regional nationalism and separatism. This is further substantiated in chapter four, titled «La lengua de España» [The language of Spain], a chapter solely devoted to examining the language of Spain. In the chapter there is an illustration next to a text that deals with the importance of the Spanish language (Figure 2). The illustration depicts two persons, both holding a banner that says «Visca Catalunya» [«(Long) live Catalonia» *in Catalan*]. They are both standing atop of a sign saying «Lengua castellana» [Spanish language]. Beneath the illustration there is a caption stating «Separatistas» [Separatists].²⁴⁷ This shows how a regional ethnies is perceived by Francoist Spain, where the textbook interprets the usage of the Catalan language as a direct assault on the very idea of what constitute a Spanish national identity, further solidifying the notion of Spain as a national community only speaking the Spanish language.



Figure 2 - Facsimile from *España nuestra*

Another central feature of the Franco regime was its opposition against communism. As Payne states «communism – referring vaguely to much of the radical and revolutionary left in general - was considered the primary political foe.»²⁴⁸ Francoist Spain followed what can be described as a general anti-Marxist perception where the political movement of the left was perceived as more loyal to an international political movement, than to the nation itself.²⁴⁹ The Franco regime argued that the loyalty of the communist factions is not to Spain, but rather to an international political movement, thereby defining the communist as traitors to the Spanish nation.²⁵⁰ In that regard, the communist became a focal point of focus for a construction of an image of an enemy of Spain, one that «the true Spain» would combat. Sevillano describes it as such: «La propagación de los horrores cometidos por los «rojos» en la Guerra formó la principal imagen del enemigo.» [The dissemination of the horrors committed by the «reds» in the War formed the main image of the enemy.]²⁵¹

The naming of the opposing forces of the Nationalist faction was often done in such a manner to demonstrate that they were murders or bandits, in league with foreign elements, such as «international communism» or «anti-Spanish» elements,²⁵² cementing the image of the Second Republic and its forces as an enemy of the Spanish nation. The antagonistic view of the Second Republic to be disseminated and taught in Spanish schools was enshrined in the core curriculum presented in 1939. On the Second Republic and the nature of the civil war, it stated the following interpretations of what should be taught: «Quinquenio republicano Sentido anticatólico, antimilitarista, antiespañolista de la República. La quema de los Conventos. Persecución a la Enseñan religiosa. Vejaciones al

²⁴⁷ Ibid: 143.

²⁴⁸ Payne (1987): 225.

²⁴⁹ Breuilly (1993): 290.

²⁵⁰ Siexas (2005): 54.

²⁵¹ Sevillano Calero (2007): 43.

²⁵² Roith (2017): 336.

Ejército.» [Republican five-year period. Anti-Catholic, anti-militarist, anti-Spanish sense of the Republic. The burning of the Convents. Persecution of religious teaching. Vexations to the Army.]²⁵³ The historical process surrounding the Second Republic, the civil war, and the Republican forces actions during the conflict were to be framed in such a manner as to create a narrative in which the Republicans represented an enemy against Spain. In doing so, the forces opposing the Republicans, namely the forces of Franco and the Nationalist, were to be liberators and saviours of the Spanish nation. In short, schools and textbook material should convey a notion of Franco as the true representation of the Spanish nation. Accordingly, the opposition against the Republican forces, and those in league with it, became in a sense, a kind of patriotic act. This shows that the textbook presented the Franco regime as the defender of the sovereignty and unity of the Spanish nation.

The threat against the sovereignty and national unity of Spain is further examined in the textbook. The period around the outbreak of the civil war is in *España nuestra* named the «barbaric Spain». The textbook examines the division of Spain during the 20th century in its first chapter. It writes: «*Otra vez una España bárbara. – Y la desgracia sigue. En nuestro siglo XX vuelven las luchas al interior de España. Se vuelve a hablar de regiones, de nacionalismos internos y antiespañoles, de luchas sociales.*» [Again, a barbaric Spain. - And the misfortune continues. In our twentieth century, struggles return to the interior of Spain. We speak again of regions, of internal nationalisms and anti-Spanish, of social struggles.]²⁵⁴ In this chapter, the threat is made less explicit. The textbook describes the situation of a fragmented Spain, and the dangers the country faces. These dangers are summed up in the sentence that describes the period as a period of anti-Spanish, internal nationalism, fragmenting the country. For this reason, I will argue that the textbook cement the notion of regional nationalism as a crime against the Spanish nation, further solidifying the perception of the Spanish national identity as being inherently linked to the notion of the Spanish nation as being unified. Furthermore, the illustration, as well as the text next to the illustration, function as a presentation of the Catalans and the usages of the Catalan language as something that is in direct opposition against what constitute the notion of Spain and its national identity. This consolidates the national identity of Francoist Spain, revolving around a notion of a unified Spanish nation, consisting of a single Spanish identity.

España nuestra, as shown in the passages discussed, touch on cultural elements as markers of a Spanish national identity, especially that of language. Language can be viewed as an important cultural element in a national community.²⁵⁵ Anderson writes that languages as a unifying element for a nation can be both open and closed at the same time.²⁵⁶ Languages as a cultural element are open for whoever wishing to acquire it, but at the same time this requires both time and effort, hence the excluding nature of languages.²⁵⁷ Anderson continues by writing that «the nation was conceived in language, not in blood, and that one could be 'invited into' the imagined community.»²⁵⁸ On the unifying aspect of languages, Smith states that it might serve as a sort of «sameness», where similarity in for instance languages, creates social cohesion.²⁵⁹ It must still be deeply ingrained in the public culture and discourse, and conveyed to the members through different means, especially through the education system. As Hobsbawm writes on the official use of a language: «linguistic nationalism was and is essentially about the language of public education and official use.»²⁶⁰ Language becomes an element of identification when it is used in a public setting, especially one like a textbook. This shows that *España nuestra*, as a publicly available textbook, offers a publicly approved account of the national identity, and the textbook thereby becomes a strong communicator of expectations related

²⁵³ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 22.

²⁵⁴ Caballero (1943): 39.

²⁵⁵ Smith (2010): 92.

²⁵⁶ Anderson (1991): 145-146.

²⁵⁷ Ibid: 147-148.

²⁵⁸ Ibid: 145.

²⁵⁹ Smith (1991): 74-75.

²⁶⁰ Hobsbawm (2012): 96.

to the use of the Spanish language. As a textbook approved for the public, *España nuestra*, in a sense, «invites» members of the Spanish nation into the language community, by strongly expressing the notion of Spaniards only speaking the Spanish language, and equating the usage of regional languages as a threat against the unity of the Spanish nation. As seen in the passages from *España nuestra* examining languages in Spain, I will argue that the Spanish language is conveyed as a central factor in what constitute a Francoist Spanish national identity by *España nuestra*. The presentation of the unifying element of the Spanish language, and at the same time, the opposite regarding the regional languages, the textbook gives a clear indication of the pupils reading *España nuestra*. The textbook, as shown by the passages, reinforces the definition of a Spanish national as one who speaks Spanish.

The textbook constructs an interpretation hegemony, as suggested by Bernhard et al.,²⁶¹ one that is present in a way to create a sacred core, where the forces that were in opposition to the Franco regime are depicted in an antagonistic manner, opposed to the unity of Spain. The passages in the textbook show that the interpretation reinforces the notion of the Catalan identity as something directly in opposition against what is meant to represent a Spanish national identity. As Jordanova says on the aspect of historical myths, the representation of the Catalan language as something antagonistic against the cultural and national unity of Spain is in effect an invented narrative, one created by the presentation in the textbook. The illustration in the textbook is therefore an effective way of alienating the Catalan community in Spain, to create a single notion of the national unity that is presented to constitute a Spanish nationality and a Spanish national identity.

Historia de España is a textbook that offers a close look on Spanish history from the antiquities to contemporary Spain. The textbook depicts the idea of unity as an important element in the national identity for Spaniards. The textbook does this by depicting the civil war as a conflict to restore sovereignty and unity to a Spanish nation that is invaded by foreign elements, aided by the Republican forces. Moreover, the textbook portrays the regional nationalities of Spain as disloyal groups attempting to disassemble the Spanish nation during the republican years and the civil war. *Historia de España*, in its depiction of the civil war, closely follows the mandated instruction of the Ministry of National Education. The ministry states that history textbooks should depict the civil war as «España entregada a la Masonería, a la Internacional socialista y al Komintern. Los crímenes de la República. (...) Crímenes, asesinatos, robos, pillaje, sacrilegio de los rojos.» [Spain handed over to Freemasonry, the Socialist International and the Comintern. The crimes of the Republic. (...) Crimes, murders, robberies, pillage, sacrilege of the reds.]²⁶² The textbook paints a vivid image of the Second Republic as a force attempting to destroy the Spanish nation. The textbook constructs a narrative in which Spaniards should rally against the notions perpetuated by the Spanish republic, thereby cementing the notion of the Second Republic as the antagonist of the Spanish nation. In chapter 12, the textbook reference the civil war, and the large influx of foreign fighters who came to Spain during the conflict. The textbook describes it as following:

La invasión extranjera marxista y bolchevique. – Los republicanos iban siendo anulados dentro de su propia república por los marxistas, que contaban con el apoyo de las internacionales obreras; pero aun éstos mismos evolucionaban hacia bolchevismo, impulsado por la propaganda soviética. (...) Un numero extraordinario de extranjeros invadía España.

[The Marxist and Bolshevik foreign invasion. – The republicans were being nullified within their own republic by the Marxists, who had the support of the international workers; but even these themselves evolved into Bolshevism,

²⁶¹ Bernhard et al. (2019): 13.

²⁶² Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 22.

driven by Soviet propaganda. (...) An extraordinary number of foreigners invaded Spain.]²⁶³

The course of the civil war is described as a foreign invasion of Marxists and Bolsheviks. This is a reference to the Soviet aid to the Spanish Second Republic during the civil war. The Soviet Union was one of the few countries actively supporting the republic in the conflict against the Nationalist.²⁶⁴ The focus on the foreign element and its aid of the Second Republic during the civil war show how the textbook serves to reinforce the connotation between the Republican forces and a foreign invasion. On account of this, I will assert that the textbook created a invented narrative of the Marxist and communist elements of the Republican forces as in league with foreign elements wanting to destroy the Spanish nation, thereby cementing the notion of the Republicans as enemies of the Spanish nation. The appellative aspect of referring to the opposition to the republican government and its military forces during the civil war is also an important framing of the narrative of the conflict. Given the internal nature of the civil war – a military conflict between Spaniards – the textbook heavily implies the foreign involvement of the Republicans as an «invasion», namely, to remove the connotation of the Republicans as a representation of something «Spanish». The Republicans were not a true representation of Spain, it was delegitimized and treated as something foreign.²⁶⁵

The textbook continues to discredit the political and military fighting of the different factions within the Republican forces. A sub-chapter that details the aspiration of the regional nationalities in Spain, is titled «Los separatismos desmembradores de la Patria.» [The dismembering separatisms of the Homeland.]²⁶⁶ The title of the sub-chapter detailing the political actions taken by the regional nations in Spain shows how the actions are presented as constituting a breach against the unity of the nation and an antagonistic act by the forces opposed to the Nationalists. The textbook also reinforces the notion of the forces fighting for the regional nations – Catalonia, Galicia, and Basque Country – were not forces fighting for regional autonomy, but rather separatist associated with foreign powers, seeking to sow disunity in Spain. The sub-chapter details this in the following passage:

Comenzó la campaña de disolución como consecuencia de los manejos de países que estaban interesados en que nuestra Patria fuese en vez de un Estado poderoso, una serie de pequeños cantones a los que en un momento determinado se podía destrozar fácilmente.

[The campaign of dissolution began as a result of the management of countries that were interested in our country being, instead of a powerful state, a series of small regions that could be easily destroyed at any given time.]²⁶⁷

The separatism of the regional communities was also described as being the action of foreign countries, seeking to destroy the national unity of Spain. The textbook labels all those who were in favour of regional nationalism as destroyers of the Spanish nation, stating that «El primer paso de quienes querían esta destrucción fue conseguir que se votase el llamado "Estatuto Catalán", que puede ser calificado de crimen de lesa patria.» [The first step of those who wanted this destruction was to vote on the so-called "Catalan

²⁶³ Igual (1942): 99.

²⁶⁴ The Soviet support primarily came in the form of supplies, like military hardware and ammunition, in addition to personnel. The total number of Soviet personnel in Spain during the civil war is estimated to 2150 during the course of the conflict, whereby around 600 were non-combatant. Beevor (2009): 231.

²⁶⁵ Richards (2010): 131.

²⁶⁶ Igual (1942): 98.

²⁶⁷ Ibid: 98.

Statute", which can be classified as a crime against the homeland.]²⁶⁸ The detailing of the «Estatuto Catalán» is a reference to the Statute of Catalan Autonomy, a statute approved in 1931 granting regional autonomy for Catalonia, and a source of significant anger by the Nationalist faction.²⁶⁹ By firmly defining the regionalism of the Catalonia as «destruction» and «a crime» against the nation, I would argue that the textbook is rather clear in its definition of regional nationalism as an enemy of the Spanish nation, consequently being something that is in direct opposition of the notion of a Francoist national identity. The textbook's definition of regional nationalism in Spain as a direct opposition against the Spanish national identity is further reinforced in a similar passage from the chapter, that describes the regionalism in an unfavourable manner:

No tardaron en aparecer parecidas aspiraciones, que donde no existían se fingían. Vascongadas reclamaba parecido trato, y un grupo de desaprensivos fingía que tanto en Galicia como en Andalucía se deseaban Estatutos semejantes al que se había concedido a Cataluña, cuando la verdad era que en estas regiones nadie se había preocupado de tal monstruosidad.

[Soon similar aspirations appeared, pretending where they did not exist. Vascongadas (*Basque Country – own remark*) claimed similar treatment, and a group of unscrupulous pretended that both in Galicia and Andalusia they wanted Statutes similar to the one that had been granted to Catalonia, when the truth was that in these regions nobody had worried about such monstrosity.]²⁷⁰

The textbook summarizes the historical justification for the actions taken by the Movimiento Nacional during and after the civil war, stating that it is the defence of the Spanish nation. Additionally, in the same chapter, the textbook offers a final remark of the Nationalist faction's defence of the Spanish nation. This shows that the textbook serves to reinforce the notion of the Movimiento Nacional as the representation of a true Spanish regime, one that would protect the nation against foreign elements and threats of disunity. It states the following:

No es, pues, el Glorioso Movimiento Nacional un movimiento que viene a derribar un régimen, aunque éste sea tan digno de ser derribado como el republicano, sino a restaurar un significado, a dar un contenido a la vida que los marxistas querían saturar de materialismo.

[Thus, the Glorious National Movement is not a movement that comes to overthrow a regime, although it is as worthy of being overthrown as the republican one, but to restore meaning, to give a content to life that Marxists wanted to saturate with materialism.]²⁷¹

These passages from *Historia de España* show how the textbook is condemning the Republican forces as an enemy against the Spain, whereby cementing the justification of the Nationalist faction in revolting against it. Furthermore, this condemnation takes the form of antagonizing the regionalism and regional nationalism that was present in Catalonia, Galicia and Basque Country during the years leading up to the civil war. Clearly, this suggests that the actions taken by the Spanish Republic and the regional nationalism

²⁶⁸ Ibid: 98-99.

²⁶⁹ Thomas (1961): 53.

²⁷⁰ Igual (1942): 99.

²⁷¹ Ibid: 105.

as a threat against the unity of Spain. As well as that it is depicted as a fundamentally opposition towards what constitutes a Spanish nation. Because of this, I will argue that the textbook serves to construct the notion of a Spain as a unified, single nation, where the Franco regime is depicted as a legitimate defender, saving the Spanish nation from destruction at the hand of the Republican factions. There are no passages detailing the cultural components of Spain, it is not the conveyer of a definition of a Spanish national unity marked by the cultural components, as language or Hispanidad. Rather, the textbook offers a strong disapproval of the regional split during republican Spain, defining it as a breach against the Patria, the Spanish nation. The textbook cements the image of the Spanish national identity as revolving around the unity of the nation and the opposition against regional nationalism, communism, and the Republican faction.

Compendio de historia de España, as a textbook originally written before the establishing of the Franco regime and the outbreak of the civil war, is rather different in its approach for cementing a national unity in Francoist Spain. It does not mention the concept of Hispanidad, Spanishness or a Spanish race as a component for a national unity in Francoist Spain. What the textbook utilizes for creating a notion of a national unity in Francoist Spain is a vilification of republican Spain and the portrayal of the Movimiento Nacional as the defender of Spanish values, settling the Franco regime as a representation of the Spanish nation and the Spanish ethnies, as defined by the Franco regime. In addition to that, language as a unifying element for a national identity is not frequent in the textbook. The textbook does contain several passages that pertain to the different languages of Spain; however, the textbook is not firm in its definition of Spanish as the only language of Spain. In a passage detailing the eventual formation of the different languages on the Iberian Peninsula, the textbook describes the following:

fueron desapareciendo los idiomas hispánicos, excepto el vascuence, conservado en los fragosos valles del Pirineo. En cambio, al pronunciar el latín vulgar con sus diversos acentos, se produjeron formas dialectales, que fueron base de los futuros dialectos hispano-latinos.

[the Hispanic languages were disappearing, except for Basque, preserved in the rough valleys of the Pyrenees. On the other hand, when pronouncing vulgar Latin with its various accents, dialect forms were produced, which were the basis of future Hispanic-Latino dialects.]²⁷²

The passage is descriptive and does not establish Spanish as the only language that Spaniards should use, nor does it denounce the Basque language as a language that was not a natural part of Spain. This shows that the textbook, in the part originally written in 1916, does not convey the expectation that the reader should only speak Spanish. Later in the textbook, it details the differences between the Spanish and Catalan language, stating «la radical diferencia entre el idioma catalán y los demás de España» [the radical difference between the Catalan language and the rest of Spain]²⁷³ Between those examples, there are no other reference to the languages of Spain, other than some descriptions of the pre-Roman languages during the antiquities. The textbook does not communicate beliefs of how the Spanish language is the only intrinsic language of the Spanish nation, nor that Spaniards should only speak the Spanish language. It is therefore not a conveyer of the language policies that were enacted by the legal regulations established by the Ministry of National Education. As previously discussed, Compendio de historia de España was republished in 1940. It does not, at least the chapter written for its initial publication in 1916, follow the mandatory guidelines established by the Franco regime in 1939. As such, language, or the concept of Hispanidad, is not featured in the

²⁷² Amado (1940): 23.

²⁷³ Ibid: 69.

textbook and do not function as elements of delivering the notion of a Spanish national identity with the core components of the Franco regime.

This is somewhat different in the textbook's final chapter. The final chapter, written for the edition published in 1940, under the auspice of the National Council of Education, is in some degree different in its description of Spanish history. The chapter focuses much more on a narrative in which to cement a feeling of a unity surrounding the *Movimiento Nacional*. The chapter makes frequent use of an emotional sentiment in its depiction of the warring factions during the civil war. The course curriculum established in 1939 stated that history textbooks should contain content on «El Glorioso *Movimiento Nacional*. Sus orígenes. Sus hombres representativos. (...) Franco, salvador de la Patria.» [The Glorious National Movement. Its origins. Its representative men. (...) Franco, saviour of the Homeland.]²⁷⁴ The course curriculum also stated that history textbooks should have content regarding the civil war, or as the course curriculum called it, the «*Guerra de salvación*» [War of Salvation].²⁷⁵ On the aspect of the civil war, the final chapter, focusing on the contemporary history of Spain, makes some reference towards the defence of the homeland against the aggression of the Second Republic. A sub-chapter explains the origin of the conflict and the warring factions in the civil war. The chapter acknowledges the reasoning behind the military uprising of 1936, that started the civil war. Moreover, the chapter explains the origin of those who fought against the *Movimiento Nacional*. The passage reads as follows:

Al levantamiento militar le llamó *Movimiento Nacional*, movimiento de salvación de España, Santa Cruzada en defensa de la Fe y la Patria. A los que se llamaban leales y fieles al gobierno, les llamó rojos, pues su fino instinto le reveló que servían a la Internacional Comunista.

[The military uprising was called the National Movement, movement of salvation of Spain, Sacred Crusade in defence of the Faith and the Homeland. Those who were loyal and faithful to the government, they were called reds, because their sly instincts revealed that they were serving the Communist International.]²⁷⁶

The uprising is explained as a necessity, given that it was «in defence of the Faith and the Homeland.» This reinforces the argument that the final chapter was rooted in the guidelines established by the Spanish authorities, where the Franco regime was depicted as the defender of traditional, Spanish values. Furthermore, the chapter goes into depth about those who were loyal to the Second Republic, opposing the *Movimiento Nacional*, were called reds, on account of their servitude to the international communism. As with other textbooks examined in this chapter, the supporters of the Second Republic were often labelled as foreign elements and traitors to the nation, bent on destroying Spain.²⁷⁷ The chapter therefore function as a statement concerning the civil war and its participants; the *Movimiento Nacional* was the defender of the Spanish nation and the values and elements defining it, whereas the Republicans were the enemies of the Spanish nation, seeking to destroy it. The passage reinforces the notion that the only legal political group is the *Movimiento Nacional*, on account of being the defender of the Spanish nation, creating a political unity around the *Movimiento Nacional*. The Franco regime was exulted as the propagator for what was the righteous values and symbols of the Spanish national identity, and therefore promulgated as a representation of the Spanish nation.

²⁷⁴ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 22.

²⁷⁵ Ibid: 22.

²⁷⁶ Amado (1940): 245.

²⁷⁷ Sevillano Calero (2007): 26-27.

The course curriculum mandated that history textbooks should demonstrate the «antiespañolista de la República» [anti-Spanish sense of the Republic].²⁷⁸ The textbook, in its final chapter, detailing the contemporary history of Spain, makes frequent mentions of republican Spain and how they represent a threat against the Spanish nation and its inhabitants. This is shown in a passage, stating: «en la anti-España, ya completamente sometida a Moscú, se iban realizando todas las crueldades y todos los crímenes imaginables, reinando la más horrible anarquía.» [in the anti-Spain (*Republican Spain – own remark*), already completely submitted to Moscow, all the cruelty and all the imaginable crimes were carried out, the most horrible anarchy prevailed.]²⁷⁹ This passage demonstrates a narrative that the textbook constructs in which the Spanish Republic is depicted as a threat against the national unity of the country. The textbook makes this argument on two reasons. Firstly, the textbook presents republican Spain as being submitted to Moscow, vesting sovereignty to a foreign power. Secondly, the textbook brings up the rule of republican Spain as being that of a horrible anarchy, where cruel and tyrannical crimes are being committed. Spaniards fighting on the republican sides were portrayed as communist more loyal to the USSR than the Spanish nation and were dehumanized to the point that they were not even considered Spanish.²⁸⁰ In doing so, the Franco regime, fighting against the Republicans, is in turn labelled as a faction attempting to restore sovereignty and political control in Spain. The Franco regime is described as fighting a heroic struggle to reclaim Spain and restoring the unity of the nation. The Movimiento Nacional and the Franco regime are thus depicted as an ingrained part of the Spanish nation, something that is necessary for returning Spain to a unified nation. The textbook disseminates the notion that the Movimiento Nacional is the representation of the defence of the righteous values inherent in the Spanish people – defence of the faith and the unity of the Patria.

The textbook in its final chapter, uses a political connotation to cement the struggles of the Movimiento Nacional for defending the Spanish nation against the republican enemy, that was defined as a threat against the political sovereignty and the national unity of Spain. For this reason, I will argue that the textbook promulgated the beliefs that only adherence to the Movimiento Nacional and the Franco regime can constitute a loyalty to the Spanish nation. The unity of the Spanish people was, in the passage above, defined as being loyal to the Franco regime. As Smith stated, the definition of a national identity is a political process, where also a political identity is formed.²⁸¹ *Compendio de Historia de España* forgoes with the cultural definition of a Spanish national identity. Rather, in the final chapter, written for the republication after the civil war, a political definition of the unity of Spaniards is disseminated. This national identity is strongly connected with the new political regime that established after the end of the civil war.

3.4 – Summary

As seen in the passages discussed in this chapter, the textbooks created narratives of Spain as a unified nation, both culturally and politically. The Spanish national identity is formed around different elements that construct a notion of the Spanish national identity defined by the Franco regime. The textbooks *Así quiero ser*, *España nuestra*, and to some degree, *Historia de España* use the idea of cultural aspects in depicting the notions that constitute being a member of the Spanish ethnics. Furthermore, all the textbooks states that Spain is a united nation. I will argue that this depiction further consolidates the image of the Spanish nation as a perceived community consisting of a homogeneous group of Spaniards, sharing similar attributes as language, history, or loyalty to Francoist Spain. The cultural aspects of a national identity, as established by both Anderson and Smith, are therefore frequently present in the textbooks. In addition, the textbooks represent a

²⁷⁸ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 22.

²⁷⁹ Amado (1940): 246.

²⁸⁰ Siexas (2005): 57.

²⁸¹ Smith (1991): 99.

national presentation of these aspects, offering a public narrative of a unified Spanish nation. Consequently, I would argue that the selected textbooks cement the notion of a unified nation, where the only national identity Spaniards should hold is based on a shared, perceived notion of history, where *Hispanidad* and the Spanish language are presented as common cultural aspects of Spain. Moreover, the textbooks determine the concept of political unity as an aspect of the national identity of Francoist Spain, clearly labelling the Spanish Second Republic and the Republicans in an antagonistic manner, portraying them as enemies of the Spanish nation, labelling them as instigator of chaos and subversion of the sovereignty of the Spanish nation. In that regard, I would argue that this reinforces the antagonistic perspective of the republican predecessor, and acts as a further consolidation of the Franco regime as the legitimate and rightful representation of the national identity of Spain. My contention is that this in turn served to consolidate the perception of the Franco regime as the representation of the «true» and rightful Spanish nation.

The passages from the textbooks construct a redefined notion of a Spanish ethnic and nation, one deeply embedded in cultural symbols. The extracts from the textbooks, with the exception of *Compendio de historia de España*, show the Spanish nation as a unified nation, one that adheres to the cultural concepts of *hispanidad* and linguistic unity and utilized those concepts as important markers for a redefined Spanish national identity. In the case of *Compendio de historia de España*, it is an example of a history textbook that is somewhat different in its depiction, as most of the imagery of Spain as a unified nation, as well as the representation of the Republicans as an enemy of Spain, are condensed in its final chapter, written for the republication in 1940. Moreover, the selected passages depict the Second Republic as something deeply un-Spanish and is represented in an antagonistic manner. This is to create an image of an enemy, one that needed to be destroyed, thereby lending legitimacy to the Franco regime and a justification for its action during and after the civil war.

4 – The portrayal of history in Francoist textbooks

In this chapter, I will examine different passages from the selected textbooks and discuss how they portray Spanish history to cement a national identity for Francoist Spain. I will present a definition of Francoist Spain's view of Spanish history and how the regime worked to incorporate it in history textbooks, and thereafter propose passages from the selected textbooks and discuss how the textbooks depicted Spanish history to reaffirm the national identity of the regime, within the Francoist interpretation of Spanish history.

4.1 – Francoist view of Spanish history

Francoist Spain strived for a return to a traditional interpretation of Spain's past, one that would serve to reinforce the position of the Franco regime and redefine the national identity of Spaniards. As Laudo and Vilanou state: «España Nacional (*Francoist Spain – own remark*) found its *raison d'être* in the past.»²⁸² One of the fundamental aspects of the Franco regime, was the attempt towards defining the Spanish nation and the Spanish ethnic as a single, unified entity, a homogeneous nation, comprising of a community with a shared and common story of origin. A new perspective on Spanish history, defined by the Franco regime, would serve to redefine features of the national identity of Francoist Spain. The historical interpretation of Francoist Spanish history was called «The orthodox view». Torres further examines a definition of this view of Spanish history:

The 'orthodox' view has its roots in the religious and state-centred conception that emerged at the time of the Catholic empire (...) This interpretation of history, which set out to explain the greatness and decline of Spain in accordance with its adherence to church and monarchy, preserved a distinctly traditional, antimodern character derived from the old counter-Reformation ideology from the time of the empire.²⁸³

It was this particular view of Spanish history that the Franco regime wanted to represent as the national identity of the country. The civil war and the Nationalist's victory over the Second Republic marked a dramatic shift in the institutional perspective of Spanish history. Siexas writes that «Totalitarianism meant a return to the best Spanish tradition of the sixteenth century.»²⁸⁴ meaning that the Franco regime sought to redefine the history of Spain in order to make it better reflect the Franco regime's historical role in Spain. The Franco regime and the Nationalist Faction did not acknowledge the different elements of the republican opposition – the Marxists, communists, those in league with foreign powers – as true Spaniards.²⁸⁵ They were in essence portrayed in the same manner as an invading enemy, one bent on destroying the Spanish nation. The civil war was framed as a national struggle by both the Nationalist and the Republican faction during the civil war. The Republicans framed the civil war as a battle for the preservation of the different nationalities of Spain, be it Basque, Catalan, or others. In that case, the opposing Nationalist faction was presented as an oppressive, illegal force, working together with fascist elements.²⁸⁶ The Nationalist faction, on the other hand, saw the civil war as a historical struggle for the return to a traditional, Catholic Spanish nation, and the re-emergence of Spanish independence and a «New Reconquest».²⁸⁷ This image would be further reinforced in the presentation of Spanish history in the textbooks. The perception of Spanish history held by liberals and people from the left wing were to be removed for

²⁸² Laudo & Vilanou (2015): 439.

²⁸³ Torres (2014): 101-102.

²⁸⁴ Siexas (2005): 56.

²⁸⁵ Ibid: 57.

²⁸⁶ Ibid: 47.

²⁸⁷ Ibid: 55-57.

schools and textbook, and the Franco regime instituted an ideological control of the image of Spanish historiography.²⁸⁸ The rise and fall of Spain were explained in terms of a presentation of a traditional interpretation of Spanish history, one in which the religious aspect was heavily involved. This historical elucidation, as presented in the textbooks, would reinforce the religious foundation of the Franco regime, and create a framework for the authoritarian rule, as Francoist Spain, a defender of Spain's traditional religion, was also portrayed as a defender of the Spanish nation.

History as a subject was therefore a course to indoctrinate the splendid history of Spain and to be presented in such manner to depict the Movimiento Nacional and the Franco regime as a historical continuation of the traditional elements of the Spanish nation. This was emphasised by the Ministry of National Education, in a letter circulated to the teachers in both public and private schools, stating that through schools, future generations should be instilled with a patriotic resurgence towards the Movimiento Nacional and the future of the Spanish nation.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, the mandated course curriculum established history as an element to form a clear understanding of the Spanish nation and a national identity of Spaniards. The course curriculum stated the following on the objective of history textbooks:

la enseñanza de la Historia, desarrollados en forma cíclica, aspiran a la formación gradual del alumno en esta disciplina, desde adquirir una noción sucinta, pero clara, de las principales etapas de nuestra Historia, hasta lograr un conocimiento suficiente de lo que ha sido nuestra Patria

[the teaching of history, developed in a cyclical way, aspires to the gradual formation of the student in this discipline, from acquiring a succinct, but clear, notion of the main stages of our history, to achieving a sufficient knowledge of what has been our Homeland]²⁹⁰

4.2 – Francoist presentation of history in the selected textbooks

Así quiero ser can be described as a textbook that heavily infuses its teaching with a historical connection. It constructs connotations between the new regime and traditions and history, to further solidify the national identity of Spain around the Movimiento Nacional and the Franco regime. The textbook, in its first chapter, has a sub-chapter called «El Estado» [The State], detailing the political structure of Francoist Spain. The sub-chapter narrates the totalitarian nature of the Franco regime, stating that «A la cabeza y como Jefe hay un Caudillo, un conductor, al cual estamos todos obligados a obedecer.» [At the head and as Leader there is a Caudillo, a conductor, which we all are obliged to obey.]²⁹¹ The Caudillo, Francisco Franco, was portrayed as the totalitarian leader of Spain. His authority was further reinforced on the same page, which stated that «El Caudillo sólo responde ante Dios y ante la Historia.» [The Caudillo answers only before God and before History.]²⁹² The textbook establishes the justification of transforming Spain into a totalitarian society, continuing with vesting a historical sense into the totalitarian nature of the new Spanish nation and the Franco regime. In the following sub-chapter, titled «La Patria» [the Homeland], there is a section that states the realities of the Spanish nation. The passage expresses the following:

²⁸⁸ Hofrichter (2010): 673-674.

²⁸⁹ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1938a): 6154-6155.

²⁹⁰ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 23.

²⁹¹ Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez (1940): 11.

²⁹² Ibid: 11.

La Patria es una realidad y un sentimiento. Es una realidad porque está fabricada con esencias de Tradición, de Historia y Geografía. Es un sentimiento, porque está formada con el recuerdo de nuestros abuelos, nuestros artistas, nuestros mártires, nuestros Santos.

[The Homeland is a reality and a feeling. It is a reality because it is made with essences of Tradition, History and Geography. It is a feeling, because it is formed with the memory of our grandparents, our artists, our martyrs, our Saints.]²⁹³

Continuing, the textbook asserts that tradition and history are factors that make the imagined community residing in Spain a reality. The traditions and history of Spain, interpreted in the orthodox view of Spanish history, as described by Torres, are also sentiments shared by the Spanish community, forming a foundational aspect of Francoist Spain. This orthodox interpretation of a historical foundation for the Spanish nation is kept alive as a feeling on account of being shared by the members of what is perceived as a community. Así quiero ser continues with its account for the need for a historical foundation for Francoist Spain when it discusses the need for traditions: «Ningún árbol vive sin raíces. Ningún pueblo vive sin tradición. La tradición es un tesoro que se transmite de padres a hijos y de una generación a otra generación.» [No tree lives without roots. No people live without tradition. Tradition is a treasure that is passed from father to son and from one generation to another generation.]²⁹⁴ These sentences demonstrate how the textbook elevates the importance of the traditions, solidifying it as an important aspect for the people of the Spanish nation.

Así quiero ser further underlines how looking at history might help guide Spain and Spaniards, by stating «Los pueblos que tienen tradición no necesitan copiar a ningún otro, porque les basta mirarse a sí mismos y consultar su Historia para saber en cualquier momento lo que deben hacer.» [The people that have tradition do not need to copy any other, because it is enough for them to look at themselves and consult their History to know at any time what they should do.]²⁹⁵ History is regarded as a source of knowledge that can aid Spain and the members of the Spanish community. How history is a source of cohesion and a common identifiable element for the whole of the Spanish community, is further emphasised some pages later in the same chapter and states: «tenemos la misma Religión y la misma Historia y una sola cuna: la madre España. La madre España nos hace hermanos a todos los españoles.» [we have the same religion and the same History and a single cradle: Mother Spain. Mother Spain makes us brothers to all Spanish people.]²⁹⁶ The passage demonstrates how the textbook defines the importance of the traditional elements with regards to Spanish history. The passage further constructs the notion of a community in the Spanish people. As Smith writes on national identity, stating that it is a reproduction and reinterpretation of elements like memories, myths, and traditions,²⁹⁷ stating it as it was done in Así quiero ser, creates a meaning in the common history of Spaniards, namely sense of community. In the above passage from Así quiero ser, the textbook uses history as a way of emphasizing this community, creating a narrative in which, amongst other elements, history is used as an example of something that binds the Spanish people together. Historical origins of an ethnies might instil a meaning to a national identity.²⁹⁸ This history is emphasised by the textbook, thereby creating a common identifiable of the inhabitants of Francoist Spain.

²⁹³ Ibid: 12.

²⁹⁴ Ibid: 44.

²⁹⁵ Ibid: 44-45.

²⁹⁶ Ibid: 48.

²⁹⁷ Smith (2009): 109.

²⁹⁸ Smith (2010): 91-93.

Así quiero ser uses a clear depiction of Spanish history to construct a redefinition of a national identity in Francoist Spain. The textbook uses history as a clear reference point, something that Spaniards should look towards as an inspiration for continuing their traditions and way of life. It does not directly refer to concrete topics or points of interest in the history of Spain. Rather, it states clearly how history should be used as a source of inspiration for contemporary Spaniards. Así quiero ser also uses history as a way of cementing the totalitarian regime of Franco, stating its historical precedence in Spanish history. The historical precedence of the Franco regime is reinforced, creating a narrative in which the regime derives its mandate from being the continuation of a historical process. The textbook also enhances the narrative where the Caudillo Franco is perceived as the rightful political authority in Spain, where the political mandate of the Franco regime comes from the history of Spain itself. Being that the process of forming a national identity, as remarked by Smith, also is a political process, where changing the political regime is ingrained with the process of defining a national identity.²⁹⁹ In that regard, the textbook constructs a narrative where the national identity of Spaniards is infused with a patriotic sentiment of loyalty towards the Caudillo, the Movimiento Nacional and to the Franco regime, as it is a product of Spanish history. The notion of the historical mandate of the Franco regime is reinforced by creating a sacred core,³⁰⁰ one in which the national identity of Spaniards is inherently linked to the Franco regime, as it is conceived as the true representation of the historical processes that have taken place in Spain.

In *Historia de España*, history is seen as a progression, with the rise and decline of Spain during different periods explained as the adherence to a unified, religious nation. The highpoint of Spanish history is stated to be the unification during the 15th century and the victory of the Movimiento Nacional during the civil war. The textbook treats the history of Spain as an element that should be viewed with awe, stating that history is an element that should be representative and illustrative for contemporary Spaniards. The introductory remarks in the textbook state the objective of history as a subject:

Historia es la narración que resume la vida y los hechos de los pueblos. Por ello el sujeto de la Historia son los hombres que se pueden considerar como representativos en cada momento. El objeto, es que estas narraciones sirvan de enseñanza para que en todo momento sepamos lo que hicieron nuestros antepasados, recordemos a quién debemos la formación de nuestra Patria y hagamos que nuestra vida sea al servicio de ella.

[History is the narrative that summarizes the life and events of the people. For this reason, the subject of History is men who can always be considered representative. The object is that these narratives always serve as teaching so that we know what our ancestors did, remember who we owe the formation of our Homeland and make so that our life is the service to it.]³⁰¹

The Franco regime wanted to present itself as a historical continuation of the Catholic Monarchs, perceived as the unifier of a Catholic Spain, ruled by the Caudillo Franco, as an emulation of the Catholic Monarchs of the 15th century.³⁰² This desire was encapsulated in the course curriculum for history textbook, which mandated that the Catholic Monarchs were to be depicted as the defender of a unified, Catholic Spain.³⁰³ The Catholic Monarchs were highly regarded in Nationalist historiography, as they were viewed as a personification

²⁹⁹ Smith (1991): 99.

³⁰⁰ Bernhard et al. (2019): 28.

³⁰¹ Igual (1942): 3.

³⁰² Payne (2014): 160-161.

³⁰³ Ministerio de Educación Nacional (1939): 18, 20.

of a Catholic, unified Spain.³⁰⁴ For the Nationalist, the preservation of the history of the Catholic Monarchs became in many ways the preservation of Francoist Spain.

The chapter stated amongst other things the following: «Glorioso reinado de los Reyes Católicos. Formación de la España única.» [Glorious reign of the Catholic Monarchs. Formation of the unique Spain.]³⁰⁵ The textbook depicts the reign of the Catholic Monarchs as a splendid time for the Spanish nation, a period that need be viewed with inspiration for contemporary Spain. This notion is again reinforced later in the textbook, when it states that «El unitarismo característico es un proceso histórico impuesto no sólo por el espíritu y por la Geografía, sino por la Historia, ya que los esfuerzos de los Reyes Católicos» [The characteristic unity is a historical process imposed not only of the spirit of Geography, but by History, because of the efforts of the Catholic Monarchs]³⁰⁶ The history during the Catholic Monarchs is depicted as a source for inspiration for present day Spaniards, and thereby being something Spaniards should strive towards. By doing so, *Historia de España* implicitly states that Spaniards should yearn for a unified Spanish nation, with a common religious framework, just like during the times of the Catholic Monarchs. The textbook treats the history of the Catholic Monarchs as a source of inspiration for the national identity for contemporary Spain.

In other passages in *Historia de España*, the textbook focuses on depicting the contemporary history of Spain in a manner as to create a sense of legitimacy for the Nationalist rule and justifying the existence of the regime. This justification is stated in a clear manner in a following chapter, where the *Movimiento Nacional* is depicted as the continuation of the historical process found in the History of Spain: «**Su justificación histórica.** – Si ha habido en la Historia del Mundo un movimiento que tenga una justificación histórica, es el Nacional español, puesto que sus postulados arrancan de nuestra más fecunda tradición.» [**Its historical justification.** - If there has been a movement in the History of the World that has a historical justification, it is the Spanish National, since their principles originate from our most fruitful traditions.]³⁰⁷ The textbook gives the reason for the *Movimiento Nacional* as being a movement that adhered to, and had its underlying principle in, the traditions of Spain. A narrative is created in which the Franco regime is perceived as an embodiment of the Spanish nation, on account of its historical justification. A chapter detailing the *Movimiento Nacional* and the civil depicts it in the following manner:

Estallaba el Movimiento poniéndose a la cabeza del ejército de África el general Franco, y a partir del 18 julio de 1936, en que comienza, hasta el último día de marzo de 1939, la serie ininterrumpida de sus victorias contra el marxismo español y sus aliados internacionales hacen una realidad de la España Una, Grande, Libre que habían soñado los precursores.

[The *Movimiento* burst forth, putting general Franco on the head of the army of, and from July 18, 1936, when it (*the civil war - own remark*) began, until the last day of March 1939, the unbroken series of their victories against Spanish Marxism and its international allies, they made a reality of Spain the One, Great, Free that the ancestors had dreamed about.]³⁰⁸

The depiction of the *Movimiento Nacional* and Franco construct a narrative in which the Franco regime is the representation of the 'true' Spanish nation, with a historical justification for its cause. This account of the history of Spain is in accordance with the

³⁰⁴ Hofrichter (2010): 670.

³⁰⁵ Igual (1942): 34.

³⁰⁶ Ibid: 104.

³⁰⁷ Ibid: 104.

³⁰⁸ Ibid: 103.

orthodox view of Spanish history, as described by Torres, where contemporary Spaniards are directed to the modern version of the Catholic Monarchs, the Movimiento Nacional and its Caudillo, Franco. *Historia de España* constructs a historical justification for the Franco regime, by invoking the history of the Spanish nation. The history of Spain is presented as the struggle to defend the righteous Spanish nation, with a traditional adherence to a religious foundation and a leader, answering only to God and history. The national identity of members of Francoist Spain was thus defined as the allegiance to the Movimiento Nacional and to Franco, as they became the representation of the Spanish nation.

Historia de España is a textbook that views the history of Spain as the process of protecting Spain against the forces that sought to destroy its traditional foundation, with a culmination in both the Catholic Monarchs during the 15th century, as well as the Movimiento Nacional in the 20th century. Spanish history is presented in such a manner to clearly demonstrate who is fighting for the Spanish nation. On this subject, *Historia de España* depicts history as a source for inspiration and offers a historical interpretation of the Movimiento Nacional and the recent civil war. This process is vital for the acceptance and assumption of an identity.³⁰⁹ By doing so, I will argue that the textbook is infusing the past of Spain with contemporary meaning, providing a historical acceptance of the identity of contemporary Spain. The Movimiento Nacional and the civil war are depicted as the restoration of a proper Spanish nation, as defined by the Francoist view of Spanish history. This in turn creates an intrinsically bond between the national identity of Spaniards, a bond that is inherently linked to the Movimiento Nacional as the representation of the authentic Spanish nation.

For *Compendio de historia de España*, history serves as an instrument for establishing the love for the homeland and a loyalty towards the Movimiento Nacional. The textbook explains the connection between patriotism and history, and acknowledges history as such, by stating the following in the preamble of the book:

El patriotismo es el amor racional a la patria. (...) Para fomentar en nosotros este afecto racional, virtuoso y debido, hacia nuestra patria, hemos de estudiar su Historia. Así como es indigno, que un hijo de noble estirpe ignore su linaje y las hazañas de sus ascendientes; es una indignidad, para las personas cultas, desconocer la Historia de la Nación a que pertenecemos. Especialmente la Historia de España es muy a propósito para hacernos concebir un grande amor a esta patria nuestra

[Patriotism is rational love for the homeland. (...) To foster in us this rational, virtuous affection and duty to our homeland, we must study its history. Just as it is unworthy, that a son of noble lineage ignores his lineage and exploits of his ancestors; it is an indignity, for educated people, to ignore the History of the Nation to which we belong. Especially the History of Spain is very purposeful for make us conceive a great love for this homeland of ours]³¹⁰

This passage shows how the textbook undoubtedly reminds the reader how the history of Spain is an instrument, that is to be used to better reflect Spaniards affection and duty towards their nation. The history of Spaniards was meant to serve as a reminder of the nation that they belonged to, and that Spaniards should learn from the history of the country. *Compendio de historia de España* examines the motivation for the Franco regime in fighting the Second Republic. It does this by directly stating the vow Franco took when he assumed command over the Nationalist faction during the civil war. The passage from the textbook reads as follow: «yo procuraré alzar a España al puesto que le corresponde conforme a su historia, y que ocupó en épocas pretéritas. — Me tengo que encargar de

³⁰⁹ Bernhard et al. (2019): 13.

³¹⁰ Amado (1940): 5.

todos los poderes. Y yo digo que haré aquéllo o moriré en el empeño...» [I will try to raise Spain to the position that it corresponds to according to its history, and that it occupied in former times. - I must take care of all the powers. And I say that I will do that or die in the effort ...]»³¹¹ The textbook details that the efforts done by the Nationalist faction during the civil war is to restore Spain to its former glory. In this regard, the textbook further emphasises the justification for the Franco regime taking power in Spain, and underlines the historical connection to the Movimiento Nacional, where the Franco regime is perceived as fighting for the restoration of the Spanish nation, and the Republicans are looked upon as attempting to undermine it. *Compendio de historia de España* further strives to create a narrative to delegitimize the republican government. An important part of this is the textbook's continuing description of the republican government as a violent, chaotic government, under the sway of a foreign power. By describing the republican government in this manner, and at the same time describing the Nationalist as benevolent power, freeing Spaniards from a cowardly regime, the textbook serves to depict the Franco regime as the true representation of the Spanish government, one that holds legitimacy in fighting against the republican rule. The textbook describes it in the following manner:

El que seguía llamándose "Gobierno legal de España" se había trasladado sucesivamente, de Madrid, a Valencia, de aquí, a Barcelona, luego al extranjero (...) Pero Negrín y su gobierno (!) son puestos en fuga, y las muchedumbres engañadas (en un atisbo, quizá sincero, de instinto de conservación) al verse libres de sus verdugos y de los azotes del látigo moscovita, empiezan a entregarse mansamente a la generosidad del Caudillo Franco.

[The one that continued to be called the "Legal Government of Spain" had moved successively, from Madrid, to Valencia, from here to Barcelona, then abroad (...) But Negrín [*Juan Negrín, the last republican prime minister of Spain – own remark*] and his government (!) are on the run, and the crowds deceived (in a glimpse, perhaps sincere, of self-preservation) by being freed from their executioners and from the lashes of the Moscow whip, meekly surrender to the generosity of the Caudillo Franco.]³¹²

The narrative of the civil war leaves no room for questioning which faction is the one fighting for the Spanish nation. The textbook constructs the narrative where the Franco regime is fighting for the rightful Spanish nation, one not corrupted by the Republicans. As substantiated by the passage, I will uphold that the textbook serves to strengthen the patriotic loyalty of Spaniards by depicting accounts from the civil war where the Nationalist faction is defending Spain from the Republican forces, and depicting them as being under the grip of the «executioners» and the «lashes» of Moscow, further emphasizing the Republicans as being in league with the enemies of Spain, seeking to destroy the Spanish nation.

Compendio de historia de España contains the strongest depiction of what can be described as historical myths favouring the Movimiento Nacional and the Franco regime in its depiction of contemporary Spanish history. These descriptions are solely present in the final chapter of the textbook, meaning it was added for the republication of the textbook. In the other chapters of the textbook, those originally written for the 1916 publications, the passages detailing Spanish history is only description in nature, pertaining little to no account of Spanish history seeking to legitimize or embrace the Franco regime. Passages from the textbook shows how they embrace the thematic field of antagonism between principles, as defined by Bernhard et al.³¹³ For this reason, the textbook underlines the opposition between the Republican faction and the Franco regime, reinforcing the collective

³¹¹ Ibid: 246.

³¹² Ibid: 248.

³¹³ Bernhard et al. (2019): 28-29.

memory of contemporary Spain, where the Franco regime is perceived as the defender of the rightful Spanish nation. As Tosh writes, the public consumption of a version of history legitimizing a political regime is made possible by demonstrating the past achievements of said regime.³¹⁴ By promoting the Franco regime as the protector of the Spanish nation, a regime that is fighting to restore it to its former glory, occupied in its past, the textbook function as a reminder to the reader that allegiance to the Franco regime is inherently expected, as it was depicted as the one which would defend the Spanish nation.

España nuestra as a textbook infuses contemporary meaning to the history of Spain. The textbook function as a promulgator of a history that serves to reinforce the Franco regime's hold on political power in Spain. España nuestra does this by depicting different actors in Spanish history in a positive or negative light. Every historical event or period that lead to the decline of Spanish power or prestige are depicted as a process that strayed away from the Francoist orthodox view of Spain's past. Simultaneously the textbook stresses the narrative where the Republicans are characterized as enemies of the Spanish nation, whereas the textbook reinforces the narration where the Nationalist is depicted as defenders of traditional Spanish values. España nuestra does this by invoking the history of Spain. In the chapter «El destino de España [The fate of Spain], there is a sub-chapter explaining the rise and fall of Spain during the history. In addition to the text there is an illustration on the history of Spain (Figure 3) that is titled «Como la cumbre de una sierra» [As the peak of a mountain range].³¹⁵ The progress, triumphs and downfalls of Spain during its different historical periods, is displayed as mountains of different heights. The arrows on the sides display whether Spain is facing opposition or triumph. The peak of the mountain signifies the peak of Spain. The text at the peak says «unidad imperio» [imperial unity]. Below the text the year 1492 is imprinted. This is a reference to the end of the «Reconquista», or the «Reconquest» of the territory on the Iberian Peninsula previously held by Al-Andalus, the Muslim caliphate on the Iberian Peninsula, and it represents the final unification of Spain as a unitary nation. The illustration refers to the following centuries of Spanish history as a downward trend, culminating in the two lowest points set in contemporary Spain, and is described as «Perdida de la unidad Española 1931-1936» [Loss of the Spanish unity] and «18 de Julio de 1936 a 1 de abril de 1939» [18th of July to 1st of April 1939].³¹⁶ The years 1931-1936 is a reference to the time of the Second Republic,

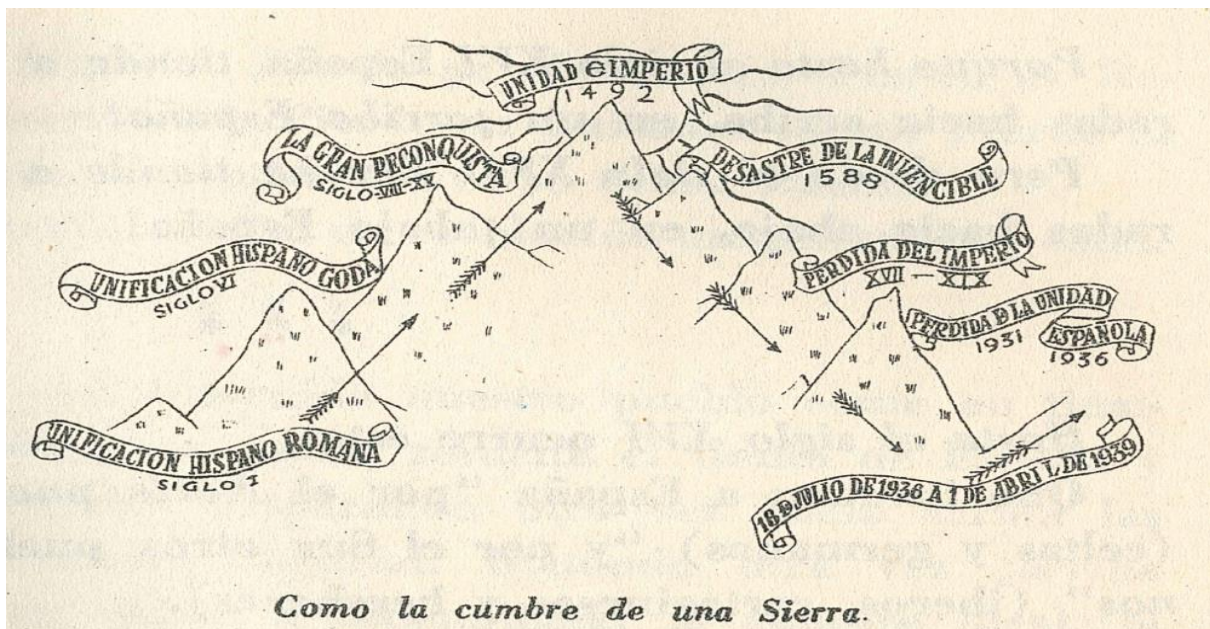


Figure 3 - Facsimile from España nuestra

³¹⁴ Tosh (2015): 47-48.

³¹⁵ Caballero (1943): 41.

³¹⁶ Ibid: 41.

and how it represents the loss of national, cultural and territorial unity. The years 1936-1939 is a reference to the civil war. The mountain range ends with an arrow pointing upwards, signalling that the Nationalist victory in the civil war and the end of the Second Republic marks a new beginning in the progress of Spanish history, one where the Franco regime will rectify the historical errors made by the Second Republic. The illustration constructs a narrative, one in which adherence to the Spanish nation's unity is presented as an adherence to the national ideal, presented by the Franco regime. The textbooks demonstrate that a national identity within the political and ideological framework of the Franco regime corresponds to a Spain that is rising from the decline it has suffered under for centuries. In short, the illustration serves as a reminder to the population of Spain that the Franco regime is rectifying historical wrongs and will usher in a new and prosperous future for Spain.

The military actions during the civil war are also placed within a historical context, to frame the war as a fight to bring Spain back to its traditional values. In *España nuestra* there is an illustration (Figure 4), in connection to a passage about the civil war. The illustration covers the military actions in the Northern Spain, specifically the battles in the province of Asturias that took place in the autumn of 1937.³¹⁷ The description under the illustration reads as following: «La nueva reconquista de Asturias.» [The new reconquest of Asturias.]³¹⁸ By framing the military actions during the 1937 as the «new reconquest» of the region, the naming of the military campaign becomes a reference to the earlier reconquest in Spanish history, namely the *Reconquista*. The Reconquista, in Spanish historiography, has been depicted as a recovery of rightful Spanish territory, or a liberation of the Iberian Peninsula.³¹⁹ The similarity in naming of the military campaign in Asturias with Reconquista becomes an appellative reference, where the naming makes a connotation to what the Reconquista represents, namely that of a rightful recovery and a liberation of occupied territory. Ealham and Richard describe the Franco regime as being «keen to disguise its own origins in a conspiracy against the legal, elected Popular Front government. For at least two decades after 1939, history was assigned the task of justifying what the regime called the 'Guerra de Liberación Nacional'.»³²⁰ The illustration further underlines the defensive nature of the civil war. Given that the uprising of 1936 was a military action against the legally elected government of Spain, the Franco regime deeply desired to depict its action against the Second Republic as a defensive action, one legitimised by the Nationalists historical role.

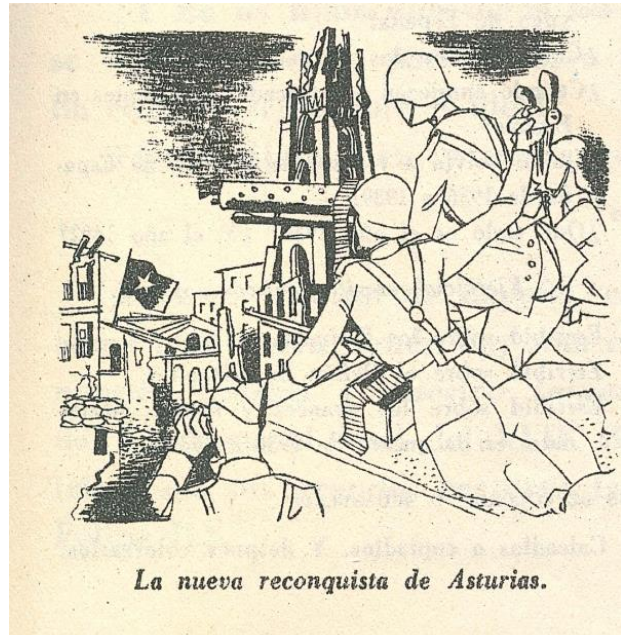


Figure 4 - Facsimile from *España nuestra*

Within the theoretical approach offered by Bernhard et al. on the nature of historical myths,³²¹ the presentation of Spanish history is one where the unity and adherence to the traditional aspect of Spanish society are marked as important factors for the explanation offered by the textbook on the nature of Spanish history and society. Besides that it is important to note the appellative character the textbook forms around the civil war, as

³¹⁷ Thomas (1961): 479.

³¹⁸ Caballero (1943): 39.

³¹⁹ O'Callaghan (2003): 8.

³²⁰ Ealham & Richards (2005a): 5.

³²¹ Bernhard et al. (2019): 22.

defined by Bernhard et al.³²² By framing the military actions taken by the Nationalist as a «new reconquest», the textbook firmly underlines the moral authority of the Movimiento Nacional, both by naming the military actions during the civil war as historical continuation of the military campaigns between the 8th and 15th century, but also by framing it as a reconquest of occupied territory, implying the conducts of the Nationals during the civil war as a justifiable defence of the Spanish nation. The illustration thereby reinforces the notion of the Franco regime as the true defender of the Spanish ideals and values. By extensively focusing on the violent and chaotic nature of the Second Republic, the history textbook simplifies the contemporary history of Spain, allowing the pupils using the textbook to read it in a way that depicts the Republicans as an inherent opposition against the Spanish nation and national identity.³²³ This narrative further strengthen the Franco regime's historical justification of possessing political power. Furthermore, the textbook depicts the historical justification of the Franco regime and its hold over political power in Spain, displaying the notion of adherence to the Francoist Spain as being perceived as allegiance to the Spanish nation. The political process of forming a national identity, as defined by Smith,³²⁴ is underlined by defining the history of Spain within the Francoist orthodox view of Spain's past.

4.3 - Summary

The textbooks display a sense of unity in the Spanish history, depicting it as an element that unite the members of the Spanish community. Throughout the textbooks we see that they look back at certain aspects of Spain' past, notably the politically and religious unification of the reconquista and the Catholic Monarchs, as inspirational aspect of Spanish history. These elements are again used as a justification of the Movimiento Nacional and the contemporary history of Spain. The depiction of Spanish history constructs a narrative where the Movimiento nacional is portrayed as the defender of the Spanish nation, with a clear historical justification. In that sense, the textbooks depict adherence to the Movimiento Nacional and the Franco regime as a central aspect of the national identity of Francoist Spain. The history of Spain is portrayed as something that can be used by members of the Spanish nation, as an instrument to further develop the patriotic love for their homeland. In addition, the textbooks share the similarities that they present aspects of Spanish history in a one-sided manner, as to legitimize the Movimiento Nacional. Given the legal regulations of the Ministry of National Education under the auspice of the National Council of Education, there is a note to be made that Francoist Spain viewed the history of Spain as an instrument to legitimize the regime and to anchoring a redefine national identity to an allegiance to the Movimiento Nacional and to the Franco regime, representatives of the Spanish nation, with a clear mandate from the history of Spain.

³²² Ibid: 28.

³²³ Stugu (2016): 43.

³²⁴ Smith (1991): 99.

5 – Conclusions

Introductory, I remarked how Spain after the end of the civil war went through a period of rapid changes. These changes are evident in how textbooks were used to consolidate the newly established regime. In this thesis, I have examined how selected history textbooks published during the early years of the Franco regime portrayed and solidified the national identity of Francoist Spain. The analysis in the thesis is based on the selected textbooks and archival sources from the Ministry of National Education and shows that textbooks were perceived as a vital instrument in redefining the national identity of Francoist Spain. This is substantiated from the legal regulations concerning textbook policies, which established guidelines for the content of history textbooks. The content of the textbooks formed the elements that are vital in the reproduction and reinterpretation of what constitute a national identity, demonstrating that the Franco regime viewed instructions presented in textbooks as an important aspect of strengthening the notion of a Spanish ethnies and a national identity. The regime therefore enacted strict control over textbooks published in Spain. The textbooks had to include some central concepts of Spanish history, as defined by the Ministry of National Education, and be approved by the National Council of Education. The discussion of passages from the four selected textbooks shows how the central concepts of a Francoist national identity, though with some slight variation, were prevalent in all the selected textbooks. The existence of the central concepts of a Francoist national identity in the selected textbooks can lead us to conclude that the textbook therefore was an instrument in redefining the national identity of Francoist Spain.

I have discussed how the textbooks depicted the Spanish nation, and how they underlined the central concepts of a Francoist national identity. The concepts - National Catholicism, national unity, and an orthodox view of Spanish history - were in line with the central political-ideological aspects of the Franco regime. In this respect, the textbooks can be regarded as an extension of the political and ideological foundation of the regime, infusing the education system with an indoctrination of the regime's political values. The discussion concerning passages from the textbooks show how these concepts are presented in such a way to give the readers a clear comprehension of what it means to be a Spaniard. The textbooks present Spanish history with strong emotional components, showing narratives of the history of Spain as one undoubtedly leading towards the victory of a Spanish nation based on the political and ideological aspects of the Franco regime. This lent legitimacy towards the Francoist notion of what constituted a Spanish national identity and serves as an affirmation of the collective Francoist perception of the Spanish community.

The textbooks invoke subjective elements of a national identity and further highlight them by surrounding them in historical myths, constructing a sacred core of what it means to be a member of the Spanish ethnies. They underlined the thematic field of the Franco regime as the defender of the traditional cultural and political elements of Spain and as the genuine representation of a Spanish nation. Furthermore, the textbooks defined antagonistic elements and excluded those whom the regime perceived as enemies of the nation, as in the case of regional nationalities and the Spanish Second Republic. This shows how the textbooks defined the conflicting antitheses against what the Franco regime perceived as the Spanish national identity. In doing so, the textbooks removed the notion in which elements, like regional nationalism, a democratic, republican institution, or regional languages, like Basque or Catalan, could be considered aspects of the national identity of Spain, consolidating the Spanish national identity around the political-ideological aspects of the Franco regime. Moreover, the textbooks describe the civil war as a struggle against foreign invaders and those seeking to destroy what is perceived as the rightful Spanish nation. This further reinforced the notion of Spaniards as being members of a culturally and politically unified nation, under the Franco regime, and in opposition against the actions of the Second Republic.

The textbooks I have discussed hold, as normative objects, a significance in how members of the Francoist ethnies perceived themselves. By strongly promulgating the

notions discussed in the thesis, they served to instil these values of the regime towards the pupils reading the textbooks. The selected textbooks display elements that are important for the construction of a narrative for an ethnically. The textbooks can therefore be said to provide an interpretation of values, symbols, memories, myths, and traditions, thereby functioning as an instrument in redefining what constituted a Spanish ethnically and national identity. By portraying and emphasizing the content of the established history curriculum, defined by the Ministry of National Education, the textbooks function as a transfer of values, from the textbooks - and thus in extension, the Franco regime - to the pupils reading the textbook. In that way, the textbook served to consolidate the definition of a Spanish ethnically and a Francoist national identity for the youth attending schools in post-civil war Spain.

5.1 – Professional relevance

A core element in the new history academic standard for the upper secondary schools is that «Students should be able to obtain, interpret and use historical material as sources in their own presentation of history.»³²⁵ A classroom activity might incorporate the selected textbooks as historical material, asking the students to interpret it for own presentation. A relevant competence aim is found under the standard for history subject for third year for the upper secondary schools, stating that pupils should be able to «reflect on how the past is used by various actors and discuss the purpose of this use of history».³²⁶ The textbooks examined and analysed in the master's thesis demonstrate how different actors can construct and frame historical narratives in different ways. The thesis also discusses the purpose of this use of history, as a necessity for Francoist Spain for redefining the history of Spain as to better reflect on the regime that was established after the Spanish civil war. Moreover, textbooks most often used in the classroom are secondary sources. This was the case for the textbooks discussed in this thesis. The textbooks examined are examples of how previous secondary sources can be used as primary sources for an independent historical investigation by the pupils.³²⁷ The selected source material might allow for work project where pupils are asked to compare and examine similarities and difference between history textbooks, using the textbook as primary sources and as an element of historical interpretation.³²⁸ Another core element asks the students to develop historical awareness by working exploratory with history, develop a competence in source criticism and to be able to see different perspectives and connections in history as a subject.³²⁹ This can be achieved through examination and discussion regarding how history textbooks can be perceived as a legitimate source of knowledge. The professional relevance of the master's thesis also extends further to the new academic standard for Spanish. The foreign language academic standard asks the students to explore historical events in a country where the language is spoken.³³⁰ The content I have discussed in the master's thesis can facilitate an exploration of the history of Spain during the Franco regime, as well as the continuing nature of the political-ideological aspects of the regime during its existence.³³¹

³²⁵ Own translation from: Utdanningsdirektoratet (2020a).

³²⁶ Own translation from: Utdanningsdirektoratet (2020c).

³²⁷ Lund (2016): 100.

³²⁸ Ibid: 119.

³²⁹ Utdanningsdirektoratet (2020a)

³³⁰ Utdanningsdirektoratet (2020b)

³³¹ Several of the central aspects of what constituted a Francoist national identity that have been discussed in the master's thesis continued to be a principal part of the Franco regime all the way until Spain's transition to democracy during the 1970s, and were included in the *Leyes Fundamentales del Reino*, a series of semi-constitutional law established in Spain during the Franco regime. These laws would be in effect until 1978, when they were repealed by the new democratic Spanish Constitution.

6 - References

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