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"Hooray for Hollywood": Postwar Cinema and Trauma in Franco's Dictatorship in Spain

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“Hooray for Hollywood”: Postwar Cinema and Trauma in Franco’s Dictatorship in Spain

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

by

Nathan Hoback

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**“Hooray for Hollywood”: Postwar Cinema and Trauma
in Franco’s Dictatorship in Spain**

by

Nathan Hoback

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Introduction: The Power of Postwar Cinema in Spain

“The past is not dead yet. It is not even past yet.”

-William Faulkner

The year 2009 marks the 70th anniversary of the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the beginning of General Francisco Franco’s nearly forty year military dictatorship (1939-75). An armchair historian would suppose that these events would be dead issues in 21st century Spain, but the past is more novel and relevant today in Spain than in most countries and, as poet Federico García Lorca described in an odd presage of the effects of his own murder at the beginning of the war, “the dead are more alive [in Spain] than the dead of any other place in the world” (qtd. in Tremlett 1). The past and the losers’ memory of the dead were silenced during the Spanish postwar in which, as scholar Aurora Bosch effectively describes, “morality, ideology, education, customs, indeed more or less everything fell under [the] stifling sway. Anyone who had opposed Franco in the Civil War could expect at best to be jailed, at worst to be shot” (Bosch 113).

It is key to my argument about the Republican losers’ appropriation of Hollywood films to first fully establish the breadth and implications of Franco’s repression, including the concept of winners and losers. According to Michael Richards in *A Time of Silence*, in the immediate postwar, Franco made a concerted effort to “[demonize] the ‘worthless’, ‘foreign’ and ‘disease-ridden’ Other: Republicans, democrats, liberals, the working class” (Richards 26). Richards’ exploration of the Spanish postwar also provides telling statistics, including the harsh reality that “as many as 200,000 men and women were killed in the Nationalist repression following the formal end of the conflict” (Richards 30). Those Spaniards who survived reprisals were left to stand in line for food

rations, part of the “masas hambrientas” that author Jordi Gracia cites as a part of everyday life in the postwar (Gracia 18). One could also have seen these long lines of Spaniards waiting to visit loved ones in prison, since as many as 300,000 Spaniards were in jail during the postwar in what Spanish historian Gutmaro Gómez Bravo calls “el encarcelamiento más masivo en la historia contemporánea de España,” or “el exilio interior” as it came to be known in Spain as well as in Gómez Bravo’s 2009 study of the same name (Gómez Bravo 15). Surprisingly, at least by today’s standards, the Catholic Church rallied behind Franco, giving him “su cobertura moral, como vencedor en una guerra santa, en una cruzada contra el comunismo” (Monlau 42-43). Manuel Álvaro Dueñas in his contribution to the 2009 book *La gran represión* even goes so far as to say, “La Iglesia no sólo legitimó doctrinalmente la sublevación, sino que participó de forma activa en la represión” (Álvaro Dueñas 73).

A great deal of the repression against the Republican losers was psychological in nature that, according to Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer, turned Franco’s regime into “un estado terrorista” (Ruiz Carnicer 39). The use of terror as an oppressive and repressive weapon was part of an effort to literally change the way the Republican losers of the war thought and felt. In 1938, the fascist Spanish author Ernesto Giménez Caballero published *España y Franco*, sharing his views on how Franco would conquer his political enemies. He writes in his manifesto that the Nationalist forces should not only prevail in the war, “sino hacer que los rojos de dentro y de fuera dejen de ser rojos y tornen a ser nacionales y a creer lo que se debe creer y a sentir lo que se debe sentir” (Giménez Caballero 21). Similarly, upon his appointment in 1939 as editor to Barcelona’s newspaper *La Vanguardia Española*, Luis de Galinsoga stated that any reconciliation

would require that the Republican losers learn to “pensar como Franco, sentir como Franco, hablar como Franco” (qtd. in Álvarez del Vayo 325). These two quotations demonstrate perfectly the depth of repression that Franco sought: it was not enough to repress with hunger, imprisonment, and murder, but the regime found it necessary to change the very way in which the Spanish public thought and felt.

During these times of such repression, the cinema was the great respite of postwar Spain for the public at large, offering warmth in the winter and cool in the summer as a widely available escape from the weather as well as the “asphyxiating cultural climate” (Bosch 113)¹. However, with his rise to power, Francisco Franco gained control over this incredible cultural presence as part of his goal to disseminate and ingrain a “tendentious image of Spain’s imperial past as a model for its present” (Graham 237)². Franco established this control through censorship and through an incentivized system for film production. Films, both domestic as well as imports from abroad, were censored by the Junta Superior de Censura (Superior Censorship Committee) and later by another censorship board manned by members of the Catholic Church, a powerful entity in postwar Spain given Franco’s drive for *nacionalcatolicismo* (national-Catholicism) (Bosch 121)³. For Spanish films, the censorship process began with the script and

¹ Young couples would often use the darkness of a movie theater to hide the affection that they could not show freely on the street. In a 1942 report by “El Bloque contra la inmoralidad pública de Zaragoza”, the Zaragoza theaters were described as being filled with “las parejas que con la mayor desvergüenza e impudor daban rienda suelta a sus instintos carnales, favorecidos por la casi completa oscuridad” (Gracia, “Selección” 399).

² In issue no. 2 of the *Cuadernos de la Academia*, Joan M. Minguet Batllori aptly describes the effect of Franco’s fascination with film in the title to his contribution to the publication: “La regeneración del cine como hecho cultural durante el primer franquismo” (Minguet Batllori 187).

³ In his 1981 book *La censura: Función política y ordenamiento jurídico bajo el franquismo (1936-1975)*, Spanish film historian Román Gubern comments on the later break between the clerical censorship and the Junta Superior: “El mismo año (1947) ... se produjo también el escándalo del estreno de *Gilda*, de Charles Vidor y con Rita Hayworth, ruidosamente proscrita o desaconsejada desde púlpitos y colegios religiosos, y que confirmó el relativo divorcio entre la Junta Superior de Orientación Cinematográfica y los sectores más integristas del clero” (Gubern 104). In 1950, the Catholic Church created its own censorship board, the

continued in post-production with the option to cut scenes and control over publicity materials including posters and advertisements in periodicals (Gubern, *La censura* 81). The censors typically cut scenes that included any mention of the vanquished Republicans and their goals, communism, freemasonry, strikes, class struggles, sexual content, and democracy (Bosch). Similar restrictions were placed on imported films, which were required to be redubbed in Spanish (Gubern, *La censura* 81)⁴. Aside from direct censorship, Franco encouraged “patriotic films exalting military values or the glory of Spain’s imperial past” and those films that demonstrated such values were awarded import licenses for American films (Bosch 119). This made it more profitable to rush through the production of a film that satiated Franco’s ideological fix in order to gain lucrative import permits for Hollywood films that the public would devour. Although Spanish audiences flocked to the release of Hollywood films, the fascist film reviewers at *Primer Plano*, a Spanish film magazine founded in 1940, “veía en el cine de Hollywood una muestra abyecta de decadentismo liberal” (Gubern, *La censura* 62). *El Generalísimo*, as Franco is also known, exercised great power over the film industry, but, as British hispanist Helen Graham reminds us, “the regime’s intent regarding such cultural forms is not ... the same thing as ascertaining their impact on the constituencies of Spaniards consuming them” (Graham 238). Thus, Franco’s regime used Hollywood cinema as one of these cultural forms, but the regime’s intent of placating the masses with mindless entertainment is not the same as the actual effect these films had on the audience. Franco’s goal was autarky, a complete Iberian self-sufficiency, but his drive for

Oficina Nacional Clasificadora de Espectáculos, which ranked each film based on its morality. The ranks were 1 (authorized for everyone), 2, 3, 4, and 4R (the most dangerous) (Rodríguez 121).

⁴ For instance, censors redubbed the film *Mogambo* (1953) so that Grace Kelly’s relationship with her husband became a brother-sister relationship. Thus, Kelly’s escapades with Clark Gable’s character were no longer adulterous (Bosch 121).

cinematographic autarky actually resulted in a kind of dependence on imported Hollywood films.

In his essay on the power of poetry to reassemble scattered emotions and experiences, critic John Berger says that poetry has the ability to speak to the “immediate wound” of trauma (Berger 450). Throughout the entirety of this thesis, my goal is to show how Hollywood films spoke to the “immediate wound” of the reality and trauma of the *vencidos* (the defeated) in postwar Spain more so than the Spanish films that debuted at the same time during the dictatorship. This claim is derived and supported by both the analysis of the films that I will provide later and also, more generally, derived and supported by the state of filmmaking in Spain during the dictatorship. I believe that Spaniards were able to appropriate Hollywood films and set up triage for the “immediate wounds” left by the Spanish Civil War and Francisco Franco’s often lethal dictatorship. According to J.M. Caparrós Lera in his comprehensive *Historia del cine español*, “la intención [del régimen con el cine] ...era distraer al público, evadirle de la dura realidad hispana” (Caparrós Lera 76). I propose that the Hollywood films in Spain addressed “la dura realidad hispana” of the *vencidos* of hunger, scarcity, and emotional and psychological oppression that contemporary Spanish films did not. These films offered a catharsis and a subversive form of grieving that were not permitted by the dictatorship.

I am by no means the first to explore Spanish film-going or the Spanish cinema that confronts the Franco dictatorship. In fact, one of my general goals is to answer a question that critic Jo Labanyi often addresses: “What does [Spain] do with the ghosts of its past?” (Labanyi, “History” 65). In her 2000 article “History and Hauntology; or, What Does One Do with the Ghosts of the Past? Reflections on Spanish Film and Fiction of the

Post-Franco Period,” Labanyi provides insightful analysis of how Spanish filmmakers of the 1970s manifested in their films the ghosts of the Spanish past, namely those Republican dead who were not afforded remembrance by the regime, especially Victor Erice’s *El espíritu de la colmena*. The landmark 1973 film depicts the life of young Ana in the traumatized Spain of the immediate postwar as she moves through the silence of the Spanish landscape. In a notable scene, she attends a screening of the Hollywood film *Frankenstein* (1931) and thinks Frankenstein’s monster to exist, later imagining an encounter with the monster. Erice presents Ana as a consumer of a foreign film who interprets the images and messages and appropriates them based on her lived reality. While I will address a similar question to Labanyi’s – to discover what Spain does with the ghosts of its past – my focus will be not on how Spanish filmmakers dealt with the trauma of the dictatorship after Franco’s decline in health and eventual death, but how the Hollywood films released during the dictatorship can be read in their socio-political context with encoded meanings that only the audience of *vencidos* would recognize. Since the regime effectively stifled means of open expression for the oppressed, the oppressed were forced to appropriate seemingly innocent forms of popular culture to have some form of expression that both spoke to their “immediate wound[s]” and also passed below the radar of the dictatorship. In a way, I plan to peer behind the dark, wide eyes of Ana in *El espíritu de la colmena* as she stares at the screen showing *Frankenstein* and ask, “What does this film mean to you, Ana, as someone who has just survived a bloody civil war?”

In positing a thesis about postwar Spanish film culture, it would be painfully easy to lapse into broad conjecture about audience reception for an audience that is separated

by 70 years and 3800 miles from me⁵. As a means of circumventing this problem in her own study of the role of film in the cultural memory of 1940s England, Annette Kuhn conducted extensive informant interviews over a period of ten years in her 2002 book *Dreaming of Fred and Ginger: Cinema and Cultural Memory*. Similarly, Jo Labanyi is currently collaborating in a study entitled “An Oral History of Cinema-Going in 1940s and 1950s Spain” in which interviews serve as the basis of the study (Labanyi, “Cinema” 4-5)⁶. Author Janet Staiger frequently publishes on the obstacles of historical film reception as in *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema* (1992), utilizing film reviews and informant interviews to accomplish her goal of placing the reader within the context and recounting the film’s reception. My study will differ from these publications in that I propose a study of the film text itself, taking into account the everyday reality of the viewing public that bore the brunt of Franco’s oppression.

In order to properly formulate a filmic analysis, I rely on two theories of audience reception. In his 2003 contribution to *The Audience Studies Reader*, “Understanding Popular Culture,” media scholar John Fiske describes an audience as “a user not simply consuming a commodity but reworking it, treating it not as a completed object to be accepted passively, but as a cultural resource to be used” (Fiske 112). I find this particularly useful, because it allows me to establish that a film audience viewing a film, consuming that commodity, will do more than simply watch, but will rework it and use it

⁵ This is a concession also made by Helen Graham in her study of popular Spanish song reception in the 1940s (Graham 239).

⁶ I contacted Professor Labanyi by e-mail in October, 2009 to begin a correspondence concerning the upcoming publication of the book that includes this research project. Although she has published the article “Cinema and the Mediation of Everyday Life in 1940s and 1950s Spain” previewing the project, the book isn’t due for publication until 2010 or 2011.

in a subjective manner. In an earlier study *Cinema and Sentiment*, cinema and culture critic Charles Affron presented the idea of audience consumption in terms of films, describing them as a “meaning-generating body of art” (Affron 1). What, then, determines the meaning that movies generate? According to Affron, viewers will recognize and “respond to the medium when its conditions echo something of their feelings and their experience” (Affron 2). Simply put, says Affron, audiences identify with films, their images, characters, themes, etc., and generate some personal meaning based on their identification. Affron goes on to say that film “elicit[s], in many viewers, passionate reading activity” (Affron 3). Ben Highmore reiterates this idea in his study of Michel de Certeau’s theories of the everyday, saying that consumers of culture not only make do with everyday culture, they “[make] with’ this culture (through acts of appropriation and re-employment)” (Highmore 13). Therefore, the audience identification with the motion pictures shown in Spain during the dictatorship, their “passionate reading activity,” would be based on “their feelings and their experiences” of the Spanish postwar and Franco’s repression with all its hunger, fear, and loss. The 2004 collection of essays *Hollywood Abroad* also informs my theoretical framework, because author Richard Maltby states that Hollywood movies in different cultures take a complex new form that “renders [the films] open to reinterpretation within the cultural matrix of the host culture” (Maltby 2). I plan to look specifically at this “passionate reading activity” in terms of the “cultural matrix of the host culture” of postwar Spain: the missing and dead Republicans, the way Republican families would silently mourn their dead, and the way women would silently read the films subversively.

Each chapter in my analysis will focus on a pair of films: one from the United States and one from a Spanish filmmaker. It is important to note that the first and second pairs each contain a Hollywood film and a cinematographic embodiment of Franco's discourse. The third pair contains a Hollywood film and a film by an exiled Spanish director in Mexico, so instead of Franco's "master narrative," I include a counter-narrative produced by a political exile. I devote substantial analysis to the Hollywood films, because there was a "preference for American genre films over the homegrown product" (Vernon 39). This fact is reflected in the writings of prominent Spaniards including Manuel Vázquez Montalbán in his *Crónica sentimental de España* and, as author Kathleen Vernon notes, in the first scenes of Erice's *El espíritu de la colmena* in which the townspeople excitedly run to the local theater to crowd a smoky room to see the latest Hollywood import.

Chapter 1 will focus its analysis on José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's *Raza* (1942) and Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca* (1940), examining how each portrays the memory and commemoration of the dead. The choice of *Rebecca* is derived from its popularity at the Spanish box office and its frequent reference in mainstream Spanish postwar texts, namely Llobet Gracia's film *Vida en sombras* (1948) and Carmen Martín Gaité's award-winning novel *El cuarto de atrás* (1978) and her later publication *Usos amorosos de la posguerra española* (1987). The choice of *Raza* was obvious: Francisco Franco wrote the script and the film is the most canonical film about the motives and ideologies of the Spanish Civil War as designated by the dictatorship. The subsequent chapter on Jean Negulesco's *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953) and the Spanish newsreels (*los noticiarios documentales*, NO-DOs) concerning the Sección Femenina of the Spanish

fascist party, the Falange, will address the role of women in the postwar, doubly-defeated for their political affiliations and their gender. I select the NO-DOs as a text since they were created under government supervision and propagated Franco's ideology. *How to Marry a Millionaire* emerged as a film worthy of analysis in this context when, during field research in Spain at the Archivo de Escrituras Cotidianas (Archive of Everyday Writings) in Alcalá de Henares, I found an advertisement for the film in an appointment book of a member of the Sección Femenina. Finally, the final chapter will venture away from Spain and into exile as so many Spaniards did in the postwar period. *En el balcón vacío* (1962) from director Jomí García Ascot quotes images, themes, and film techniques from Hitchcock's masterpiece *Vertigo* and this semiotic layering will reveal the psychological implications of exile and memory of an unattainable past⁷.

Ultimately, the relevance of this investigation comes from the timeliness of the topic, given Spain's present-day obsession with its hidden past and historical memory. Even after the dictatorship ended with Franco's death by natural causes in 1975, the country lapsed into what Madeleine Davis calls the *pacto del olvido*, "a deliberate, but largely tacit, agreement to 'forget' the past" (Davis 863). As Spain currently breaks this *pacto del olvido* in the 21st century due in part to the 2007 Ley de Memoria Histórica passed by the Spanish government, more and more studies emerge about the repression and also the manners in which the oppressed survived the dictatorship by appropriating

⁷ Semiotic layering, as outlined by Maureen Turim, is cited by Kathleen M. Vernon in her "Hollywood in/and Spanish Cinema: From Trade Wars to Transculturation." The term refers to taking a cultural production and placing it and analyzing it in a context other than the context from which it emerged. Also, thanks to a grant from the Charles Center at the College of William and Mary, I travelled to Madrid for one week to conduct research at the Filmoteca Española and at the library of the Academia de las Artes y las Ciencias Cinematográficas. At the Filmoteca Española, I viewed these three Hollywood films in the versions that the Spanish government had in its archives, often including the censorship imposed by the dictatorship. Also, the libraries of both the Filmoteca and the Academia offered numerous sources used in this investigation.

popular culture. In one such study, Helen Graham explains that “the regime’s triumphalist discourse could not homogenize the disparate and highly contradictory social and cultural realities of [Franco’s] Spain” (Graham 238). This statement serves as a driving question throughout this work. Although the last thing I intend to do is to depict Hollywood as a John Wayne-esque savior riding in on the white horse to save the down-trodden Spanish cinema-goers, I do believe that Hollywood films offered a means of subversion in the face of the “highly contradictory social and cultural realities” that Francisco Franco tried so desperately to hide.

Chapter 1 *Raza* (1942) and *Rebecca* (1940): Death and Commemoration in Postwar

Spain

“As Derrida nicely puts it in Specters of Marx, ghosts must be exorcised not in order to chase them away, but in order ‘this time to grant them the right [...] to [...] a hospitable memory [...] out of a concern for justice.’”

-Jo Labanyi. “History and Hauntology.”

The year is 1942. Three years after the Spanish Civil War ended, the country is still divided into two Spains, except the two Spains of the postwar are called the victors and the vanquished, *los vencedores y los vencidos*, the winners and the losers. As the dust clears and Spaniards attempt to find normalcy in their daily lives, Franco’s reprisals quickly remind them that the only normalcy in a dictatorship for the losers is one filled with severe hunger and the constant threat of becoming one of the 200,000 men and women murdered after the end of the war (Richards 30). Entrenched in the immediate postwar, the year 1942 is the year in which the names of two films shared the marquee: *Raza* (1942) from director José Luis Sáenz de Heredia and Alfred Hitchcock’s *Rebecca* (released in 1940 in the U.S., 1942 in Spain)¹.

This chapter will provide an analysis of these two films, demonstrating how the Hollywood film *Rebecca*, in the language of John Berger, “speaks to the immediate wound” (Berger 450) of those Republican losers living in the immediate postwar more so than *Raza*, which more closely portrays the reality of the winners from the war.

Specifically, although both films deal with death, remembrance, and commemoration,

¹ Although *Rebecca* was censored upon release in Spain, there exists little record of what exactly was cut from the film. After viewing the seven reels of *Rebecca* at the Filmoteca Española, I can say that this version is more or less faithfully dubbed in Spanish and no scenes are cut. However, Spanish film critic J. Cobos wrote in the magazine *Film Ideal* in 1959 of *Rebecca*, “la *Rebecca* que además de dos “c” tiene otras cosas que no vimos aquí” (Cobos 36). This alludes to some censored dialogue and/or scenes that are included in the official version available at the Filmoteca Española.

Raza is a propagandistic, state-sponsored spectacle of military triumph of good over evil. I am interested in how a facet of this spectacle of military triumph is the spectacle of death and mourning of Nationalist fallen. *Raza* only commemorates the fallen Nationalists from the war, while *Rebecca* depicts a haunting, something far more familiar to the Republicans and the way in which they must silently coexist with their dead in the postwar. Film critics, including Spaniard Esteve Rimbau, are currently attempting to explain the unusual success of *Rebecca*. Rimbau names in the magazine *Dirigido por...* several factors in the success of *Rebecca*: “La popularidad de la novela – un best-seller de Daphne du Maurier ... , el peso específico de los actores – Laurence Olivier y Joan Fontaine – y el éxito comercial del propio film han sido factores que quizá hayan contribuido a empañar la importancia de este film” (Rimbau 63). I offer in this chapter another explanation for the immense success of this Hollywood film abroad in Spain. I argue that the Republican audience, a public severely traumatized following three years of civil war and the continued reprisals of Francoism, appropriated *Rebecca* as a vehicle of commemoration of their dead, making it such an “éxito extraordinario” in Spain upon its release, according to Fernando González in his reflection on the Falangist film magazine *Primer Plano* (González 113)². My analysis will reveal why this defeated audience would identify more with *Rebecca* and the mysterious death of the title character than with *Raza* and its heroic, martyr-like deaths.

On January 5th, 1942, *Raza* premiered in Spain with its script written by Franco himself, giving historians one of the more obvious examples of a dictator literally

² González goes on in his article “El discurso sobre la técnica en *Primer Plano*, 1940-1945” to cite reviewer J.L. Gómez Tello in *Primer Plano*, who said that “películas como ... la misma *Rebeca* son ... heréticas, superficiales y materialistas” (González 126). These were typical critiques of both Hollywood film and American society. It is also important to note that González cites *Rebecca* six times in his article, each time noting the film’s immense Spanish success.

rewriting the history of his rise to power (Gubern, *1936-1939* 98). *Raza* serves as part of Franco's effort to smooth out the wrinkles of the war, annihilating certain narratives, demonizing the Republican "rojos," and glorifying the deaths of his fallen troops; in short, *Raza* is Franco's commemoration of the war. In his introduction to the edited volume *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, John Gillis states that commemorative activity "involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and, in some instances, annihilation" (Gillis 5). Franco utilized the bloody nature of the war as well as this power to rewrite the history of the war in an effort to commemorate the Nationalist war dead through *Raza*. In his 1990 account of the dictatorship, Paul Preston cites several of Franco's commemorations of the war and its dead, including that "the war-ravaged wreckage of the town of Belchite was left standing as a Nationalist monument" (Preston, *The Politics* 44). *Raza* serves a similar purpose in that it too takes the ravages and deaths of the war and memorializes them.

The film also acts as commemoration because the ties that the deaths of Franco's forces have to Christianity presuppose that the souls of these men will far outlive the material world, even the celluloid on which *Raza* resides. The Nationalists die as martyrs in the film, which alludes to the reverence for martyrdom in Spanish fascism. Spanish fascists would often commemorate the dead by referencing how they lived on, including how when "the names of the fallen, when called in roll, were to be answered by the voices of their comrades shouting, 'Present!'" (Vincent 76). According to Mary Vincent in her 1999 study on masculinity and martyrdom in the Spanish Civil War, death for

Franco was tied irrevocably to “the eternal glory of martyrdom” (Vincent 89)³.

Therefore, by depicting and making eternal through film the deaths of these martyrs, Franco is commemorating the Nationalist dead. This commemoration is essential for the regime’s goal of justifying the Spanish Civil War as well as the continued detainment and execution after the war of countless Spaniards with political affiliations that Franco found disagreeable. By commemorating the deaths in *Raza* as Christian, martyr-like deaths, Franco is justifying the Spanish Civil War as a Christian war, another Crusade, in which a good Christian would side with the Nationalist victors⁴.

As the opening credits fade in and claim that *Raza* is the “gran superproducción española,” a series of images appears in the background showing battles during the Crusades (Ra1, Ra2), supporting the assertion of Román Gubern that “*Raza* pretendía ser el modelo de ‘cine patriótico’ legitimador de la Cruzada que el régimen necesitaba para su propaganda” (Gubern, *1936-1939* 100). These images of battle and death are the first in a multitude of images and themes that solidify a connection between Nationalism and Catholicism. This connection also implies that the death of a Nationalist is a Christian death, the martyr-like death full of sacrifice in the name of defending Catholic Spain in the new Crusade: the Spanish Civil War.

³ “Cara al sol”, the official anthem of the Falange, the fascist organization founded by José Primo de Rivera that worked alongside Franco during and after the war, references and glorifies martyrdom.

⁴ A key aspect of Nationalist civil war ideology is that the Spanish Civil War was a crusade. In fact, after the war, the Catholic Church gave Franco “su cobertura moral, como vencedor en una *guerra santa*, en una cruzada contra el comunismo” (Monlau 42-43). According to Stanley Payne in his detailed 1999 chronicle *Fascism in Spain*, during the dictatorship, the connection between the Catholic Church and the regime remained strong (Payne 401).



Ra1



Ra2

The film tells the story of the Churruca family, a traditional Catholic family, through fifty years of Spanish history, ending with the family's participation in the Spanish Civil War: José as the Nationalist hero, Pedro, the brother who betrays his family to fight as a Republican, and Jaime the monk murdered by the Republicans. The roles of these three brothers establish their ties to Christianity and, more specifically, the betrayal of Pedro establishes the inability of Republicans to recognize the beauty of martyrdom; thus, they are undeserving of such commemoration. After the opening credits, the story begins in 1898 as the father, Don Pedro Churruca, a naval officer, returns from the Spanish-American War to his family, who stop first at the church to thank God for Don Pedro's safe return (Ra3). The following scene finds Churruca regaling his children with tales of ancestors and their sacrifice throughout the family's naval tradition (Ra4). He tells of his own grandfather and how "fue de hermosa la muerte" of this ancestor who died in the name of something larger than himself: his country.



Ra3



Ra4

It is important to my argument to recognize that all four males in this scene, Don Pedro Churruca, son José, and son Pedro as well as newborn son Jaime will all die by the film's end. Since these protagonists represent the various Nationalist and Republican (in the case of Pedro) archetypes that Franco's ideology propagated, my focus on *Raza* is on the various death scenes of these family members and how the deaths are portrayed. What does Franco as scriptwriter want the death of each family member to mean? I will also focus on the over-the-top connections drawn to Christianity, calling upon the themes of salvation, resurrection, and redemption that are apparent in the death scenes. By connecting each family member's death to Christianity, the film commemorates them as martyrs. This cinematographic commemoration equates to a proper burial in which the Nationalist dead are recognized for their sacrifices and are given a final resting place in the nation's memory as well as its cemeteries.

Even before the chronology of the film reaches the Spanish Civil War, we find our first depiction of death as martyrdom in the death of the father Don Pedro. The scene is the chaotic naval battle of Cuba, during which the captain of the ship assures Pedro, "Del nuestro [sacrificio] de hoy, saldrán las glorias de mañana," implying that the death awaiting Pedro in the next scene will be a death of sacrifice for the glory of Spain. At the exact moment of Pedro's death, the dissonant, chaotic music accompanying the battle stops, replaced by a quieter, more humble music. Pedro receives a fatal wound and, in his final moments, takes the crucifix hanging from his neck, kisses it, and gazes into the heavens as his eyes close and the screen fades to black (Ra5). The next image that fades in is the mourning wife, wearing a cross that acts as a graphic match to Pedro's crucifix from the scene before (Ra6). Based on the quotation from the ship's captain, Pedro's

death is in the name of Spain and since Pedro solemnly clutches the cross and the next scene shows his family's Christian mourning practices, the audience understands that this man is commemorated as a martyr. Just as he showed his children a scrapbook of his ancestors and told their tales of heroism, he too will find his rightful place in the annals of history.



Ra5



Ra6

As the Churruca family confronts the Spanish Civil War, the son José shares his father's fate, except the death of the son is depicted in the fashion of the greatest example of martyrdom in the Christian faith: the death of Jesus Christ. Despite José's heroism and prowess, Republican forces capture him and schedule his execution. Before his execution, he receives his last rites and, when called to face the firing squad, he rises as if triumphant, as proud as his father was before his death. When he is placed against the wall, José is offered a blindfold to shield him from what awaits, but he rejects it and even reveals his medals before screaming "¡Arriba, España!" (Ra7). When his partner, Marisol, receives his body, she is astounded to feel heat emanating from José's skin (Ra8) and, after several weeks of recuperation, José miraculously survives his execution. This resurrection from the dead is blatantly Christ-like, something that Marisol acknowledges when she describes it as impossible "sin la intervención de Dios." This plot point is the most unconcealed example of scriptwriter Franco tying the Church to Nationalism and tying Nationalist deaths to martyrdom. This connection that Franco

establishes is particularly significant, because he is also establishing the intervention of God in his actions as leader of Nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War and as *Caudillo* of Spain in the postwar.



Ra7



Ra8

With the exception of the brother Pedro, the only exposure that the audience receives to Republicans is during one scene in which a ruthless band of anarchist militiamen storms a monastery and leads the monks to a beach and to their executions. The acts committed by the soldiers in the scene reflect Franco's demonization of Republicans who fought in the war. As the band of combatants bursts through the front doors of the monastery, the editing changes to a series of quick cuts that add frenzy to the already chaotic scene⁵. Republican soldiers break religious figurines (Ra9), drink communion wine, and eat communion wafers (Ra10), all the while sinisterly laughing at their exploits. In such stark contrast, the friar Jaime Churruca calmly shields a wide-eyed young boy, the poster-child for innocence, from the onslaught. His efforts are in vain as the monks are captured and led to a beach. The only sound as they journey to the beach is the diegetic chanting of the monks. They form a line along the shore and calmly share a final prayer before a Republican flagrantly says, "Sale cuando quieras" and the monks fall dead to the sand (Ra11). The chanting of the monks from before the execution is then

⁵ For another use of quick cuts in editing to create a feeling of chaos and instability, see the famous "shower scene" in Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* (1960).

replaced with non-diegetic choral singing of young children performing something typical of a Catholic funeral. Thus, this scene not only portrays the Republican soldiers as vile, Godless beings, but it also gives these monks proper burial; although this is not a literal burial, the camera and the score are paying respect to the dead. This is significant because the film makes a point to properly bury and commemorate those sympathetic to Franco, which included the Catholic Church.



Ra9



Ra10



Ra11

The final son of the Churruca family who has yet to encounter death is the traitor Pedro and his death only comes after he has repudiated his Republican involvement. The seeds of Pedro's betrayal had been planted early on in the film during his childhood. During his father's expositions on the beauty and glory of death in battle, Pedro responds, "No comprendo que el morir pueda ser hermoso." This scene, according to Gubern, serves "no sólo para exaltar las virtudes de la 'raza' ... , sino también para reiterar el carácter odioso del pequeño Pedro, que ni comprende la belleza de la muerte heroica" (Gubern, *Raza* 24). Also in this scene, the script correlates Pedro's character and greed,

for he asks not of his ancestor's bravery in battle, but asks, "¿Fue rico?" In this short exchange, the script establishes that the son Pedro, the future Republican during the civil war, is the "other" of the family, just as all Republicans were the "other" of the Franco regime. However, in Pedro's final scene, he is confronted at the end of the war by his Republican comrades and accused of betraying them. He admits his guilt and the camera passes by the shoulders of his accusers, including an overweight sweaty man who is exemplary of the archetypal Republican in Nationalist ideology. As the camera reaches Pedro, it films him from below (Ra12), placing him in a position of power, since he is now a reformed man. As his eyes grow larger with excitement, coinciding with his narration of how the Nationalist forces will prevail, a patch of lighting highlights his eyes and images of flags are overlain on top of this scene. Two quick cuts follow, revealing Pedro's fate: first, a cut to the barrels of several guns and then a cut to Pedro's shadow as he is executed and killed. The character of Pedro can now die and be commemorated because he is no longer Republican; he has been saved as if through a spiritual awakening and religious conversion.



Ra12

April 1st, 1939, the Día de la Victoria, marks the end of the Spanish Civil War and the celebratory military parade through the streets of Madrid on May 19th, 1939 gave director José Luis Sáenz de Heredia the unique opportunity to combine actual footage from the event with the footage filmed for *Raza*. As the Churruga family celebrates the

Nationalist victory parade, the film overlays images of the procession of soldiers with images of the various deaths seen throughout the film, including those of the father Pedro Churruca and the monks murdered by Republican soldiers. By placing these overlaid images during the Día de la Victoria commemorative act, Sáenz de Heredia creates a remembrance of the film's fallen on the same grand scale as the parade. In a way, the fallen members of the Churruca family are being commemorated just as deceased fascists were often memorialized during roll calls; by overlaying images of the dead with their fellow Nationalist soldiers marching now in formation past Franco, the film is calling, “¡*Presentes!*” for them. It is essential, however, to note that every death shown on screen is that of a Nationalist. There are no depictions of Republicans dying because *Raza* is a tribute only to the Nationalist fallen. The message that Franco propagates both as dictator and scriptwriter is that only the victors, those that died as martyrs for the Catholic nation that Franco defended, deserved to be etched forever into the annals of history and memory⁶.

The film *Raza* is a “commemorative activity” (Gillis 5) that Franco created after the Spanish Civil War, but while writing the script, Franco was concocting another commemoration for the Nationalist dead: the Valley of the Fallen (*el Valle de los Caídos*). Although the Spanish government did not inaugurate this monument until 1959, Franco formulated the ideas and designs while writing *Raza* and the shared intentions of the two larger-than-life, state-sponsored commemorations are readily apparent (Gubern,

⁶ In 1994, the Filmoteca Española and Ferrán Alberich released a documentary entitled *Corten veintiún metros de chinós*, which was a compilation of scenes cut as a part of Francoist censorship. One such cut was part of the famous speech in *Patton* (1970) delivered by the title character in front of an enormous U.S. flag. Based on my study of Francoist censorship, I suggest that perhaps parts of the scene were cut due to Patton's grotesque depictions of the gore of war, his references to defeating the Nazis, who were allied with Franco during World War II, or due to his opening statement, “Now, I want you to remember that no bastard ever won a war by dying for his country.” This statement is completely contrary to the idea of the “muerte gloriosa” and full of sacrifice that Franco and *Raza* propagate.

Raza 8). The striking hilltop presence of the Valley of the Fallen is marked by a giant cross resting atop a cavernous mausoleum (Va1) inside of which would eventually lay the remains of Franco himself and José Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange, the fascist organization that collaborated with Franco during and after the war. The monument claims to honor all the dead of the Spanish Civil War, but its strict ties to Catholicism and the reverence given to Franco and Primo de Rivera show that this monument is an example of a commemorative activity that distorts history. Like *Raza*, the Valley of the Fallen may be aptly described in the terms expressed by John Gillis – “[it] appear[s] consensual when [it is] in fact the product of processes of intense contest [and] struggle” – because the monument was built with the coerced labor of Republican prisoners of war. Also, the Valley of the Fallen commemorates the Nationalist deaths “en la mitología del nacional-catolicismo y en el imaginario colectivo de quienes se consideran justos vencedores de la contienda,” according to Fernando Olmeda in his recently published book *El Valle de los Caídos: Una memoria de España* (Olmeda 20-21). During the dictatorship, the Valley of the Fallen acted as a commemoration reserved strictly for the victors; the losers of the war had little freedom to speak of their dead loved ones, much less commemorate them in a similarly grandiose, public fashion.



Va1

This begs the question: What was there for the defeated to treat the “immediate wound” of the postwar of the 1940s? Following the theories of audience identification of

Charles Affron, such a film would be one that “echo[es] something of their feelings and experiences,” their harsh reality (Affron 2). Due in part to the watchful eye of government censors, the movie-going public did not find this film in a Spanish production, but rather a Hollywood production: *Rebecca*. This film, the first American production of director Alfred Hitchcock, premiered in the United States in 1940 and Spain in 1942 and is based on the 1938 novel of the same name by British author Daphne du Maurier. It is important to note that the film’s plot has nothing to do with the Spanish Civil War; it tells the story of a shy young woman played by Joan Fontaine working as the paid companion to a headstrong older American woman. On their trip to Monte Carlo, our female protagonist meets and falls in love with Max DeWinter, the millionaire who whisks her away from her humble, seemingly miserable life to his estate Manderley. Despite the fairytale circumstances for this young woman, now known only as “the second Mrs. DeWinter,” the first Mrs. DeWinter, Rebecca, who died under mysterious circumstances before the audience’s point of entry into the plot, exists in Manderley as a ghost “whose Gothic presence haunts this film with a supernatural power,” according to Brigitte Peucker in her contribution to *Alfred Hitchcock: Centenary Essays* (Peucker 149)⁷. How could this film possibly reflect the reality of the defeated Republicans of the Spanish Civil War and the manner in which they remember and mourn their dead? *Rebecca* depicts a haunting akin to the kind that existed in Spain, a country haunted by the ghosts of the Republican dead.

⁷ The character of the second Mrs. DeWinter, portrayed by Joan Fontaine, is never given a first name throughout the entire 131 minute runtime of the film. This calls into question what (if any) identity this woman has. She has no name, we know little of her background, and her time in Manderley is spent living up to Rebecca’s precedent. As a result, some film critics believe that the 2nd Mrs. De Winter becomes a surrogate for Rebecca.

It is important to fully define “haunting” in this context. The critic Avery Gordon defines a haunting in her book *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* as “an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known” (Gordon xvi). This social violence makes itself known in the form of a ghost, a memory or a reminder of that social injustice that survives repression and bubbles back to the surface. One of *Rebecca*’s protagonists, Max, reiterates this conception of ghosts when he says that they have a way of “popping out at you just as you’re trying most desperately to forget.” These are not ghosts of the paranormal kind, but metaphorical ghosts in a society that result from “improperly buried bodies” and oftentimes the indiscretions of war and dictatorship (Gordon 16). These ghosts create a space with a “merging of ... the dead and the living, the past and the present” in which they demand justice (Gordon 24). In the case of postwar Spain, the social injustices are clear: the regime’s continued killing based on suspicion and loose political allegiances, the dumping of countless bodies into unmarked graves, and the complete denial of public and cultural expression for the losers of the war to share their motivations in the war and to share the fates of their fallen or “disappeared” family members.

Gordon cites specific characteristics of a haunting that I find particularly useful for my reading of *Rebecca*. The first, that “the ghost imports a charged strangeness into the place or sphere it is haunting,” refers to the effect that this ghost has on the world of the living (Gordon 63). Much of Gordon’s book concerns how the living and the dead co-mingle within the same space. Postwar Spain came to be such a space, because the *vencidos* were forced to physically co-mingle with the dead in the form of unmarked mass graves that peppered the Spanish landscape. The surviving *vencidos* also

emotionally and mentally co-mingled with the dead, because the regime's seizure of interpretive power forced the losers to mourn their dead silently. The second characteristic that I cite alludes to the reason for the ghost's presence, since the ghost is "primarily a symptom of what is missing," which she says usually represents a loss (Gordon 63). In Spain, the ghosts represent the missing history of the Republicans in Franco's grand narrative of the war⁸. Gordon informs my understanding of postwar Spain, because during the postwar, the *vencidos* had to silently grapple with the recent trauma of the war and mourn their dead; this silence demonstrated that something was missing: their voice and agency in the public sphere. Gordon's theory similarly functions at the level of plot in *Rebecca* with the film's two protagonists, Max and the 2nd Mrs. De Winter. In a 1960 interview with Spanish film magazine *Film Ideal*, Alfred Hitchcock, speaking generally about his films, said that he wanted his typical audience to have "la impresión de que esta misma historia puede ocurrirle mañana" (Hitchcock 6). He went on, saying, "Si se quiere que el lector o el espectador sustituyan inconscientemente al héroe, porque la verdad es que la gente sólo se interesa por sí misma o por las historias que pueden afectarles" (Hitchcock 6). If we follow Hitchcock's theory that audiences are only interested in a film if the stories affect them, then, looking at the immense Spanish success of *Rebecca*, we can say that Spanish audiences were deeply affected by the film. I propose that the Spanish filmgoer was deeply affected by *Rebecca* because it depicts a haunting according to Gordon's theory. To reveal the aforementioned characteristics of a

⁸ The final qualification that Gordon outlines, that "the ghost is alive, so to speak," refers to how we cope with the ghosts and the lasting effects that these ghosts have on the people who coexist with them (Gordon 63). I chose to exclude this third characteristic in my analysis of *Rebecca*, because I found it more illuminative to trace the film's two protagonists, which naturally led to discussion of the first two characteristics.

haunting as seen in *Rebecca*, I trace the two protagonists of the film, the two foci of audience identification: Max and the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter.

The audience immediately identifies with the film's protagonist, the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter, and she leads us into the "place or sphere" of the haunting: Manderley. As she and Max approach Manderley for her (and our) first visit, a subjective shot through the car's windshield reveals this larger-than-life mansion, accompanied by a larger-than-life explosion of grandiose music in Franz Waxman's score. The cut back to her wide eyes and fearful expression reveal that she already senses there is something to dread. As the doors open, the whole staff of the house awaits in the cavernous great hall, which is built by combining the actual set and matte paintings. The head of the staff and former mistress of Rebecca, Mrs. Danvers, floats into the frame just as the music turns dark and ominous⁹. This introduction to the mansion immediately establishes that the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter will not face an easy transition into this sphere in which the haunting will take place.

As she explores the labyrinth that is Manderley, the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter first encounters the ghost of Rebecca through whispers of the past from the staff, especially Mrs. Danvers. The 2nd Mrs. DeWinter stumbles throughout the house, portrayed as a child-like figure due to the high placement of doorknobs in the set design (Re1) and through forced perspective in a shot with butler Frith (Re2). She often stumbles into reminders of Rebecca, either in the stationary in the morning room which still carries "R deW" or in conversations with members of the staff, who reveal little of Rebecca. When

⁹ In describing three of Hitchcock's female characters, author Boris Izaguirre reiterates this description of Mrs. Danvers' manner of walking: "Como la señora Danvers en *Rebeca* o *Marnie* después de un robo, Madeleine no anda: se desplaza, flota. Toda ella es una aparición" (Izaguirre 79). It is interesting to compare Mrs. Danvers to a ghost, since Rebecca is so obviously a ghostly presence and since Mrs. Danvers was Rebecca's closest confidante.

Max's sister visits, she explains to the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter that the staff, especially Mrs. Danvers, "simply adored Rebecca." At this moment, Fontaine turns her head sharply to the left, creating a profile in the frame. Her face remains lit as the light in the background dims, showing her isolation (Re3). How exactly is she isolated? She is isolated because she is the only person in the house who is haunted. This profile comes precisely as the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter is reminded once again of Rebecca and how Rebecca fulfilled so well the role of lady of Manderley. Like Max's sister, each new acquaintance is a function of Rebecca, someone whose connection to the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter is only through Rebecca. In one especially eerie scene, she ventures into Rebecca's old room in the west wing and the audience hears the non-diegetic sound of a wheezing organ¹⁰. The housekeeper Mrs. Danvers, who had the most intimate relationship with Rebecca and whose presence in itself is as eerie as any ghost, enters the bedroom and says, "Sometimes I think she comes back here" and that Rebecca is present in "not just this room, all the rooms." Mrs. Danvers presents pieces of clothing and a negligee that Rebecca wore, caressing the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter's cheek with one of them and later imitating how she would comb Rebecca's hair by miming the activity with the helpless new wife. Mrs. Danvers is forcing the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter into Rebecca's identity, just as she later will manipulate her into wearing a dress that Rebecca once wore. The ghost of Rebecca is so powerful that it not only is present in Manderley, but it begins to consume the identity of the woman who survives her. Just like the film audience in postwar Spain, the 2nd Mrs.

¹⁰ This wheezing organ calls to mind the wheezing organ in the Hollywood film *Sunset Blvd.* (1950) from director Billy Wilder. Its sound is used to exemplify the age and out-datedness of Norma Desmond's mansion. A future analysis of this film would prove interesting; its main character, former silent film star Norma Desmond, is obsessed with the past and her parasitic relationship with young screenwriter Joe Gillis is an eerie "merging...of the past and the present" to use Avery Gordon's terms when she discusses ghosts.

DeWinter is haunted by this ghost from the past that has returned to share some untold truth.



Re1



Re2



Re3

Our second protagonist, Max DeWinter, knows the truth of Rebecca's mysterious death, which tortures him throughout the film. His torture is evident in the first images of Laurence Olivier as Max standing atop a cliff in the south of France. Cinematographer George Barnes provides us with a beautiful shot from behind Max as he stares down into the water below, the waves crashing like the tortured thoughts crashing in his head (Re4). Luckily, our female lead enters just in time to save him from whatever fate he considered and, the next time we see Max, he is the jovial bachelor and smooth millionaire who frequents Monte Carlo. This juxtaposition of Max's two drastically different moods creates two Maxes: the Max tortured by the truth that only he knows, but can't reveal, and the Max who is suave enough to woo Joan Fontaine's character within the first twenty minutes of the film. At Manderley, it is forbidden for anyone to say anything about Rebecca, because it will cause the emergence of the tortured Max. For example, at

a dinner with the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter, Max's sister, and Max's brother-in-law, the latter asks of the new wife's hobbies. When she says she doesn't sail, he replies, "Thank goodness for that." Because the official (but not the true) cause of Rebecca's death was drowning while she was out sailing, the whole table pauses in silence and looks to Max, who stares off in reflection. Everyone present at the table thinks he's tortured simply by the fact that Rebecca died, but his torture goes further; he is tortured because he alone knows the truth, but he cannot tell it without threatening his own freedom.



Re4

Everything changes in one pivotal scene in which divers off the shores near Manderley discover a boat containing Rebecca's body. This cathartic exhumation scene ends the haunting of the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter and the torture of Max. The 2nd Mrs. DeWinter runs down to the shore (Re5), appearing as a kind of ghostly doubling of the first wife as she searches for Max and discovers that Rebecca's body has been exhumed from the ship. She finds Max in the boathouse, stoic with the realization that the long-silenced truth of Rebecca's death is being exhumed with her body. After prodding from his wife, Max shares the story of a death that has haunted him throughout the film so far: Rebecca did not drown, but was accidentally killed by Max. She confronted him in the boathouse, alluding to her possible pregnancy by another man, goading Max into unleashing his temper. When he did, he pushed her back and she fell onto a piece of

ship's tackle, dying instantly¹¹. During Max's description of the night's events, Hitchcock's camera gives Rebecca's ghost physical embodiment. Max narrates the final moments of Rebecca's life and the camera imitates the movements that Rebecca made. For example, Max tells of her sitting on the sofa and we see the empty sofa; Max says that she got up and the camera immediately rises while the frame still remains empty (Re6). Nevertheless, the camera is giving the ghost of Rebecca physical embodiment in this scene. Tania Modleski remarks in her examination of femininity in Hitchcock films that "not only is Rebecca's absence stressed [in this scene], but we are made to experience it as an active force" (Modleski 53). This "active force" is the "charged strangeness" that Avery Gordon described in her definition of haunting. Franz Waxman's score takes part in the exhumation of Rebecca, because the theme associated with Rebecca, which the composer calls "highly emotional and haunting," is played throughout the scene and in a "ghostly pianissimo" when the camera follows Rebecca's movements from that fateful night (qtd. in Sullivan 67).



Re5



Re6

How can we tell that the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter is no longer haunted after the exhumation scene? Previously, the presence of Rebecca in the physical realm persisted in the physical relationship between Max and the second Mrs. DeWinter. Max says that

¹¹ The plot as it exists in the book has Max shooting Rebecca. Since the Hollywood Production Code required that anyone who murders their spouse be punished legally, this murder was censored and replaced with Max and Rebecca arguing, followed by her accidental fall on a nearby piece of ship equipment (Spoto 213).

their romance suffered because “[Rebecca’s] shadow has been between us,” demonstrated in the lack of a kiss and any noticeable physical contact between the newlyweds. Only after the exhumation scene do Max and his new wife have their first onscreen kiss, coming approximately an hour and forty minutes into the film and lasting for a full twelve seconds as the camera pans back. This implies that the truth of Rebecca’s death lifts the weight of mystery and trauma from their marriage. During their kiss, Max tells the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter, “It’s gone forever, that funny, young, lost look I loved. Won’t ever come back. I killed that when I told you about Rebecca. It’s gone.” This is another sign that she is no longer haunted; the helpless, child-like woman we saw earlier struggling through Manderley, is gone. The haunting is over. How do we know that the truth in the missing story no longer tortures our other protagonist, Max? Although he continues to exhibit frustration, Max’s frustration is now derived from the fact that he may go to jail. Previously in the film, Max would seize with terror and thought whenever someone made a passing reference to Rebecca or the way she died. After the exhumation scene, the entire town is talking about the controversial discovery of Rebecca’s body, but Max does not become catatonic with despair as he had before at mentions of Rebecca.

As Spaniards sat traumatized in theaters after the civil war viewing *Rebecca*, Hitchcock’s intent, following his aforementioned interview in *Film Ideal*, was that any audience would identify with his film. Because of Hitchcock’s goal of audience identification with the protagonists of the film and because the film’s “conditions echo something of their feelings and experience,” as Charles Affron said, the Spanish audience comprised of the losers of the Spanish Civil War identifies with Max and the 2nd Mrs. De

Winter. The 2nd Mrs. DeWinter is initially haunted by the ghost of the dead, but she gets relief; her mystery is solved when the silence is broken. The body of Rebecca is exhumed and the power she holds over Manderley is destroyed with her exhumation as well as with Mrs. Danvers's impromptu exorcism of the mansion¹². Max at first is tortured and cannot share the truth of Rebecca's death, but the exhumation requires he share the story and his torture ends. This kind of relief could never have happened for the losers of the war who sat in the audience. The exhumation scene marks the point at which the film no longer mirrors the "feelings and...experience" of the losers, but goes a step further into the realm of what is desired. The end of the film thus provides a catharsis for this audience. The Franco dictatorship would not even let them publicly grieve their war dead or those killed in reprisals of the postwar. These *vencidos* also lived with the mystery surrounding the final resting place of their loved ones, those war dead and disappeared who were executed and carelessly tossed into mass graves. This film struck a nerve, because it gave the audience the catharsis that they could never have under Franco.

This begs the question as to what is necessary to provide the kind of catharsis afforded to Max and the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter. If, as in *Rebecca*, it involves exhumation, then it must involve the unmarked mass graves, the place where ghosts have physical presence in postwar Spain. While the Nationalist dead were ceremoniously laid to rest in cemeteries and later in the prestigious Valley of the Fallen, many of the Republican postwar dead and disappeared were tossed in mass graves. Journalist Giles Tremlett said

¹² Rebecca in fact had cancer and had manipulated Max into thinking she was pregnant, angering him and causing him to push her. However, authorities conducting the coroner's inquest take this as evidence that Rebecca's death was a suicide. Upon hearing this revelation, Mrs. Danvers realizes that Max will not be punished and burns Manderley to the ground. The last image we see is the "R" in Rebecca's embroidered pillow going up in flames in an interesting parallel to the final image of Rosebud at the close of *Citizen Kane* (1941).

of the mass graves in his chronicle *Ghosts of Spain: Travels Through Spain and its Silent Past* that “there were graves all over the place” and that “Spain was sitting on ... tens of thousands of such corpses” (Tremlett 6-7). Similarly, in her article “Is Spain Recovering its Memory? Breaking the *Pacto del Olvido*,” scholar Madeleine Davis quotes the number of dead Republicans relegated to mass graves at roughly 30,000 (Davis 872). These graves were one facet of the cruel reality of the postwar for the defeated Republicans, who often knew the location of a loved one’s body, but had no freedom to obtain it and bury it properly. As a contrast, the Valley of the Fallen is a place of commemoration for the victors and the mass graves are a representation of the lack of commemoration for the Republicans, who were ignored in commemorative acts (Olmeda 171). Only in the 21st century due to the efforts of the Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory (Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica) and the Law of Historical Memory (2007) can “la exhumación de fosas y la localización e identificación de restos humanos” occur (Olmeda 389). These long-awaited exhumations, similar to the eventual exhumation of Rebecca’s body from the sunken ship, are the first step in providing the Republican dead the commemoration and the honorable final resting place that the Nationalist dead received decades before.

When we establish that the Hollywood film *Rebecca* depicts a haunting similar to that which occurred after the Spanish Civil War, the movie becomes a focus of audience catharsis. The defeated Spaniards in the audience responded to the movie *Rebecca*, following the theory of Charles Affron, because of the lack of a representation of their experiences and lives in the dominant rhetoric and ideology oozing from films like the Francoist *Raza* that premiered the same year in Spain. *Rebecca* was an extraordinarily

popular film, well-received by Spanish audiences, as seen in its frequent reference in mainstream postwar texts, including Carmen Martín Gaité's generational history *Usos amorosos de la posguerra española* (1987) and her award-winning novel *El cuarto de atrás* (1978) and Lorenzo Llobet Gracia's film *Vida en sombras* (1948). The inclusion of a scene from *Rebecca* at the end of one of these texts, the film *Vida en sombras*, reflects how one Spaniard in the postwar (Fernando Fernán Gómez) views this Hollywood film and how it informs his life and his decisions¹³. I argue that *Rebecca* had such a profound impact on Spanish moviegoers, comprised in part by the war's defeated, because the 2nd Mrs. DeWinter's interactions with the ghostly presence of Rebecca and Max's knowledge of a hidden truth mirrored perfectly how *los vencidos* related to their war dead. In Spain, what was missing in the cultural production of the time was the outpouring of stories from the losers of the war "whose stories...are excluded from the dominant narratives of the victors" (Labanyi, Introduction 1-2). Labanyi also says that "ghosts are the return of the repressed of history – that is, the mark of an all-too-real historical trauma which has been erased from conscious memory but which makes its presence felt through ghostly traces" (Labanyi, Introduction 6). *Raza* commemorates the Nationalist dead and lays them to rest with the power of the State, because Franco exercised the same power over the script as he did over Spain: the power to write the official narrative of the Spanish Civil War. The Nationalist dead are not the "repressed of history," as Labanyi says, so they have no incarnation as ghosts. Critic Charles Affron reminds us that movies are a "meaning-generating body of art" (Affron 1) and the defeated movie-going public

¹³ For an in-depth discussion of *Vida en sombras* and the quotation of this scene from *Rebecca*, see Sánchez Salas in his contribution to the compilation of essays *El espíritu del caos* (2009).

generated this new meaning for *Rebecca* based on its themes of haunting, which acutely defined their postwar reality.

Chapter 2 *¿Deseo o delito?: The Sección Femenina, Control, and How to Marry a Millionaire (1953) in Postwar Spain*

The Archivo de Escrituras Cotidianas (Archive of Everyday Writings) at the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares specializes in collecting and conserving personal letters, journals, agendas, children's notebooks, and other everyday writings, especially those from Franco's dictatorship. On Wednesday, March 11, 2009, during a week of research in Spain, I visited the archive where the caretakers of this collection, Verónica Sierra and Carmen Serrano, emptied decades of documents onto a table in a small presentation room¹. As the room filled with the tell-tale smell of the past that always makes its berth on the pages of antique texts, I perused the pages of an appointment book of a woman in the *Sección Femenina*, the fascist women's section of the Falange. The flipping pages of the agenda came to a sudden halt when they reached an advertisement for a Hollywood film tucked neatly between the pages (H1). The film was Jean Negulesco's *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953), starring Lauren Bacall, Marilyn Monroe, and Betty Grable.



H1

I was fascinated by the juxtaposition of the *Sección Femenina*, which propagated the role of women as subservient to men, and this film, which recounts the lives of three

¹ I conducted this week-long research trip in Madrid with four other Hispanic Studies majors at the College of William and Mary (Shannon More, Casey Lesser, Mary Schrack, and Alex Wright) and Professor Francie Cate-Arries as a part of the Mapping Memory in Madrid project, which explores how Spain is recuperating the memory of the Spanish Civil War and of *franquismo*.

American women as they scheme, lie, and con their way into marrying a rich man. Although the owner of the agenda may have inserted the advertisement merely because it was a convenient bookmark, I couldn't help but speculate about the possible implications for women in both the *Sección Femenina* and in the whole of Franco's regime. Using my discovery of this movie advertisement as a point of departure, this chapter will provide an analysis of *How to Marry a Millionaire*, which premiered in Spain on September 27, 1954, and the representation of the *Sección Femenina* in one Spanish NO-DO (*noticiario documental*) from 1944 in order to show how the Hollywood film acts as a counter-narrative to the *Sección Femenina* and its goal of controlling the feminine body and female sexuality. As historian Michael Richards writes in his study of Franco's repression, Franco and the Catholic Church went to great lengths "[in] repressing minds and bodies, ... targeting women particularly" (Richards 53-54). However, these women still desired all of the freedoms over their own bodies and minds that were denied them by the regime².

Before I delve into an analysis of the film and the NO-DO I have selected for comparison, I will describe the postwar and what it meant for the female losers of the war (*las vencidas*). In general, female Republicans were a doubly-marginalized people in the postwar, most of all, as Richards describes, because "the families of 'the guilty', those punished for political crimes, were stigmatized and made to suffer" (Richards 52).

Ideologically, Nationalists viewed Republican women as transmitters of communism, since their capacity for pregnancy meant the possibility of communist offspring. To quell

² Although I focus on the importance of cinema for the women on the losing side of the war, cinema also had great importance for women on the side of the *vencedores*, noted in the 2008 memoir *Habíamos ganado la guerra* by Esther Tusquets, a member of the Spanish bourgeois during the postwar. She says of cinema, "Es imposible que los jóvenes de hoy ... se hagan una idea siquiera aproximada de lo que significaba el cine para nosotros" (Tusquets 23-24).

the possibility of a future Republican uprising and offspring, the regime used ruthless tactics to intimidate and silence women. Any relationship to a Republican soldier or sympathizer was enough to incriminate the postwar Spanish woman; in fact, “being the wife of a ‘Marxist’ could be enough to be shot” (Richards 53). When suspicions surrounding a woman did not warrant execution, the Guardia Civil used “formas de violencia que iban dirigidas contra el cuerpo femenino,” including shaving a woman’s head so the entire town would recognize her and her family as possibly Republican and, thus, of questionable repute (Cenarro 81). Those women surrounded by a thick enough cloud of suspicion were sent to prison, where further humiliation and violence continued³. Even women outside of prison and beyond suspicion confronted the staunch reality of the postwar. Many photographs emerge from the Spanish postwar of “wives and mothers who queued outside the prisons,” creating the culture of the “mujer de preso” (Richards 53).

Since the war left many of their husbands in prison, killed, or exiled, women were desperate to make ends meet. Historian Núñez Díaz-Balart describes women of the postwar as “empobrecidas y sobrecargadas de tareas para la supervivencia,” forced by their own hunger and the hunger of their children to take any job available, despite their lack of qualifications (Núñez Díaz-Balart 195). Franco’s system of autarky and isolation necessitated the growth of the black market (*el estraperlo*) and women took full advantage, often selling the few amenities they still had in order to buy food for

³ During the postwar, there was a famous group of young women called “Las trece rosas rojas,” who were arrested based on their political affiliations and all executed on August 5th, 1939. Today, their story is exemplary of both female victims of the postwar as well as of historical memory. For a well-researched study of their story, see Carlos Fonseca’s *Trece rosas rojas*. This book not only tells the story of these young women, but also describes the culture of a women’s prison, including the numerous children born into and living within the prison walls with their mothers.

themselves and their children. In this harsh climate, all sense of luxury was foreign to Spanish women, especially those on the losing side of the war.

The Constitution of 1931 that established the Second Republic gave women the right to vote, which they exercised twice before Franco came to power and established laws that stripped women of their political agency. Spanish fascist author Ernesto Giménez Caballero wrote a 1938 manifesto of Franco's ideology that reflects perfectly the goals of the new laws relating to women: they were meant to make Spanish women, like all Spaniards, "a creer lo que se debe creer y a sentir lo que se debe sentir" (Giménez Caballero 21). Franco reinstated the Código Civil de 1889, which guaranteed that women were subservient to men in the household and that "les negaba cualquier autonomía en el ámbito público" (Cenarro 83). Another effort to remove women from the public sphere came in the form of the 1942 Ley de Reglamentaciones Laborales, removing all women from the workplace once they became engaged to marry. Control over women stretched all the way to the female body. Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer states in his contribution to *La España de Franco (1939-1975)* that there was "una política de represión sobre los cuerpos femeninos con una especial persecución del aborto, la prohibición de métodos anticonceptivos, unida a la extirpación de cualquier tipo de información sexual privada o pública" (Ruiz Carnicer 94-95). This quotation from Ruiz Carnicer helps establish Franco's obsession with controlling even the most private, personal aspects of a woman's life. According to Richards, women were "born to suffer and sacrifice and to be activists only as guardians of the moral order" (Richards 52). This fascist view of women leaves no room for them to express desire, because it takes time and attention away from devotion to one's family and home.

The State's official views on the role of women in the postwar are embodied in the *Sección Femenina* of the Falange, the Spanish fascist party. This fascist women's group was founded in 1934 by Pilar Primo de Rivera, who "organized six other young women into the *Sección Femenina* at the behest of her brother, José Antonio, who had founded the Falange in 1933" (Enders 376)⁴. Being a fascist organization, this women's group "intentaba emular a las organizaciones nazis y fascistas ... en este caso con una gran presencia del elemento religioso" (Ruiz Carnicer 95). According to historian Kathleen Richmond in her 2003 study *Women and Spanish Fascism*, the goal of the *Sección Femenina* was to promote an overall regeneration of Spain after the Second Republic by fostering a woman's expertise in housekeeping, childcare, and cottage industries (Richmond 8). This goal of regeneration quickly morphed, according to author Sharon Roseman, into subordination of women by relegating them to the home (Roseman 131). The *Sección Femenina* taught courses in political ideology and domestic science, even requiring unmarried women to complete six months of social service (Roseman 131). All of the activities of the *Sección Femenina*, which included "cátedras ambulantes" that travelled from town to town, compounded to promote and justify Franco's strict control of the female losers of the war.

If this traditionalist view of the roles of women was so important to them, how did Franco and the Falange sell the *Sección Femenina* to the Spanish people? Using the immense control he exercised over film production in postwar Spain, Franco sought the revival of the Spanish news reel program: the *Noticario Documental*, also known as the

⁴ In "Problematic Portraits", Enders provides a reconsideration of the *Sección Femenina*, proposing that women had more agency in the organization than most current studies admit, even going so far as saying that some members felt this was their way of having their voice heard in Spanish politics. This reconsideration of women's agency in the *Sección Femenina* counters the majority of current publications, which emphasize the role of the *Sección Femenina* as a repressive control over women.

NO-DO. The precursor to the NO-DO was “El noticiario español,” created by the Departamento Nacional de Cinematografía in April 1938 to consolidate all propagandistic filmmaking into one government entity (Sánchez-Biosca 200). Although this program ended in 1941, the Vicesecretary of Popular Education soon started the project to create a new NO-DO. According to cultural historian Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, what emerged was an “instrumento de propaganda audiovisual del franquismo que vio la luz el 4 de enero de 1943 y no abandonó las pantallas cinematográficas hasta bien entrada la democracia, en abril de 1981...” (Sánchez-Biosca 197). Following Article 3 of the Order of the Minister of Culture on December 10, 1941 (this date precedes the January 1, 1943 date on which the NO-DO was formally announced; this order applied to the earlier *noticiario español* and remained in effect for the NO-DO), the NO-DO preceded each and every feature film, making the NO-DO intensely present in Spanish culture, given the popularity of film in the postwar (Tranche 45). Topics covered in a typical NO-DO of approximately 10 minutes included the week’s news (both national and international), images from Spanish daily life (at least the more attractive images of the postwar), sports, and other curiosities (Sánchez-Biosca 205). Sánchez-Biosca goes on to say that the NO-DO is “un instrumento fundamental ... para el estudio de las mentalidades durante el franquismo y para la comprensión de este régimen como fenómeno político, ideológico, social y cultural” (Sánchez-Biosca 199). In this chapter, I will use one such NO-DO to do just that: to better understand the Franco regime’s social control via the *Sección Femenina*.

In Rafael Tranche’s 2001 book *NO-DO: El tiempo y la memoria*, he comments that the *Sección Femenina* was commonly featured in the NO-DO and that the NO-DO

“dará una amplia cobertura a sus actividades” (Tranche 220). He cites three typical manifestations of the *Sección Femenina* in the NO-DO: “Celebración de cursillos sobre puericultura, economía doméstica” with images of women tending to children or preparing food; “demostraciones deportivas y folclóricas donde, una vez más, aparecerán jóvenes gráciles y delicadas realizando elementales coreografías,” giving women a model for physical fitness; and “la actividad artesanal ... [que] ... se aúna la tradición con la labor paciente y callada en el entorno hogareño que se le supone a la mujer,” uniting Catholic tradition with the role of women (Tranche 220). These three characteristics will be apparent in the NO-DO I have chosen for analysis, NO-DO 81B.

My goal in this chapter is to analyze how the film *How to Marry a Millionaire* provides the Spanish postwar audience a strong counter to the controls over the Spanish female of the postwar as seen in a representative NO-DO from 1944 about the *Sección Femenina*, specifically those controls over the body and over the feminine role in society. I accomplish this by citing three characteristics of the *Sección Femenina* emphasized in this NO-DO and by explaining how the opposite of these characteristics are evident in the costuming, dialogue, and thematic elements of the Hollywood film. Once the counter-narrative is established, *How to Marry a Millionaire* becomes a vehicle for feminine desire. Fascist film reviewers recognized the threat that Hollywood represented; film historian Román Gubern says that the typical Falangist film critic “veía en el cine de Hollywood una muestra abyecta de decadentismo liberal” (Gubern, *La censura* 62). While fascist film critics saw in this “decadentismo liberal” a threat to fascist ideology, this decadence was an object of desire for Spanish women, who saw in Hollywood films a life that was completely contrary to their reality.

In 1944, the Franco regime produced NO-DO number 81B entitled “En el Escorial. La Sección Femenina de Falange ante el Caudillo,” in which the *Sección Femenina* is presented for Franco at El Escorial, a location chosen for its “tradición y historia,” according to the narrator (S1)⁵. Franco stands and surveys the masses of women who all wear typical uniforms of the *Sección Femenina* (S2). This uniform is notorious for its discomfort and total lack of style, something that award-winning Spanish author Carmen Martín Gaité comments on in her 1987 *Usos amorosos de la postguerra española*: “... el uniforme reglamentario para aquellos ejercicios mediante los cuales la mujer del nuevo Estado se capacitaba *para cumplir sus especiales funciones creativas* era tan incómodo y tan feo que convertía en sacrificio lo que hubiera podido ser placer” (Martín Gaité, *Usos amorosos* 61). Martín Gaité acts as the voice of female Spanish youth, expressing the disgust and distaste felt for the form of control over the female body that was “tan incómodo y tan feo.” After Franco presents medals to several distinguished members, leaders of the *Sección Femenina* take Franco through a mock-up of a home to show “todas las actividades de la Sección Femenina.” In the following montage, the viewer sees a succession of images from this mock-up, including baby cribs (S3), a baby doll, basins for bathing children, a hearth (S4), and a perplexing shot of approximately ten baby chickens scurrying about (S5), which I assume alludes to farm animals present on more provincial Spanish properties. These “actividades de la Sección Femenina” are teaching Spanish women that their role in society is to procreate and raise proper Spanish children (meaning children who follow Franco and the Catholic Church) and to keep the home and kitchen ready for their husbands.

⁵ NO-DO 81B can be found on the DVD accompanying the 2001 book *NO-DO: El tiempo y la memoria* by Rafael R. Tranche and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca.



S1



S2



S3



S4



S5

Franco then observes 1,000 members of the *Sección Femenina* in “una demostración perfecta de los ejercicios de la gimnasia española,” a 50 second montage of the women doing various exercises in complete unison, emphasizing the spectacle of the female body. The camera provides long shots to establish the sheer number of women exercising, which makes the unison that much more astonishing (S6). Although the narrator calls the exercises “una demostración perfecta de los ejercicios de la gimnasia española,” the exercises shown in this NO-DO function as a perfect demonstration of the uniformity forced upon these women. This NO-DO as a whole reflects the same pageantry and spectacle that the regime employed in its production of *Raza* (1942), which used the power of the State to make a spectacle of death and sacrifice to the Nation. In

this case, however, the spectacle is the subordinated female body placed before the gaze of the dictator in the NO-DO and before the gaze of the film audiences forced to watch this NO-DO in Spanish theaters. Laura Mulvey's famous 1975 essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" speaks in detail of this male gaze, saying that "the determining male gaze projects its fantasy onto the female figure" (Mulvey 33)⁶. As the male gazing in this NO-DO, Franco projects his fantasy of controlling the lives, bodies, and minds of Spanish women onto the female figures⁷.



S6

There are three key characteristics, which exemplify how the NO-DO is representing the *Sección Femenina*. The first concerns the location in which Franco views this production: El Escorial. This palatial residence, located just outside of Madrid, was once the residence of the king of Spain and, since it is also well-known for its monastery, it acts as an amalgam of Spanish government and religion. The choice of El Escorial reflects a larger movement among the victors in the postwar who "querían rescatar toda una serie de tradiciones que habían conferido a España su glorioso pasado," as Saturno Rodríguez writes in *El NO-DO: Catecismo social de una época* (1999) (Rodríguez 1). El Escorial's ties to the Catholic Church also reflect this restoration of

⁶ Alfred Hitchcock's *Rear Window* (1954) offers an amazing display of voyeurism, the male gaze, and reflection of cinema with Jeff as audience and the apartments across the courtyard as the screen. For more discussion of *Rear Window* and the male gaze, see Chapter 5 "The Master's Dollhouse: *Rear Window*" in Tania Modleski's *The Women Who Knew Too Much: Hitchcock and Feminist Theory*.

⁷ Issues of the male gaze and of changing women so as to please the male (in terms of clothing, at least) will return in my next chapter in regard to Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958).

traditions, which “iba a tener su mejor aliado en los sectores de la Iglesia más anquilosados en el pasado” (Rodríguez 35). A second prominent message of this NO-DO is that the role of women is to raise children and prepare the home, noted in the montage of cribs and kitchens. Carmen Martín Gaité humorously notes how these roles of women also recall traditions, saying in her *El cuarto de atrás* (1978) that Franco expected Spanish women to have “madera de futura madre y esposa, digna descendiente de Isabel la Católica” (Martín Gaité, *El cuarto* 40). These women exist merely in relation to men; they have no jobs, no lives outside of their familial roles. The final emphasis that I cite is the strict control over the female body and female sexuality. The women of the *Sección Femenina* wear a conservative uniform that Martín Gaité calls “incómodo” and “feo” with absolutely no cleavage and often a skirt below the knee that intends to stifle female sexuality and desire⁸. To demonstrate the counter-narrative in *How to Marry a Millionaire*, I will trace how the opposite of each of the three characteristics I have cited in NO-DO 81B presents itself in the Hollywood production.

As film theorist Mary Ann Doane explains in her description of Mulvey’s work, “The woman is the object of fixation and obsession associated with male spectatorial desires” (Doane, *The Desire to Desire* 5). However, the three protagonists of Negulesco’s 1953 film *How to Marry a Millionaire* are female, so the film gives them agency that Spanish women could never have under Franco and acts as a response to male desire by presenting female desire. The plot revolves around three women, portrayed by Lauren Bacall, Betty Grable, and Marilyn Monroe, who pool their dwindling funds to rent a

⁸ Indeed all Spanish women fell under a strict dress code, “[evitando] los vestidos ceñidos que dibujasen llamativamente la forma y detalles del cuerpo,” as authors María Encarna Nicolás Marín and Basilisa López García say in their contribution to the 1986 study *Mujer y sociedad en España (1700-1975)* (Nicolás Marín 373).

swanky high-rise apartment in hopes of seducing and marrying rich men for their money. The three stars were not only three of the biggest sex symbols in Hollywood in the 1950s, but they were recognized internationally for their beauty, sex appeal, and on-screen persona that exudes sexuality, something noted by Spanish film critic Jordi Bernal in a 2003 issue of the periodical *Dirigido por...*: “Estamos frente a un film de mujeres, más concretamente de modelos, y en eso coinciden las tres actrices de la película (Lauren Bacall, Marilyn Monroe, Betty Grable), que empezaron sendas carreras hacia el estrellato en ese oficio” (Bernal 55)⁹. The same critic calls the film a critique of American material society, but the film’s larger accomplishment can be gleaned from Mary Ann Doane’s study on the “woman’s film”: “[the woman’s film] offers some resistance to an analysis which stresses the ‘to-be-looked-at-ness’ of the woman, her objectification as spectacle according to the masculine structure of the gaze” (Doane, “The ‘Woman’s Film’” 70)¹⁰. The women in *How to Marry a Millionaire* have agency and, according to Doane, offer resistance to the male gaze, a gaze seen so clearly in the NO-DO as Franco sits and watches the thousands of women in the *Sección Femenina* performing exercises.

The most blatant counter that *How to Marry a Millionaire* offers to the world of the *Sección Femenina* is in the material world, including fashion and presentation of the female body. As the credits open, the names of our three female leads appear over a

⁹ The choice of Lauren Bacall as one of the three leads is also interesting because of her long romance and marriage with Humphrey Bogart, which *How to Marry a Millionaire* cleverly pokes fun at with her line, “I’ve always liked older men ... Look at that old fellow what’s-his-name in *The African Queen*. Absolutely crazy about him.” Bogart’s iconic role of Rick in *Casablanca* (1942) had an interesting run-in with Spanish censors when it arrived in Spain in 1946. Rick is noted as having fought for the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War. However, Spanish censors cut the two references to this involvement: “‘Suprimir la frase de Renault: ‘Luchó en España al lado de los gubernamentales’” and “ ‘Suprimir la frase de Laszlo: ‘Luchó en la guerra de España’” (qtd. in Gil 333).

¹⁰ Bernal says, in regards to the film’s commentary on material society, “Se podría aducir que la película critica suavemente la obsesión material de la sociedad americana. Bueno, más precisamente el de un modelo de fémima” (Bernal 56).

backdrop of purple silk with a diamond bracelet set in the bottom right, all in glorious Technicolor and breathtaking Cinemascope (H2)¹¹. Immediately, fashion is luxurious and over-the-top and, with each subsequent set of credits, there is a differently-colored silk backdrop with a new piece of diamond jewelry. The motif of excess and jewelry continues as the girls conjure their plan and Bacall says, “Think of all those diamonds and rubies.” It is important to my argument to note just how different this world of diamond bracelets and furs was from the lives of Spanish women in the postwar. Not only was there widespread poverty, especially among the middle and lower classes (those most likely to have had Republican sympathies), but, as historian Michael Richards reminds us, “The property or money of individuals who had died in detention were pursued relentlessly by the authorities” (Richards 52). Thus, Spanish women had no money for the kind of fashion and lifestyle that they saw in *How to Marry a Millionaire*. From its fashion to its New York City setting, this movie represented a world of pure desire, since under Franco’s social and economic repression, there was no attaining it¹².



H2

The excess carries over into the clothing sported by the protagonists. We first see Lauren Bacall with a thin veil extending from her hat and a warm fur wrapped around her

¹¹ For a commentary on the fads of moviemaking (i.e. Technicolor, Cinemascope, Stereophonic Sound, etc.) that were created to draw audiences away from their televisions and back into movie theaters, see the “Stereophonic Sound” number in Fred Astaire’s 1957 musical *Silk Stockings*.

¹² In regards to the desire to go to New York City, the desire to go to another “big city” locale (“un lugar mágico y único”) appears in Carmen Martín Gaité’s *El cuarto de atrás* with her invocation of the song “Ven pronto a Cúnigan” and her comparison of Cúnigan and Madrid (Martín Gaité, *El cuarto* 70).

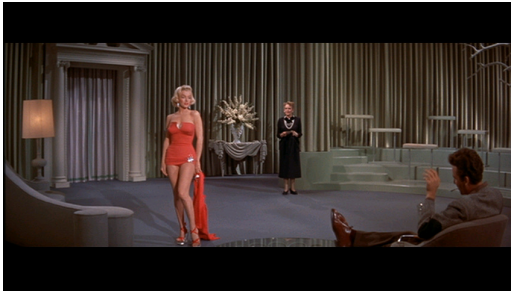
and a new, equally-elegant costume accompanies each new scene. Whereas the NO-DO shows the stark uniformity of the clothing of the *Sección Femenina*, our protagonists live in another world in which a woman's clothing is bright, excessive, and adorned with jewels. Not only do the costumes of Bacall, Grable, and Monroe differ from those of the *Sección Femenina* in their variety, but also in how much of their body is revealed. After Bacall woos a rich oilman (William Powell), the three protagonists go to an Oil Institute dinner to find suitors for Grable and Monroe, donning their most suggestive wardrobe (H3). These low-cut dresses obviously are far less conservative than the high-buttoned top and long skirt of the *Sección Femenina* (S7). An exemplary scene of fashion occurs in the New York department store where our protagonists work modeling clothes for clients. We see Marilyn Monroe in a skimpy red outfit that is low-cut and shows the entirety of her legs (H4). As Betty Grable models her outfit, costume designer Travilla finally allows the audience a glimpse of Grable's famous legs (H5). Finally, Bacall emerges with bare arms in a multi-colored dress (H6). These costumes reveal the cleavage, legs, and arms of the three stars and also offer three models of desire to a female audience that is being dressed by a dictator. At the end of this scene, Bacall has an argument with her manager at the department store, who says, "Do I tell you how to put on a girdle?" She gets smug and rears back, saying, "You bet your life you don't." This dialogue and her attitude reveal that she is not a woman to be dressed by a man (although, ironically, her job is expressly that, to be dressed by whatever client comes into the store). Her fashion is her choice, tied to her tastes and her sexuality, and no one else can make those decisions, unlike in the *Sección Femenina*, in which a uniform guarantees that someone else makes those choices.



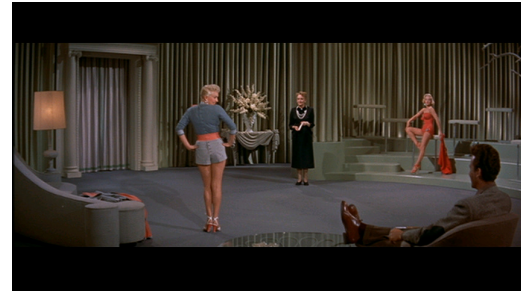
H3



S7



H4



H5



H6

NO-DO 81B emphasizes the ties of the *Sección Femenina* with tradition and the Catholic Church and *How to Marry a Millionaire* offers several affronts to these traditions. The plot itself should make a member of the *Sección Femenina* cringe: “three girls ... go gunning for rich old bucks,” as Bosley Crowther of the New York Times put it in his 1953 review of the film (Crowther, “The Screen” 37). The film is about taking advantage of men with the sole motive of profit. The motive for an exemplary member of the *Sección Femenina* is to serve her family and her husband. There are abundant examples of the film’s protagonists taking advantage of men, including early in the film when Betty Grable’s character takes advantage of a man she met at the cold cuts counter

to get lunch for herself, Bacall, and Monroe¹³. While enjoying this lunch, during the first ten minutes of the film, the audience discovers that Bacall's character is divorced¹⁴. In the eyes of the Catholic Church, divorce is a taboo subject and, in the *Sección Femenina*, no respectable woman would be, or legally could be, divorced. Another affront to tradition develops as Grable's character pursues a married man. At the Oil Institute dinner, Grable is set up with an unhappily married man (Fred Clark) and, although there are no explicit mentions of infidelity, Grable and her suitor plan a getaway to his lodge in the mountains¹⁵. Even though no romance sparks between the two, Grable knows he is married and continues to pursue him based on his wealth and the weakness of his marriage. Adultery is obviously not part of the Catholic tradition and, thus, not characteristic of the *Sección Femenina*. Themes of adultery and divorce allude to a greater theme of distrust for men. As a real estate agent shows Bacall the apartment she hopes to use as bait, he closes the door behind him and she says, "Open if you don't mind." She doesn't want to be alone with him, a strange man, in the apartment, because she does not trust his motives. In the *Sección Femenina*, however, a woman would never question a man's motives, would never distrust him, and would always serve him with a smile.

¹³ Monroe's comment about this event ("She's awful clever with a quarter.") resounds in postwar Spain when extreme poverty demanded ingenuity with money and often drove women to the black market.

¹⁴ In the dubbed Spanish version on file at Madrid's Filmoteca Española that I screened, the word "divorcio" is never used. Also, to smooth over the cynical attitudes toward marriage in this scene, other dialogue was changed. In the original, Monroe and Grable comment on Bacall's recent marriage and divorce in Reno: "She just got back from Reno." "Oh! You must be loaded!" In the Spanish dubbing, the dialogue lends a more respectful tone to this quickie marriage: "Acaba de anular su matrimonio." "¡Debes estar desesperada!"

¹⁵ This plot point (the unhappy marriage of Fred Clark and his pursuit of an adulterous affair) is remarkably present in the Spanish version at the Filmoteca Española. Although there is some confusion on the part of the Filmoteca as to the origin of the version they have on file, I believe it dates back to some point during Franco's dictatorship, since there is definite censorship present in the dubbing of certain scenes.

In the context of postwar Spain, *How to Marry a Millionaire* challenges the idea that women only have agency in the domestic sphere as mothers and wives. Although the three protagonists spend a bit of time in their high-rise apartment, they do not fulfill the roles of women in the home. The very nature of the apartment is telling; the apartment is a façade, a front for their plan to attract men. The attraction and the interest that they have in men are for money and not procreation. During the Franco dictatorship, as historian Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart says, “El régimen reinstaura como función casi única de la mujer en la sociedad, la de ser esposa y madre” (Núñez Díaz-Balart 195), implying that one of the two chief duties of women is procreation. The protagonists of the film also do not fulfill the *Sección Femenina*’s ideal “de ser esposa,” since the film never shows them cooking. The camera only shows us the kitchen in a scene near the middle of the film in which William Powell raids the refrigerator after returning from an evening with Lauren Bacall. He opens the refrigerator door and it is bare with only two or three items on the top shelf. These women live in this apartment, yet they have no presence in the kitchen. Their meals are usually procured when Grable’s character swindles a man into buying her food. Bacall’s character enters the kitchen in this scene and her wardrobe, a black dress and diamond necklace, is an incarnation of how she doesn’t belong in the kitchen (H7). Her attire makes her look out of place in the kind of kitchen that NO-DO 81B displays so blatantly.



H7

Recalling the theory of film scholar Charles Affron, women in the *Sección Femenina* would identify with a film if it “echo[ed] something of their feelings and experiences” (Affron 2). What the female audience in Spain identifies with in this film is their desire. Women in the *Sección Femenina*, in fact all women, were told by the Franco regime how to dress, act, and serve Franco; the Falange used the *Sección Femenina* as another tool of social control and repression. However, one thing they could not control was desire and how women might receive the images and themes in film, recalling Helen Graham’s study on postwar reception of popular culture: “The regime’s intent regarding such cultural forms is not ... the same thing as ascertaining their impact on the constituencies of Spaniards consuming them” (Graham 238). Desires can be secret and hidden, just like the losers’ memories of the Spanish Civil War and of *franquismo* that are only now emerging¹⁶. Through Spanish cultural productions, including Carmen Martín Gaité’s *El cuarto de atrás*, we know that Hollywood films were well-received by Spanish women, who envied the lifestyles that they saw. For example, Martín Gaité recalls from her childhood viewing films starring Diana Durbin, saying of one scene, “Aquella escena se me antojó fascinante, no paré hasta que me compraron unos patines,” reflecting further the desire for American fashion and trends (Martín Gaité, *El cuarto* 59). She even goes on to say that purchasing and wearing these “patines” was “para mí la alegoría de la libertad” (Martín Gaité, *El cuarto* 59). *How to Marry a Millionaire* is meaningful to members of the *Sección Femenina* and to Spanish women, because it represents that

¹⁶ In Spanish playwright Federico García Lorca’s famous 1936 play *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, – written just months before his assassination at the hands of Franco’s henchmen – the author embodies the idea that one cannot see inside a woman’s mind in the words of the wise Poncia: “Tus hijas están y viven como metidas en alacenas. Pero ni tú ni nadie puede vigilar por el interior de los pechos” (García Lorca 78). Poncia’s message here is that the dictatorial Bernarda, like Franco, neither knows nor understands the true intentions and desires of the women she controls.

“libertad” to wear the clothes you like, to break with Catholic tradition, and to serve whatever role in society you desire. Thus, this Hollywood film is a strong counter to the *Sección Femenina* in which the three female protagonists have agency and express those hidden desires¹⁷.

There is a montage halfway through *How to Marry a Millionaire* in which the audience sees the dreams and desires of each of the three female protagonists. Bacall dreams of owning cattle and oil and having the money to buy expensive jewelry. Monroe dreams of her suitor transporting her to an Arabian kingdom where she is showered with gifts. Grable dreams of a hefty meal. The film manifests their dreams, their desires, and then we see them actively pursue their desires in the subsequent scenes. Spanish women viewing the film could not do that. No one asked about their desires, because the only acceptable role of women in Franco’s Spain was that of proud wife and mother. However, the desires remained; these desires were so strong that one might even hold dear an advertisement for *How to Marry a Millionaire* and keep it hidden in one’s agenda of the *Sección Femenina*.

¹⁷ For a study of romance novels in Franco’s Spain, their reception among Spanish women of the time, and their relationship with the censors, see Faura, Godsland, and Moody’s “The Romance Novel, or, the Generalísimo’s control of the popular imagination” in *Reading the Popular in Contemporary Spanish Texts* (2004). In her famous study *Reading the Romance* (1984) on how American women utilize romance novels, author Janice Radway concludes, “Romance reading and writing might be seen therefore as a collectively elaborated female ritual through which women explore the consequences of their common social condition as the appendages of men and attempt to imagine a more perfect state where all the needs they so intensely feel and accept as given would be adequately addressed” (Radway 212). This conclusion correlates with my conclusion about Spanish women in the postwar appropriating Hollywood cinema, since Spanish women too were seen as the “appendages of men” who sought in films like *How to Marry a Millionaire* an imagined world where “all the needs they so intensely feel ... would be adequately addressed” (Radway 212).

Chapter 3 The Broken Mirror of the Mind: *Vertigo* (1958), *En el balcón vacío* (1962), and Exile

The 2006 edited volume *Images d'exil* collects twelve essays about the aesthetics of the 1962 film *En el balcón vacío* from Spanish director in exile Jomí García Ascot (1927-1986). Film critics, including José Luis Castro de Paz, consider this film released in Mexico the “obra maestra del cine español en el exilio,” producing numerous recent reflections on the film, namely a 1999 issue of *Archivos de la Filmoteca* from the Filmoteca Española and the aforementioned collection *Images d'exil* (Castro de Paz 21). In his contribution to this anthology, “La posibilidad del regreso a través de la experiencia estética,” author Lorenzo Javier Torres Hortelano analyzes *En el balcón vacío* and its depiction of an exiled Spanish woman in Mexico City struggling to return to a lost childhood in prewar Spain. As I first read this essay, two phrases caught my attention. The first refers to the scene in which the young protagonist, Gabriela, cowers in a hallway during a Nationalist bombing of Valencia: “A Castro de Paz le recuerda el conocido ‘sobre-montaje’ hitchcockiano” (Torres Hortelano 119). The second phrase of interest in the essay also references the work of film critic José Luis Castro de Paz when Torres Hortelano compares a shot of a staircase in *En el balcón vacío* to the work of Hitchcock. Torres Hortelano goes further, saying of the final shot of *En el balcón vacío*, “... deberíamos recordar de nuevo a *Vértigo* (1958), cuando en la parte final el personaje de James Stewart persigue a su propia interrogación hacia lo alto de la torre del convento” (Torres Hortelano 129). These two mentions of Hitchcock are brief and Torres Hortelano leaves further comparison untouched. In this chapter, I explore the comparisons between Hitchcock’s *Vertigo* and García Ascot’s *En el balcón vacío* that

Torres Hortelano and Castro de Paz merely allude to: the “‘sobre-montaje’ hitchcockiano,” the staircases, and the shared sinister endings. I elucidate these three connections and make new connections of my own.

Alfred Hitchcock’s *Vertigo* (1958) and García Ascot’s *En el balcón vacío* (1962) are two film texts so rich in their similarities that one could argue that *En el balcón vacío* may be viewed as an appropriation of *Vertigo*. Throughout this chapter, I will examine these connections: strikingly similar shots of hallways and staircases; scenes set in cemeteries and forests; scenes in which the protagonists wander after a loss and in which a ghost from the past returns; the motif of the fragmentation of the mind; and, finally, García Ascot’s quoting of the famous “Hitchcock zoom” from *Vertigo*. The analysis of these connections will illuminate the meaning of *En el balcón vacío* by way of the more canonical *Vertigo*, informing our understanding of the experience of Spaniards exiled during the Spanish Civil War and *franquismo* as a conflict of the mind. To support this understanding of exile and the psyche, I will utilize León and Rebeca Grinberg’s study *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile* (1984), which provides a mental mapping of the places of memory of exile and delves into the effects of exile in terms of emotion, anxiety, and identity. In exile, Spanish artists, unlike their counterparts back in Franco’s Spain, had the freedom to express through film, literature, and other forms of cultural production their complex situations and repressions that resulted from war and exile. I argue that in this instance, unlike in previous chapters, the Hollywood film doesn’t necessarily “speak to the immediate wound” (recalling John Berger) of exile more so than the Spanish production. In 1958, *Vertigo* premiered as a film exploring one man’s drive to recover the impossible: the past. Four years later, director Jomí García

Ascot and his wife, scriptwriter María Luisa Elío, were both exiles grappling with the same themes explored in *Vertigo* and put these same themes into their film. I will demonstrate how the Hollywood film is remarkably connected to the Spanish production and how these connections that I perceive reveal more about the “immediate wound” of exile as a wound of the mind.

In their 2002 *El exilio español (1936-1978)*, authors Julio Martín Casas and Pedro Carvajal Urquijo amply describe the beginning of exile during the Spanish Civil War: “En la España dividida por dos bandos irreconciliables se desató una violencia represiva, nunca antes conocida, que provocó las primeras avalanchas de refugiados” (Martín Casas 26). Although those who fled included writers, artists, scientists, and intellectuals, the floods of exiles began with the youngest victims of the war, who were rescued after the bombings of Durango and Guernica in 1937 and who, by the end of the war, numbered “más de treinta mil niños” (Martín Casas 33)¹. In this brief introduction to Spanish exile, I focus on children, since Gabriela, the protagonist of *En el balcón vacío*; María Luisa Elío, the author of the script and actress realizing the role of Gabriela; and García Ascot, the film’s director, were once child exiles. Children provide a special insight into war and exile, because, as Alicia Alted Vigil says in her contribution to the 1999 special issue of *Archivos de la Filmoteca* concerning the film, they act as “testigos mudos de la violencia, el terror y la destrucción por parte de los adultos” (Altred Vigil 132). The majority of Spanish children exiles (17,489 children) were sent to France, where they and their families were met with concentration camps and, later, World War II (Martín Casas 34)².

¹ Pablo Picasso immortalized the bombing of Guernica in his 1937 painting *Guernica*.

² Those Spaniards who fled to France, although forced to face another war, found in World War II an additional opportunity to fight against the fascist forces that supported Franco during the Spanish Civil War. For additional information on this topic, see Cervera Gil. For a look at how Spanish exiles interned in

While other parents and their children fled to Belgium, Russia, and England, the next largest volume of exiles fled to Mexico.

Mexico and its socialist president Lázaro Cárdenas supported the Republic from the start of the Spanish Civil War, sending 20,000 guns and millions of cartridges of ammunition and inviting Republican intellectuals to the newly-created Casa de España to continue their interrupted investigations (Caudet 171). Following the arrival of “los niños de Morelia,” a group of 442 children between the ages of four and fourteen, who arrived by his petition, Cárdenas began granting Mexican nationality to any Spaniard who desired it during the first wave of exiles from 1939-1942 (Martín Casas 48)³. It is this context into which the young Gabriela of *En el balcón vacío* enters.

Produced from 1961 to 1962, the film “explora el recuerdo de la guerra en una conciencia infantil durante el exilio,” according to José María Naharro-Calderón, another of the many authors who came together to recognize *En el balcón vacío* in *Archivos de la Filmoteca* (Naharro-Calderón 152). Critic José Luis Castro de Paz briefly states in his 2004 monograph *Cine y exilio* the genesis and history of the project: “Basada en los apuntes autobiográficos de María Luisa Elío – esposa del realizador e hija menor de Luis Elío, juez municipal de Pamplona, arrestado a las pocas horas del comienzo de la sublevación militar, el 19 de julio de 1936 –, adaptados por García Ascot, Emilio García Riera y la propia autora, todos ellos hijos de exiliados” (Castro de Paz 22). In short, *En el balcón vacío* is a film made by Spanish exiles and for Spanish exiles. Film critics in Locarno, Switzerland, as well as others in Europe, recognized the film upon its release

French concentration camps appropriated the harsh conditions in their widely unknown literature, poetry, etc., see Cate-Arries.

³ In the 2008 addition Disposición Adicional séptima 52/2007 to the 2007 Ley de Memoria Histórica, the Spanish government now provides the option for Spanish children born in exile to gain Spanish citizenship.

with the Critic's Award, but it found little success in Mexico because García Ascot filmed in 16mm, which at the time could not be shown in most commercial Mexican theaters (Alonso 146-147). *En el balcón vacío* has a fragmented plot, showing various moments in the life of a young Spanish girl, Gabriela, in two parts: first, her youth in Spain and France and, second, her adulthood in Mexico City. The film begins during the Spanish Civil War as young Gabriela looks from the balcony of her home in Pamplona and sees a Republican fleeing the Guardia Civil, marking the arrival of the war in her life (“¡Mamá! ¡La guerra ha venido!”). Due to the surge of Franco's Nationalist forces and due to her father's political involvement, Gabriela flees with her mother and sister to Valencia, where she discovers the trauma of her first moments away from home, as well as the trauma of a fascist bombing. After a brief stay in France, the film transitions to its second part and to Gabriela's adulthood in Mexico, where she struggles to cope with her exile. Despite its low production budget, today the film is considered an “obra maestra” of Spanish exile cinema (Castro de Paz 21).

Another film first overlooked for its brilliance, but now considered a masterpiece is Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958), my basis for comparison with *En el balcón vacío* (Wood 108). The twisting plot revolves around Scottie Ferguson (James Stewart), a former San Francisco detective, having retired after his acrophobia (fear of heights) leaves a fellow officer dead, and his investigation for a college friend into the bizarre behavior of the friend's wife, Madeleine (Kim Novak). After falling in love with Madeleine and following her suicide, apparently resulting from being possessed by her dead Spanish great-grandmother, Scottie spends the remainder of the film a broken man, obsessively attempting to recreate Madeleine in a new woman, Judy. While U.S.

reviewers initially had mixed feelings about Hitchcock's latest creation, Spanish film critics at the 1958 San Sebastián Film Festival awarded *Vertigo* the Concha de Plata and awarded James Stewart the Premio Zulueta for his portrayal of the obsessed Scottie (Latiegui 9)⁴. Although the film was censored upon its release in Spain, this censorship is of less concern to me, since my focus is on the appropriation of the film by a Spanish director in exile in Mexico, where the film was available free from a censor's stifling hand⁵.

The first connection that I find between the two films is the use of a forest as a *lugar de memoria*. In *En el balcón vacío* as Gabriela, her sister, and her mother are forced to say goodbye to their home in Pamplona, they cross the border in a scene set in a forest (E1). The similarly composed scene in *Vertigo* occurs as Scottie and Madeleine visit the Redwood Forest (V1), noting the long lives of the trees and viewing a cross-section of a Redwood trunk that marks several events in American history, an arrow denoting the event's place in the tree's history (V2). I find it helpful to consider Scottie and Madeleine in *Vertigo* as exiles: Madeleine becomes exiled from the present and from reality during the moments when she is seemingly possessed by Carlotta Valdes and Scottie becomes exiled from Madeleine after her death and from reality as he obsessively tries to recreate her. Considering these two characters in *Vertigo* as exiles helps me in using the forest

⁴ Bosley Crowther's *New York Times* review on May 29, 1958 calls *Vertigo* a fascinating mystery with a clever twist, but also calls it a "typically Hitchcock picture" (Crowther, "*Vertigo*" 24). It wouldn't be until *Vertigo*'s rerelease in 1983-1984 that film critics would set it apart from Hitchcock's body of work, calling it his masterpiece.

⁵ *Vertigo* was not spared the hand of censors upon its release in Spain. The ecclesiastical censors said: "Película policíaca inmoral y morbosa," citing the adulterous relationship between Scottie and Madeleine and the morbid ambience created by "trasmigración de las almas o encarnación de unas en otros seres" (qtd. in Gil 143). In the dubbing of the Spanish release of the film, censors removed various mentions of death and changed many of the verb forms from the *tú* form to the *usted* form in the dialogue between Scottie and Madeleine; this change in verb forms was meant to make the relationship between these two characters seem more distant and formal. For a complete script of *Vertigo* with all the changes in Spanish dubbing, see Merino.

scene in *Vertigo* to inform my analysis of the forest scene in *En el balcón vacío*, where the protagonist Gabriela is also an exile. In *Vertigo*, the trees survive generations and record history and memory. However, they don't have a voice; these memories of past events are stifled and hidden. For the exiles in these two films, these forests are silent monuments of the past as well as bridges between the past and the present, the dead and the living. In *En el balcón vacío*, a crucial event in the life of any exile occurs in this forest scene: the goodbye. According to Grinberg and Grinberg's *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*, "a goodbye places a protective shield around the frontier that is crossed by the departure. It is a protection that implies the hope of seeing each other again yet also contains the fear of never seeing each other again" (Grinberg 156). However, "generally, exiles are denied the protective rite of farewell ... carry[ing] away with them the anxiety of not having said their goodbyes, which makes them feel that they are crossing the frontier between the land of the dead and of the living" (Grinberg 157). Since for Gabriela the forest marks the crucial moment of crossing into exile, when "the protective rite of farewell" should take place, but doesn't, Gabriela is making another border crossing: "between the land of the dead and of the living," between the land of the past and the present. Similarly, in *Vertigo*, the Redwood forest scene is a place where the past, the present, the dead, and the living all coalesce.



E1



V1



V2

García Ascot provides a visual quotation of *Vertigo* as Gabriela, temporarily in the Republican-held Valencia, cowers alone at the end of a long hallway during a bombing by Nationalist forces (E2). I find that this long hallway immediately calls to mind visually and thematically the image of Midge, Scottie's friend and confidante, walking down the hallway after visiting Scottie in the sanitarium (V3). The visual similarities are apparent in the appearance of the frames provided below, but the use of editing in the scene in García Ascot's film causes some film critics, namely José Luis Castro de Paz, to recall the "'sobre-montaje' hitchcockiano" (cited in Torres Hortelano 119). Although Castro de Paz's mention of the "'sobre-montaje' hitchcockiano" does not refer specifically to *Vertigo* or the image that I cite (V3), it further implies a dialogue between *En el balcón vacío* and the work of Alfred Hitchcock. Torres Hortelano himself also notes that the scene in *En el balcón vacío* underlines a break between memory and history (what actually happened), citing how the voiceover of the adult Gabriela distances itself from the true trauma of the bombing (Torres Hortelano 122). What I introduce to the brief allusion that Castro de Paz makes to Hitchcock's editing is the comparison with the scene in the sanitarium in *Vertigo*. Given that the companion scene in *Vertigo* occurs in the sanitarium, where doctors attempt to address the fragmentation of Scottie's mind after Madeleine's death, and given that there is a fragmentation between what Gabriela recalls as an adult and what actually occurred, this scene in the hallway introduces the

motif of fragmentation of the mind. The Grinberg study states simply, “When one departs a place the self is also left in parts: departing implies partition” (Grinberg 183). Gabriela has just left Pamplona for Valencia and will soon leave for France, so, following Grinberg’s study, her identity is fragmented.



E2



V3

This motif of fragmentation takes shape as a particular item in the scene following the bombing in the hallway, where Gabriela and other children peruse a table filled with the broken pieces of everyday objects left from the bombing. Gabriela, at first merely amused by the items, focuses on a crystal decanter top shaped as a prismatic sphere (E3) and takes it with her. The analysis that I make concerning this crystal prism by way of *Vertigo* allows the viewer to make sense of what was once perplexing in meaning, as the object clearly represents the fragmentation of Gabriela’s exiled mind. It is important to my analysis of the prismatic decanter top, the language that Castro de Paz uses in his description of Gabriela’s mental state. He calls the protagonist’s mind “un espejo psíquico” that is shattered after exile and “los fragmentos rotos del espejo cristalizan en una representación coagulada” (Castro de Paz 26-27). Although his language about the “espejo psíquico” does not make reference to the decanter top, I find it helpful to my argument, because it recalls for me one of Madeleine’s moments of trance-like possession in *Vertigo*: she says of her recent dream, “It’s as though I were walking down a long corridor that once was mirrored and fragments of that mirror still hang there and

when I come to the end of the corridor, there's nothing but darkness." In true Freudian fashion, Madeleine's dream of the fragmented pieces of the mirror represents the fragmented state of her mind, just as Gabriela's mind is a fragmented "espejo psíquico." Castro de Paz goes on to say about Gabriela that "la focalización en las *piezas rotas del espejo* es obsesiva" (Castro de Paz 27). I take this a step further, because this focus on the fragmentation is obsessive for Gabriela as well as Madeleine and Scottie, driving them to cling to the physical fragments that once made up the whole: Gabriela's prismatic decanter top, Madeleine's jewelry that once belonged to her ghostly great-grandmother (V4), and, for Scottie, Judy (V5), the woman he makes over to look like his lost love Madeleine. These objects, whether trinkets or actual people, offer a view to the past, like memory, but this view is selective, distorted, and fragmented, like light as it passes through Gabriela's prism. Grinberg and Grinberg also describe the fragmentation of immigrants' minds in that "principal mental activities – aspects of his [or her] self and of internal and external objects – appear fragmented" (Grinberg 139). Previously in *En el balcón vacío*, the set design used mirrors to show Gabriela's complete and whole reflection (E4), representing the wholeness of her pre-exile "espejo psíquico." After entering exile, the fragmented prism represents her mind and the use of mirrors produces unstable reflections, including in the film's final scene in which Gabriela is reflected infinitely in a mirror (E5)⁶. Echoing Madeleine's summation of her dream, the "fragments of that mirror" (that "espejo psíquico" that Castro de Paz spoke of) still hang

⁶ Donald Spoto writes of an exchange between art director Henry Bumstead and Hitchcock on the use of mirrors in *Vertigo*: "'Try to use a lot of mirrors,' the director told him – and in the picture mirrors do in fact brilliantly serve the motif of the doubled and split image" (Spoto 391).

in Gabriela's mind, but they reveal an imprecise memory of the past and are the result of the exile experience.



E3



V4



V5



E4



E5

One of the strongest images in *Vertigo* is that of the staircase of the bell tower at Mission San Juan Bautista that Scottie ascends in an attempt to prevent Madeleine from committing suicide (V6). The image stands out because it occurs at the moment of Scottie's mental trauma and because Hitchcock uses his famed "Hitchcock zoom/vertigo effect" to "convey the mind losing control," according to *Vertigo* scholar Dan Auiler (Auiler 156). Torres Hortelano refers to the staircases in *Vertigo* as a basis for comparison with a similar shot in *En el balcón vacío*. The shot appears briefly during a montage of images in Mexico City that marks both the transition from Spain to Mexico

and from Gabriela's youth (the first part of the film) to her adulthood (the second part of the film) (E6). The Grinbergs describe migration as a traumatic experience, so the montage and the shot of the staircase contained therein mark a *lugar de memoria* of trauma for Gabriela, since it is the point when she becomes an exile from Spain (Grinberg 15). The notorious staircase in *Vertigo* acts a place of trauma in that Madeleine, Scottie's object of desire, died there. Also, it is important to my argument to note that each image of a staircase in the two films emphasizes the levels and planes of the staircases, accomplished by the cinematography of José Torre in *En el balcón vacío* and Robert Burks in *Vertigo*. These planes emphasize the repetitive nature of the protagonists' search, since the stairs seem so infinite. Not only did Scottie try so desperately to overcome his acrophobia and reach the top of the stairs to save Madeleine, he spends the entire film climbing staircases (V7) and the hilly streets of San Francisco⁷. Similarly, the staircase is the obstacle that blocks the adult Gabriela from reaching what she wants: her childhood home and her memories of Spain (E7). In the context of exile, these staircases represent the obstacles between the exiles; it is possible to overcome these obstacles, but one must overcome the "great fear of not finding [all that was left behind]" (Grinberg 180).



V6



E6

⁷ Auiler states that San Francisco was chosen for the film's setting because it is "dominated by religious buildings" and has "an atmosphere haunted by the past" (Auiler 7).



V7



E7

Associated with the staircase in *Vertigo* is the famous “Hitchcock zoom” which was created for *Vertigo* in 1958 and imitated four years later in *En el balcón vacío*; this imitation on the part of director García Ascot and director of photography José María Torre reveals an exile’s mentality and an exile’s view toward the future, because it is a cinematographic manipulation of time and space that reflects the subjective mental interpretations of space. To accomplish the “Hitchcock zoom,” created by an uncredited cameraman working on *Vertigo*, the camera physically moves backward at the same time that it zooms in on the center of the image⁸. The technique’s place in film history is best described by author Dan Auiler in his detailed discussion of the production of *Vertigo*, in which he praises “the ‘vertigo shot’ – one of the most innovative and imitated effects in film history” (Auiler 66). Director García Ascot uses the technique in *En el balcón vacío* after the montage transitioning to Mexico where he presents another montage of the streets of Mexico City. After the audience sees images of citizens going about their daily activities, there are four shots of an empty road that use the “Hitchcock zoom.” Just as in *Vertigo*, the technique is a way to create shock, since, according to Auiler, “[t]he viewer’s perspective is stretched in one surreal, dizzying motion, as if one is falling and rising

⁸ In his famous interview with Francois Truffaut, Hitchcock revealed the origins of the “Hitchcock zoom”: “When Joan Fontaine fainted at the inquest in *Rebecca*, I wanted to show how she felt that everything was moving far away from her before she toppled over. I always remember one night at the Chelsea Arts Ball at Albert Hall in London when I got terribly drunk and I had the sensation that everything was going far away from me. I tried to get that into *Rebecca*, but they couldn’t do it ... By the time we got to *Vertigo*, we solved it by using the dolly and zoom simultaneously” (qtd. in Truffaut 246).

simultaneously” (Auiler 156). Similarly, it is a way of saying that part of the character whose view is manipulated with the effect moves on to the future and another part remains in the past. The use of the “Hitchcock zoom” in *En el balcón vacío* becomes especially meaningful for the exile experience in light of a statement from Grinberg and Grinberg’s *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile*: “The immigrant needs a potential space that he can use as the ‘transitional place’ and ‘transition period’ between the mother country/object and the new outside world ... If he fails to create this potential space, the continuity between the self and the surroundings is broken” (Grinberg 14). The “vertigo effect”/“Hitchcock zoom” is this rupture manifest, in which there is a rupture between the self (the center of the frame that zooms in) and the surroundings (the outlying areas of the frame that become more distant as the camera moves backward). For Gabriela and those exiled from Spain, the technique says that, although they are moving forward both physically and temporally, this rupture in time and space allows some part of them to be pulled backward. Their childhood and unresolved issues of identity and home caused by exile pull them back. Scottie, paralyzed by his intense fear of heights, climbs the stairs to the bell tower, moving forward physically like Gabriela, but his mind pulls him back to the ground. Later in the film after Madeleine’s death, he attempts to continue with his life, moving forward temporally like Gabriela, but his obsessive love for Madeleine pulls him backward to a past where she was alive. For example, Gabriela experiences this same pull toward the past in that, as a child before the war, Gabriela counted the years in birthdays and Christmases; after exile, she counts the years as “cinco años después de la guerra, nueve años después de la guerra, quince años después de la guerra.” This rupture between time and space, the past and present revealed

simultaneously in the “Hitchcock zoom,” represents the mental conflict of trying to live a new life in exile, but also trying to return to a lost childhood.

Once in Mexico City, Gabriela “feel[s] insecure, out of sorts,” according to Grinberg’s broader statement about all exiles, leading her to wander after this traumatic mental shock (E8) just as Scottie wanders the streets of San Francisco after the traumatic loss of Madeleine (V8) (Grinberg 158). Although our protagonists are on the other side of the traumatic events chronologically, their minds linger in the past, thinking of these events at every moment. Why do they wander? They wander because exile is a crisis of the mind that leaves its victims lost, without a home, and without a place to belong; this search is what Grinberg calls a “search of lost roots” (Grinberg 176)⁹. When Gabriela fails in this search, she reverts in the next scene back to a box under her bed containing the fragments of her past: photographs, letters, a rosary, and, notably, the prismatic decanter top, again offering a distorted, fragmented view of her past. The similarly prevalent obsession with the past in *Vertigo* presents itself in Madeleine’s pieces of jewelry, fragments of the past that belonged to her great-grandmother, Madeleine’s visits to various sites of memory of her great-grandmother, and Scottie’s obsessive desire to recreate Madeleine after she dies. These portals to the past cannot satisfy the inherent need in our protagonists, so they continue to wander.

⁹ Critic Catherine Bellver notes how this feeling manifests itself in the poetry of Concha Méndez, a Spanish poet exiled in Mexico: “En la poesía de destierro de Concha Méndez, más que la borrosa presencia de la patria perdida, se destaca la sombra en el sentido de oscuridad existencial” (Bellver 66).



E8



V8

One *lugar de memoria* to which Gabriela wanders is the cemetery in Mexico where her mother is buried (E9). Cemeteries obviously denote places of memory of those interned there, but they implicate more for the protagonists in *En el balcón vacío* and *Vertigo* and, more broadly, for exiles and children of war. According to Grinberg and Grinberg, “[i]n primitive fantasies, death is conceived as reunion with one’s ancestors” (Grinberg 161). Since a cemetery is a place of death, the cemeteries in these films become a place of possible reunion with death. We see this attraction toward a reunion with death in Scottie’s terrifying nightmare immediately before his stay in the sanitarium; an arresting image from the nightmare is a point of view shot in which the camera falls into the darkness of an empty grave. Similarly, Madeleine’s suicidal tendencies and her visit to the grave of Carlotta Valdes, her great-grandmother, at Mission Dolores exhibit her attraction toward death. If the cemeteries in *Vertigo* and the cited quotation from the Grinbergs inform our understanding of *En el balcón vacío*, then this seemingly simple visit to the grave of Gabriela’s mother represents a more neurotic attraction toward a reunion with death. For Gabriela, the cemetery is a *lugar de memoria* where she connects with the past and her mother, the only person with clear memories of Spain and of Gabriela’s youth, just as Scottie visits Madeleine’s grave in hopes of connecting with his lost love (V9). The Grinbergs, citing an exile’s frustration with the country of exile, state that exiles do not feel they have a true home in this new residence, because “they cannot

reproduce under the new conditions that which had been the axis of their lives” (Grinberg 158). In the search for their proper home, they strive to find any connection with that home and the past; in this case, that place is the cemetery¹⁰.



E9



V9

Upon looking through her souvenirs from the past in the box under her bed, Gabriela is called back to her childhood home by the prismatic decanter top (E10), just as Scottie is called back to the site of his trauma by Madeleine’s necklace (V4)¹¹. Gabriela’s intense drive to recuperate what she has lost generates the ghost of her childhood self. As the adult Gabriela ascends the stairs to her childhood home in Pamplona, she encounters the ghost of her younger self descending the staircase in a conflagration of imagination and reality (E11). Likewise in *Vertigo*, Scottie makes Judy over in the image of Madeleine and, as Judy emerges from the bathroom completely made-over, the fog filter and green light intentionally create a ghostlike quality in Judy (V10) (Truffaut 245)¹². Both of these ghostly appearances illustrate psychoanalyst Juan-David Nasio’s

¹⁰ Victims of the civil war and Franco’s repression who remained in Spain often lacked this kind of final resting place for their loved ones, because thousands of Republicans were placed in mass graves after they were executed. For more information on the recent opening of these mass graves, see Elkin.

¹¹ Naharro-Calderón says of the scene in *En el balcón vacío* in which Gabriela rediscovers the decanter top: “El reencuentro con el tapón de cristal, clara referencia al “rosebud” de *Citizen Kane* de Orson Welles ...” (Naharro-Calderón 156). In the future, an interesting analysis could be done in which this reference to *Citizen Kane* is a point of departure to a larger analysis in which Welles’s film informs our understanding of *En el balcón vacío*.

¹² Hitchcock decided that Judy would live at the Empire Hotel specifically for its green sign: “I decided to make her live at the Empire Hotel in Post Street because it has a green neon sign flashing continually outside the window. So when the girl emerges from the bathroom, that green light gives her the same subtle, ghostlike quality” (qtd. in Truffaut 245).

explanation in his book *The Book of Love and Pain* of the “phantom of the lost loved one” and its comparison to the phantom limb phenomenon: “In the same way the mourner can perceive with all of his or her senses and absolute conviction the living presence of the deceased” (Nasio 24). In keeping with this psychoanalytic perspective, I believe the ghost of the young Gabriela is a symptom of what the Grinbergs call the “psychic decomposition” experienced by migrants and exiles (Grinberg 141). Critics of *En el balcón vacío* note these psychological implications of the scene. Juan Miguel Company notes: “No otra cosa es el delirio sino el retorno de lo expulsado que vuelve como realidad invasora de lo simbólico” (Miguel Company 167). The presence of the ghost of the young Gabriela is an extreme manifestation of the psychological pain of exile. The companion scene in *Vertigo*, in which Scottie recreates Madeleine and passionately kisses her, is followed by the film’s end in which Scottie returns to the scene of the crime of the beginning of his trauma, just as Gabriela goes back in the final scenes of *En el balcón vacío* to the site of the start of her trauma¹³. As the adult Gabriela struggles with her emotional return (E12), she reverts to infantile dialogue, crying out, “... no me dejéis sola, venid a jugar conmigo, ... no esconderos, jugad conmigo”¹⁴. Also unable to cope with his emotional return to the site of Madeleine’s death, Scottie displays a similar painful expression shrouded in darkness (V11) that Torres Hortelano compares to the final image of *En el balcón vacío* (E12).

¹³ Bernard Herrmann’s musical score is instrumental in the scene where Scottie and Judy-as-Madeleine kiss. For an in-depth discussion of Herrmann’s score, see Sullivan.

¹⁴ Some modern critics, including Charo Alonso in her essay “Una mirada hacia lo perdido,” are unsure whether Gabriela’s return home is real or fictitious (Alonso 148).



E10



V4



E11



V10



E12



V11

After the projector shows the final images of *En el balcón vacío* and *Vertigo* and the credits roll, the audience wonders whether it is possible to recuperate what is lost, be it a life before exile or a lost loved one. The exile theorists Grinberg and Grinberg state that “[i]nvariably, on visits home, some things are recovered and others are discovered to be irretrievably lost” (Grinberg 183). Upon Gabriela’s visit home, she finds that her life in Spain before exile is an “inalcanzable e imposible objeto de deseo,” as Castro de Paz describes (Castro de Paz 15). Scottie similarly concludes, “There’s no bringing her back,” and, by the end of the film, he has not only failed to recover his lost love, but has lost another woman, Judy, whom he made over to look like Madeleine. Like Scottie, exiles “don’t want to be haunted anymore” by these ghosts of their past in Spain, much like the

ghosts haunting in the case studies of Avery Gordon's *Ghostly Matters*. She defines a haunting as "an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known" (Gordon xvi). For the exiles of the Spanish Civil War and *franquismo*, exile is an unresolved social injustice that led them from their homes and families. This injustice leaves them desperate to right this wrong by recreating this pre-exile past. However, after examining *En el balcón vacío* by way of *Vertigo*, we find that it is just as impossible to recover Gabriela's childhood in her Spanish homeland as it is to recreate and recover a long lost love affair.

Conclusion: Finding and Assembling the Puzzle Pieces of Spanish Historical Memory

Francisco Franco died in 1975, but his influence lived on for years in the form of the *pacto del olvido*, an unspoken agreement among Spaniards to forget the past and move forward. Spain did, in fact, move forward, establishing a democratically-elected government in 1977 and approving a new constitution in 1978. According to hispanist Paul Preston, “The transition had been carried through by a broad consensus of right and left and then ratified by a remarkably mature electorate,” so the progress in Spain, although met with opposition from groups like the Basque separatist group ETA, was a consensual progress (Preston, *The Triumph* 122). Spain moved into the 1980s and so began the *Movida*, a cultural movement referred to by José Manuel Lechado in his comprehensive 2005 book *La Movida* as “un reflejo en la juventud urbana del deseo generalizado de libertad, de poder respirar sin corsés después de la triste y aburridísima dictadura” (Lechado 15). As part of democracy and the *Movida*, Spanish cinema entered an era of modernism, facilitated by the end of censorship on November 11, 1977 and manifest especially in the melodramatic and culturally-progressive films of Pedro Almodóvar (Caparrós Lera 163).

Nevertheless, the *pacto del olvido* persisted. Authors Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago write in the 2010 release *Unearthing Franco's Legacy* that the *pacto del olvido* was “due mainly to the fear inflicted on the populace by the prevailing ideology [of *franquismo*]” and “created in part by the genuine fear some Spaniards felt of seeing their country slip back into a painful past that was still all too vivid in their minds” (Jerez-Farrán 2). This cultural amnesia also resulted from a certain impotence felt on the

part of victims who, according to the 1977 Amnesty Law, were left powerless to prosecute their Francoist oppressors (Davis 863).

The *pacto del olvido* began to rupture in the 1990s and into the start of the 21st century. According to historian Madeleine Davis, when Spanish judges Baltasar Garzón Real and Manuel García Castellón filed formal charges against former Argentine and Chilean dictators and then in 1998 had former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet arrested with the hopes of extraditing him to Spain, detractors in the world community claimed that Spain was exercising “moral hypocrisy” (Davis 868)¹. The world wondered how Spain could possibly confront the crimes of a dictatorship of another country when it hadn’t begun to do the same on its own soil. Two years later, the Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica formed to begin exhuming the many mass graves left by Franco’s Nationalist forces and the Guardia Civil during the war and dictatorship. As a final and more formal break with the *pacto del olvido*, the Spanish government approved the 2007 Ley de Memoria Histórica in order to recognize the human rights violations of the dictatorship and offer reparative actions to those affected by the repression: the exoneration of those sentenced to death by Franco, the establishment of archives that facilitate the recuperation of memory, and the removal of fascist symbols and street names, among other acts.

Although this recent legislation created a heated debate among Spaniards, it also helped create a climate rich with mainstream books and films that deal directly with the war and dictatorship. Numerous Spanish publications recount the recently-recovered

¹ Judge Baltasar Garzón was charged on April 7, 2010 “with abusing his powers by launching Spain’s first-ever investigation into Franco-era abuses” (Brooks). The indictment, seen by many as a political move on the part of ultra-conservative members of the Spanish Supreme Court, is justified by the 1977 Amnesty Law, shielding participants of Franco’s repression from prosecution.

history of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship as told by the Republicans who lost: *La gran represión* (2009), *La España de Franco* (2004), and *El Valle de los Caídos* (2009), among many others. In 2006, British journalist Giles Tremlett published *Ghosts of Spain*, beginning with his survey of the secrets of the civil war and dictatorship hidden amid the cacophonous city-sounds of modern-day Spain. Spanish journalist Carlos Fonseca published in 2004 *Trece rosas rojas*, a well-researched account of the lives and deaths of thirteen young female political prisoners who were killed on August 5, 1939 and whose story became the highly successful 2007 film *Las trece rosas*. Other recent films address the years of *franquismo*, including Guillermo del Toro's box-office hit *El laberinto del fauno* (2006) which presents the reality of Francoist forces in such a manner that the protagonist, the young Ofelia, creates a fantasy world to escape the repression and constant violence that surrounds her as the stepdaughter of Nationalist Captain Vidal². *El laberinto del fauno* recalls one of the very first films to address *franquismo*: Victor Erice's *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973), which was chosen in 1995 by the Asociación Española de Historiadores del Cine (AEHC) as the greatest Spanish film of all time (Caparrós Lera 304). Also told from the point of view of a young female protagonist, *El espíritu de la colmena* paints a portrait of the barren Spain of 1940 and how the young Ana generates a fantasy to make bearable the forced silence of the postwar³. Now that Franco's dictatorship and censorship have ended, Spanish filmmakers have the freedom to let their films "speak to the immediate wound" of the civil war and

² Other recent films that address the Spanish Civil War and *franquismo* are Antón Reixa's *El lápiz del carpintero* (2003), José Luis Cuerda's *La lengua de las mariposas* (1999), and *Entre el dictador y yo* (2006), a film directed by six Spanish directors born after Franco's death in 1975.

³ Given the focus of my thesis, it is also of interest that the film opens with the arrival and screening of the Hollywood film *Frankenstein* (1931). After viewing the film, Ana is fascinated by Frankenstein's monster and, in a later scene, encounters the monster in an allusion to a scene from the Hollywood film.

postwar period. Thus, Spanish audiences no longer have to appropriate Hollywood films as a subversive discourse that could pass undetected by Spanish censors. Nevertheless, recent scholarship abounds with investigation into film under Franco, especially the work of Jo Labanyi, who is currently collaborating with Kathleen Vernon, Susan Martín-Marquez, Eva Woods and Vicente Sánchez-Biosca on an upcoming book tentatively titled *Cinema and the Mediation of Everyday Life in 1940s and 1950s Spain*, which utilizes testimony to demonstrate the importance of Hollywood and cinema in general during the difficult first twenty years of the dictatorship.

These films, research initiatives, and publications are all formal and public manifestations of the recuperation of historical memory. In 2009, a team of undergraduates from the College of William and Mary, myself included, participated in this process in a research investigation entitled “Mapping Memory in Madrid.” I saw first-hand how Spain is recovering its memory on the personal level when I interviewed Marcos Burgos, now 71 years old, the son of a Republican captain who was detained and then shot against a wall in Almudena Cemetery on July 12, 1939, months after the end of the war. In a reflection of the *pacto del olvido*, Marcos’s mother never shared his father’s fate with his son, only revealing that his father had died during the war. Four years ago, in 2006, when his sister died, Marcos was sorting through her papers and discovered a letter detailing how and why his father was killed. Since this discovery, he has desperately searched the many archives established by the Ley de Memoria Histórica to find government documents that could possibly reveal more about this father who was too long absent from his life. Much like the Spaniards whose family members lie in the mass graves that pepper the Spanish terrain, Marcos has no formal final resting place for

his father; he has placed a photo and flower arrangement on the wall where his father was shot in Almodena Cemetery, appropriating the wall as his own *lugar de memoria* of his father. The “Mapping Memory” investigation also included numerous interactions with Ludivina García, Ceferino Álvarez, and María Luisa Fernández, members of the Asociación de Descendientes del Exilio, and like Gabriela of *En el balcón vacío*, all former children of exile. This organization works tirelessly to promote the histories of those exiled due to the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship, facilitating their return and their recuperation of Spanish nationality and also organizing events that recognize the exile experience.

The goal of this thesis in exploring how Hollywood films in the Spanish postwar spoke to the “immediate wound” for the Republican losers who viewed the films in the darkened theaters of the Franco postwar is the shared goal of the many modern agents of Spanish historical memory. It is the goal of Marcos Burgos in regard to his father. It is the goal of the “Mapping Memory in Madrid” project. It is the goal of the Asociación de Descendientes del Exilio. It is the goal of countless families struggling to identify the remains in mass graves, hoping that they belonged to their lost loved one. It is the goal of all the films and books released recently that finally delve into this long-hidden past. The goal of these efforts can be nicely reflected in the final line of a letter written by Julia Conesa, one of the “13 rosas rojas,” just before her execution: “Que mi nombre no se borre en la historia” (qtd. in Fonseca 24). These efforts ensure that the names and experiences of the *vencidos* aren’t erased from history. These efforts begin to finally lay to rest the ghosts mentioned in Chapter 1. They express the formerly hidden desires of women in Chapter 2. They begin to reassemble the broken fragments and pieces of

memory and history mentioned in Chapter 3. These efforts ensure that the *vencidos* finally have the voice that they were denied for the nearly 40 years of the dictatorship and that the *pacto del olvido* of Spanish historical memory breaks once and for all.

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