

TEACHING "SPANISHNESS": NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY IN TEXTS FOR CHILDREN  
IN POST-WAR SPAIN

by

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## Abstract

Early in the twentieth century, children's literature in Spain developed greatly in terms of quality and distribution thanks in large part to the appearance of new publishing houses, illustrators and authors. Additionally, increased demand brought with it new translations of many foreign texts for children. Despite these early developments, children's literature suffered a dramatic change after the establishment of Francisco Franco's Nationalist regime; during the post-war period many types of literature were heavily censored, while children's literature in particular devolved into what was in large part an ideological tool. Many of the texts for children during this period either directly or indirectly propagated a conception of "Spanishness" that excluded non-Catholics, particularly Iberian Muslims and those that supported the Second Spanish Republic that the Nationalists had toppled. Much like the *Reconquista* fought against the Iberian Muslims centuries earlier, the Spanish Civil War was often represented as a sort of crusade against non-Catholic (and therefore "non-Spanish") Others. Many texts for children presented the elements of this narrative by means of auto-images (images of the Nationalist conception of "Spanishness") and hetero-images (typically images of the "Otherly" Republicans and Muslims). The contrasts formed between these two sorts of images reveal how Spanish children were taught to conceive of themselves, as well as the Others of the Nationalist narrative.

The texts discussed in this report include two civics texts (*Así quiero ser: El niño del nuevo estado* [1943] and *España nuestra: El libro de las juventudes españolas* [1943]), as well as two comic books (*El Guerrero del Antifaz* [1943-1966] and *Flechas y Pelayos* [1938-1949]) that were chosen for their representativeness of the sorts of texts widely available to and read by children during the post-war period.

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## I. Introduction

After the end of the Spanish Civil War, Francisco Franco's newly-established Nationalist regime focused much of its efforts on constructing a "New Spain" predicated upon an historical narrative that defined "Spanishness" in terms of national and religious uniformity. This narrative was based on a nostalgic and largely mythical conception of an essentially Catholic Spain that had struggled throughout its history against "non-Spanish," alien influences (Others) in order to maintain its national integrity. This narrative of a uniformly Catholic Spain was an essential element of the Franco regime's efforts at creating (or re-establishing, from a Nationalist perspective) a truly and uniformly "Spanish" nation. Much like the *Reconquista* fought against Iberian Muslims centuries earlier, the Spanish Civil War<sup>1</sup> was often represented as a sort of crusade against non-Catholic (and therefore "non-Spanish") Others – in this case, the "unbelieving Communists" of the Second Republic<sup>2</sup>. This narrative's nostalgic look at Spain's past conflicts with non-Catholics (Muslims in particular) was used to legitimize and idealize the Nationalist instigation of the bloody Civil War, as well as the new-founded government that was formed after its end.

Signs and manifestations of this narrative appeared prominently in books and magazines written for children. Interestingly, historian Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, Franco's minister of education from 1951 until 1956, made an explicit comparison between Spain under the Catholic Monarchs and Spain under Franco during his tenure in government. In a 1952 speech, he made the following statement: "it is once again possible to produce the Spaniard that existed under Ferdinand and Isabella." (quoted in Kamen 47). Ruiz-Giménez of course was not referring to literally "producing" new Spaniards, but rather he was speaking of educating (or indoctrinating, to be more accurate) children

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<sup>1</sup> The democratically elected Republicans had come to power in Spain in 1931, but were forced to enter a bloody civil war in 1936 after a coup d'état led by General Francisco Franco. The Civil War would finally end in a Republican defeat three years later in 1939.

<sup>2</sup> The Nationalists viewed the Republicans as non-pious and unbelieving because of their efforts to reduce the traditionally strong influence of the Catholic Church in Spain. The Republicans separated church and state, while also reducing the Church's traditional privileges and diminishing its role in education. The Second Republic also sought agrarian reforms and military reductions, amongst other parts of their social agenda. For a more detailed description of these events, see Sandie Eleanor Holguin's book *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain*.

about the Nationalist narrative and the virtues of the Nationalist government. Before discussing particular texts, it would be useful to provide some background regarding the field of children's literature before, during and after the Spanish Civil War.

Early in the twentieth century, children's literature in Spain developed greatly in terms of quality and distribution thanks in large part to the appearance of new publishing houses, illustrators and authors (De Maeyer et al 26). Additionally, increased demand brought with it new translations of texts by authors like Charles Perrault, Hans Christian Andersen, the Brothers Grimm, while new authors produced original works for children at an unprecedented rate for Spain<sup>3</sup> (Soliño 184-186). Despite such progress, this thriving of children's literature in Spain was short-lived: when war erupted in 1936, many of the authors responsible for the progress in children's literature were forced into exile and their works were censored (Soliño 185). Translated works of children's literature were also censored after the Nationalist government came to power. It was thought that the reading of translated texts would somehow harm Spain's national character by introducing "*factores patógenos*" that would contribute to the "*desintegración y maleamiento del alma nacional*" (Cleary Nichols 214).

All kinds of children's literature (*los cuentos infantiles, lo que seduce al ánimo, lo que subyuga la voluntad, lo que excita los sentimientos*) were suspect under Franco's regime (Cleary Nichols 214). Children's literature was in a sense redefined under Franco and made more pragmatic and propagandistic and less imaginative. Literature for children was seen as a tool for teaching children about "*Dios, la Patria, y la Sociedad*", as well as for developing children of "the new race" (*la nueva raza*) (215). In short, Franco and his regime effectively undid the progress that had been made in children's literature in the early twentieth century and "pushed [it] back into its traditional educational and didactic role" (De Maeyer et al 26). As a consequence, the texts made available to children consisted mostly of hagiographies recommended by the church (Soliño 186), historical biographies of national figures, national history texts, and a very limited amount of other types of literature deemed appropriate for children according to

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<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed look at Spain's prewar children's literary landscape, see Maria Elena Soliño's "Children's Literature in Spain: 1900 to Present." in *World Literature in Spanish: An Encyclopedia* (2011, pgs. 184-188.)

their gender: girls could read "*novelas blancas*"<sup>4</sup> and boys some adventure stories (Clearly Nichols 216-17).

The Nationalist Regime in many ways hijacked children's literature in Spain and changed its trajectory away from the promotion of imaginative texts to the promotion of overtly didactic texts. This fact, however, raises an important question: Can texts for children truly be considered literary when they are so obviously used for political indoctrination? Answering this question would entail providing a somewhat precise definition of children's literature. Developing such a definition is a complicated endeavor: If children's literature is to be thought of as a particular kind of literature (i.e. the kind written for children), then one would of course have to first ask the question: What is literature in the first place? What is it exactly that makes a particular text *literary*? If one thing is certain, it is that the answer to this question has not remained constant over time or space. As Terry Eagleton has pointed out, many have attempted to define literature based on what are considered imaginative (i.e. fictitious) qualities, or "artistic" uses of language (1-3). While these sorts of criteria do provide some basis for a definition, they become problematic due to the subjective and changing nature of what constitutes artistic or imaginative writing. It also becomes problematic when criteria such as these are applied in contexts like those of Nationalist Spain. By forcing out and censoring authors who they found to be harmful to the young minds of the "New Spain", Franco's regime developed a rather distinct conception of literature that held non-imaginative writings as ideal. These sorts of texts were also usually overtly propagandistic, but they were able to fill the literary vacuum that had been created after the censoring of more conventional forms of children's literature.

The specific texts discussed in this report were selected because of their representativeness of the sorts of texts widely available to children during the Civil War and the post-war years. As was stated hagiographies, historical biographies of national

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<sup>4</sup> These sorts of novels are understood to be the opposite of *novelas rosas*, or romance novels. *Novelas rosas* were to be strictly avoided because they represented false worlds where everything is "*irreal*", and therefore threatened to "*desenfocar la vida*" of the young reader. In other words, imaginative elements in these novels were deemed a threat. *Novelas blancas*, on the other hand, were texts without "*irrealidades*" or "*fantasías*" (i.e. texts that explicitly taught girls what their place in society ought to have been (Clearly Nichols 215-16).



figures and national history texts were among the most common texts read by children, and elements of all of these appear in the works discussed in this report. Although these sorts of these texts were presented to children as literature (Clearly Nichols 216-17), their literary characteristics vary. The first text, *Así quiero ser: El niño del nuevo estado* (1940) is blatantly propagandistic with few imaginative elements. *Así quiero ser* presents readers with lessons about the New Spain and the child's role in it, with the only creative elements being illustrations that accompany each lesson. Despite the few conventional literary qualities found in this work, it is the text that most clearly presents the Nationalist ideology and narrative that the other texts also propagate to varying degrees. It forms a sort of ideological "baseline" that is useful when identifying the same narrative in other places. It has also been included because texts much like it were so prevalent in post-war (see section VII: "Other Texts").

The next text, *España nuestra: el libro de las juventudes españolas* (1943), in many ways mirrors the propagandistic elements of *Así quiero ser*, but is presented as having more conventional literary characteristics. A narrative voice directs itself to an explicit audience on the first page of the text ("*Niños míos españoles*") (6) and guides readers through its lessons about Spain's past and present in a more narrative fashion. Despite this attempt at creating a text with more imaginative elements, *España nuestra* ends up falling short of its goal of being a truly creative work. The introduction to the texts clearly states that giving the book an "*aire de fábula*" is not the author's only goal: the creative elements are to be tempered with "*precisión*" and historical veracity (1). Nevertheless, the "*precisión*" that the author mentions does seem to become the priority at the expense of the text's supposed "*aire de fábula*".

As Maria Elena Soliño has pointed out, many children in post-war Spain "received their steady dose of children's literature from magazines" (186). One such popular comic, *Flechas y Pelayos* (1938-1949), did provide children with reading material which was more often than not riddled with overt propaganda. Biographies of national heroes and hagiographies presented in the form of illustrated stories were frequently featured in issues of *Flechas y Pelayos*, but a more prominent element of this publication were its bellicose comics and illustrations – illustrations that seemed to invite

children to imagine themselves as participants in an ongoing battle against an imagined Other. Lastly, the text with the most conventional literary characteristics is *El Guerrero del Antifaz* (1943-1966). This comic appeared just a few years after the end of the Civil War and was widely read. The comic has even been identified as a “spark of interest and creativity” that stood out amongst a literary landscape of mainly propagandistic material. It featured a more conventional protagonist and antagonist in a story about a fight for personal identity and national character.

Although *El Guerrero del Antifaz* does stand out for its total lack of *explicitly* propagandistic material, it nevertheless does promote the Nationalist narrative identified in this report, albeit in a more subtle way. As was mentioned, the texts briefly discussed above were selected due to their representativeness of the children’s literary landscape in post-war Spain, though they also provide a look at how different texts can have differing levels of overt propaganda, but can all be seen to support the same narrative through similar means. Specifically, texts for children in post-war Spain made use of self-images and hetero-images to create a strong sense of national identity amongst young readers. In the field of comparative literature, image studies (or imagology) is the area that specifically “deals with the discursive and literary articulation of cultural difference and of national identity” (*The Rhetoric of National Character* 267). In the context of imagology, nationalism can be defined as the “instrumentalization of a national auto-image” (*National History Visualized* 386) – the auto-image being that which reveals how a Nation’s supposed character or essence would like to be perceived. The hetero-image, then, is an image of alterity (i.e. that which represents the Other) that is used to form a contrast with and thereby give meaning to the auto-image.

In the case of Nationalist Spain, the self-images found in children’s literature tend to propagate the myth of religious and national homogeneity as the keys to true Spanishness, while the hetero-images gravitate toward defining Otherness in terms of the *Reconquista* and Spanish Civil War – they are images that create an unmistakable contrast between the Catholic Spaniards and non-Catholic Others, whether they be fifteenth century Muslims or twentieth century Republicans. Emer O’Sullivan has correctly pointed out that “members of other national and ethnic groups have been a

privileged subject matter of children's literature since its inception" (1), and in this report, the texts mentioned above are certainly no exception to this rule.

## II. Background

Before discussing any of the hetero and auto-images that appear in the texts, it would be useful to first discuss briefly some of the historical experiences of Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, and how those experiences relate to twentieth century Republicans in the context of the Nationalist historical narrative (the narrative supported by the auto and hetero-images). As was mentioned above, the notion that “true Spanishness” has both religious and national (i.e. racial) elements certainly predates the twentieth century. In fact, at several points in Spanish history it can be seen that race and religion have blended together, and have even come to imply one another in certain conceptions of who can truly be “Spanish” and who simply cannot be. For instance, shortly after the Muslim invasion of 711, the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula began a centuries-long fight to “reconquer” the peninsula (a fight commonly referred to as *la Reconquista*). This battle did not end until 1492 when Granada was conquered and the remaining Muslims were expelled. Those Muslims who wished to convert to Christianity were allowed to stay on the peninsula, though their descendants too would be forced to leave the region a little over a century later in 1609. Unbaptized, unconverted Jews were also expelled in 1492 under the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel and Ferdinand – though even converted Jews were often times the targets of suspicion and abuse (Peters 10).

As these facts make clear, the gradual expulsion of Muslims during the *Reconquista* clearly shows that non-Catholics were considered to be aliens in the Iberian Peninsula – they did not belong, even after spending hundreds of years in the region and making indelible contributions to Spanish language and culture. Moreover, those Jews and Muslims that did choose to convert to Christianity (sometimes referred to as *conversos*) were often still not accepted as truly Spanish (as evidenced by the post-conversion abuse and expulsions suffered at the hands of Catholic-born Spaniards). These “*conversos*” in some cases could never truly be regarded as Spanish because it was thought that being a Spaniard implied being Catholic, while at the same time becoming a Catholic by conversion was seen as insufficient: one must be born Catholic to truly be considered as such. This paradoxical conception of religious

identity is very closely related to common conceptions of racial identity in that it is considered innate and unchanging – even if one was interested in becoming a “true Spaniard” by converting to Catholicism, the perception of an innate, unchanging religious identity makes this practically impossible. Although this racial/religious paradox certainly predates the twentieth century, it also lends itself to a similar way of thinking in the context of Nationalist Spain: the belief that Muslims had no place in fifteenth century Spain reinforces in a significant way the hostility toward a Republican government that was perceived to be non-Catholic, and therefore “non-Spanish.” For this reason, the Spanish Civil War is reminiscent of the *Reconquista* in the sense that both were believed to be fights about a national essence. Although the defeated Republicans were not expelled in the same fashion as the Muslims and Jews had been centuries earlier, there is a crusade-like aspect to both of these events: they are both about the “reconquering” of Spain and the homogeneity of Spanish identity based on race and religion. This nostalgic conception of history and “Spanishness” is also clearly teleological in nature: according to this narrative, the Catholic Monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand set Spanish history on a path toward racial and religious homogeneity (true “Spanishness”) by eliminating non-Catholic influences, while Franco simply retook the reins of history by eliminating what were perceived to be alien influences (i.e. “godless” Republicans) and rebuilding the nation as it was supposedly always meant to be.

### III. *Así quiero ser: El niño del nuevo estado*

Traces of the Nationalist conception of “Spanishness” are not at all hard to find when looking back at Spanish history: many have concluded that at certain times in the past “Catholicism constituted the essence of a unified Spanish identity...” (Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 10). In *Así quiero ser: El niño del nuevo estado*, one can see that this is a doctrine that is clearly taught and promoted, particularly by means of auto-images. The text, published in Burgos in 1940 by Hijos de Santiago Rodriguez (HSR), is a collection of “*lecturas cívicas*” (1) that are divided into five broad categories, each with several lessons (*temas*). The categories are: “*La nación española*”, “*Valores sociales*”, “*Factores de riqueza*”, “*Instituciones naturales*” and “*Organización del trabajo*”. *Así quiero ser* also includes a *preámbulo* in which the text identifies its purpose as the following: “...*formar a los nuevos ciudadanos en las nuevas doctrinas del Estado*” (5). Here the book refers to its intended readers as “new citizens” of Spain that literally needed to be taught the “new doctrines of the State”. Just as Minister of Education Ruiz-Giménez said, in order to create the proper sort of Spaniard (i.e. the kind that “existed under Ferdinand and Isabel”), it was necessary to “produce” them by means of indoctrination.

In the case of *Así quiero ser*, one can see efforts at this sort of indoctrination before the book is even opened. The cover itself depicts two children standing on either side of Nationalist Spain’s coat of arms with other Nationalist symbols surrounding it, as well as Nationalist Spain’s motto: “*Una, Grande y Libre*” (see fig. 1 in Appendix for cover). Bizarrely, both children<sup>5</sup> on the cover are armed with a rifle by their side. This is also the first auto-image that the text presents to its readers. It is an image that very explicitly militarizes these children and thereby also subtly hints at the existence of an unseen Other: presumably, the children are not carrying the weapons for decoration – the rifles are for fighting against those that would threaten Spain’s national character. Even though there is no explicit hetero-image presented on the cover for the auto-image to be contrasted with, the mere suggestion of one allows for the possibility that the

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<sup>5</sup> The gender of the children is rather ambiguous, but their clothing suggests they are both boys.

enemy (the Other) be anyone who is defined as one in the context of the Nationalist narrative.

This militarization of the otherwise innocent looking children is just a preview of the sort of content that can be found in the pages of the book itself: the very first chapter (*tema*) presented in the book is entitled “*La nación española*” and explicitly links race with religion in the context of defining Spanish identity. The text states that “*en tiempos antiguos fué España una provincia romana, y a través de ocho siglos de lucha contra la morisma, se constituyó como nación*” (6). In other words, the text claims that Spain did not truly become a nation until it was successful in expelling “*la morisma*” (the Moors) after centuries of fighting against it. The popular notion that Spain’s eventual nationhood was made certain with the marriage of Isabel I of Castile and King Ferdinand I of Aragon in 1469 is not mentioned here at all. Political unification is clearly subordinated under the religious sort that was supposedly achieved in 1492 with the expulsion of the last non-converted Muslims from Granada. In other words, *Así quiero ser* teaches that Spain’s national integrity is ultimately dependent upon its religious homogeneity rather than any other unifying factor. Consequently, students reading this text would also be trained to view non-Catholic Spaniards as enemies of, rather than contributors to, the creation of the Spanish nation and its culture – a conclusion that becomes rather problematic when one considers the vast period of time (nearly eight centuries) that the Iberian Peninsula was home to countless Muslims. Nevertheless, the auto-image of an essentially Catholic Spain excludes all Muslims as Others regardless of time spent in close proximity to “true” Spaniards.

On the very next page, the text goes on to affirm the supremacy of religion and its inseparable relationship to racial identity: “*La nación cuenta con veinticuatro millones de habitantes por cuyas venas corra sangre latina; hablan el idioma castellano y profesan la Religión católica, apostólica, romana*” (7). Again, it is made clear here that in addition to being uniformly Catholic, the Spanish people are also united by “*sangre latina*” – a racial marker that also supposedly also implies an adherence to *la Religión católica, apostólica, romana*. Put simply, *Así quiero ser* implies that a convert cannot make “*sangre latina*” materialize in his or her veins by deciding to become a Catholic,

one must simply be born possessing it – a conclusion that was almost certainly also reached by the fifteenth and sixteenth century Catholic Spaniards who abused and/or expelled many *conversos* after they had converted from Judaism or Islam.

The next *tema* that *Así quiero ser* presented to its young readers is entitled “*La religión*”. This lesson, like the previous one, clearly contributes to the Nationalist understanding of history as laid out in the first pages of this report. The text claims that in order to maintain its national integrity and essence, Spain has had to fight throughout its history against “*los árabes, los turcos, los judíos, los protestantes, los enciclopedistas masónicos y los marxistas*” (8). This exclusionary statement makes it strikingly clear that “the child of the New State” was meant to understand Spanishness in very exclusive terms: the Arabs, Jews, Protestants, encyclopédistes, and even the defeated Republicans (caricatured here simply as “Marxists”) were not to be thought of as truly Spanish. In the case that any child reading these pages were to somehow miss this conclusion, the book places the main point in bold at the foot of the same page: “*El alma española es naturalmente católica*” (8). An affirmation as overtly propagandistic as this does not leave any room for error when identifying the hetero-images against which the Nationalist auto-image is contrasted: time and again this text invites readers to understand their identity (i.e. the auto-image) in terms of their “non-identities”. The abundance of hetero-images (Arabs, Jews, Protestants, etc.) in a way constitutes the basis for the auto-image. They are, after all, two sides of the same coin: the hetero-image is meaningless without an auto-image (whether explicit or implied) with which to be contrasted.

The above-mentioned excerpt included in this lesson about religion certainly stands out for its matter-of-fact tone and seemingly exhaustive list of the non-Catholic enemies of Spain. Despite this, it is still not the most salient part of the *tema*: on the opposite page, directly opposite the above-cited text, a young reader would find an illustration of Santiago Matamoros (Saint James the Moore-Slayer) in white robes and on horseback, doing battle in some quasi-medieval setting (as evidenced by the swords, shields and armor worn by others next to Santiago). In one hand Santiago is armed with a sword, while in the other he bears a white flag with a cross in the center.



Although the illustration's caption<sup>6</sup> provides no explicit context for the illustration, it is no stretch to make inferences about its nature: given the centrality of the *Reconquista* in the Nationalist narrative, as well as the apparent setting of the illustration, it can safely be assumed that most any Spanish reader would identify this as a scene from some unnamed battle of the *Reconquista*.

Though the illustration of Santiago in battle may seem out of place given its lack of explanation, it becomes clear when one reaches the next lesson about “*El Estado*” that these two lessons should be understood in terms of one another. The *tema* about “the State” is also presented with an illustration of a figure on horseback, but instead of Santiago, Francisco Franco is the rider this time (see fig. 3). When the two images are juxtaposed, one can see how the reader is invited to start making comparisons between the two men. Just as both are riding a white horse with an air of victory, both are also represented as saviors during their respective moments in Spanish history: while Santiago is shown to have repelled the Muslim threat during the *Reconquista*, Francisco Franco is shown receiving homage after having presumably repelled the Republican threat during the Spanish Civil War. Adding to the crudeness of these illustrations (as well as to the comparisons that are invited by their juxtaposition) is the fact that there is no indication that Santiago's presence in battle is metaphorical in nature – the authors and illustrators of *Así quiero ser* have simply placed this picture in the text without indicating that the depiction of Santiago is not based on historical fact – a conclusion that the intended readers (post-war primary school children) may not be inclined to take for granted. By explicitly appropriating Santiago Matamoros as part of the Nationalist auto-image, the authors of *Así quiero ser* created an even starker contrast between their conception of Spanishness and the hetero-images against which it is contrasted.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The caption reads: “*Yo doy mi palabra de conservar en mi espíritu, como mejor tesoro, las creencias religiosas que me han transmitido mis padres y me enseña mi maestro. Yo agradezco a Dios el haber nacido en el seno de nuestra Religión santa.*” (10) I give my word to guard in my spirit, and as my greatest treasure, the religious beliefs that my forefathers have handed down to me and that my teacher teaches me.

<sup>7</sup> The only “Other” actually displayed in the image is what appears to be a dead Muslim in the lower left-hand corner of the image, but by implication even Catholics from other nations are in a sense represented as Others here (albeit to a lesser degree than the “Marxists” or Muslims) because the image implies that Santiago fights for the Spanish (Not the Germans, French, Italians, etc.).

In addition to the comparisons made between Franco (“*El caudillo*”) and Santiago Matamoros, this *tema* goes on to explicitly state that “*El Caudillo sólo responde ante Dios y ante la Historia*” (11). The first part of this statement is clear: the authority of *El Caudillo* is second only to God’s. The second part of the statement regarding *la Historia* is slightly more ambiguous, but the text seems to be suggesting that Franco, as the leader of Spain, has a responsibility to look to Spain’s illustrious (and violent) history (specifically the period of Catholic Monarchs) to understand how to proceed in the twentieth century. As was mentioned previously, the Nationalist narrative is teleological in nature: it was thought that under Isabel and Ferdinand, Spain’s national integrity was preserved with the expulsion of the Iberian Muslims. If the *Reconquista* is to be taken as an historical precedent, then it would follow that the responsibility to expel the twentieth century “aliens” would fall on Francisco Franco and the other Nationalists, just as *Así quiero ser* seems to suggest with the assertion that “*El Caudillo... responde ante la Historia*” (11).

To summarize this *tema*, the book also conveniently provides a sort of ready-made pledge of allegiance for its readers. It goes as follows: “*Mi Estado español es vertical, organizado por escalas de jerarquía de arriba abajo; es, pues, la forma de organización más perfecta que se conoce. Un CAUDILLO, un MANDO, un SI*” (11). By affirming Franco’s power in such an absolute way, the young readers of this text would understand that just as *El Caudillo* is subject to God and “History”, all Spaniards are subject to their dictator, without exception.<sup>8</sup>

In another attempt to put Francisco Franco at the core of the Nationalist auto-image, *Así quiero ser* also includes a more comprehensive statement regarding the dictator’s role in guiding Spain’s “History” by saving it from those that would threaten the integrity of the nation itself. In a different *tema* entitled “*El destino*”, the text explains that Spain is destined to bring “*salvación*” (16) to the world (*salvación* is used here in a spiritual sense). The text looks back to the “discovery” of the “New World” and claims

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<sup>8</sup> Another instance of the same sort of rhetoric of Franco’s subjection to “God and History”, along with a rather disturbing illustration of children offering a fascist salute, can be found on page 21 of *Así quiero ser*. (See fig. 5)

the conversion of indigenous Americans as proof that Spain has earned the right to be the world's spiritual guide and purveyor of divine salvation. There is even a picture of two stereotypical indigenous men bowing before the cross at the top of the page (16; see fig. 4). This is yet another example of a hetero-image that is used to fuse a sense of alterity with "non-Catholicness". The natives in the illustration bow to the cross as the faces of a conquistador and Catholic clergyman observe. As was mentioned earlier in the text, the idea of "Latin blood" (*sangre latina*) is used to not only define the Nationalist auto-image, but also to give an air of alterity to all those who do not possess it. In the case of this illustration, the natives' submission to the Spaniards does nothing to change their Otherness or subservience to the true Catholics (i.e. the Spaniards) because of their ethnic origins.

Not surprisingly, *Así quiero ser* proceeds to use the hetero-image of the Native American to further its goal of bolstering the Otherness of the enemies more close at hand: the Spanish Republicans as well as the Moors. In an abrupt and contrived transition to the twentieth century, the text tries to link the idea of a holy war against Muslims during the *Reconquista* to a holy war against "Marxists" during the Spanish Civil War. The text states:

*En la gran Cruzada de España contra el marxismo internacional, los españoles hemos luchado por la civilización cristiana, y, al triunfar contra sus enemigos, hemos servido al destino que Providencia señaló a la nación española. (17)*

In its attempt to connect the conquest of the Americas, *la Reconquista*, and the Spanish Civil War, the text does little more than create a confusing narrative that most twenty-first century readers would almost certainly see as contrived and unconvincing.

Nevertheless, one cannot forget that the intended readers of *Así quiero ser* are not contemporary, and it cannot be assumed that this narrative would appear unconvincing to already-indoctrinated primary school children.

The *temas* seen thus far make it abundantly clear that *Así quiero ser* teaches children to accept the Nationalist historical narrative outlined at the beginning of this report by bolstering the Nationalist auto-image with both explicit and implicit hetero-images of non-Spanishness. The text also makes clear that the Nationalist narrative is

exclusive in nature and cannot be understood apart from the Others that it creates. In other words, the Nationalist identity that Spanish children were meant to adopt finds its basis in an ability to differentiate between “us” (the Spaniards) and “them” (the Republicans, Moors, Natives, etc., etc.).

To avoid redundancy, the other *temas* will not be discussed at any length, but the final pages of the book do attempt to spur students on to the sorts of Nationalist thinking that is found throughout the *temas* presented in the book. On the final page there is an illustration of a youth saluting the flag and another raising it (see fig. 6) with the accompanying caption: “*Y yo quiero ser así: un español... que consagra su vida a la tarea de hacer una España una, grande y libre, una España católica e imperial*” (167). This ambitious pledge to dedicate oneself to the preservation of Spain’s national essence is simply an outworking of an acceptance of the Nationalist narrative that *Así quiero ser* promotes on almost all of its pages, and is also in a sense the final touch made to the Nationalist auto-image that is crafted throughout the book.

Despite its clearly propagandistic style, an analysis of *Así quiero ser* was included in this report for several reasons. Firstly, of all the texts mentioned in this report, *Así quiero ser* is the most explicit in articulating the Nationalist narrative. Also, like the other texts, it does this by means of the creation Nationalist auto-images and “Otherly” hetero-images. For this reason, an analysis of the discursive techniques used in a text like *Así quiero ser* (as well as others similar to it) can also help to inform readers of the general ideological climate that existed in post-war Spain, which can in turn facilitate a more contextualized reading of other works for children from the same period. This consideration is closely related to the second reason why a text like *Así quiero ser* should have a place in this report (and more generally in the field of literary studies). Despite the lack of artistic merit of a work like *Así quiero ser*, one must take into account the reality of this work serving as an intertext for the Spanish children who would read this book, then inevitably read other books and magazines during the post-war years. The ideology presented here is pervasive, and if successfully transmitted would influence a child’s entire worldview, including how literature is read and understood. Also, given the generally bleak literary landscape that existed in the post-

war years, texts like *Así quiero ser* should not be ignored – they were the sorts of books that were used to replace less propagandistic forms of children’s literature.

#### IV. *España nuestra: el libro de la juventudes españoles*

The next text, *España nuestra: el libro de las juventudes españolas* (1943), bears a very strong ideological resemblance to *Así quiero ser*, but is in several ways a different kind of text. The book was written by Ernesto Giménez Caballero, a Spanish writer, film-maker, professor and ideologue who has been described by Jo Labanyi as “*el más lúcido y explícito exponente literario del fascismo*” (quoted in Edwards 202). Given the reputation of Giménez Caballero, it is not surprising that *España nuestra* makes an attempt to communicate the Nationalist narrative with more conventionally literary characteristics. Giménez Caballero endeavored to use Nationalist ideology to create a coherent narrative of the history of Spain. In the introduction, the author explicitly states that he is interested in not only guiding young readers in their “*amor y conocimiento de España*”, but also in presenting them with an “*exaltación permanente de la lengua española*”. His desire was to publish a book that differentiated itself from all the other similar texts that were just an “*amaño pedagógico cualquiera*” (1) – in other words, *España nuestra* was explicitly presented to its readers as a work of literature. In several superficial ways, *España nuestra* does conform more closely to the imaginative, artistic sort of literature that the term typically implies. For instance, the book is presented as a sort of story book that narrates the history of the protagonist, which is Spain itself. There is also a narrative voice that tells these fable-like pieces to an explicit audience: “*Niños míos españoles*” (6).

Despite its attempts to differentiate itself from other “run-of-the-mill” pedagogical texts, *España nuestra* does prove itself to be more similar to *Así quiero ser* than Giménez Caballero would probably have liked to admit. For instance, just as the cover of *Así quiero ser* features an illustration of two children armed with rifles in front of Nationalist Spain’s Coat of Arms, *España nuestra* depicts on its cover a small boy holding a rifle and looking toward an image of Spain (see fig. 7). This cover not so subtly indicates that the auto-image developed in this book relies just as strongly on the Nationalist narrative as *Así quiero ser* does, although its articulation is in some ways more stylized and imaginative. To put it in a figurative way, Giménez Caballero’s book

is selling the same ideological product as *Así quiero ser*, but is doing so with slightly more aesthetic packaging.

Despite the fact that *España nuestra* attempts to be more literary than *Así quiero ser*, the ideological underpinnings of both texts are fundamentally the same. For this reason, both texts share many of the same elements of the Nationalist narrative constructed with auto-images and hetero-images. This text begins with a narrator speaking endearingly to a group of Spanish children (“*Niños míos españoles*”) (6). He first instructs them to use their imaginations to ponder the geographical shape of the Iberian Peninsula and guess what the significance of its form could be. Not surprisingly, the narrator suggests that the children view Spain in a way that bolsters what is essentially the same Catholic, Nationalist auto-image found in *Así quiero ser*. Specifically, the children are encouraged by the narrator to view the shape of Spain and see it as “*el Cristo de Velásquez* (30 – see fig. 8). With this recreation of the much-celebrated seventeenth century painting, Spain is represented as taking the form of Christ himself hanging on the cross. Accompanying this illustration is a very plain, matter-of-fact statement directed to the children in the narration: “*Sí. La figura de España tiene la forma de una Cruz. Y recuerda al Cristo que pintó Velázquez: al Redentor del Mundo y de los hombres. Por eso el destino de España es cristiano...*” (30). This unsophisticated argument (Spain looks like Jesus on a cross, so Spain is destined to be Christian) is propaganda veiled under a very thin layer of creativity, and of course is a yet another way of putting Catholicism at the center of the Nationalist auto-image.

This is not the only figurative representation of Spain in *España nuestra*, either. The children are also encouraged to reconsider Spain’s form and see a different image. In fact, this time the children are enticed into guessing what Spain’s true form is by being read a sort of poetic riddle presented by the narrator:

*¡Jugad con las líneas de España a ese juego tan divino y bonito de:  
–Adivina, adivinanza,  
¿a que tiene España semejanza?* (20)

What is the answer to this riddle? The narrative voice does not leave the audience in suspense: it claims that “...*la cabeza dulce y serena de la Reina Isabel se adivina en el perfil de España* (20). This time Spain is represented as the head Isabella I of Castile (21 – see fig. 9). A nostalgic conception of Spain’s years under the Catholic Monarchs is another key element of the Nationalist narrative. As was mentioned, it was a time in which Spain’s national character was thought to be vindicated by the expulsion of the Others (i.e. Jews and Muslims), and it is therefore unsurprisingly included in a text like *España nuestra*. This is admittedly a creative (yet also rather strange) way of paying homage to Isabella I. The significance of living in a country that is supposedly shaped like a monarch’s head is not explained clearly in the text, but in many ways this auto-image speaks for itself: the face of Isabella (as well as the image of Christ) shapes the Spanish auto-image in a somewhat more direct way than the illustrations in *Así quiero ser* because of its scale and simplicity: both images are just composed of National figures superposed onto the Iberian Peninsula, but they have a metonymic power to represent not only the geographical entity known as Spain, but also its history, culture, people, etc. These illustrations attempt to link the totality of “Spanishness” to Nationalist ideology through Nationalist figures. Thus far in the text, *España nuestra* has not yet presented any significant hetero-images to be contrasted with the Nationalist auto-image, but the connotations that accompany Isabella I in Nationalist texts (the *Reconquista*, expulsion of Moorish Others) certainly implies their existence. In the same way, Spain in the shape of Jesus clearly communicates that Spain is the land of Christians, to the exclusion of the non-Christian Other.

These hetero-images do, however, appear explicitly in the book’s mention of the *Reconquista* and the Spanish Civil War. At this point in the text, the explicit audience (“*Niños míos españoles*”) is no longer frequently mentioned, and the narrative voice has devolved into the voice of a droning ideologue whose choice of language resembles a more blatantly propagandistic text like *Así quiero ser*. Giménez Caballero also predictably links the *Reconquista* to the Spanish Civil War when the topic arises. The text explicitly claims that Spain’s most recent war (The Civil War) was in reality “another *Reconquista*”, and the Republicans are caricatured as “*bárbaros rojos*” (55 – see fig.10 for illustration of “*La Gran Reconquista*”). Unlike the first part of the text, the creation of



hetero-images is the focus here. The Republicans are made into Others and linked to the Moors not only by virtue of the crusade-like conflicts that resulted in their expulsion from Spain, but also by their shared distance from true religion. By calling the Republicans “barbarians”, Giménez Caballero not-so-subtly denounces their supposed lack of piety. The hetero-image of the barbarian clearly communicates that such people have no place in Spain – the land whose form clearly resembles Christ crucified and the head of Isabella I.<sup>9</sup>

When reading *España nuestra*, one can easily see how Giménez Caballero’s goal of creating an “*exaltación permanente de la lengua española*” (1) was not really achieved. The literary elements that were meant to make this work stand apart from other “pedagogical” texts (like *Así quiero ser*) tend to become fainter and fainter as one continues reading. In fact, the text seems to devolve rapidly into bald-faced propaganda after the first few chapters (in which Spain’s form is discussed). Although the text does in a way develop a coherent narrative by focusing on Spain’s “journey” through time, more imaginative literary elements are difficult to find in many parts of the book. This, however, should not be surprising when one remembers the general state of children’s literature during the post-war years: when the goal of a totalitarian regime is avoid all imaginative writings that “seduce the spirit and excite the emotions” (Cleary Nichols 214), children’s books with true literary merit disappear, and books like *España nuestra* arrive to take their place.

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<sup>9</sup> *España nuestra* also creates other hetero-images by using the concept of a *Reconquista*: a fight about reconquering the homeland from the “Other”. Mentioning Spanish separatism as “*una desgracia*” (39), Giménez Caballero paints the same sort of hetero-image with an illustration depicting “*La nueva reconquista de Asturias*” (39 – see fig. 11). This choice of vocabulary suggests that Franco’s fight against “*nacionalismos internos*” (39) is also an unquestionably justified fight because of the Nationalist conception of a unified Spain – a Spain preserved by expelling the “Other” is the legacy of both the Catholic Monarchs and Francisco Franco.

## V. *Flechas y Pelayos*

When surveying the state of children's literature during a certain period or in a certain place, surely one of the most relevant questions to ask would simply be, "What were children in the habit of reading?", or perhaps "What reading materials were even available to children?" When responding to these questions in the context of post-war Spain, the comic book (or *historieta*) must factor prominently into the answers. As Maria Elena Soliño has pointed out, "during these difficult times, many children received their steady dose of literature from magazines". Soliño also points out that these publications were typically "blatantly used for political indoctrination" (186). Despite this fact, many of these magazines were very popular, and one in particular, *Flechas y Pelayos*, was amongst the earliest and most widely-read by children (Garcia Padrino 23).

*Flechas y Pelayos* was a children's comic that first appeared in 1938, and was published weekly until 1949. This publication was formed after the merging of two other comics, *Flechas* (first published in 1936) and *Pelayos* (first published in 1937). The former was associated with the FET (*Falange Española Tradicionalista*) and the latter with the JONS (*Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista*) – both fascist political groups that merged in 1937, and as a consequence began to publish a single weekly comic book for children (Moreno-Nuño 194-195). The typical staples of post-war children's literature (hagiographies, historical biographies of national figures and national history texts) all appeared regularly in *Flechas y Pelayos*. In fact, the title of the publication itself pays homage to the life of a Spanish child saint (San Pelayo/Saint Pelagius) and contributes directly to the Nationalist auto-image that Franco's regime hoped to instill in young readers.

Not unexpectedly, "*Pelayo*" is a name that is rooted in a nostalgic conception of Spain's Catholic past. Saint Pelayo (Pelagius) is believed to have been a boy from Galicia who lived during the tenth century. He was supposedly handed over to Muslims in Cordoba by his father who was negotiating the release of the boy's uncle, who was also imprisoned by the Muslims. After surviving three and a half years as a hostage, Pelayo was presented with an ultimatum by his captors: he could either convert to Islam

and go free, or remain a Christian and become a martyr at their hands. The boy of course refuses to denounce his allegiance to Christianity and dies as a result at the young age of thirteen in the year 925. Some versions of these events even suggest that part of the ultimatum involved “submission to the caliph’s sexual advances” (Wolf 68) – a twist that villainizes to an even greater degree the hetero-image of the Muslims involved in the account. In effect, then, the very title – *Flechas y Pelayos* – already proposes a model for the children reading the publication: Pelayo was loyal to Spain by claiming his Christian identity until the bitter end, and the young readers of this publication were meant to see this conduct as a model for their own behavior – the auto-image of the Spanish child conveyed here is that of fanatical loyalty and a willingness to sacrifice oneself for a greater cause.

Given the auto-image of the Spanish child put forth by the title of the magazine, it is not surprising that *Flechas* and *Pelayos* also provide explicitly militaristic models for their readers: much like the covers of *Así quiero ser* and *España nuestra*, *Pelayos* depicted children bearing rifles on the cover of issue number 20 from May of 1937 (see fig. 14). *Flecha* also in many instances featured children with very infantile physical traits carrying firearms (see figures 15-19 for a representative selection of these sorts of images). These images not only reinforce the Pelayo-like Nationalist auto-image, but also include hetero-images of the children’s supposed enemies (see figures 15, 18 and 19). The joyful-looking Nationalist children are illustrated as though they were playing a game, not fighting in a war, while the hetero-image Republicans look drab, miserable and defeated. This almost surreal contrast enthusiastically invites young readers to imagine themselves as combatants in a fight against the Republicans – the principal Other of the Nationalist narrative. Even the covers that do not explicitly show a hetero-image of the Other certainly still imply their existence: the children are not, after all, carrying the weapons for decoration – they are clearly used to subdue the enemy.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The lesson entitled “*Milicia*” from *Así quiero ser* offers readers with this enthusiastic pledge of a child aspiring to become a combatant: “*Me gusta prepararme para la vida militar, ejercitándome en los movimientos físicos y en el espíritu disciplinado y sereno de los soldados. Mañana iré al cuartel, y, lejos de considerarlo una desgracia, iré con gusto, alegría y hasta con alas.*” (55)

These bellicose representations of children are not, however, the only way in which the Nationalist auto-image is supported by these publications. As was suggested by the name *Pelayos*, these texts also rely heavily on nostalgic representations of the past (of the *Reconquista*, specifically) to teach children to understand their nation and its history in terms of the Nationalist narrative and the hetero-images that are excluded from it. One of the more subtle elements that promotes this conception of Spanish history is the slogan of *Flechas y Pelayos*: “*Por el Imperio hacia Dios*” (See fig. 20 for the cover of issue no. 1 prominently displaying the slogan). As with much of the content seen thus far, this invokes an idealized version of Spain’s past. After the Spanish-American war in 1898, Spain’s empire had been practically reduced to some possessions along the African coast – a mere shadow of the former Empire “on which the sun never set.” This would of course lead one to believe that the “*Imperio*” referred to in *Flechas y Pelayos* is really meant to invoke an idealized version of an empire of bygone years, or some sort of figurative empire meant to represent the prosperity that Spain was supposedly destined to enjoy under Franco (the fact that Spain devolved into an autarky during the first two decades after the war (Balfour 233) makes the latter possibility seem quite reasonable). In either case, the second part of the slogan, “...*hacia Dios*,” again invokes the idea of a religiously-unified Spain – a Catholic Empire united by its march toward God.

Apart from this publication’s title, slogan and cover, the content found inside the magazine also presented children with the same sorts of auto and hetero-images that were so common in texts for children during this time. As was mentioned, biographies of national figures were commonplace in post-war children’s literature, and *Flechas y Pelayos* provided young readers with these sorts of texts through their “*Héroes de la patria*” section. In nearly every issue of *Flechas y Pelayos* there was a portion of the magazine devoted to the lives of national figures such as “*el Cid*, the conquistadors and José Antonio [Primo de Rivera, the founder the *Falange*]” (Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 29).<sup>11</sup> The lives of these men were presented in a romanticized, narrative fashion that glorified Spain’s illustrious (and very Catholic) past. Although these

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<sup>11</sup> Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the first national hero to be featured in *Flechas y Pelayos* (see fig. 21).

accounts were clearly presented in a narrative and imaginative fashion<sup>12</sup> (and therefore conform to most conventional conceptions of literature), the heroes in them were appropriated as ideological tools and were made to illustrate and propagate the Nationalist auto-image with which the Otherly hetero-images were contrasted. A very concise example of this can be found on the cover of issue no. 85 of *Flechas y Pelayos* (see fig. 22). “*Santiago, patrón de España*” (James, Patron Saint of Spain) is featured on the cover of this edition. Here Santiago is portrayed on horseback in a quasi-medieval setting with a drawn sword in one hand and a flag in the other. This illustration of Santiago and the other image of him from *Así quiero ser* (fig. 2) share many of the same elements. Both figures personify Christianity (or Catholicism, more specifically). Both images of Santiago also depict him bearing flags that connote national identity, while the drawn swords clearly suggest conquest and violence. The combination of these symbols would convey to young readers the idea that the three share a natural relationship. Each of these symbols also seems to imply the other two when understood in the context of the Nationalist historical narrative: the auto-image presented here is that of a people who are religiously united, and therefore must use violence to preserve their national identity and integrity. This idea implied by the image of Santiago encapsulates all of the essential elements of the Nationalist narrative. In case the ideological message here should go overlooked by the young readers of *Flechas y Pelayos*, the caption below the image of Santiago states the following:

*Con cariño entrañable, con emoción profunda, debéis pronunciar este nombre, que lleva consigo todos los prestigios de la Victoria. La espada del santo Apóstol fue como un relámpago que guio a los paladines de la España imperial; ella iluminará también las sendas de los que ahora trabajan por el engrandecimiento de España bajo el signo de Falange y a las órdenes del Caudillo. (Cover of issue no.85)*

The link forged here between past and present is unmistakable. The creators of *Flechas y Pelayos* explicitly invite readers conceive of the Spanish auto-image in terms of the connection between Spain’s Catholic past and Spain’s supposedly Catholic future

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<sup>12</sup> The narrator in these texts includes details about the protagonist’s thoughts, while also presenting readers with dialogues between the literary representations of historical characters. Although dates are occasionally included in the texts, most of the elements of these stories are fictitious with a loose basis in history.

– a future that would be brought about under Franco’s tutelage: just as God supposedly used the sword of Santiago as a tool to preserve Spain’s Christian character centuries ago, God had surely used *el Caudillo* and *el Falange* to the same ends during the Spanish Civil War, and would continue to do so as Spain worked toward its “*engrandecimiento*” in the name of God himself.<sup>13</sup>

As is always the case, the auto-image of a nation finds its meaning principally in the contrasts that are formed between it and the hetero-images of Others. In the case of *Flechas y Pelayos*, even the less overtly ideological comics and stories betray a very binary conception of the Spanish auto-image and the hetero-image of the Other. Many of the serials published in *Flechas y Pelayos* featured characters with almost grotesque characteristics. “Quico y Caneco” was one such serial that represented Africans (as well as other minorities) as grotesque and uneducated (as evidenced by their inability to conjugate Spanish verbs – see fig. 23). One of the most common Others of the Nationalist Narrative – the Muslim – also appears in comic strips in *Flechas y Pelayos*. In one strip in particular (see fig. 24), a prominent visitor from a fictitious country (Akisestan<sup>14</sup>) finds himself completely out of place in Spain after refusing to dismount from his favored mode of transportation – an elephant. When he is finally forced off the elephant he turns to conventional transportation (a bus), but decides to ride on top of it as though it were elephant, too – a decision that suggests that such a foreigner is clearly not suited to life in Spain. Even these comic strips that never explicitly mention the *Reconquista*, Franco or the Civil War still contribute to a way of thinking that is the key to the Nationalist narrative: the hetero-images in these illustrations convey the idea that true Spaniards are fundamentally different from the Other. More dogmatically, this idea of an *absolute* difference between the hetero-image and auto-image was

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<sup>13</sup> One can also find a very clear articulation of this very same ideology on the very first issue of *Flechas y Pelayos*. The first issue states categorically that “*Franco ha dicho que la España Nacional riñe una SANTA CRUZADA. Y verdaderamente así es: porque nuestra guerra no es una guerra vulgar... Franco con sus soldados... defendemos La Religión y la Patria contra La Irreligión y la Antipatria* (see fig. 22 for full text)” (10).

<sup>14</sup> Although this comic strip does not explicitly mention that the visitor is a Muslim, his caricature like physical traits seem to indicate that it is to be understood that he is. The “-stan” suffix of his fictitious home country also seems to suggest this. The fact that the stranger’s title is “*rajá*” (Rajah) is perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the term’s origins (it is a title from India).

articulated in the very first issue of *Flechas y Pelayos*: the comic states that “...el HISPANISMO deberá ser todo lo contrario del MARXISMO” (10).

Other regularly-appearing parts<sup>15</sup> of *Flechas y Pelayos* include comic strips like “*El Flecha Guerrero*”, which features a child who looks for mischief in a fantasy world of dwarves, knights and the like (see fig. 27). This comic was sometimes presented without any words, and was presumably created for children who could not yet read. Another important part of *Flechas y Pelayos* was called “*Historia Gráfica de España*”. As the name suggests, this national history text was one that narrated how centuries of Spanish history had been “filled with glory” by the nation’s national figures (nº 22 p.2 – see figure 28). It was similar to the “*Heroes de la patria*” stories, but without a personal protagonist. Literary works (typically poems) by classic authors also occasionally appeared in the pages of *Flechas y Pelayos*, but it was not a common occurrence, perhaps because these works may not have appealed to children (see fig. 29 for a poem featured in *Flechas y Pelayos* by Lope de Vega).

One other very significant literary aspect of *Flechas y Pelayos* was the section entitled “*Colaboración de nuestros lectores*” that appeared in every issue of the magazine. The publishers of *Flechas y Pelayos* gave readers the opportunity to submit stories and poems that they themselves had written and wished to share with other readers. These short works were written by children, and in turn meant to be read by other children. As was mentioned, the texts discussed thus far (*Así quiero ser*, *España nuestra* and *Flechas y Pelayos*) have all promoted the Nationalist narrative and auto-image with varying levels of explicitness, yet despite their propagandistic qualities they can still serve as a sort of intertext that influences how other works are received, and in this case, how other works are produced. The reader-submitted poems and stories do not make explicit mention of any of the texts mentioned above<sup>16</sup>, but it is apparent that

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<sup>15</sup> Somewhat surprisingly (foreign texts were seen as “pathogenic” to the National character [Clearly Nichols 214]), another character to appear in *Flechas y Pelayos* was Popeye the Sailor Man (known in Spanish as “*Popeye el Marinero*” – see fig. 25). Although the comic strip itself was largely free from ideological content as it appeared in *Flechas y Pelayos*, Popeye seemed to have been used nonetheless to attract children to service in the Navy (see fig. 26).

<sup>16</sup> There is at least one exception to this: In a short story submitted by a Margot Pardo entitled “*Floralia la Vanidosa*” (nº 20 p.15), a vain witch (*bruja*) is defeated by a knight. The witch pleads to be placed back

the same Nationalist auto-image has greatly influenced their creation. One such poem written by a thirteen-year-old named Celestino Zorita entitled “A José Antonio” likens the years of the Second Republic to Spain being trapped in an “*abismo profundo*”. The young poet then gives credit to Franco and José Antonio for saving the nation from “*el fatal marxismo*” (nº 6 p.23 – see fig. 30). Many other poems celebrate the Spanish Nationalist flag. One such poem was written by a Pedro Perez Maseda and suggests that Spain and its flag represent the totality of “*la Historia, la Religión y la Gloria*” (nº 3 p.23 – see fig. 31). In addition to poems, short stories were also submitted by young readers. One story simply titled “*Cuento*” by a Pascual Narvi3n presents readers with an allegory in which a sick mother is cared for by her loyal daughters. The mother represents Spain, the sickness communism, and the daughters the true Spaniards (*buenos espa3oles*) who partook in the “Glorious Movement” (*movimiento glorioso*) to rid the nation of the Republicans (nº 23 p.15 – see fig. 32). These poems and stories reflect the Nationalist auto-image of true Catholic Spaniards, while also presenting the hetero-image of the Republicans – the Other, the non-Spanish. They also reveal in a novel way how ideology is first presented to children through what they read, then processed in some way, and in these cases finally reproduced through literature.

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on her throne, but the knight responds by saying the he will do no such thing, but he will, however, put her in “*Flechas y Pelayos, que es un seminario infantil que leen miles de ni3os y que as3 ver3n lo feo que es el vicio de la vanidad.*”



## VI. *El Guerrero del Antifaz*

Another very popular comic book, *El Guerrero del Antifaz*, was also published during the same period in post-war Spain (it first appeared in 1943). Written and illustrated by a very young Manuel Gago (he was a mere eighteen years old when it was published), the comic was released through Editorial Valenciana and has been regarded as a work that stood out for its creativity in the rather bleak post-war literary landscape (Soliño 185). Unlike the previously-mentioned texts, *El Guerrero del Antifaz* makes no explicit mention of the Civil War, the Republicans, Franco, or anything else from the twentieth century. It is also unique in that it lacks any kind of overt propaganda like that seen in the other texts: if a continuum were made to measure the explicitly ideological qualities of post-war children's texts, then *Así quiero ser* would land on the side of extreme propaganda, while *El Guerrero del Antifaz* would land on the more conventionally literary end. Despite these ways in which *El Guerrero del Antifaz* stands out, it also painted a picture of the world that included the same sorts of auto and hetero-images that were so pervasive in other contemporary texts.

The comic features as its protagonist a masked warrior born in the time of the Catholic Monarchs who does battle with Iberian Muslims during *la Reconquista*. In the first issue of the comic (see fig. 33 for cover) readers learn that the protagonist's origins are more complicated than they may appear at first sight. On the first pages of the first issue of the comic, it is revealed that the antagonist, the evil and maniacal "Arab ringleader" ("*jefezuelo árabe*" – Gago 3) named Ali-Kan kidnapped the protagonist's mother two months after her marriage to a Count in Christian Spain (see fig. 35). Though she was pregnant at the time, this was still unnoticeable to everyone but herself. For that reason, after Ali-Kan goes to bed with the protagonist's kidnapped mother, he assumes that when a son is born to her eight months later that he is the one who has fathered it. When the protagonist turns eighteen, he goes to war for the man who he believes to be his father, Ali-Kan – though his distressed mother urges him not to. Eventually, out of despair the mother explains to her son that he is in fact a Christian, like her (Gago 5 – see fig. 34). After this illuminating discussion regarding his true identity, the protagonist flees to Christian Spain and is reunited with his biological father.

Soon after this meeting, he decides to dawn a black mask, put on a red jumpsuit with a large white cross on it and roam the countryside hunting down the Muslim invaders – the same ones that he previously considered allies. The Masked Warrior even goes so far as to style himself “*el León Cristiano*” (Gago nº 1 p.7) (apparently “against whom arrows are useless” – see fig. 35).

The change that the masked warrior experiences after learning of his “true” identity is completely instantaneous. In what could be a conversation that lasts only a few moments, the protagonist finds out that not only is his mother a Christian, but that his biological father is one as well. In the world of *El Guerrero del Antifaz*, religion and race seem to be very closely related in the sense that religion is not something that can be chosen or changed – rather, it is inherited. Although *El Guerrero* had apparently performed the identity of a Muslim before his mother told him the truth about his past, the text suggests that this was simply the *wrong* identity for him to perform. *El Guerrero* reflects on his time fighting alongside the Muslims and recalls that he went to battle for the first time against the Christians when he was eighteen years old. In every battle after the first he would perform great feats that filled his “supposed father” (*supuesto padre*) with pride (nº 1 p.4 – see figure 36). Despite these successes, after hearing a mere three words from his mother – “¡*Vos lo sois!*” (You are [a Christian]) – his perspective is changed in an instant. It is important to note that the mother makes this statement (“you are a Christian”) before the *Guerrero* has had a chance to perform his Christian identity, which in turn suggests that identity is independent of action. Even Ali-Kan, who before had taken the *Guerrero* to be his own son, sees him as an Other in light of the mother’s revelation: after the *Guerrero* flees from the Muslim’s fortress, Ali-Kan shouts that no Christian has ever escaped him (...*jamás se burló ningún Cristiano de Ali-Kan!* [nº 1 p.16 – see fig. 37]), and he will not let *El Guerrero* be the first. This comment also identifies the protagonist as a Christian, and therefore also implies that identity is established prior to (and sometimes in spite of) one’s actions.

Not once does a character in *El Guerrero del Antifaz* question this radical change in the protagonist’s life, nor is there any doubt about where his allegiances should lie given the revelation about his past. In short, the *Guerrero* is not just represented as a

Christian in the conventional sense of the term, but as *essentially* Christian. In the world of the comic, the protagonist is faced with what becomes a moral obligation to fight Muslims when he learns of his true and unchanging Christian identity. Despite the fact that the protagonist of *El Guerrero del Antifaz* may at first seem to contradict the Nationalist image of fixed religious identities (*El Guerrero* at first *seems* to change identities by repudiating his Muslim upbringing), in reality the story supports the idea of an unchanging national essence that is simply plagued by alien influences. If religious identity were indeed an essential, unalterable part of a person, *El Guerrero* could never truly have been a Muslim warrior, and in fact, the story does suggest that the protagonist's unchanging identity was merely hidden behind a "Muslim" veil and was destined to be revealed in time. The *Guerrero's* allegiance to Christian Spain is based on the premise that because his parents were true Spanish Christians, he must be one as well,<sup>17</sup> and this unchanging Christian identity is the basis for the *Guerrero's* own auto-image: when speaking to curious admirers who want to know who the masked man truly is, *el Guerrero* states that he is neither a noble, nor a commoner, but simply "*un servidor de la Cruz y los Reyes [Católicos]*" (nº 2 p.2 – see fig. 38).

This Manichaeic understating of "Spanishness" and Otherness not only vindicates the use of violence during *la Reconquista*, but also by extension the use of violence against the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War: by failing to adopt what the Nationalists believed were essentially Spanish values, the Republicans showed themselves to be as non-Spanish as the Muslims that *El Guerrero* constantly does battle with. As has been seen, this idea is articulated in each text discussed above, yet *El Guerrero del Antifaz* articulates it without even a mention of the Republicans. Nevertheless, the broader ideology at work here – a Manichean conception of good and evil based on religious identity – is very easily applied to the world of those that were meant to read the comic: post-war Spanish children who were already taught to revile the Others like non-Catholic "Marxists".

It has been noted that *El Guerrero del Antifaz* is quite repetitive in nature – each issue of the comic portrays basically the same "crude reenactment" of *la Reconquista*,

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<sup>17</sup> This is similar to the idea of "*sangre latina*" that *Así quiero ser* presents to its readers.

time and time again (Perriam, Thompson, Frenk and Knights 30). The Manichean nature of the world of *El Guerrero* is evidenced not only by constant warfare and religious strife, but also of course by the auto and hetero-images of the Christians and Muslims in the comic. The Christians in the comic (particularly *El Guerrero*) are strong and valiant-looking, while the hetero-image of the Muslims are depicted as wholly distinct from the protagonist and his allies. This Muslim Otherness is seen in many places in the comic, but perhaps most prominently in the ways in which they are physically depicted. The villains are typically portrayed with grotesque features to highlight their otherness. For example, one can see on the cover of issue 370 (see fig. 39) an ugly villain with an insidious grin and unsightly mustache who has apparently hidden some helpless damsel in his “castle of terror”. Another representative example can be found in issue number 498 (see fig. 40). Here the villain is basically an unnaturally short, maniacal, caricature of a person – the perfect sort of villain to be contrasted with the tall and heroic (and curiously bare-legged) protagonist, the *Guerrero del Antifaz*. Examples like these are prevalent in the comic, and contribute in yet another way to the idea of an essentially Catholic nation that must fight off the influence of the Other.

Unlike the three previously-discussed texts, *El Guerrero del Antifaz* does not depict in any form militarized children, nor does it mention Franco (or Santiago, for that matter), but it is nonetheless a text about identity and alterity, and suggests to children that violence against the Other in the name of National unity is not only permissible, but necessary.

## VII. Other Texts

As was mentioned in the introduction, children's literature in the post-war years in Spain was in a sense hijacked and made to serve an ideological purpose. Most imaginative and foreign texts were seen as dangerous influences, and books and magazines for children often devolved into a tool for indoctrination rather than an imaginative art form. For this reason, it is not difficult to locate other texts for children that also taught their young readers to wholeheartedly accept the Nationalist historical narrative and the Nationalist auto-image of a Caucasian, Catholic and militarized Spaniard. *Valores encarnados y defendidos por España a lo largo de su historia* (1955) is another text that continued to reiterate the same conceptions of history over a decade after *Así quiero ser* and *España Nuestra* were published (Sospedra 25, 29). Another post-war civics text, *Yo soy español* (1940) differentiated itself *Así quiero ser* and *España Nuestra* in the scope of its content – it featured lessons about Spanish heroes from Roman Times to the present – but was nearly identical in terms of ideological content. In a section praising Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, this text goes so far as to suggest that the Second Spanish Republic was a punishment sent from God himself (Serrano de Haro 83). God was merciful, though, according to the text: Franco and his “*Glorioso Movimiento Nacional*” were a divine gift from above, sent to the earth to bring peace to Spain, as well as to punish the godless Marxists (84). These sorts of hetero-images are also clearly a distinctive mark of the Nationalist narrative – a xenophobic, Manichean conception of evil, non-Catholic influences and righteous violence against them. *Santa Tierra de España* (1942) was yet another text (a tome, really, at 333 pages) that extolled the virtues of Franco, and his “*Cruzada Nacional*” against the depraved “*antipatria*” (the Second Republic) (Muntada Bach 306-308).

In short, *Así quiero ser* and *España nuestra* are not anomalies by any means. Rather, they are very representative examples of the sorts of texts that children so commonly read during Spain's post-war period. In the same way, *Flechas y Pelayos* and *El Guerrero del Antifaz* were also very representative of the comic books read by children during the post-war period. Another popular comic, *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* (1941-1976) appeared for the first time during the same period, and featured as its

protagonists Roberto Alcázar, a very “manly” detective/adventurer who, on a ship to South America, discovers Pedrín, a young orphan boy. Taking Pedrín on as a sort of assistant, Roberto takes him along on his travels to do battle with ugly looking villains from around the world. Just as was the case with *El Guerrero del Antifaz*, the villains in *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* are represented as hetero-images and with features that highlight their “Otherness”. Grotesque physical traits are used in order to clearly distinguish them from Roberto and Pedrín – a technique that would without a doubt have the potential to breed xenophobic conceptions of all non-Spaniards in the minds of young readers (for representative examples, see figures 41-45). Also, just as the texts discussed above feature very militaristic auto-images of Spanish children, Pedrín – the child protagonist of this comic – is almost always shown smacking some villain with a bat or punching another in the face. Although *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* (as well as many other comics like it) makes no explicit mention of Franco or *la Reconquista*, they also show signs of the binary contrasts between the Spanish auto-image and non-Spanish hetero-images that form the basis for the Nationalist narrative.

## VIII. Concluding Thoughts

Texts written for children are not immune to being used as a tool to indoctrinate readers. In fact, ideologies are often “inscribed much more deeply and in much more subtle ways” in children’s literature than may seem apparent (Sarland 45). Knowles and Malmkjaer have also correctly noted that texts for children often “reflect society as it wishes to be, [and] as it wishes to be seen...” (61). In the case of Nationalist Spain, these sorts of texts did in fact paint Spanish society and history in ways that those with power wanted them to be seen. The Nationalist narrative was propagated because the Nationalists had won the war, and along with their military victory came an ideological one as well: they seized the opportunity to promote texts that propagated their very exclusive conceptions of “Spanishness”, to the exclusion of other, competing conceptions of what it means (and has historically meant) to be Spanish. The acceptance of the Nationalist narrative, then, is totally contingent upon on the subject’s ignorance or willingness to “turn a blind eye” to other historical facts that could contradict it. For example, the principal Others of the Nationalist narrative (recall the many hetero-images of Muslims and Marxists) are both excluded from being considered Spanish based on what are largely caricatured misrepresentations. The idea that Iberian Muslims have only ever had a passing and isolated influence on Spain is simply wrong: their nearly eight-centuries-long presence on the peninsula left indelible marks that have endured the tests of time. Continuing to consider their presence on the peninsula as a hindrance to true “Spanishness” is arbitrary, to say the least. In the case of the Republicans, the use of blanket terms like “Marxists” or “*rojos*” is also a caricature of the Second Republic as a whole. Rather than being an ideologically uniform group, the Second Republic was a conglomeration of factions that was too complex to be accurately referred to simply as “Marxists”. The fact that they were also deemed non-Spanish is, again, arbitrary to say the least. Put succinctly, the above-mentioned texts manipulate history to create a coherent narrative that served Nationalist purposes.

Texts like the ones discussed above have the potential to be extremely effective tools for indoctrination when they appear on an already-bare literary landscape (that is to say, when no competing narratives challenge the dominant one). This is a recipe for

hegemony, and the Nationalists knew it: literature in general was stringently censored under Franco, and of course literature written for children was no exception (Fernández López 221). It is for this reason that other, more conventional forms of children's literature in post-war Spain (i.e. fairy tales, novels, etc.) did not represent a large part of the texts that children read (see introduction). Despite their arguable lack of artistic merit (particularly the propagandistic examples), texts like those discussed in this report are necessary to analyze when considering what children were reading in post-war Spain, and how what they read had the potential to shape their views of themselves and Others.



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## Appendix of Images

Fig. 1 – Cover of *Así quiero ser* (1940)

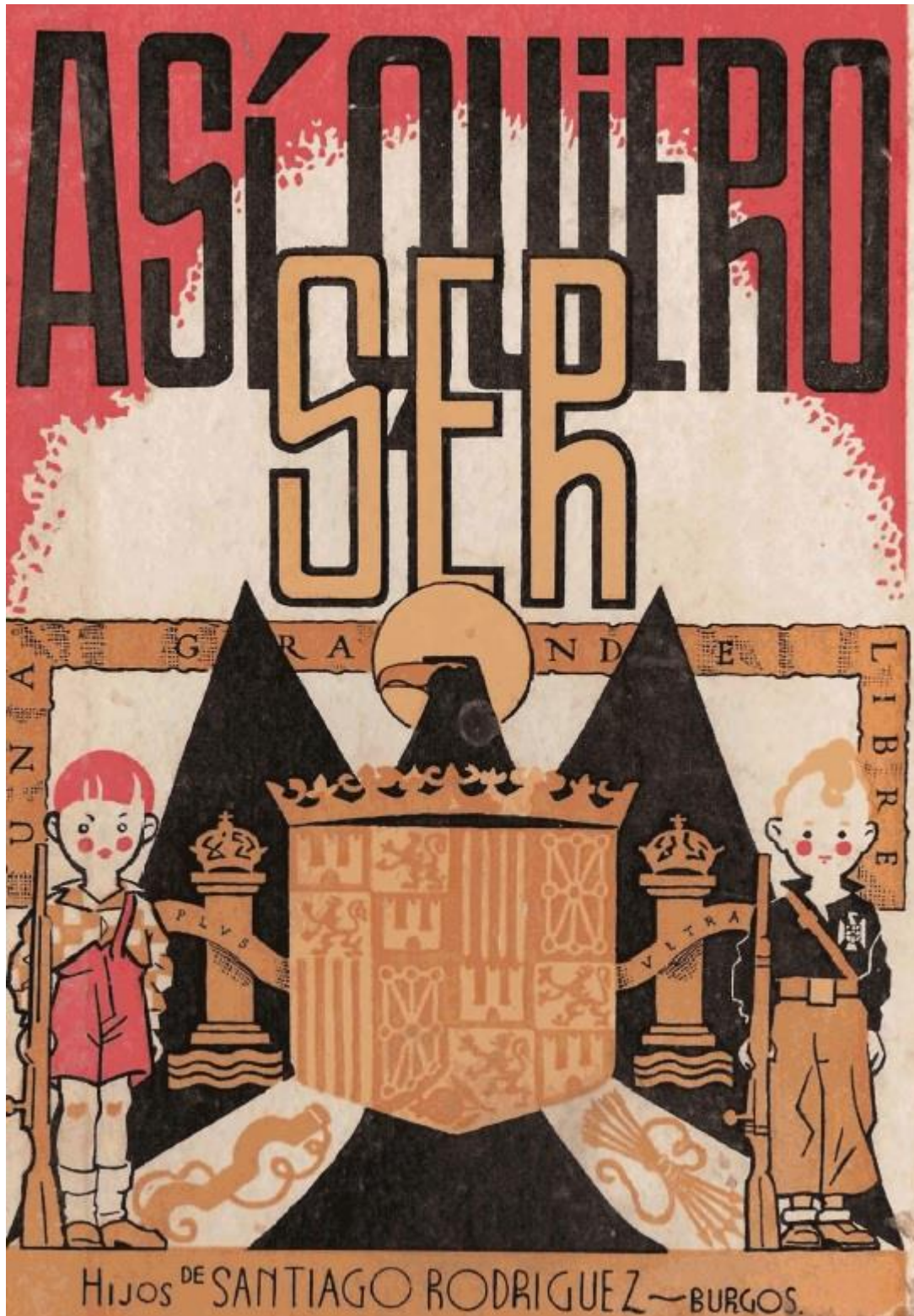


Figure 2 – Santiago Matamoros from *Así quiero ser* (9)



Yo doy mi palabra de conservar en mi espíritu, como su mejor tesoro, las creencias religiosas que me han transmitido mis padres y me enseña mi maestro. Yo agradezco a Dios el haber nacido en el seno de nuestra Religión santa.

Figure 3 - Franco on horseback from *Así quiero ser* (10)

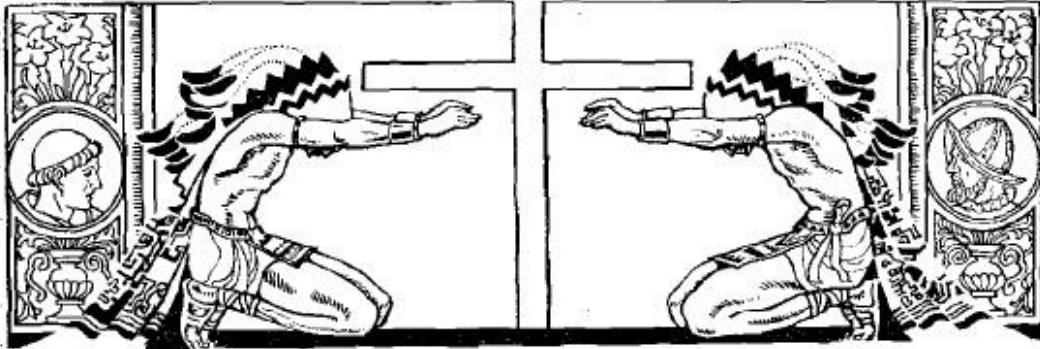


## EL ESTADO

No basta que los españoles vivan unidos y se comuniquen entre sí; eso lo hacen también los pueblos salvajes.

Es necesario que en toda nación haya un orden, una disciplina, una ley; uno que mande y otros que obedezcan. Entonces la nación se convierte en Estado.

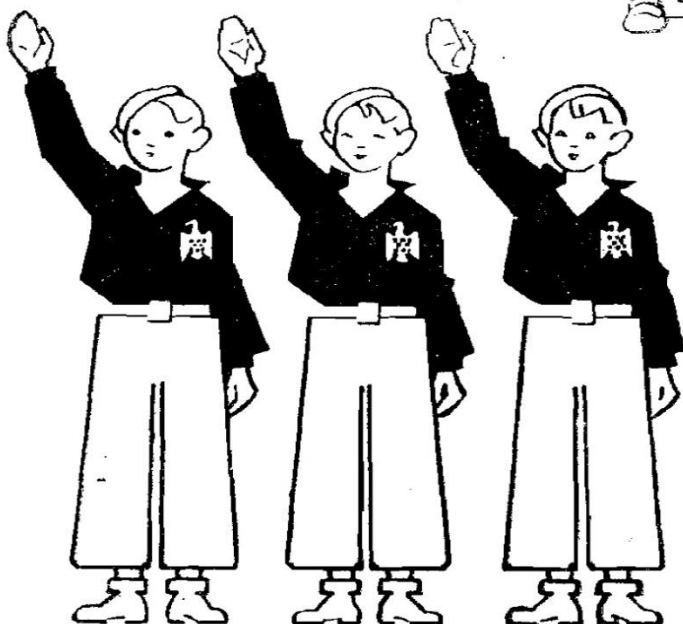
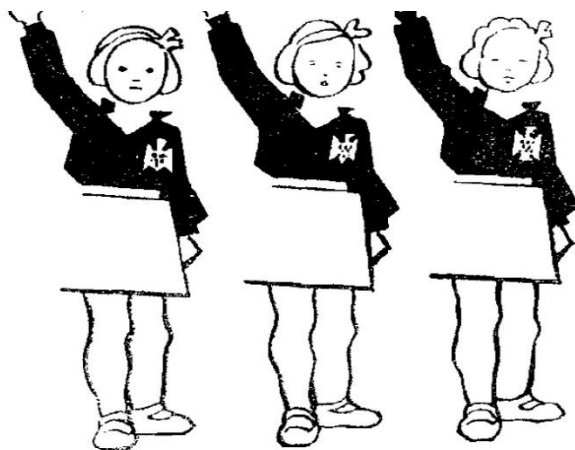
Figure 4 – Praying “Indians” from *Así quiero ser* (16)



**EL DESTINO**

Figure 5 – Saluting Children from *Así quiero ser* (21)

¿Y quién juzga al que tiene el máximo poder? Dios y la Historia. A Uno y otra dará cuenta. Lo demás no es de nuestra incumbencia.

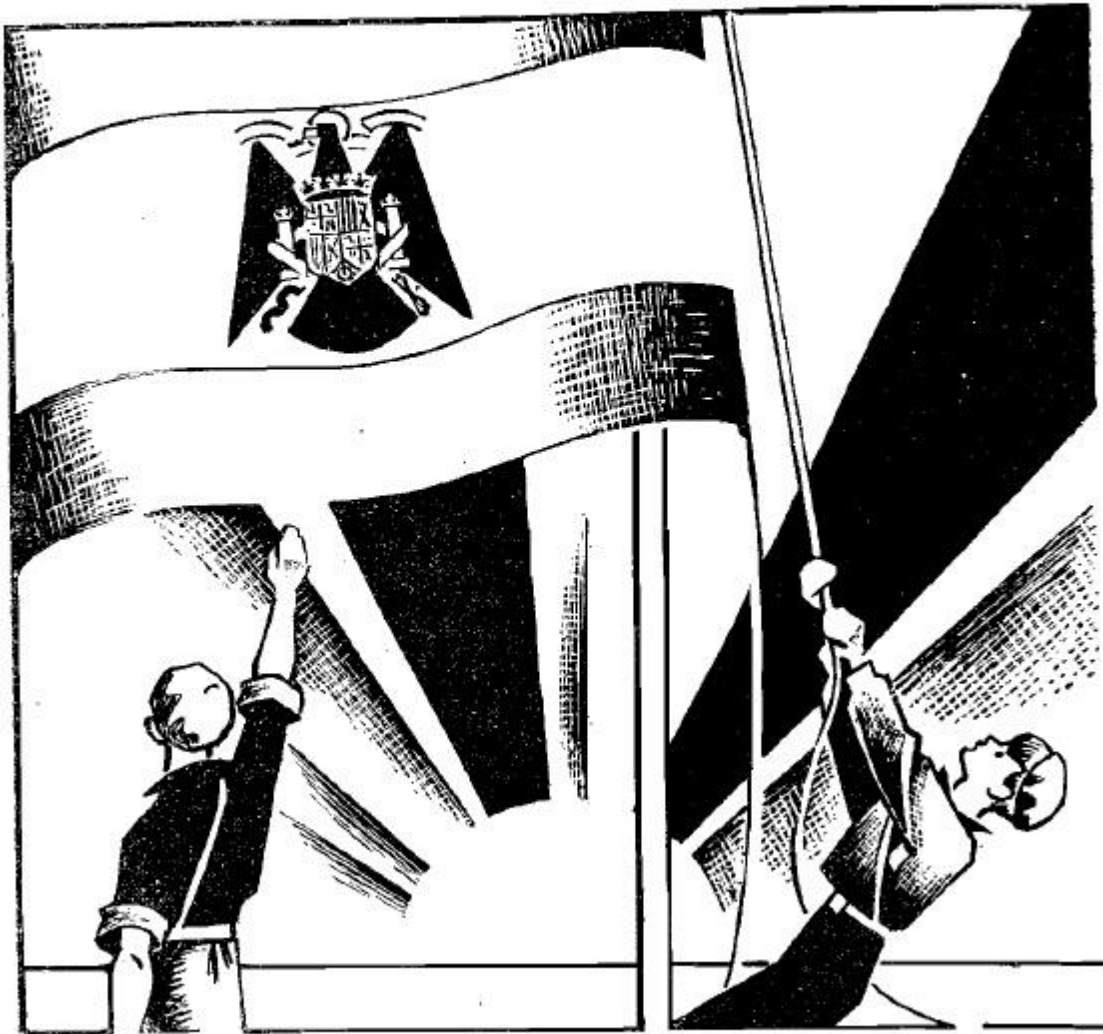


En mi casa manda mi padre; en la escuela, el maestro; en el pueblo, el alcalde; en la provincia, el gobernador; en España, el Caudillo. Este manda en todos, porque tiene la responsabilidad de todos. Obedezcámosle para que haga a España feliz.



Figure 6 – Conclusion from *Así quiero ser* (167)

Y yo quiero ser así: un español en quien palpite España como un corazón metido en las entrañas del alma; un español que consagra su vida a la tarea de hacer una España una, grande y libre, una España católica e imperial.



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Figure 7 – Cover of *España nuestra* (1943)

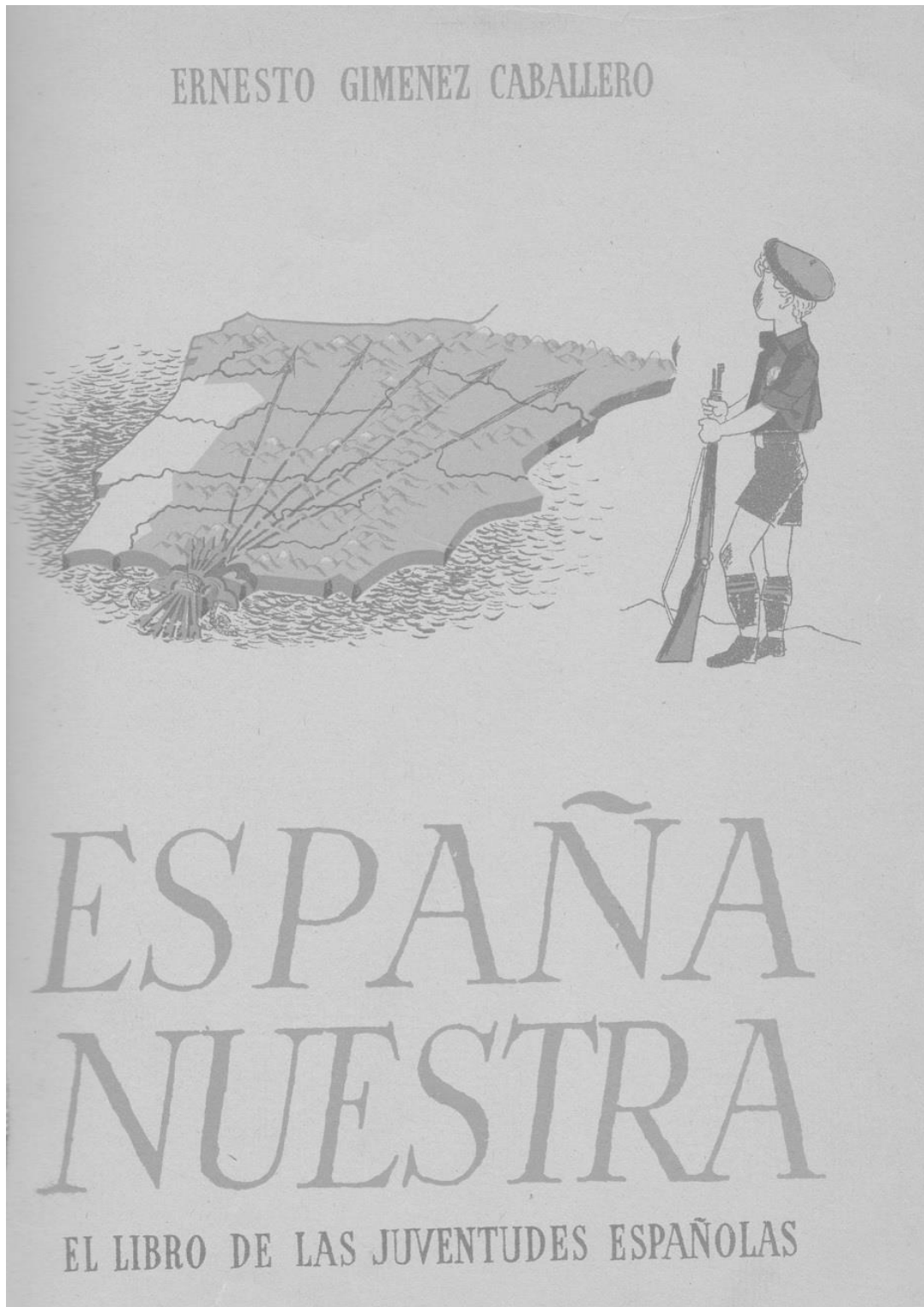


Figure 8 – Spain represented as Christ from *España nuestra* (30)

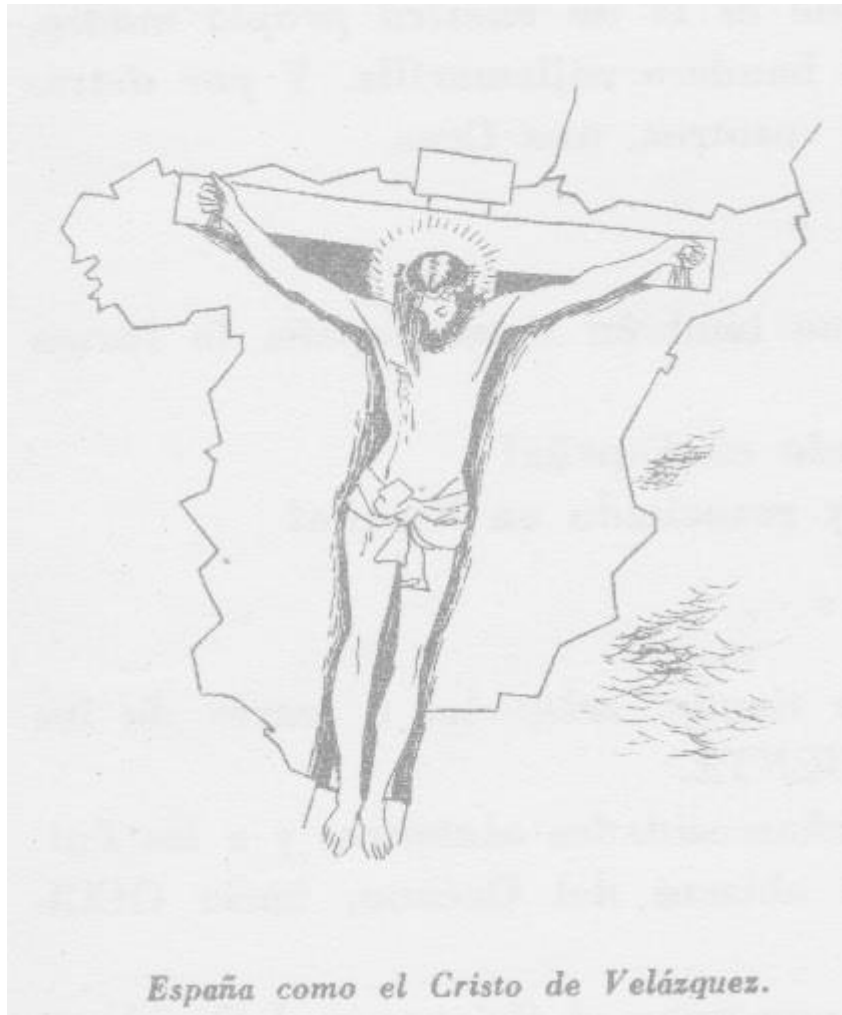


Figure 9 – Spain represented as Queen Isabel from *España nuestra* (21)



Figure 10 – *La Gran Reconquista* from *España nuestra* (55)

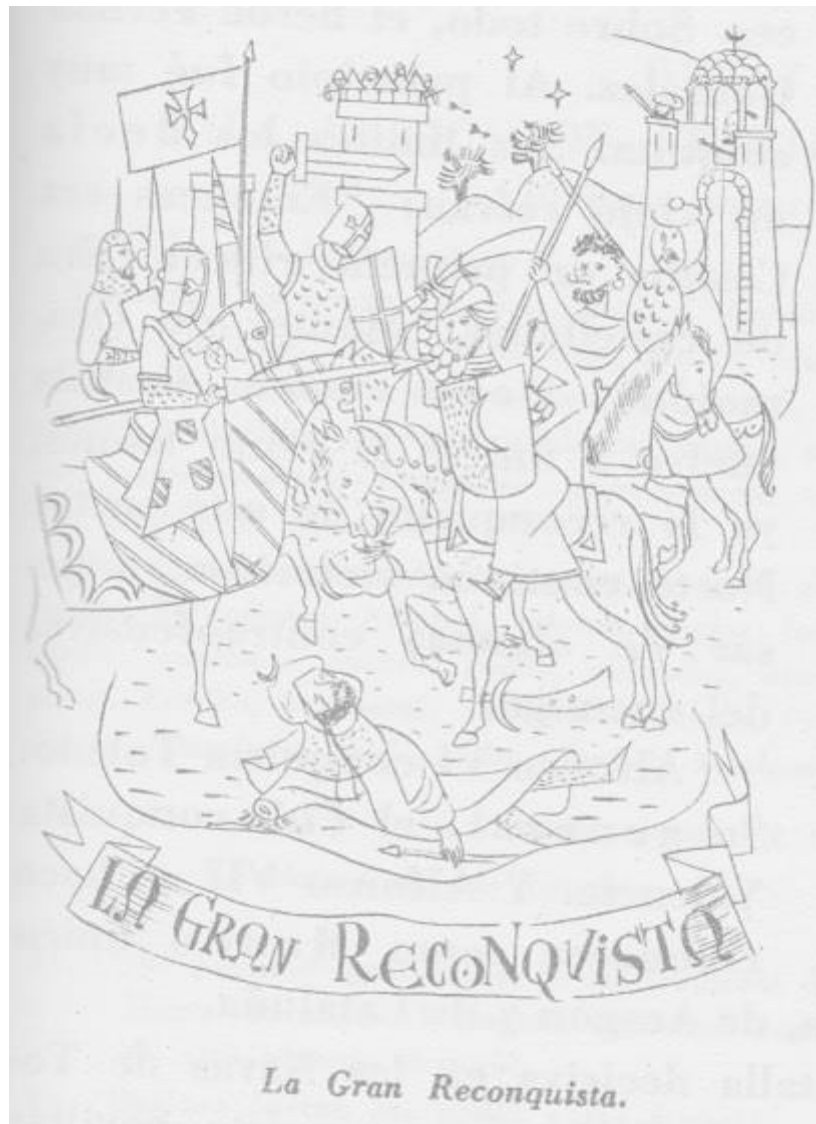


Figure 11 – *Reconquista de Asturias* from *España nuestra* (39)



Figure 12 – *Los Reyes Católicos* from *España nuestra* (39)

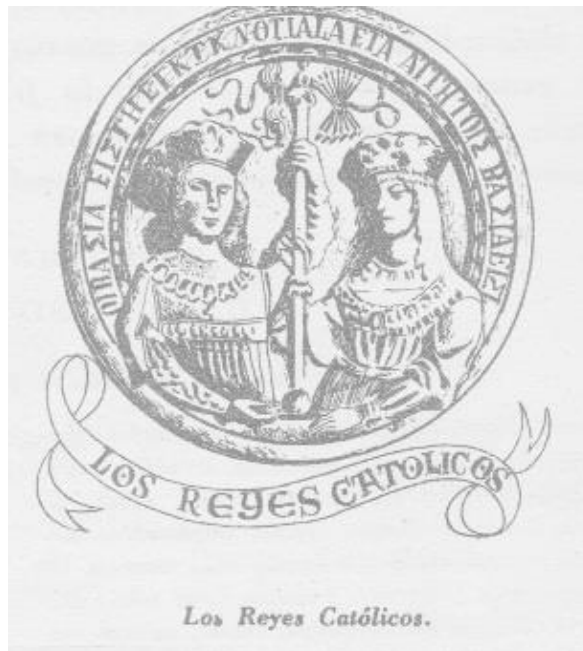


Figure 13 – Franco from *España nuestra* (172)



Figure 14 – Cover of *Pelayos* no. 20 (1937)





Figure 15 – Cover of *Flecha* no. 33 (1937)



Figure 16 – Cover of *Flecha* no. 55 (1938)



Figure 17 – Cover of *Flecha* no. 59 (1938)



Figure 18 – Cover of *Flecha* no. 67 (1938)



Figure 19 – Cover of *Flecha* no. 76 (1938)

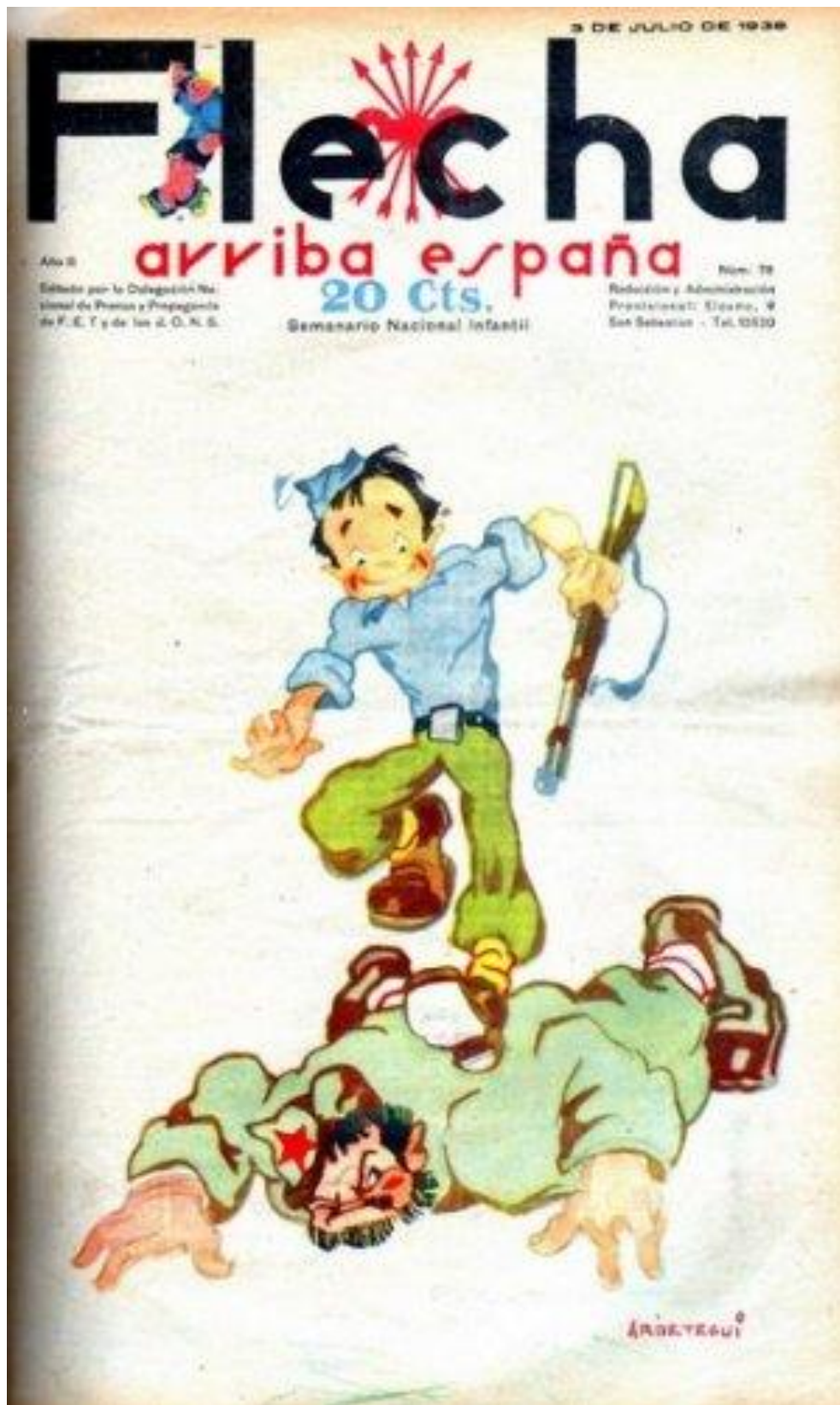


Figure 20 – Cover of *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 1 (1938)



Figure 21 –*Flechas y Pelayos* no. 1, p. 4 (1938)



**HEROES DE LA PATRIA**

Por Fray Justo Pérez de Arbel.  
Ilustraciones de Aróstegui.

**El más intrépido explorador**

Un pregonero gritaba junto a las márgenes del Guadalquivir, cerca de la torre del Oro y en la plaza que se extiende frente a la Giralda sevillana: «¡Una nueva expedición para la conquista del Nuevo Mundo! El capitán Don Pánfilo de Narváez promete aventuras, riquezas, señoríos y maravillas. ¡Qué vengan los valientes, los hábiles marinos, los soldados sin miedo, los que sepan manejar la lanza y no se asusten del mar! ¡Con Don Pánfilo de Narváez que tiene los poderes del rey!»

Una multitud abigarrada se agolpaba frente al puerto de Sevilla: cargadores, marinos, gente maleante y desocupada, hidalgos sin hacienda y hombres maduros, que habían viajado con Cristóbal Colón o habían hecho las guerras de Italia con el Gran Capitán. Al fin Don Pánfilo logró llenar sus cinco barcos. Contó su gente, y vió con satisfacción que era la suya una de las expediciones más numerosas que hasta

Figure 22 – Cover of *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 85 (1940)

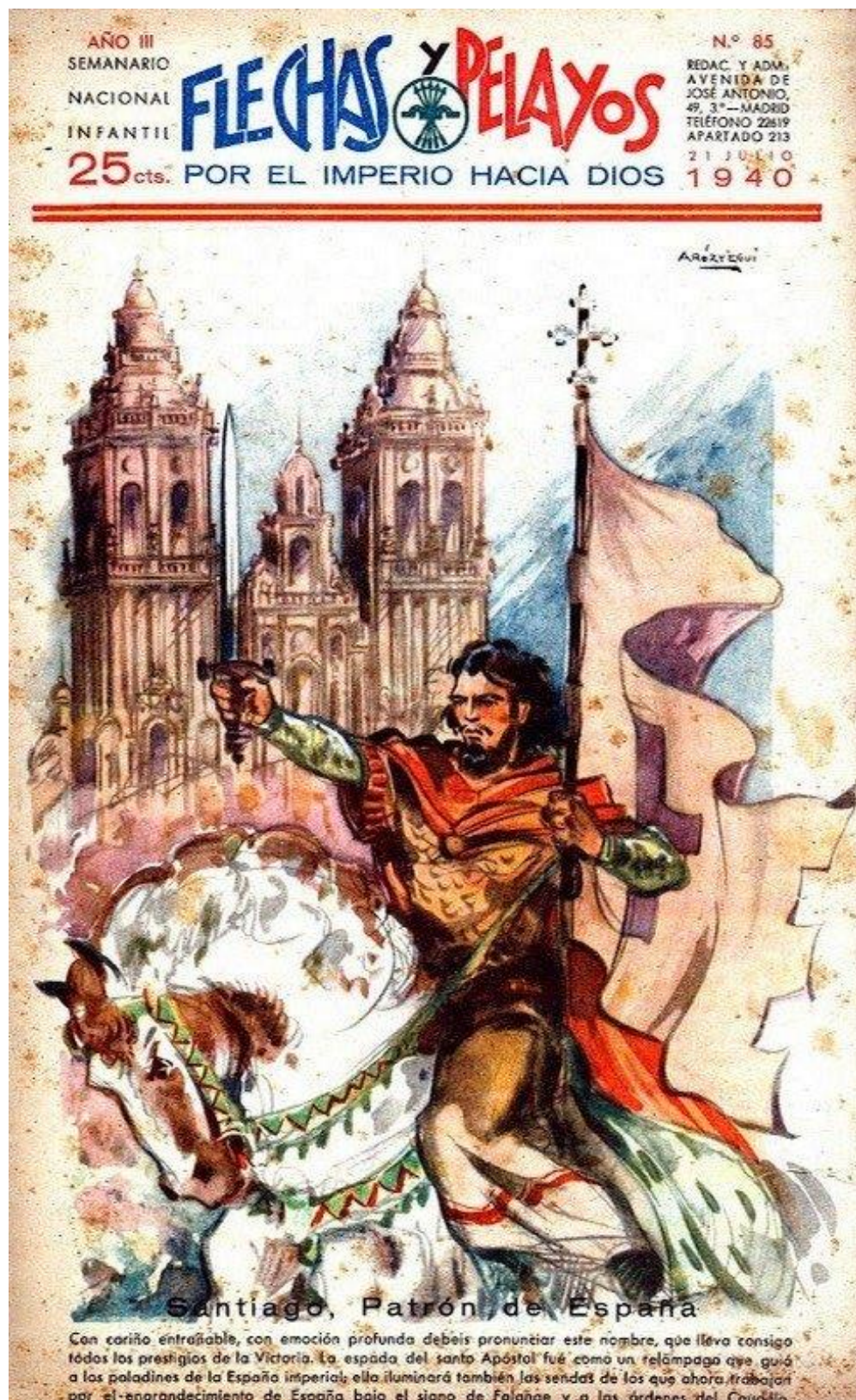




Figure 23 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 1, page 10 (1938)

**Franco** ha dicho que la España Nacional riñe una SANTA CRUZADA. Y verdaderamente así es: porque nuestra guerra no es una guerra vulgar, una guerra de tantas, en que los hombres se disputan un palmo de terreno u otros intereses de orden puramente material.

**Franco** con sus soldados y con toda la retaguardia que los respalda, defendemos

**La Religión y la Patria—contra—La Irreligión y la Antipatria**

LUCHAMOS

«Pro aris et facis», que quiere decir: «Por los altares y los hogares».

Así el HISPANISMO deberá ser todo lo contrario del MARXISMO. En vano se derramaría tanta sangre juvenil, si así no fuese. Nuestra guerra sería un contrasentido. Luchamos por DIOS y por la PATRIA. Por DIOS, primero; por la PATRIA, después.



Figure 24 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 9, page 11 (1939)

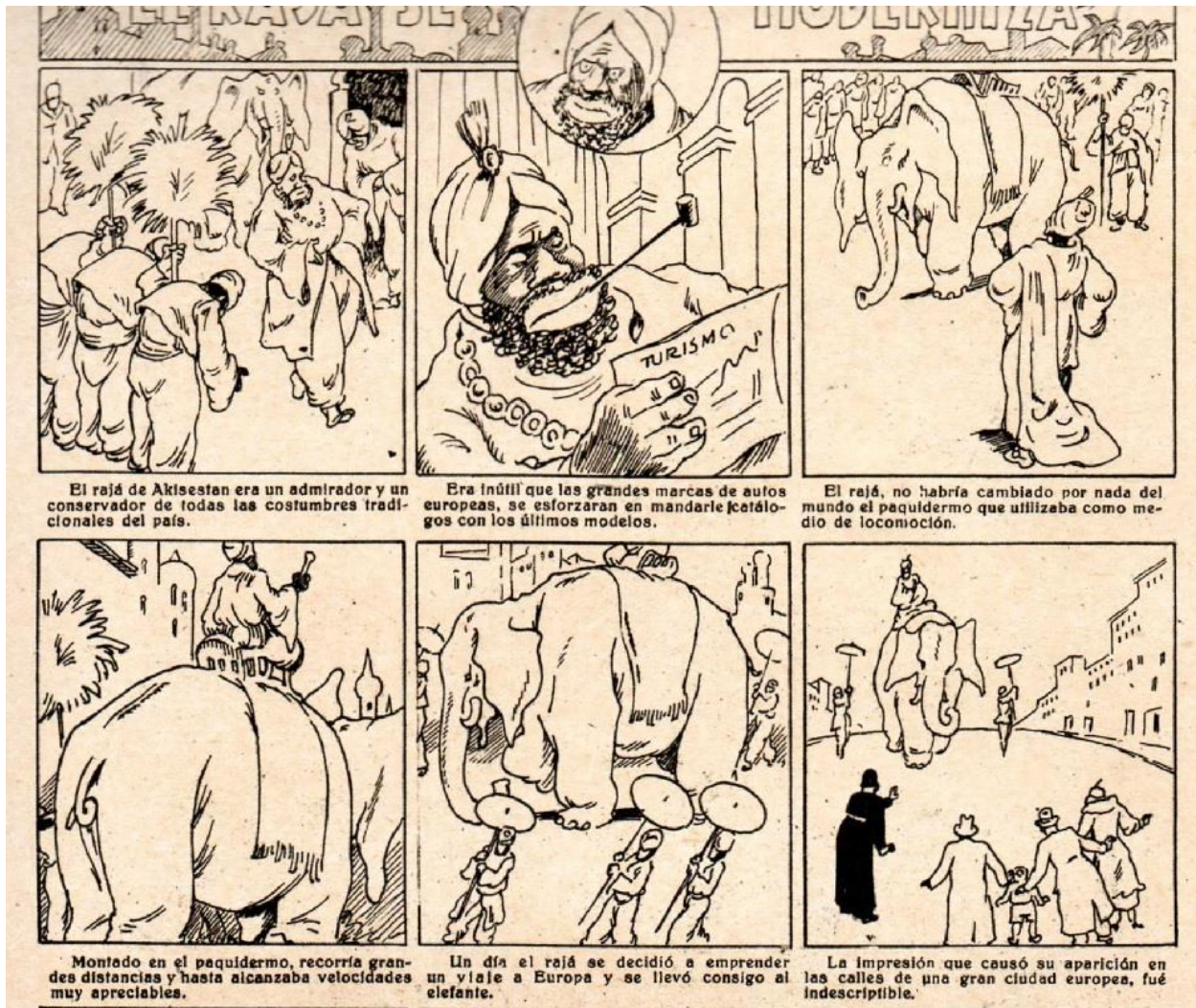


Figure 25 – Flechas y Pelayos no. 13, page 6 (1939)

# POPEYE EL MARINO



Figure 26 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 6, page 10 (1939)



Figure 27 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 6, page 10 (1939)

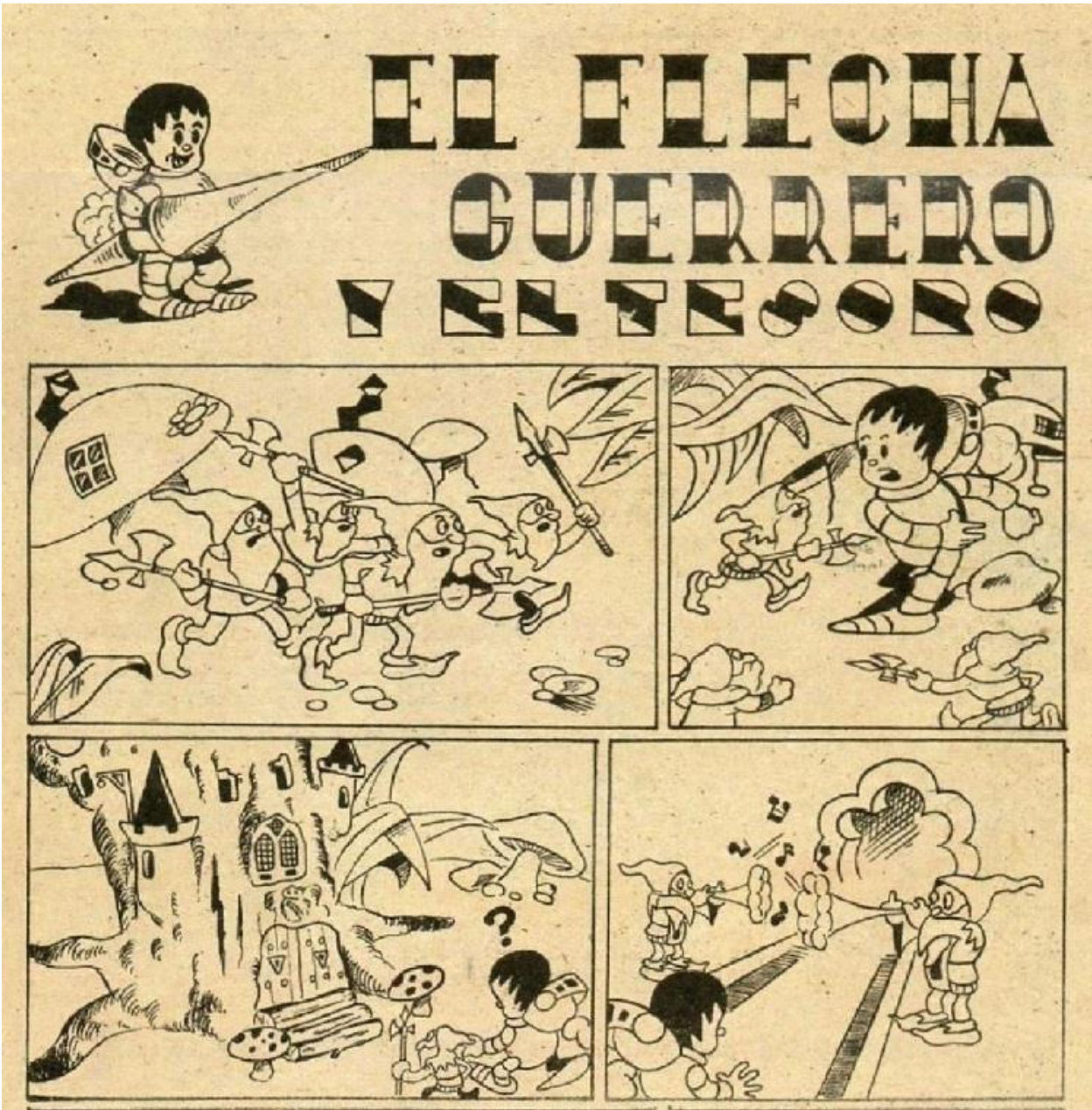


Figure 28 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 2, page 22 (1939)

# HISTORIA de GRAFICA ESPAÑA

**Introducción.**

*Lectores amables de la revista infantil: En esta página vais a encontrar la contestación clara, breve y ricamente ilustrada, para que os entre por los ojos, a esta serie de preguntas, que seguramente habrán surgido ya más de una vez en vuestras tiernas cabecitas: ¿Qué es mi Patria? ¿Qué ha hecho de grande en la historia del mundo? ¿Qué hombres famosos ha producido? ¿Cuáles son los pobladores que han venido a ella a través de los siglos? ¿Qué pueblos nos han dejado su sangre y por qué nos sentimos orgullosos de ser españoles? Poco a poco iréis viendo cómo España es, según decía uno de sus reyes, Alfonso el Sabio, la mejor de las tierras, la más rica, la más variada, la más amable, la más fértil y fecunda en mieses, en metales, en ganados, en bellezas físicas y en hombres famosos. Y después de conocerla, os sentiréis inclinados a admirarla y a amarla y a sacrificaros por ella y a trabajar para ser dignos de esta tierra privilegiada y de los héroes y sabios que la llenaron de gloria a través de los siglos.*



Figure 29 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 4, page 11 (1939)

## Uillancico

**M**orabuena vengáis al mundo  
Niño de perlas;  
que sin vuestra vista  
no hay hora buena.  
Niño de jazmines,  
rosas y azucenas,  
Niño de la niña,  
después de él, más bella,  
que tan buenos años,  
que tan buenas nuevas,  
que tan buenos días,  
ha dado a la tierra.  
Parabién merece,  
parabienes tenga,  
aunque tantos bienes  
como Dios posea;  
mientras os tardastes,  
dulce gloria nuestra.  
(Estábamos todos  
lentos de mil penas,  
más ya que vinistes  
ya la tierra alegre  
ver que su esperanza

cumplida en vos sea).  
Aves celestiales  
los aires alegran  
pacífica oliva  
vuelven las adelfas  
las montañas altas  
las nevadas sierras  
aguas en cristales,  
nieve en flores truecan.  
Los ecos del valle,  
"Cristo nace" suenan  
las fieras se amansan,  
los corderos juegan,  
bajan los pastores  
y serranas bellas  
y cantando a coros  
dicen a las selvas:  
Morabuena vengáis al mundo,  
Niño de perlas  
que sin vuestra vista  
no hay hora buena.

Lope de Vega



Figure 30 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 6, page 23 (1939)

## A JOSÉ ANTONIO

Ya la España se sumía  
en un oscuro y profundo abismo  
y los súbditos de Rusia  
la llevaban por pésimo camino.  
José Antonio comprendiendo  
que hacia Moscú nos llevaba  
el heliundo y fatal marxismo  
álzase sereno, siembra su doctrina  
que las almas buenas tienen recogida.  
Mas los malos hijos de nuestra Patria  
le cogen y lo apresan,  
en tanto que gran parte de Falange  
sube al cielo  
para en los luceros hacer guardia.  
Desansa en paz, camarada,  
que us huestes  
marchan con aire marcial  
y nuestro emblema será  
el yugo y las flechas rojas  
que tú implantaste, camarada,  
como emblema nacional.

*¡Gloria a José Antonio! ¡Viva Franco!  
¡Arriba España!*

**CELESTINO ZORITA**  
13 años.

**Santa Cruz del Valle Urbión (Burgos).**

## LOS FLECHAS

Ya no hay mozos en el pueblo,  
todos están en la guerra;  
todos luchan con valor  
al defender la bandera,  
nuestra bandera española,  
la bandera cuya enseña  
recorrió de triunfo en triunfo  
otros pueblos y otras tierras,  
en que a Dios se veneraba  
como Dios se mereciera;  
con amor, con fe y cariño,  
y se luchaba por ella  
hasta morir con honor  
a los pies de las trincheras.  
Bandera, bandera mía;  
bandera que al aire llevas  
los perfumes de los campos,  
los perfumes de las sierras,  
los perfumes de claveles,  
los perfumes de azucenas.  
Bendita, bandera mía,  
bendita, bendita seas.

**ADRIANO MAYORGA**  
13 años.

*Flecha de Miranda de Ebro.*



Figure 31 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 3, page 23 (1939)

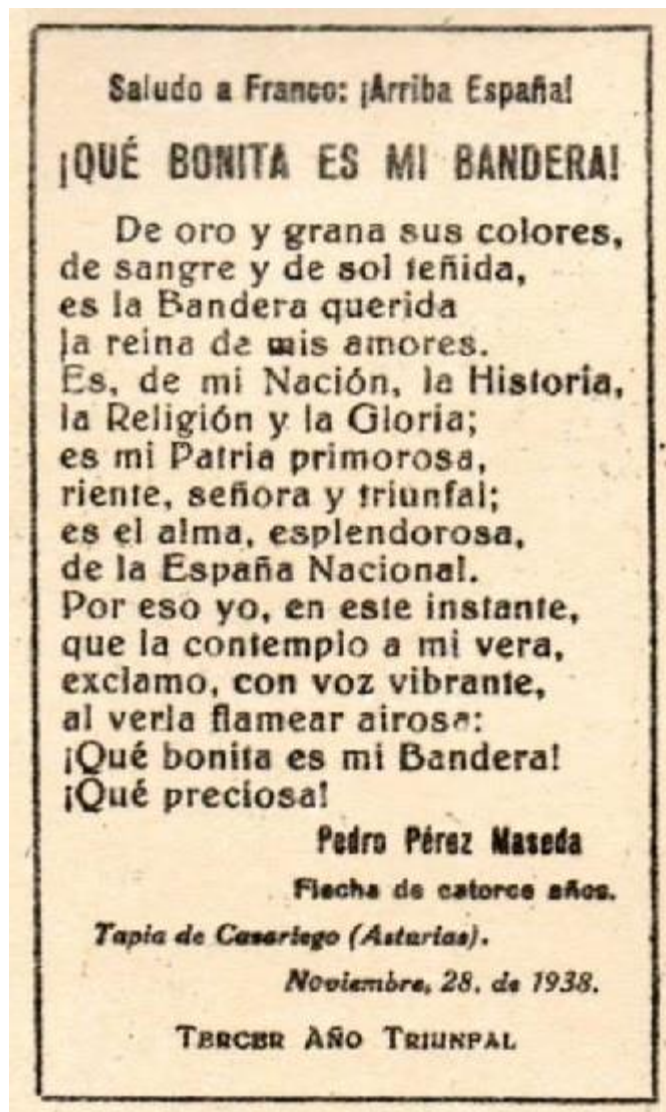


Figure 32 – *Flechas y Pelayos* no. 23, page 15 (1939)

## CUENTO

Erase una vez una madre enferma, que vivía en compañía de sus tres hijas. Un día viendo unas flores de un jarrón que estaban mustias, les dijo: «Hijas mías; me tenéis que traer otras flores, porque esas no tienen perfume y están mustias».

Sin pensarlo siquiera, salieron como un rayo a por las flores que les había encargado su querida madre. Fueron a un rosal, y allí entre las tres, y aun a costa de grandes pinchazos, cogieron unas flores muy hermosas y se las llevaron a su madre, y ésta al ver que tenía unas hijas tan obedientes y tan buenas, se curó de la enfermedad que padecía.

Os voy a decir lo que quiere decir este cuento. La madre enferma era España, que padecía la enfermedad del comunismo y del anarquismo; las hijas que fueron a buscar las flores hermosas, son los-buenos españoles, los que iniciaron el Glorioso Movimiento; y las flores que trajeron las hijas, las flores de la victoria y de la gloria, que han traído los gloriosos soldados al volver las Banderas Victoriosas.

¡Arriba España!

PASCUAL NARVION.

*Villarroya de la Sierra.*

Figure 33 – Cover of *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 1 (1943)

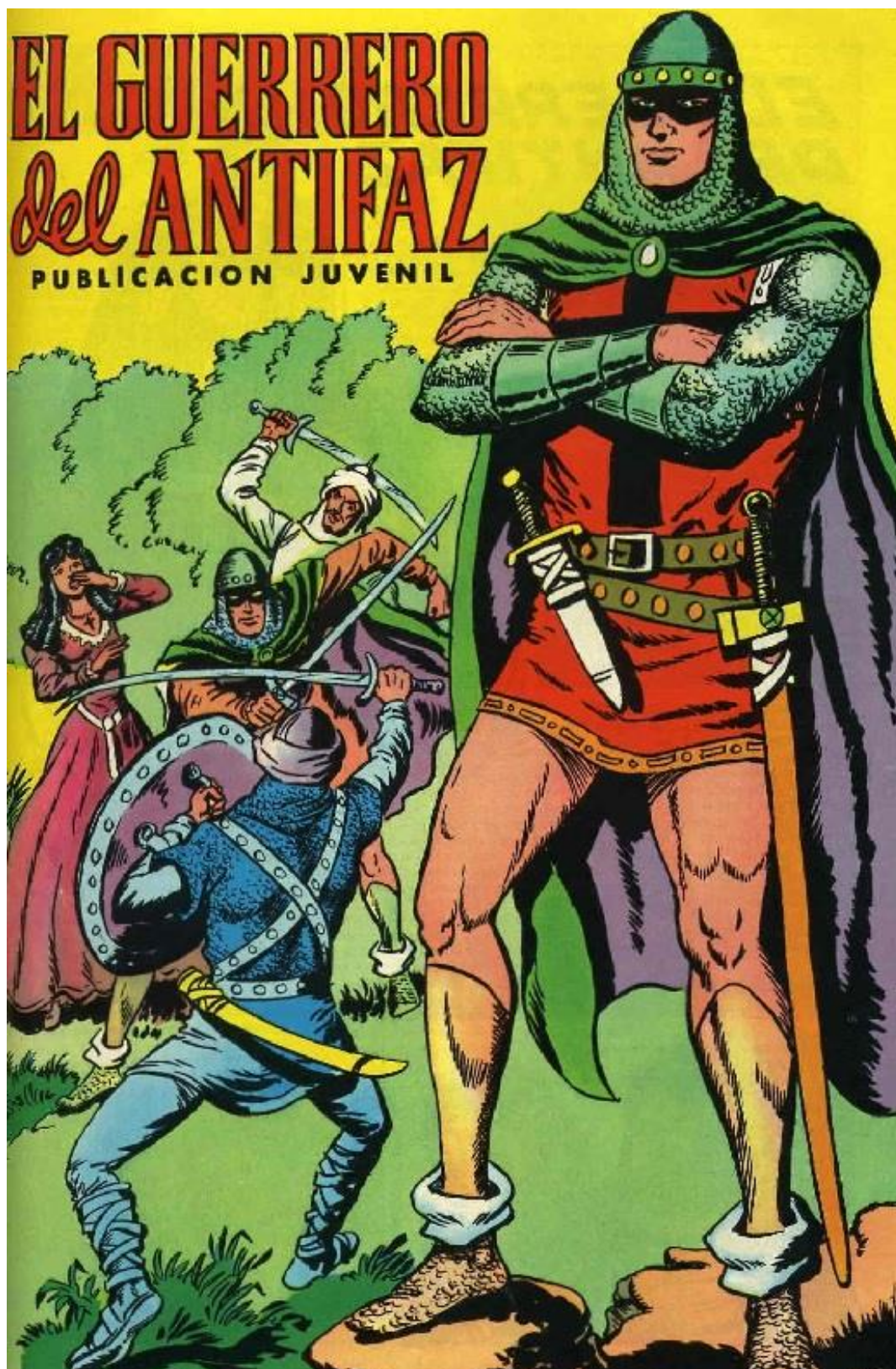


Figure 34 – *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 1, page 5 (1943)



Figure 35 – *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 1, page 7 (1943)



Figure 36 – *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 1, page 4 (1943)



Figure 37 – *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 1, page 16 (1943)



Figure 38 – *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 2, page 2 (1943)



Figure 39 – Cover of *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 370 (1954)





Figure 40 – Cover of *El Guerrero del Antifaz* no. 498 (1958)



Figure 41 – Cover of *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* no. 49 (1943)



Figure 42 – Cover of *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* no. 80 (1946)



Figure 43 – Cover of *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* no. 85 (1946)



Figure 44 – Cover of *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* no. 128 (1948)



Figure 45 – Cover of *Roberto Alcázar y Pedrín* no. 265 (1953)

