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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

**Food Politics in Postwar Spain: Eating and Everyday Life During the Early
Franco Dictatorship, 1939-1952**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Suzanne Dunai

Committee in charge:

Professor Pamela Radcliff, Chair
Professor Thomas Gallant
Professor Rebecca Ingram
Professor Martha Lampland
Professor Dana Murillo
Professor Patrick Patterson

2019

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University of California San Diego

2019

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to all of the Spanish grandmothers who made my research possible by writing, collecting, and preserving their recipes.

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Dunai, Suzanne. “Cooking for The Sección Femenina and the Politics of Food and Women during the Franco Years.” Master Thesis, University of New Mexico, 2012.

Abstract of the Dissertation

Food Politics in Postwar Spain: Eating and Everyday Life During the Early Franco Dictatorship, 1939-1952

by

Suzanne Dunai

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California San Diego, 2019

Professor Pamela Radcliff, Chair

This dissertation analyzes the social consequences of food policies adopted in Spain during the early Franco dictatorship (1939-1952). This period was marked by urban food shortages and political terror inflicted by an authoritarian dictatorship against the resistant urban population on Madrid and Barcelona. Many scholars assert that Spaniards became apolitical and sought survival rather than political engagement with the violent and authoritarian regime. Another common assessment of the early Franco regime was that all aspects of life became political, as the Francoist state sought to intervene to recreate a new Spanish society. These two threads seem paradoxical that urban life can become politicized at the same time that Spaniards retreated from politics. To understand the relationship between these two lines of research, this

dissertation examines state regulation of the urban food supply and how Spaniards engaged with the politics of the regime by buying and eating food. I selected one of the most marginalized groups of Spanish society during the dictatorship—Spanish housewives—to show that far from retreating into the home or resigning themselves to the repression and coercion of the dictatorship, Spaniards sought new strategies of political engagement with the regime, even when traditional rights and oftentimes human rights had been stripped away. Shopping, cooking, and eating provided housewives an avenue to resist, acquiesce, or ignore the food policies of the dictatorship. Through food habits practiced in everyday life, I demonstrate that women challenged the regime via its food policies, elucidating a previously overlooked form of civic engagement and political activism during the hunger years.

Introduction

During the Spanish Civil War and the early years of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco Bahamonde, food was in scarce supply, and many Spaniards went hungry. Thousands suffered from hunger and malnutrition, especially in cities such as Madrid and Barcelona. Yet, despite the chronic food shortages, food discourse filled the urban spaces. Medical discourse examined it, media outlets reported it, cookbooks described it, and Spaniards consumed it. This dissertation investigates food policy, food consumption, and hunger in the Spanish cities of Madrid and Barcelona. It analyzes how the politics and culture of food shaped Spanish diet and society during a time of political, economic, and social upheaval known as the “hunger years”.

Understanding the history of food during the early dictatorship, which I define as 1939 until 1952 to correspond to the years of rationing of consumer goods, will help to elucidate the reconstruction of Spain’s urban society after the civil war. From a top-down perspective, it shows how the Franco regime used food to try to control Spain’s resources and dictate the experiences of urban life. From a bottom-up perspective, it shows how ordinary Spaniards living in cities adapted to the consequences of war and dictatorship through their food choices. My dissertation will ask the following thematic questions: how did Spaniards negotiate the repressive politics of the dictatorship and its regulation of food through their everyday practices and eating habits? And, how did food culture fit into the larger culture of repression during the dictatorship?

How Spaniards interacted with food—either through discourse, policy, popular culture or the eating of a meal—provides a unique window into how individuals and communities react to larger governing bodies and cultural institutions. In the case of Spaniards living under the Franco dictatorship, my analysis of food policy and public response begins with the food policies of the regime and its affiliated institutions that formed the Nationalist side during the civil war. This

perspective provides a “top-down” view of the politics of food and how governing bodies imposed restrictive and coercive food practices on the Spanish population. Franco and his regime proposed totalitarian aims to control Spain and its resources. Food was particularly important during the dictatorship because food as a commodity was so scarce. Chronic famines during the 1940s and constant consumer-good shortages to the city made food in short supply, and many Spaniards felt the pangs of hunger. The Francoist state, through food policy, had the ability to control who received food and who suffered from hunger. But my investigative approach is also “bottom up” in that it examines how Spaniards responded to food policies and food cultures imposed on urban society, and how different demographics of people—housewives, workers, professional cooks, food critics, and restaurateurs—reacted differently to direct and indirect food policies of the state. Thus, the performance of eating and not eating, and the discourse surrounding the production, distribution, and consumption of certain foods, reinforced or contested the ideological or political boundaries of the repressive dictatorship.

During the dictatorship, politics were practiced in Spanish cities on daily basis. The extreme intervention of the Franco regime into all aspects of private life, including food consumption, made the act of living, and in this case eating, political by nature. Where Spaniards chose to eat, when they ate, and how much they ate were all moderated, regulated, and surveilled by the Francoist regime. Previous work by historian Antonio Cazorla Sánchez claims that Spaniards retreated from politics as a response to Franco’s consolidation of power at the end of the bloody civil war. He writes, “their [Spaniard’s] rejection of politics was caused by a desire to avoid any more suffering. They adopted new anti-political values, like forgetting...”¹ While many Spaniards resisted or failed to conform to the values of the newly-formed Francoist state, I

¹ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco’s Spain, 1939-1975* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 35.

argue that Spaniards engaged the politics of the state in a new way—through “food politics”. Cazorla Sanchez’s claim takes a narrow interpretation of the term “politics” and suggests that political power only travels in one direction: from the state to citizen. For this dissertation, I utilize a broader conception of politics to assess new forms of political responses by urban Spaniards and their engagement with the Franco regime. How the state generated and enforced food policies, as well as how citizens reacted to the new food regulations, can be assessed as a form of political engagement between Spaniards and the Franco regime, revealing a new relationship between state and citizen.

This expanded definition of politics to incorporate food politics is explained by historian Belinda Davis and her work on Germany after World War I. As she surmised, ordinary citizens engaged with the politics of the state when they queued for food, and consumers were able to place demands on the state when food provisioning did not meet their expectations.² Since the German government regulated food, how the housewives of Berlin bought and consumed food was a form of political engagement with the state. This expanded view of politics, one that positions food as a consumable and women as consumers as central to politics, is an evolution from gender politics developed by feminist theorist Joan Wallach Scott. Scott claimed that political sources could be read “against the grain” to discover how political power was enacted onto otherwise marginalized historical actors, and how marginalized demographics exercised agency towards the political power imposed on them.³ I analyze food politics as the policies enacted by the Francoist state and the urban responses, especially by urban housewives, to these policies. Since the Franco regime intervened to dictate policies on how Spanish women shopped

² Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 3, 5.

³ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

for food, where they bought ingredients, how they cooked a meal, and when they ate with their families, the daily choices that Spanish women made presented forms of political engagement with the Francoist state, at times affirming and conforming to the politics of the regime, and at other times ignoring or resisting the imposition of Francoist politics on their daily lives.

Food history falls within the larger umbrella of the history of everyday life that has been gaining traction within academia since the 1980s. The study of everyday life provides a reassessment of major historical events and can explain how cultural shifts occurred within a given society. The origins of the study of everyday life began with the development of social history by scholars such as E.P. Thompson in the 1960s and then evolved to incorporate theoretical trends in cultural anthropology pioneered by Clifford Geertz.⁴ The field of everyday life fully took shape as its own field in the work of German historians in the 1970s who sought an *alltagsgeschichte* approach, or a new, “complete” social history that included the history of normalcy.⁵ These scholars wanted a history that could synthesize everything: macro and micro levels of analysis, political and cultural phenomena, social and literary sources, and individuals within larger social contexts. It is by nature an amalgamation of all history, but the focus is on the ordinary, normal, and constant within a particular society. Part of what made this approach “new” was the incorporation of methodological advances made in women’s history and the use of gender as a category of discursive analysis. From the history of everyday life, food history developed as a subfield study that aims to bridge commodity history and social history, the history of people and things.

⁴ Peter N. Stearns, ed., *A Day in the Life: Studying Daily Life through History* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

The history of everyday life is particularly useful for understanding social life under dictatorships. Traditional narratives of authoritarian regimes focus on the institutionalized repression imposed by the state or chronicle the victimization of the population at the hand of state politics. But how did citizens cope, survive, thrive, or resist under such conditions, and how was normalcy redefined in periods of war and dictatorship? Historian Detlev Peukert explores the idea of everyday life in Nazi Germany in order to extract the banality of everyday life from the margins of history. His study suggests how Nazi racism and terror was sustained and partly endorsed by the population, elucidates actual places and actions of resistance at different levels of power, identifies how the Fuhrer's success depended on the stability of everyday life, and explains why there was criticism but not outright revolt to the regime's policies, all to understand the mentalities and experiences of a generation of Germans.⁶ Similarly, Victoria De Grazia's work *How Fascism Ruled Women* brought a reassessment of women, traditionally considered not political agents, from the category of victim to that of historical subject during the dictatorship of Benito Mussolini in Italy.⁷ Her approach correlates women's experiences to the sexual politics of Mussolini's regime, creating a means by which to understand the impact of policy on society (both public and private sphere), and the social responses to ideologically-driven policy.

The perspective gained from the history of everyday life helps to problematize further the traditional political narrative of Spain's post-civil war period, which claims that the state firmly controlled and terrorized Spanish urban society. Propaganda from the regime reinforces the theory that Franco maintained complete (totalitarian) control over the lives and actions of Spaniards and used food as a mechanism of coercion to impose the regime's ideal for Spanish society. However, new historical investigations into local politics and everyday life are exposing

⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁷ Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1992.

two weak points that can be overlooked in traditional political or social histories. First, the history of everyday life during the Franco dictatorship illustrates the limitations of the Spanish state, elucidating the failures of the Franco regime to consolidate power or implement a totalitarian culture. Rather than accepting state policy as a political reality, the history of everyday life identifies critical points where state politics fail to take root within society. Second, the history of daily life pinpoints new forms of complacency or consent to the politics of the regime within Spanish society, expanding supporters from just the perpetrators to “ordinary” Spaniards as well. With the politicization of aspects of daily life, Spaniards at times found themselves conforming or resisting state policies despite their political leanings. In both cases, rather than portraying the Spanish population as either victims or perpetrators, an investigation of daily life reveals more subtle points of conformity and non-conformity between the state and society.

Oscar Rodríguez Barreira’s edited volume, *El Franquismo desde los márgenes*, provides ample evidence for the uneven implementation of Francoist power onto Spanish society, revealing the limitations of the Franco regime in its ambition to consolidate power over *all* parts of Spanish society. The authors in the collection expand the traditional definition of political behavior to include marginalized historical subjects such as children or working-class women and they identify new forms of political resistance among these actors.⁸ The contributors analyze the irregular exercise of power onto different demographics, noting that the violence of the perpetrators flowed through social networks and adapted to different individuals.⁹ Thus, there was no uniform experience of the culture of repression enacted by the violence of the Spanish

⁸ Oscar Rodríguez Barreira, “Vivir y narrar el Franquismo desde los márgenes” in *El Franquismo desde los márgenes: Campesinos, mujeres, deatores, menores...* edited by Oscar Rodríguez Barreira (Lleida: Editorial Universidad de Almería, 2013), 12-13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

Civil War or the Franco dictatorship. Instead, Spaniards felt the state differently according to their age, occupation, gender, and political affiliations. Likewise, Antonio Cazorla Sanchez typifies the “ordinary” Spaniard of the Franco dictatorship as being hungry, poor, inadequately educated, and hardworking.¹⁰ As he assesses it, “ordinary people do not only make history, they also see it differently from those in power at the time and from those who have the advantage of judging events after they have passed.”¹¹

Food was particularly important—and politicized—during the early Franco dictatorship due to the policy-driven famine and ideological food shortages inflicted on Spanish cities.¹²

Current scholarship on food culture during the hunger years takes two approaches: the study of food culture and the study of hunger culture. Scholars who have studied the social phenomenon of hunger during the dictatorship tend to approach their historical subjects from the perspective of health. Maria Isabel del Cura, Rafael Huertas, and Josep L. Barona have analyzed the development of medical research to understand the physical effects of Franco’s food policies on the Spanish body.¹³ The meager material conditions that many Spaniards suffered during the early dictatorship took a physical toll on Spaniards, leading to larger social impacts such as the political apathy of survival economics. Although these historians confine their studies to the realm of medicine, they integrate medical discourse with quantitative data on the populations to reveal the relationship between social conditions and scientific reporting.

Cultural Studies has made great strides in the study of food culture of the hunger years as well, focusing on the culture of austerity and shortage that emerged as a result of the Franco

¹⁰ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 15-16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 12.

¹³ María Isabel del Cura and Rafael Huertas, *Alimentación y enfermedad en tiempo de hambre: España, 1937-1947* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, 2007).; Josep Lluís Barona, *La Medicalización del hambre. Economía Política de la alimentación en Europa, 1918-1960* (Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2014).

regime's food policies. Maria Paz Moreno's recent survey of Madrid's gastronomy incorporates references to the famine throughout her book, which analyzes cooking literature and eating out culture. The recent dissertation by Matthew Wild at the University of Kentucky argues that aspects of Spanish politics are reflected within the cooking literature of the time.¹⁴ A forthcoming monograph by Lara Anderson expands this argument further by delving into the correlation between food policies and food literature of the time.¹⁵ Both lines of investigation—one that focuses on the absence of physical food and malnourishment and the other on literary and cultural deprivation of the time—address the impact of the politics of the regime on Spanish society in the hunger years. My dissertation aims to unite both physical and discursive forms of food and its absence to better understand the politics of the Franco dictatorship and its social consequences.

The History of Spain's Hunger Years

The repressive regime led by self-proclaimed *Caudillo* Francisco Franco began after one of the most destructive and devastating wars in Spanish history. The politics that fueled the war mobilized huge sections of the population, often tearing apart social ties due to political affiliation.¹⁶ Most Spaniards did not volunteer to fight in the war, but were conscripted into the

¹⁴ Matthew J. Wild, "Eating Spain: National Cuisine Since 1900" (dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2015), https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1031&context=hispanic_etds.

¹⁵ Lara Anderson, *Food and Francoism: Food Discourse, Control & Resistance in Franco Spain (1939-1959)* (Austin: University of Texas Press, forthcoming).

¹⁶ Roberto Villa García, "The Limits of Democratization: Elections and Political Culture" in *The Spanish Second Republic Revisited: From Democratic Hopes to Civil War (1931-1936)*, eds. Manuel Álvarez Tardío and Fernando del Rey Reguillo, (Sussex Academic Press, 2012).

army based on their geographic location and access to the local parish's baptismal records.¹⁷ Some women served an auxiliary role to the war effort or worked as spies.¹⁸ Some women entered the workforce to compensate for the shortage of male labor, and many were forced to adopt strategies of survival in the wartime economy.¹⁹ Religious men and women were not immune to the violence, as some of the actions against the clergy were the most heinous in Spanish history.²⁰ Thousands of Spanish soldiers and civilians died or suffered from injury and disease from the street fighting that brought the war home for many Spaniards. New technologies that optimized destruction were used on Spanish streets and factories, damaging cities like Guernica, Madrid, and Barcelona to a shell of their former capacity.

In many ways, the end of the Spanish Civil War was a “year zero”²¹ for the country and it would take over a generation to rebuild to pre-war economic vitality.²² In terms of workers, many were imprisoned or executed in the immediate aftermath of the war due to their affiliations with unions or political parties. Likewise, the regime greatly restricted women's opportunities for jobs outside the home, further hindering economic growth or postwar reconstruction. Birth rates plummeted, many women did not have men to marry, and many young couples chose to delay family-formation until they achieved greater economic security.²³ From this social, political, and

¹⁷ James Matthews, *Reluctant Warriors: Republican Popular Army and Nationalist Army Conscripts in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 40.

¹⁸ Mary Nash, “Women in War: Milicianas and armed combat in revolutionary Spain, 1936-1939,” *The International History Review* 15, 2 (May 1993): 269-282.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 269-282.

²⁰ Mary Vincent, “‘The keys of the Kingdom’: religious violence in the Spanish Civil War, July–August 1936” in *The Splintering of Modern Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, eds. Chris Ealham and Michael Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 69.

²¹ In governmental records and correspondences during the early dictatorship, the Franco regime adopted a calendar that glorified the initial coup d'état that launched the Civil War. July 18, 1936 as the beginning of the triumphal or victorious period for the Nationalists. While Franco intended for this calendar system to reiterate the achievements of victory by the Nationalists, it tellingly places the Civil War at an absolute place temporally of zero.

²² Carlos Barciela López, *La España de Franco (1939-1975) Economía* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001), 11.

²³ David S. Rehr, “‘Perfiles demográficos de España, 1940-1960’” in *Autarquía y Mercado negro: el fracaso económico del primer franquismo, 1939-1959* edited by Carlos Barciela López (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 3.

economic upheaval, Franco consolidated power into an authoritarian dictatorship with the help of the Catholic Church, the *Movimiento de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensivas Nacional-Sindicalista* party (FET-JONS),²⁴ the army, and wealthy elite. The binding point of all of these entities was a conservative ideology, known as National Catholicism. This ideology shaped politics, the economy, and society during the dictatorship, forming its own cultural landscape. And from Francoism, the postwar foodscape emerged as one of scarcity and hunger.

Ultimately, thousands of Spaniards suffered from malnutrition and hunger-related diseases as a direct consequence of the food policies of the regime.²⁵ The Spanish food crisis was directly caused by the actions of the state in four ways. First, the Franco regime implemented a rationing system which was only available through local political authorities. Spaniards had to go to their municipal leaders to receive ration cards, and sometimes local leaders exploited their authority over the urban population by distributing foods based on favoritism or grudges.²⁶ Second, the reduced price that was set for rationed goods such as flour and oil diminished farmers' incentive to sell or produce the goods, leading to an agricultural shortage of foods for the official market.²⁷ Farmers instead elected to grow products that would sell for a higher price,

²⁴ During the Spanish Civil War, the Nationalist side was comprised of several conservative political groups. In an effort to consolidate political activism and leadership, Francisco Franco issued Decree 255 on April 20, 1937, proclaiming a merger of conservative political efforts into the FET y de las JONS and dissolving all other political organizations. For this dissertation, I refer to the political party led by Franco as FET-JONS. However, members within the organization still self-identified according to their original groups, so I have maintained the term Falange when referring to individual members in an effort to stay true to the language of the sources. For more information on the FET-JONS and the dynamics of the political merger and organization of the party in the Spanish Civil War and the early Franco dictatorship, see: Sheelagh M. Ellwood, *Spanish Fascism in the Franco Era: Falange Española de las Jons, 1936-1976* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1987), 42-44, 57-58.

²⁵ María Isabel del Cura y Rafael Huertas, *Alimentación y enfermedad en tiempos de hambre. España 1937-1947* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007), 73.

²⁶ Encarnación Barranquero Teixeira and Lucía Prieto Borrego, *Así Sobrevivimos al Hambre: Estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la postguerra española* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones Centro de la Diputación de Málaga, 2003), 65-66.

²⁷ Barciela López, *La España de Franco*, 27.

and they would sometimes hoard harvests to sell on the unofficial but lucrative black market instead of the state-controlled market. Third, the food shortages were exacerbated by war compensation in the form of raw materials and food sent to Italy and Germany that Franco diligently paid to Hitler and Mussolini throughout World War II.²⁸ Fourth and perhaps most significantly, Franco implemented an economic system of Autarky, or “self-sufficiency”, in order to purge Spain of international influence and trade. Economist Carlos Barciela elaborates on the bleak economic reality of life under the policy of Autarky, and argues that early Francoist economic policy was actually more detrimental to Spain than the economic conditions during the civil war.²⁹ If Spain lacked the ability to produce a food product, Spaniards were expected to sacrifice with hunger for the *patria*. Direct intervention by the Franco regime was largely constrictive about what Spaniards could not eat, leading to a constant hunger for most of the population.

Regulation and restriction were not the only governmental controls placed on food that were part of the larger Francoist initiative. Food acquisition was made even more difficult due to the rigid class and patriarchal system that exploited the poor, working classes, and women in favor of the economic elite. The frequent food shortages augmented ration lines and required that Spanish women stand in line for hours to secure consumer goods for their families, making women choose between wage-labor and food.³⁰ The early rationing system depended on the national availability of commodities rather than on nutritional need, which created a discrepancy between the ideology and the reality of the Francoist agenda. Overall, Spaniards suffered not

²⁸ Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression 1936-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 137.

²⁹ Barciela López, *La España de Franco (1939-1975)*; Carlos Barciela López, *Autarquía y Mercado negro: el fracaso económico del primer franquismo, 1939-1959* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003).

³⁰ “Sin cartilla ni ‘estraperlo,’” *Y: revista para la mujer*, August 1942, 30.

only from discrimination written into repressive policies, but also from the shortages, price inflations, and hunger that came with them.

Along with controlling access to food, the regime also intervened into the discourse of food, prescribing proper nutrition for Spanish citizens and redirecting postwar reconstruction towards the ideological ambitions of the regime's vision for a new Spanish state, or *Nuevo Estado* (New State). Conservative institutions such as the Catholic Church, FET-JONS, and the Women's Section of the FET-JONS launched a variety of health campaigns in an effort to regenerate the Spanish national body through the individual body. Some clergy were concerned with the amount of bloodshed of the civil war and recommended that those who had blood on their hands repent with a diet of vegetarianism to cleanse their souls.³¹ One such author, Dr. Joaquín García Roca, equated a healthy diet to moral living, and suggested that a poor diet could bring the wrath of diseases and war.³² The Falangists worried about the physical health of Spaniards, so they wanted to institute better nutrition across Spain, according to the research of the time.³³ Within the Francoist state, discrepancies arose on what should be the proper Spanish diet and who should eat it.

Where food policy and food discourse intersected was in the recipes and cookbooks that Spanish housewives consulted to provide daily meals for their families. The state intervened in both food discourse, offering recipes and cooking techniques for Spanish women, and in the physical provisioning of food, shaping how women were able to buy foods for their families at their local markets. The Women's Section was founded as a branch of the FET-JONS to train women in their natural duties as a domestic wife and mother, in contrast to the liberties

³¹ Joaquín García Lorca, *La Alimentación Natural del Hombre*, (Barcelona: Editorial Sanatorium, 1949), 20-21

³² *Ibid.*, 43.

³³ Francisco Grande Covian, *La Ciencia de la Alimentación*, (Madrid: Pegaso, 1947).

celebrated by women during the Second Republic, which had confused women on how to be a good Catholic woman.³⁴ The Women's Section implemented education programs throughout Spain that included cooking classes as part of a mandatory program called Social Service (*Servicio Social*), which was required for single women to obtain a driver's license, passport, or work permit.³⁵ A subsidiary goal of these initiatives was to improve Spanish womanhood to reflect the FET-JONS's mission for the regeneration of Spanish society. The Women's Section launched a pro-natalist campaign that reformed baby feeding, and applied nutritional science to school lunches. Publications associated with these groups advocated that the readers follow the prescribed characteristics of the new Spaniard within the new Spanish society. While literature of the regime had a limited audience—very few Spaniards had disposable income to buy books and magazines, and very few were literate—the regime's discourse on food helps to explain its food policies which, along with the ideology, can better explain the motivation that ultimately created famine and food crisis conditions across Spain.

Historians of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship assert that the end of the war divided Spain into “victors” and “losers.” The “winners” of the war—General Francisco Franco and the affiliated institutions—attempted to exploit the Spanish workers, or the “losers” in the Spanish Civil War. Power became reinforced by food—some Spaniards had access to food and power within the restructuring of Spanish government and society, while others simply did not. Antonio Cazorla Sanchez and Michael Richards assert that Franco used food as a weapon to further punish the losers in the Spanish Civil War. Cazorla Sanchez remarks that the institutionalization of Francoist food policy was not a deliberate attempt to kill the undesirable portion of the population, but that the results created a famine at a comparable moral level to

³⁴ Sección Femenina: Prensa y Propaganda, *La mujer en el Movimiento Nacional*, 10.

³⁵ Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 17.

Nazi Germany's crimes.³⁶ Michael Richards refers to the unequal food distribution in Spain during the years of hunger as a form of cannibalism, where half the population ate the other half.³⁷ And the need for survival pushed many Spaniards into political apathy, as strategies for food acquisition and family ties became most important in Spaniards' everyday lives. Historian Michael Seidman claims that the war produced more opportunists than ideologically-driven fighters, and the historical tendency for Spaniards to place individual or family survival above that of collective groups—unions, parties, and communities—perpetuated the political apathy of the postwar era.³⁸

Spanish life in politically-apatetic “survival mode” was necessitated by the extreme level of government intervention into the lives of Spaniards. It was not only the aim of the regime to regenerate the Spanish government, but also Spanish society and the Spanish individual. Richards argues that Franco was able to implement a totalitarian political system that had complete control over Spanish life, including aspects of private life such as food preparation and consumption.³⁹ He asserts that the political culture of Francoism affected all aspects of Spanish life, including language, work, religion, and consumer culture.

In practice, however, the Franco regime was far from establishing and executing hegemonic culture in Spain's cities of Madrid and Barcelona. Applied to the theory of everyday life of women during the Franco dictatorship, we can see that there were various ruptures in the communication of culture from the power source of the entities collaborating with the regime to Spanish society. This in turn created avenues of non-conformity and re-interpretation of the message of the state by ordinary Spanish women and by their families. Thus, despite the level of

³⁶ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 60.

³⁷ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 144.

³⁸ Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos*, 7.

³⁹ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 127.

state intervention into private life and the home, the discord of this intervention spread over several mouthpieces of cultural dissemination, which created many opportunities for Spaniards to respond to the culture of Francoism either in part or in whole with expressions of accord, non-conformity, autonomy, or resistance.

The Importance of Urban: Food Crises in Madrid and Barcelona

The decision to analyze Francoist society in two Spanish cities—Madrid and Barcelona—is based on a number of factors. First, both cities fought the advances of Franco's army during the civil war and remained loyal to the Republic until 1939. At the same time, Madrid and Barcelona had very different food situations coming out of the war: Madrid was under siege and evacuated by those who could flee, while Barcelona was well-connected to supply lines, but received a multitude of refugees from across Spain. During the dictatorship, Madrid was considered the center of political power for the regime, and the dictatorship was structured for a strong centralized government. In contrast, Barcelona was known for its culinary tradition and gastronomic literature, and many of the authors and chefs addressed in this dissertation wrote and cooked in Barcelona. While most of Spain's food policy came from Madrid, most of its cooking publications came from Barcelona in the 1940s. The value in analyzing the food situation and food discourse in both cities is not only because of their contrasting food landscapes in post-civil war years, but because each city had valuable food discourse that radiated to the rest of the Spain.

Both cities suffered devastation of the farm to market foodways that provisioned the city during the war, creating major logistical challenges for the provisioning of food in the postwar.

As available food dwindled in supply, civilian apathy increased with hunger, and many Spaniards adapted extreme survival strategies. Removed from food production, urban Spaniards faced new challenges in acquiring food, but also had unique resources within the cities to voice their discontent with food policies, providing a new understanding of urban life during the Franco dictatorship. As Atkins and Oddy surmise, when European cities grew in the early twentieth century, urban food provisioning required the intervention of the state, municipalities, and urban dwellers themselves.⁴⁰ When food failed to reach the city in adequate quantities and in a timely manner, the city suffered a food crisis, which ranged from long queues at stores to starvation. Food distribution within a city is complex and reflects an urban hierarchy that is the result of agricultural production, regulation, and consumerism. In this case, Madrid and Barcelona both suffered food crises in the 1940s, but the nature and effects of the food crises were realized in different ways. By studying both urban cases, this dissertation arrives closer to untangling how food was provisioned to urban Spaniards during the early Franco dictatorship.

My research analyzes to what extent these urban populations continued to resist or reject the Francoist political, economic, and social apparatuses of repression, and how their struggle against conformity made them predisposed to repression and state intervention during the early Franco regime. Furthermore, by selecting cities from both the Castilian heartland and the peripheral and traditionally autonomist Catalonia, I intend to accommodate for regional deviation in culture and food politics. Madrid is an interesting case because it was the center of political power for the Franco regime and Castilianization, but my research demonstrates the arms of state intervention did not reach very far, even in the capital city. The Franco regime attempted to regulate bars, cafés, markets, and taverns of the city, but the regime's intervention fell well short

⁴⁰ Peter J. Atkins, Peter Lummel, and Derek J. Oddy, *Food and the City in Europe since 1800* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

of totalitarianism. Barcelona is another important city for my analysis because it has often led Spain's culinary history, going back to the first cookbook published on the Iberian Peninsula in 1520.⁴¹ Even during the years of hunger, Barcelona was a cookery book-publishing powerhouse, and also has a rich tradition of leftist and nationalist resistance to policies from conservative Madrid.

The choice to use the city as my frame of research is partially informed by Viloetta Hionidou's book, *Famine and Death in Occupied Greece, 1941-1944*, which provides a useful framework for exploring the effects of food policy on urban populations. Her investigation focuses on the populations of Syros, Mykonos, and Hios in a comparative manner that provides a solid example of how to assess national trends and local idiosyncrasies in understanding food politics. The book also provides a theoretical basis for understanding the paradox of the black market and the deployment of national policy at the local level. Peter Schollier's research on food fraud in Brussels has also served as a comparative model for understanding the role of food adulteration, food regulation for the purposes of public health, and public opinion.⁴² Both books help to make sense of how the national-level power structures operate at the local level, and how daily food practices were interpreted and executed by multiple levels of state authorities.

Currently, ample scholarship exists on the impact of the Franco dictatorship on local food politics in some Spanish cities, demonstrating that there was not a uniform national story of dictatorship and repression. Local histories conducted in Málaga, Vigo, Granada and Cádiz have found that the availability of certain goods largely depended on regional agricultural production

⁴¹ F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Greenwood Press, 2010), xv.

⁴² Peter Scholliers, "Food Fraud and the Big City: Brussels' Responses to Food Anxieties in the Nineteenth Century" in *Food and the City in Europe since 1800* edited by Peter J. Atkins, Peter Lummel, and Derek J. Oddy, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 77.

due to inefficiencies and corruption within the rationing system at the local levels.⁴³ Antonio Giráldez Lomba, Encarnación Barranquero Texeira, and Lucia Prieto Borrego combine government documents and oral histories to examine the nature of the relationship between the state and the citizenry using Vigo and Málaga as respective case studies.⁴⁴ Both conclude that the Francoist state failed to adequately provision its citizenry and haphazardly implemented a rationing system. Despite these failures, ordinary Spaniards had to live and cope with the food crises in their cities, and the authors highlight several survival strategies through their oral interviews. Gloria Román Ruíz and Beatriz Pérez González approach the relationship of the state to the citizenry through an investigation of the black market in Granada and Cádiz respectively.⁴⁵ They take the growth and success of the black market in the city to reveal forms of popular resistance to the state system of rationing and engineered famine. This phenomenon suggests that it was local rather than national level food politics that shaped how ordinary Spaniards experienced the years of hunger. The study also stresses the importance of regionalism for understanding Spain's social history. Even at a time of regional repression with the consolidation of power under Franco, the people of the provinces had a diversity of experiences in the years of hunger. A closer investigation at the local level is needed in order to truly understand food politics of Spain's hunger years.

The foodscape of Spain also differed between the urban and rural experiences. Those who lived in the countryside suffered from food shortages less acutely than the Spaniards living

⁴³ Barranquero Texeira, *Así Sobrevivimos al Hambre*.; A Beatriz Pérez González. *Estraperlo en Cádiz: La estrategia social*. Cádiz: Quorum Libros, 2004.

⁴⁴ Antonio Giráldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo* (Vigo: Instituto de Estudios Vigueses, 2002).; Encarnación Barranquero Texeira and Lucía Prieto Borrego, *Así Sobrevivimos al Hambre: Estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la postguerra española* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2003).

⁴⁵ Gloria Román Ruiz, *Delinquir o morir. El pequeño estraperlo en la Granada de posguerra* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2015).; Beatriz Pérez González, *Estraperlo en Cádiz: La estrategia social* (Cádiz: Quorum Editores, 2004).

in cities, but the diverse urban centers remained beacons of consumerism and food diversity throughout the years of hunger. Cities possess a concentration of public transportation networks, public dining establishments, cultural venues, media circulation, and most importantly people from different socio-economic classes. In cities such as Madrid and Barcelona, cooking schools opened, restaurants served their daily menus, and housewives shared recipes with their neighbors. This is not to downplay the impact of Francoist food policy on Spanish cities, but it does demonstrate the limitation of the imposition of the dictatorship in everyday life, especially for those of the wealthier class. The autonomous food cultures of Madrid and Barcelona were not necessarily in support of, or in opposition to, the Franco regime, but rather reflected continuity in Spanish everyday life that existed before the dictatorship. Autonomous spaces existed outside the purview of the state that neither supported nor hindered the food objectives of the regime.

My dissertation probes the boundaries between continuity and change that occurred in the daily eating habits of Spaniards in response to the implementation of an authoritarian state food policy. I seek to expose the history of normalcy, of daily food consumption, at a time of political, economic, and social extremism. Some characteristics of Spanish food culture in the postwar were a direct consequence of the war economy or the imposition of an ultra-conservative authoritarian regime, but others were part of larger trends within Spain and Europe more broadly that were determined and perpetuated by ordinary Spaniards. It was not the regime and its affiliated institutions that controlled and shaped food during the postwar, but a conglomeration of numerous factors that ultimately diminishes the role of the Francoist state in the creation of modern Spanish cuisine.

Spanish Women under the Franco Dictatorship

Many women's historians support Richard's view that Franco created a totalitarian political culture by exposing how mechanisms of repression became institutionalized into a hegemonic culture created by the regime. María Gallego Méndez claims that Francoist culture extended into private life and acted to repress women by relegating them to unpaid domestic work within the home. Mary Nash identifies the constrictions placed on women by the regime's adoption of a pro-natalist policy, one that greatly confined women's sexuality to the role of child-bearer and child-rearer within society.⁴⁶ The historiography that examines the impact of Francoist policy and culture on the Spanish family and private life has further developed to include notable scholars such as Lucía Prieto Borrego and Encarnación Barranquero Texeira, who have explored how the regime and its affiliated institutions penetrated the boundaries of everyday life in the home to impose ideological restrictions on how Spanish families lived.⁴⁷ There is no doubt among scholars regarding the use of terror, repression, and coercion imposed by the dictatorship on the Spanish people, and the focus of these works is the relationship between Francoism and the Spanish family.

Feminist historians such as Gallego Méndez have depicted the imposition of Francoist culture as doubly constraining to working women who were marginalized not only for their gender but also their class.⁴⁸ She argues that at the heart of this repressive apparatus of the Francoist state was the Women's Section, which betrayed women's interests in favor of political gain. Historians such as Aurora Morcillo and Lucía Prieto Borrego have expanded Gallego

⁴⁶ Mary Nash, "Pronatalism and motherhood in Franco's Spain," in *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s-1950s*, eds. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, (London: Routledge, 1991), 160.

⁴⁷ Barranquero Texeira, *Así Sobrevivimos al Hambre.*; Lucía Prieto-Borrego, ed., *Encuadramiento Femenino, Socialización y cultura en el Franquismo*, (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010).

⁴⁸ María Teresa Gallego Mendez, *Mujer, FET-JONS y Franquismo*, Madrid: Taurus, 1983, 12.

Mendez's research to elucidate the ideology and cultural hegemony practiced in the regime's programs. Morcillo argues that Francoism established its cultural hegemony through the creation of social division—divisions between victors and losers and between men and women.⁴⁹ Her monograph carefully identifies the gender ideal for women as “true Catholic womanhood.” In Prieto Borrego's edited volume, each chapter analyzes a different mechanism of female coercion within the Francoist state apparatus and how it functioned to repress and indoctrinate women according to the ideology of the FET-JONS and the Catholic Church.⁵⁰ These works are a sampling of the repression-victimhood historiography that attempts to capture the missing narrative of the history of ordinary Spanish women through an investigation of the parameters given to them through the constrictions of the Francoist state. While this perspective is valuable, the limitation of a methodology that relies on a top-down investigation is that it acts to reinforce the power structures of Francoist domination of women. Scholars must assign power to the repressing force in order to describe how this force acted upon women.

An alternative to this methodology and thus a different strand in the historiography is the effort to identify female agency during the dictatorship. Scholars such as Kathleen Richmond and Inbal Ofer, seek to provide an alternative narrative to complement the discourse of repressive patriarchal culture by elucidating women's agency during the early Franco dictatorship.⁵¹ These works contrast with the repression-victimhood argument by demonstrating how some Spanish women negotiated the parameters of the dictatorship and essentially exercised their own power within the authoritarian state structure. This scholarship has its own limitations in that its focus is

⁴⁹ Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*, DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000, 40.

⁵⁰ Lucía Prieto Borrego, ed. *Encuadramiento Femenino, Socialización y cultura en el Franquismo*. Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010.

⁵¹ Kathleen Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (Rutledge: London, 2003).; Inbal Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue: The Making of a Female Political Elite in Franco's Spain* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010).

a specific demographic of women, often those elites who worked within the parameters created by the state. The argument of agency cannot capture all of women's experiences during the Franco dictatorship, but only focuses on small groups of women with elite connections.

What brings these two groups of women together—the women of the Spanish working classes who were restricted by the culture of repression ushered in by Franco's consolidation of power, and elite women who hoped to reconcile the repressive apparatus of the state with their own goals—is food. Their diets differed greatly by class, but in the city, these women came together at neighborhood markets to buy food and used similar ingredients to prepare meals for their families. Social Aid and Social Service were sites where these two groups of women shared a connecting experience, albeit between those with power and with food and those without. In the experience of daily shopping, cooking, and eating, these two groups of women came from different sides of the civil war, but they shared some common experiences and values when it came to food. Both groups of women wanted to provide food for their families, and they both utilized legal and extra-legal means to put food on the table. Food policies of the Franco regime had an impact on both groups of women, thereby creating some commonality. This dissertation reveals points of convergence and divergence between the female victors and the female victims of the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship.

Sources of Everyday Life

The evidence that I examine for this dissertation is a mixture of both top-down and bottom-up sources, which have provided the most-diversified interpretation of social conditions from the hunger years as possible. Scholars have long faced challenges with documenting the

history of daily life. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru has discussed sources extensively in her book *Introducción a la historia de la vida cotidiana* and highlighted opportunities for the investigation into the history of daily life. She is clear when she asserts that there is no singular document that can provide all the answers, while a range of sources provides richness and depth to an investigation.⁵² Almost any source can be read through the lens of everyday life, and she describes how to utilize novels, movies, newspapers, photographs and interviews to shed light on daily practices. What is critical is the way in which the documents are read, and it is the reading against the grain that makes the interpretation new and the scholarship innovative.⁵³ In some cases, war and authoritarian states make the examination of everyday life more challenging. Marilynn S. Johnson has lamented the difficulty in finding evidence for everyday life in wartime society, citing how government-produced documents usually skew information from both the home front and battle front to make state authorities seem better in control and citizens more participatory in the war effort.⁵⁴ She goes on to explain that criminal records are also limited sources because it is the state that defines the crime and describes the perpetrator, meaning they are usually not comprehensive enough to make a sustained analysis from them.⁵⁵

The top-down sources that I analyze in my dissertation are mostly government records, intellectual treatises, religious texts, legislation at the national and municipal levels, and propaganda. While diverse in nature, these documents contain two general similarities, which also define their limitations. First, they were written by the “victors” of the Spanish war: the military, the Catholic Church, the FET-JONS, the Women’s Section, or people who identified

⁵² Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Introducción a la historia de la vida cotidiana* (Mexico D.F.: Colegio de Mexico, 2009), 49-50.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵⁴ Marilynn S. Johnson, “Politics, the State, Crime, and Deviancy” in *A Day in the Life: Studying Daily Life through History* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), 163.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 164.

with one of these groups. The authors wrote from a position of power, and as Carlos Fuentes Muñoz describes it, created a literary culture of victory that permeated politics and society.⁵⁶ Second, the top-down documents are largely prescriptive. The documents are intended to instruct the rest of Spanish society on how they should live in Francoist Spain. They are either aimed at other victors as a self-congratulatory gesture, or directed at the losers of the war to differentiate their behavior from the winning side. As I will explain further in Chapter Two, the Nationalists fought the Spanish Civil War with the intention to create a new Spanish nation, and many from the winning side documented how to make Franco's new Spanish state. Victory in the Spanish Civil War gave the author(s) of the publications validation and legitimacy to disseminate their ideas as a way to exercise power against the losers, making these sources top-down.

The prescriptive materials produced by the Franco regime, the FET-JONS, the military, and the Catholic Church bombarded the Spanish public in many different forms. The FET-JONS, as the official state party of the Franco regime, produced a wide range of documents concerning Spain's food situation and how Spaniards should buy and eat food. They ran the newspaper *Arriba* and the broadcast No-Do with propagandistic articles that praised the provisioning efforts of the Caudillo. The FET-JONS also coordinated the vertically-integrated syndicates for Spanish industries, so factory rules that regulated everything from snack breaks to food packaging abided by party ideology. Guild magazines and machinery training guides from butchering to canning were produced under their umbrella, providing instruction in how to produce, package, distribute, and sell food. The Women's Section of the FET-JONS published multiple magazines and cookbooks for women's consumption, prescribing proper roles for femininity through articles, recipes, and cooking appliances advertisements. The Women's Section also published

⁵⁶ Carlos Fuentes Muñoz, *Viviendo en dictadura. La Evolución de las actitudes sociales hacia el Franquismo* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2017), 31.

multiple textbooks along with the Catholic Church, both of which taught women how to manage a home for their families. The Church published sermons and religious treatises that disseminated information to Spaniards, as well as fed the spiritual nourishment of hungry Spaniards through the Eucharist. From regime bureaucrats, I utilize treatises written on economics, agriculture, and consumerism that provide assessments of the conditions in Spain and what the authors envisioned as the future of the Spanish nation. Taken together, the sources paint a picture of the everyday imposition of a repressive food culture imposed on Spaniards living in Madrid and Barcelona.

While the top-down sources for this dissertation aim to present the voice of the victors of the civil war, they can be read against the grain to reveal some of the voices of those marginalized and repressed in Franco's Spain. Police reports and arrests for food theft, for example, were recorded by the authorities, but their accounts provide some clues as to how the victim and the thief lived, often including names of relatives, their home addresses, and the amount of food stolen. The descriptions are filtered through the mechanism of power so that the repressed by and large stay voiceless, but the documents provide a small window into their lives that, taken together, start to create a picture of daily life. Humanitarian relief records through Social Aid, while recorded by FET-JONS administrators, provide information on the meals served to needy Spaniards and their families, the location of the dining hall, and sometimes the number of attendees and the hour that the meal was served. Newspapers such as *ABC* and *Arriba* reported on the subject of Spanish women, veterans, prisoners, and vagrant children, providing some information into how these marginalized groups survived the hunger years. Medical journals have been a useful source in documenting the health of vulnerable Spaniards.

Perhaps one of my most interesting sources to read against the grain was a guide to prison cooking for the Yserías prison located in Delicias, Madrid. While the very prescriptive material explained how to run an effective food-provisioning operation within the jail, it also provided little hints into the lives of prisoners, and how incarcerated Spaniards cooked and ate food.⁵⁷ Reading these sources against the grain, which means looking for evidence not from the author's perspective but the demographic they are describing, provides some information into how ordinary Spaniards lived in cities during the hunger years. The subjects of these reports, unable to record their own histories, had some of their past preserved through official documents created by those in power over them. Reading top-down sources with a new perspective helps to provide a voice to the otherwise voiceless urban working classes, middle- and lower-class Spanish housewives, and children.

Lastly, I incorporate bottom-up sources, which I define as published material not directly connected with Franco. That is not to say that the author or publisher of these materials was not part of the victorious camp or benefitted from the Franco regime, but their ties to the regime are looser. Women's magazines, cookbooks, and domestic training manuals make up the bulk of these sources. For the purpose of transparency and reproducibility, I have chosen to omit handwritten recipe collections and non-published recipe books. While these documents are a treasure trove of information on everyday life during the hunger years, this study only uses printed material that was formally published and can be found in a library or archive. Medical records as a social critique can also fall into these categories when the authors provided their own commentary on Spain's food situation. Business permits, tax records, and public health inspections provide information on the location of food stalls, restaurants, bars, and cafes

⁵⁷ *Memoria de la Prision-escuela Madrid Yserias: El trabajo y la educación* (Madrid, 1943).

throughout the cities of Madrid and Barcelona, and these are complemented with advertisements in newspapers and magazines.

A collection of popular sayings, compiled by contemporary literary scholar Antonio Castillo de Lucas helped to capture the cultural zeitgeist of the early dictatorship as it would have been discussed in ration lines or at a neighborhood bar. Antonio Velasco Zazo and Luis Almerich were appointed as the city chroniclers of Madrid and Barcelona respectively during the 1940s, and their documentation of urban life sheds light on some aspects on food culture and dining out.⁵⁸ Carlos Perez de Rozas was the designator municipal photographer for the city of Barcelona from the end of the Spanish Civil War into the 1950s. The Barcelona Photography Archive recently featured an exhibit built around his work documenting everyday life in the city during the early Franco dictatorship.⁵⁹ While these sources are not directly tied to the Franco regime, they were subject to the state censor. The sources could not speak freely on the subject of food, but also were not tied down by the ideology of the state. That is not to say that they were popular sources. These documents were still produced by elites for consumption by elites, and they largely ignored the situations and experiences of the urban working classes. But what these authors and their publications can reveal are alternative views that did not fully conform to the ideology and values of the Francoist state. These sources, while not being overtly political in nature, at times aligned and at times failed to line up with the culture of repression imposed by the Franco regime.

Locating sources for everyday life during the Franco dictatorship is challenging for several reasons. Top-down sources, such as government records or personal records of political

⁵⁸ Antonio Velasco Zazo, *Fondas y Mesones* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suarez, 1947).; Antonio Velasco Zazo, *Florilegio de los Cafes* (Madrid: Librería General de V. Suarez, 1943).; Luis Almerich, *El Hostal, la fonda, la taberna y el café en la vida Barcelonesa* (Barcelona: Ediciones Librería Milla, 1945).

⁵⁹ www.bcn.cat/bcnpostguerra/exposiciovirtual/ca/bcnpostguerra-ambits.html.

leaders, are difficult to access in Spain's libraries and archives partly due to the lasting legacy of Francoist repression. The self-censoring of the government archives ranges from the restriction of access to documents, to uncatalogued material haphazardly siphoned into boxes, to outright theft of pages from magazines and newspapers housed in Spain's most prominent libraries. In one case at Spain's National Library in Madrid, many pages were ripped out of a magazine that I was consulting from one week to the next, effectively erasing the historical record for future researchers. For the sporadic documents that did survive, gauging the veracity of reports proves difficult as well. Many government agencies forged records as a form of opportunism or ineptitude,⁶⁰ leaving historians to assess what statistics are true and which are false. When possible, I have attempted to cross-reference information to confirm its veracity, but this approach is limiting and still susceptible to misinformation.

Bottom-up sources are also difficult to locate due to both lack of material and censorship. In a time when Spaniards could hardly afford to eat, very few chose books on food over actual food. The economic conditions pushed many publishers to resort to cheaply printed ink and subpar paper, and many documents could not withstand the test of time. Furthermore, victim protection regulations censor many documents housed in the *Archivo Central de Cruz Roja Española*, the Spanish Red Cross Archive. Spanish privacy laws censor individual information in documents as well. Many documents censor names, pages, and at times entire boxes due to privacy laws. Document-burning was common for both popular publications and government records. Spanish housewives, lacking fuel to cook daily meals, resorted to burning books, magazines, and newspapers.⁶¹ Government documents were burned as part of two major purges

⁶⁰ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 51.; Francisco Comin Comin and Miguel Martorell Linares, *La Hacienda Pública en el Franquismo. La Guerra y la autarquía (1936-1959)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Hacienda y Administraciones Públicas, 2013), 86.

⁶¹ Ignacio Domenech, *Cocina de recursos (Deseo mi Comida)* (Barcelona: Ediciones Quintilla, 1940), 16-17.

in the mid-1950s when there were major changes in the governmental structure of the regime and again during Spain's Transition to Democracy.⁶²

Despite these challenges for sources, I have elected not to incorporate oral histories into this project for multiple reasons. Oral histories, while they present a prime opportunity to learn about the past directly, have their limitations. Many social historians, such as Antonio Cazorla Sanchez and Angela Cenarro, conducted oral histories as a way to enrich their research on Spanish populations during the Franco dictatorship.⁶³ However, those interviewed are limited to telling the story according to the questions that they are asked or are filtered by memory or importance. Oral interviews recounting the hunger years tend to confirm the feeling of hunger but forget the details on what they actually ate. In terms of memory, the subject is likely to remember exceptional meals, both good and bad, rather than daily forgettable meals. This implicit filter reflects the difference between social history and the history of everyday life. Oral histories reveal the experience of hunger as part of the social experience, and an examination through the lens of everyday life reveals what was normal.

Similarly, I have elected to omit several fundamental texts on the social consequences of the Franco dictatorship because of issues on sources. Journalists such as Rafael Abella⁶⁴ and Isaias Lafuente⁶⁵ have created beautiful interpretations of the status of everyday life during the hunger years, but they do not cite their sources in their publications. Abella states that much of his information comes from interviews, many of which he has collected anonymously and cannot

⁶² This interpretation is based on the catalog records held in the general reading room at the Archivo General de Administración (AGA). The Archive keeps track of when collections were destroyed, but does not have additional information on the contents of the destroyed collection. Another key period of record-destruction occurred in 1939, the year that this study began when power in Alcalá de Henares shifted from the Republicans to the Nationalists.

⁶³ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*.; Angela Cenarro, *Los Niños del Auxilio Social* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2009).

⁶⁴ Rafael Abella, *La Vida cotidiana bajo el regimen de Franco* (Barcelona: Argos-Vergara, 1985).

⁶⁵ Isaias Lafuente Zorrilla, *Tiempos de hambre: Viaje a la España de posguerra* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999).

be reproduced. I have been able to retrace some of their evidence to newspaper publications or magazines of the time,⁶⁶ further affirming their claims and suggesting the usefulness of their works. But in other cases the only information that I have found to confirm their evidence is taken out of the proper context.⁶⁷ The field of journalism is also problematic in that they do not cite their information to the level of academic standards for the historical community and therefore their sources cannot be verified. These sources are invaluable to provide an understanding of the atmosphere of the years of hunger, but are difficult to incorporate into academic investigation for objective purposes. Historians are torn on whether or not to include these forms of monographs in their research or not. Scholars such as Cazorla Sanchez and Michael Richards cite Rafael Abella in their bibliographies,⁶⁸ but historian Michael Seidman has selected to omit journalism from his publications. He writes, “Abella shunned references and neglected dates, making it impossible to check sources or, ultimately, to periodize.”⁶⁹ Historians are torn between whether or not to incorporate good journalism into academic works, and how to engage with them as part of uncovering Spain’s past.

My approach to source-selection for this dissertation has been to make my research as transparent as possible with an objective and honest evaluation of my sources. I avoided the use of undocumented research in my dissertation to the best of my ability, and I have tried to omit where other scholars have not properly documented their findings or based their conclusions on

⁶⁶ For example, Isaias LaFuente incorporates many articles from the Women’s Section’s publication *Y: Revista para la Mujer* that I include in my own research. I consulted the women’s magazines at the Biblioteca de Mujer de Madrid. For my evidence, since it came from my own consultation of the sources, I cite the article, date, and edition number in my footnotes.

⁶⁷ For example, Rafael Abella refers to Spaniards using orange peels to make omelets during the hunger years. The only evidence that I have found that supports this statement can be found in the cookbook by Ignacio Domenech, *La Cocina de Recursos*. The cookbook’s content reads more like a political statement of discontent against Spain’s food shortages than it reflects actual consumption habits in Barcelona.

⁶⁸ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 255.; Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 286.

⁶⁹ Seidman, *Victorious Counterrevolution*, 9.

uncited material. However, my dissertation is not completely free from journalism, as some journalistic work, such as that produced to commemorate the anniversary of the Artiach Cookie Factory,⁷⁰ hold a treasure trove of information that otherwise would not be available to the public. Pedro Montoliu Camps's publication on Madrid's markets is similarly useful with information on the history of each market in Madrid.⁷¹ Nonetheless, I have tried to negotiate the murky waters of marginalized peoples under authoritarian dictatorship with as much objectivity and veracity as possible.

Through the sources that I utilize in my dissertation, I will aim to prove that the Francoist state could not completely control food, or even the discourse of food, leading to the failure of the regime to implement a totalitarian dictatorship. Instead, Spaniards of all types (regardless of gender, class, and age) used food as a forum to express political non-conformity, and used cooking as a way to implicitly challenge the power of the regime. Thus, despite the macro-level repression and coercion of an authoritarian food policy and rationing system that tried to maintain a distinction between victors and losers, everyday production and consumption of food did not always correspond with the rhetoric of the state. The culture of everyday eating occurred in spaces beyond the government-controlled ration lines in places such as restaurants, cafés, bars, and household kitchens. Spaniards expressed food politics in non-governmental publications that would sometimes lament food shortages and complain about bread prices and food policies without directly criticizing the dictatorship.

My wide range of sources—both top-down and bottom-up, provide a nuanced picture of everyday life under a repressive dictatorship and demonstrate how state intervention into private

⁷⁰ Estaban Sanchez, *Artiach. La Fábrica de galletas de Bilbao, 1907* (Bilbao: Bizkaiko gaiak), 2007.

⁷¹ Pedro Montoliu Camps, *Once Siglos de Mercado Madrileño: De la Plaza de la Paja a Mercamadrid*. (Madrid: Mercamadrid, 1991).

life—such as the most intimate and mundane task of cooking and consuming daily meals— influenced but did not control Spanish society and culture. The regime could repress the Spanish population through rationing and systematic starvation, but could not stop Spaniards from joking about their hunger or creating alternative food strategies for their families.

Roadmap: From Above and From Below

My dissertation analyzes how the Franco dictatorship utilized food policy to foster a culture of repression during the hunger years. It also analyzes how Spaniards adapted, survived, and at times resisted this repressive culture in their daily lives. I synthesize the two approaches of top-down (from state to society) and bottom-up (social reaction towards the state) by offering two chapters that follow the implementation of a repressive food culture and two that examine popular responses within daily food practices. Chapters One and Two chronicle the diffusion of food politics from the Francoist state into Spanish society, highlighting blind spots and gray zones where the state failed to reach its full control of food and its citizenry. Chapters Three and Four examine bottom-up responses to the culture of coercion and repression enacted in Spanish cities. Chapter Three examines the spectrum of discourse within the culinary public sphere, and Chapter Four explores aspects of the daily food acquisition, preparation, and consumption of Spanish housewives. With each chapter, I peel back a layer of elitism and the state, drawing closer to the everyday lives of ordinary Spaniards living during a period of dictatorship, repression, violence, and hunger.

Chapter One, “Francoist Food Provisioning: Authoritarian Policies and Urban Responses,” identifies the continuity between the Spanish Civil War and the early Franco

dictatorship, connecting the “war-like” mentality of the Franco regime in its deployment of food policy. The chapter connects two periods in Spanish history, the Spanish Civil War and the early Franco dictatorship, to elucidate the continuity in urban food practices from war to peace and from republic to authoritarian dictatorship. Political intervention through food provisioning occurred on both sides of the war, and the food policies enacted as a military strategy of the Nationalists continued into the dictatorship as a way to control state resources and the population. New scholarship on the Spanish Civil War examines material conditions on both sides as a fundamental factor in the war’s outcome, demonstrating that many Spaniards were motivated by their hunger rather than by political ideology.⁷² With this new theory in mind, I trace the continuity of material conditions—the control of food as state resources—into the early years of the dictatorship. The war-like implementation of consumer rationing through the CAT (*Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*) and charitable distribution of food through the Social Aid (*Auxilio Social*) program were attempts to achieve a total victory for the Nationalists. The persistence of these institutions into the 1950s suggests that for both the Franco regime and for Spaniards, aspects of the civil war did not end until many years after April 1, 1939. Food played a key role in shoring up power for the Nationalists and the Franco regime, and an examination of the food policy of the time—rationing and state charity—demonstrates that the control of Spain’s foodways subdued the population into a tenuous social peace not achieved until the 1950s.

But at the same time, an investigation into food policy, especially its impact on daily consumption patterns, demonstrates that the regime was far from achieving its totalitarian

⁷² Ainhoa Campos Posada, “‘Resistir es fácil con la tripa llena.’ Escasez y derrotismo en el Madrid de la guerra civil,” in Daniel Oviedo Silva and Alejandro Pérez-Olivares García, eds., *Madrid: Ciudad en Guerra (1936-1948)*, (Madrid: Catarata, 2014).; Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).

ambitions and its much-coveted “total victory” over Spaniards. Instead, pragmatism, opportunism, and apathy often stymied the efforts of the Nationalists to fully consolidate the power of the state, or to win the hearts and minds of Spaniards. This is made fully evident in the third food-provisioning institution to remain intact after the war—the black market or *estraperlo*. The state’s failure to stamp out or even control the black market demonstrates its inability to achieve a totalitarian state. Despite the official end of the Spanish Civil War, Franco’s wartime strategy of the control of food as a weapon against the population continued for another decade. Yet, these mechanisms of repression and coercion, despite their attempt at hegemony, fell short of totalitarian control at the level of local power dynamics and the practice of daily life.

Chapter Two, “The Power of Food: Ideology, Culture, and Everyday Life,” analyzes the discursive pathway that food traveled from the high-level ideology to everyday practice and culture. The chapter asserts that there was more at stake in Spain’s food supply than mere material provisioning. The reason that control of food was so important to the Nationalists both during and after the Spanish Civil War was because food was inscribed with cultural meaning and carried great social significance. This chapter engages current historiographical scholarship that examines how ideology was inscribed within the culture of the Franco dictatorship to reveal how the most material of conditions (food) took on new political meaning in the state. Employing the theories developed by Michel de Certeau and Arjun Appadurai that explain how commodities such as food can be inscribed with cultural meaning and can communicate important social cues to a community, this chapter dissects specific ideological objectives that were written into the food policy of the time and contributed to the making of urban food culture.

Since women carried food from the public sphere (as a commodity) to the private sphere (as a meal), the way in which women shopped, cooked, and served a meal was particularly

targeted by the food policy adopted by the Nationalists and the subsequent Franco regime. Moral values critical to the regime—patriotism, patriarchy, and religiosity—were written into policies that directly prescribed Spanish women’s behavior. Women who reinforced these values through their food choices would spread the embedded cultural messages to their families, considered by the Franco regime to be the base units of Franco’s new Spanish society. Therefore, the food policy and the food culture that the state engendered took shape to mold Spanish housewives according to the values of the regime.

Chapter Three “An Appetite for Politics: Cooking Literature during the Early Franco Dictatorship,” evaluates the literary culture that flourished during the hunger years as a form of political discourse within the public sphere. The chapter argues that, far from being strictly controlled by the Francoist state, cooking literature presented a spectrum of responses to the contemporary food policies of the regime and its creation of a subsequent food culture. Often overlooked for being non-political, these cooking publications ran the spectrum of support to resistance in relation to the food policies of the Franco regime, at times praising the work of the Nationalists and at other times criticizing it. But these publications, largely written by elites, carried significance for women of multiple classes, as professional female cooks, servants, and housewives selected recipes according to the resources that they had. As a whole, the ideological crusade of the Nationalists through the control of food was only one small part of the overall culinary discourse in Spain. An inclusion of cooking literature as part of Spain’s urban public sphere demonstrates greater political diversity during the hunger years.

In contrast to previous chapters that examined the creation of Francoist food politics and culture, this chapter analyzes the conversations produced by both state and non-state actors on the creation of Spain’s urban food culture. Food fantasy, or recipes that were impossible for the

food situation of the time, leftovers and stretching a meal through a week of rationing, and substituting creative ingredients to cope with food scarcity, were a few of the common topics presented in cooking literature that were not in direct opposition to the regime, but nevertheless highlighted the shortfalls of Franco's food policies. These cooking sources reflected a blend of the political discourse of the time and the ideal cooking situation with the social conditions of food scarcity and food crisis plaguing urban areas for much of the 1940s.

Chapter Four, "Women and Everyday Life during the Hunger Years," synthesizes the political, social, and cultural elements of the previous chapter to explain how they were deployed in the practice of daily life by Spanish housewives living in Madrid or Barcelona. I examine three aspects of everyday life—consumerism, time management, and spatiality—to gauge the intervention of the state into the lives of housewives and their agency within urban politics and society. In order to best understand the lives of women in Spanish cities during the hunger years, I have re-created some aspects of their world according to how they lived it. An expanded definition of economy, one that to include non-wage work by women, provides a completely different reading of Spanish labor in the 1940s. As women were largely excluded from wage-earning careers, they relied on gray economies and unofficial bartering for goods in exchange for services. The autarkic economic practices of the dictatorship prized self-sufficiency, and Spanish housewives rose to the occasion to manage household budgets largely dedicated to food acquisition with little to no money. Similarly, time helps to better identify how reconstruction of the post-civil war economy occurred according to women's labor in the household, not by factory output or man hours. Likewise, a reconceptualization of public and private, as it would have been understood by women, helps to explain newfound forms of social activism that have been previously overlooked by historians. Instead of a clear public-private sphere dichotomy,

women understood their shopping spaces as part of their domain, and therefore a site for civic engagement or political discontent.

This dissertation offers an analysis of food policies enacted during war, dictatorship, and famine, paying close attention to the food culture of scarcity, hunger, and repression that it engendered. It explains how an urban food culture developed from a mixture of ideology, policy, and the practice of everyday life. It reassesses discourse in Spain's public sphere to include cooking literature, paving the way for new interpretations of civic participation in a postwar authoritarian society. And, it traces the daily practices of Spanish housewives who bore the brunt of repressive food policies and postwar reconstruction. A focus on food politics brings new meaning to the establishment of a culture of repression enacted by the Nationalist side during the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime in the postwar. It also demonstrates the failure of the Francoist state to fully consolidate power or wield control over Spain's urban population. A study of food politics during the early Franco era provides a new lens by which to evaluate and understand social dynamics and power relations during times of dictatorship.

Francoist Food Provisioning: Authoritarian Policies and Urban Responses

This chapter analyzes how the Nationalists provisioned food to the cities of Madrid and Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War and the early dictatorship, and how food policy was created and executed on a daily basis during the hunger years. Despite the political and economic transition from a democratic republic to an authoritarian dictatorship, and from open war to a diplomatic peace, the culture of civil war remained within the policies enacted upon Spanish society. This approach to dictatorship and social control is evident in the food policies of the time and makes the case for continuity between the war and its aftermath at a social and political level. To complement this top-down approach, the chapter also examines the social responses and alternative foodways that developed among urban populations in response to provisioning efforts of the Nationalists and Franco regime, paying close attention to the strategies of daily food provisioning by ordinary Spaniards. Far from being a uniform, totalitarian policy enacted on the urban population, the policies were implemented unevenly and haphazardly at the level of daily life. As a consequence, many urban Spaniards took the opportunity to engage the regime in diverse ways, at times adhering to the official food policies of the state, and other times ignoring them or resisting them. This bottom-up approach helps to clarify the ultimate failure of the Nationalists to satisfy the campaign promises to adequately feed Spain's urban populations, and explain why the totalitarian aims of the Franco regime failed to reach its intended effect on the urban population.

The consequence of continuity in wartime food strategy was that it kept Spaniards in war-like social conditions despite Franco's verbal appeal for a peaceful society. While many Spaniards sought an end to the war, they expressed reluctance and frustration at the continuation

of the harsh food policy. In other words, many urban Spaniards grew tired of the material sacrifices demanded by the Republic during the war, only to subsequently tire of the sacrifice demanded by the Franco regime after the war. Looking at the Nationalist's strategy of food provisioning during the war and the strategies of the Franco regime after the war, I examine the dual aims of the Nationalists and Franco regime to manage both food and civilians as a form of state resources. During the civil war, natural resources such as food were essential to military strategy and management, and subduing the civilian population, most notably in urban areas, was essential to winning the war. But in response to this effort to impose authoritarian control, many Spaniards, especially in cities, were reluctant to conform to the institutions of repression and coercion that regulated their food. In fact, they became more resistant when it became obvious that the war promises of the Nationalists to provide ample food to all Spaniards was going to fall short of their expectations. Spaniards drew from a wide array of responses to the Nationalist food policy, at times conforming to the regulations, sometimes ignoring the policies, or other times exploiting loopholes in the government policy when it was in their best interest. Rather than bowing to the control of the regime, the social climate in Spanish cities made Franco's food provisioning strategies virtually ineffective, thereby limiting the control that the regime exercised over the Spanish population.

The food policies enacted during the Franco dictatorship did not begin in 1939 with Franco's consolidation of power into a dictatorship, but were developed as part of the wartime strategies of the Nationalists during the Spanish Civil War. Food policy became a battlefield in which either side could gain or lose the war based on their food management. If the civilian population was well-fed, the Nationalists or the Republicans would be able to leverage their provisioning successes to claim better leadership for the country. The promise of plentiful food

provisioning became a major propaganda campaign for the Nationalists, promising “No home without firewood and no Spaniard without bread.”¹ The importance of the civilian food supply was obvious to tacticians of the time,² but this key element of the war was largely ignored by academics until recently. Both Michael Seidman and Ainhoa Campos Posada have pioneered investigations into the importance of the food supply for the urban population in the outcome of the Spanish Civil War. Seidman has concluded that “the physical condition of the body—determined by food, clothing, weather, fatigue, and illness—motivated the actions of many in the Republican zone.”³ Campos Posada takes this claim a step further in her research, claiming “the Republican government was acutely aware of the food provisioning problem and its effects on civil morale in the home front, which could compromise their chances for victory.”⁴ From these perspectives, food policy was crucial to gaining power during the Spanish Civil War, and it remained crucial for the consolidation of power of the Franco dictatorship.

Identifying continuity between Spain’s civil war and postwar is a recent trend in the historical scholarship of modern Spain. Many social historians advocate that Franco’s war did not end with the official surrender on April 1, 1939, but that many social and cultural attributes of the war continued into the 1940s.⁵ Historians have interpreted this level of calculated violence

¹ *La Justicia Social en el Nuevo Estado Español*, (Zaragoza: El Noticero, 1937), 22.

² As an example for the Nationalists, see: Benito Cid de la Llave, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento Nacional, su origen y causas. Encauzamiento para su solución y fundamento racional y económico de las medidas adoptadas*, (Madrid: Patronato de Huérfanos de oficiales de ejército, 1944). For a Republican example, see: Menús de Guerra, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1936?, Box 2, Box 2c.pg. 2. Spanish Civil War Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

³ Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 8.

⁴ Ainhoa Campos Posada, “‘Resistir es fácil con la tripa llena.’ Escasez y derrotismo en el Madrid de la guerra civil,” in Daniel Oviedo Silva and Alejandro Pérez-Olivares García, eds., *Madrid: Ciudad en Guerra (1936-1948)*, (Madrid: Catarata, 2014), 125.

⁵ James Matthews, ed., *Spain at War: Society, Culture, and Mobilization, 1936-1944* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2019).; Daniel Oviedo Silva and Alejandro Pérez-Olivares García, eds., *Madrid: Ciudad en Guerra (1936-1948)*, (Madrid: Catarata, 2014).; Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression 1936-1945*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

as a way that the Nationalists asserted their “total victory” over Republican society through an authoritarian dictatorship. For further proof of Franco’s military mindset in his approach to his rule in Spain, Franco branded himself as a military leader, embracing the term *caudillo* to define his approach to governing Spain both during the war and after. With an historical framework that joins the civil war with its postwar, historians generally accept that Franco’s wartime strategies against a resistant Spanish population continued beyond the defeat of the Republican government, and they point to how Franco’s own sense of justice was meted out against the defeated population after 1939.⁶ This holds particularly true for Spain’s urban areas of Madrid and Barcelona where residents were notoriously loyal to the Republic and where the destroyed infrastructure took years to rebuild.⁷ The neglect suffered by the urban population can be seen in the thousands of deaths each year in Madrid and Barcelona caused by malnutrition, unclean water, and limited access to medical care.

Historians debate the extent of the intentionality of the neglect of Spain’s defeated, with arguments ranging from the deliberate punishment of the urban population to the general ineptitude of a leader who was better at military tactics than social policy. Historians such as Michael Richards claim that the purge and punishment of the Spanish population reached down into the very psyche of each individual, and the intervention of the state through repression and surveillance was internalized by the population.⁸ But other historians are quick to point out the

⁶ Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression 1936-1945.*; Silva and Pérez-Olivares García, *Madrid: Ciudad en guerra (1936-1948).*

⁷ Ayuntamiento de Madrid, *Memoria. Comprensiva de la actuación del primer ayuntamiento después de la liberación de Madrid* (Madrid: Sección de cultura e información, 1945).; Montserrat Miller, *Feeding Barcelona, 1714-1975: Public Market Halls, Social Networks, and Consumer Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 203.; Carlos Barciela López, et al., *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Economía*, (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001), 10.

⁸ Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression 1936-1945*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.

ineptitude of the regime, especially in terms of policies enacted. Economist Carlos Barciela goes as far as to claim that the regime was so detached from the economic realities in Spain that it took the Francoist bureaucrats two decades to realize that the economic model of autarky was not working.”⁹ These two lines of investigation lead to contradictory conclusions on their effects on the Spanish population. From one perspective, the policies of the regime were enacted and enforced as intended, creating a dystopian surveillance state by the victors of the Spanish Civil War. From the other, no one in the regime had any bureaucratic experience to implement viable social policy to any end, leading to general confusion among administrators and citizens alike. To weigh in on these two interpretations, I provide an analysis of the regime according to its food policies, looking for signs of complete domination or failure of the regime to gain total control of the Spanish population. I argue that the impact of the food policies of the Franco regime fell between effective and failure to demonstrate that the experience of everyday life fell between the unquestioned implementation of policy and a complete disconnect between the state and citizen.

In terms of food policy, the Franco regime sought to control food provisioning during the dictatorship as it had during the war. The Franco regime claimed to transition to a period of peace, but its wartime tactics for managing the food supply continued throughout the 1940s. As Richards found, one of the objectives of the Franco regime was to “control the threat of the burgeoning urban sector with violence and coercion...”.¹⁰ One way to subdue the urban population was to restrict access to food by way of rationing, price controls, and regulating dining establishments. Urban control was achieved through two key agencies: the General Commission for Food and Transportation (*Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y*

⁹ Carlos Barciela López, et al. *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Economía* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001), 11.

¹⁰ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 129.

Transportes), or CAT, and the Social Aid (*Auxilio Social*). The CAT was organized as a restricting institution, and it set rigid parameters on food provisioning to Spain's provinces and functioned as a tool of repression against Spanish eating. In contrast, the Social Aid was organized as a coercive charity institution, making Spaniards conform to the ideals and behaviors required by the Nationalists in exchange for food. Taken together, the Franco regime, through these two institutions, put into place both repressive and coercive measures to subdue the urban population to the aims of the New State (*Nuevo Estado*). Yet the third food provisioning institution that I examine, the black market, proved to be a major obstacle for the state-run institutions, undermining both its food-provisioning capabilities for urban Spaniards and its ideological ambitions to form a paternalistic state with the urban population completely dependent on the Francoist state. The black market, a survival strategy rooted in the civil war, created the greatest resistance to the Franco regime in terms of its food policies. While two of the institutions support the claim that the Franco regime controlled aspects of everyday life through repression and coercion, the last institution points to the strong failure of the regime to successfully control food provisioning or urban life during the hunger years.

The sheer density of food policies produced by the Francoist government in the first few years after the war would suggest that the regime had some sort of "master plan" that would consolidate control of the population through food. But this was far from the case, as a closer look at political archival sources has revealed. The authoritarian regime saturated its policies with the ambition of using food as a form of totalitarian control over the civilian population—a way to control their movement, their leisure time, and their spending. But translating wartime propaganda into written policy, much less enforceable in practice, became near impossible to control, especially in cities. Food policies were often enacted one week and reversed the next

week with little regard for holistic consequences in the foodways and food distribution system. Communication and clarification of policy broke down as policy was implemented from national to municipal governments, or between policymakers and the policy enforcers. While the institutions were a continuation from the civil war, the challenges in provisioning Spain's largest urban centers required new approaches to food policy, and the documents of the time suggest that the new government did not know how to tackle the problem of adequate food distribution that reconciled ideological ambitions with the practicality of post-civil war resources. The absolute victory desired by Franco proved difficult to secure in material terms, and food insecurity and extra-legal food acquisition through the black market was integrated into everyday life in Spain's cities. Food policy fluctuated wildly during the years of hunger, but the overall scarcity of foodstuffs was a consistent hallmark of the period.

This chapter analyzes how these three institutions—the CAT, Social Aid, and the black market—played a fundamental role in provisioning food for the civilian population in the early Franco dictatorship. The main purpose of the CAT was to combat the exploitative and corrupt black market, but the organization never succeeded in stamping out extra-legal consumer activity. On the contrary, with the expansion of the CAT in the 1940s, extra-legal food acquisition and consumption increased. As food became more highly regulated, more Spaniards resorted to breaking the law as part of their everyday eating habits. Similarly, Social Aid expanded during the 1940s to establish more dining facilities and gained the capacity to feed more Spaniards, yet throughout the decade participation in Social Aid dwindled. Fewer Spaniards used these state resources to meet their food needs on a daily basis. Despite the establishment of more dining facilities, more Spaniards rejected state-provided food in favor of their own consumer habits through newly-constructed markets or back market connections.

When all three institutions are examined together, the daily food choices and food strategies made by Spaniards in cities begins to take shape. While the overall foodscape of Spain's cities was meager, and each food option had its own advantages and disadvantages, the daily negotiation between all the three institutions in everyday food habits reveals how Spaniards engaged the food politics of the Franco regime.

Rationing, Price-Setting, and the CAT

The Nationalists founded the CAT on March 10, 1939, a response to the fall of Barcelona and in anticipation of the fall of Madrid in the coming weeks.¹¹ Provisioning Spain's largest cities with basic consumer goods became a priority for the bureaucrats that accompanied the Nationalist army into Spain's cities, but it was also their greatest challenge.¹² The CAT was formed to organize the distribution of resources to the conquered population during the war, but evolved to incorporate larger provisioning projects of the Franco regime.¹³ The Commerce and Industry Ministry (*Ministerio de Comercio y Industria*) institutionalized the organization on April 28, 1939 and extended its duties to include statistical recordkeeping and its mission to elevate Spanish consumption levels and living standards.¹⁴ With the institutionalization of the CAT, its bureaucratic conquest of Spain's urban population mirrored the military advances made territorially by the Nationalists.

¹¹ "Actuación de la Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes durante el periodo 1939-1964" Ministerio de Comercio. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/02316.

¹² Seidman, *Victorious Counterrevolution*, 248.

¹³ "Actuación de la Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes durante el periodo 1939-1964" Ministerio de Comercio. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/02316.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The CAT epitomized the totalitarian aims of the newly-formed Francoist state bureaucracy to manage food as a means to control the Spanish population. The mandate of the CAT to regulate and restrict both transport and consumption of consumer goods provided the organization with unfettered intervention into the everyday food habits of urban Spaniards. The department was founded to curb Spaniard's reliance on the black market that sprung up during the Spanish Civil War. The organization regulated consumer-good prices and controlled transport of food from one town to another, the price it was allowed to be sold at, where it could be sold, the day and time that food vending could occur, and how much people could buy of any product. In theory, the CAT possessed totalitarian control of the knowledge of food, generating reports on the food produced in Spain, where it was consumed, and import and export records for commodities. While the black market did pose several health threats to Spaniards, the power given to the CAT to monitor urban movement and consumption patterns went beyond the hazards of the black market and significantly encroached upon how Spaniards lived their daily lives within cities. The CAT had unprecedented access to control the everyday practices of Spaniards at a totalitarian level of intervention. By the end of 1939, CAT embodied Franco's food policy to urban Spaniards.

The CAT did not act alone, but was propped up by other Nationalist-supporting agencies to implement, surveille, and reinforce its policies. The military and the Civil Guard (*Guardia Civil*) helped to transport food from farm to market, surveilling adherence to Francoist foodways. The Tax Office (*Fiscalia de Tasas*) was established to investigate and prosecute crimes against the CAT, such as food theft or price extortion. Locals could report their neighbors for suspicious activity tied to extra-legal activities and customers filed complaints to the Tax Office for food vendor corruption or offenses. The CAT had full backing of the Francoist

government, the Spanish military, the Civil Guard, and local authorities to enforce its regulation of consumer goods, and the organization required a lot of resources to implement its regulations. Although other governmental entities also influenced how Spaniards acquired food—the Ministry of Agriculture regulated farming and ranching while the Restaurant and Hotel Syndicate regulated dining establishments—these departments acted to further the reach of the CAT into the consumer habits of urban Spaniards and their everyday eating.

Taken together, the intervention of the CAT to regulate food policies within Spain's cities had a major impact on the daily eating practices of urban. No singular organization within Franco's government structure had more effect on how Spaniards ate, or how they interacted daily with food through shopping, cooking, and eating. The purpose of state intervention into the food supply was justified in the mission of the CAT to prevent scarcity of goods during and after the war.¹⁵ Yet for many Spaniards, it created a dependency on the state for the most basic of living necessities and criminalized alternative strategies for survival. In terms of shaping the foodscape of Spanish cities, the CAT had four points of intervention into the practice of eating in everyday life: the organization determined what was a "primary necessity" (*primera necesidad*) for Spaniards, it set prices and profit margins for consumer goods and implemented rationing if a good would be in high demand for its price or consumption value, and finally it prosecuted crimes that were against the mission and policy of the CAT. By examining each of these tasks, I will illustrate the gap that formed between the totalitarian ambitions of the food policy and its haphazard implementation within the practice of everyday life.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Primary Necessity Goods

The first step of the CAT's food regulation, to determine if a consumer good was a primary necessity or a luxury good, was no easy task. During the civil war, the Nationalists implemented a "patriotic tax" on luxury goods to help finance subsidies for essential goods for Nationalist veterans and their families.¹⁶ The idea was that rich Spaniards could support the war effort financially via their consumer habits, freeing wealthy Nationalists from actual military service or interaction with the troops and allowing them to continue enjoy a lavish lifestyle despite wartime scarcity. Ultimately the subsidy for essential goods for Nationalist veterans and their families ended, but the state's categorization between luxury goods that were heavily taxed and essential consumer goods that were distributed among the population via control of the state, continued well into the establishment of the dictatorship. In a decree issued October 5, 1936, the Nationalists' provisioning strategy was to "...Form an agreement on what is most important for provisioning the population, with the authorities identifying which items are most essential, or of primary necessity."¹⁷ Luxury good prices could escalate freely since they were heavily taxed to fund government programs and initiatives, but the CAT fulfilled its duty to maintain reasonable and affordable prices for essential consumer goods.

The most essential foods in the Spanish diet were white bread for adults and milk for babies. Other foods were regulated by the CAT and were considered a primary necessity, but only bread and milk possessed the social and cultural significance for Spaniards, depending on their age. If other foods were available but there was no bread, adult Spaniards considered

¹⁶ Francisco Comin Comin and Miguel Martorell Linares, *La Hacienda Pública en el Franquismo. La Guerra y la autarquía (1936-1959)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Hacienda y Administraciones Públicas, 2013), 88.

¹⁷ Benito Cid de la Llave, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento Nacional, su origen y causas. Encauzamiento para su solución y fundamento racional y económico de las medidas adoptadas* (Madrid: Patronato de Húrfanos de oficiales de ejército, 1944), 114.

themselves inadequately fed and hungry.¹⁸ For babies, milk was essential for their transition from lactation to solid foods, and provided sufficient fats and protein for healthy development. To address the need for daily bread, the Franco regime launched its own “Wheat Battle” modeled after Mussolini’s and Salazar’s agricultural reforms in Italy and Portugal respectively.¹⁹ The National Service for Wheat (*Servicio Nacional de Trigo*) was formed to monitor wheat production and its capacity to provision bread to all Spaniards. Spaniards were aware of the militaristic approach that the Franco regime took to control breadmaking and the distribution of bread. There was a popular saying of the during the hunger years, “A table without bread is like an army without a captain,”²⁰ created a connection between eating bread and fighting a war. The saying stressed the importance of bread for the Spanish household, and put it in military terms to demonstrate its importance within the Caudillo’s New State. Yet, since many Spanish tables lacked bread during the hunger years, the saying can also be interpreted to suggest that Spain lacked a strong military leader.

For Spanish babies, milk was just as essential as bread to their diet and development. Milk was highly politicized by the Franco regime for its cultural association with children and the regime’s pro-natalist initiatives. International charities and the Catholic Church mobilized foreign resources to provision milk to Spanish mothers and children in need.²¹ After the war, special milk provisioning was provided through the Social Aid program and the CAT

¹⁸ David Conde Caballero, Lorenzo Mariano Juárez, and Julián López García, “Hambre en la postguerra extremeña. Un enfoque culturalista desde la antropología de la alimentación” (Presentation, Seminario Internacional “Historia y memoria del hambre bajo el franquismo (1939-1951)”, Granada 7-8, 2018), 7.

¹⁹ Lourenzo Fernandez Prieto, and Juan Pan Montojo and Miguel Cabo, “Fascism and Modernity in the European Countryside: A Global View,” in, *Agriculture in the Age of Fascism: Authoritarian technocracy and rural modernization, 1922-1945* edited by ¹⁹ Lourenzo Fernandez Prieto, and Juan Pan Montojo and Miguel Cabo (Tournhout: Brepols publishers, 2014), 23-24.

²⁰ Antonio Castillo de Lucas, *Refranerillo de la alimentación: Divulgación de higiene de la misma, a través de los refranes y dichos populares* (Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1940), 76.

²¹ Eric R. Smith, *American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2013), 37.

appropriated Spain's milk supply to Social Aid's "Mother and Child" (*Madre y niño*) relief program while tightly limiting milk provisioning to the rest of the population. These were a few fundamental commodities demanded by the Spanish population, but supplying bread and milk to urban Spaniards was not easy.

Beyond milk and bread, it was harder to define primary necessity foods for urban Spaniards. The categorization of dietary staples as primary necessities meant that product derivatives, such as cookies, pasta that used flour, or cheese and ice cream that used milk, were very difficult for Spaniards to buy and eat since provisioning was prioritized to consumers in the form of bread and milk. Furthermore, determining other primary necessity goods to insure regular distribution of food among Spanish society was more challenging to assess. Other foods were more difficult to differentiate as primary necessity goods or luxury goods. Two key characteristics of food made identifying certain foods as primary necessity more difficult for the CAT: food substitution and food transformation.

Food substitution made it challenging to define the limits of primary necessity. Many foods can be substituted for other foods to achieve the same nutritional value or taste in a recipe. I will expand on the importance of substitutes in Spanish cuisine and cooking literature later in Chapter Three, but suffice to say that many foods common in Spain could be substituted for other foods in meals. Returning to the example of white bread, although wheat flour was the prized ingredient for making durum bread (*pan candeal*),²² the role of bread was so profound to Spanish food culture that a demand for wheat flour substitutes grew as a result of the scarcity of wheat. White bread was considered a necessity. The substitute of cornbread or rye bread was not

²² *Pan Candeal*, or bread made from durum wheat, is a particular style of bread made from pure wheat flour. It is most commonly consumed in central wheat-producing regions of Spain, but also is considered a very high-quality bread. For more information on Spanish bread, see: José Carlos Capel, *El Pan nuestro: Elaboración, formas, mitos, ritos, gastronomía y glosario de los panes de España* (San Sebastian: R&B Ediciones, 1998).

common in the Spanish diet, but these alternatives would be eaten out of necessity or due to the shortage of more desirable ingredients. At the beginning of the dictatorship, only wheat flour was categorized as a primary necessity because of its fundamental role in the Spanish diet, and other grains remained unregulated due to their marginalization within the food culture. But eventually, these substitutes became rationed as well due to times of scarcity for white bread and white bread alternatives. Intervention in wheat expanded to include variations of flour and bread products, including rye, corn flour, pasta, and pastries.²³ Likewise, intervention in milk included condensed and powdered varieties, but left goat milk and soy milk unregulated as luxury goods.²⁴ The use and regulation of food substitutes became part of Spain's food culture during the 1940s because ingredients were so scarce. Often times, Spaniards were only able to find expensive luxury items at the store because the primary necessity goods were unobtainable for families on a daily basis.

Food transformation also made the categorization of primary necessity or luxury item difficult for the CAT. Freezing, cooking, curing, and canning are all techniques that are applied to some foods to transform them from one food to another. Food transforms from farm to table, and the versatility of prepared foods and its ingredients challenged the CAT to maintain its control of comestibles. An easy manipulation of a good, such as cooking, canning, or freezing, changed the categorization of a food from primary necessity to a luxury item. For example, meat and bread were consumed regularly by urban Spaniards and therefore warranted state regulation as a primary necessity. But the combination of the two ingredients into a sandwich was not considered a primary necessity (at least not initially), so sandwiches were categorized as a luxury

²³ Tomás Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos: Exposición metódica de las principales disposiciones vigentes* (Tarragona: Imprenta de Jose Pijoan, 1942), 415-420.

²⁴ Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos*, 395-396.

item.²⁵ Quickly stores and restaurants realized they could circumvent the strict regulations by putting these ingredients together, leading the CAT to eventually regulate the size and amount of meat that was permissible on a sandwich, as well as when and where they could be sold.²⁶ Other goods remained classified as a primary necessity despite forms of manipulation. Cooking meat or grinding it into a sausage was not enough to reclassify meat from a primary necessity to a luxury good, and restaurants were restricted when they could sell cooked meat.²⁷ Yet, if meat was frozen, it was deregulated as a luxury item, much to the consternation of fresh meat vendors who were not allowed to take advantage of the higher luxury good prices. Thus, meat that was raw, cured, or cooked was regulated by the CAT as a primary necessity, but meat that was frozen or hunted was not considered primary necessity. Sometimes a simple transformation of a good was sufficient to transform a food from a categorized primary necessity good to an expensive, luxury item.

The case of chocolate exemplifies the complexity of state intervention into the price of a foodstuff. Chocolate, similar to the sandwich, became regulated as a primary necessity because it was comprised of ingredients that were classified by the CAT as primary necessity items: sugar and milk. The food was regulated not because Spaniards consumed chocolate often—on the contrary, chocolate was only consumed on special occasions and by wealthier families—but its composition pushed the CAT to regulate the price and distribution. However, the pharmaceutical company *Vitaminas Españolas S.A.* was able to lobby the CAT and market its particular recipe of chocolate as a medicinal product, thus dodging the low price imposed on regular chocolate by

²⁵ Manuel Minguez de Rico, Transcription., *Reglamento de trabajo para la industria de Hotelería, Cafes, Bares y similares: Disposiciones vigentes obligatorias sobre "El Plato único", precios de hospedajes, sanciones y regimen de comidas en el Nuevo Estado*, (Madrid: Editorial Iberica, 1939), 58.; Tomás Espuny Gomez, *Legislacion de abastos, apendice*, (Tarragona: Imprenta de Jose Pijoan, 1943), 200-201.

²⁶ Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos, apendice*, 159.

²⁷ "Sigamos Esperando" *La Carne*, Año II num 41: 1 noviembre 1946, 1-2.

the CAT.²⁸ Since vitamin chocolate, a specific recipe concocted by the company *Vitamina Española S.A.*, was deregulated by the CAT, the company could charge high amounts for the nutritional benefits of their chocolate, insuring that only the wealthiest in Spanish cities could afford the food. As a consequence, the decision to deregulate “vitamin chocolate” caused significant confusion among consumers and vendors alike on what vendors should charge for a chocolate bar and what consumers should pay.²⁹ As a result, only vitamin chocolate was allowed to be sold as a candy bar, and regulated chocolate could only be sold as a powder.

The arbitrary nature of determining primary necessity, coupled with the political connections of large companies with connections to the regime, created no clear approach to how the CAT regulated Spanish food. Despite the density in intervention and regulation of essential food items, loopholes abounded. But in general, food producers and vendors in every sector sought to manipulate and exploit the new CAT food policy according to their best interests and economic gains. Adding to the incoherence of regulation was the influence of guilds, business associations, and vendor unions, who advocated on behalf of their constituents and petitioned the CAT to re-categorize their commodities as luxury items, or if intervention was necessary as a more valuable item, with varying levels of success. A Farmers Association from Málaga led by Ramon Villanueva, for example, advocated that their green beans and peas were of a special variety and quality, not to be associated with the primary necessity green beans and peas from other regions that were regulated. They unsuccessfully petitioned that their products should be

²⁸ "Chocolate Vitaminado" El Ministerio de Industria y Comercio. 8 de abril de 1944. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/00241.

²⁹ The deregulation of vitamin chocolate necessitated further regulation of family chocolate so that consumers would not demand vitamin chocolate at the rationed price (potentially reporting vendors to the Tax Office), nor that vitamin chocolate would compete with family chocolate sales. In the end, Vitamin chocolate was the only chocolate allowed to be sold to the public in bar form, while family chocolate had to be distributed as a powder. "Chocolate Vitaminado" El Ministerio de Industria y Comercio. 8 de abril de 1944. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/00241.

sold in Madrid as a luxury good, but the CAT refused their demands. The company Nestlé was more successful in its advocacy to increase the value of condensed milk. Perhaps because of its close relationship with Social Aid in supplying their childcare programs,³⁰ Nestlé was able to convince the CAT to raise the value of its condensed milk to 4,80 pesetas per tin can while accepting the need for state intervention in the pricing and circulation of the product.³¹ Farmers, processing plants, wholesale distributors, and vendors tried to advocate on behalf of their products to increase their profits and to remove regulations from their businesses. Their demands were in direct conflict with the needs of Spaniards who needed plentiful and affordable food.

The regulation of many foods by the CAT changed monthly, if not weekly. Prices and intervention were determined according to production forecasts followed by production realities, bureaucratic management of goods, and market fluctuations. Meat, like chocolate, was another commodity where the haphazard application of regulation by the CAT caused confusion. The organization would often regulate some parts of the animal and not others, or set different prices and ration amounts depending on the cut of meat. The *Arriba* newspaper declared that beef, pork, and lamb would be sold without state intervention in the prices or rationing following the end of the Civil War, deregulating meat from rationing.³² But Spaniards' freedom to buy meat without regulation did not last long. By the end of that year, Franco reversed his policy and meat became incorporated within the rationing system once again. On September 16, 1941, the CAT declared that it would regulate prices for meat, but ranchers could determine their own price when selling offal to meat vendors, leaving parts of the animal unregulated while other

³⁰ "Asignaciones de productos. Asignaciones de cupos de leche condensada por provincias: Madrid- Murcia". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/00234.

³¹ "Convocatorias Junta Superior de Precios 1943". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/09126.

³² "Han desaparecido las colas de pan: Sobraron millares de kilos y el vecindario pudo adquirirlos sin limitación" *Arriba*, 2 abril 1939, 3.

parts were regulated. But this small freedom for animal parts faced restrictions in a decree issued October 31, 1941 which limited the sale of offal to active members of the Offal Union (*sindicato de despojos*), leaving collective purchasing power to the members of the regime to determine prices from ranchers.³³ This semi-deregulation only applied to some types of offal, and subsequent legislation in 1942 set the price for the sale of bones at 3,10 pesetas per kilo with stomachs and brains allowed to sell for 1,15 and 0,15 pesetas respectively.³⁴

Household canning, curing, and meat preservation were prohibited by the CAT on October 6, 1939 to try to thwart Spaniards from hoarding meat, but the regime amended its policy in a subsequent decree issued on July 15, 1940 to allow for stomach and livers to undergo preservation treatments by individuals.³⁵ Self-slaughtering was illegal, so all animals had to be registered with the state and their death reported by the municipal butcher to the regional CAT office, although there was no regulation on the price of living animals.³⁶ Regulations and intervention differed between living and slaughtered animals, the type of animal meat, and the part of the animal, leaving a very intermittent policy that was subject to change at a moment's notice.

Potatoes had a similar history of regulation and deregulation, leading to confusion for consumers and vendors alike. The CAT declared non-intervention into Spain's potato supply August 4, 1939, but the poor harvest in the beginning of 1940 led to regulation of the tuber, only to be reversed when the national supply improved by November 1940.³⁷ The deregulation of potatoes led to consumer hoarding, so regulation was enacted once again in 1941 as a permanent

³³ Espuny Gómez, *Legislación de abastos*, 241.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 447.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 445.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 241-242.

³⁷ Benito Cid de la Llave, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento Nacional, su origen y causas. Encauzamiento para su solución y fundamento racional y económico de las medidas adoptadas* (Madrid: Patronato de Húrfanos de oficiales de ejército, 1944), 123.

intervention, ruling the potato as a primary necessity good.³⁸ The effect of deregulation was that prices increased and many Spaniards rushed to buy large quantities of the item, trying to secure any food that was available and affordable. The haphazard regulation caused confusion among consumers, leading to more Spanish accidentally breaking unknown rules, long lines at stores and vendor stalls, difficulty in preparing meals with finite ingredients, and complaints by consumers and vendors alike on the inconvenience of state intervention.

Wealthy Spaniards benefitted from the regulation of goods because their purchasing power allowed them to buy foods and prepare meals according to their tastes and preferences. For poorer Spaniards who could only afford food that was classified as primary necessity, many of them went hungry since food substitutes or transformations were beyond their monetary budgets. But there was a counter point to this phenomenon as well. The CAT intervened in many additional goods that were not eaten on a regular basis or by the majority of the population, regardless of the postwar food shortage. Many goods that were reserved for elite consumption or only eaten on special occasions were also regulated by the CAT on the justification that they were a primary necessity good, but were far from available for every day eating in Spain's urban foodscapes. While the tactic of exploiting loopholes within the parameters of the definition of primary necessity would seem like a form of resistance to the state, part of the reason that the loopholes were sought was because wealthy Spaniards wanted fewer constraints to their dietary preferences. Privileged Spaniards who sought to differentiate their eating habits from ordinary Spaniards struggled to demarcate their class status when the CAT claimed that certain foods were commonplace enough to be considered a primary necessity for all Spaniards. Ultimately, it was the objective of the totalitarian state to control consumer habits of all Spaniards, including

³⁸ Ibid.

those from the wealthier classes, but only the wealthier classes possessed enough food options to exploit the gray areas formed through the classification of primary necessity and luxury items.

Ultimately, it was Spaniards from the popular classes who suffered the most from the strict categorization of primary necessity and the added bureaucratic control of their food supply. Few goods were “guaranteed” by the regime through its regulation and rationing as a primary necessity, leading to monotonous diets. Regulated goods often meant reduced quantities of the product too, since they were supposed to be evenly distributed among the population. Vendors and wealthy Spaniards demanded less regulation of Spanish food in hopes that more comestibles would become available in shops, but deregulation of items meant that they often became cost-prohibitive for middle- and working-class Spaniards. For most Spaniards in the city, their diet became that of primary necessity, with very little opportunity for luxury.

Price-Setting

Once the CAT determined which commodities it would regulate as primary necessity and which foods were a luxury, the department went about setting the prices for the intervened goods and establishing a rationed quota if necessary. Each month, the CAT would issue a range of prices to sell each primary necessity good at the national level. The Provincial Delegation of the CAT would then set the prices for their region according to availability of the good, the effort associated in bringing the good to the region (factoring transport costs and processing, preserving, or cooking), and consumer ability to pay for the good. If a good was in high demand or at risk of being exploited in any given month, the CAT would determine if the commodity

supply needed a police, civil guard, or military³⁹ escort in its distribution.⁴⁰ If there was a limited supply of the good being transported to a province, rationing would be imposed for that province for that month.

Price setting, rationing, and guides for food transport were very haphazard in their top-down implementation from the state-level to the local-level CAT bureaucracies. The statistics branch of the CAT was supposed to estimate and assess production to determine circulation of products, but local offices often low-balled their production to ensure that their population was fed and to keep their crops local. Individual farming families illegally stored food for themselves because it was more cost-efficient to consume their own produce than to sell their harvest at the artificially low prices set by the CAT, just to have to buy back the foods at their higher market value. Some rural areas, such as León, produced bountiful harvests of wheat each year and never had to ration durum flour.⁴¹ Those who lived along the coast faced few challenges in meeting their daily demands for protein due to their access to fish in the sea.⁴² For urban Spaniards cut off from the sites of food production, they not only lacked the cushion of squirreling away their own produce for consumption, but the goods that did come to them were in terribly short supply. And although Madrid was central to Spain's road system, the damage suffered to the highways and the strict regulations for the transport of goods made supplying the city very difficult.⁴³ Despite the policies enacted at the state-level to set prices for the city, municipal leaders could not make enough food appear for hungry urban Spaniards.

³⁹ The province or municipality was responsible for supplying surveillance in the transport of food within its jurisdiction. Depending on the location and the availability, cargo trucks or trains might be accompanied by municipal police, the Civil Guard, or active military.

⁴⁰ Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos. Apendice*, (Tarragona: Imprenta de Jose Pijoan, 1943), 11-12.

⁴¹ "Correspondence to Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur from Dr. J.H. Janney." December 13, 1940. Pg. 6. J.H. Janney Collection, Hoover Institution Archives.

⁴² Antonio Giraldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo*, (Vigo: Instituto de Estudios Vigueses, 2002), 182.

⁴³ "El Problema del pescado". *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 4. 15 febrero 1942, pg. 1.

Along with the lack of food to sell at the regulated price, the bureaucratic structure of the CAT created a tendency for legalized price extortion. Some prices were established so that farmers were paid a fixed amount for a foodstuff, truck drivers were paid per kilometer of transporting the foodstuff, and wholesalers and retailers were limited to a fixed percentage of mark-up for the final consumer product. In 1943, the fixed profit for lentils, lima beans, and rice in Barcelona was seven percent.⁴⁴ One tactic used by vendors was to send their goods outside of their region, creating higher shipping costs and thereby more opportunity to profit for distributors, wholesale vendors, and retailers. For the goods with the fixed profit of seven percent, the lentils originated from Leon, the lima beans traveled from Badajoz, and the rice was imported from the Ebro region.⁴⁵ The further that a good had to travel, the higher the price charged for transportation and the greater worth of a product to a vendor at its fixed percentage. This was factored into the price when the commodity arrived at the city and the profit percentages were added for the vendors. Businesses were able to make more profits from foods, but goods became unaffordable to many Spaniards living in the city.

While the CAT required that fabricated foods be sent outside the region of production in order to curb hoarding and local black-market exploitation,⁴⁶ where those goods went in Spain was more ambiguous. In theory, foodstuffs were sent to areas according to consumer demand. Since rural areas were considered largely self-sufficient, Madrid and Barcelona demanded much of the agricultural production of the country to feed the influx of urban residents. Barcelona quickly gained a reputation for having the wealthiest consumers who were willing to pay for

⁴⁴ "Relación que cita- Correspondencia. Madrid, 25 de octubre de 1943." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/09132.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Sindicato Vertical de Cereales, Grupo Nacional de la Panadería *Reglamento de régimen interior de Fábricas de Pan* (Zaragoza: Jefatura Provincial, 13 febrero 1947), 8.

luxury goods, so many producers and distributors sent their foods to Catalonia to fetch a higher price.⁴⁷ Barcelona's regional leaders justified the influx of food because the city had experienced a massive influx of people during the civil war, and was arguably the most populous region of Spain during the early dictatorship. The poor condition of roadways increased the cost of shipping food to Barcelona, leading to higher percentage profits for distributors and vendors along the way. Nonetheless, regional hoarding remained a problem. One investigation found that Catalonia kept 90% of the produce that farmers grew within the region, a violation of CAT policy to promote circulation of goods throughout Spain.⁴⁸ The Catalan government justified their refusal to export food due to their high population, but that did not stop other regions from importing to Barcelona as well. Madrid too utilized its proximity to farm-rich areas of Guadalajara and Segovia to help provision its population affordably. For example, Madrid received agricultural products such as potatoes, strawberries, and asparagus from Aranjuez.⁴⁹ The populations of Madrid and Barcelona demanded much of Spain's agricultural production after the civil war, and many producers were willing to provide their surpluses to the major cities for a lucrative price that city dwellers were thought to be able to afford.

The effect was that food that arrived to these major cities received a higher regulated price than in provincial cities or rural areas. One example is the provisioning of fish to Madrid, Spain's largest landlocked city. Coastal towns like Vigo survived the years of hunger on their access to the sea and its resources. Their reliance on fish meant less fish was sent inland.

Although the fishermen in Vigo were forced to sell their catch for 0,76 pesetas per kilogram,

⁴⁷ "Tratantes, Comisionistas y entradores de Ganados Reunidos," Madrid 25 Feb 1947. Ayuntamiento de Barcelona-negociado de estadística de abastos y matadero. Sección artículos origen animal, grupo ganados y carnes. Ganado de Abasto y vida; transportes. Arxiu Contemporani Barcelona, Caja proveiments i consum.

⁴⁸ "Correspondencias." 1944-1953. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/12353.

⁴⁹ Tejeiro Prieto, Enrique and Dionisio de Haro Romero and Marta Santos Sacristan, *La actuación del Servicio Nacional de Trigo: Aranjuez, 1943* (Ayuntamiento de Aranjuez, 2005), 5,10.

they often hid some of their bounty away for their family or community, falsifying how much of the commodity they had actually acquired. By the time the fish were transported to the interior cities, consumers had to pay 3,50 to 4,00 pesetas per kilogram due to the high cost of refrigerated train cars that were necessary for preserving the fish.⁵⁰ The case of fish is somewhat exceptional due to its costly refrigerated transport, but prices escalated for all goods that were sent to provision the city. As outsiders observed in Barcelona, "...their quota of bread and potatoes, eggs, butter and olive oil are practically impossible to find except in small quantities at four or five times the usual price. One wonders what the poor are living on."⁵¹ As food entered the city, much of it was destined for the wealthiest while the poor suffered from lower quality, lower quantity, and lower variation in their diet. Even though the CAT tried to moderate primary necessity goods through rationing, luxury items or any consumer goods not rationed were outside the diets of the working classes. The government largely turned a blind eye to this discrepancy for non-rationed goods because the higher the official price, the greater the tax revenue from the products.

For other foods, the increase in price for transport to the city was from taxes, not transportation costs. For example, puréed legumes were fixed at a base price of 2,10 pesetas for the province of Barcelona in December 1944.⁵² Transport profits were fixed at 0,166 pesetas and local taxes were 0,03 pesetas. The wholesale price of puréed legumes was 2,774 with the maximum price allowed to urban consumers fixed at 3,20 pesetas.⁵³ Five months later, legumes in bean form were fixed at 2,10 pesetas for the base price, transport was allowed to profit 0,066

⁵⁰ José Lledo Martín, *La Pesca nacional* (Madrid: Ediciones Pegaso, 1943), 478.

⁵¹ Rockefeller Foundation. Correspondence from JH Janney to Dr. Wilbur, December 13, 1940, 5.

⁵² "Barcelona Precios" Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/12354.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

pesetas, taxes were raised to 0,147 pesetas, the wholesale price was established at 2,10 pesetas and the cost to consumers remained at 3,20 pesetas. Meanwhile, the allowed rationing of legumes to the city was decreased from 250g per person to 100g per person.⁵⁴ The cost of legumes should have decreased because the factory processing of the beans into purée was removed, driving down the additional cost of transport, storage, labor, and taxes. Instead, the cost to consumer stayed the same, and the burden of making purée was passed on to Spanish housewives. Likewise, transportation cost decreased, presumably due to better roads and fuel, but the local taxes on the beans more than quadrupled in just the five-month period. While there was not change in cost to Catalan consumers, the work and cost to boil and purée the legumes was passed to Spanish housewives, and fewer legumes were available through rationing for family meals.

The effect of price inflation on basic foodstuffs took its toll on the national economy and on the standard of living for Spaniards. By the second half of 1939 (several months after the end of the war), the national average cost of living had increased 153.6% since the war began.⁵⁵ By December 1945, the cost of living nationwide had risen 297% since July 1936, with the province of Barcelona seeing an increase of 258,5% and Madrid experiencing an increase of 231,2%.⁵⁶ The main factor driving up the cost of living was food, which was the single largest budgetary item of most Spanish households. The cost of comestibles increased 379.9% nationwide from the outset of the war, with Barcelona suffering an increase in food costs of 346.5% and Madrid 315.1% by 1945.⁵⁷ Food's value and its importance to the economy would continue for another

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Instituto Nacional de Estadística *Anuario estadístico de España, 1945-1946*. Edición manual, (Madrid: Presidencia del Gobierno, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1946), 1162.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 1162, 1165.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 1162, 1166-1167.

decade, with some reports from the time concluding that Spaniards still spent 70% of their household budget on food in 1953.⁵⁸

In response to urban regulation and price inflation, Spaniards fled to the countryside to buy cheaper foodstuffs. Along with greater access to food in the countryside—the opportunity to forage for nuts and produce, hunt game, or buy foods along the roadside—Spaniards used trips to the countryside to buy foods at larger quantities and lower prices. Spaniards traveled to summer homes or visited family in different regions to take advantage of the fluctuation of prices and the availability of goods in different parts of Spain.⁵⁹ Spaniards were limited to transport an arbitrary “month’s supply” of any singular foodstuff from the countryside or within the city or else they could risk arrest for hoarding or black marketeering. All primary necessity goods could only be transported to the city with an escort by the CAT authorities, including daily bread.⁶⁰ The practice of leaving the city in search of food in the countryside was a common strategy for residents of Madrid and Barcelona during the war. For many urban Spaniards, the countryside offered an opportunity to survive whereas remaining in the city they would face the specter of hunger. Municipal statistics from Barcelona confirm this choice that Spaniards made. In 1942, only 2 deaths were recorded from food poisoning, probably related to eating a poisonous mushroom or plant from the countryside, whereas there were forty deaths caused by starvation in the city.⁶¹ As Catalan historian Monserrat Miller has found, the families of Barcelona relied on social connections to the hinterland to provision the city for food that would have never arrived

⁵⁸ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco Spain, 1939-1975* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) 135.

⁵⁹ "La baja en la cartilla de la localidad de residencia, necesaria para lograr el alta en el punto de destino". *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 8, 15 junio de 1942, pg. 2.

⁶⁰ "Todos los artículos intervenidos necesiten guía," *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 5, 15 marzo 1942, p. 9.

⁶¹ *Estadística Municipal: Resumen de los años 1940 a 1943* (Barcelona: Escuela de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1944), 16-17.

to the urban center otherwise.⁶² Since each region had a different supply and a different price for common foodstuffs, Spaniards needed only to travel to change their food options. Despite the extensive regulation and intervention of products, Spaniards managed to find plenty of loopholes to keep their families fed.

Ration Cards

With food distributed among the provinces and prices regulated by the CAT, food shortages were supposed to be inhibited by the rationing system. As part of the monthly regulation of the CAT, if a fixed price increased demand for a foodstuff, or if there was a low quantity of a good shipped to the region, the local CAT offices had the authority to implement a rationing of the product. The CAT implemented rationing on the premise that this was a way to guarantee food for everyone. The bureaucrats of the CAT understood their mission; they needed to fulfill the wartime campaign slogans of the Nationalists and to provision Spain's urban population. As they claimed, "[Spaniards] need to eat less so that others can live, equally distributing foodstuffs without class prerogatives or hierarchy... This is fair rationing, and although it is not comprehensive, it creates equality for all."⁶³ As explained before, this was far from a fair system since deregulated goods were too costly for many urban Spaniards. The CAT claimed that food shortages were a direct result of the civil war and Marxist squandering of Spain's resources. Naively the organization claimed that if Spanish farmers fully exploited their land, Spaniards would have enough bread to eat.⁶⁴ With the premise of the urban food crisis being misunderstood by the Francoist government, rationing offered little hope to urban

⁶² Miller, *Feeding Barcelona*, 195.

⁶³ "El racionamiento y la cartilla individual". *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 6, 15 abril 1942, 1.

⁶⁴ "La escasez crea la necesidad del racionamiento y éste crea la de la intervención", *Alimentación Nacional*. Año I núm 2. 15 diciembre 1941, 7.

Spaniards. Rationing did not solve the problem of scarcity because the cause of the scarcity was incorrectly diagnosed by the government. Instead, the authority to ration goods only increased the intervention and oversight of the CAT into urban eating habits.

Despite its intention, the rationing system did not guarantee equal eating opportunities to all Spaniards, and instead created greater disparity between those who had access to alternative food supplies and those who did not. To illustrate the inequality in the rationing program, one need not look further than how Spain was divided into three sections for rationing distribution within Spain. Cost of living by area was determined by hotel prices for the city or town and classified as elite, middle class, or poor.⁶⁵ Madrid and Barcelona were in the highest category since the two cities had the largest concentration of luxury restaurants and hotels. For the urban working classes, these luxurious places were in a different world from their neighborhoods. Their cost of living was driven up by the presence of wealthy people, creating large economic disparities between the rich and poor living within the city.

Spain's urban elite also enjoyed privileged access to food through their social connections. Clergy, military, and government employees had special access to food and its provisioning, and these positions were largely occupied by middle- or upper- class residents. Those who worked in food handling businesses—restaurants, hotels, or food processing plants—also gained privileged access to the food industry. Spain's wealthy tended to benefit from better social networks and connections to political power, but the urban poor had fewer opportunities for help. Poorer Spaniards relied on family networks or a strong rapport with their local vendors.⁶⁶ Likewise, those living in the countryside had access to natural resources for food and

⁶⁵ Encarnación Barranquero Texeira and Lucía Prieto Borrego, *Así Sobrevivimos al Hambre: Estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la postguerra española* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2003), 69.

⁶⁶ Antonio Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 69.

were able to supplement their rations by foraging or hunting.⁶⁷ For urban Spaniards who did not own their own business and were cut off from the natural resources of the land, their food supply was limited to what was available through rationing. And just as in wartime, industry, military, and the Church were prioritized for food provisioning over ordinary Spaniards. It was seen as the patriotic duty of Spaniards to sacrifice their needs for the needs of the state, and to prioritize the nation over their own families or individual interests. But as I have explained, patriotism varied by class. Wealthy Spaniards sacrificed for their country by paying higher prices for luxury goods, while poorer Spaniards were forced to sacrifice for their country by going hungry.

The bureaucratic implementation of rationing policy was difficult for many Spaniards to navigate and created a hurdle of paperwork in achieving food security in their homes. In order to acquire a ration card, Spaniards had to present proof of residency in their municipality and show documentation that they were the head of their household.⁶⁸ Ration cards were issued for six months at a time for as long as the good was rationed by the CAT.⁶⁹ Starting in June 1939, ration cards for adult men provided the following for each day: 400g of bread, 250g of potatoes, 100g of legumes, 50g of oil, 10g of coffee, 30g of sugar, 25g of bacon, 75g of cod, and 200g of fresh fish.⁷⁰ The CAT was the first to admit that these quantities were in theory only. In practice, goods were in short supply, especially in cities. Since rationing was determined by agricultural estimates and projections forecasted by the CAT, Spain's actual food supply and production capacity in most goods was consistently overestimated.

⁶⁷ Miller, *Feeding Barcelona*, 197.

⁶⁸ "Orden de 14 de mayo de 1939 estableciendo el régimen de racionamiento en todo el territorio nacional para los productos alimenticios que se designen por este Ministerio" Ministerio de Industria y Comercio. *Boletín Oficial de Estado*, número 137, pg. 2691.

⁶⁹ Giraldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo*, 49.

⁷⁰ "Actuación de la Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes durante el periodo 1939-1964" Ministerio de Comercio. CAT. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/02316.

The ideology behind the rationing system combined military strategy with patriarchal prejudices to reinforce divisions within Spanish society by politics, class, location, and gender. Chapter Two will address the infusion of Nationalist ideology into Francoist food policy further, but the very implementation of the rationing system was to act out a paternalistic-like dependency of Spaniards on the Francoist government. One fundamental aspect of the rationing system was that it was not intended to satisfy all of the dietary needs of the Spanish people, but to divide Spain's resources among the population. The idea of rationing was to evenly distribute the supply of food produced in Spain (at least for the products determined to be a primary necessity), which was far inadequate to satisfy the nutritional needs of the population. As the CAT reported, "In the easily censored but endless murmurings against the provisioning of the population, one common complaint heard is 'it's impossible to live from the rations that you give us' ... they ignore, or are intent on ignoring that the ration cards are not intended to insure or guarantee the total and satisfactory diet of their owners."⁷¹ Goods such as fruits and vegetables were not rationed, and the CAT assumed that Spaniards would still have access to non-rationed goods.⁷² For the working classes in the cities, a balanced diet was difficult to maintain. In many respects, the model for the implementation of the rationing system was the military tactic to divide and conquer.

Frustrated doctors and medical experts chronicled the slow starvation of Spain's urban classes during the 1940s. But the CAT was not concerned with balanced or healthy diets for the population. Dr. Gregorio Marañón, who reluctantly returned to Spain in the years following the war, assessed that Spanish adults should eat around 200g to 300g of meat each day.⁷³ But this

⁷¹ "Cosas de abastos" por Manuel Corazon (Comisario de Recursos de la 3 zona). *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm. 13, 15 noviembre de 19, 6.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ch. Richet and G. Marañón. *Alimentación y regímenes Alimentarios* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942), 131.

was not a requirement that the CAT followed. Instead, meat was limited to 100g per person the same year as Marañón's publication.⁷⁴ And, Spaniards' access to meat was even more restricted when the CAT limited its sale to Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays, leaving it impossible for Spaniards to have a balanced meal each day. The restrictions of availability, of price, and of quality greatly hindered how much meat was consumed by Spaniards. Scholars estimate that the average Spaniard ate about 35.01g of meat each day: 13.37g of pork, 0.72g of goat and lamb, 9.99g of beef, 1.16g of fowl, 5.61g of wild game, and 4.16g of consumable offal.⁷⁵ Malnutrition was a serious threat for many Spaniards during the years of hunger, but it was not a priority for the CAT.

To greater divide Spaniards, the rationing program implemented a patriarchal hierarchy within the home to divide quantities of food by sex and age. The rationing program utilized by the Franco regime 1939 to 1943 reinforced the family as the base of Franco's New State formed as the Nationalists gained territory in Spain. Ration cards were issued to the male head of household and allocated so that the patriarch received 100% of a ration, women and elderly 80% of a ration, and children under 14 received 60% of a ration.⁷⁶ It appears that program failed to meet both its ideological and logistical ambitions. From an ideologically standpoint, the program's objective to reinforce Franco's larger family politics failed to shore up patriarchal authority in the household.⁷⁷ The Spanish family unit, during and after the devastation of the Spanish Civil War, was much different than the patriarchal formation from previous eras. Many

⁷⁴ Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos*, 241.

⁷⁵ A. Graciani Pérez-R, and F. Rodriguez Artalejo, J.R. Banegas Banegas, R. Hernández Vecino and J. del Rey Calero. *Consumo de alimentos en España en el periodo 1940-1988* (Madrid: UA Ediciones, 1996), 89, 95, 83, 105, 109, 116.

⁷⁶ Cid de la Llave, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento*, 122.

⁷⁷ For more on Franco's family policies and their failures, see: Mary Nash, "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain" in *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States 1880s-1950s* edited by Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (London: Routledge Press, 1994), 173.

men were killed, missing, or imprisoned by Francoist troops, leaving women as the head of their household. Likewise, children were quick to leave their home in an effort to establish themselves as heads of their own household, as part of a strategy to secure more food, effectively ending their childhood to receive adult male portions.⁷⁸ In both cases, rather than venerating the role of the patriarch in the family, women and children could work around the laws to undermine the familial authority of the father and acquire more access to food for themselves.

Logistically, the rationing system failed at many levels of implementation. First, the mathematics to calculate the accurate amount of a rationed good was difficult for many food vendors and took a lot of time to assess. Food vendors received charts to help decipher the correct quantities of foodstuffs per customer, but the process was slow and difficult, and the combination of horizontal and vertical lines to calculate the correct ration amount to price required advance mathematics. To make matters worse, sometimes shoppers only wanted to use a fraction of their ration, which occurred if supply was low or they did not have enough money to buy a full rationed amount. Even with the publication and circulations of tables that acted as a cheat sheet for food providers, the calculations were very advanced.⁷⁹ Second, not all rationed goods could be divided by percentages. Foodstuffs such as coffee, milk, and meat were easily measured in kilos, but eggs and bread were rationed by the unit. No one could sell 60% of an egg. Thirdly, the state could not control how food was divided up once it was served at the family table. Most ingredients went into the family pot as a traditional Spanish stew dish and were ladled out by the spoonful to hungry family members. Finally, alternative patriarchal divisions of food remained, like historian Antonio Cazorla Sanchez related about his own family,

⁷⁸ Giraldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo*, 59.

⁷⁹ Emilio Gomez, *Tablas para hallar el importe de los artículos que en cada racionamiento correspondan a las diferentes familias, dado el importe total de cada ración* (Burgos: Aldecoa SA, 1939?), 8.

where the family had two oranges to share between ten people. The patriarch received three sections of an orange, significantly more than the allocations for the women and children.⁸⁰ Once the groceries were home, the family could divide the ingredients among the family any way they wanted. The CAT eventually admitted the systemic problems with family ration cards and switched to an individual ration card system by 1943.⁸¹

The new individual ration cards were intended to limit the fraud associated with the family ration cards, but it also gave Spaniards more individuality and autonomy in their daily food choices. Since every individual was issued a booklet of ration coupons, they could keep them on hand and use them wherever they went within the country. Likewise, each person was considered a base unit for state food provisioning in contrast to the family style system that refused to subdivide the family unit into individual parts. Spanish women benefitted the most from the new system because it made them no longer dependent on their husbands to register and receive the ration cards. Additionally, by 1948, women were able to receive a special addendum to their individual ration card for when they were pregnant or breastfeeding to help supply the additional caloric intake that they needed to raise children.⁸² Overall, the reforms to individualize consumption and increase women's food supply were beneficial for the overall consumption levels of urban Spaniards, but it did not signify a loosening of the state's control of the population. Instead, state intervention and control of food resources continued, albeit more efficiently.

The reforms resulted in better implementation of the rationing program and better provisioning of the population, while the delays in implementing a better program suggests that

⁸⁰ Antonio Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 2.

⁸¹ "El racionamiento y la cartilla individual". *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 6, 15 abril 1942, 1.

⁸² Giraldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo*, 89.

the Francoist state maintained a complacency with dysfunctional bureaucratic systems and an apathy for the wellbeing of Spaniards. The CAT began researching the potential of individual ration cards as early as fall of 1941,⁸³ but as was typical with Spanish bureaucracy, the actual individual cards program took years to implement. Although Spaniards were dying of malnutrition and hunger due to poor implementation of the rationing system, and the CAT had the knowledge to improve the system, the organization wasted time in implementing its reform in favor of running a competition for best design for the new ration cards that participants had two weeks to design and the judges had two months to select a winner.⁸⁴ The CAT was in no hurry to curb corruption with ration cards, or to better feed Spain's starving population. Similarly, Spain could have transitioned away from wartime food policy a lot sooner if that was the objective of the Francoist state. Instead, wartime rationing remained a part of the everyday life of Spaniards for over a decade.

Although the rationing program was highly regulated by Francoist authorities, it was fraught with fraud, and many of those involved in extra-legal activity were empowered by the state. Bureaucrats, soldiers, police, judges, party members, Social Aid workers, and civil guard servicemen exploited their positions and special access to food. Bureaucrats in Barcelona were routinely caught and prosecuted by the Tax Office for fabricating and selling ration cards.⁸⁵ Even the military exploited their position to cheat the government's rationing system. Originating in

⁸³ "Se espera aumentar el racionamiento principalmente de patatas y aceite: Propósito de impantar la cartilla individual y esperanza de arreglo del problema de la leche." *Alimentación Nacional: Publicación de la Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes*. Año I núm 1. 15 noviembre 1941, 8.

⁸⁴ "Anunciaando un concurso para la confección de las fichas de que ha de componerse el "fichero individual de racionamiento" Ministerio de Industria y Comercio, Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes. *Boletín Oficial de Estado*. 30 abril 1941. Pg. 2996.

⁸⁵ Núm 1.379-18.224 Asunto: Personal y venta cartillas, Barcelona. 10 mayo 1946. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01731.; "Falsificacion instancia. Doña Posada Mendoza Amparo" Madrid, 16 nov 1957. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01487.

the war, the Nationalist troops had special access and priority to the food supply. James Matthews's investigation into conscription into the civil war has concluded that many of the soldiers in Franco's army during and after the war were forced into the Nationalist system and did not subscribe to the ideologies of the regime.⁸⁶ For many conscripts and those forced into obligatory military service after the war, their mission was not to further the objectives of the Franco regime, but to satisfy their stomachs and feed their families. Soldiers routinely stole food that they were supposed to escort from one region to another, or exploited their position of authority within Francoist society to extort food from civilians, the military, or the Francoist state through their empowerment by the CAT.⁸⁷

Ration card fraud was perpetuated by ordinary citizens as well. Especially in the years immediately following the war, many Spaniards migrated from one town to another in search of work. While they were supposed to have cancelled their ration cards in their old residence before soliciting ration cards in their new residence, this was seldom the case.⁸⁸ Likewise, women who rented rooms to travelers collected rations on their guests' behalf, but the Tax Office records show that these women frequently cashed in ration cards for tenants who were no longer in their care.⁸⁹ Others sold ration cards for products that they did not intend to use. Non-smokers, for example, could sell their rations for tobacco to smokers.⁹⁰ Historians debate to what extent these

⁸⁶ James Matthews, *Reluctant Warriors: Republican Popular Army and Nationalist Army Conscripts in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 175.

⁸⁷ "Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes- Inspección General (Sección de Expedientes). Registros denuncias y resoluciones. Año 1941-1946." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01731.

⁸⁸ "La baja en la cartilla de la localidad de residencia, necesaria para lograr el alta en el punto de destino." *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 8, 15 junio de 1942, 2.

⁸⁹ "Legajo núm 8. Expediente núm.701" Dirección General de Seguridad, Brigada especial de abastecimiento y transportes. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01491.

⁹⁰ Gloria Román Ruíz, *Delinquir o morir. El Pequeño estraperlo en la Granada posguerra*, (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2015), 27.

small acts were forms of resistance against the Franco regime or strategies of survival. Regardless of the motive of ordinary Spaniards to break the law and commit food crimes, they acted in opposition to the efforts of the CAT and the Francoist state. The Nationalist propaganda during the civil war called for Spaniards to sacrifice for their country, and Spaniards' engagement with the food policy of the CAT demonstrates that many Spaniards were not willing to go along with their call to sacrifice.

Policing Food Crimes

The often-blatant disregard for food policy through diverse strategies of non-conformity and resistance led to stronger enforcement by the CAT and by the policing arm of the Franco regime, a hallmark of institutionalized repression incorporated into Francoist society. The Tax Office (*Fiscalia de Tasas*) was formed because crimes against the CAT were so common that local resources were being diverted away from other work. The regulatory arm of the CAT was formed so that "Local authorities' only obligation to enforce the rules and regulations of the CAT was in maintaining set prices."⁹¹ And the Tax Office operated semi-independently from the CAT. Its mandate was to maintain "intimate contact with the CAT" and to "reinforce the fight against abusive speculation and prices of materials."⁹² Inspectors routinely patrolled the city to surveille for illicit activity. Small acts such as cooking within public view or having the smell of food wafted into public space were illegal in the 1940s and could be punished by authorities.⁹³ Checkpoints were created throughout the city to stop people in cars, trains, trucks, or bicycles

⁹¹ Cid de la Llave, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento*, 122.

⁹² "Actuación de la Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes durante el periodo 1939-1964" Ministerio de Comercio. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/02316.

⁹³ "Nuestro régimen de hoteles y restaurantes, el menos restringido de Europa. Dos minutas: especial y corriente, fijación de los precios, limitación del número de tapas y entremeses, etc. Reglamentación establecida en las circulares 161, 185 y 250." *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 6, 15 abril 1942, p. 9.

that were transporting food without the proper paperwork. And the community mobilized against each other to accuse neighbors and local businesses of criminal activity. As with other aspects of daily life in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, food acquisition and its consumption became militarized, transforming the daily habits of ordinary Spaniards as their actions were carefully policed.

Most illicit activity faced a fine or revocation of access to rationing cards, with only extreme offenders facing jail time. Food vendors could have their business permits revoked, but this did not happen often because their businesses were desperately needed for food distribution in the city. Even if food vendors were guilty of selling contaminated foods that threatened public health, their shops were not shut down because contaminated food was better than nothing. Furthermore, official food vendors were often able to escape punishment by utilizing their channels of protection through their business guilds, associations, or labor unions. Ordinary Spaniards did not have access to such resources, but were sometimes able to use their connections with the government, military, or the church in order to lessen or remove the punishment. While businesses did not suffer much at the hands of the Tax Office and the CAT regulation, Spanish consumers did. Any punishment was catastrophic for working-class Spaniards who were struggling to put food on the table. Many families struggled to scrape together enough money to buy food, so any quantity of fine was devastating to the family. Any financial setback or loss of access to ration cards for the Spanish family could lead to hunger and hard times.

Fines for individuals and first-time offenders were by far the most common cases for the Tax Office, rather than uncovering and prosecuting the sophisticated black-market networks as the organization was founded to do. There were 580 people charged in Madrid as first-time

offenders for not having the proper foodstuffs receipts⁹⁴ in February and March 1943, paying a total of 35.930 pesetas in fines.⁹⁵ The number of culprits declined by April 1943 to only 135 people, all of whom were first-time offenders, and went back up to 282 Spaniards in May only to decrease again to 113 in June.⁹⁶ July saw a skyrocket in fines prosecuted by the regional office of the CAT in Madrid. 627 people were charged as first-time offenders and had to pay over 26.425 pesetas in fines to the Tax Office.⁹⁷ But for 1943, the largest raid on illicit activity by the Tax office occurred in October, with 1263 Spaniards charged with first-offense crimes and paying 67.825 pesetas in fines.⁹⁸ Aggregating the monthly fluctuations, the average fine levied by the Madrid branch of the Tax Office was 51,95 pesetas. While these small, individual fines for first-time offenders does not seem like much, the fine amount of 51,95 pesetas could have bought a Spanish family 17 kilos of green beans and peas at official prices set for that year.⁹⁹ In a time when most of a Spanish budget was dedicated to buying food, having to pay a fine, regardless of the amount, took essential resources away from food acquisition, leading to greater hunger and malnutrition.

⁹⁴ Original Spanish is "*no devolución tornaguía*". All consumer goods circulated within the city had to have corresponding paperwork that identified its origin and that it had passed through the official checkpoints. Goods looted from the countryside, stolen from the back of a cargo truck, or bought through the black market would not have the correct paperwork, meaning the person in possession of the goods, either as a distributor or a consumer, could be fined by the CAT.

⁹⁵ "Ministerio de Industria y Comercio- CGAT. Relación de multas cobradas por infracción en materia de abastos durante el mes de febrero 1943." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11) 7 63/00058.

⁹⁶ "CGAT. Comisaría de Recursos de la 1a Zona de Abastecimiento. Multas impuestas por infracción en materia de abastos durante el mes de abril de 1943." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11) 7 63/00058.

⁹⁷ "Ministerio de Industria y Comercio- CGAT. Relación de multas cobradas por infracción en materia de abastos durante el mes de julio de 1943." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11) 7 63/00058.

⁹⁸ "Ministerio de Industria y Comercio- CGAT. Relación de multas cobradas por infracción en materia de abastos durante el mes de octubre de 1943." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11) 7 63/00058.

⁹⁹ "Tasas de hortalizas varias y granadas para Madrid. Madrid, 5 de noviembre de 1943" FET-JONS Sindicato Vertical de Frutos y Productos Hortícolas. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/12353.

Likewise, incarceration was sometimes a punishment for food crimes that devastated Spanish families by separating loved ones and lowering the earning potential for the family. Incarceration did not only remove the family member from being able to earn wages, but created new challenges for the family to provide food to their loved one. Prison rations were calorically and nutritionally unsustainable for life, with official prison rations for adult men set at 1L of olive oil, 1kg of sugar, 0,75kg of legumes or rice, 6kg of potatoes, 0,25kg of bacon, 0,25kg of pasta, and poor quality bread per month.¹⁰⁰ These food amounts were insufficient for adult males on paper, but their actual food supply was much worse. Oral history interviews have revealed that many prisoners never received the food that was due to them.¹⁰¹ Security guards would steal the food for themselves and their families or sell the prisoners' allocations on the black market. Families had to bring food to their incarcerated loved ones when they were permitted to visit, which allowed prisoners to save up their money to work off their sentences instead of having to use it to buy necessities from the prison store.¹⁰² Paradoxically, while rationing was implemented to strengthen family bonds through patriarchal rationing, the prosecution of food crimes destroyed many Spanish families.

Price setting, rationing, and policy enforcement dictated how Spaniards lived and what they were able to eat or not eat. The CAT justified its policies by claiming that it was intervening in the most essential of Spanish foods, but in practice, the organization set prices and rationing for a range of goods, affecting the diets of the wealthiest to the poorest of Spaniards. Despite the mission of the CAT to provide affordable foods across Spain, many with access to the

¹⁰⁰ "Oficio-Circular número 17646" Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Dirección Técnica (Sección Estadística y Racionamiento) Negociado C, Madrid, febrero 1944. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11) 63/25.

¹⁰¹ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 31.

¹⁰² *Memoria de la Prision-escuela Madrid Yeserias: El trabajo y la educación* (Madrid, 1943), 30.

foodway—producers, transporters, distributors, and vendors—exploited gaps within the system for their own benefit. Likewise, the implementation of price-setting and rationing was uneven across the country, leading to great disparity in who was able to receive food through the rationing program. The Tax Office was supposed to help enforce the food policies of the CAT, but many food crimes went unpunished and the policies of the CAT went ignored. Despite the extreme intervention of the government into the urban food supply, Spaniards still went hungry. Far from creating equal distribution of food, the rationing system and the food policies of the CAT created a larger wealth gap between Spaniards, seen in the cities of Madrid and Barcelona during the hunger years.

As one CAT administrator noted, “We cannot eat more than we currently do without increasing agriculture or imports. The rationing system is designed to distribute the goods that exist, but it cannot create more food than there is.”¹⁰³ What was needed in Spanish cities more than food subsidies or a distribution system was actual food, but this was not within the mandate of the CAT. As Richards claims, part of the totalitarian ambitions of the Franco regime was to subdue the Spanish urban population through the control of food.¹⁰⁴ It was not in the goals of the CAT to adequately feed the population, despite the military campaign promises of the Nationalists. The CAT left many Spaniards to starve, but in a moderated way and under the watchful eye of the state.

Food Charity and Social Aid

¹⁰³ Cid de la Llave, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento*, 212.

¹⁰⁴ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 130.

The Franco regime approached food policymaking through both repressive and coercive means in order to reshape Spanish urban society according to Nationalist views. As the previous section demonstrated, the CAT epitomized the repressive aspects of Franco's food policy by regulating availability and pricing of consumer goods. The Social Aid program, a food charity relief program began during the civil war, acted as the coercive component of the regime's food policy. The charity organization was founded and operated by the FET-JONS, Spain's fascist party, and it exploited its priority access to Spain's food supply to coerce Spaniards into model citizens in exchange for sustaining food. Whereas the CAT was charged with regulating and surveilling food as it traveled from farm to market, Social Aid targeted urban working-class participation in Francoist society by creating an exchange where impoverished Spaniards participated in Nationalists rituals for food. Coercive measures, such as attending mass before a meal or singing fascist songs in bread lines, were only some of the rituals required for Spaniards to receive charity from the Francoist state. Through the process of indoctrination, Social Aid contributed to the creation of Francoist food culture and the social control levied on urban Spaniards through state food policy.

Spain's urban working class was particularly targeted by the charity of Social Aid for two reasons. First, Spain's working classes were the most vulnerable in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War and in need of humanitarian relief. Rampant inflation occurred during the war, making many goods unaffordable to large swaths of the urban population. The price controls enacted by the CAT could only help those who already had money. For those with nothing, subsidized food was still too expensive for their households. Second, the Nationalists charged the working classes as responsible for the leftist politics of the Second Republic. As Richards notes, Spain's urbanization and its accompanied growth of working classes were seen as a huge threat to the

established order.¹⁰⁵ Many of the initiatives of the FET-JONS and especially of the Women's Section, were specifically targeted to the working-classes in an effort to transform them to model participants in Franco's New State. Thus, Social Aid was developed to meet the real needs of vulnerable Spaniards, fulfilling Franco's military campaign promise to provide Spaniards with bread, but the program was implemented in such a way that it coerced working-class Spaniards to adapt to the Franco regime's moral codes.

In theory, the shortcomings of the CAT to sufficiently provision the Spanish civilian population with food would have been fulfilled by Social Aid, the charity program founded by leaders of the FET-JONS to provide relief to newly-acquired Nationalist territory during the Spanish Civil War. As the volunteers to Social Aid viewed their work, "[We] break through with white bread and bags of food in rhythm with the last bullets fired in desolate cities and towns, cleaning premises, fixing walls, and opening dining facilities within a few short hours. The furniture, dishes, and flower arrangements are all prepared beforehand, ready to enter into action."¹⁰⁶ Similar to how the bureaucracy of the CAT traveled behind the Nationalist troops to divide and distribute gained resources with troop territorial advancement, the leaders of Social Aid adopted a militant attitude toward their charitable work, equating the importance of distribution of bread and meals to a military campaign.

Because of the organization's proximity to the Nationalist troops and the battlefield, many other relief agencies channeled their resources to the Social Aid organization with the belief that they were in the best position to distribute aid to those in need. Although the Red Cross, the Rockefeller Foundation, and various national governments donated aid to Spain, Social Aid was designated by the international humanitarian networks as the best way to

¹⁰⁵ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 129.

¹⁰⁶ *Auxilio Social*. Valladolid: diciembre 1937.

administer the humanitarian relief to Spain's urban population. The Catholic Church, Spain's traditional site of humanitarian relief in times of crisis, partnered with the organization by providing staff and locations for Social Aid to distribute relief aid. As the Spanish Civil War came to an end, the siege on Madrid was lifted and supplies began to enter the city by road and rail.¹⁰⁷ Barcelona struggled to adjust to its burgeoning population of displaced persons, and its new municipal leaders took action to provision the city. In both Madrid and Barcelona, it was widely accepted nationally and internationally that the Social Aid was the only relief organization equipped to handle the needs of Spain's urban population in the aftermath of the war. Social Aid gained charity hegemony at the end of the civil war, further solidifying its integration into the new Francoist society. With charity relief consolidated under its administration, Social Aid gained totalitarian control over Spain's food charity.

Yet, similar to the uneven implementation of food policy by the CAT, Social Aid also failed to uniformly coerce hungry Spaniards to follow their prescribed model of urban eating. Corruption within the organization itself, such as distributors and directors who forged record books to sell supplies on the black market, acted to directly undermine the mission of the organization. But more commonly, the apathy and ineptitude expressed by forced volunteers plagued the organization and kept it from achieving efficient charity administration, leaving recipients of the charity confused by the mission and objectives of the FET-JONS party. Spaniards who relied on charity from the organization were supposed to conform to the ideals of the FET-JONS in exchange for food, but many Spaniards ignored the rules of the charity institutions and exploited bureaucratic blind spots in its administration of food. Others would remain silent during prayers or songs, refuse to use utensils, or take food to eat at home rather in

¹⁰⁷ "Junta Superior de Precios- 1942". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/09132.

the indoctrinating dining halls. And many patrons remained indifferent to the values promoted by the organization, submitting to the demands of Social Aid as a survival strategy, not because of their conversion to their ideology. A spectrum of responses and experiences through the Social Aid charity program ultimately failed to subdue urban Spaniards.

Social Aid was first launched as “Winter Assistance” (*Auxilio de Invierno*) by Javier Martínez de Bedoya and Mercedes Sanz Bachiller who modeled their relief program on Nazi Germany’s *Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt* (NSV).¹⁰⁸ Their efforts evolved into year-round community support as Social Aid in May 1937 when it became clear among Nationalist leaders that permanent and long-term relief was going to be needed in the conquered territories.¹⁰⁹ The relief program mobilized civilians, mostly women, in the war relief effort, Sanz Bachiller organized a humanitarian convoy from Seville to Madrid within 72 hours of the Nationalist troops entering the capital from the south in the spring of 1937, and within eight days, a convoy of supplies from Pamplona to the north of the Madrid during the city’s siege.¹¹⁰ As a consequence of its positioning, international relief agencies worked through the Social Aid program to administer aid to Spaniards in need. Even organizations that wanted to be politically neutral—such as the Quakers or the Swiss Relief Commission (*Comité de Ayuda Suiza*)—joined with Social Aid due to their logistical acumen in provisioning Spain’s cities.¹¹¹ As historian Angela Cenarro notes, the Spanish Civil War was a golden age for Social Aid in that the organization received special benefits for transport of people and goods on the same level as the Nationalist military. It also helped to legitimate the Franco dictatorship in the eyes of the West,

¹⁰⁸ Cenarro, *Sonrisa de Falange*, 42.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

since many Western powers, including the United States,¹¹² praised the efficacy and charity of the organization.¹¹³ Into the post-civil war dictatorship, the charity of Social Aid continued, and the organization was able to entice Spaniards to its doctrine in exchange for meals.

The Social Aid program was very much tied to the ideology of the Nationalists and the Franco dictatorship. Food was not handed out freely, but it was given with restrictions that were intended to coerce vulnerable Spaniards into the culture of the new state, or at the very least model the values of the FET-JONS party and its role in Spanish society. Every aspect of Social Aid was meant to be coercive for the patrons of the charity institutions. The FET-JONS party determined who qualified for food, built and decorated the charity institutions, and cooked and served the food in a manner that reinforced the goals and values of the state. The total process was intended to model social dynamics for the new Francoist state that relied on patronage and paternalism. This section further explores how Social Aid funneled impoverished Spaniards into specific daily practices that reflected the morals and values of Franco's Spain. Yet, from the chaos of the civil war and the extreme scarcity that lingered in its wake, food provisioning by Social Aid largely failed to live up to the ambition to prescribe a new Spanish society. Instead, many of the divisions, opportunisms, and pragmatisms of the civil war continued throughout the years of hunger, failing to conform to the expectations of the mission of Social Aid and the FET-JONS.

Food Eligibility

The path of coercion employed by Social Aid began with the process by which Spaniards had to request charity. Spaniards were categorized as male, female, youth, adult, elderly,

¹¹² "Correspondence to Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur from Dr. J.H. Janney." December 13, 1940. Pg. 7. J.H. Janney Collection, Hoover Institution Archives.

¹¹³ Cenarro, *Sonrisa de Falange*, 37.

diabetic, pregnant, student, or veteran, and qualified for different forms of relief according to how their demographic group was valued by the FET-JONS. Children were eligible to receive food from the child dining halls (*comedores infantiles*) while older teens received food if they attended one of the party trade schools or were members of the college student union (SEU).¹¹⁴ Adults in severe economic hardship could solicit family assistance from the community kitchens (*cocinas de hermandad*), and mothers could receive special foods during pregnancy and breastfeeding through the Mother and Child program (*madre y niño*).¹¹⁵ Initially, Nationalist veterans were eligible for food from Social Aid until the program was transferred into the jurisdiction and provisioning of the “Old Shirts” veteran program (*Camisas Viejas*).¹¹⁶ Social Aid intervened in the special dietary needs of the sick, but went to great lengths to cater to the dietary needs of diabetics, setting up diabetic centers in all of the provinces as part of the medical initiatives of Dr. Carlos Blanco Soler, the head of the Spanish Red Cross in the 1940s.¹¹⁷ For those too elderly or sick to leave their homes, the Social Aid volunteers made house calls to distribute food for those in need.¹¹⁸ Similar to how the CAT categorized Spaniards for access to rationing, Social Aid further implanted demographic divisions between Spaniards that determined who received access to food and who did not.

Social Aid determined the need of each Spaniard and the level of charity that they would receive according to their grouping, regardless of how the individual wanted to be grouped or their level of need. The veteran benefits from Social Aid were only available for those who had

¹¹⁴ *Labor realizada den 1944* (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1945).

¹¹⁵ "Datos que nos han sido facilitados por la administracion de esta elegacion provincial, solicitados por ese departamento central" Madrid, 26 de marzo de 1940. Auxilio Social: Delegacion Provincial, Madrid, Departamento Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2180.

¹¹⁶ Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2180.

¹¹⁷ Carlos Blanco Soler, "Nota Terapéutica de la semana. Racionamiento del diabético en épocas de guerra" in *Semana Médica Española*. Num 199 año VI, 2 de enero de 1943. 42-44.

¹¹⁸ *¿Conoces Auxilio Social y la labor realiza?* (Madrid: Falange española tradicionalista y de las JONS, 194?).

served on the Nationalist side, ignoring the needs of Republican soldiers and auxiliary. Social Aid determined who was capable of physically going to the community kitchens and did not need the additional help of home delivery of food. According to the organization's records, 300,000 meals were served to home-bound Spaniards, while 428,021 Spanish adults and children were expected to make the trip to their designated food distribution center.¹¹⁹ Older teens were still categorized as children and therefore received the same portions as younger kids, despite having a caloric need closer to adults. The Spanish government actively encouraged higher birth rates through pro-natalist policies, so prioritized food and care was one of the perks for pregnant women who participated in the initiative. None of the groups received food based on dietary preferences such as vegetarianism or halal, nor did Social Aid accommodate for food preferences or individual taste. Through categorization and assessment, Spaniards were subjected to the power of charity of Social Aid. At least on paper, Spaniards had to conform to these rigid categories of eligibility in order to receive charitable aid.

But in practice, Spaniards, despite no other alternative for food, found ways still to resist conformity to the categorizations imposed by the FET-JONS. For example, some mothers picked up meals from the child dining halls on behalf of their son or daughter, just to redistribute the food to the whole family at home.¹²⁰ Other women feigned pregnancy in order to gain access to the larger rations and better meals provided through the mother and child program.¹²¹ Some teenagers dropped out of school to work so that they could qualify for larger portions at a factory dining facility instead of the children's meal provided by Social Aid at schools, effectively

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ "Correspondencia," Madrid, 25 de febrero de 1943. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2180.

¹²¹ Antonio Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 66.

changing their categorization from student to worker.¹²² While still within the boundaries of the charity program, Spaniards negotiated these imposed categories to secure better food opportunities for themselves or their families.

Rigid bureaucratic processes also limited access to the state charity of Social Aid, requiring Spaniards to complete extensive paperwork for each individual to qualify for food.¹²³ The application process was a form of power exercised over the Spanish population where the benefactor selected who was worthy or unworthy for their charity. Ultimately, the steps necessary to complete the application acted as a form of coercion for the solicitants. Oftentimes, the paperwork was intimidating and overwhelming for those in need, and acted as a passive, bureaucratic way for the FET-JONS to deny needy Spaniards food.

To apply for the community kitchens, Spaniards had to complete the application form at the local office of the Social Aid to make their petition, located in each provincial capital. The application had to provide verification through census records that they were residing in the neighborhood before the war.¹²⁴ With so many neighborhoods within the city destroyed, many Spaniards had to flee to other locations where buildings and utilities were still intact. Refugees from the countryside would not qualify for relief within the city, and Spaniards could not transfer their charity from one neighborhood to another. To complicate this process, municipal records kept by Republican authorities were often destroyed, either by Republicans or Nationalists, leaving many Spaniards without proof of pre-war residency in the neighborhood. Often, only ecclesiastical records remained to validate a family's residency in a neighborhood, and these

¹²² Giraldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo*, 59.

¹²³ "Solicitud de asistencia en cocina de hermandad" Auxilio Social. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1686 BIS.

¹²⁴ "Carta circular" Auxilio Social (departamento central de Auxilio de Invierno) Madrid, 16 noviembre 1940. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1686 BIS.

records excluded secular Spaniards. Next, the solicitants had to explain the economic, health, and political situation of their family in the forms to justify their access to charity. Those who were illiterate needed additional help writing their justification for charity and were unable to verify what was being written on their behalf. The last part of the form required the signature of the solicitant to affirm that they agreed with the social justice measures of Franco's "New State". If Spaniards did not sign and agree with the measures of the regime and the Social Aid program, they would not receive the much-needed aid. The registration for children into the child dining halls differed slightly. The form required that their priest sign to confirm the child's baptism, first communion, and confirmation depending on their age.¹²⁵ In both cases, Spaniards needed to meet the religious and political expectations of Social Aid to qualify for food. They needed to subordinate their individual beliefs and their religious practices in exchange for food from the state.

For the next phase in the application process, a representative who worked for the Social Aid inspected the home of the solicitant to assess the family's moral character and write a report that verified the family's economic need. Only family members who were present in the house at the time of the inspection counted towards the request for aid, omitting those who might have been outside the home at the time of the visit because of work, school, or queuing to buy consumer goods. If the request was approved, the family could receive a month of meals from the community kitchen. If the family needed more aid, the application process had to be repeated to show continued need for the family members. At least according to official records, most of the solicitants who requested charity received it. One district in Madrid reported a 96.4%

¹²⁵ "Solicitud de Ingreso en "Comedor Infantil". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1686 BIS.

acceptance rate for its 65,000 petitions for aid in 1939.¹²⁶ Of course this acceptance rate was dependent on those who were literate enough to complete the paperwork and could supply all of the religious and municipal documentation. The relief of the Social Aid was intended to help with provisioning food for families in need, but the structure of the bureaucracy was intimidating, coercive, and overwhelming for many impoverished Spaniards.

If enrollment into one of the relief centers was granted, Spaniards became completely reliant on the community kitchen for their daily provisioning of food. A family's rationing coupons were suspended for the month that they received meals from Social Aid on the assumption that all their dietary needs would come from the program and there was no need for additional food.¹²⁷ This policy was adopted to curb Spaniards from eating at the dining establishments and then selling their rations on the street for money or luxury goods. In theory, Social Aid could have supplied all of the needs of the family, and taken over the difficult duties for women to provide meals for their families. In practice, the program created new challenges for urban food security by removing the ability for Spaniards to buy their own food. Some kitchens and dining halls provided their patrons with enough food for the entire day, permitting the patrons to collect food to cook at home for their families, but most did not, meaning that Spaniards had to travel to their assigned center twice a day and eat their meals segregated from their families at the dining facilities.¹²⁸ If a community kitchen ran out of food, served

¹²⁶ "Organización Actual", Madrid, 29 de julio de 1939. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 75/25492.

¹²⁷ "Falange Española Tradicionalista y de Las JONS: Auxilio Social, El Delegado Nacional" Madrid, 24 de febrero de 1943: Camarada Jefe del Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 2180.

¹²⁸ "Comedor de ancianos, Martínez Campos 18 (distrito de Santa Engracia) Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno" Madrid, 1 dic 1939 (ano de victoria). Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

inadequate portions or nutritiously unbalanced meals, the family would suffer with no other food options available to them.

Sites of Food Charity

Once Spaniards were sorted into their indicated relief center, most of them had to physically travel to their assigned dining facility each day. By the end of 1939, Social Aid divided the province of Barcelona into 10 districts with a total of 112 child cafeterias and 113 brotherhood kitchens which made its impact on the cityscape through the occupation of 207 sites.¹²⁹ (The numbers do not add up because some of the facilities served as double-purpose child and adult dining facility by serving staggered meals). In Madrid, Social Aid divided the city into the districts Centro, Hospicio, Chamberí, Latina, Universidad, Buenavista, Palacio, Incluso, Congreso, Hospital, Vallecas-Pacífico, Vicálvaro, Charmartin, and Canillas-Canillejas, with additional districts for Madrid's nearby villages¹³⁰ The intent of the division of the city into feeding districts was to improve efficacy of food provisioning in the city and to increase access to food distribution centers. On paper, the city was thoroughly demarcated to provide relief to hungry populations in each neighborhood of the city. In practice, food distribution through Social Aid proved to be much more complex than drawing lines on a map.

Social Aid was quick to divide up Nationalist territory for food relief in the aftermath of conquest, but less efficient when it came to determining where people lived and needed charity relief. The Social Aid identified charity zones according to pre-Republican census records, ignoring subtleties of class and war devastation that would further impact where relief was

¹²⁹ "Relación de Asistidos y Raciones Servidas" Provincia de Barcelona, 1939. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 75/25493, carpeta 20.

¹³⁰ "Auxilio Social 1939," Madrid, 31 de octubre de 1939. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 2154.

needed. Affluent neighborhoods in Madrid that were untouched by the violence of the war received similar aid to the neighborhoods that received an influx of impoverished refugees from the countryside or were devastated by bombings. Within days of the fall of Barcelona, Social Aid set up food distribution throughout the city, but rejected existing channels of food distribution that were implemented by the Second Republic and the Popular Front during the war. As one resident of Barcelona observed, Social Aid shuttered the dining halls run by the Popular Front government or by labor unions—well-equipped to distribute thousands of meals each day—and instead built their own dining establishments with less space and equipment to provision urban residents.¹³¹ Location of the facility also played an important part in the attendance records of certain relief kitchens' operation by the Social Aid program. For example, the organization reported that for the month of October 1939, no child or adult had been registered as missing a meal at the dining facility in the district Centro, which had 3,750 enrolled for meal benefits.¹³² Of the 16,648 enrolled for food relief in the Vallecas district for the same month, only 100 meals were ever missed by those desperate for state provisioning.¹³³ Two neighborhoods in close proximity to each other differed by approximately 4.5 times the relief need. Social Aid largely failed to accommodate the needs of different neighborhoods within the city.

However, the neighborhood of Vallecas was somewhat exceptional. Its population swelled with those trapped between the outskirts of the city and the Atocha train station. They migrated to the city in search of waged work, but could not pass Atocha without residency permits. The flow of people and goods bottlenecked at the neighborhood, leading to

¹³¹ *Franco in Barcelona* (London: United Editorial Ltd., 1939), 15.

¹³² “Distritos” Madrid, 31 de octubre de 1939. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 2154.

¹³³ “Distritos” Madrid, 31 de octubre de 1939. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 2154.

overcrowding and black marketeering. Social Aid tried to meet the demand, building two child dining halls and four community kitchens by July 1940, but by 1942 the neighborhood was down to one child dining hall and four community kitchens, and the children of the neighborhood were significantly underweight for their age and structure, showing muscular retardation according to a study organized by the Rockefeller Foundation at the same time.¹³⁴ Looking at a map of the metropolitan region of Madrid, it would appear as if Social Aid was provisioning the city well, but the distribution of people and their need was too irregular for the organization to accommodate. Social Aid provisioned the city according to census records from 1936, ignoring how needs had changed and populations had migrated during and after the war and how work and infrastructure was reshaping the demographics of the city and its suburbs.

With few exceptions, entrance to the dining facilities of the Social Aid program meant that Spaniards entered into sites of political indoctrination. The buildings and spatiality of the charity institutions were designed to glorify God, country, and the FET-JONS party. Within each dining center, the power politics of the regime were acted out in the provisioning of a meal. Each dining room operated by Social Aid was required to have a portrait of the Caudillo Francisco Franco, a portrait of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange party, and an image depicting the infant Jesus in child dining halls or a crucifix in adult dining halls.¹³⁵ The logo for Social Aid, displayed on cars and uniforms, was a menacing hand clutching a dagger, reinforcing its militaristic roots in the Spanish Civil War.¹³⁶ The connection between the Spanish

¹³⁴ Robinson, WD and JH Janney. "Studies of the physical characteristics of selected children in Madrid, Spain, in 1941." *The Journal of Pediatrics*, 20 (6), 1942, 733.

¹³⁵ "Menaje necesario para un comedor infantil de 50 plazas". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 75/25494, carpeta 22.; "Inventario General de la Institución: comedor universitario del SEU" Calle Beneficencia, 8 Madrid. 2 Julio 1944. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1660.

¹³⁶ *Franco in Barcelona*, 15.

Civil War, religious crusade, and the FET-JONS political movement were integrated into the Social Aid space.

The charity institutions took an important Spanish tradition—meal time with the family—and reconfigured the custom within its walls of surveillance and coercion. The goal of the charity of Social Aid was to create a “new Spaniard” whose beliefs, actions, and eating habits were aligned with the efforts in the “New State”.¹³⁷ Parents were separated from their children in the division between community kitchens and the child dining halls.¹³⁸ Instead of mothers cooking and serving the meal, it was performed by Falangist volunteers. While the FET-JONS valued the Spanish family unit and promoted family life in its propaganda, its implementation of food provisioning through Social Aid divided the family and negated the party’s own doctrine. The FET-JONS claimed that children should be with their mothers, but some mothers were deemed as unfit to adequately care for their children.¹³⁹ Falange members and volunteers were considered to do a better job in raising children and serving a meal than working-class parents. How Social Aid targeted working-class families for their charity program and then divided parents from children suggests that the party deemed working-class families as unfit for Franco’s New State.

Those who worked in the kitchens to cook, clean, and serve food were expected to be cheerful and represent the mission of Social Aid and the Franco regime. Background checks were run on those who wanted to work there, and only those with a history of activism for the FET-JONS were awarded high-paying positions as director of the charity institutions. But for cooks and bus boys, Social Aid valued their skills and experience more than their political pasts. Some of them had worked in the dining halls for the CNT or UGT during the war, but were

¹³⁷ Angela Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2009), 133.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Auxilio Social y el problema demográfico español, 1939-1950* (Madrid: Sección Femenina, 1950), 26.

easily repurposed for the mission of the FET-JONS and Social Aid after the war in their kitchens.¹⁴⁰ In some cases, skills and experience in hospitality outweighed ideology for provisioning Spanish cities effectively.

The uneven impact of Social Aid was exacerbated by its volunteer labor force, which did not necessarily care about the ideology or values of the FET-JONS or the Franco regime. The organization relied heavily on participants conscripted from the Women's Section's Social Service, and at times its staff was comprised of 60% non-paid, forced volunteers.¹⁴¹ Social Service was a six-month program required for all women age seventeen to thirty-five that was comparable to required male military service.¹⁴² The program required three months of volunteer work by Spanish women who wanted to apply for a passport, driver's license, or work permit. And because the women were largely conscripted to these volunteer positions, many of the workers in the dining facilities cared little for the policies and hygiene of Social Aid, and even less for their ideology and mission. For this reason, the patron's interaction with the workers varied greatly. In some cases, the volunteers provided extra food to those in need, or let their friends or family skip the line.¹⁴³ In other cases, the volunteers disregarded the needs of patrons to Social Aid and treated them poorly, threatening to report them to the police, and at times becoming physically violent to the women in line.¹⁴⁴ There were a spectrum of experiences and

¹⁴⁰ "Ref: Cocina de Hermandad 4, Calle Cervantes 38 (Distrito de Congreso) Madrid, 14 de noviembre de 1939" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.

¹⁴¹ "Organizaciones Actuales. Instituciones." Madrid, 29 de julio de 1939. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1686 BIS.

¹⁴² Kathleen Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 17.

¹⁴³ "Cocina de Hermandad 2, Calle águila 22 (Distrito Latina) Madrid; 22 noviembre de 1939 (Año de Victoria)" Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

¹⁴⁴ "Ref. Cocina de Hermandad 4, Calle Cervantes 36 (Distrito Congreso) Madrid, 14 Noviembre de 1939" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.; *Franco in Barcelona*, 15.

interactions between those who had food (the party administrators and volunteers who worked at Social Aid dining establishments), and those who wanted food, the hungry working classes of Madrid and Barcelona. There was no consistency between locations or daily practices, therefore there was no uniform indoctrination or coercion of the patrons. In one community kitchen, a volunteer did not take the tickets of those in line, meaning that the patrons with whom she interacted could return multiple times for meals that day. In the same institution, another volunteer was tasked with distributing bread with the meal, but saved the rolls for herself, essentially stealing food from the people in need for her own personal gain.¹⁴⁵ Many of the experiences of individual Spaniards were based on interactions with other individual Spaniards who were conscripted into volunteer duty at a kitchen or dining hall.

And while the workers did not always reflect the values of the Franco regime, the actual dining and kitchen space also failed to reflect the ideals of the New State. One inspector reported from his visit to a child dining hall, "I stayed until mid-afternoon and the dining hall began to get dark. I noticed the presence of a large quantity of rats crawling all over the bread and other places that it was impossible for me to tolerate the place longer..."¹⁴⁶ Another lamented during his inspection, "The facility finished its renovations two months ago, but the dining hall still lacks chairs, tables, electric lights, and tablecloths. Furthermore, many dishes in the kitchen are broken so that the cooks cannot cook to the capacity needed for the children."¹⁴⁷ Lack of dishes and chairs and tables did not deter the hungry children from eating, with one inspection reporting

¹⁴⁵ "Ref. Cocina de Hermandad 4, Calle Cervantes 36 (Distrito Congreso) Madrid, 14 Noviembre de 1939" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.

¹⁴⁶ "Ref: Comedor Infantil 1, Calle Concepción Arenal 1 (Distrito del Centro) Madrid, 7 de Diciembre 1939" Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2250.

¹⁴⁷ "Ref: Comedor Infantil 5, Calle Ventorrillo 14 (Zona 1 distrito de la Inclusa) Madrid, 25 septiembre de 1940"

that children gathered on the floor to eat their meals due to lack of chairs and tables.¹⁴⁸ Spaniards who were in the most desperate need were subjected to the circumstances of inadequate dining and food preparation facilities, often times risking proper hygiene and disease for food. In general, the poorer neighborhoods and the more impoverished Spaniards suffered worse care by Social Aid, namely negligence of the care needed and indifference to their daily suffering.

Hygiene was not the only moral to be found lacking in many of the institutions of Social Aid, but the indoctrination of space through Catholic and FET-JONS regalia suffered as well. Some inspections found that facilities did not display the ideological items of the regime such as the portrait of Franco, and the directors claimed that images of Franco, along with food and decent dining furniture, were all in shortage at the location. One child dining facility in Chamberí "...lacked crucifix and photographs of Franco and Jose Antonio, leaving the children to pray and sing to a blank wall."¹⁴⁹ Although the intent of the hunger relief programs was to feed Spaniards a nationalist discourse within a regime-controlled space filled with ideological symbols, these objectives fell short in the social chaos of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath.

Eating State Food

The final step in the process of charity administered by Social Aid was meal service to the patrons. As Lara Anderson has noted in her recent work on the cooking culture of Francoism, the regime utilized key ingredients in a nationalization process to standardize Spaniards and their

¹⁴⁸ "Informe sobre a visita de inspección realizada el día 31 de enero de 1949 al jardín maternal de Bravo Murillo" Auxilio Social, Delegación Nacional Madrid: 2 de febrero de 1949. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 75/25492, Carpeta 6.

¹⁴⁹ "Ref: Comedor Infantil 2, Calle Santa Engracia 154 (Zona 4 Chamberí) Madrid, 25 de enero de 1940". Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1704. "Rfr: comedor infantil 3, Calle Galileo 14 (zona 4 distrito Universidad) Madrid, 10 de febrero 1940. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1704.

diet.¹⁵⁰ Social Aid standardized the meal served daily at its various charity centers so that each Spaniard within their categorical group (child, pregnant mother, college student, or adult) received the same meal as everyone else. The national delegation for Social Aid imposed standardized recipes for meals that all of the charity dining halls were supposed to follow, but variation was inevitable with cooking styles and quality of ingredients available at each institution. Still, a closer look at the official menu of Social Aid, and the variation from that menu, provides insight into how broadly the Spanish government attempted to regulate eating habits, and how the practice of everyday life dissolved aspects of that power dynamic.

Recent academic interest in the connection between authoritarian Francoist policy and food culture of the time has focused on the nationalization, standardization, and indoctrination of aspects of Spanish food culture during the dictatorship. As mentioned previously, the state and party, represented by Social Aid, replaced the family in the provisioning of daily meals, creating a new form of family with its own culture and traditions. Each meal nationalized Spaniards who attended the program, generating a singular Spanish food culture over regional or international variations. The practice of eating corralled Spaniards into a food culture of austerity, forcing the needy into a cheap, monotonous, and bland diet. Social Aid further herded Spaniards into a congregational feeding, ignoring personal taste and preference in the making of a meal. Taken together, these three attributes of Social Aid's food program acted to reinforce the new power dynamics of the "culture of victory", dictated by Franco, the Church, and the FET-JONS party.

To nationalize the Spanish diet through the meals, Social Aid selected key ingredients and foods that were promoted by the Franco regime and the CAT as being particularly Spanish. Anderson explains that rice and oranges were praised during both the dictatorship of Primo de

¹⁵⁰ Lara Anderson, *Food and Francoism: Food Discourse, Control & Resistance in Franco Spain (1939-1959)* (Austin: University of Texas Press, forthcoming), 110.

Rivera and Franco for being foods that embodied Spain's national character, and their preparation and consumption demonstrated participation in the nation-building processes of these dictators.¹⁵¹ In the community kitchens, common rice dishes served were rice in fish soup and rice in fish stew.¹⁵² For the child dining halls, rice was often mixed with meat, potatoes, chickpeas, cod, or tuna, with rice being the main foodstuff and the cheap filler of the dish.¹⁵³ The diabetic centers served higher-quality meals to patrons, serving rice soup as a garnish with omelet, meat, or fish.¹⁵⁴ The CAT praised the production of rice and took pride in Spanish consumption of the grain.¹⁵⁵ Social Service reinforced the efforts of the CAT to instill national pride in rice consumption through serving it in several of its establishments on an almost weekly basis.

Oranges were another key food served by Social Aid, but since oranges are considered a dessert and therefore a luxury item, they were largely reserved for attendees to the diabetic dining halls, the SEU dining halls, and the mother and child programs.¹⁵⁶ Spain did not suffer from an orange shortage during the 1940s, but actually had a surplus. Yet, the government used its orange production as economic leverage, selling Spanish oranges on the international market for a quarter of the price of California or Florida oranges.¹⁵⁷ Spain's ally of the time, Nazi Germany, took advantage of Spain's cheap orange prices and close political ties, buying up

¹⁵¹ Lara Anderson, *Food & Francoism*, 33.

¹⁵² "Cocinas de Hermandad". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 75/25494, carpeta 22.

¹⁵³ "Comedor Infantil: Comidas compuestas". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2154.

¹⁵⁴ Beneficia n.8 (Zona 3, distrito Hopsicio, institución 1). Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1675 BIS.

¹⁵⁵ *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 7 15 mayo de 1942, 1.

¹⁵⁶ Centro Diabéticos (Chamberí, zona 4) C/General Martínez Campos, 36- 21. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1665.; "Ref: Comedor Infantil 1, Concepción Arenal 1 (Distrito del Centro) Madrid, 4 de diciembre de 1939" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2250.; "Hogar Ciudad Universitaria". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1666.

¹⁵⁷ M. Perez Urruti, *España en números: Síntesis de la producción, consumo y comercio nacionales, 1940-1941*, (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1942,) 40.

64.29% of Spain's orange supply in 1939.¹⁵⁸ There were not enough oranges to feed all Spaniards, so only those with special privilege and priority from the regime received oranges as part of their meal. As the example of oranges demonstrates, privilege and participation in the regime's initiatives was divided within the nation-building project in the early Franco dictatorship.

The culture of austerity was cooked into each meal made by Social Aid. It was believed that hungry people should be happy with any food that they receive, and they should not protest or reject charity on the grounds of taste or preference. The mass distribution of food charity often meant that meals were prepared in large quantities, sometimes allowing for poor health and safety standards. Many Social Aid locations in Madrid reported that they served hundreds of meals in a matter of hours for both lunch and dinner. The amount of food, labor, and time to cook for such large quantities meant that quality went by the wayside. However, the mismanagement of the dining centers produced such low quality that some meals were inedible. Some meals served by Social Aid can only be described as a punishment to the patrons inflicted by the FET-JONS party and the Franco regime. One report found that a rat had fallen into the vat of soup, but was cooked and served to the hungry patrons anyway.¹⁵⁹ Rats would also enter the food storage areas and nibble on bread that was later served at the facility.¹⁶⁰ There was no question that rodents carried diseases and were a threat to public health. By serving food contaminated by rats, Social Aid was at risk of spreading disease within working-class neighborhoods, but the food was served anyway to the impoverished working classes within the

¹⁵⁸ Perez Urrutí, *España en números*, 40.

¹⁵⁹ "Ref: Cocina de Hermandad 2, Santa Engracia 116 (Distrito Chamberí) 2 diciembre 1939; Auxilio Social-Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno". Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1704.

¹⁶⁰ "Ref: Comedor Infantil 1, Calle Concepción Arenal 1 (Distrito del Centro) Madrid, 7 de Diciembre 1939" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2250.

city. One possible motive for this is that Social Aid did not want such large quantities of food to go to waste. Granted the ingredients had been contaminated, but otherwise there was not enough food to feed the hungry population. But this leads to another interpretation of the poor-quality meals: that the organization did not care about health and quality, and made the choice that impoverished Spaniards should and would be happy with any food, despite its quality or contamination.

The poor food quality of Social Aid stemmed in part from the traditional Catholic approach to charity that beggars could not be choosers, but also from economic pragmatism. The food shortages and economic stagnation of the years of hunger effected the charity organization as well. The state never provided enough funds to cover all of the costs of the operation,¹⁶¹ and many private benefactors experienced donor fatigue from the *ficha azul* (blue card) program,¹⁶² leaving the organization's finances to dwindle over time. The meals that Social Aid provided were to be kept cheap. The average cost of a meal served at a community kitchen was only 1,47 pesetas.¹⁶³ Diabetics ate slightly better as their meals ranged from 2,16 to 3,57 pesetas per plate.¹⁶⁴ Children were served rice and lima beans, often without any form of oil, seasoning, or bread to accompany the meals.¹⁶⁵ Social Aid reports reveal that the administrators knew how much the children hated to eat lima beans, but they directed the institutions to serve them anyway, often for both lunch and dinner.¹⁶⁶ A popular saying of the time was "Don't eat lima

¹⁶¹ Cenarro, *La sonrisa de Falange*, 51.

¹⁶² Comin Comin, *La Hacienda Pública en el Franquismo*. 94.

¹⁶³ "Cocinas de Hermandad". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 75/25494, carpeta 22.

¹⁶⁴ "Martinez Campos 17," abril 1943-31 diciembre 1943. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1686 BIS.

¹⁶⁵ "Ref: Cocina Infantil 1, Calle Bravo Murillo 125 (Zona 4, Distrito de la Universidad) 9 de mayo de 1940" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

¹⁶⁶ "Ref: Cocina Infantil 1, Calle Bravo Murillo 125 (Zona 4, Distrito de la Universidad) 9 de mayo de 1940" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.; "Ref: Comedor Infantil 2, Calle Ramon y Cajal 18 (zona 2 Distrito Congreso) Madrid,

bean stew because it's made by fierce women".¹⁶⁷ Some children refused to eat the monotonous and bland food, while others suffered greatly from hunger and resorted to eating plants and nuts that they found outside the charity institutions.¹⁶⁸ While there are documented cases of Spanish children becoming sick from food that they foraged outside the dining hall, there were also documented cases of children developing severe gastritis from the food they ate from the Social Aid kitchens.¹⁶⁹ One account reported how a cook accidentally used motor oil instead of olive oil in a recipe, causing the poisoning of a hungry child.¹⁷⁰ For the Spaniards who participated in food charity, they had to sacrifice their individual taste and sometimes physical health to conform to the charity given to them by Social Aid.

While the official menu for Social Aid suffered from monotony and poor-quality ingredients, some of the problems with the food was due to local variability in the foodways and poor management. Lack of proper ingredients, lack of education or communication of the recipes, or personal motivations and opportunism by the directors or volunteers led to unsafe food.¹⁷¹ Those who relied on hunger relief surrendered their consumer choice and accepted the reliance and provisioning of the Franco regime. More often than not, food arrived to Social Aid spoiled, underweight, and improperly stored. One internal report on potato provisioning found that of the 400kg of potatoes needed at the Cervantes community kitchen, 161kg were rotten. For

16 enero 1940" Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.

¹⁶⁷ "No tomes caldo de habas, que hacen las mujeres bravas" Antonio Castillo de Lucas, *Refranillo de la alimentación: Divulgación de higiene de la misma, a través de los refranes y dichos populares* (Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1940), 40.

¹⁶⁸ Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 180.

¹⁶⁹ "Acuso recido a tu oficio numero 108, de fecha 8 del corriente." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2180.

¹⁷⁰ "Ref: Comedor Infantil 4 (Distrito del Centro) Madrid 27 de noviembre de 1939" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 2250.

¹⁷¹ "Madrid, 12 de junio de 1944. Camarada Jefe del Departamento Central de Abastecimiento". Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1658.; "Auxilio Social: Delegación Nacional" Madrid, 24 de septiembre de 1942. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 2180.

one child dining hall, the 30kg of the necessary 47kg of potatoes were rotten, and the inspector mentions this level of waste was normal for other child dining halls as well.¹⁷² To accommodate these shortages, patrons would be served either rotten potatoes or smaller portions. Offal would be substituted for better cuts of meat in dishes, generating complaints among patrons.¹⁷³ Fish that was going bad would be double-fried and served as a technique to mask the unsavory flavor.¹⁷⁴ Opportunism by the staff abounded, and those reliant on Social Aid were at their mercy. At the child dining facilities, the staff routinely ate better meals than what was served to the needy children, and the children suspected that the adults stole their rations.¹⁷⁵ Other staff exploited their access to food for their own consumption or to sell on the black market, leaving the patrons with smaller meals or missing key ingredients that were needed for a balanced meal. One community kitchen recorded 40kg of fish in its ledger, but an inspector weighed the amount as 60kg. When the inspector asked the director, he stated that the additional fish was reserved for the staff.¹⁷⁶ In one exceptional case, a director of a child dining hall began an affair with a busboy, allowing him to steal bread from the children for the black market lowering their daily provisioning from a full 100g roll to 50g half rations. The director herself stole 11kg of sugar in one week for herself, which she claimed was only a teaspoon or two for her personal use.¹⁷⁷ But it was only after she physically attacked the inspector that he recommended her removal from

¹⁷² "Ref: Información sobre suministro de patatas" Madrid, 16 noviembre de 1939 Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

¹⁷³ Suzanne Dunai, "Marginalized Meats? Contextualizing Offal Consumption within a Culture of Scarcity: 1940s Spain" in *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery Proceedings*, 2016, edited by Mark McWilliams (London: Prospect Books, 2017), 14.

¹⁷⁴ Centro Diabéticos Martínez Campos, 36 (Chamberí zona 4) clase adultos. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1664 BIS.

¹⁷⁵ Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 183.

¹⁷⁶ "N.R. Cocina de Hermandad 3, Marqués de Zafra 12 (Congreso) Madrid, 31 agosto 1939" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.

¹⁷⁷ "Ref Comedor Infantil 1, Calle Silva 6 (zona 2 centro) Madrid, 30 abril 1940" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

her post, not because of her theft from the needy. Otherwise, the black marketeering, forgery of the pantry ledgers, and hoarding were all too common by the Social Aid workers.

In theory, along with coercion that was meant to accompany the fixed meals, Social Aid also had fixed times that their meals were served to regulate when people traveled to the dining facilities, when they gathered in groups to receive their food allocations, and when they ate. The intent of the set meal times essentially pushed Spaniards into the urban public spaces at feeding times or cast them back to their homes and private life after the meals. The CAT regulated that restaurants could only serve lunch before 2:30pm and dinner before 9:30pm.¹⁷⁸ Social Aid fell under the same regulation as the hotel and restaurant industry,¹⁷⁹ meaning that their meals needed to be served before these times as well. Self-reporting from the directors of the Social Aid hunger relief programs claimed that meals were available from 12pm until 1:30pm for lunch and around 8pm for dinner.¹⁸⁰ The reason for regulating meal time was to curb people forming groups or roaming the city streets after dark. If meals were served late at the Social Aid, the women who worked and ate at the kitchens would be walking the streets alone in the dark, which would have been a mark against their morality.¹⁸¹ Punctual meals were important for Social Aid, but once again, their expectations were curbed by the reality of scarcity in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War.

In practice, eating times were very irregular with the Social Aid dining institutions. One inspector noted that when he stopped by at 1pm to assess the food distribution, the cook was still

¹⁷⁸ Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos*, 376-377.

¹⁷⁹ Cenarro, *La Sonrisa de Falange*, 102.

¹⁸⁰ "Cuestionario". Auxilio Social. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 928.

¹⁸¹ "Me comunica la Jefe del Comedor Universitario...". Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1658.

peeling potatoes, not even cooking them or plating them yet.¹⁸² Other institutions ran out of food within 30 minutes and left hundreds of registered working-class families without food.¹⁸³

Because it was common for kitchens to run out of supplies and the risk was of hunger was so great, Spaniards preferred to wait in line than come later and risk being turned away hungry. One inspector observed in the community kitchen located on Calle Gangora 5 in the Hospicio district in Madrid that Spaniards had to wait in line from 1am until 4pm to receive the lunch due to poor management of the kitchen.¹⁸⁴ Many had nowhere to go in between meals, so they loitered around the charity facility, creating “gangs of vagabond children” as one observer put it.¹⁸⁵

Dinner was also later, sometimes not beginning until 9:30pm and some were reported as late as 10:30pm.¹⁸⁶ Spaniards were subjected to the operating times of the Social Aid, regardless of the time it took them to travel to the dining center or the times in the day that they were hungry.

In response to these strict mechanisms of coercion applied to impoverished Spaniards, most people showed their reluctance for Social Aid’s charity by not participating. Historian Cazorla-Sanchez concludes that Spaniards only sought out charity as a last resort, choosing to rely on traditional family networks instead.¹⁸⁷ As mentioned previously, Spaniards could always choose not to request a meal from the program, and administrative records show that several hundred who qualified for the meal program did not show up to accept their meal on a daily

¹⁸² "Ref. Cocina de Hermandad 3, Comedor Infantil 3 (Marquez de Zafra 12), Cocina de Hermandad 5 (O Donell 57), Cocina de Hermandad 4 (Cervantes 36), Comedor Infantil 2 (Ramon y Cajal 18), Gutemberg 10 Congreso" Madrid, 28 Octubre 1939. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.

¹⁸³ “Cuestionario”. Auxilio Social. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 928.

¹⁸⁴ Informe 12 enero 1939. Cocina de hermandad 2, Calle Gongora 5. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1704.

¹⁸⁵ Correspondencia. Madrid, 25 de febrero de 1943. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2180.

¹⁸⁶ Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2212.

¹⁸⁷ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 70-71.

basis, despite their demonstrated lack of other resources.¹⁸⁸ Control of the menu and what Spaniards consumed was a way of enforcing an uneven power dynamic on the patrons of Social Aid. As oral histories conducted by Angela Cenarro suggest, Spaniards who received the charity of Social Aid were made to internalize their sin and their subordination within the Francoist charity structure.¹⁸⁹ Social Aid modeled the paternalism desired by the Franco regime, and one way that Spaniards could resist the coercion of the program was to not participate.

The Social Aid program was designed to be a coercive tool of the Francoist state that aimed to monitor and control the everyday eating habits of needy Spaniards. The organization regulated when people ate, what they ate, and the quantities they ate. While feeding the vulnerable populations of Spain's cities fell under the guise of charity, the meals were not given freely and required significant coercion and adaptation to the mission of the FET-JONS and the Francoist state. Some Spaniards, desperate to fill their bellies, conformed to some of the demands of Social Aid. Others presented small examples of non-conformity or resistance to the organization's mission, despite the domineering power dynamic of the charity dining halls. In practice, Social Aid failed to live up to the grand ambitions of its mission due to both a lack of government resources to cover their expenses and a lack of enthusiasm by its local administrators and volunteers.

Likewise, there is substantial evidence within the administration records of Social Aid that many Spaniards who received charity from Social Aid demonstrated great resilience against the organization's coercion. From forging documents to gain eligibility for the food charity to

¹⁸⁸ "Comedor SEU Madrid" Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1659 BIS.; "Ref: Comedor Infantil 2, Calle Ramon y Cajal 18 (zona 2 Distrito Congreso) Madrid, 16 enero 1940" Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.

¹⁸⁹ Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 28.

stealing extra food from the dining halls, an investigation into participation in Social Aid elucidates some glimpses of resistance to the measures of state coercion. Since the Spaniards who sought charity from the organization were the most desperate and most deprived of all, their resistance rather than participation points to a rejection of the power of the state in their lives.

The Black Market and Extra-legal Foodways

Between the inconsistent regulation of the CAT and the reluctance of the population to participate in Social Aid, the black market was the last of the three institutions by which food provisioning occurred within the Spanish cities of Madrid and Barcelona. While both the CAT and Social Aid were state institutions charged with food provisioning, the black market was a non-state institution in which almost all Spaniards participated in some way. The black market, as I define it for this chapter, was an alternative foodways to the official ones managed by the state. It was the cultivation, distribution, sale, and consumption of goods that were at the periphery of the official foodways of the state, and could thereby fall through the cracks into the unofficial economy.¹⁹⁰ For extreme cases, such as those who were denied ration cards from the local authority and had their application to Social Aid rejected, their foodscape was almost entirely comprised of black market food. But most Spaniards, regardless of their wealth, engaged with the black market in different ways through the years. Social networks were utilized for the extra-legal sale of foodstuffs, and necessary for survival in Spain's cities.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Ana Beatriz Pérez González, *Estraperlo en Cádiz: La estrategia social* (Cádiz: Quorum Editores, 2004).

¹⁹¹ Miller, *Feeding Barcelona*, 206.

Many historians have studied the elusive black market during the hunger years, drawing different interpretations of its purpose and impact on urban Spanish society. Montserrat Miller has found in her examination of Barcelona food provisioning in the 1940s that participation in the black market saved many people from starvation since the rationed food available through the official economy was inadequate.¹⁹² The black market, or *estraperlo* as it was known at the time, became part of everyday life in Republican cities during the war as a survival strategy to complement inadequate provisioning by the Republican municipal governments.¹⁹³ After the war, Franco's bureaucracy was slow to meet the provisioning needs of Spain's urban population and reliance on the black market persisted. The black market was the result of the breakdown in the relationship between the state and the Spanish citizen, and the breakdown between social relations. The chaos of the Spanish Civil War facilitated the rise of the black market in Spanish society and culture, and its persistence during the 1940s points to continuity in the failure of the state to meet the needs of the civilian population.

Because most black-market activity occurred outside the watchful eye of the state, very few archival sources exist on the subject outside of police records and court cases. For this reason, it is difficult for scholars to define the black market and which actions should be considered as participation in the black market. Ana Beatriz Pérez González defines *estraperlo*, Spain's black market during the Spanish Civil War and early Franco dictatorship, as "the clandestine sale of primary necessity goods, mostly foods but can include other goods and services that were subject to taxes or regulation. These goods and services were then provided at

¹⁹² Miller, *Feeding Barcelona*, 206.

¹⁹³ Suzanne Dunai, "Home-Front Cooking: Eating and Daily Life in Republican Cities During the Spanish Civil War," in *Spain at War: Society, Culture, and Mobilization, 1936-1944* edited by James Matthews (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2019), 178.

extortion prices.”¹⁹⁴ This definition provides a good starting point for understanding the extra-legal food market during the hunger years, but a wider net is needed to understand all of the avenues of resistance, non-conformity, and autonomy practiced by Spaniards in their everyday food choices. The black market was more than not following the regulations of the state, and it was more than buying and selling goods at unofficial prices.

Historians have debated the significance of the black market in the Franco regime—claiming it was a form of resistance or arguing that it was another form of institutional oppression for Spaniards—but its role in meeting the dietary needs of ordinary Spaniards is significant enough. Some scholars claim that the black market was a tool of the elite and was a mechanism of repression used by the winners of the Spanish Civil War to criminalize the survival of the “losers” who had no other means of survival during the years of hunger.¹⁹⁵ Other scholars point to participation in the black market as a form of resistance to the dictatorship, highlighting its subversion to the Francoist apparatus and arguing that the black market undermined the legitimacy of the regime.¹⁹⁶ New scholarship on the black market by historian Gloria Roman Ruiz synthesizes these two lines of interpretation, providing the new perspective that there were two black markets with two social consequences: those who exploited the food crisis and those who were exploited.¹⁹⁷ Yet, in this chapter section, I present the relationship of the black market as an alternative foodscape that developed autonomously from the Francoist

¹⁹⁴ Pérez González, *Estraperlo en Cádiz*, 37.

¹⁹⁵ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 67.

¹⁹⁶ Encarnación Barranquero Texeira and Lucía Prieto Borrego. *Así Sobrevivimos al Hambre: Estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la postguerra española* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2003), 221.

¹⁹⁷ Gloria Román Ruiz, *Delinquir o morir. El pequeño estraperlo en la Granada de posguerra* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2015), 5.

state, since it began during the civil war. All three strategies for food provisioning paired together for how ordinary Spaniards created their daily meals during the years of hunger.

State-controlled newspapers, women's magazines, and radio programs tried to portray the black market as dangerous, adulterated or poor-quality products, and hungry and desperate Spaniards took the risk for survival. But this vilified black market does not offer a complete picture of the food networks and choices that Spaniards made either. What the black market, or *estraperlo* represented for the Spanish people was an independent economy of food provisioning that operated outside the purview of the state. Extra-legal food sale included, for example, stealing fruits and vegetables from private property for resale or individual consumption, cultivating home gardens for personal consumption or for resale, or starting small bakery businesses in the home without a vendor permit. Stealing shipments of food from military convoys was a form of black market, but so was traveling to the countryside to pick wild berries or hunt game. Buying food from unofficial vendors was a form of black market, but so too was cooking foods in the home and selling them to friends, family, and neighbors. By defining the black market as the extra-legal economy by which food was bought and sold through foodways not controlled by the Franco regime, the practice of black market in everyday life becomes more visible.

The CAT worked to mitigate participation in the black market in two ways: propaganda against illicit activity and prosecution of offenders. Much of the propaganda campaign launched by the CAT against participation in the black market was geared towards Spanish housewives and was intended to illicit fear living outside the law. In one article circulated by the Women's Section of the FET-JONS, the organization warned of the dangers of buying and eating unregulated food. The magazine asked its readers, "Do you realize the danger, sometimes fatal

risk, when you expose your family to the tempting goods offered on the black market?”¹⁹⁸ The article warns how meat products sold on the black market often originate from sick or contaminated animals that were rejected by the municipal butchers. It also warns against milk on the black market, as it is at risk of being watered down. Less sinister risks that were no less dangerous were buying goods that were canned or preserved at home. Home-preserved goods could contain microbes and impurities that could lead to botulism if not done properly. Regardless the comestible, the FET-JONS tried to emphasize that Spaniards and their families were at risk if they sought food from outside the official foodscape.

Some of the fear mongering invoked by the Women’s Section and the CAT was valid. Goods on the black market did not pass through health inspections, so the quality was unknown. Food regulation was common in many western societies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as cities grew with urbanization.¹⁹⁹ The black market was not unique to Spain either, but was a similar nuisance to government authorities in many European countries during the 1940s. But what differentiated Spain’s food regulations and black market from those in other countries was the use of regulation for the purpose of government control of the society, not for the health benefit of the citizenry. Furthermore, the ideology behind the black market separated it from other manifestations in other Western nations.

The black market was interpreted by the CAT as a deviation from the Franco regime’s blueprint for Spanish society, thereby undermining the reason for which the Nationalists had fought and won the Spanish Civil War. The black market was considered an enemy of Franco and his regime, and participation in the black market was seen as an attack on the Francoist state.

¹⁹⁸ “¿Serías capaz de hacer esto?” *Y: revista para la mujer*, Julio 1942, 31.

¹⁹⁹ Peter Scholliers, “Food Fraud and the Big City: Brussel’s responses to food anxieties in the nineteenth century,” in Peter J. Atkins and Peter Lummel and Derek J. Oddy, eds. *Food and the City in Europe since 1800* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

It was not considered by contemporaries as a failure of the government provision the population (as most historians have interpret the prevalence of the black market), or as an inevitable growing pain of urbanization and modernization as traditional foodways failed to scale to rapid demographic changes in urban areas. There are two main considerations that further support this claim: first, the black market interfered with government control of the population through food policy and provisioning. And second, government concerns that the black market was a threat to public health were largely superficial. The state food supply was not better for the urban Spanish population, but was a mechanism of control of Spaniards through their diet.

For the first point, the Francoist state and propaganda machine were noticeably silent on ways that urban Spaniards could provide food for themselves, reinforcing the idea that it was not the goal of the government to feed Spaniards but to control them. Government officials did not encourage Spaniards to pursue their own food provisioning through strategies like urban gardening, or keeping chickens for eggs. In contrast, the United States in the same decade encouraged its citizenry to grow “victory gardens” as a patriotic act of self-provisioning of food to help keep the population fed during times of food scarcity.²⁰⁰ The Spanish government never mentioned this opportunity for food autonomy to its urban residents, and strategies such as traveling to the countryside for food were often thwarted by travel regulations and CAT inspection checkpoints. The regime tightly controlled the sale of seeds. As previously emphasized, the goals of the CAT were not to provision the population or to ensure that their diet was adequate. Instead, the CAT was to act as a mechanism of control for the most basic needs of the civilian population. Any deviation from the state’s regulation and oversight, such as urban gardening, were in direct conflict with its mission to control the population.

²⁰⁰ Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 116.

For the second point, concern for the food safety of black-market goods was largely superficial since food on the official market was often just as risky. Many food vendors ignored health regulations for food handling and storage, creating a public health risk for many consumers within the city. The government did little to stop or correct such infractions, and the slow working of the bureaucracy sometimes took months or years to correct a health violation in a business. For example, one urban dairy in Tetuán, a working-class neighborhood of Madrid accrued over 2.300 pesetas in unpaid fines for selling adulterated milk on fourteen different occasions, from 1939 to 1943.²⁰¹ Ultimately the dairy got a new owner who paid all of the outstanding fines to re-open the business. Several repairs were needed for the dairy to meet municipal code, including installing sinks with running water so that the livestock could be safely housed in the city with minimal risk to public health.²⁰² Likewise, one health inspector rejected the application of a vendor who wanted to expand his dairy business to include the sale of chocolate. The health report noted that the business was well-adapted for the dairy industry and met all industry standards, but it was unhygienic to store chocolate and cows in the same location.²⁰³ Further investigation by the municipal authorities found that the business had over 2.600 pesetas in outstanding fines for fraud, dating back several business owners.²⁰⁴ In another case, a baker was accused of selling poor quality bread. When the CAT officials investigated, the baker blamed the problem on the flour that he was provided, sending the investigation up the food supply chain.²⁰⁵ These are just a few examples of justified regulations for the protection of

²⁰¹ "1943: Anastasio Herrero 1- despacho de leche por Carmen Jimeno García, 30-241-49." Archivo de Villa, Inventario General, Tomo 110, Folio 1 (micro). *Negociado de cartillas, 1936-1942*. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1947.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ "1944: Alberto Aguilera 26- lecheria Pablos Saenz, 30-242-64." Archivo de Villa, Inventario General, Tomo 110, Folio 1 (micro). *Negociado de cartillas, 1936-1942*. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1947.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ "Legajo núm 4. Expediente núm. 344" Dirección General de Seguridad, Brigada especial de abastecimiento y transportes. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01488.

public health and safety that were not tied to black market dealings. For many urban Spaniards, using the official food outlets was just as dangerous as the black market.

In a similar vein, better foods were often available through the black market for those who were able to afford higher prices. As noted by a CAT administrator, the regulation and rationing of meat only created greater imbalances between the diets of the rich and the poor. While rationing ensured that the poor had access to meat, all of the best-quality meat was quickly syphoned out of the official economy and into the black market.²⁰⁶ Although the CAT passed an ordinance prohibiting the deconstruction of carcasses prior to their arrival to the city in an effort to curb this exploitation, most cuts of cattle arrived to city vendors missing the choice cuts of meat. Likewise, luxury hotels and restaurants balked at the regulations that they received. Meals were supposed to be limited and certain luxury foods were prohibited, but wealthy patrons of famous restaurants run by Lhardy and Serrau were able to feast on banquets. Both the restaurant owners and the police ignored the regulations imposed on the wealthiest citizens within the city.²⁰⁷ For members of the wealthy class, food shortages had less effect on their diets, but their luxury food habits relied heavily on participation within the black market.

As the black market became more entrenched into the everyday practices of urban life, the unofficial economy seeped into many aspects of popular culture. One play, performed at the Fuencarral theatre in Madrid, tried to incorporate comedy to explain the dangers of the black market to the urban population. Titled *Tío Estraperlo (Black Market Guy)*, the play chronicles the discussions and choices that one family makes that ultimately leads the father into black

²⁰⁶ Cid de la Llave, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento*, 182-183.

²⁰⁷ José Altabella, *Lhardy: Panorama histórico de un restaurante romántico, 1839-1978* (Madrid: no publisher, 1978), 296-297.; "Investigación. Madrid, 11 de enero de 1945" A: Inspector General de Abastecimientos y Transportes. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01487.

market dealings and his immediate arrest.²⁰⁸ While the play contains many laughable moments, such as the wife drifting from chocolate store to chocolate store rather than paying her outstanding balances, the moral of the story stresses that the allure of quick riches from the black market could jeopardize the safety and future of the whole family. The father risks jail, the daughter risks losing a suitor, and the son risks his scholarship to a prestigious trade school. In the end, the family realizes that they are better financially without the black market than with it.

Common phrases marked the hunger years and expressions became popular to describe the black market. As mentioned earlier, the black market during the Spanish Civil War and the early Franco dictatorship was popularly known as *estraperlo*. This term dated back to the Second Republic when a businessman bribed and exploited government connections in closed-door dealing to supply all casinos in Spain with roulette machines.²⁰⁹ Despite the defeat of the Second Republic in the Spanish Civil War by the Nationalist troops, the term “estraperlo” lived on to refer to government corruption and the exploitation of the political apparatus by wealthy businessmen. Similarly, a Castilian phrase dating back to medieval times made resurgence in Spanish conversation, “given cat for hare”.²¹⁰ The phrase refers to how a cat once skinned and butchered could be sold easily as a hare. Spaniards used it to refer to being swindled or tricked, especially at the market. With the increase prominence of the black market and the questionable quality of good sold in the official system, public anxiety on the quality and authenticity of

²⁰⁸ Jesús Morante Borrás, *El Tío Estraperlo* (Madrid: Arba, 1947).

²⁰⁹ José Martí Gómez, *La España de estraperlo. 1936-1952* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1995), 24.

²¹⁰ F. Xavier Medina, “Eating Cat in the North of Spain in the Early Twentieth Century” in *Consuming the Inedible: Neglected Dimensions of Food Choice*, edited by Jeremy MacClancy and Jeya Henry and Helen Macbeth (New York: Bergham Books, 2007), 154.

foodstuffs grew during the years of hunger. Some took the phrase literally and the Francoist state launched several show trials against butchers accused of selling cat as hare.²¹¹

Other references to the black market occurred in the form of jokes, which sometimes pitted wealthier Spaniards with social and economic connections to food against those who did not have enough socio-economic status to reap the benefits of the black market. Class conflict between those with connections to food and those without sometimes took a humorous tone. A joke from the time encapsulated middle-class survival strategies well, to the disdain of urban working classes.

“-Do you know the difference between carnivores and herbivores?”
-“Of course.”
-“Then what do you call a person who eats meat every day?”
- *Estraperlistas!*”²¹²

The joke criticized the opulent diet that black marketeering afforded wealthier classes who had connections to the extra-legal food supply. Whereas human dietary practices would normally place them in the category of herbivores, meaning that humans eat a mixture of meat- and plant-based diet, the joke alludes that participants in the black market eat meat every day. On one level, the joke insinuated that black marketeers as eating excessive amounts of meat, but on another level, it dehumanized black marketeers based on their diet, claiming they are no longer human or part of humanity. While those who participated in the black market gained food to survive, those without such connections could only mock the injustice through jokes.

Since the Franco regime equated control of food with the control of population, subversion to the official system, such as interaction in the black market, carried strong penalties

²¹¹ “Gato por liebre” *ABC Sevilla* 21 enero 1949, p. 9.; “Daba a sus clients gato por liebre” *ABC Madrid*, 14 enero 1951, p. 30.

²¹² Antonio Giráldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo* (Vigo: Instituto de Estudios Vigueses, 2002), 119.

for the unlucky participants who were caught. Punishments for black market activities was the other way that the Francoist government attempted to crack down on consumption that occurred beyond the control of the state. Buying or selling illicit foodstuffs faced serious consequences from the CAT and municipal authorities. For those who bought from the black market, their foods could be falsified or of poor quality. For those who traded or bought and resold goods through the unofficial economy, they could face cancellation of their ration cards, fines, jail time, and in extreme cases the death penalty. Nonetheless, only a fraction of the black-market activity was ever caught or punished by authorities. The rest was simply a part of everyday life during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath.

For all of the criminal activities that were reported and punished, little acts in everyday life went unnoticed, but were so integrated into the fabric of Spanish society that its participation was unstoppable. Children guzzled a few drops of milk delivered to porches on their way to school in the morning, sometimes taking whole bottles as they went. In one case, a man impersonated a CAT inspector and demanded meals from several restaurants without ever being caught for his crimes.²¹³ One man who smuggled several loaves of bread on his bicycle was able to escape authorities at a checkpoint in Madrid, leaving his contraband behind to disappear from the evidence room of the police state hours later.²¹⁴ One report found that flour mills sold as much flour to official bakeries as clandestine ones, with the police and CAT authorities unable to stop the extent of the illegal shipments.²¹⁵ It was from the sheer extent of the resistance to the

²¹³ "Legajo núm. 4. Expediente núm. 329." Dirección General de Seguridad, Brigada especial de abastecimiento y transportes. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01488.

²¹⁴ "Correspondencia. Madrid, 21 de octubre de 1949" De: Brigadilla A: Inspector General de Abastecimientos y Transportes. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01487.

²¹⁵ "Nota Informativa. Madrid a 17 de agosto de 1945." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01487.

food policy that the black market was able to flourish. Despite the efforts of the CAT to create policy and regulations, and the efforts of the Tax Office to enforce the policies, alternative foodways were integral to how Spanish families lived on the purview of the law.

Participating in the black market ranged from career exploitation and sophisticated hierarchies to simple families hoping to make a little extra money on the side. In the city of Madrid, authorities constantly raided clandestine home food-preparation operations. But it was not always clear what was illicit and what was cooking for family. Some cookbooks of the time offered middle-class women instructions on how to make their own bread at home as well as other goods.²¹⁶ Likewise, by the 1930s in Spain's largest cities, household ovens had expanded from solely elite households to a common appliance for the bourgeoisie. Cooking foods within the home became a way that middle-class Spaniards could profit through home-based entrepreneurship. Individual Spaniards, mostly housewives relegated to the home, utilized their home ovens and collected the necessary ingredients from both the official and black markets to back goods to sell to neighbors, families, and friends. In one case, CAT authorities received an anonymous tip that the wife of the Post Master was operating a clandestine bakery from her home. When they went to investigate, she claimed that she was only making bread for her family members and was not selling the loaves. Still, her flour was bought on the black market so the authorities took it with them as contraband.²¹⁷ In another case, an elderly man rented out the use of his oven to those who wanted to make their own bread to eat or to sell. Since he only provided the oven and did not oversee its use, the oven owner was free from crime while the owner of the

²¹⁶ Ignacio Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos (Deseo Mi Comida)* (Barcelona: Quintilla, Cardona y C., S.L., 1940), 288.

²¹⁷ "Legajo núm 4. Expediente núm. 344" Dirección General de Seguridad, Brigada especial de abastecimiento y transportes. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01488.

flour was charged with illicit baking. To thwart future illegal baking, the oven was destroyed as a great financial loss to its owner.²¹⁸

Other infractions were more subtle. Venders were sometimes caught selling additional foods that they did not have proper municipal authorization to sell. For example, fresh-meat vendors were not allowed to sell frozen meat to customers, and horse meat could only be sold with a special permit.²¹⁹ These regulations crime was easy for vendors to circumvent. As long as the shopkeeper applied for the vendor permit expansion for their business, they were able to sell the food in the interim, which could take weeks to years for the paperwork. This meant, for example, that fruit stands could sell eggs as long as they filed their business with the municipality. For the fruit shop owner on Calle Amanuel 36 in Madrid, he filed the necessary paperwork to sell eggs in his fruit shop. He had no interest in paying the fees associated with acquiring the permit, but for three months, he was able to profit from selling eggs.²²⁰ In another case, a fish vender wanted to sell industrial cleaning supplies along with his fish. He filed the paperwork and received provisional permission to offer both products to consumers. He paid the fees associated with the additional permit, but fortunately a health inspector intervened to block the endeavor, refunding the fish vendor his permit fee and limiting his business to marine life. In all, the process took almost a year to resolve, potentially endangering consumers with the two

²¹⁸ "Legajo núm 8. Expediente num.707" Dirección General de Seguridad, Brigada especial de abastecimiento y transportes. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01491.

²¹⁹ "Correspondencia" Madrid, 1940. Archivo de Villa, Inventario General, Tomo 12 31-99-23., *La Carne*, Año III núm 60: 15 agosto 1947, pg. 1.

²²⁰ "1944: Amanuel 36- frutería y huevería por Simeon Mercado Gonzalez, 30-245-1." Archivo de Villa, Inventario General, Tomo 110, Folio 1 (micro). *Negociado de cartillas, 1936-1942*. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1947.

incompatible goods.²²¹ Vendors sometimes used the bloated bureaucracy of the Franco regime to their advantage.

As the official food provisioning institutions of the CAT and Social Aid clashed with the foodways of the black market, Spaniards' food supplies were constantly shifting to incorporate new clandestine opportunities for food provisioning and out maneuvering the surveillance within their extra-legal economy. In some cases, having privileged access to food was illegal, but many Spaniards sought to exploit these opportunities anyways. For example, it was illegal for meat vendors to sell meat on Sundays according to strict Catholic dietary observances imposed by the regime.²²² But for vendors who valued money over morality, they could make profit enough to make up for their fine, if they were ever caught. The lack of enforcement and the overwhelming demand for food incentivized Spaniards to sell food on an unrestricted schedule. In another example, it was illegal for shopkeepers to reserve orders for primary necessity goods for customers or to ship food to their homes.²²³ This policy was enacted so that wealthy Spaniards could not pay to have special foods allocated for them, nor could those with social connections to vendors benefit from their contact. But these social ties were nearly impossible to prosecute.

In ideology, Franco, the FET-JONS, and the CAT hated the black market and tried with little success to stymie its entrenchment within Spanish society.²²⁴ The state launched an extensive public health campaign, warning Spaniards of the dangers of buying food on the black

²²¹ "1944: Altamirano 31- ultramarinos con ampliación a artículos de limpieza por Elias Onrubia, 30-244-53." Archivo de Villa, Inventario General, Tomo 110, Folio 1 (micro). *Negociado de cartillas, 1936-1942*. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1947.

²²² *La Carne*, Año I núm 15: 1 oct 1945, pg. 12

²²³ "Instrucciones para los agentes." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/01487.

²²⁴ But it should be noted that historical records indicate that many members of the CAT, military, FET-JONS, and other Francoist officials exploited opportunities within the black market. Much of the disdain expressed in the official record for the black market was in writing only, and many charged with stopping black marketeering profited from the black market.

market through newspapers and women's magazines. Radio programs, No-Do, and theatre productions condemned the immorality of black marketeering, but Spaniards largely ignored these warnings. The regime could not control the Spanish population and their hunger for food. Most Spaniards participated in extra-legal food acquisition since rationing through the CAT and food charity through Social Aid ultimately failed to adequately feed Spain's urban populations. Unofficial foodways varied and changed constantly during the hunger years as Spaniards had to develop innovative strategies to subvert official food regulations and control. Extra-legal acts ranged from home businesses that lacked the necessary business permits and did not pay taxes, the illegal transport of food from the hinterland to the city, and stealing goods from official distributors. Spaniards saw participation in the clandestine economy as an essential part of their survival during the hunger years, and the black market was as much a part of Spain's food landscape as the official channels of the CAT and Social Aid.

The Politics of Food Provisioning

Taken together, in terms of food policy and urban provisioning, the Spanish Civil War did not end with the Nationalists' conquest of Barcelona on January 26, 1939²²⁵ or the fall of Madrid on March 28, 1939.²²⁶ Instead, Franco's military campaign to control food resources as a way to control the population in Nationalist territory was applied to Spanish cities. While Franco had promised "fatherland, bread, and justice" along with "no fireplace without wood and no

²²⁵ *Franco in Barcelona* (London: United Editorial Ltd., 1939), 8.

²²⁶ Carmen Gutiérrez Rueda and Laura Gutiérrez Rueda, *El Hambre en el Madrid de la Guerra Civil, 1936-1939* (Madrid: Ediciones La Librería, 2003), 129.

Spaniard without bread”²²⁷, the logistics of adequately supplying Spanish cities with food resulted in the failure of many urban homes receiving their promise of peace and food.

Agricultural production stymied by policy and distribution methods bloated by bureaucratic red tape launched the cities of Madrid and Barcelona into an all-out food crisis. At the same time, the Franco regime wanted to punish the rebellious working classes in the cities who had resisted Nationalist forces during the war, and the way that Franco consolidated power into the New State punished the urban working classes through food.

At the end of the Spanish Civil War, the campaign of the Nationalists to supply hungry Spaniards with bread largely went unfulfilled. The newly-formed Francoist government tried to implement totalitarian control of the food supply and distribute food resources similar to wartime strategies that had been largely successful during the war. Yet, when it came to provisioning the hungry workers in Madrid and Barcelona, the regime failed to control state resources and the population. The Francoist government attempted to administer food through its two official channels of the CAT and Social Aid, but Spaniards did not completely adapt their food habits to the desires of the state, thereby thwarting the regime’s attempt to achieve totalitarian control of Spaniards through food policy. The black market and the extra-legal economy became normalized in the postwar as many Spaniards sought out their own food provisioning independently from the state.

The relation of Spaniards to the state via the subject of food is more complex than control and resistance, as an investigation into the daily operation of these institutions reveal. The uneven implementation of policy by the state led to diverse practices within the city, ranging from support, acquiescence, passive acceptance, opportunism, non-conformity, reluctance, and

²²⁷ *La Justicia Social en el Nuevo Estado Español*, (Zaragoza: El Noticero, 1937), 22.

resistance. Spaniards' dismissal of the food regulations of the Franco regime should not be confused as resistance to the Nationalists or Franco, and many Spaniards eagerly supported the Nationalist effort during the civil war and participated in the regime's new food-provisioning structure in the early dictatorship. Likewise, many Spaniards participated in the black market and extra-legal economy not to undermine the newly-established government, but out of desperate necessity and survival. Thus, in the daily operation of these three institutions—two administered by the state and one that operated in opposition to the state—urban Spaniards practiced a range of responses to the food crises. Far from being a uniform experience of repression of the foodscape, Spaniards negotiated the food scarcity and consumer shortages through a range of strategies, creating diverse experiences during the hunger years.

An investigation into the daily operation of these food-provisioning institutions and Spaniards' interactions provide a reinterpretation of why there was less open resistance to the food policies of the Franco regime. Whereas fear of the brutality of the Nationalists and the extreme repression of the dictatorship is a partial answer, the fact that Spaniards adequately fended for themselves despite the dictator is another part of this explanation. Dr. J. H. Janney, an emissary of the American humanitarian relief agency, the Rockefeller Foundation, toured the Spanish countryside in 1940 to assess the country's food situation, and came to the following conclusion: "I am of the opinion that long drawn-out slow starvation such as these people have suffered and will suffer more acutely this winter is not conducive to rebellion..."²²⁸ As an outsider, the American humanitarian was able to identify the desperate food situation in Spain, the government's inability to mitigate the effects of famine and food crisis, and the political apathy of Spaniards to suffer a slow and persistent hunger during the 1940s. From his

²²⁸ "Correspondence to Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur from Dr. J.H. Janney." December 13, 1940. J.H. Janney Collection, Hoover Institution Archives.

observations, the Francoist state was able to adequately leverage the food supply and the specter of starvation against the Spanish population as a means to maintain political power. Spaniards did not have to be supplied food by the Franco regime—Janney’s prediction of an impending famine highlights that—to shore up political power. Rather than creating a paternalistic state based on the provisioning of food as a form of patronage, Franco through the food policy subdued the population through enacting their strong will to survive hunger. The reality of Spanish diet was far from the wartime campaign promise of bread in every household, but Spaniards did not mobilize against the dictator to advocate for better food provisioning. So, whereas the appeal of bread, and adequate food more broadly, gradually grinded down civilian support for the Republican war effort, peace at any cost in the post-civil war society meant the lack of bread and protest to the dictatorship.

Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated there were plenty of ways to cheat the food system. The black market, which I define as all extra-legal food acquisition methods, offered an alternative food source, but non-conformity and outright resistance to the policies of the CAT and the charity of the Social Aid program were common too. With the extent of government intervention and restriction to the everyday eating habits of urban Spaniards, the scope of possible food crimes (and thereby crimes against the Francoist state) during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath was limitless. The war created desperation for food, and the desperation and food insecurity did not subside. Some crimes, such as stealing from stores or food vendors, were crimes common before the Spanish Civil War and that continued during the years of hunger. But new forms of infractions developed from the new policies, such as stealing food waste from trash bins²²⁹ that made urban food strategies even harder to navigate within the

²²⁹ Cenarro, *Los Niños del Auxilio Social*, 180-181.

confines of the law. These were new crimes, punishable by authorities, made everyday life harder for many Spaniards living in cities.

All three food provisioning entities—the CAT and its rationing system, Social Aid and its charity program, and the black market and its alternative foodway—were lasting legacies of the “total war” brought by the Spanish Civil War. The social divisions and ideologies that fueled these three food strategies only became more entrenched in Spain’s urban communities at the end of the war. The political division between the “winners” and the “losers” of the war in terms of food supply is complex. Within the practice of daily life, Spaniards faced a range of challenges in securing enough food for their families to satisfy their daily caloric needs, but there was also a range of food provisioning options to Spaniards, even those separated from food production by the city. The CAT and Social Aid were two urban, food-provisioning institutions managed by the state, but Spaniards found ways to engage the mechanisms of the state without losing their agency. Likewise, the black market, while an unpredictable, illicit, and unfavorable way to get food, rounded out many meals for Spaniards who would not have been able to access food otherwise. The persistence and use of the black market signaled that the Franco regime was unable to adequately provide for Spaniards, and that Spaniards sought their own survival strategies independent from the Francoist state.

The Power of Food: Ideology, Culture, and Everyday Life

This chapter explains how the Franco regime attempted to embed Nationalist culture within food through policymaking and intervention into urban culture, but ultimately failed to establish hegemonic control over urban society. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the Francoist state sought to control Spain's population through control of resources, and the government intervened in Spain's rural to urban foodway through the CAT and Social Aid program. Rooted in Nationalist wartime strategy that remained largely unaltered until the 1950s, the intent of Franco's food policy was to control the population through the control of Spain's food resources. The path that food took as it was processed, sorted, and distributed by the Spanish state or black-market channels was the physical path that food traveled from farm to table, known as a foodway. Along with the physical control of Spanish comestible commodities, the Francoist state also attempted to control the cultural meaning of food to Spanish society by tying ideological signifiers to food as it traveled from markets to mouths. This "discursive foodway" was the transformation of food ideology into food policy, that then shaped food culture and everyday food practices.

Nationalist victory and Franco's consolidation of power ushered in sweeping policies that attempted to completely dismantle the political, economic, and social structure of the Second Republic in favor of a "New State" (*Nuevo Estado*). Franco's New State, similar to Benito Mussolini's *Nuovo Stato* in Italy and Antonio Salazar's *Novo Estado* in Portugal,¹ sought to completely transform Spanish society, particularly in urban areas, to live by the ideologies of the Franco regime. The coalition that created the Nationalist front in the Spanish Civil War was

¹ Fernandez Prieto, Lourenzo and Juan Pan Montojo and Miguel Cabo, eds. *Agriculture in the Age of Fascism: Authoritarian technocracy and rural modernization, 1922-1945* (Tournhout: Brepols publishers, 2014), 43, 85.

fueled by the mission to create a new Spanish society after the war, founded on nationalism, Catholicism, regeneration, authoritarian monarchism, and the twenty-six points of the Falange.² Since food production, distribution, and consumption shaped Spanish urban society during the hunger years, aspects of these ideologies for the New State were incorporated into the foodway. Ideology fueled food policy, created food culture, and shaped everyday food practices, creating a “cultural foodway” as food discourse traveled from the realm of ideology, politics, the public sphere, and into the private sphere of the home.

This chapter analyzes how the Francoist state attempted to control the cultural meaning of food within the physical production, distribution, and consumption of goods. The overlapping values of the Francoist state were systematically applied to the food policy of the regime as a means to further shape Spanish urban life. The way in which Spaniards bought foods in the cities, the quantities that they were allowed to purchase, and the prices set by the CAT were all determined according to the food ideologies of the regime. At the same time, Franco’s control of food in the public sphere was greatly reduced as food passed from the market to the family table, limiting the ability of the regime to enact nationalism, patriarchy, and Catholicism in the Spanish home. Because of this limitation, the Franco regime, while able to influence and shape some aspects of consumer habits and choices, was ultimately unable to effectively transform Spain’s urban society into the desired New State of the Nationalists.

Food took on characteristics of the authoritarian regime as it traveled along the rural-urban foodway, and food became infused with the ideology of the Nationalist side. With Nationalist victory at the end of the war, Franco’s consolidation of power into a dictatorship ushered in a new Spanish state founded on the principles of patriotism, conservatism, religious

² Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 16.

piety, and racism. Within the Nationalist camp, the arms of the Franco regime—the military, the FET-JONS party, and the Catholic Church—took steps to infuse ideology and values within the practice of eating. The intent of the regime was to transform how Spaniards practiced their everyday lives, and through the daily action of eating, Spaniards would actively participate in the creation of Francoist culture.³ The prohibition of foods deemed as taboo by the Catholic Church and the subsidy of agricultural products considered the fuel of the Spanish race are two ways in which the Francoist state intervened to manipulate the meaning attached to food and daily eating practices. The Franco regime aimed to control the population with the intent to control how the meaning of food was internalized with daily eating practices.

Anthropologists have long analyzed and argued for the importance of the cultural significance of food to a society. Arjun Appadurai asserts that commodities have inherent social potential that transcends the materiality of a good to exhibit a cultural life as well. This “social life of things” is as important for academics to analyze as the actual commodities themselves, since the cultural meaning of a commodity often takes on a life of its own.⁴ It follows that the social meaning of food as a commodity follows its own development path in a similar manner to the transformations that physical food experiences in its route from farm to table. Just as a food product undergoes transformation as it is processed from its original agricultural state to a finished product ready to be consumed by individuals, its social meaning changes as the product is transformed by packaging, cooking, or serving as part of a meal. As food travels from farm to table, it transforms in meaning from an agricultural product, to a commodity, to a consumer

³ Suzanne Dunai, “Cooking for the *Patria*: The *Sección Femenina* and the Politics of Food and Women during the Franco Years” MA Thesis, University of New Mexico, 2012. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds/25/

⁴ Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6, 3.

good, to a meal ingredient, to a taste and flavor. For the Franco regime, how food arrived to Spanish tables helped to serve the Nationalists' ideological purposes in the creation of a traditional, conservative Spanish society. Although food was scarce in Spanish cities in the 1940s, the social life of food carried its own meaning for Spaniards living in Madrid and Barcelona during the hunger years. Thus, food discourse occurring in Spain's public sphere can reveal aspects of political relations and engagement even where physical food was noticeably absent.

In this different conceptualization of Spanish foodways, the ideology promoted by the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War could be infused into policy through the regulation of food. The cultural meaning that food signified, such as national, religious, or gender identities could be vetted and regulated through the adoption of food policy. The Franco regime sought to promote conservative, traditional, Catholic, and regenerative values in Spanish society, and food presented itself as a critical conduit for the internalization of these ideologies. Food could represent place through its agricultural origin, or took on patriotic meaning for nationalized dishes. Food preparation was gendered as a feminine task as part of the Francoist emphasis on traditional gender roles and domesticity for women. Catholic representation of food was particularly potent, with the bread and wine of the Eucharist believed to be the literal body and blood of Christ, but other food symbolism occurred in Catholicism through the liturgical calendar and the abstention from certain food during holidays. Following these three expectations, the Franco regime enacted food policy that thus shaped Spain's food culture.

Food ideology was largely communicated to women through the Women's Section of the FET-JONS, the branch of the Francoist state party that addressed women's concerns and actions. The Women's Section expressed its support for the gender ideology of Francoism through

several of its cooking publications. Cooking instruction was not the only content of the organization's publications, but in many ways, it acted as a "hook" to entice readers to read the less appealing material such as party news and Catholic doctrine. Interjected between state propaganda on World War II and biographies on Catholic saints, the organization aimed to retain readership with recipes and cooking suggestions that proved monumentally helpful during the hunger years. The recipes themselves possessed their own messages and included information on gender ideology and the prescribed behavior for Spanish women, which was as important to the legitimacy and stability of the dictatorship as world events and religious piety. The organization placed kitchen politics at the level of state and church politics in its publications.

However, food discourse was a two-way street. While food meaning was manipulated by the regime into ideology and policy, it changed in meaning when it passed from the public sphere of the city to the private sphere of the Spanish home. Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato, in creating their theory on food ideology and the state, acknowledge that food can be used as a manipulative means to shape an individual's ideology, but they claim that food discourse goes both ways: as a vehicle for both repressive and productive power.⁵ In other words, the Franco regime could not implement a uniform ideology into Spain's food system because individual variation would continue to create deviations to the official food ideology. The social divisions created by the Spanish Civil War between the "winners" and the "losers" acted to divide the Spanish population such that the values infused into food through policy was met with multiple interpretations at the family table.

⁵ Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato, "Introduction" in *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food and Meaning* edited by Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato (Albany: SUNY Press, 2008), 3.

Regulations were placed on food at the aggregate level—dictating how food was grown, distributed, and priced for consumption throughout Spain—but in the private sphere, food was not viewed as a commodity but as an ingredient in a dish. Restrictions placed on the availability of food or the pricing of a food was how the Nationalists sought to inscribe food with meaning (wide distribution was characterized as abundant or a national product, while high prices would categorize food as a luxury good), but those steps mattered very little since consumers bought the amount of food necessary for a recipe and their home consumption. For this reason, the Franco regime sought to prescribe women's habits so that the food would be internalized within the home with the correct meaning. It was not enough to incentivize or restrict certain foods through availability or price regulation; they had to encourage Spanish women to shop according to these incentives and prohibitions as well.

The importance of women and food was rooted in the experiences of the Spanish Civil War. As historian Amy Bentley concluded about American society during World War II, women served as the connection between food and war.⁶ Women's obligation to the state and their duty during wartime was to conform to government requirements for the food situation. In the United States, women expressed their patriotic duty by following rationing guidelines and limiting their meals according to state austerity programs.⁷ Spanish women had a similar relationship with the state. Although the war was over, as the previous chapter stressed, the mentality of war and wartime policies continued well into the 1950s in Spain. During the dictatorship, the actions of women were closely monitored by the state in an effort to control how food traveled from policy in the public sphere into daily meals in the privacy of the home.

⁶ Amy Bentley, *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

The Spanish Civil War had been fought for competing visions of the future of Spain, and the Nationalist victory affirmed the winning vision of the Spanish state. Since Madrid and Barcelona had largely resisted this vision for the future of Spain, the Franco regime took significant steps to enforce the Nationalist values for the Spanish nation. The Nationalist side—the Catholic Church, the FET-JONS, and the military—all aimed to glorify their victory in the war by indoctrinating food practices in cities. As a means to further consolidate Franco's power within the rebellious cities of Madrid and Barcelona, the regime sought to instill its vision of Spanish culture within the daily practices of food consumption in the cities. In order to build a new Spanish society that abided by the values of the Nationalists, the regime embedded foodstuffs in the city as part of the nation-building project, infusing consumer goods with national meaning as they were bought and sold within the city. Fascist intellectuals promoted a particular Spanish diet that represented Spanish values of tradition and insured the health and growth of the Spanish race. Government intervention into agricultural production and the distribution of goods throughout the country attempted to ensure that all Spaniards were eating the prescribed national diet. The duty of feeding the next generation of Spaniards fell squarely on the shoulders of Spanish women, so the regime took extra steps to ensure that women were fulfilling their patriotic duty and cooking up traditional dishes for the *patria*.

However, Spanish housewives retained their agency, at times conforming to the objectives of the New State and at others maintaining their own traditions and values. Mary Douglas explains this dynamic well in her analysis for deciphering a meal. She claims that the structure and norms of a meal reflect the structure and norms of a culture, and that identities like nationality and class create peculiarities in the meal structure.⁸ While some aspects of a family's

⁸ Mary Douglas, "Deciphering a meal," *Daedalus* 101, (1:61-81. 1972), 80,65.

meal is determined by social customs (such as edibility, serving sizes, and preparation techniques), families retain some level of individuality in terms of taste, preference, and existing social divisions like class and gender. The home was glorified as the housewife's domain, and she mostly controlled how the family ate their daily meals. Even though the Francoist state shaped food culture and greatly impacted how Spanish women cooked meals for their families, it was within the privacy of the home that women ultimately selected how meals were given meaning.

Thus, the implantation of social value into food was not as hegemonic or uniform as the Francoist state would have liked. There were three factors that limited the creation of a monolithic state food culture. First, internal ideological divisions within the regime inhibited the uniformity of values encoded onto Spanish foods. For example, the large beer brewery and distributor Mahou in Madrid was an active collaborator with the Franco regime and the business owners benefitted greatly from their connections with Franco's government, but its business of selling beer directly conflicted with the state ideology of sobriety.⁹ Second, individuals practiced variation to their diet according to personal taste and preferences. Although the hunger years greatly limited the selection of foods available to many urban families, they still retained their agency over their daily food habits. Third, food sub-cultures persisted among certain demographics of the population, especially those with dietary restrictions and needs. But other sub-cultures were able to flourish despite ideological differences to Franco's new state. As Josep Roselló analyzed in the case of the Naturalist movement, much of naturalist culture was

⁹ "Correspondencia entre la Fábrica Mahou y la Asociación de Fabricantes de Cerveza Madrid, 1939." Fábrica de Cervezas Mahou. Secretaria, Correspondencia. 1939. Con otras entidades y Particulares, Asociaciones de Fabricantes de Cerveza. Archivo Regional de Madrid.

repressed by Franco due to its ties with anarchism during the Second Republic.¹⁰ However, their tenet of vegetarianism fit well with the meat shortages suffered in Spanish cities during the hunger years and corresponded nicely to the Catholic doctrine of meatless days during Lent. Small cracks in the urban food culture existed, and although there was little food during the hunger years, urban Spaniards retained some of their individuality and privacy in creating meaning from their daily meals.

An analysis of the practice of everyday life reveals the diversity of diets and food discourse that existed during the early Franco dictatorship. As the previous chapter noted, the implementation of food policy varied greatly within Spanish cities and many Spaniards responded to the food policy differently. As Michel de Certeau has argued, ambiguity is created when language and frameworks enter different arenas, traveling from the empowered who create language to those who must understand its constraints.¹¹ As the cultural meaning of food traveled along its foodway from ideology to policy to culture, Spanish women, while very aware of the restraints placed on them in the hunger years, still reinterpreted the message carried in the symbolism of food and received different cultural cues from the foodstuffs that they consumed, outside the purview of the state.

While the Francoist state attempted to indoctrinate Spaniards through regulation of food consumption in Spanish cities, the incongruity in doctrine between the branches of the Francoist state led to confusion in the meaning of some foods. The military, Church, and FET-JONS were able to align their interests enough to overthrow the Republic in the civil war, but they had less uniform visions for the new Spanish state that came after the victory, leading to debates and gray

¹⁰ Josep Maria Roselló, *Vuelta a la Naturaleza. El Penamiento naturista hispano (1890-2000): naturismo libertario, trofología, vegetarianismo naturista, vegetarianismosocial y librecultura* (Barcelona: Virsu Editorial, 2003), 235.

¹¹ Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall trans. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), XIII.

areas in the ideologies and values of Francoist culture. From this discord, policy became uneven, sometimes promoting religious values and other times promoting the beliefs of the military or party. The ambiguity further diversified the eating experiences of Spaniards, transforming the intended meaning of specific foods and meals as it passed from policy into practice within Spain's cities.

Food discourse broke down or was re-signified at every injunction from policy to media to action. Just as the Franco regime was a coalition of multiple influences that broadly agreed on conservative values—the Catholic Church, the military, conservatives, and the FET-JONS—the finer points of the regime's ideology differed from group to group. Because of this discrepancy, the food ideology of Francoism never fully congealed into a singular set of values; thus, the regime failed to implement a hegemonic, totalitarian culture on Spanish urban society. Policy, as the previous chapter illustrated, was inconsistent on a daily basis, leading to ignorance or resistance to its implementation. National culture was limited by counter-cultures that blocked aspects of the original ideology from being communicated and adopted. By the time the food reached the Spanish urban household, much of the original message held from the ideology was lost by the time it reached Spanish homes or had given way to counter currents. Thus, far from creating a totalitarian culture or repression in the hunger years, the urban food culture became a site for the practice of multiple counter-cultures and subcultures. Along with chronicling the infusion of ideology into Spain's urban foodscape, this chapter also highlights the discrepancies and incongruities that accompanied the discursive control of food.

National Cuisine in Franco's New State

Nationalism was one of the fundamental values that the Franco regime attempted to infuse into urban eating habits. This section examines the ultra-nationalist ideology and policy that informed Spain's urban food culture during the hunger years, specifically targeting women's activities and their relation to food. Based on the ideologies that propelled Spaniards into a bloody civil war, Nationalist victory was considered by the victors as a mandate to create a new society built upon their vision of a conservative and traditional Spain. Madrid was the final Republican holdout in the civil war, so the Nationalists quickly moved into the city to create Madrid as the capital and model for new Spanish cities under the regime. At the same time, daily life thwarted many of the efforts of the Nationalists. While some neighborhoods quickly adopted the new practices for Franco's "New State", others failed to conform to the indoctrination of the new regime.

Historians have examined different nation-building strategies of the Franco regime and evaluated their success or failure in fostering genuine patriotic sentiment among Spaniards. Benedict Anderson theorizes that nationalism is an "imagined community" that is fostered through religious cultural systems, a common language, and communication networks.¹² The Spanish case follows this model in that religious networks were coopted by the regime to standardize Spanish culture, language was standardized with the repression of dialects, and media was completely under the control of the censor. Carolyn Boyd's work, *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975*, analyzes the role of education to mold the minds of Spaniards into a collective national identity. She claims that school was the driving agent of social reproduction and political socialization during the Franco dictatorship.¹³

¹² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 7.

¹³ Carolyn Boyd, *Historia Patria: Politics, Identity, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 232.

Control of the media through state and party presses was also essential in building a national body and an “imagined community”. Elisa Chulía asserts that Franco and his regime exercised the most intervention and regulation of the Spanish press during the immediate aftermath of the civil war until the 1950s.¹⁴ And by extension, radio programming and movie reels complemented the efforts of the press in solidifying national identity. And Julián Casanova has correlated the importance of religious practices as part of the nation-building process of the Franco dictatorship.¹⁵

Along with these avenues of indoctrination, food provides a new lens by which information was funneled down from intellectuals and bureaucrats to ordinary housewives. As Janet Theophano claims, food, cooking, and recipe exchanges provide clues about the unifying details of political, economic, and social issues.¹⁶ The daily necessity to consume food, and the universality of food consumption provided the regime with a unique opportunity to transform national identity. For this reason, the Franco regime utilized food to further the indoctrination of Spaniards with ultranationalist ideology.

In particular, the regime’s food policies prioritized national identity above regional or local identities, asserted the importance of celebrating Spain’s imperial past, and glorified rural life over urban life. These beliefs generated food policies and regulations that promoted these core values, and special policies were created for women’s instruction. From these, I will track the creation of a nationalized food culture, while also highlighting subcultures and countercultures that remained despite the efforts of the regime to foster a hegemonic food

¹⁴ Elisa Chulía, *El Poder y la Palabra: Prensa y Poder en las dictaduras: el régimen de Franco ante la prensa y el periodismo* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva: Univesidad de Educacion a Distancia, 2001), 56.

¹⁵ Julián Casanova, *La Iglesia de Franco* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2001), 270.

¹⁶ Janet Theophano, *Eat my Words: Reading Women’s Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 10.

culture. Along the discursive foodway, food gained and lost meaning, allowing Spaniards to believe, ignore, or re-signify the cultural symbolism of the dish.

Ultra-national Ideology and the “New State”

Nationalism and the creation of a monolithic Spanish identity was a driving factor in the Spanish Civil War and the cornerstone of Franco’s New State. While details of patriotism differed between the Catholic Church, the army, the conservative elite, and the FET-JONS, they generally agreed upon these themes enough to integrate them into Nationalist propaganda during the war. This subsection will explain the main ideological expressions of Spanish nationhood during the early Franco dictatorship: the exaltation of national identity with the suppression of regional identity, the veneration of Spain’s imperial past, and the prioritization of rural life over urban life.

Research into Spain’s urban foodscape in the 1940s has tended to diverge between discursive finding and material conditions that formed the nationalized diet. While both lines of investigation agree on the impact of ideology in shaping food culture, scholars have come to different conclusions about what constituted Spain’s national diet. Literary scholar Lara Anderson claims food shortages were a direct result of Franco’s economic policy on autarky, and food discourse of the 1940s took on the culture of autarky.¹⁷ According to her research, oranges and rice dominated the food discourse of the culture of autarky, filling many publications with articles and recipes for rice and oranges to promote their consumption as a form of patriotism to Spain.¹⁸ Michael Seidman’s research into the material conditions of Nationalist territory during the civil war has found that fish and bread were the most essential components of the Spanish

¹⁷ Lara Anderson, *Food and Francoism: Food Discourse, Control & Resistance in Franco Spain (1939-1959)* (Austin: University of Texas Press, forthcoming), 32.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

diet,¹⁹ and the importance of these two foods are also evident in the cooking discourse of the 1940s. Bread and fish are part of the traditional Mediterranean diet,²⁰ so eating these goods produced in Spain was a form of affirming one's participation in Franco's New State. What these two lines of investigation have in common is the role of ideology and policy effecting food culture in the 1940s. Both in discourse and in practice, ideology entered Spanish homes through food, and consumed as print or a meal. For my purposes, I look at both material conditions and culinary discourse to assess Spain's urban food culture in the hunger years.

The Nationalists aimed to conquer and convert the entire Spanish peninsula during the Civil War, so unity and cultural standardization across regions became important to the Franco regime. National identity was prioritized over regional or local membership. Slogans such as “*¡Arriba España!*” (Hail Spain) peppered the correspondences and policies of the regime to reinforce devotion to the nation. Regionalism was considered a threat to the national cohesion of Spanish territory, and one of the key acts of the Franco regime was to repress regional culture and separatist movements in Catalonia and the Basque Country. Ideological and cultural cohesion needed to be produced across Spain in order for Franco's totalitarian mission to take effect. Regional languages were suppressed and the political privileges that Catalonia had enjoyed prior to the civil war were ended when Franco established himself as dictator.²¹ Devotion and sacrifice for the *patria*, or fatherland, was a driving motivation for the Spanish Civil War, and the victory of the Nationalists solidified this dedication to the *patria* as part of Francoist culture.

¹⁹ Seidman, *Victorious Counterrevolution*, 248.

²⁰ Xavier F. Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2010), 137.

²¹ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 122.

In the creation of a nationalized Spanish culture, Castilian heritage, language, and customs came to represent national Spanish identity. Historian Michael Richards claims that Castilian culture became the cultural model adapted to represent national identity.²² Medina del Campo and Escorial, both located in the rural heartland of Castile, took on symbolic significance for the regime. Franco paid homage to the “martyred” Nationalists of the Spanish Civil War from Medina del Campo and constructed the Valley of the Fallen mausoleum in Escorial.²³ Castilian became the official language of all of Spain, even in regions that had different languages. Newspapers, broadcasts, and books were all required to be published in Castilian, with few exceptions. Castile was selected to house the heritage and symbolism of Franco’s New State, and Castile became the model for the other regions in terms of Francoist symbols.

The selection of Castilian culture to represent the nation was partly based on its imperial past, which was another tenet of Francoist ideology. Castile’s colonial expansion and conquest beginning in the fifteenth century was seen as a model for the Francoist army and the Nationalist band. The Franco regime incorporated images of the Catholic Kings to create connections to Spain’s historical unification and religious cleansing.²⁴ Not only did the Catholic kings end the centuries-long crusade of the *Reconquista* (reconquest), formally Christianizing the peninsula through the expulsion of the Jews, they also funded Columbus’s voyages to the Americas, ushering in centuries of Spanish colonialization and Christianization around the world. In many respects, Franco saw himself as a continuation of their efforts to colonize and Christianize the peninsula again after the perceived anti-Spanishness of the Second Republic.²⁵ Much of the

²² Ibid., 48-49.

²³ Ibid., 73.

²⁴ Ibid., 9.

²⁵ Ibid., 7.

culture of Francoism was based on reinventing Spain's imperial past to accommodate the purification and expansion of the Franco regime in Spanish society.

And finally, veneration of Spain's rural life was a cornerstone of Francoist ideology during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. As historian Michael Seidman argues, Spanish farmers generally enjoyed their prioritized position during the Spanish Civil War, as the Nationalists insured that farmers in Nationalist territories had decent wages, adequate seeds and equipment, and abundant market for their products.²⁶ Richards assesses that Nationalist veneration of rural life was a way to target and repress urban working classes who had resisted Nationalist efforts in the Spanish Civil War.²⁷ But the regime's glorification of the countryside stretched beyond favoring one lifestyle above the other. It included obsession with Spain's natural resources and a desire to exploit the land to its greatest capacity. As Lara Anderson has argued, food was an important natural resource for Spain, and the Franco regime promoted nationalist products through policy and the creation of Francoist culture.²⁸

For Spanish women, these tenets of nationalist ideology were adapted to their gender and communicated through the Women's Section of the FET-JONS. The prescribed femininity for women incorporated elements of womanhood passed down through generations of elite Spanish women. Womanhood during the dictatorship drew from great Spanish women of the past and encouraged the emulation of past queens and saints as the feminine model. Of these, Isabella of Castile and Saint Teresa of Avila were particularly venerated by the Women's Section. As Richmond has analyzed, "the adoption of Teresa of Avila as patron saint and Queen Isabella of Castile as historical role model for members provided the Women's Section with a female

²⁶ Seidman, *Victorious Counterrevolution*, 90.

²⁷ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 129.

²⁸ Anderson, *Food and Francoism*, 5.

version of José Antonio's concept of the ideal Falangist. He had described service to the FET-JONS as both religious and military, and the lives of Teresa and Isabella were idealized in propaganda and textbooks to represent the female equivalent."²⁹ Women's role within Spain's national culture was specifically gendered to reflect the gendered divisions within Francoist society. Women were included within the culture of Franco's New State, but that role was specific to their gender and differed from the patriotism and devotion required of Spanish men.

In terms of ideology, the Franco regime loosely configured conservative ideals to create a model Spanish society and prescribed women's role within Franco's New State. Glorification of Spain and its resources were the cornerstone of Franco's ideology, and Spanish men and women were expected to sacrifice for the glory of their country similar to the conquest of the Americas during the sixteenth century.

Ultra-national Food Policies

Food, a vital resource for Spain, was incorporated into this discourse of rural wealth and Spanish tradition. Food was glorified as a product of Spain, and rural producers were prioritized over the hungry urban Spaniards. From ideology, food moved into policy. To promote Spanish nationalism, the regime implemented a policy of autarky, or self-sufficiency. In terms of food, the policy of autarky promoted a Spanish diet of traditional ingredients as well as guaranteed government control of consumption. To promote rural life, the CAT created the National Cereal Service (SNT), a department that regulated agricultural production and prices.

The ideology that fueled autarky was the premise that Spaniards would only consume what was produced in Spain. It promoted and prioritized Spanish agricultural development and

²⁹ Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 40.

stressed that urban consumers practice austerity and sacrifice the consumption of non-Spanish goods.³⁰ As Carlos Barciela argues, Francisco Franco considered himself knowledgeable enough in economics to implement policy himself, ignoring actual economic expertise to guide the creation of policy.³¹ His inner circle also lacked extensive economic knowledge, so policy was largely based on ideology. Gay de Montellá claimed that autarky was the “autonomy, independence, and sovereignty” of the Spanish economy, while Emilio de Navasqués claimed that autarky was “the closed network of the economy.”³² Blaming the economic hardship of the 1940s on the “anti-economics” of the Second Republic, the regime claimed that all economic decisions made by Franco were in the service of the country.³³ The policy of autarky was based on ideology rather than economic reality, exacerbating social conditions in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War.

The economic system of autarky was first pioneered by Mussolini in Italy, and it consisted of intervention in every aspect of the economy, regulation of production, and price-setting for consumer goods.³⁴ The policies required extreme government regulation as a way of forcing the country to develop into a specific vision of the nation, and controlling food was a way to force citizens into the ideological mold of the regime’s vision for the New State. Food historian Carol Helstosky observed that in the case of Italy, Mussolini’s food policies forced Italians to consume a Mediterranean diet that was nationalized by the Fascists, interpreting food as a natural resource controlled by the state and its consumption as a form of consumption of the

³⁰ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 91.

³¹ Barciela, *La España de Franco*, 28.

³² Francisco Comin Comin and Miguel Martorell Linares, *La Hacienda Pública en el Franquismo. La Guerra y la autarquía (1936-1959)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Hacienda y Administraciones Públicas, 2013), 153.

³³ “Lo económico y lo antieconómico” *Alimentación Nacional*, Año II número 5, 15 de marzo de 1942, p. 1.

³⁴ Ana Cabana and Alba Díaz Geada, “Exploring modernization: agrarian fascism in rural Spain, 1936-1951” in *Agriculture in the Age of Fascism: Authoritarian technocracy and rural modernization, 1922-1945* eds. Fernandez Prieto, Lourenzo and Juan Pan Montojo and Miguel Cabo (Tournhout: Brepols publishers, 2014), 192.

state's ideology.³⁵ The Franco regime adopted a similar economic policy with the expectation that the Spanish diet would be nationalized under Francoism and that the consumption of Spanish food would facilitate the dissemination and internalization of the regime's ideology.

In terms of food, autarky meant that Spaniards were expected to only consume products produced in Spain by Spanish farmers, or processed in Spanish factories. Francoist bureaucrats theorized that the solution to price inflation caused by the lack of competition and product scarcity was to force farmers to produce more food. As one technocrat surmised, if farmers produced more wheat, Spaniards would have cheaper and more plentiful bread.³⁶ This was difficult to do as farmers had little financial incentive to achieve higher yields, nor did they have the seeds, fertilizers, and equipment necessary to increase yields to the level needed to supply all of Spain.³⁷ Even before the civil war, Spain was not self-sufficient in bread consumption.³⁸ The subsequent destruction of farmland and infrastructure only made the food provisioning situation more severe. Nonetheless, the regime dismissed these challenges by focusing on Spain's agricultural diversity as reason for the feasibility of autarky. Bananas came from the Canary Islands, grapes from Almeria, milk from Asturias, and fish from both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, so the Spanish population should be able to enjoy a diversified yet traditional Spanish diet.³⁹ In practice, urban Spaniards went hungry because rural areas held on to food to feed themselves, and many of the roads and trains used to transport food to the city were destroyed in the war.

³⁵ Carol Helstosky, *Garlic and Oil: Politics and Food in Italy* (Oxford, Berg, 2004) 3.

³⁶ M. Perez Urruti, *España en números: Síntesis de la producción, consumo y comercio nacionales, 1940-1941*, (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1942), 9.

³⁷ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 141.

³⁸ Rockefeller Foundation. Correspondence from JH Janney to Dr. Wilbur, December 13, 1940, p. 1.

³⁹ M. Perez Urruti, *España en números: Síntesis de la producción, consumo y comercio nacionales, 1940-1941*, (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1942), 9.

In practice, individual diet was more shaped by local availability of goods due to limited surviving infrastructure in the aftermath of the war. This created a priority of local politics and power dynamics over the official national food ideology and the intended message of Francoism. Many regions distrusted the circulation of comestible goods, and thus hoarded more of their own production rather than distributing it throughout Spain.⁴⁰ For the rural population, a monotonous diet was preferable to an inadequate one, so few goods produced in Spain made it to national circulation before the war. Within Spanish cities, diet had become quite cosmopolitan, with Spanish urbanites having access to goods from across the country.⁴¹ Some farmers still strove to provision luxury goods to the city, as the population concentration let them maximize profits despite the distances, but for most classes, the most affordable food was the most accessible and most local. Franco's dream of a nationalized diet would not be possible until roads improved and more food preservation technology was adopted.

The result of Franco's implementation of autarkic economic policy was that the New State ushered in "new doctrine" that largely ignored fundamental economics.⁴² Spaniards were expected to substitute domestically-produced goods for foreign goods, and the act of consuming only Spanish products was seen as an act of sacrifice for the *patria*. In theory, foreign goods such as American Coca-Cola or British canned products were not to be imported or consumed by patriotic Spaniards. However, many goods did not have viable substitutes that were produced domestically. Canned goods, many of which were packaged in Britain because of its industrial food processing capacity, were in high demand among Spaniards because of the long shelf life. For diabetics who needed insulin, the United States was the largest producer of insulin at the

⁴⁰ Antonio Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 61.

⁴¹ F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain*, (Westpoint, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2010), 22.

⁴² Barciela, *La España de Franco*, 29.

time. While some insulin was imported and distributed through Social Aid's diabetic centers, diabetics were at a health risk due to the policy of autarky. The health risks that diabetics faced were ignored by the Franco regime, and medical experts in Franco's inner circle made medical statements based on political ideology instead of science. Dr. Carlos Blanco Soler, who Franco appointed to be the director of the Spanish Red Cross, surmised, "[the Spanish Civil War] was good for the health of diabetics. They ate less during the food scarcity so it improved their health. This period of rationing is also good for diabetics because it greatly limits their dietary intake."⁴³ Rather than support the import of insulin, Franco and his supporters were determined to portray autarky as beneficial to Spanish health. While insulin for diabetics is only one case, the reaction of the regime to the limitation of autarky was excuses rather than reforms. The Francoist government turned a blind eye to the fact that Spain could not produce enough products to cover its needs, but adherence to nationalist values was more important than provisioning the population.

In a similar vein, exaltation of rural life was written into policy through the creation of the National Cereal Service (SNT), a department developed to facilitate the implementation of autarky in the Spanish countryside. Securing the cereal supply was so essential to the war that Franco launched his own "battle for wheat" only a few months after the coup in 1937 by creating the SNT, which as a subsection of the CAT continued to operate well into the 1940s.⁴⁴ While the SNT enacted many laws and regulations in attempt to control Spain's cereal production, the department's ideological output was greater than its grain supply. Part of the reason that the Nationalists were successful in feeding their territories during the civil war was because they

⁴³ Carlos Blanco Soler, "Nota Terapéutica de la semana. Racionamiento del diabético en épocas de guerra" in *Semana Médica Española* (Núm 199 año VI, 2 de enero de 1943), 43.

⁴⁴ Fernandez Prieto, Lourenzo and Juan Pan Montojo and Miguel Cabo, eds. *Agriculture in the Age of Fascism: Authoritarian technocracy and rural modernization, 1922-1945*. Tournhout: Brepols publishers, 2014. 197.

controlled many major crop-producing regions of the country, while the largest urban areas stayed loyal to the Republic.⁴⁵ Quickly after the war, the efficiency of the SNT broke down and was no longer economically self-sustaining. The added burden of feeding Spain's largest cities, coupled with the breakdown of Spain's traditional foodways, led to the scarcity of resources to enforce its agricultural policies and the need for the Francoist state to financially support the department.⁴⁶ The exaltation of rural life diverted much-needed state resources to a failing agricultural policy, while urban Spaniards went hungry from lack of food and resources.

Ana Cabana and Alba Díaz Geada have written extensively on Francoist agrarian policies and its social ramifications. They have observed that while cities such as Madrid and Barcelona suffered devastation during the Spanish Civil War from aerial bombings and street fighting, Spain's farmland was not devastated by the war.⁴⁷ Due to the extreme scarcities suffered by Spaniards living in cities during the hunger years and the disconnection that the urban population had from their food source, Spaniards emptied the cities to the countryside. The 1940s saw a "re-ruralization" of the Spanish countryside, in part due to the policies that the Franco regime enacted to promote rural life.⁴⁸ Along with frequent excursions to the countryside to hunt game or forage for nuts, berries, and mushrooms,⁴⁹ Spaniards left the cities to live closer to their food sources as a strategy to cope with hunger. Many Spaniards sought professions in agriculture (producing an increase in agricultural employment from the time of the Second Republic), and

⁴⁵ Seidman, *Victorious Counterrevolution*, 6.

⁴⁶ Carlos Barciela, "La financiación del Servicio Nacional del Trigo, 1937-1971" in *Estudios de Historia Económica*, no. 5, 1981, 9.

⁴⁷ Ana Cabana and Alba Díaz Geada, "Exploring Modernization: Agrarian Fascism in Rural Spain, 1936-1951," in *Agriculture in the Age of Fascism: Authoritarian Technocracy and Rural Modernization, 1922-1945* edited by Lourenzo Fernandez Prieto, Juan Pan Montojo, and Miguel Cabo (Tournhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 192.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁴⁹ Luis Enrique Alonso and Fernando Conde, *Historia del Consumo en España: Una aproximación a sus orígenes y primer desarrollo* (Madrid: Debate, 1994), 124.

agriculture became the largest sector of Spain's GDP.⁵⁰ Industrialization and urbanization were retarded due to policies enacted by the Franco regime, and it was ideology that fueled the retreat from the urban developments of the Second Republic.

Finally, ideology was also enacted into policy directed specifically towards women, and the FET-JONS party implemented a state-funded program to indoctrinate women on food ideology. Social Service was a six-month training and service program required for all Spanish women ages seventeen to thirty-five.⁵¹ The Social Service program was established October 7, 1937, to incorporate women into the Nationalist effort during the Spanish Civil War. During the unpaid sacrifice to the *patria*, Spanish women completed two-hundred and sixteen hours of domestic coursework known as the *escuela de hogar* (household education) before being placed in community kitchens, hospitals, or orphanages for volunteer work.⁵² The first three months of Social Service included this educational program for Spanish girls and women to learn domestic lessons such as cooking, sewing, puericulture, and budgeting, as well as patriotic songs, regional dances, and Spanish and Christian history. The Women's Section taught cooking lessons from the textbook, *Manual de Cocina para Bachillerato, Comercio, y Magisterio* as part of an obligatory education program. Each regional headquarters was equipped with a test kitchen, and women learned cooking skills such as dressing a chicken or stiffening egg whites. The recipes that the women learned not only taught them useful cooking skills, but also reinforced a national diet. All ingredients used in the kitchens were products of Spain and from the official economy, so Social Service taught women to use the official economy and domestic products in their daily cooking activities.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 213.

⁵¹ Kathleen Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 17.

⁵² Ibid., 17.

In practice, the hours dedicated to women's cooking instruction through Social Service was more than the hours allocated to political and religious lessons. The cooking course consisted of twenty-four, ninety-minute lessons so that every student spent a total of thirty-six hours in a test kitchen.⁵³ The courses were longer than the religious and FET-JONS lessons, each of which was only twenty-seven hours in length. While the cooking classes comprised a greater component of the Social Service coursework due to the time needed to chop, stir, or fry a meal, it also sheds light on how the Women's Section valued domestic training. It was important to the organization, the FET-JONS party, and the Franco regime that women sacrifice their time to the nation, and that they were trained in the skills needed for women in the New State.

Despite the high ambitions of the Women's Section, the organization did not have any real power to enforce mandatory participation in the Social Service, but the organization did utilize its connections with the Francoist state to promote participation as much as possible. As Richmond notes, there was little participation in the Women's Section beyond Madrid, limiting its reach to women across Spain.⁵⁴ Thus, archival records show that few women completed the program. Richmond calculated that only about 31,000 women enrolled in Social Service each year, never obtaining the transformation of Spanish womanhood desired by the regime.⁵⁵ Ideology motivated the implementation of the Social Service program, but similar to other initiatives of the Franco regime, there were insufficient resources dedicated to the operation of the program, and there was no feasible way to force Spain's urban population into it.

Ideology shaped policy in the early Franco dictatorship, and Francoist values were embedded within food policy. The economic initiative of autarky was not fueled by economics

⁵³ Delegación Nacional de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, *Programas para las escuelas de Hogar de la Sección Femenina* (Madrid: Regiduría Central de Cultura, 1959), 4.

⁵⁴ Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 34.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 96.

or postwar reconstruction, but by the ideology of Franco to promote a singular national identity and foster patriotism within the “New State”. The ideology to promote rural life over urban, as it was implemented in policies, led to a retardation of industrial development and a mass migration to the countryside. Spaniards, to cope with hunger, sought to move closer to food production to satisfy their needs. And finally, women were trained in their prescribed patriotic duty through the creation of the Social Service program. Women were tasked with feeding their families in Franco’s New State, so the Women’s Section of the FET-JONS took steps to teach women how to cook a national diet. Yet even at the political level, food discourse failed to live up to the ideological values of the regime. The policy of autarky was detrimental for the Spanish economy and launched the country into a prolonged food shortage. The SNT, while initially successful, failed to sustain its production goals and ultimately was responsible for Spain’s prolonged famine. And while Social Service was supposed to train Spanish women how to cook according to a nationalized diet, the reality of the autarky meant that many of the foods that Spanish women prepared in the program were not possible in their own homes. Francoist policy was fueled by ultra-nationalism and patriotic values, but the act of policymaking and the realities of Spanish society cut off the extent to which food ideology could be imposed onto Spanish society.

National Food Culture and its Discontents

This subsection explores some of the characteristics of Francoist food culture that were promoted in Spain’s urban centers. With the food policies in place that affirmed Francoist nationalist identity, the act of eating became a patriotic act, and Spaniards could affirm their Spanish identity with the consumption of every autarkic meal. Eating Spanish-grown foods, prioritized by the ideology and the agricultural policy of the Franco regime, became a way that Spaniards could show their loyalty to the dictatorship and the New State. When women bought

and prepared food for their families in the home, state ideology and policy, created in the public sphere, was affirmed through eating a meal in the private sphere. Likewise, when Spanish women cooked these national dishes, the way in which they prepared the meal became a form of devotion and service to the Spanish nation. Following the cooking instructions of the Women's Section via the Social Service program, women's cooking practices were funneled into a singular, patriotic act.

Yet, as the previous subsection demonstrated, the food policies of the regime ultimately failed to live up to the ideologies of Spanish nationalism that the Franco regime had envisioned as victors in the Spanish Civil War. The food policies lacked pragmatism and engagement with Spain's postwar social reality, leading to mismanagement of scarce resources and a lack of implementation and enforcement. The disruption created between the intent of the policy and application of the policy created an uneven food culture within Spanish cities. On the one hand, ideology and policy glorified the richness and bounty of Spain's countryside, but many shops in Madrid suffered from empty shelves.⁵⁶ Spaniards were encouraged to eat a standardized diet as part of their adherence to Franco's New State, but in practice, urban Spaniards sought food however they could—by legal and extra-legal means—during the hunger years. Thus, the urban foodscape during the hunger years incorporated some aspects of Francoist ideology, while others were obscured by survival and social conditions. A cultural spectrum developed in response to Franco's food policy, far from the uniformity of national identity desired by the regime.

State publications—such as magazines and newspapers—led the way in defining Spain's national cuisine for the cities of Madrid and Barcelona. Magazines such as *Alimentación Nacional*, *Medina*, and *Y: Revista para la mujer*, and newspapers such as the FET-JONS news

⁵⁶ "La carne, su escasez y la prensa madrileña" *La Carne* Año II núm 22. 15 de enero de 1946, 3-4.

publication *Arriba*, praised and promoted food policy within Spain's urban public sphere. The CAT circulated its own publication, *Alimentación Nacional* (National Food) that was intended to inform Spain's urban public about new food policies, the initiatives and progress of the organization, and general information on the food situation in Spain. The magazine was published monthly and circulated across Spain, but much of its consumption occurred in the city, due to the concentration of literate Spaniards and the ease of urban distribution. The magazine declared itself the foremost source on food news and information in Spain, claiming, "[the magazine] was formed to inform and guide public opinion on Spain's food shortages and to warn the public that the restrictions and regulations imposed by the CAT are necessary to support our mission."⁵⁷ As an extension of policy, the CAT aimed to facilitate a culture that supported the totalitarian aims of the Francoist government. By publishing a magazine, the food discourse of the organization surpassed intellectual discourse and elite politics to enter the public sphere.

Alimentación Nacional contained articles published to promote Spain's agricultural successes, oftentimes overlooking the serious problems of provisioning that many urban Spaniards faced. Rather than addressing shortages, the magazine presented biased views and reports on Spain's food policies, specifically in terms of food provisioning to cities. For example, one article reported that over the course of the year, 66 million kilograms of potatoes had arrived in Madrid's metropolitan area, enough for each urban resident to receive half a kilo per day.⁵⁸ The article boasted that the potato crop was keeping the city well-fed, claiming that Francoist provisioning to the capital was a success. Potatoes are a hearty plant, fresh from the earth, which promoted the austerity of Spain's national diet and the richness of Spanish rural soil.

⁵⁷ "Un Año de tarea" *Alimentación Nacional* noviembre 1942, p.1.

⁵⁸ "La Central Reguladora del Abastecimiento de Patata, organismo colaborador de la Comisaría General" *Alimentación Nacional* noviembre 1942, p. 60.

The magazine identified the provisioning successes of potatoes to Madrid, focusing on aggregate numbers and statistics rather than what Spaniards could actually afford, acquire, and consume. The article ignored that some of the weight calculated for potatoes was clumps of dirt and rocks, or that distributors often stole potatoes from the trucks.⁵⁹ As Richards recounts, while Madrid was well-supplied with food, many members of the lower classes were unable to buy and consume the food that was available in the shops.⁶⁰ So, whereas the magazine claimed that 66 million potatoes had been supplied to the city of Madrid, those numbers do not account for quality of the food, its distribution within the various neighborhoods of Madrid, or the accessibility and prices for working-class Spaniards. The article served more as propaganda to praise the regime rather than providing informative content on food provisioning to Spain's cities.

The magazine also affirmed Francoist gender divisions along with promoting the economic policies of autarky. The same edition of the *Alimentación Nacional* magazine includes a section for women on domestic economy titled, "Potatoes". The Section includes recipes that Spanish women could cook using potatoes: potatoes stuffed with tomatoes and onions, potatoes served with sardines, and fried potato strips.⁶¹ To further promote the consumption of potatoes, the magazine reached out to Spanish women to supply them with recipes for the surplus crop. Potatoes were further incentivized in the publications of the Women's Section. The magazine *Medina*, published by the Women's Section, included several recipes that incorporated potatoes into their dishes. Their recipe for "sopa lorenese", "patatas a la holandesa", and "pudín de

⁵⁹ "Ref: Informacion sobre suministro de patatas" Madrid, 16 noviembre de 1939 Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno" Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

⁶⁰ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 143.

⁶¹ "Economía Doméstica. Patatas." *Alimentación Nacional* noviembre 1942, p. 51.

patatas” all promoted incorporating potatoes into family meals.⁶² In this manner, the magazine transformed food policy into consumable print culture for Spaniards. Not only did the two magazines explain the food policies of the regime, but they also incorporated instructions for women to cook certain foods in prescribed ways to reinforce Franco’s New State. This example of potatoes is but one example of the ideological saturation of Spanish culture through food ideology and policy.

Other officials within the Francoist government followed suit in publishing propaganda material that praised Francoist food policies and promoted the food ideologies of the regime. The technocrat Antonio Barroso Rodriguez published the study, *Pan Para España* in 1949 that won the Francisco Franco award for its agricultural expertise and dedication to Spanish nationalism. The book justified the policy of autarky, claiming that importing foreign goods threatened the country’s security and power.⁶³ The book also criticized processed goods, saying that fresh agricultural products from the countryside were superior to industrial foods.⁶⁴ The book affirmed two key ideological points of Francoist nationalism: self-sufficiency and glorification of rural work over industrial, urban work. State-sponsored print culture acted to affirm Francoist policy which further propped up the nationalist ideology of the regime. Rather than reporting the limitation of the ideologically-driven policy, state technocrats perpetuated extreme nationalism by adhering and supporting state food policy.

Following the lead of state publications, Juan Ortiz Such (under the pen name Alberto León) published the cookbook *La Cocina clásica española* in 1941. With the intent of highlighting the nutrition and diversity of Spanish cuisine, the cookbook highlighted the

⁶² “Cocina” *Medina* núm 73, 9 de Agosto de 1942.

⁶³ Antonio Barroso Rodriguez, *Pan para España. Estudio sobre el cultivo del Trigo para normalizer el Abastecimiento de Pan, Año. 1949* (Madrid: Nueva Imprenta Radio SA, 1949), 13.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

seasonality of Spanish foods and the nutritional benefit of Spanish food for the Spanish race. The author verifies that all recipes in the book have been tested to perfection, and the author assures the reader that they are all catered to the Spanish palate. The author wrote to promote the importance of eating Spanish and maintaining a national cuisine. Ortiz Such declared in the prologue, “We need to give priority to the old Spanish style of dishes over the other techniques by foreign nations. Those dishes do not suit our tastes, and their products are not conducive to be grown in our climate or geography.”⁶⁵ The book, in accordance with the ideology celebrated in Franco’s New State, affirmed ultra-national ideology by claiming the superiority of Spanish goods and the exceptionalism of Spanish products as superior to foreign foods. Abiding by the precedence set by state publications, the rhetoric adopted in the cookbook promoted Francoist food culture and ideology.

La Cocina clásica española took these opinions a step further to praise Spain’s national diet, but added that a national cooking style should be practiced as well. He writes: “Every nation should cook according to their particular style. Good for those who know how to cook in the French style or the Italian style... but the foundation of our dishes, determined by natural law, should be the Spanish stew.”⁶⁶ Not only were Spanish ingredients necessary to create a common Spanish identity, but the manner of preparing food was dictated by the culture of autarky to be Spanish or foreign. Additionally, stewing was a cooking technique common in Castile and northern regions of Spain, but was not as common in the Southern province of Andalusia or in the warm coastal towns along the Mediterranean. Selecting stewing as the archetype method for Spanish cooking alluded to traditional preparation style for Castilian cuisine, affirming Francoist preference for Castilian culture over regional culture. Similar to the Social Service program that

⁶⁵ Alberto León, *La Cocina clásica española* (Ciudad Lineal: Editorial Estudio, 1941?), 9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

taught Spanish women how to cook in a specific manner, *La Cocina clásica española* promoted a singular style of cooking that was considered “Spanish style”, and it was the duty of Spanish women to cook according to the nationalized cooking methods.

One critical caveat to the glorification of Spanish cuisine was that the meaning of Spanish food was expanded to include recipes from the past empire. Cooking recipes and eating dishes that celebrated Spain’s colonial past, drawing from ingredients and cooking techniques employed in the Americas, was one way that Spaniards could support Francoist racial ideology and imperial ambitions. As previously mentioned, the Franco regime glorified the export of Spanish traditions to the Americas through centuries of conquest and colonization, and cuisine became a medium that Spaniards could use to glorify the legacy of the conquests of the Catholic kings. Urban centers were well-poised to encompass a broadened definition of Spanish cuisine due to the concentration of knowledge in cities and the access to diverse international networks. The diversity of cuisine enjoyed in Latin America and the Caribbean was considered to affirm the ability of Spanish leaders to unite diverse lands and peoples under one flag and one faith. By incorporating foods from empire, Spaniards symbolically ate Franco’s conquest and conversion of the Spanish Civil War.

Thus, despite Franco’s ideology of Spanish isolation and the policy of autarky, an exception was made for Latin America and the movement of peoples and goods continued unabated during the 1940s, especially through Catholic networks. With a national discourse of racial superiority and conquest adapted from the Catholic Kings to Francoism, only some foods from Latin America were acceptable. The racial discourse of the regime prioritized European culture over the mixed mestizo culture or indigenous or slave cultures that were integral to the Hispanic world. The Americas, both real and in popular imagination, were very much part of

Spain's nation-building in the nineteenth century,⁶⁷ and proved vital to Franco's nation-building project of the New State after the civil war. The connections forged between Spain and its former colonies crossed diplomatic, religious, literary, economic, and political ties, but the cultural exchanges and integration took on new meaning with the cooption of hispanidad by the Franco regime.⁶⁸

One of the ways that the Franco regime glorified Spain's past conquests was through the establishment of the official holiday, *día de la raza* (Spanish race day) that commemorated Columbus's voyage to the Americas. The October 1940 issue of the women's magazine *Menage* guided women in how to celebrate Spain's past empire and Franco's imperial interests with flavorful dishes that would "remind readers of Spanish dishes while highlighting the exotic richness of Latin America."⁶⁹ The intent for the special edition was for its Spanish readership (of a certain affluence and literacy) to celebrate *Día de la raza* with some recipes from the former colonies.

The racialization of the Americas was clear from the cover of the magazine. It bore a dark-complexion woman carrying fruit on her hair, a traditional dress, and braided hair. In the background are Spanish galleons arriving to the colonies. The magazine contains forty-one recipes that were supposed to represent a country or region of Latin America. The descriptions did not contain additional cultural information or instructor for the readers, such as the significance or origin of the dish. Instead, they were presented simply as a group and labeled "cocina hispano Americana".⁷⁰ Next to, but very much separated from the Hispanic-American

⁶⁷ Chris Schmidt-Nowata, "La España Ultramarina: Colonialism and Nation-building in Nineteenth-century Spain" in *European History Quarterly*, 34:2 (2004), 191-214.

⁶⁸ Zira Box, Wendy Gosselin trans., "The Concept of Empire during Early Francoism," *Contribution to the History of Concepts* vol. 8, No. 1, Special Issue: Concepts of Empire and Imperialism (Summer 2013), p. 103.

⁶⁹ *Menage para la mujer*. Número 18, Octubre 1940.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

recipes, were many Spanish recipes, included to highlight the gastronomic merit of dishes termed as Spanish. Many of them hailed from regions of Spain, echoing the director of the magazine, Gonzalo Bosch Bierge, in his previous cookbook *La Cocina regional Española* published earlier in the same year.⁷¹ The magazine presented twenty-eight recipes that were intended to represent Spanish cooking, spanning all regions of Spain and all courses of the meal. The organization of recipes in the magazine reflected how Spaniards saw racial organization in the world: Spain and Latin America were connected, but clearly divided into separate categories. Entire countries of Latin America were omitted from the recipe collection, while Spanish dishes included both national and regional favorites. The racial hierarchy constructed by Francoist ideology placed peninsular Spain as the leader in the Catholic world and Hispanic world. Rather than admitting the advancements and cultural richness of Latin American countries in their own right, the culture of hispanidad adopted during the early Franco regime attributed the wealth and culture of the Americas completely to peninsular Spain.

Spain's connection to the Hispanic world was not only imported in culinary discourse through recipes, but foodstuffs in the form of relief aid was also imported to Spain's major cities. The United States (considered by the regime as part of Spain's former empire), Argentina, and Uruguay all sent relief aid to Spain during and after the Spanish Civil War.⁷² In the case of Uruguay, the country supplied aid through the network of the Catholic Church, sending as many Bibles and religious texts as cans of preserved meat.⁷³ Although Spaniards greatly needed foodstuffs due to the food shortages caused by autarky, the regime skewed the delivery of humanitarian aid to promote Franco's ideology of soft empire in the Americas. Rather than

⁷¹ Gonzalo Bosch Bierge. *Cocina Regional Española*. Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1940.

⁷² Eric R. Smith, *American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2013).; Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 92.

⁷³ Capella, Col. Adolfo. *Todo por España. La Obra y Memorias de un Cruz Roja*. Barcelona: Papyrus, 1940.

admitting that these countries had surpassed the *madre patria* in material abundance due to inept policies in Franco's New State, the regime twisted the import of consumer goods from the Americas to be an affirmation of Franco's great conquest over the Second Republic.

Argentina greatly assisted Spain in its time of food scarcity, sending much-needed aid to help the economic disaster caused by autarky. Argentina's president Juan Perón sympathized with the politics of Franco, and the two agreed that Argentina would send wheat grains and frozen meat to Spain's cities.⁷⁴ The impact of Argentina's frozen meat was so substantial that Spanish butchers and housewives alike had to be retrained in how to prepare frozen meats with cuts different from those traditionally used in Spain. As one butcher joked, "we appreciate the cuts of meat, but wish [Argentina] would cut less!"⁷⁵ Meats imported from Argentina were often cut in standardized ways for packaging and were shipped without the bone. Spanish housewives preferred to buy meat with the bone to repurpose for additional meals. They were accustomed to cooking with specific cuts of meat that were traditional to Spanish butchering, and the import of foreign, frozen meat changed their traditional way of cooking. Butchers and ranchers alike feared that frozen meat from Argentina was competition with Spanish meat, but ultimately Spanish housewives preferred their Spanish meats, only resorting to Argentina meat as a last resort, as it was seen to "have less flavor."⁷⁶ Hungry Spaniards were willing to take any meat, regardless of the perceived quality of it. But the uneven application of Francoist ideology on Spain's urban food culture made Spanish women turn their noses up at perceived inferior meat. Urban housewives wanted to buy and consume meat to satisfy their families, but Francoist ideology claimed that Spanish goods were superior, leading them to unhappily accept foreign imports.

⁷⁴ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 92.; *La Carne* Año II núm 33: 1 julio 1946, p. 10.; *La Carne* Año III núm 48: 15 febrero 1947, 9.

⁷⁵ *La Carne*, Año III núm 62: 15 septiembre 1947, p. 2

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Meanwhile, the United States tried to send aid, and some arrived through the transatlantic Catholic networks.⁷⁷ Yet, as Eric Smith has observed, American relief to Spain during the civil war was never a popular movement in the United States,⁷⁸ and the American government did not adopt a formal policy on aid to Spain until the start of the Cold War. The Rockefeller Foundation provided some assistance to the working-class neighborhood of Vallecas and later Cuatro Caminos in Madrid in the immediate aftermath of the war, but the organization's relationship with the dictator was strained.⁷⁹ Not all food that arrived to Spain from the Americas was gratefully welcomed. The Civil Guard was accused of burning food sent from the United States at the border in an act of spite against the recipients. As one Spaniard joked, Spanish customs officials like their meat *really* well-done.⁸⁰ Despite Franco's ideology of autarky, its foodways stretched across the Atlantic, and Spain was dependent on aid from the Americas rather than "self-sufficient" as the economic policy of autarky would suggest. Likewise, foreign goods peppered Spain's urban foodscape not only as illegal imports through the black market, but through Franco's reliance on hispanidad for trade agreements.

For all the state effort that went into creating a hegemonic Spanish culture across Spain, local and regional recipes remained a part of Spanish diet and cuisine. It is impossible to know exactly what Spanish women cooked in the privacy of their own homes during this time, but regional cuisine was retained in some of the cooking publications of the time. Similarly, although regional languages were prohibited, some recipe collections included recipes that boasted their local origin, such as *Fabada asturiana* (Asturian Fava beans), *pote gallego* (Galician stew), and

⁷⁷ Eric R. Smith, *American Relief Aid and the Spanish Civil War* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2013).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁷⁹ Del Cura, María Isabel. *Alimentación y enfermedad en tiempo de hambre: España, 1937-1947*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, 2007.

⁸⁰ *La Carne*, Año III núm 62: 15 Septiembre 1947.

gazpacho andaluz (Andalucian cold tomato soup).⁸¹ While many recipes took on the monikers, “*a la española*” (Spanish-style), many others remained local or regional, rather than conforming to the whole. Spanish women recognized recipes and dishes that were traditionally tied to a location, so regional identity largely remained in the food discourse of the 1940s.

Regional cuisine was also the focus of some cookbooks. Gonzalbo Bosch Bierge, chief editor of the women’s magazine *Menaje*, dedicated an issue of the magazine to regional dishes of Spain.⁸² He went on to include his regional cuisine collection in his cookbook series *biblioteca gastronómica y del hogar*, pricing the booklet at an affordable 2 pesetas while the series of 12 cookery booklets was 15 pesetas. *La Cocina regional española* treaded lightly on the issue of national identity and regional divisions. The author reimagined the geography of Spain as four regions determined by culinary style: Castile, Levante, the North, and Andalusia.⁸³ He wrote: “To best organize the recipes presented in this collection, I have divided Spain’s culinary tradition into four regions. Together these make for a unified Spanish cooking tradition.”⁸⁴ *La Cocina regional española* took some cues from the official ideology of the Franco regime; it listed Castilian recipes first, giving priority to Castilian heritage over the other regions. It also avoided naming the traditionally separatist regions of Catalonia and the Basque Country as having a distinct culture. By creating its own regions within Spain, the cookbook avoided giving weight to traditional political borderlines. Still, the individual recipes maintained the names from which they hailed: *tortilla catalana* (Catalan omelet), *fantasia de verduras donostiarra* (Donostia/San Sebastian vegetable delight), and *huevos a la madrileña* (Madrid-style eggs).

⁸¹ *365 recetas de cocina práctica (una para cada día del año)*. 4 ed. Madrid: Ediciones Ibericas, 1941?.

⁸² I have not been able to locate the actual issue of the women’s magazine that contains the regional recipes, but a later edition mentions that an issue has been dedicated to regional cuisine. *Menaje*. November 1940.

⁸³ Gonzalo Bosch Bierge, ed., *Cocina regional española* (Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1940), 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

Rather than become nationalized as a singular Spanish identity, the recipes and dishes maintained their local identity and meaning, undermining the efforts of the Franco regime to create a singular unified Spanish food identity. By citing regional differences in cooking, the cookbook undermines the unifying efforts of the Franco regime to implement a hegemonic foodscape in Spain's cities.

Regional cooking preserved through recipes circulated in cookbooks and magazines during the hunger years, but regional languages were sometimes preserved through these recipes as well. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts, which was charged with preserving Spanish literature, published an anthology of classic Catalan literature in 1947 that included the book, *Libre de totes maneres de confits: Un tratado manual cuatrocentista de arte de dulceria* in its original Catalan.⁸⁵ While the Catalan language preserved in the anthology was several hundred years old, its inclusion suggests that some parts of the Francoist bureaucracy not only wanted to preserve regional literature, but cooking literature in its original language. Other books were more contemporary and purposeful for women. Books in Catalan were allowed for their literary merit, but, according to the subjective nature of the censor, was allowed for technical books as well. Cooking manuals, domestic economy books, and recipe collections fell under the publication umbrellas as "technical manuals", and in some cases, they were allowed to be published in regional languages.

But that is not to say that regional languages were able to flourish in the marginalized site of cooking literature. The Francoist censor prohibited a number of books for the sole reason that they were in Catalan or Euskara. Whereas Ignacio Domenech was allowed to publish *La Teca*,

⁸⁵ Faraudo de Saint-Germain, "Libre de totes maneres de confits: Un tratado manual cuatrocentista de arte de dulceria" in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Horta I.E., 1947).

Adriana Aldavert's cookbook, *Art de ben menjar* was banned from publication in 1947.⁸⁶ In the beginning, Domenech's use of Catalan in the cookbook was questioned by the censors, but allowed to be published anyway. The censor bureaucrat completed the paperwork for the book, stating that it did not attack the regime or its ideology, but "while it is not grounds to oppose its publication, the cooking manual is published in Catalan, which corresponds to a certain regionalist ideology. Other than this particular patriotic act, the book does not fundamentally contradict the regime."⁸⁷ Aldavert's cookbook did not receive such an apathetic assessment from the censor. In its rejection, the censor wrote: "it is a cookbook that by no means justifies a Catalan version of the content, and given that authorization to publish this book could set a precedent for other works of a technical nature (rather than literary), the Censor Delegation will not authorize the publication of these types of works in the Catalan language."⁸⁸ Domenech was also able to slip a Spanish-Euskara past the censor, *La Cocina Vasca (Laurak-Bat)* that printed its second edition during the hunger years.⁸⁹ In this cookbook, recipes were presented first in Castilian and afterwards in Euskara. In the preface, Domenech explained the reason for the cookbook was to continue to promote regional cooking and to help Spanish housewives diversify their meals with more than stews.⁹⁰ Within the urban foodscape, especially in Barcelona and Bilbao, regional cuisine remained as a counter-culture to the castilianization of Spanish cuisine. Spanish housewives, on the periphery of society and the periphery of Spain, maintained their regional cooking traditions.

⁸⁶ María Josepa Gallofre I Virgili, *L'edició catalana y la censura franquista (1939-1951)* (Barcelona: Publicaciones de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1991), 451.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 249.

⁸⁹ Ignacio Domenech, *La Cocina Vasca (Laurak-Bat)*. 2 ed. (Barcelona: Quintilla y Cardona, 1950?).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

Despite the ideological efforts of the Franco regime to create a uniform national identity for Spanish cities, Spain's urban food culture consisted of local, regional, and international ingredients and cooking techniques. Ultra-nationalism was the driving force in the adoption of the economic policy of autarky, which stated that Spaniards would only consume Spanish products. The mismanagement of agricultural resources and inconsistent ban on imports led to food shortages in the city and the influx of foreign humanitarian aid. Government publications failed to accurately report the food situation in Madrid and Barcelona, choosing to affirm ideological objectives of the civil war rather than solve the severe provisioning problems in the cities. As a consequence, food discourse and food consumption in cities were diverse. Some Spaniards affirmed their loyalty to Spain by eating Spanish products prepared in a Castilian way, but others resorted to Argentinian or American food aid prepared according to regional or local customs. Far from a united and uniform national identity, the Spanish urban foodscape continued to consist of diverse goods and dishes, although scarcity of resources remained a persistent problem for many.

Food and the Family: Patriarchy and Social Order in Franco's New State

Along with national identity, family order and gender division were important ideological points on which Franco formed his New State. Francoist society was gendered with men and women serving different roles within the home and public sphere. Spanish housewives were expected to reinforce the social hierarchy that prioritized men as leaders of the household with women and children in tow. Spain's social order during the Franco dictatorship assumed men and women had separate roles within the family, and the family was the building block of

society. As Morcillo claims, Francoist gender culture was founded on the division between men and women, and this social division was the backbone of Spanish society.⁹¹ The ideal Spanish man worked hard and served in Franco's military. He followed the politics of the state and acted as a leader in his community and home. The ideal Spanish woman was submissive to male authority. Her sole role in Spanish society was to support her husband and children as a wife and mother, caring for the home and raising a family. Men were supposed to work in the public sphere and earn wages, while women were supposed to work at home and dedicate themselves to their families. In terms of food ideology, men were considered "breadwinners" while women were tasked with preparing daily meals to feed their families.

Ideologically, women and men were prescribed different roles within Francoist society, and every aspect of urban life was gendered. Rejecting the transgressions of "the New Woman" who participated in the public and civic life of the Second Republic, or worse, fought within the ranks of the Popular Front, Franco's New State sought to restore traditional gender roles that separated the duties of the sexes and glorified the family (not the individual) as Spain's social unit.⁹² The model Spanish woman in Franco's New State was to be happy, but not overly expressive; truthful in thought and speech; proud; courteous; and maintain a sober expression.⁹³ Women were to maintain these attributes for the pleasure of men.⁹⁴ Women's thoughts and actions were to be according to what men wanted, and within Franco's New State women were to support men in their rebuilding of cities after the civil war. Men were considered stronger and smarter than women, justifying women's dependency on men in the family and society. Men

⁹¹ Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 6.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 21-22.

⁹³ María Jesús Dueñas Cepeda, "La Construcción de las relaciones de género en la ideología de la Sección Femenina, 1934-1977" in *Encuadramiento femenino Encuadramiento Femenino, Socialización y cultura en el Franquismo* edited by Lucía Prieto Borrego (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010), 33-34

⁹⁴ "Como ven los hombres a la mujer que aman" *Y* núm 26. Marzo 1940.

were also considered better cooks. The women's magazine *Y* published the article on the topic. The article read, "Are men better cooks than women? As women we would not give an affirmative answer to this question, but in the back of our heads we know the answer is yes..."⁹⁵ Patriarchy was reinforced in all parts of Franco's New State.

Many scholars have analyzed the characteristics of model femininity imposed on Spanish women during the Franco regime by the Women's Section. Aurora Morcillo claims that Spanish womanhood was modeled on baroque ideals of femininity. She claims that Franco's New State was built upon the Spanish ideas and values formed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and modernization was channeled through the restoration of Catholic traditions.⁹⁶ Inbal Ofer rejects the idea that the Women's Section's feminine prescription was old fashioned, claiming that it was a mixture of modern and conservative elements.⁹⁷ In terms of food and its correlation to the patriarchal power dynamic in Franco's New State, the restoration and practice of patriarchy was an old power system restored (or reinforced) but the Franco regime, while its implementation through food ideology (largely defined in Italian Fascist terms) was new. In other words, the foods were new—adapted to the technologies available for preservation and taste—but the gendering of diets and portion sizes had been in place for centuries.

During the 1940s, urban women's indoctrination in prescribed femininity originated from the Women's Section, even more so than from the Catholic Church.⁹⁸ The decree of December 28, 1939 incorporated the Women's Section into the Francoist government for the sole purpose of monitoring the political and social education of women according to the ideals of the FET-

⁹⁵ "¿Cocinan mejor los hombres?" *Y* núm 67, Agosto 1943.

⁹⁶ Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 31.

⁹⁷ Inbal Ofer, *SEñoritas in Blue: The Making of a Female Political Elite in Franco's Spain* (Brighton: Sussex Press, 2009), 57.

⁹⁸ Matilde Peinado Rodríguez, "Iglesia y FET-JONS: Encuentros y Desencuentros en el ámbito de la educación Femenina" in *Encuadramiento femenino Encuadramiento Femenino, Socialización y cultura en el Franquismo* edited by Lucía Prieto Borrego (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010), 165.

JONS party.⁹⁹ For women, domestic teaching occurred through the Social Service program, explained more in-depth in the previous section, and through women's magazines. Women were taught how to maintain a hygienic home and raise children according to Nationalist Catholic doctrine. Spain's large cities housed Delegation offices where Spanish women could pick up the latest publications that included recipes, celebrity gossip, and interior design suggestions.

The first subsection will analyze how labor was divided between the sexes within Spanish cities. Francoist ideology motivated state intervention into labor laws, and the regime carved out prescribed career paths for men and women. From these, wages were set to reflect male superiority within Franco's New State, as men received choice jobs and higher salaries than women. The next section addresses consumerism and the Spanish body, and how Francoist society dictated different beauty aesthetics for men and women. Using diet pills as a lens, I analyze how Francoist ideology, medical discourse, and postwar culture punished women's bodies to thinness and malnutrition. The last subsection addresses the ideal Francoist family unit and how food policies were guided by increasing Spanish family size. Fascist ideology led to pro-natalist policies, and these in turn shaped nutrition discourse and urban food culture. Taken together, these discursive foodways demonstrate the transformation of food discourse from ideology to policy to culture. In the process of we can also see how urban Spanish women and their families at times adapted and at times contested the constraints of Franco's New State.

⁹⁹ Heliodoro Manuel Pérez Moreno, "Paradojas de la Sección Femenina: Disonancias entre "modelo mujer" e instituciones formative-asistenciales" in *Encuadramiento femenino Encuadramiento Femenino, Socialización y cultura en el Franquismo* edited by Lucía Prieto Borrego (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2010), 178.

Gendered Work: Food and Labor in Patriarchal Society

Labor policies followed patriarchal ideology that reinforced gender divisions within urban society. The Franco regime passed a “Right to Work” law in 1938 that set wages for men and women, and dictated that men and women were only allowed to perform certain jobs in the city according to their gender.¹⁰⁰ In the law, Spanish men received “breadwinner wages”, meaning that their income was intended to be enough for the entire family. But in a time of extreme shortage, few men earned enough income to bring bread home to their families. The problem was compounded by the social conditions in Spain’s postwar cities. By the end of the Spanish Civil War, many homes were without men, so widows and their families did not have access to breadwinner wages. For women whose husbands had died in the war, were imprisoned, or unable to work, there were no ways for women to make enough money as widows to support their families.¹⁰¹ For men who were incarcerated, the work that they performed in prison went to pay off their sentence, not to support their families. For those who saved money or food to give to their families, they were limited to give gifts to their children on the saint day *Nuestra Señora de Merced*, the patron saint of prisoners.¹⁰² Breadwinner wages were not a reality for many Spanish men who worked in cities, and they failed to live up to the Francoist model of patriarchal provider for their families.

For women, the “Right to Work” law adopted by the Franco regime had different ramifications. The policy was intended to “liberate” married women from the workplace so that they could stay at home as wives and mothers. Female career opportunities in Franco’s New State were very different due to the ideological motivations for the policy. Women had to receive

¹⁰⁰ Jose Babiano “Mujeres. Trabajo y militancia laboral bajo el franquismo (materiales para un analisis historico)” in *Del Hogar a la huelga. Trabajo, género y movimiento obrero durante el franquismo* edited by José Babiano (Madrid: Catarata, 2007), 25.

¹⁰¹ Richards, *A Time of Silence*, 52.

¹⁰² *Memoria de la Prision-escuela Madrid Yeserías: El trabajo y la educación* (Madrid, 1943), 46.

permission from their husband or father to work outside the home, and they had to show their completion of Social Service training to get a work permit. Women were only allowed to follow certain careers, laid out by the Women's Section. Women could work as cooks but not chefs. They could work in factories, but only as cleaning ladies or in secretarial positions. Women could be phone operators, but not perform phone line repair. Within the Catholic Church, women could be nuns, but not priests or monks. The ideal work for women in Francoist society was in the home, but for those who left the home to work, their opportunities were limited and segregated from men within the cities. Women's labor was separated from men in every way, and the wages they earned were set to be less than men for the work they did.

One key blind spot in the restriction of women's work was the legalization of prostitution that occurred during the Franco dictatorship. Despite the call for women to be wives and mothers, many women found themselves in need of work, and sex work became legal.¹⁰³ Prostitution was a dangerous job for women and often included risk to women's health. But as Cazorla Sanchez found in his research on the 1940s, there was an inverse relationship to prostitution and the availability of food. Only by the 1950s when food became more plentiful and affordable did the number of registered prostitutes in Spanish cities decline.¹⁰⁴ As his research suggests, women sought work—in this case the most desperate kind of work—in order to survive the hunger years in Franco's New State.

Yet other women found wage work that fit within the parameters of the ideology of the regime. The Artiach cookie factory traditionally employed women to work on the cooking assembly lines to bake and package cookies. In the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, Artiach received the "Exemplary Business Award" from Francisco Franco for their efforts to achieve a

¹⁰³ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 64.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

business model and social mission according to the ideals of the New State.¹⁰⁵ The factory was damaged during the Spanish Civil War, so in 1940 the factory reopened, but in accordance with the ideology of the Francoist state. The cookie factory introduced childcare so that professional caregivers would watch children while single mothers worked their shift. The factory created all-female dorms, dressing rooms, and showers so that women could change into work clothes in privacy from the male employees.¹⁰⁶ In the same year, the factory added a kitchenette for women to prepare and eat lunches during their break and created a library for employees to check out books.¹⁰⁷ While the Artiach cookie factory is the exception to women's work experience in the 1940s, the remodeled cookie factory met many of the ideological objectives of Franco's New State: it employed women in work that supported the preservation of the gender roles as housewives and mothers. The women baked, decorated, or packaged cookies, and on their lunch break, cooked their own meals. Their children were close to them at the factory, and the showers and changing rooms allowed the female employees to practice good hygiene and modesty between their shifts.

In conclusion, while the Women's Section taught women how to maintain a home and raise children so that they could tend to the needs of their family, in reality, many Spanish women, especially in cities, monetized this training for work. As Sescún María Cardenas claims, the Women's Section did not view working-class Spanish women as laborers, but first and foremost as wives and mothers.¹⁰⁸ Yet, the economic circumstances pushed many Spanish women to work outside the home, so the Women's Section tried to train women in skills that

¹⁰⁵ Estaban Sanchez, *Artiach. La Fábrica de galletas de Bilbao, 1907* (Bilbao: Bizkaiko gaiak, 2007), 82.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹⁰⁸ Sescún María Cardenas, "Empleo femenino a los dos lados del margen: La Sección Femenina y el trabajo de la mujer," in *El Franquismo desde los márgenes: Campesinos, mujeres, deatores, menores...* edited by Oscar Rodríguez Barreira (Lleida: Editorial Universidad de Almería, 2013), 152.

could be monetized while preserving their feminine character. Sewing, childcare, and domestic labor were considered skills that women could use to earn wages while maintaining the strict femininity defined by the Franco regime.¹⁰⁹ For women who worked as professional cooks as part of the Social Aid program, their wages were set at 135 pesetas. However, male cooks who performed the same work in the Social Aid kitchens received 354 pesetas.¹¹⁰ Women could learn how to cook and use the skill to find employment, but the capped salary for female labor meant that women's work was undervalued and women were seen as cheap labor. Nonetheless, many women flocked to urban areas in search of better living opportunities, often choosing to work as domestic servants in affluent urban homes. Rather than applying the feminine-prescribed skills of domesticity to their own families, many women left their homes to live with wealth families in Madrid or Barcelona who often greatly devalued their work.

Weighted Bodies: Gender, Diet Pills, and Patriarchal Society

Food also traveled from ideology to discourse to culture in terms of health and the Spanish body. In ideology, the Franco regime glorified the importance of health for the preservation and future of the Spanish collective body. Similar to other fascist parties in Italy and Germany, Spain also adopted sport and physical education as an important part of nation-building,¹¹¹ and healthy eating accompanied this ideology. However, the ideal for healthy Spaniards collided with the regime's gender ideal, so men and women were assigned separate expectations for healthy weights and dietary needs. In discourse, Spanish medical experts and intellectuals debated proper levels of health necessary for Spaniards according to their age,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 154.

¹¹⁰ "Auxilio Social: Delegación Provincial de Madrid" Madrid, 8 de febrero de 1940, El Delegado Provincial. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 928.

¹¹¹ Teresa Gonzalez Aja, "Spanish Sports policy in Republican and Fascist Spain" in *The International Politics of Sport in 20th Century* edited by Jim Riordan (London: Taylor and Francis, 1999) 105.

gender, and medical conditions. Many doctors retained patriarchal bias in their approach to science, assuming biological determinism shaped gender in society. With ideology and medical discourse on nutrition in place, Spanish culture was primed to target the female physical aesthetic to urban Spanish women in magazines, newspapers, and radio announcements.

This subsection analyzes the intersection of ideology, medical discourse, and consumerism during the Franco dictatorship at the point of women's diet pills. At the heart of these discourses was the desire to shape and mold the ideal Spaniards' physique. As Inbal Ofer has analyzed, the Franco regime took a great interest in the regulation of the female body.¹¹² Morcillo confirms the regime's obsession with the female body, arguing that control and regulation of the human body was a form of bio-power exercised by a totalitarian regime.¹¹³ As the previous subsection illustrated, the Franco regime monitored where women worked within the city and the sort of jobs that they performed on the assumption that women and men are biologically different and therefore capable of different labor. Ideologically, women were to fulfill a certain aesthetic prescribed by the Franco regime and the Women's Section of the FET-JONS. Doctors and medical experts, situated somewhere between affirming the patriarchal structure imposed by the regime and writing to their own biases, discussed how women needed to fulfill the biological determinism of their sex. In culture, one of the ways these constraints on women manifested themselves were through advertisements for diet pills directed towards women.

For many health professionals and the Francoist media of the time, the problem of obesity was a subject addressed as much if not more often than the problem of hunger. One of the more

¹¹² Inbal Ofer, *Señoritas in Blue: The Making of a Female Political Elite in Franco's Spain* (Brighton: Sussex Press, 2009), 105.

¹¹³ Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 5.

curious social phenomena during the early Franco dictatorship was an anxiety over obesity that manifested itself popularly through the prolific publication of weight-loss guidebooks and the sale of multiple brands of diet pills. Dr. Carlos Blanco Soler, then director of the Spanish Red Cross, claimed in his writings that obesity was such a major world problem of the time that the only solution was to lower the global food supply.¹¹⁴ Running concurrently with the food crises explained in the previous chapter and sending counter messages to the Spanish public, weight-loss enthusiasts launched a campaign, specifically directed towards Spanish women, to consume less food.

Spanish medical discourse expressed substantial concern with the “obesity problem” in Spain, and some of the medical knowledge trickled down to popular printing of the time. The concern was targeted to one specific demographic: middle-class Spanish women. The women’s magazine *Menage* published in Barcelona in the 1940s periodically advertised weight-loss pills from the companies such as Sabelin.¹¹⁵ Diet pill ads could be heard on the radio during women’s programming and appeared in women’s sections of mainstream newspapers of the time, in a strictly-controlled economy that was supposed to practice austerity and restraint. The development and marketing for these diet products were supported by the research in obesity conducted by Dr. Andrius Vander, Dr. Carlos Jimenez Diaz, Dr. Gregorio Marañón, Dr. Michel Richet, Dr. Carlos Blanco Soler, and Dr. Jose Serret Tristany, who all concluded that obesity was a serious nutritional problem for Spain and was linked to other illnesses such as gout or diabetes. Anxiety over Spanish obesity traversed medical circles and popular culture. A form of consensus

¹¹⁴ Carlos Blanco Soler, *Las Enfermedades de la nutrición*, (Madrid: Ediciones y Publicaciones Españolas (EPESA), 1948), 149.

¹¹⁵ “Advertisements”, *Menage*, Abril 1940, p. 39.; “Advertisements,” *Menage*, Mayo 1940, p. 13.

formed between doctors who advocated for an ideal Spanish figure and popular culture, which displayed a thin national body as the ideal femininity.

Despite the amount of historiographical literature on hunger during the early Franco dictatorship, little academic scholarship has thoroughly analyzed obesity literature from the hunger years and its place within the larger social history of Spain in the 1940s. Giraldez Lomba identifies the prevalence of weight loss advertisements in magazines of the 1940s, but he dismisses the ads as an expression of ambivalence and opulence of the Spanish elite.¹¹⁶ He concluded that diet pills showed the great disparity between rich and poor in the early Franco dictatorship; wealthy Spaniards ate too much while poor Spaniards ate too little. But these diet ads did not exist within a vacuum. Women's magazines and weight loss books could be confined to wealthier women who had expendable wealth and were literate, but radio ads reached the popular classes as well. The concerns for Spain's expanding waistline were reinforced by many medical experts and nutritionists of the time and took route within urban popular culture. Thus, the phenomenon of dieting in the 1940s, despite the hunger and starvation of thousands of Spaniards, has some relevance to the food culture and food policy of the time. The rest of this section aims to dissect some of the peculiarities of the diet fads of the early dictatorship and how they fit within the larger social history of the postwar period.

The coercion of the Spanish body to fit an ideal was an integral part of Francoism. Legislation restricted clothing designs, food rationing, and pharmaceutical products while propaganda created a coercive aesthetic beauty for the population. The impetus of Spain's rationing system was to standardize food consumption among Spaniards and to unite the

¹¹⁶ Antonio Giraldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los Años del hambre en Vigo*, (Vigo: Instituto de Estudios Vigueses, 2002), 198.

population into one collective national body through a common meal,¹¹⁷ which complemented the advocacy of the Women's Section's magazines for the ideal thin body in articles and pictures. But not all medical experts were in agreement on the proper weight of Spaniards. Sometimes fashion came in direct conflict with the writings of health professionals.

The condemnation of obesity was not against all Spaniards, but pointed directly at Spanish housewives. Dr. Andrius Vander reported that ten of every one hundred Spanish women over the age of 55 were obese.¹¹⁸ The cover of his diet guide, *La Obesidad: Su curación radical y definitiva*, only features women on the cover, making it clear that his intended audience was literate Spanish women. Another doctor of the time, Dr. Carlos Jiménez Díaz, published that many women were prone to gain weight with motherhood due to their idleness during the day. He claimed, "...There are many people who are thin during their youth and adolescence but then gain weight disproportionately as they mature to become obese. This occurs with special frequency in women after marriage and having children, instigated by the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle and an increased appetite..."¹¹⁹ Medical discourse from the time targeted women to lose weight, and these ideas reverberated through society in fashion and cuisine.

Diet fads fell under the umbrella of the objective of the Francoist state to standardize and control the Spanish body. An idealized Spanish body would represent the idealized race that would construct the idealized society and nation. The application of the standardized rationing system for all Spaniards within a municipality did not accommodate for variation of bodies that could suffer from obesity, anemia, malnutrition, lathyrism, gout, or diabetes. The desire for

¹¹⁷ Cid de la Llave, Benito, *Consideraciones sobre el problema del abastecimiento Nacional, su origen y causas. Encauzamiento para su solución y fundamento racional y económico de las medidas adoptadas* (Madrid: Patronato de Huérfanos de oficiales de ejército, 1944), 31.

¹¹⁸ Andrius Vander, *La Obesidad: Su curación radical y definitiva: Comer bien sin engordar*, 3 ed., (Barcelona: Librería Sintés, 1949).

¹¹⁹ Carlos Jiménez Díaz, *Lecciones sobre las Enfermedades de la Nutrición*, vol. III "De las Lecciones de Patología médica" 2ed., (Madrid: Editorial Científico Médica, 1941), 185.

uniformity created a paradox—standardized food distribution would create uniform eating practices, but would not create uniform Spanish bodies as some Spaniards required specialized diets to accommodate the individuality of their bodies' needs.

Focus on the Family: Pro-natalism and Child Nutrition

At the heart of the gender politics of Franco's New State was the control over the Spanish family. Masculinity was defined through providing for a family financially, and femininity was defined through providing food and care for a family. While there were acceptable exceptions to the formation of the family—namely those who joined religious orders or women who worked in the Women's Section—most Spaniards were expected to form a family unit as their contribution to Spanish society. Since women bore the responsibility of pregnancy and child birthing, the obsession of family formation was more directed toward women than men. As Antonio Polo Blanco put it, in Francoist ideology, childhood began in the womb because life began at conception. An unborn child's life was highly valued by the regime for its need to be baptized. The Franco regime promoted that mothers should be willing to sacrifice their own life for the opportunity to carry the child to term and baptize them.¹²⁰ From prenatal care to childbirth to child development to adulthood, women were tasked to raise children in proper moral and physical health. Nutrition training for women was a crucial way to satisfy the physical needs of Spanish children. However, along with gender, the ideology, policy, and culture for the Spanish family followed a trajectory that produced different results in practice than the original intent.

The backbone of Franco's family ideology was the objective to increase the birthrate and expand the Spanish population. The regime enacted pro-natalist policies that encouraged a higher

¹²⁰ Antonio Polo-Blanco, *Gobierno de las poblaciones en el primer franquismo (1939-1945)* (Cadiz: Universidad de Cadiz, 2006), 25.

birthrate. The Women's Section reconciled the family social structure implemented by the Franco regime to their own desires to reform Spanish femininity by interpreting pro-natalist policy as a mandate for healthy childrearing and puericulture instruction. The organization's method of advocating for population increase transformed from a policy that encouraged larger family sizes and greater fertility to one that advocated for women to remain in domestic spaces, perform maternal duties as a career choice, and improve living conditions for the next generation of Spaniards. The Women's Section reinterpreted the pro-natalist mandate from an emphasis on quantity to one that emphasized quality, effectively co-opting the desire for higher population rate as justification to campaign against infant and child mortality. The organization began welfare programs that provided women with instruction for childrearing, but omitted information about fertility or sex education in its publications or Social Service program. Puericulture, or child development and rearing, became a major component of the Women's Section platform to raise the quality of life in the home and the nation.

The Women's Section taught puericulture as part of the obligatory Social Service with a separate textbook for students and an independent course in the *escuelas de hogar*. It also opened several birthing centers, mother and child facilities, orphanages, and child dining halls. By 1947, the Women's Section established 160 centers in thirty-nine provinces that offered assistance to mothers through education programs, nurseries, and orphanages.¹²¹ Puericulture instruction consisted of fifteen classes of forty-five minutes each, for a total of eleven hours. This was the shortest classroom time of all of the courses offered by Social Service, yet the inclusion of puericulture in the obligatory Social Service program suggests that the organization viewed motherhood as the natural part of proper Spanish womanhood and needed for all women. It was

¹²¹ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 66.

part of their patriotic duty and sacrifice to learn how to be proper mothers. The Women's Section urged Spanish women to indoctrinate Spanish youth as young as possible with the state ideology.¹²² The Women's Section called on women to raise model Spanish citizens the Falangist way, tending to their physical, spiritual, and intellectual development.

In the puericulture classes held across Spain's major cities, Spanish women were taught childcare techniques, including weaning, baby food preparation, and simple home remedies for ailments. This once again emphasized the importance of food within postwar Spain, as child nutrition was essential during the hunger years. The puericulture textbooks published by the Women's Section dedicated several chapters to feeding infants and proper child nutrition. Lessons five through seven taught different lactation methods including one option for artificial formula, and lessons eight through ten taught women how to transition their infant from milk to healthy, solid foods.¹²³ Franco's New State began with the eating habits of children and babies, and cities were the centers where women were taught to raise children according to the standards of the FET-JONS.

Child nutrition instruction did not end with the completion of Social Service, but was commonly featured in articles in the magazines *Y: Revista para la Mujer*, *Medina*, and *Consigna*. Snacks were often recommended for older children to provide an energy boost throughout the day. Common snacks featured in the magazine *Medina* included fresh fruits and light pastries.¹²⁴ Serving fresh fruits to children not only provided them with necessary vitamins for child development, but promoted Spanish agriculture and rural resources. Another article on child

¹²² Childrearing in the manner of a proper *falangista* included participating in infant Baptism that reaffirmed the importance of Catholicism to the family, teaching children religious and patriotic songs to sing, and young daughters helping in the kitchen as early as possible.

¹²³ Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, *Nociones de Puericultura post-natal*. 7 ed. (Madrid: Ediciones de la Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1955).

¹²⁴ "Mamá, ya es hora de merendar" *Medina* núm. 164. 7 de mayo de 1944.

snacks in *Medina*, “Quick Snacks for Kids” suggested several quick dishes that mothers could prepare alongside their children.¹²⁵ Sugared onion and stuffed cherries were a few of the suggestions to give children a sugary snack after school but before dinner. These recipes were specifically intended for young daughters to watch and help prepare, subtly training young girls to cook in the kitchen and prepare their own meals. Not only were women to provide for their children, but they needed to train their daughters to provide and care for their future families as well.

To fight infant mortality, the Women’s Section employed the authority of doctors to instruct their readership in the infant nutrition needed for proper development. This fulfilled the organization’s mission to use the newest and most reliable information in pediatrics. Dr. L. Navas-Migueloa published an infant nutrition chart in an *Y* article. Dr. Navas-Migueloa prescribed six daily breast feedings for babies under five months: at seven in the morning, ten, one in the afternoon, four, seven, and ten.¹²⁶ From this regimen, the prescribed diet for toddlers was to slowly incorporate milk mixed with flour and sugar, followed by the integration of vegetable soup or fruit juice. The Women’s Section incorporated the innovative science with their prescribed natural and traditional habits of motherhood. The article included a chart that diagramed the proper method for feeding infants, while also advocating for the importance of childrearing. The other benefit of the chart is that it could be interpreted by women with limited literacy. The organization and colors used in the chart provided simply information for Spanish women to follow. The articles on childrearing avoided technical jargon to help in the interpretation of the material.

¹²⁵ “Una Merienda improvisada de los niños” *Medina*, núm 194. 3 de diciembre de 1944.

¹²⁶ Dr. L. Navas-Migueloa, “Alimentación del niño,” *Y: revista para la mujer*, núm 46, Noviembre 1941, p. 41.

Nutrition science was not only used to support Spanish gender divisions, but contributed to Francoist discourse on race. The future health of Franco's New State depended on how Spanish women fed their children. Hence, the Women's Section provided information for breastfeeding, weaning, baby foods, and older children's diets. From quick and healthy snacks for children to diagrams of the "nutrition wheel,"¹²⁷ the Women's Section began its nutrition initiative from birth and continued it for the life of the child. The article "Your Children... and Vitamins" instructed women on how to properly nourish their children by providing lists of several vitamins and foods that contain them.¹²⁸ The article says "Medical science decrees—at least in our times—that vitamins help to power thinking and nurturing functions in tissue organisms."¹²⁹ Nutritious food provided fuel for improving the health of Spaniards and more broadly Spanish society.

In practice, many children had to rely on Social Aid for their meals or they went hungry. The scarcity and economic severity of the hunger years meant that many women could not adequately feed their children. One report found that 32% of mothers were unable to produce enough breastmilk to adequately nourish their children and 18% of mothers could not produce breastmilk at all.¹³⁰ The cause of the shortage of this deficiency was incomplete poor diet for mothers and represented a failure of Franco and his rationing system to properly provision the female population. In an attempt to remedy this shortcoming, pregnant and lactating women were provided additional services like food and medicine from the Women's Section, but only from within their biological capacities as mothers and only under restrictive stipulations that forced women to acquiesce to Franco's gendered ideology.

¹²⁷ "Hogar: La ciencia de equilibrar las minutas," *Consigna*, enero 1951.

¹²⁸ "Tus hijos—y vitaminas", *Medina*, July 5, 1942, 18.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³⁰ *Auxilio Social y el problema demográfico español, 1939-1950*. Madrid: Sección Femenina, 1950, 18.

One form of state assistance, the “mother’s home” (*Casa de Maternidad*), provided beds, meals, and medical support for women in their final stages of pregnancy and their first few months of motherhood.¹³¹ The first mother’s home in Madrid opened April 1, 1939 and served a total of 21,426 meals to new mothers in its first year of operation.¹³² The purpose of the clinics were to provide medical checks for expecting mothers in exchange for the necessary nutrition needed to bring a healthy child to term as part of the regime’s pro-natalist policies.¹³³ In practice, women surrendered their bodies to the surveillance of nurses, doctors and the Francoist state in order to receive the additional food they needed to remain healthy in their condition. Food was used by the Franco regime as a form of currency. Women were incentivized to have more children in exchange for more meals and food allocations. Del Cura and Huertas found in their investigation of medical practice during the hunger years that many medical doctors and intellectuals benefitted from the unlimited supply of test subjects.¹³⁴ While scientific innovation and proper childcare are wonderful outcomes from state intervention, these results were a direct consequence from the food ideologies of Franco’s New State.

In Franco’s New State, Spaniards were divided according to their gender and patriarchy was the guiding power dynamic that ranked masculinity above femininity. Men faced the expectation of being breadwinners for their families, but despite the fact that their ability to provide for their families was written into policy, the economic circumstances of the hunger

¹³¹ "Obra Nacional Sindicalista de Protección a la Madre. Sección de Protección a la Madre: Labor realizada en Madrid por los centros de maternología y puericultura prenatal durante el año 1939." Caja 75/25492, carpeta 5. Fondo Auxilio Social, Archivo General de Administración.

¹³² "Datos que nos han sido facilitados por la administración de esta delegación provincial, solicitados por ese departamento central" Madrid, 26 de marzo de 1940. Auxilio Social: Delegación Provincial, Madrid, Departamento Auxilio de Invierno. Caja 3 (122) 2180.

¹³³ "Extracto de la conferencia pronunciada por el camarada Manuel Martínez de Tena Secretario Nacional de Auxilio Social y Director General de Beneficencia sobre política social". Caja 3 (122) 2048.

¹³⁴ María Isabel del Cura and Rafael Huertas, *Alimentación y enfermedad en tiempo de hambre: España, 1937-1947* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, 2007), 21.

years kept many men from being able to adequately feed their families. Women faced the burden of being penalized economically, politically, and socially on the basis of their sex. Very few women found employment to support themselves or their families. Many resorted to domestic work in the cities, while others resorted to part time or full-time prostitution. In terms of food, women were expected to cook for their families, so nutrition science took on new importance in Franco's New State. Women were to be trained to nourish their families and raise a healthy generation of Spanish citizens. However, despite the intentions of the Women's Section to educate women how to prepare and serve nutrient-rich meals, it did not change the fact that many families went hungry in Franco's New State.

Religious Eating: The Role of the Catholic Church in Cooking Practices

This final section identifies and evaluates the connection between Francoist ideology and culture as it is shaped by religion and food. For centuries, Spain's food culture had been infused with religious symbolism,¹³⁵ and the practice of cooking often times carried religious significance, representing Catholic adherence or heresy. With Nationalist victory and the social enforcement of traditional religious practices, participating in religious cooking and eating practices could be equated to social acquiescence to Francoist culture. Church doctrine affirmed the familial aspects of Francoism that strictly prescribed men's and women's roles within the family and Christian society. Historian Angela Cenarro termed the marriage between the Catholic Church and the Franco regime as "divine totalitarianism", or the implementation of

¹³⁵ F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2010), 126.

Catholic coercive norms through the intervention of the Franco dictatorship.¹³⁶ Spain was a “Catholic nation”, so being a pious Catholic was seen as an affirmation of the country’s heritage and cultural identity. Religion provided an inlet to the private life of Spaniards, and this included how and what Spaniards ate. Food became one of many ways that Spaniards performed their religious convictions, in both the home and in public life.

Spanish Catholicism glorified sacrifice and austerity, and these traits were easily written into the food policy during the years of scarcity and hunger. Charity and mercy shaped the power dynamics of food distribution, and physical food consumption was closely tied with spiritual nourishment. When the CAT implemented price controls for Spanish foods, the organization justified their intervention in religious terms. The organization claimed in their mission:

Our current national circumstances force us to remember our glorious war of liberation, and the international context that consume other countries now. It is necessary that everyone makes a sacrifice. It’s squarely placed on consumers to make the ultimate sacrifice, making due with limited rations...¹³⁷

This religious current continued throughout the publications of the Franco regime in regards to food. The rhetoric of sacrifice was incorporated into many of the policies that the regime adopted in order to apply religious conviction and meaning to the serious food crises that Spanish cities faced.

Programs such as the “one plate” (*plato único*) plate program contained many elements of the Catholic religion—austerity, sacrifice, devotion, weekly practice—that were reformatted from the faith to apply to secular food policy. The Nationalists began the “one plate” program during the Spanish Civil War to garner popular support for the war effort and to raise money for

¹³⁶ Angela Cenarro, *La Sonrisa de Falange: Auxilio Social en la guerra civil y en la posguerra* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2006), 71.

¹³⁷ "Regulación de precios en consumo. Madrid, 28 de enero de 1942" CGAT- Secretaria Técnica. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7 63/09132.

Nationalist war veterans.¹³⁸ As one historian has claimed, the “one plate” program was adopted so that the wealthy who stayed safe behind the front lines still could contribute to the war effort with only the inconvenience of reduced food options, and not to risk their lives at the battle front.¹³⁹ The program was implemented with the following justification: "Spain's national strength lies in the strength of each Spaniard. It's not enough that the soldiers generously give their blood if those on the home front don't also make sacrifices. We are all Spaniards who can live up to our potential and make great sacrifices."¹⁴⁰ The one plate program was later expanded to include one day without dessert. On Mondays, Spaniards were to abstain from consuming desserts in restaurants, cafés, or bars and the restaurant was to make a 10% charitable contribution to Nationalist veteran organizations.¹⁴¹ Abstaining from luxuries, such as dessert, and sacrificing consumer options at restaurants was presented with religious language in an effort to evoke devotion to the program and a sense of higher calling. Particularly focused on public eating, where religious devotion would be on display for everyone to see, programs such as “one plate” day and “day without dessert” were intended to implement Catholic devotion to the food crisis and to creating an austere and sacrificial public life.

Austerity was also practiced within the religious calendar's days of abstention and religious food prohibition. The abstention from certain foods followed the religious calendar and shaped Spain's foodscape during the Franco dictatorship. Whereas celebratory menus remained largely within the autonomy of the individual or the family, the Franco regime went to greater lengths to intervene in the prohibition of foods to follow Catholic doctrine. The Catholic Church

¹³⁸ Francisco Comin Comin and Miguel Martorell Linares, *La Hacienda Pública en el Franquismo. La Guerra y la autarquía (1936-1959)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Hacienda y Administraciones Públicas, 2013), 88.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Minguéz de Rico, Manuel. Transcription. *Reglamento de trabajo para la industria de Hotelería, Cafés, Bares y similares: Disposiciones vigentes obligatorias sobre "El Plato único", precios de hospedajes, sanciones y régimen de comidas en el Nuevo Estado* (Madrid: Editorial Ibérica, 1939), 55.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 57.

required the abstention of meat during Lent.¹⁴² To further enforce this belief, the regime passed a law that made restaurants serve vegetarian foods during the meatless days. The prohibitions and regulations established in the privacy of the home were mirrored in the public spaces of restaurants.

Despite the greater intervention of the state into regulating and enforcing religious fasts through food policies, there were ample ways for Spaniards to ignore and resist these requirements. Even though meat could not be sold, Spaniards could always eat preserved meat in their home. Likewise, abstention or consumption of certain foods did not necessarily carry the same religious significance for individuals. Spaniards could choose to eat a plant-based diet for health or ethical reasons and not because it was mandated by the Catholic Church. Vegetarians and vegans, while a minority of the Spanish population, had their dietary beliefs coincide with practicing Catholics on meatless days. Although both groups enjoyed plant-based meals from meat on certain days, it was not for the same religious beliefs or convictions. Although Catholic doctrine aimed to instill religious piety among its practitioners in a way that became visible within the practice of everyday life, neither the Catholic Church nor the Franco regime could control the ideas and beliefs that fueled adherence to the religious calendar of feasting and fasting.

But as food passed from ideology to policy, the cultural implications of religious eating were applied unevenly to Spain's urban societies similarly to nationalism and patriarchy. The Women's Section incorporated religion and food in their many programs and publications in postwar cities. Catholic cooking involved celebrating religious festivals with the required foods and abstaining from taboo foods during times of fasting. One article, "Stuffed Vegetables for

¹⁴² F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2010), 131.

Days without Meat” provided recipes for making stuffed eggplant, stuffed zucchini in omelet, fish-stuffed cucumbers, and vegetable-stuffed tomatoes.¹⁴³ The introduction of the recipes is also telling. The article states, “We want to remind you all that that a meal without meat does not mean that it’s not tasty. Cook and serve these dishes and you will see how the dishes are more nutritious and more enjoyable to eat. You will never tire of these recipes.”¹⁴⁴ The article acknowledged the religious taboo of eating meat during Lent, but also dismisses the inconvenience or blandness of meat-abstention for religious purposes. At no point does the article question or justify why Spanish women needed to cook without meat, but the Women’s Section assumed that Spanish women would follow the instructions of the Franco regime and avoid the consumption of meat. The article provides Spanish women with solutions to live and cook during times of religious abstention, but it assumes that all of its readers would be following the same ritual.

Cookbooks and women’s magazines followed the lead of the Women’s Section in promoting special recipes to celebrate Christmas and Lent, stressing the importance of the meal by emphasizing the need for special foods and large portions. Barcelona home economist Gonzalo Bosch Bierge created a cookbook dedicated entirely to recipes for Holy Week. Titled *Cocina de vigilia (Lenten Cooking)* the author pontificates on the importance of sacrifice and somber attitudes while simultaneously advertising “Lavasol” laundry soap and “Bably” cough syrup throughout the cookbook.¹⁴⁵ After providing a brief lesson on Holy Week and the Last Supper from both the Bible and the Italian renaissance, readers were able to tear out coupons for free “Potax” soup packets.¹⁴⁶ Another cookbook, *Comidas de vigilia: La Mejores recetas para*

¹⁴³ “Cocina. Legumbres rellenas para los días sin carne” *Medina*, núm 105. 21 de marzo de 1943.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Gonzalo Bosch Bierge, *Cocina de vigilia* (Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1940), 43-46.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 49, 58.

repararlas presented Spanish housewives with 105 recipes that a resourceful Spanish housewife could prepare to celebrate Holy Week.¹⁴⁷ Unlike *Cocina de vigilia*, this cookbook did not include any advertisements or explanation for Holy Week. Instead, it offered meat-free recipes to keep meals interesting when meat was banned from the home for religious observances. Recipes relied on artichokes, cod, cheeses, eggs, legumes, potatoes, and other fish.

Christmas was another religious holiday that required special recipes to celebrate. Traditionally Spaniards celebrate Christmas Eve with a large meal called *nochebuena*.¹⁴⁸ The Women's Section also provided recipes for the Christmas meal, stressing its role in a time to be with family. The organization recommended only the best for its readers, publishing an article on how to choose the best turkey at the market.¹⁴⁹ Bosch Bierge also created a cookbook for Christmas Eve. The recipes in the cookbook provided instructions in how to prepare a Christmas bird, but provided his readership more leeway in the type of fowl selected for the Christmas Eve dinner. Claiming the importance of fowl for the Christmas Eve meal with family, the author writes, "In all cases, although some families are not able to enjoy a prized turkey on Christmas, there are many degrees of fowl available in the markets, all the way to the humble chicken. Chicken has fewer bones and less richness than a turkey, but rare is the family that doesn't serve some kind of bird on the Christmas table."¹⁵⁰ For as important as Christmas is for the author, he fails to mention any religious aspect of the day, instead relaying important cooking and shopping information to his readership. The cookbook gives no reference to the religious meaning behind the holiday, focusing instead on the familial and social aspects of Christmas. The cookbook

¹⁴⁷ Geneveva Bernard de Ferrer, *Comidas de vigilia: Las Mejores recetas para prepararlas*. 1 ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Molino, 1947).

¹⁴⁸ F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2010), 126.

¹⁴⁹ "Hablamos del pavo" *Medina*, núm 145.

¹⁵⁰ Gonzalo Bosch Bierge, ed., *La cocina en Navidad* (Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1939), 59.

encourages the celebration of Christmas but for different reasons than the Church would want. In some ways, the cookbook gives a nod to the religious culture of Franco's New State, but in others it omits the intended significance behind the religious practices, demonstrating non-conformity to the ideology of the regime.

Likewise, cookbooks could affirm some aspects of Francoist ideology while undermining others. The same cookbook stressed the importance of celebrating Christmas with family, affirming the importance of religion and family in Spanish society, but it also criticized the economic conditions in Spanish cities. Speaking of Barcelona, the author lamented: "It is hard to find fowls in the market these days, but it is rare that a Spanish woman can't track down a turkey or chicken in the market. Fowls are cheapest last minute, only a few days before Christmas, and there are all qualities of fowls to meet any budget."¹⁵¹ The cookbook alludes to the economic scarcity suffered in Spanish cities such as Barcelona and its negative effect on following cooking traditions. While the author affirms the importance of Spanish tradition and religious observance, he also indirectly criticizes the economic policies that make practicing the traditions so challenging.

Other celebrations, such as baptisms or weddings, also required large portions of luxury foods to stress the religious milestone for the Spanish family. The publication *VENTANAL* passed along a suggested menu for baptisms from one of its readers to its larger audience. The magazine wrote, "A menu for baptisms: I recently received a nice card from a reader in Cádiz, Maricchu Pina, who is begging me for a quick baptismal feast. How does this sound? Sliced

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 61.

veal, stuffed pastries, chocolate cake, a roscón¹⁵², and pasta.”¹⁵³ While the dishes themselves were not special in themselves, the creation of a specific menu dedicated to baptism receptions marked the importance of the time for Spanish families. The babies could not enjoy the foods served at their baptism, but the special reception with excess of desserts and ample choice-meats was to be a religious celebration with close friends and family members.

But the role of religion in cooking and domesticity extended beyond periodic celebrations to include application of Catholic values to everyday life. One book which sought to further entwine Catholicism with everyday life was Victoria Serra. In her book, *Sabores: Cocina del Hogar (Flavors: The Household Kitchen)*, Serra had her priest write the introduction to the cookbook. In it, Cipriano Montserrat admitted that he knows nothing about cooking and that it might be strange that a priest was introducing such literature, but he promoted the work based on the Christian character of the author and how she exemplifies the attributes of a good Christian housewife.¹⁵⁴ He quotes scripture to say “... in whatever you eat or drink, in prayer or in work, do it in the glorification of God to increase the volume of its own worth.”¹⁵⁵ This cookbook represents a segment of society that believed that every action performed in daily life should express proper Catholicism. It reinforced the aims of Francoism to instill Catholic values in Spaniards and provided a way to apply the values of Francoism to everyday life. Whereas none of the publications of the state expressed its Catholic values in quite the same way as *Sabores*, the two beliefs are similar.

¹⁵² *Roscón* is a traditional Spanish cake served at religious holidays such as Epiphany. It is round in shape with a hole in the middle, sometimes filled with cream. It usually is prepared with candied fruit on top. F. Xavier Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2010), 129.

¹⁵³ “Un Menú de bautizo” *Ventanal* Año I, núm 12. 1 Octubre de 1946, p. 12.

¹⁵⁴ Cipriano Montserrat, “Prologo” in *Sabores: Cocina del Hogar* by Victoria Serra Suñol. (Barcelona: Luis Gil, 1945), 7.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

In some respects, religious life was coopted by the state and deviated from traditional doctrine to include expanded practices such as consumerism and eating. Largely, the Church supported these new initiatives that furthered the reach of the Church into daily life. Yet, many religious intellectuals were weary of losing sight of the Church's mission. Religious debates within the church ensued while church leaders tried to determine their spiritual and physical role in Spanish society. During the Spanish Civil War, many leaders within the Spanish Catholic church took the stance that the spiritual needs were the priority of the church and that the physical needs of Spaniards were an auxiliary concern. The National Radio broadcasted to Nationalist-controlled territories in 1937 that Franco's new Spanish society would be centered on Christian charity and rely on Catholic networks to distribute aid.¹⁵⁶ The Church considered the Eucharist as a full meal, able to nourish the faithful as an actual food. Priests pointed to the many scriptures of Jesus Christ where he claimed that he was bread and nourishment for his flock.¹⁵⁷ As the Pious Society of Saint Paul described, "If we are fully persuaded that the Eucharist is, above all, a meal that should be our nourishment, we quickly see that great value in receiving it as much as possible."¹⁵⁸ The Church drew a correlation between the physical and spiritual need to be fed. By utilizing Spaniards' physical hunger and desire to eat regular meals, the Church was able to further its mission to nourish the spiritual starvation that it perceived from the period of the Second Republic and Spanish Civil War.

Nonetheless, the physical needs of Spaniards were inescapable, and the church performed its duty of mercy and charity to provide for those in need. As a writer for Social Aid explained, "Social Aid cannot replace the physical bread that it gives to its patrons with the spiritual bread

¹⁵⁶ Luis G. Alonso Getino, *Problemas de la postguerra: Doce sillares para la reconstrucción de la Nueva España. Conferencias pronunciadas ante el micrófono de Radio Nacional*, (Salamanca: NP, 1937), 35.

¹⁵⁷ *Tomad y comed: La Eucaristía es comida, hechos y ejemplos* (Bilbao: Pia Sociedad de San Pablo, 1944,) 43.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 35.

of their faith and religious practices. This would ultimately be a devaluation of the Christian essence and would have to disconnect the lost souls from their physical needs. But Social Aid, whose primary objective is to remedy material needs, also prepares a path for lost souls to satisfy it. We satisfy the bodily appetite in order to awaken and satisfy a spiritual appetite.”¹⁵⁹ The motive behind the charity of the Social Aid program was to convert the hearts and minds of Spaniards to the mission of the FET-JONS, which included the religious objectives of the Catholic Church and the political objectives of the Francoist state. As this mission statement suggests, Social Aid aimed to fill the minds of Spaniards by way of first filling their empty bellies.

Humanitarian relief through Catholic charity was a major source of food provisioning for Spaniards. The Nationalists utilized much of the church’s infrastructure in order to assess provisioning strategies during and after the Spanish Civil War. As the previous chapter mentioned, church records were essential for determining eligibility for food aid, and many Spaniards flocked to ecclesiastical locations for religious charity. Cazorla Sánchez claims that the Catholic Church was the regime’s most important ally, and the two institutions worked closely together to impose a conformity in Spanish society.¹⁶⁰

Yet, from an ideological standpoint, the Catholic Church and the Franco dictatorship did not always see eye to eye. Much has been written on intellectual or international discord between the two, but a consideration of food ideology provides insight into how these two influencers competed at times for the hearts and minds of Spaniards. Religious observance or food beliefs at times clashed with the food policy enacted by the Franco regime, or by the food circumstances

¹⁵⁹ *Crónica de los consejos: años 1937, 1938 y 1939*, (FET-JONS Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S. Sección Femenina, 1939), 4.

¹⁶⁰ Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress*, 43.

that limited Catholic food practices. For example, as noted previously, the “one plate” program was promoted in Spanish cities using religious terminology as a means to promote adherence and devotion to the initiative. By equating fewer consumer options with religiosity, Spaniards were able to affirm their status as good Catholics by participating in restaurant culture. But this plan also clashed with Catholic doctrine at times, putting the whole value system of religious consumerism in jeopardy. This program came under fire during days of Catholic fasting from meat. Practicing Catholics found that some restaurants and hotels only served meat dishes because of adherence to the “one plate” rule. To remedy this potential religious taboo, the state mandated that three options were to be given on the designated “one plate” day: one meat, one fish, and one vegetarian.¹⁶¹ By accommodating the needs of practicing Catholics, the purpose of having “one plate” became diluted into three, and no longer entailed much sacrifice or austerity at all.

Similarly, as chronic food shortages took their effect on Spanish cities, the food shortages took their effect on the church as well. Clergy such as Carmelite nuns, who had taken oaths of poverty and accepted dietary restrictions to reflect that poverty, found themselves in need of dispensations to eat the food that was available. In order to overcome the epidemics of tuberculosis plaguing Madrid in the 1940s, the nuns were absolved from their vegetarian diets and allowed to eat meat.¹⁶² In the case of a convent located on Calle Gongora 5 in Madrid, Social Aid provided thirty rations of food for the nuns in exchange for using their patio to distribute food to the needy in the neighborhood.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Minguez de Rico, Manuel. Transcription. *Reglamento de trabajo para la industria de Hotelería, Cafés, Bares y similares: Disposiciones vigentes obligatorias sobre "El Plato único", precios de hospedajes, sanciones y regimen de comidas en el Nuevo Estado* (Madrid: Editorial Ibérica, 1939), 58.

¹⁶² Charles Richet and Gregorio Marañón, *Alimentación y regímenes alimentarios* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942).

¹⁶³ "Cocina de Hermandad 2, Calle Gongora 5 (Distrito Hospicio) Madrid, 12 enero 1939" Auxilio Social, departamento central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

In conclusion, Spaniards had long practiced feasts and fasts according to the religious Calendar of the Catholic Church, but Franco's New State transformed the way that Spaniards practiced religious cooking and eating. The pact between the Catholic Church and the Franco regime blurred the lines between what was a political act and what was a religious act during the dictatorship. Much of Francoist culture, including Morcillo's term of "true Catholic womanhood," incorporated religion into daily life. However, with this pact came consequences to how Spaniards understood and practiced religion in the 1940s. The Franco regime coopted the language of the Catholic Church, implementing religious rhetoric in food policies. In the case of the one plate program, Spaniards were expected to adhere to Francoist policy similar to the expectation of attending a mass. Devotion was expected to both the Church and to Franco. On the other side, the Church benefited from its place of esteem within Spanish society, although the Church's pact with Franco was not without consequences. Resentment that Spaniards held towards the Franco dictatorship also implicated the Church as an accomplice to the civil war and the injustices of the postwar. Humanitarian relief actions of the church became a survival strategy more than a religious practice. Food policy that mirrored the religious calendar made it unclear why Spaniards practiced Catholicism and if their souls truly were devoted to the religious meaning of abstentions and austerity. In practice, Spaniards borrowed, ignored, and adapted aspects of religious food policies in their daily practices. Ideologically, Francoism was to be practiced with a religious zeal, but as ideology was transformed into policy and food culture, food practices changed their religious meaning.

You Are What You Eat: The Francoist State in the Spanish Home

This chapter has highlighted the route that food traveled from ideology to politics and discourse to urban food culture. Along this discursive foodway, food was embedded with social and cultural meaning that reflected elements of the ideology of the Franco regime. Food policy was written to promote a united national identity, patriarchal social order, and religious fervor that wove together to create the social fabric of the New State. These tenets propelled the creation of policy that further imposed these ideologies on Spain's urban society. For Spanish women, their prescribed ideology came through the Women's Section of the FET-JONS, the organization designated to communicate femininity to Spaniards. But some aspects of food ideology got lost when it became policy, and the message intended to be communicated to Spaniards through the legislation of the New State was sometimes lost or reversed in its transformation from discourse to meal. When Spaniards ate their daily meals in the comfort of their homes, although they were shaped by the Franco regime, Franco's New State could not control what Spaniards ate and what the meal meant to them.

A Spanish saying from the 1940s, recorded by the writer Antonio Castillo de Lucas, went like this: "Good food grows knowledge and understanding."¹⁶⁴ The intended meaning of the phrase is that food provided a vehicle for teaching culture and social norms. The way that Spaniards shopped for food, cooked their meals and ate reflected social and cultural cues embedded in daily practices and daily comestibles. This was certainly true of Spanish foods in the cities of Madrid and Barcelona during the early Franco dictatorship. Every food commodity that reached the city was infused with aspects of Francoist ideology—nationalism, patriarchy, and religion. But there was a caveat in this saying: *good* food supports knowledge and understanding, and during the hunger years, there was little good food available in Spanish cities.

¹⁶⁴ Antonio Castillo de Lucas, *Refranillo de la alimentación: Divulgación de higiene de la misma, a través de los refranes y dichos populares* (Madrid: Gráficas reunidas, 1940), 11.

Food is not enough to provide cultural and social cues to consumers; quality and consistency was needed as well, and these two aspects were lacking during the hunger years. The better a population was fed, the more knowledge and culture would be produced by the society. Due to scarcity of resources caused by the food crisis and the inconsistency of policy implemented, much of the original ideology was lost or transformed by the time it reached Spanish tables. Francoist food policy lacked the ability to contain all ideological aspects touted by the regime. The uneven application and failure of many of the food policies only acted to further undermine the ideologies of Franco.

In Spanish cities, Franco's "culture of victory" and "culture of repression" took the form of manipulation of urban spaces and the people who lived in them. The new government renamed city streets, filled prisons to capacity, and constructed monuments to lay claim to the urban spaces.¹⁶⁵ Spanish dishes took on new identity because they represented a new society within Spain. Yet, deviation remained as Spaniards retained other recipes that promoted local or regional belonging. Likewise, the practice of religion had been a private choice, but with the enforcement of Catholic doctrine in Francoist food policy, religion became a public, political action and lost some of its religious meaning. Patriarchy was written into the social fabric of Franco's New State, dividing the actions and experiences of men and women in Spanish cities. But paradoxically, family was considered the base-unit of Spanish society, meaning that men and women were joined, rather than divided, in the creation and politics of family. Gender policies enacted by the Franco regime, such as the limitations placed on women to work outside the home, undermined Franco's initiatives to promote family life by keeping many Spaniards impoverished.

¹⁶⁵ Carlos Fuentes Muñoz, *Viviendo en dictadura. La Evolución de las actitudes sociales hacia el Franquismo* (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2017), 31.

How women shopped, cooked, and fed their families was prescribed by the Franco regime, mostly through the Women's Section. Food was used in an attempt to indoctrinate Spaniards in the ambitions of the New State won through war by the Nationalists. The paternalistic system created to distribute food throughout Spain was devised as a way to control what the masses ate, for the purpose of teaching them to be model Spanish citizens. Food was to be used as a way to teach patriotism, religion, social hierarchy, and racism. And yet, much of the opportunity for food to educate was lost in the desperation and survival of daily eating that many urban Spaniards endured during the 1940s. In practice, food did not promote knowledge and culture, but led to social divisions and opportunism as food was reduced to a tool of survival.

An Appetite for Politics: Cooking Literature during the Early Franco Dictatorship

The Franco regime attempted to control both public and private spaces through the implementation of an authoritarian food policy, but the logistics of imposing a hegemonic food culture faced a multitude of challenges. Food was a foremost concern of all Spaniards: those who had access to food sought to control it, and those who lacked food longed for it. While Spanish society was divided between those who had food and those who did not, food was still a unifying concern across the country. Spaniards' collective appetite in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War turned food policy into a subject of contestation instead of a mandate. As the previous chapter demonstrates, some Spaniards championed the Nationalist victory by codifying Francoist ideology into food practices. Other Spaniards expressed their discontent by complaining, hoping, and talking about food, which is the subject of this chapter. In this chapter, I argue that literature of the time, specifically cooking literature,¹ became a two-way form of communication. On the one hand, cooking literature could disseminate food policy to the general public. On the other hand, it became a way for Spaniards to circulate their grievances within the parameters of Francoist society and to develop creative cooking practices that circumvented some of the repressive food policies of the state.

Cultural historians of the early Franco dictatorship focus their scholarship on the victors of the Spanish Civil War and the discursive power that they wielded over the defeated population. Michael Richards refers to the culture generated by Franco, the FET-JONS, the Church, and the military as a “culture of repression.”² He claims that “...a whole section of

¹ “Cooking literature” refers to recipes, cookbooks, women’s magazines, domestic manuals, cooking guides, health books, and other printed texts that directly address small-scale food consumption.

² Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco’s Spain, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1.

society was defeated and its culture prostrated by a military authority”, which led to “a repressive silencing both of alternative concepts of the nation and of a humane vision of political economy.”³ Likewise, historian Carlos Fuertes Muñoz termed the Nationalist discursive production as the “culture of victory”. He writes, “through mechanisms of communication ... a memorialization of the battles, heroes, and fallen was fostered. It created a discourse that dominated the public sphere during the war and the 1940s, although it never really went away until the end of the dictatorship. Taken together, these processes forged the ‘culture of victory’.”⁴ In both cases, the historians focus on the cultural production of the Nationalists, assuming that the defeated urban culture became a blank slate in the total loss of the war. Their reliance on Nationalist sources further this narrative of total victory and control of the population, and the documents that affirm extreme examples of repression, coercion, surveillance, and terror suffered by urban Spaniards to some extent affirms their conclusion that Franco was able to instill a culture of repression or a culture of victory in Spain’s cities.

However, by utilizing traditionally overlooked sources like cooking literature, I argue that we can uncover spaces that allow for some discrepancy within the official Francoist culture. By examining discourses produced by victors, bystanders, and in some cases, the losers of the civil war, a greater diversity of ideas and discourse can be found, even in Spain’s limited public sphere of the 1940s. Rather than a uniform, hegemonic “culture of repression” or a “culture of victory”, non-state voices were able to provide a spectrum of support, acquiescence, non-conformity, and outright resistance through cooking discourses in Spain’s public sphere. This revision also places women prominently within Spain’s public sphere, since they were the

³ Ibid., 1.

⁴ Carlos Fuertes Muñoz, *Viviendo en dictadura. La Evolución de las actitudes sociales hacia el Franquismo* (Granada: Comares Historia, 2017), 31.

targeted audience for the cooking discourses. Women's presence in the public sphere challenged official gender discourse and the production of a dominant culture by undermining the regime's initiatives to sequester women to the home, as is further outlined in Chapter Four. A reassessment of Spain's urban history of the 1940s includes women in the public sphere, and that reassessment incorporates their literature into public discourse. With women's discourse comes recipes, cookbooks, and domestic economy manuals, which kept Francoist food culture from being fully installed in Spanish cities. With a wider net cast to catch deviations to the official narrative of Nationalist culture, Spain's public sphere of the 1940s becomes more complex and more resistant to Franco's "culture of repression and victory".

Historians have largely overlooked the cultural diversity embedded in cooking literature as a source for social and cultural history, and cooking literature was largely ignored by the Franco regime as well. The censorship of the Francoist state, similar to the regime's food policy, attempted to be highly-interventionist but was deployed on Spanish society in a very uneven way, often turning a blind eye to women's cooking material. As the previous chapter revealed, regional languages were banned during the dictatorship, but cookbooks such as Ignacio Domenech's *La Teca* were published during the early regime in Catalan.⁵ Although censorship forced Barcelona to change street names from Catalan words to Castilian words, entire cookbooks made it to print despite the watchful eye of the state censor. On the other hand, seemingly harmless books such as *Manual de cocina eléctrica*, a book that instructed women how to use an electric stove, and *365 Recetas de cocina práctica*, a cookbook with a recipe for every day, faced censorship by the state press.⁶ Even cookbooks that appeared to affirm the

⁵ I María Josepa Gallofre I Virgili, *L'edició catalana y la censura franquista (1939-1951)* (Barcelona: Publicaciones de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1991), 451.

⁶ *Manual de cocina eléctrica*, (Madrid: Asociación para el fomento de aplicaciones de la electricidad, 1941).; *365 recetas de cocina práctica (una para cada día del año)*. 4 ed., (Madrid: Ediciones Ibéricas, 1941?).

values of the regime were censored occasionally, as was the case with the cookbook *La Cocina de vigilia*, a collection of recipes for Lent, and Alberto Leon's *La Cocina clásica Española*, a book that took pride in Spain's national culture.⁷ As my investigation into the censor archive housed at the General Administration Archive (AGA), found many of the books that were censored were eventually approved when the publisher amended the errors on their request forms.⁸

The censor's definition of permissible and prohibitive cooking literature was erratic at best, providing avenues for some authors and publishers to express a spectrum of opinions from political non-conformity to outright criticism within some publications. Spanish media was dominated by affiliates of the Franco regime, and the Women's Section, FET-JONS, and the Catholic Church were the main producers and controllers of media in the 1940s. From magazines to textbooks to radio programs, the regimes' so-called "families" projected their ideology into leisure, education, and news. Independent presses still existed, but the authors and publishing companies faced the threat of censorship restrictions. Some appropriated the language of Francoism in order to express their ideas, employing themes of traditional gender roles, Spanish nationalism, or Catholic morality to contextualize their views within the dominant discourses of the time. Echoes of the regime's rhetoric within independent publications could signify several different motivations: a fear of the censorship and reprisals for non-conformity, an agreement at least in part with the ideologies of the Franco dictatorship, or an opportunity for their writing to

⁷ *Cocina De Vigilia*, (Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1940).; León, Alberto. *La cocina clásica española*, (Ciudad Lineal- Madrid: Editorial Estudio, 1941?).

⁸ For example: De la Mora, Maria y Pilar de Abia. *Cocina "de ella y para ella"*. Madrid: CEDIF, 1948. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Censura de literatura, (03) 050. Caja 21/08446.; "Izcaray Calzada, Bernardo ed. *Cocinas Bodegas y Frutas Nacionales*. Ediciones Españoles, 1944." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Censura de literatura, (03) 050. Caja 21/07514.

appeal to Spaniards who did agree with the regime. Within this literary world of the 1940s, everyday life continued and Spaniards sought engagement with print culture for the New State.

Despite the opportunity for diversity afforded by relaxed censorship for cooking literature, it should be stressed that cooking literature was a very small genre and had a very limited reading audience. Food discussions embedded within cooking literature was heavily stratified by class, and abysmal literacy rates and limited economic means greatly restricted the reach of many publications directed towards women. Nonetheless, I argue that discussions of food availability, prices, and recipes formed part of a larger political discussion and engagement with the regime's policy among middle- and upper-class women. Women's magazines catered to the housewife's worries about dinner and her struggles with securing all of the ingredients on her grocery shopping list. Both male and female authors published cooking literature for a range of cooking levels from novice to professional that stretched from modest to wealthy households.

This chapter analyzes how publications pertaining to cooking provided some Spanish women with a means to engage the politics of the regime through food discourse. With the new food habits established, through historical and international normalization, cookbook authors, home economists, and journalists for women's magazines set about adapting cooking literature to reflect the food situation of the time. I argue that recipes, cooking instructions, and culinary equipment carried political significance for the regime's food policy as the culture of Francoism promoted a specific feminine identity while repressing deviations. Housewives' comments and critiques of the food policy were echoed in popular publications of the time that often easily passed the censor and entered the Spanish public sphere for general consumption. Reciprocally, the cooking literature of the time reflects a diversity of sentiment held by ordinary Spanish women that ranged from contempt to collaboration with the regime's food policies.

The three sections of this chapter examine how recipes and cooking literature could act as a coping mechanism for the years of hunger. The first section identifies and analyzes how certain cooking literature, which I refer to as “fantasy cooking literature”, offered Spanish women an escape from the realities of Spain’s paltry urban foodscape during the hunger years. While the Franco regime promoted the economic policy of autarky, inflicting a food culture of nationalism and austerity on Spaniards, I argue that fantasy cooking literature offered its readership a literary escape from Spanish products and rationed products, thereby undermining the indoctrination that was intended through autarky. The second section examines literary and political discourse on leftovers. Franco’s food policies of the 1940s led to a monotonous diet, reflecting the larger economic and cultural stagnation of Spain’s urban centers. In this section, I use cooking with leftovers to signal how Spaniards could rebuild their lives in the aftermath of the civil war, and also how Spanish resources were repurposed for Franco’s New State. The last section looks at ingredient substitutes and how Spaniards coped with unmet expectations for both their daily meals and Franco’s New State. Cooking literature that promoted the use of one ingredient for another grew in popularity during the hunger years along with the Spanish phrase, *vender gato por liebre* (to sell cat for hare), referring to both the substitute of meat but also feeling tricked or duped. Popular anxiety over the veracity of foods sold in the market were expressed in cooking literature of the time, and this anxiety suggests that many Spaniards doubted the provisioning abilities of the Franco regime during the hunger years, in a way being duped by the empty civil war promises of food by the Nationalists. While cooking literature was only a small section of the larger literary discourse of the time, a re-evaluation of the content of cooking literature suggests that Spaniards were highly engaged in politics during the early dictatorship, and that

how Spanish housewives cooked and served a meal to their family carried political implications for Franco's New State.

Those who can't eat it, write it: Fantasy in Cooking Literature

This section offers an explanation of the popularity of unrealistic recipes in the Spanish cities of Madrid and Barcelona during the 1940s. Contradicting the very real hunger that many Spanish families faced, many cookbooks of the time promoted impossible recipes that undermined the food policies of the Franco regime. Whereas actual consumption of these recipes was impossible for most urban Spanish families during the time, largely due to the imposition of the economic policy of autarky, some recipes contained in cooking publications of the time offered Spanish housewives a discursive taste of other countries or of luxury. Many of the ingredients for these recipes were not available within the devastated cities of Madrid and Barcelona, but that did not stop cookbook authors from including them in exotic recipes from belligerent nations or describing recipes fit for royalty. This genre of cooking literature presented urban housewives with alternatives to the Francoist foodscape imposed in Spanish cities.

Cooking literature scholars Ismael Díaz Yubero and Matthew Wild have demonstrated how food shortages and scarcity, produced by the policies of the Franco regime, were expressed in cooking literature of the 1940s.⁹ While scarcity and austerity were certainly the dominant theme of cookbooks of the time, scholars largely overlook the persistence of outlier recipes of opulence or international cuisine that contradicted the social and economic realities of urban

⁹ Ismael Díaz Yubero, "El hambre y la gastronomía. De la guerra civil a la cartilla de racionamiento." *Estudios sobre consumo* July: 66, 2003, 9-22.; Matthew J. Wild, "Eating Spain: National Cuisine Since 1900" (2015). *Theses and Dissertations—Hispanic Studies*. 24. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/hisp_etds/24.

Spaniards of the time. Thorough examination of a broader selection of cooking literature of the period reveals much more diversity in recipes and imaginings of Spanish cuisine. The popular hunger for certain types of food became embedded within the culture of the 1940s, and the longing for certain freedoms and experiences could be expressed through recipes. Recipes provide step-by-step instructions that are intended to take the reader from one situation to another, cumulating in an imagined final dish.¹⁰ Recipes can be consumed by both the reading of the instructions and the preparations of them, and some recipes are not intended for physical consumption. Only a fraction of the recipes and food articles published during the early dictatorship directly addressed the very real social conditions of shortages, monotony, and substitutes, and the feasibility of recipes varied greatly by class. The rest of the recipes provided Spanish housewives an alternative imagination to the reality to the food culture created by Franco's food policy. Although the regime greatly limited Spaniards' ability to consume certain dishes through the circumstances of shortage under the autarkic food policy, cooking literature that provided an idealized or imagined alternative food culture flourished in the 1940s.

One literary form that gained popularity during the time is what I identify as "fantasy cooking literature". "Fantasy cooking literature" refers to recipes and food stories written for their reading enjoyment and not for physical consumption. Literary scholar Janet Theophano claims that dishes are first "tasted" in the imagination, often more fanciful than real.¹¹ Fantasy recipes are specifically written to provide entertainment value to the reader and suggest an alternative vision or imagination beyond what was reasonably possible. I argue that many of the cookbooks and recipes published during the early Franco dictatorship can be categorized as

¹⁰ Janet Theophano, *Eat my Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*, (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 6-7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

fantasy recipes. This section analyzes the characteristics of these “fantasy recipes” that provided an alternative to Spain’s social reality, even if their imagined alternative existed solely in the minds of Spanish housewives. Rather than affirming aspects of Franco’s food policy during autarky, these recipes were written to create an imagined alternative to autarky’s veneration of isolation, self-sufficiency, austerity, and sacrifice. These recipes provided women with step-by-step directions to an opposing view of the urban foodscape from that promoted by the regime, and many women consumed their non-conformity to the regime’s policy of autarky. Despite this clear opposition and subversion to Francoist policy, the censor at the time did not consider these recipes a threat to the regime or to the implementation of a Francoist culture in the aftermath of the war.

Spain’s urban middle classes had grown throughout the early twentieth century, but the war’s devastation and the slow process of reconstruction greatly threatened many of the once-middle classes with the threat of downward mobility. For Spanish women who were finding their usual meals unaffordable and little luxuries less available within the cities, their escape was through a nostalgia that was generated by fantasy cooking literature of the time. They were no longer able to see food displayed in shop windows, smell the chimneys of restaurants making a delicious stew, so many Spaniards gained access to these luxuries only through cooking literature.

One example of fantasy cooking literature was the publication of recipes that represented other cultures and places outside of the confines of Spain’s policy of isolationism imposed by the economic policy of autarky. With Spaniards’ mobility greatly restricted due to autarky and the circumstances of the world war, international cuisine became one form of fantasy literature of the time. During the dictatorship, Spanish women could only receive driver’s licenses and

passports with the approval of their husbands, fathers, or with completion of the Social Service requirement through the Women's Section of the FET-JONS.¹² The political restriction on women's international travel, along with the severe economic limitations that would inhibit international tourism, made many women trapped within their communities with little access to the larger world. A remedy to women's seclusion from the world was to enjoy the flavors of the world through the comforts of their home.

Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer included within her cooking series, *Biblioteca "el ama de casa"* a cookbook entitled *Platos típicos de la cocina internacional* that was published in Barcelona April 1947. She divided the book according to the recipes from Germany, the United States, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Hungary, India, the United Kingdom, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Switzerland, Turkey, Spain and the Basque Country.¹³ The recipes ranged from "ensalada yanqui" to "espinacas a la francesa" and offered an imagining of another place and taste palate. Bernard de Ferrer admitted that the recipes in the book would seem very convoluted and difficult to follow.¹⁴ She expresses in the prologue that the intent of the book is not to overwhelm the reader, but to provide a guide of small changes that vary a daily menu. Additionally, the author occasionally presented the dishes to the reader with the original language, which was the case for the recipes for "rizotto" from Italy, "Irish stew" (which was noted as a popular dish in English-speaking countries), "malakoffs" from Russia, "pot au feu" from France and "fondue au fromage" from Switzerland.¹⁵ Not only were the flavors a representation of the foreign cultures, but the languages of the recipes presented an authentic

¹² Kathleen Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (London: Routledge, 2003), 17.

¹³ Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer, *Platos típicos de la cocina internacional: Las 125 Mejores recetas para prepararlos*, (Barcelona: Editorial Molino, 1947).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

international experience as well. The cookbook promoted urban cosmopolitanism and world culture that challenged the nationalism and isolationism that the Franco regime intended to instill on urban Spanish housewives.

The women's magazine *Menaje: para la mujer y el hogar* dedicated an edition of their publication to international cuisine in November 1940. The recipes provided its readership with a brief culinary trip around the world that included Italy, Germany, France, Japan, Russia, and England.¹⁶ Such a world tour never could have been possible with these countries deeply embattled by World War II that year. Spain was technically neutral during the war, but Franco's sympathies greatly favored Germany and Italy after their intervention on behalf of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War. The Franco regime took a hard stance against the Soviet Union during the civil war and its aftermath, going so far as to send the Blue Division to the Eastern Front to fight against the USSR. But these diplomatic realities were not reflected in the ingredients and instructions for housewives to prepare delicious meals from the other countries. The recipes within the international cuisine edition assumed equal celebration of the countries' national dishes without favoring one country over another (as was common in Francoist wartime propaganda), or alluding to the challenges of embargo in the acquisition of ingredients.

Nor were these dishes necessarily obtainable in the foreign lands that faced their own food shortages and rationing systems during the war.¹⁷ Instead, these recipes existed only in the minds of the women who read them and provided them with an image of a country not at war, but as politically neutral to Franco's Spain and their lives as Spaniards. The recipes offered an

¹⁶ *Menaje: para la mujer y el hogar*. Noviembre 1940.

¹⁷ For example, the Soviet Union and Italy faced severe food supply shortages and implemented several civilian rationing programs during World War II. See: Elena Osokina, Kate Transchel ed. *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927-1941* (New York: M.E Sharpe, 1999).; Carol Helstosky, *Garlic and Oil: Politics and Food in Italy* (Oxford, Berg, 2004).

idealized representation of an outside world, a different culture and nation that did not really exist. Another cookbook series of the time, *Biblioteca Menaje para la mujer y el hogar*, attempted a similar special edition for international cuisine in 1941, but it was never published.¹⁸ The recipes collected within these publications only represented an interpretation of a foreign culture, but still provided its readership with an alternative to Spain's culture of autarky and national isolation. Recipe ideas from other countries provided the readers with a fantasy of what it was like to travel to another country.

Autarky promoted self-sufficiency through severing economic ties with other countries, but the part of the ideology that stressed austerity and abstentions carried even more weight in the minds of Spaniards than the promotion of national production. As the previous chapter stressed, one of the major consequences of autarky was that Spaniards were obliged to sacrifice from their lives what was not produced in Spain. Without easy access to goods from international markets, Spaniards were largely forced to subscribe to a life of scarcity and shortage, with poorer families feeling more of the restrictions in their everyday lives.

Another form of fantasy cooking literature in the early dictatorship was that of imagining extreme decadence. Some of these recipes pushed the boundaries of luxurious eating in any period, but were truly impossible for Spaniards from any class after the civil war. One of the fundamental values of Francoism was austerity. The regime campaigned against ostentation and promoted austere living for Spaniards living in cities. While there were limits in how the regime could control the population, it passed several laws directly related to food consumption in order to curb what the regime considered "excessive consumption". Meat could only be sold on certain

¹⁸ The series *biblioteca gastronómica y del hogar* lists several works in preparation by Gonzalo Bosch Bierge including one entitled, *Cocina Internacional*. There is no record of publication of any of the forthcoming books listed in the series and the last installment of the series was rejected by the censor. *Cocina De Vigilia*, (Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1940).

days in the week,¹⁹ leaving the other days as meatless or leftover. Banquets were strictly regulated and could only serve set menus that conformed to the current food regulation.²⁰ Spaniards were not allowed to receive more than 5g of sugar when they ordered a tea or coffee in the city.²¹ Sandwiches (*bocadillos*) were banned in all types throughout the city, leaving bars, cafés, and taverns to only offer fixed menus for customers who wanted a snack.²² And for restaurants, cafés, and bars, a law passed April 22, 1941 banned “the service of food in ostentatious forms, or in portions that would suggest an abundance of food” and “fryers, grills, and ovens had to be out of the view of the general public.”²³ Customers were limited to one type of meat served at the restaurant, and only on the day corresponding to meat sale for their district. A meal was only allowed to total one egg worth of ingredients, meaning a customer had to choose between mayonnaise with a meal or egg whites with a dessert. While the CAT promoted their food restrictions as “the least restrictive in all Europe”, drawing comparisons to war-torn countries of World War II,²⁴ the regulations nonetheless left many Spaniards longing for a time when food was in abundance. The regime restricted what Spaniards could eat, see, taste, and smell, so some Spaniards sought refuge in what they could read—tales of feasts and parties that directly rejected the culture of austerity imposed through autarky.

The scarcity of ingredients not only hindered the creation of such opulent recipes, but in many cases, they were impossible to physically prepare based on the instructions provided. While it can be interpreted that these recipes demonstrate a naivety of the author or the

¹⁹ Tomás Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos: Exposición metódica de las principales disposiciones vigentes*, (Tarragona: Imprenta de José Pijoan, 1942), 241.

²⁰ Tomás Espuny Gomez, *Legislación de abastos, apéndice*, (Tarragona: Imprenta de José Pijoan, 1943), 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ "Nuestro régimen de hoteles y restaurantes, el menos restringido de Europa. Dos minutos: especial y corriente, fijación de los precios, limitación del número de tapas y entremeses, etc. Reglamentación establecida en las circulares 161, 185 y 250." *Alimentación Nacional*, Año II núm 6, 15 abril 1942, 9.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

ambivalence of a decadent bourgeoisie class, I argue instead that they provided a cooking alternative to the state food policy. Whereas Francoism sought to glorify a culture of austerity to obscure the very real shortages that existed in post-civil war Spain, these cookbooks and recipes rejected the restrictions of rationing imposed by the food shortages and celebrated an extreme opulence fit for royalty. The challenge to Francoist food policy was indirect since they were never made. No crime of over consumption or illicit black-market activity was committed by reading fantasy cooking literature. The only form of consumption of these recipes was through the written word, and the only digestion was the internalization of the lifestyle that they described.

A prime example of this “decadent” culinary fantasy literature was written by José Sarrau and entitled, *Guía Gastronómica*, with the second edition published in 1940 (and the first edition published during the Second Republic in 1934). Sarrau wrote that the book was intended for Spanish restaurateurs, but its level of opulence would have been very challenging for any business owner in the aftermath of the civil war. For one, Sarrau claims that all the waitstaff, cooks, and kitchen aides should be fluent in Spanish and French and have command of English to work in Spanish fine dining.²⁵ Between the labor shortages and the poor education levels in Spain in the post-civil war, this expectation of staff would have been overly optimistic. Likewise, the book’s example menu order of “The flounder fillets we would like prepared with a simple poached with a small serving of smoked butter on the side. The steak we would like “soigne” (rare) and for dessert we will have the strawberries Romanoff perfumed in kirsch with Chantilly cream separately with a compote tray.”²⁶ No restaurant could have served such a meal given the restriction mentioned in Chapter Two of the “one dish” (*plato único*) policy and “no dessert”

²⁵ Sarrau, *Guía Gastronómica*. 2 ed., (Madrid: Instituto Sarrau, 1940), XII.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XI.

(*día sin postre*) days that were a common part of everyday life in the 1940s.²⁷ Sarrau's break from the reality of social conditions in Spain during the time was not from ambivalence. The widely-known domestic economist consulted extensively with the Women's Section in launching their first domestic economy textbook and helped with their cooking education programs.²⁸ But in the case of his gastronomy guide, he presented a conceptualization of how he wanted Spain's food culture, and more specifically restaurant culture, to be, not what it was during the period of Franco's food policy.

Another cookbook full of fanciful recipes was Carmen del Puente's *Mis mejores recetas de pescado*.²⁹ While the idea of creating a collection of themed recipes was common in Spanish cooking literature of the 1940s, this book differed from other publications in the quantity and luxury of the ingredients that the recipes demanded. The first recipe in the book, *Aspic de salmón parisién*, provided the following recipe list: "400g of salmon, 6 prawns, one truffle, 3 carrots, 35g of fish tail, 200g of potatoes, 2kg of ice, 1/4L of oil, a shot of sherry, 2 eggs, one onion, 2 egg whites, one can of fine green beans, 2 teaspoons of vinegar, mustard, curry sauce, 200g of peas, and chervil to garnish."³⁰ Such an involved recipe was unobtainable for Spaniards who lived in Madrid and would have been incredibly difficult for Spaniards in Barcelona. The amount of salmon alone was considered a two-month supply of fish in 1941.³¹ Whereas the amount of fish caught in Spain in 1940 was valued at 733,275.7 million pesetas,³² speculation and

²⁷ Manuel Mínguez de Rico, *Reglamento de trabajo para la industria de Hotelería, Cafés, Bares y similares: Disposiciones vigentes obligatorias sobre "El Plato único", precios de hospedajes, sanciones y régimen de comidas en el nuevo Estado* (Madrid: Editorial Ibérica, 1939), 55.

²⁸ José Sarrau, *Ciencia Gastronómica*, (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1942).

²⁹ Carmen Del Puente, *Mis mejores recetas de pescados*, (Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1941).

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ "¿Cómo delimitar la línea entre el depósito necesario de alimentos y el acaparamiento ilegal?: En una economía intervenida, el almacenamiento tiene que ser autorizado y regulado por el organismo estatal que dirige el abastecimiento" *Alimentación Nacional*, Año I, núm 2. 15 de diciembre de 1941, 9.

³² M. Perez Urrutí, *España en números: Síntesis de la producción, consumo y comercio nacionales, 1940-1941*, (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1942), 192.

racketeering of the fish market habitually broke down the foodway from coast to city, at one point leaving Madrid completely un-provisioned with fish for the month of January 1942.³³

Despite the severe food shortages and the exploitative prices of unregulated or illegal goods, Del Puente wrote her book for Spanish housewives who desired a past or potential economic status that was a far from the contemporary circumstances in Spanish cities.

Fantasy cooking literature provided Spaniards with a means of escaping the circumstances of the early dictatorship through the imagination of fanciful dishes. Cooking literature published in the 1940s that celebrated opulence and luxury appeared in stark contrast to the culture of austerity, isolation, and scarcity imposed by Francoism and the economic policy of autarky. Whereas Franco's diplomacy during World War II hindered Spaniard's opportunities to travel abroad and explore different countries, some cooking literature of the time treated Spanish housewives to recipe descriptions of food and culture from faraway place. Franco's policy limited women's ability to travel, but some recipes acted as a type of culinary passport for Spanish families to learn of other cultures and societies through their food. Likewise, the culture of autarky supported nationalistic sacrifice in the practice of everyday life, but some cooking literature of the time rejected such limitations in the imagining of Spanish cuisine. Recipes that glorified abundance and richness subverted the attempt at hegemonic domination by Francoist food culture.

Franco's Leftovers: Re-creating Monotony of the Meal

³³ "El problema del Pescado" *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 4. 15 febrero 1942, 1.

In stark contrast with the decadent meals recounted in fantasy cooking literature that ignored the imposition of austerity and isolationism by the Franco regime, other recipes lamented the cooking challenges faced by many Spanish housewives during the hunger years. As the previous chapters have alluded to, many Spaniards in cities lacked food, and those who did have food suffered from a monotonous diet. In response to the food shortages suffered by the cities of Madrid and Barcelona in the 1940s, some cookbook authors attempted to provide coping strategies to Spanish housewives by offering a few tips and tricks to make a miracle meal from few ingredients. They offered Spanish housewives several creative ideas to recreate meals. Creative cooking with leftovers helped to mask the monotony of a meal and it also helped to stretch scarce ingredients into multiple meals for the family.

The dual demands of eating everything that was available when it was available created a new need for leftovers. Food was too essential to be thrown away, but the Spanish family did not want to eat the same meal over and over again. Hence, Spanish housewives sought recipes to create new dishes with the same ingredients as well as how to use leftovers in new ways. Cookbooks and magazines accommodated this demand by printing recipes and articles that instructed Spanish consumers to consume more with less variety. This section begins by describing the policy that generated such monotonous diets, followed by how the literary culture adapted to the demands of the policy. Franco's food policy created a stagnation in eating habits, coinciding with the stagnation imposed on Spaniards in the realms of economics, culture, and international relations. A study in how Spaniards coped with the stagnation and monotony—even if only in terms of food—can demonstrate the social engagement of Spaniards with their circumstances after the war and how they envisioned the nation moving forward.

In the aftermath of the civil war, it was necessary for Spain to take the “leftovers” and remnants of the war and rebuild the country. Foodways were partially restored through some attempts at land redistribution and roadways and railways were slowly rebuilt. The “leftover” Spaniards—the ordinary people who survived the war—attempted to rebuild their lives through the rubble of homes and businesses. Also “leftover” from the war was social divisions, mistrust, and opportunism, all of which became integrated into post-civil war society. The social, political, and economic wounds of the war would take several years to heal, and cooking with leftovers took on a symbolic role in which food was re-purposed for a new meal, a new family, and a new Spanish society. Similarly, Spaniards re-purposed their jobs, businesses, and lives to align with the new requirements of the Franco dictatorship. What followed were years of economic and social stagnation for rights and progress.³⁴ This stagnation could be seen in the Spanish diet as many Spaniards complained of a monotonous and boring diet, the leftovers of the war. These political issues and circumstances of the early dictatorship can be seen through the cooking literature published during the early Franco dictatorship.

Prior to the war, Spaniards shied away from eating leftovers. There was a popular saying, “Reheated stew is better given to the devil,”³⁵ suggesting that leftover foods were unfit for consumption by the family or inedible. Middle and upper-class Spanish families especially would have turned up their noses to leftovers. The rising middle-class urban culture of the early twentieth century preferred a varied diet made with a wide range of ingredients.

Only the most fanatical of Franco’s propagandists would say that food was abundant in the early dictatorship, but complete food shortage does not characterize the decade either. Both

³⁴ Carlos Barciela López, et al., *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Economía* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001), 24.

³⁵ “*caldo recalentado, dalo al diablo*” in Antonio Castillo de Lucas, *Refranillo de la alimentación: Divulgación de higiene de la misma, a traves de los refranes y dichos populares*, (Madrid: Graficas reunidas, 1940), 122.

extremes occurred sporadically during the 1940s, and thus Spain's food supply is characterized best as "irregular". Food made its way to the city in bursts of provisioning followed by days, weeks, or even months of scarcity. The food supply and prices for staple ingredients varied on a monthly basis within the municipalities and the rationing of key ingredients varied monthly as well. In the practice of everyday life, food could sell out in a store within a few hours,³⁶ as women bought food because it was available and not for consumer preference or with a particular dish to cook in mind. Spaniards had to adapt their diet to the irregularity in the availability of foods. Social historians have correlated the irregular food provisioning of the Spanish population to the adoption of the practice of monotonous diet practices. In Vigo, for example, Antonio Giráldez Lomba found that Galician diet relied heavily on seafood because of its connection to the coastal supply. Encarnación Barranquero Texeria and Lucía Prieto Borrego observed in the case of Malaga that the diet became more monotonous the further inland Spaniards lived.³⁷ This point is echoed by Carmen Gutiérrez Rueda and Laura Gutiérrez Rueda who write about the many health effects suffered by *madrileños* after the civil war due to a sporadic and monotonous diet.³⁸ They calculated that the total diet for Madrid residents was less than 50% of the daily nutritional requirement for a healthy life, a quantity less than Berliners received during World War I in 1916.³⁹

Food monotony helped to shape the trends in cooking literature in the 1940s. Serial cookbooks became popular as women sought recipes for ingredients specific to what they had

³⁶ Antonio Giráldez Lomba, *Sobrevivir en los años de hambre en Vigo*, (Vigo: Instituto de Estudios Vigueses, 2002), 182.

³⁷ Encarnación Barranquero Texeria and Lucía Prieto Borrego, *Así sobrevivimos al hambre: estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la postguerra española*, (Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2003), 97.

³⁸ Carmen Gutiérrez Rueda and Laura Gutiérrez Rueda, *El Hambre en el Madrid de la Guerra Civil 1936-1939*, (Madrid: Ediciones La Librería, 2014), 128.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 134-135.

available. Whereas the early twentieth-century had moved towards large, comprehensive culinary tomes that offered complete guides to cooking,⁴⁰ limitations in publishing and the reduction of expendable income for buying cookbooks within the household budget generated a shift in cookbook publication to smaller, serial works that specialized in one key ingredient. One such series was authored by Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer and followed the model of providing 125 themed recipes in each publication in the “ama de casa” collection. The collection began with a cookbook for eggs, followed by a specialization in fish, salads, and chicken. The collection would continue throughout the Franco dictatorship and several volumes were reprinted.

One book from the collection that was published in the 1940s was a thematic cookbook specifically dedicated to leftovers as well. The cookbook, entitled *Las Sobras: Las 125 Mejores recetas para prepararlas*, provides sections with several recipes for the use of leftover fried meat, cooked meat, game, fish, vegetables, dry bread, chicken, and offal.⁴¹ The cookbook assumed that the reader already had prepared more traditional dishes—fried fish, *cocido*, and leftover omelets, for example—and provided suggestions of how to add sauces, noodles, or vegetables to make new variations to the dish. Bernard de Ferrer engaged the problem of monotonous diet by both embracing it through the recipes and rejecting it through subtle variation in each dish. On the one hand, creating cookbooks dedicated to only one specific ingredient affirmed the problem of monotony in diet in everyday life. Yet, providing the reader with over one hundred different

⁴⁰ For example, *El Practicón* by Angel Muro Goiri (1894), Emilio Pardo Bazan’s *La Cocina Moderna* (1917) and *La Cocina Antigua* (1913) were cooking guides that covered several hundred pages of cooking techniques, kitchen vocabulary, menu creation, and recipes. A tome of this scale would not appear again until María Mestayer published *Enciclopedia culinaria: La cocina completa* under the pseudonym Marquesa de Parabere in the early 1940s as a revised edition of her 1933 cookbook, *La Cocina Completa*. For further reading, see: María Paz Moreno, *De la página al plato. El Libro de cocina en España* (Gijón: Ediciones Trae, 2012), 149-150.

⁴¹ Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer, *Las sobras: Las 125 Mejores recetas para prepararlas*, (Barcelona: Editorial Molino, 1943).

styles and techniques for preparing a singular ingredient into a tasty new dish challenged the government's food restrictions that produced the monotony. Spaniards might have been limited to beans, fish, or soups in their everyday food options, but Bernard de Ferrer's series offered some escape from a boring meal plan through different variations to the same ingredients.

Women's magazines were another important source for women with advice on how to engage the problems of a boring diet. They provided cooking tips based on the availability of different ingredients that were either cheap, in season, or had a long shelf life in the home. The magazine *Y* offered Spanish women eighteen variations of recipes with potatoes in their article, "The Potato: The Queen of the Kitchen."⁴² The CAT considered the potato a success story in its rationing policy, detailing in a later report how the initiatives for potatoes in 1939 led to the abundance of the food throughout the 1940s.⁴³ Six years after this food article was published, potatoes were still a fundamental staple of the Spanish diet. The women's magazine provided Spanish women with recipes for potatoes without cooking oil, potato salad, stuffed potatoes, stewed potatoes with almonds, potato dessert, and steamed potatoes in their featured article, "Today we have Potatoes!"⁴⁴ Potatoes were particularly important to Spanish diet as they were cheap, versatile, and had a long shelf life in the home. In 1946, when *VENTANAL* published its article on potatoes, the region of Madrid received 5,449,468kg of potatoes that year (5,189,893kg more than its reception of chickpeas for the year, the largest quantity of legume delivered to the capital).⁴⁵ Regular potatoes for household consumption were priced at 1,25 pesetas per kilo January through May of 1946, deregulated during the summer, then reduced in price to 1,20

⁴² "La Patata: La reina de la cocina" in *Y: revista para la mujer*. núm 31, agosto 1940.

⁴³ "Actuación de la Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes durante el periodo 1939-1964" Ministerio de Comercio. CAT (n.d.), Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Archivo General de Administración.

⁴⁴ "¡Hoy tenemos las patatas!" in *VENTANAL*. Año I, núm 9, Agosto 1942, 12.

⁴⁵ Delegación Provincial de Abastecimientos y transportes de Madrid. *Memoria del ejercicio 1946*. Madrid: Delegación Provincial de Abastecimientos y transportes de Madrid, 1947, 19.

pesetas per kilo for the months of September to December.⁴⁶ Specialty potatoes such as yellow, red, white, new, and Dutch potatoes were deregulated the whole year as a specialty product.⁴⁷ When regulated, prices for potatoes stayed consistent, making them an easy item for a housewife to budget for her family. Months of deregulation of potatoes meant that the food was more likely to be available, and women could depend on the food staple's availability in the stores. While some variation was available to Spanish families through different varieties, in general, potatoes along with other ingredients created a monotonous foodscape in Spain's cities.

Thematic cookbooks, recipe collections, and cooking articles helped with the social problem of hoarding that was endemic in the post-civil war. A government ordinance passed April 1, 1938 mandated that families could only stockpile up to two months of food per person in their homes and anything more would be considered hoarding and punishable according to the law.⁴⁸ Obviously such an invasive regulation was near impossible to enforce due to its subjectivity, but some concerned Spaniards still attempted to abide by the demands of the law. The CAT clarified the limitations on food storage in 1941 with the following guidelines to be allocated per person: "2kg of sugar, 0.8kg of rice, 0.25kg of legumes, 1-2 packages of pasta, 0.75kg cereal or cereal products, 0.8kg cooking fats, 0.8kg of oil, 2kg of flour, 0.4kg of salt, 20 eggs, 0.5kg of sweets, 0.5kg of honey 0.5kg nuts, 0.5kg of dried beans, 0.2kg of dry bean soup, 0.4kg preserved meat or fish, 0.5L of condensed milk, 2 bars of soup, and 1L lighter fuel."⁴⁹ From these restrictions, Spanish women stocked their pantries according to the shelf life of food,

⁴⁶ Ibid., 102-103.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 109-110.

⁴⁸ "¿Cómo delimitar la línea entre el depósito necesario de alimentos y el acaparamiento ilegal?: En una economía intervenida, el almacenamiento tiene que ser autorizado y regulado por el organismo estatal que dirige el abastecimiento" *Alimentación Nacional*, Año I, núm 2. 15 de diciembre de 1941, 9.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 9.

the availability of foodstuffs, prices of goods, and the restrictions of food storage placed by the government.

Spanish women coped with market fluctuations as best they could, and they often ignored hoarding restrictions to provide food for their families. If a product went on sale or was in abundant supply at the market, Spanish housewives might have ignored the maximum limits placed on goods. As Chapter One demonstrated, there is ample evidence from arrest records by the CAT Tax Office that Spanish women ignored hoarding laws. One creative way to circumvent hoarding laws was to transform the ingredient into a meal before they got caught. For example, Spanish women might have been limited in the amount of meat that they could keep in their home, but if they cooked the meat into a *cocido*, they were no longer in violation of the hoarding laws. Likewise, Spanish housewives might have stocked up on eggs, but quickly cooked them into an omelet before they were accused of hoarding. With the transformation of an ingredient into a meal, Spanish women could circumvent restrictive food policies. Yet, this strategy could also lead to a lot of leftovers.

The law explicitly placed limits on the quantity of foodstuffs that a consumer could buy and keep in the home, but said nothing of prepared food or variations to the regulated staple. Over-preparing regulated ingredients was a creative way to avoid the pantry restrictions and a useful way to conserve fuel that too was also irregular in its arrival to the cities. *Medina* published a helpful article for housewives November 5, 1944 entitled, “You can do many things by cooking with leftovers”.⁵⁰ With leftover *cocido*, a housewife could prepare a hearty beef stew or a beef hash, and with leftover roasted veal a resourceful housewife could prepare croquettes or a casserole.⁵¹ Suggestions for leftovers were not common in the 1940s because of an

⁵⁰ “Cocina con los restos podéis hacer muchas cosas buenas” *Medina*, 5 de noviembre de 1944.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

overabundance of the food in the average Spanish household, but occurred as a consequence of the irregularity of food distribution to the city. It was a challenge for Spanish women to know what foods would be available at the store and when, so many adopted the strategy of overbuying and hoarding in order to curb the shock of the food irregularities. Eating leftovers and adopting a more monotonous diet was a consequence of the food situation.

Sauce-variation was a useful strategy that Spanish housewives used in order to cope with leftovers that added variety, however minimal, to dishes. The Spanish Cooking School (*la escuela española de cocina*) boasted that sauces were the backbone of cooking and provided a textbook with instructions on how to prepare meat sauces, cream sauces, vegetable-based sauces, and mayonnaise-based sauces.⁵² Likewise, Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer included within her series a cookbook dedicated to the “125 Best sauce recipes and how to prepare them”.⁵³ Of the 125 recipes dedicated for various sauces, over a dozen of them were tomato-based. Variation to dishes and recipes became very subtle as the circumstances of scarcity greatly limited options for the consumer. Food variation occurred in preparation technique as a substitute for variation in ingredients. Thus, a plate such as potatoes in a tomato sauce were re-written several different ways in the cookbooks, but for the daily consumption of the dish by the Spanish family, the food must have seemed very redundant.

Other recipes for leftovers were a direct reaction to the policies of the Franco regime. Meat was especially important to prepare as leftovers because of its special restrictions in sale and availability. Meat sale was restricted to three days a week (Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and

⁵² *Curso teórico-práctico de cocina: Las Salsas*. San Sebastián: Ediciones Estudio, 1941?

⁵³ Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer, *Las Salsas: Las 125 Mejores recetas para prepararlas*, (Barcelona: Editorial Molino, 1941).

Saturdays),⁵⁴ so it was important for the housewife to ration it carefully within the family's daily meal. The magazine *Y* provided its readers with a few suggestions on how to make small quantities of meat fill up a plate in its March 1942 edition. The article said, "To serve meat, first and foremost elongate the cuts of meat into a large row. There is nothing uglier than a narrow row of meat with the cuts too close together."⁵⁵ The article recommended spreading out the pieces of meat to stretch across the plate to make the food more visually appealing, and subsequently being more satisfying for the family. Serving less meat at dinner was a good way to have more left over for later meals. With small amount of leftover meat, the April 1942 edition of the magazine told housewives how to pair leftover meat with potato and cauliflower dishes.⁵⁶ The dish gives an extra tip for stretching the meat even further; "...if there is not enough meat for the dish, you can bulk it up with some cooked rice or carrots."⁵⁷ As the meat example demonstrates, leftovers did not necessarily mean the a food was in abundance, but cooking with leftovers was also a solution to conserving what little quantities of an ingredient were available to Spanish families. Stretching every last ounce of a ration was essential to the survival of the Spanish family, and so ingredients were used and re-used by Spanish women in everyday cooking.

Franco's food policy created "boom or bust" cycles of food provisioning within Spain's urban centers. At times, truckloads of food such as potatoes, frozen meat, or fish arrived to Madrid, but at other times these goods were hard to come by in the city. When food was available, Spanish housewives bought as much food as they could, at time surpassing the

⁵⁴ Tomás Espuny Gómez, *Legislación de abastos: Exposición metódica de las principales disposiciones vigentes*, (Tarragona: Imprenta de José Pijoan, 1942), 241.

⁵⁵ "Presentar bien un plato vale más que..." *Y: revista para la mujer*. Marzo 1942.

⁵⁶ "Un poco de ingenio en la cocina" *Y: revista para la mujer*. Abril 1942.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

regulated limits placed on household food storage. To accommodate the sporadic arrival of food, Spanish women learned how to modify their cooking style to accommodate not only the seasonality of staple ingredients but also the food crises that were endemic in city centers of the early dictatorship. Housewives negotiated the restrictions in the marketplace of what they could buy, the economic restrictions of price-setting, and the restrictions on food storage that was dictated by law. While the previous section has analyzed the cultural consequences of the “boom” in food provisioning, the next section will explore how Spaniards coped with period of “bust” or the scarcity of key cooking ingredients.

Vender gato por liebre: Substitutes and Disappointment in Meals

The early dictatorship is known for its culture of scarcity, but one of the greatest challenges for eating during the decade following the civil war was the absence of a key ingredient required in the daily meal. Ration portions were determined by availability of an ingredient, not how much was needed to cook a meal. To accommodate the shortages, Spaniards had to become resourceful in their food acquisition. The state aimed to facilitate food acquisition of Spaniards not by increasing the food supply, nor by importing foods from foreign countries. Instead, “the war on hunger” waging in Spain in the early dictatorship was to be won through food substitutes.⁵⁸ This point was echoed in the official magazine of the CAT, *Alimentación Nacional*, which provided recipes with substitutes for its readers, such as omelet from sweet

⁵⁸ Dr. Borralló Ubeda, “Los substitutivos en la alimentación” in *Cursillo de Conferencias sobre alimentación*, edited by Gerpe Comenge, Santos Ruiz, Casares Lopez, Borralló Ubeda and Perez de Albeniz, (Madrid: Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, 1944), 310.

potato instead of egg.⁵⁹ With government publications leading the way, magazines from the Women's Section and larger cooking author's community followed in suit to create a culture of cooking substitutes in the literature of early Francoism.

Substitutes became part of the Spanish housewife's everyday life. Cooking publications of the 1940s addressed the needs for substitutes by providing instruction for using mushrooms instead of meat,⁶⁰ how to make bread with oats or acorns instead of wheat⁶¹, and to the absurd level of "calamari without calamari" (*calamares sin calamares*).⁶² Suggestions for substitutes occurred very frequently in cooking literature of the early dictatorship, but the meaning of the substitutes varied by the publication. Some substitutes directly reflected food shortages and added criticism of the failure of proper provisioning of Spain's cities. Other substitutes were recommended for seasonality of ingredients and provided suggestions on how to modify a summer salad for the winter months. Still other substitutes were ideologically driven, as vegetarians and Lenten Catholics sought substitutes for meat, and Spaniards with health restrictions had to avoid certain foods. Still other substitutes were malicious in nature, providing a food of a lower quality or cultural status than what was expected. Fraud and food adulteration were common practice in Spanish cities during the hunger years. By reconstructing the phenomenon of cooking with substitutes, this section will show how creative cooking was necessary for all classes of Spaniards, but how each class engaged diet restrictions differently.

⁵⁹ "Platos de alimentación a base de boniatos" in *Alimentación Nacional*, Año I núm 2. 15 diciembre 1941, 22.

⁶⁰ "Tan nutritivas como la carne" *Medina*, núm 237. 30 de septiembre de 1945.

⁶¹ M. Vidal, *Tratado práctico de panadería, pastelería y confitería, con nociones de molinería y un capítulo sobre fabricación de helados*. 2 ed. (Barcelona: José Monteso, 1941), 115-122.

⁶² Ignacio Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos (Deseo Mi Comida)*. Barcelona: Publicaciones Selectas de Cocina, 1940), 143.

To sell cat for hare, as the old Castilian saying goes, means “malicious deceit whereby something of inferior quality is passed off as something superior”.⁶³ Cat consumption decreased with the domestication of the animals as pets, but its role in Spanish diet as a famine food (or at least fear of its incorporation into diet) preoccupied many Spaniards who lived during the civil war and its aftermath.⁶⁴ Sensationalist news articles and rumors swirled through Spanish cities as fear of food quality and authenticity grew in the aftermath of the civil war.⁶⁵ Fraud, corruption, and black-marketeering were endemic during the dictatorship and the consequences of these practices applied to food consumption as well. Spaniards did not know what foods they could buy from their local vendor and they had little control over its quality.

Cases of selling cat for hare were not frequently documented during the 1940s, but other forms of food fraud were reported by authorities more often. As I have discussed in Chapter One, the black market was institutionalized during the early years of the dictatorship, and many Spaniards participated in extra-legal food acquisition on a daily basis. Meat was one of the more common foods bought and sold on the black market, beyond the watchful eye of the CAT. Meat was supposed to be slaughtered at the municipal slaughterhouse, but some meat entered the food supply through the black market. The CAT worked hard to inspect and insure the quality of meat that was sold throughout Spain, but often vendors sold and consumers bought meat through the black market. Its municipal laboratory in Madrid, for example, identified and destroyed 10,592 heads of cattle (about 326,189 tons), 9,795 boxes of fish (378,084 tons), 593 pieces of bird, and

⁶³ F. Xavier Medina, “Eating Cat in the North of Spain in the Early Twentieth Century” in *Consuming the Inedible: Neglected Dimensions of Food Choice*, ed. Jeremy MacClancy, Jeya Henry and Helen Macbeth, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 154.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁶⁵ “Gato por liebre” *ABC Sevilla*, núm. 14.174. 21 de enero de 1949, p. 9.

749 pieces of ham in the year 1943 alone as part of quality control.⁶⁶ Much of Spain's urban meat supply was secured through extra-legal means, despite the attempted registration of every farm animal in Spain.

The women's magazine *Y* reported that sausages were the most frequently adulterated meat product but Spanish housewives still needed to beware of meat that was not sold legally through the municipal slaughterhouse and the syndicated meat vendors guild.⁶⁷ The article cautioned, "When an animal carcass passes through the sanitation department, as it is required to do, the department will discover if the animal has any type of parasite or abnormality that would make it unfit for consumption and will prohibit its sale to the consumer and order the destruction of the carcass. But, if and against the orders of the sanitation department, an animal is slaughtered clandestinely, the consumer is at risk of eating meat contaminated with trichinosis."⁶⁸ The purpose of the article was to stress that eating foods available through the unofficial market (such as meat) were more harmful for the family than the benefit of its potential nutritive value. To substitute for the dangers of meat, Spaniards could manipulate vegetables to appear, and to some extent taste, like meat.

Along with meat, milk—another important source of protein—was often adulterated. Diluting milk was a common practice of dairies and milk vendors in Madrid since the municipal vendor permits required that each business produce 500 liters of milk each day.⁶⁹ If they did not meet the required amount, the dairy could face a hefty fine from the city.⁷⁰ To avoid this, some

⁶⁶ Dr. Perez de Albeniz, "El problema de adulteraciones y falsificaciones de los alimentos." In *Cursillo de Conferencias sobre alimentación*, (Madrid: Real Academia de Farmacia y La Comisaria General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, 1944,) 175.

⁶⁷ "Serías capaz de hacer esto?" *Y: Revista para la mujer*. Núm 54, julio 1942.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Archivo de Villa, Inventario General, Tomo 110, Folio 1 (micro). *Negociado de cartillas, 1936-1942*. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1947.

⁷⁰ "1944: Arango 3- lecheria por Mariano Baeza, 30-240-7." Archivo de Villa, Inventario General, Tomo 110, Folio 1 (micro). *Negociado de cartillas, 1936-1942*. Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1947.

vendor would water the milk to meet the quota. One article reported that contaminated milk could cause diseases such as tuberculosis and Mata fever.⁷¹ Spanish families received ration cards that provided them with a fixed amount of liters of milk at a fixed price from the store, but the rationing system could not control the quality of milk that the family received nor the nutritional value of the family's allocation of fresh milk. Vegetable milk (*leche vegetal*) was one solution, but cans of condensed milk or boxes of powdered milk were more common substitutes.

Bread was also prone to forms of adulteration and, as a staple of Spanish diet, was one of the more frequent offenders. One guide for aspiring bakers actively encouraged breadmakers to mix in alternatives to wheat flour so that they could extend their wheat supply and cut costs. The author wrote, "It is easy to treat wheat flour with a quantity of ground legumes [lima beans and peas]. This is almost always cheaper for the bakery to make and the consumer does not know the difference as it makes the bread whiter, more nutritious, and tastier."⁷² But in response, housewives were instructed in ways that they could test bread for its quality when shopping for their home. Gastronomic Ignacio Domenech suggested that Spanish housewives prepare their own bread to ensure the quality of ingredients and to protect their families from harmful additives.⁷³ He wrote to Spanish women, "...we have thought of a way to avoid the great inconveniences and hassles that occur in times of shortages that can happen to this particular foodstuff that is so important and indispensable to all families... in this manner we are providing a great public service in showing you an easy and practical way to prepare bread for the times of

⁷¹ "Serías capaz de hacer esto?" *Y: Revista para la mujer*. Núm 54, julio 1942.

⁷² M. Vidal, *Tratado práctico de panadería, pastelería y confitería, con nociones de molinería y un capítulo sobre fabricación de helados*. 2 ed. (Barcelona: José Monteso, 1941), 121.

⁷³ Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos*, 288.

shortages...⁷⁴ He, among others, encouraged Spanish women to circumvent the traditional bread foodway controlled by the state by fabricating their own bread in their homes.

Fear of quality or vendor fraud was only one reason that Spaniards sought substitutes for foods. Chronic shortages of cooking essentials necessitated that Spanish women change their diet to cook with what was available to them. The most common of these were eggs and oil. Eggs were an important source of animal protein for Spaniards and a useful binding agent for cooking dishes. Substitutes were needed to fill these two requirements in order to satisfy the alimentary demands of eggs. One substitute option was to replace eggs with nuts.⁷⁵ Nuts are naturally oily and could satisfy the culinary needs that eggs as a wet ingredient provide, but nut compositions are not as effective binding agents as eggs. Likewise, nuts are rich in protein, but they do not contain animal protein that the human body needs. Another possible substitute was using a chickpea or sweet potato mash as an egg substitute.⁷⁶ These wet ingredients were sticky enough to effectively substitute for eggs for cooking purposes, and the chickpeas were an important source of protein, but once again the animal protein was missing. A final substitute offered for eggs was using soup flour as the wet binding agent that also offered some protein for the dish.⁷⁷ And to remedy the absence of the yellow color provided by eggs, saffron or paprika was recommended for the dish to further trick the consumer of the dish into thinking the meal was prepared with eggs.

The most exhaustive work on cooking without oil was a pamphlet published in La Coruña entitled, *200 Recetas para cocinar sin emplear aceite, tratado de economía doméstica*.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁴ Ibid., 288.

⁷⁵ Dr. Andrius Vander, *Cocina vegetariana racional y la enseñanza de una alimentación sana*, (Barcelona: Librería Síntesis, 1941), 10.; "Platos de alimentación a base de boniatos" in *Alimentación Nacional*, Año I núm 2. 15 diciembre 1941, 22.

⁷⁶ Ignacio Domenech, *La cocina vegetariana moderna*. 4 ed., (Barcelona: Quintilla Editores, 1941), 162.

⁷⁷ Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos*, 64.

⁷⁸ Choni. *200 recetas para cocinar sin emplear aceite, tratado de economía doméstica*, (La Coruña: Roel, 194?).

book's recipes ranged from soup, sauce, potato, egg, omelet, vegetable and bean, fish and seafood, meat, birds and game, and desserts all of which could be cooked without a drop of oil. Ignacio Domenech's *Cocina de los recursos* offered its readership several recipes that did not require oil, including Valencia sauce, Albacete sauce, Feron sauce, Marbella sauce, macaroni dishes, egg dishes, and "Domen" sauce.⁷⁹ *VENTANAL* also featured recipes for French-style green beans, Galician omelet, ham pasties, melon ice cream, and baked sole, all of which could be prepared and enjoyed without the use of any cooking oil.⁸⁰ The author introduces the recipe collection in the following manner:

You may be surprised and called to attention with a title like "Cooking without oil." Well yes, my dear readers, although it may seem impossible, it is very true. The shortage of certain foodstuffs has given us the need to invent little tricks to substitute or stew without the particular item. We continue this article with some stew recipes that are cooked without oil, that we suppose will be of great interest and taste for housewives.⁸¹

The magazine wanted to convey the recipes as a form of "trick" for Spanish housewives to prepare their usual recipes but with a few modifications. The trick was intended to fool the family or house guests into believing that the dishes were prepared in a traditional way with oil, when really there was no oil available. In cases such as these, Spanish women were not "selling cat for hare", but were cooking traditional Spanish dishes without one of the most fundamental components of the Mediterranean diet—olive oil.

As the examples with eggs and oil show, in many ways there were no easy substitutes for key ingredients that ordinary Spanish housewives lacked. Ingredients that made up Spain's culinary tradition served a specific nutritional, chemical, or flavor purpose within the dishes. Without the key components, Spanish housewives had to scramble to find alternatives that met

⁷⁹ Ignacio Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos*, capítulo 4.

⁸⁰ "Cocina sin aceite" in *VENTANAL* Año I núm 11, 1 de septiembre de 1946, 12.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

many, or at least some, of the characteristics provided by the foodstuff. Since the substitute was not the preferred commodity, and it often had lower quality or nutritional value, the old saying to sell cat for hare transcended meat consumption and could be applied to a number of ingredients.

Beliefs were another reason that some Spaniards modified their diet to substitute some ingredients for others. Both devout Catholics and vegetarians found themselves looking for good meat substitutes. Vegetarian cooks suggested that Spaniards consume “vegetable meat”, which was available in specialty stores in Barcelona or could be prepared in home. Dr. Vander offered a recipe for vegetable meat in his vegetarian guide, *Cocina vegetariana racional y la enseñanza de una alimentación sana*. The recipe calls for dried beans, oil-rich seeds, and “other vegetables that remind the vegetarian of the flavors of meat.”⁸² He went on to describe how the vegetable meat could be consumed raw, fried, or cooked. Mainstream women’s magazines also highlighted vegetarian options in their publications, but usually featured the eating style in March or April for Lent. The March 1943 edition of *Medina* provided its readerships with recipes on how to stuff squash, eggplant, tomatoes, and cucumbers to provide a filling meal to their families.⁸³ The trend of spring vegetarianism continued, and in 1945 the magazine told Spanish women how to use mushrooms as meat substitutes in a number of dishes.⁸⁴

Regardless of the motivation (religious, political, or ideological), many Spanish families did not eat meat every day. To engage this culture of meat-abstainers, cooking literature of the time provided recipes that offered substitutes for meat. Despite medical literature of the time that emphasized that animal protein could not be substituted from diet,⁸⁵ cooking literature praised

⁸² Dr. Andrius Vander, *Cocina vegetariana racional y la enseñanza de una alimentación sana*, (Barcelona: Librería Síntesis, 1941), 42.

⁸³ “Cocina. Legumbres rellenas para los días sin carne” *Medina*. Núm 105, el 21 de marzo de 1943.

⁸⁴ “Tan nutritivas como la carne” *Medina*, núm 237. 30 de septiembre de 1945.

⁸⁵ Ch. Richet, and G. Marañón, *Alimentación y regímenes alimentarios* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1942), 131.

the interchangeability of beans and vegetables for meat products. Despite the government's subsidy of meat or the distribution of meat to vendors throughout the city, some Spaniards chose not to consume the foodstuff. For those who disapproved of the morality of meat consumption, price and availability did not determine their food choice. Rather, beliefs held independently from the state determined their food selection.

Similar to substitutes to practice dietary beliefs, two cookbooks from the 1940s provided some suggestions for substitutes as a form of subtle social critique of the regime's food policy. One such book by Domenech, suggested making desserts from animal feed, substituting orange peels for potatoes in omelets, and substituting onion rings for calamari.⁸⁶ Some of the recipes (such as the aforementioned homemade bread or sauces) had some practical application for its reader, but other contents of the book fall within the genre of fantasy cooking literature. His selection of recipes and their substitutes were not due to actual shortages in Barcelona,⁸⁷ but provided a veiled criticism of the state to adequately supply Spanish homes with basic foods. He wrote in the introduction of the cookbook:

...For this reason, I have selected the subtitle, "food desire" as the general theme of the book. The book is replete with teaching tools and advice to help you during times of necessity, when cooking produces so much worry about how to better prepare a dish, save money, and avoid the inconveniences of not knowing a solution. Like the majority of Spaniards, everyone thinks every hour about the problem of making their own meals, especially in times of scarcity. It is for this reason I have named the book "food desire", as a popular theme developed throughout my book that should be of interest of all of my readers.⁸⁸

Domenech's allusion to scarcity and shortages in the introduction of his work as well as throughout the chapters acted as an author's critique of the food circumstances available in

⁸⁶ Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos*, 298-300, 62-64, 143.

⁸⁷ This is demonstrated in the tortilla recipe that substituted potatoes for orange peel. As the CAT reported and other cooking materials verify, there was not a shortage of potatoes in 1940, whereas the other ingredients in the recipe—oil and eggs—would have been difficult for ordinary Spaniards to acquire.

⁸⁸ Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos*, 11.

Barcelona at the time that he wrote it. His recipes joked about creating pastries from carob pods and preparing a fresh green salad with nettles.⁸⁹ The book juxtaposed the expectations and desire of fine dining with the barely-edible, low-quality ingredients that marked the food circumstances of the early dictatorship. While the book does not contain a recipe that substitutes cat for hare, in many ways the recipes reflect a feeling of being “duped” or “swindled” from the expectations of quality food and a high quality of life at the end of the civil war and the social reality of continued shortages and rationing that kept Spanish cuisine from being able to recover from the war.

And although the cookbook was only somewhat targeted at Spanish women, the cookbook published by the American Women’s Club of Barcelona offers another window into the culture of substitutes. This time, the recipe substitutes were intended for American women to teach to their Spanish cooks and domestic servants. The book was assembled by American women living in the city 1946-1947 and was inspired by the conundrum of finding Spanish servants knowledgeable in American cuisine.⁹⁰ Along with countless recipes for American pastries, casseroles, and salads from the 1940s, it included a list of options to substitute American ingredients for what was available in Spain at the time. One cup of “Roveey” could be substituted for one cup of corn starch, and one cup of molasses could be substituted for one cup of honey, except for when making gingerbread.”⁹¹ Brand name items and regional ingredients from the United States would have been near impossible to procure in Spain under the autarky economic system, but other substitutes allude to more general shortages of the time that impacted how Spanish and American women cooked their daily meals. The book offers four possible

⁸⁹ Ibid., 298, 146.

⁹⁰ *Cocina Hispano-Americana, American-Spanish cook-book*, (Barcelona: Editorial Argos, N.D.), 9.

⁹¹ Ibid., 310.

substitutes for fresh milk, four substitutes for sugar, and five substitutes for butter. These staple ingredients were much more necessary in the practice of everyday life yet very difficult to obtain in Spain. The intent of the bilingual cookbook was so that both Americans and Spaniards could share recipes in their native languages, and that American expats could enjoy the comfort of their customary cooking in the cosmopolitan city of Barcelona. But with autarky and isolation, the expectations and cuisine of the Americans was very difficult to achieve. The American women who authored the book expected to eat American food while living in Barcelona, and their inclusion of a list of substitutes in the book demonstrates how difficult it was to maintain their desired lifestyle under the food culture fostered under Franco's food policies.

But perhaps the most dramatic substitute advise was provided in the 1942 edition of *Y: revista para la mujer*. Its article, "Without ration cards or black market" attempted to provide women with substitutes for when their family ran out of ration cards so that they did not have to engage in the dangers of the black market. The article included recipes for garden salad, salmon with lemon, sardine al gratin, hake, onion royale, and egg mold to name a few.⁹² But the way that the magazine introduced the recipes is more revealing about the food situation for Spanish women in 1942. It said, "Are you still not accustomed to having to prepare creative meals that are both tasty and original while waiting for your new book of ration cards? For a substantial number of women, they answer with a resounding no. On the contrary, they have dedicated all of their time and talents to complain uselessly against the current circumstances, keeping themselves from being able to adequately shine in the kitchen..."⁹³ The article suggests that it was common for Spanish women to improperly budget their ration cards for the week, forcing them to find other means of food procurement for their families. The article selected recipes that

⁹² "Sin cartilla ni estraperlo" *Y: revista para la mujer*. núm 55, agosto 1942.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

contain ingredients that were not restricted in their sale by rationing, nor relied on foodstuffs commonly acquired through the black market. In essence, since the state-controlled rationing, the article provided advice for housewives on how to cook without the state intervention into the home and the food consumed by the family. The article does not provide substitutes for ingredients like in the other articles, but rather claims to provide a cooking substitute for the whole process of state control of food, along with the food control of the *estraperlistas*. Whereas the CAT was largely responsible for initiating the campaign for substitutes, as this article demonstrates, the cooking literature of the time eventually found a way to substitute the state intervention's in the family's cooking practices.

At the heart of the popular anxiety over food quality was a worry about adequate substitutions for foods that were no longer affordable for the average Spanish family. By the end of the war in Barcelona, a dozen eggs cost between 150 and 200 pesetas, rice was 60 to 100 pesetas per kilo and even lentils were overpriced at 30 to 80 pesetas per kilo.⁹⁴ The food situation did not change much in Barcelona after the war as the emissaries from the Rockefeller Foundation reported of the city, "well-to-do people find it very difficult to buy their quota of bread and potatoes, eggs, butter and olive oil are practically impossible to find except in small quantities at four or five times usual price. One wonders what the poor are living on..."⁹⁵ The intent of the rationing system was to ameliorate the run on staple ingredients and to ensure their affordability for all Spaniards,⁹⁶ but the rationing system was unable to supply Spanish women with the daily demands of ingredients necessary to create meals for their families. Spaniards had

⁹⁴ A. Pedro Pons, *Clínica, Fisiopatología y Terapéutica de las Enfermedades por insuficiencia alimenticia observadas en Barcelona durante la guerra (1936-1939)*, (Barcelona: Relieves Basa y Pages, 1940).

⁹⁵ "Correspondence" Rockefeller Foundation. Pg. 5

⁹⁶ "El racionamiento y la cartilla individual" *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 6, 15 abril 1942, 1.

to find comparable ingredients that maintained the integrity of a dish while cooking what they had on hand.

In sum, cooking with substitutes generated an inauthentic cuisine in Spanish society. A recipe or dish called for a specific type of ingredient, but the housewife often substituted it with what was available, removing the intended taste, nutrition, or appearance of the dish. It was the duty of the housewife to trick her family into believing they were eating larger portions, higher quality ingredients, or better food when the reality of their consumption was quite different, performing the act of *vendiendo gato por liebre* (selling cat for hare). Likewise, the regime played its role in leading the advocacy for substitutes, in a sense actively encouraging housewives to daily trick their families in their consumption habits. The saying “*vender gato por liebre*” went beyond questionable meat and exploitative power dynamics in the city markets. The resurgence of the phrase, and the anxiety that it produced among urban housewives in the 1940s demonstrated the impact of food insecurity among Spanish families in the early dictatorship. Spanish housewives never knew what ingredients they would be able to secure in their daily shopping trips, if the quality and quantity of the food would measure up to the expectations of their recipes, or if their family would be satisfied with the disappointing dinners. It came to be a social reflection of the Franco regime, the peace and bread promised to every Spaniard was just “*gato por liebre*”.

Postwar Cooking

As authors strove to meet the cooking interest demands of their readership, their style of publishing cooking literature and their political engagement became hallmarks of the time. Thus,

cooking literature, while only corresponding loosely with the everyday life of ordinary Spaniards, provide useful hints and insights into the concerns, challenges, ambitions, and goals of average housewives. Cooking literature appealed to a demographic of Spanish woman who could read and had expendable income to purchase a cookbook as a luxury good. It also appealed to women who had something to gain from the contents of the book, whether it was a culinary adventure of the mind or taste buds to another place or time, or a new arsenal of staple family meals, as the previous generation's food habits were not an option under the circumstances of the Franco dictatorship. Publication of the cookbooks and recipes reflect some level of demand, and a close analysis of their contents can provide some insight into the thoughts and daily life of Spanish housewives.

Cooking literature of the early dictatorship engaged many aspects of Spanish society and culture, including its politics. Opinions of veiled political critique or non-conformity were written into many of the recipes, cookbooks, and cooking literature from the time. Cooking literature was essential for Spanish women to cope with the social implications of Franco's New State and the hunger years. Middle-class housewives used cooking literature as an escape from the pressures and demands of preparing daily meals in times of scarcity. They communicated political issues to the women, ranging from autarky to hoarding, shortages to black market, national isolation to diplomacy. The cooking material provided Spanish women with an avenue to engage in the politics of the regime and the broad literature of the time reflects a wide spectrum of acquiescence, non-conformity, and resistance.

A genre of fantasy cooking literature emerged to provide middle-class Spanish women an avenue to escape to restrictions imposed by Franco's economic policy of autarky. Even if they only existed on paper and in the minds of the women, the recipes provided women with a world-

view that contrasted greatly with Spain's international relations during World War II and its aftermath towards Cold War international relations. Some recipes indulged the nostalgia of the downwardly-mobile urban classes by dictating decadent recipes that reminded them of their consumer habits and possibilities before the civil war. Other forms of coping mechanisms provided suggestions and remedies for the culinary stagnation that was a direct consequence of the economic stagnation under autarky. Cooking authors met the demand of Spanish housewives to provide new creations to combat the complaints of a monotonous diet. The rationing system and food policies of the Franco regime placed heavy restrictions on the quantity, quality, and price of foods available to urban Spanish families, but many of the cookbooks, recipes, and food articles of the time provided women with ways to circumvent the culinary consequences of the government food policy. Similarly, as the government urged Spanish families to adopt a culture of austerity and resourcefulness in their consumption practices, cooking literature aided Spanish women in finding adequate ingredient substitutes in their everyday cooking practices. Recipes and food articles that offered survival guides for the times of shortages were in high demand by the Spanish public, and this is reflected in their high publications and circulation.

With a broad analysis of the cooking literature of the time, this chapter has explored a range of authors of different sexes, classes, regions, and state-affiliation. They wrote for a range of men and women who worked professionally or privately in kitchens across Spain's cities in the early dictatorship. Despite different backgrounds and different audiences, they engaged in the larger political issues of their time through their recipes and publications. If Spanish housewives followed one of the recipes in the cookbook or magazine that provided a solution for leftovers or substitutes, it was the food policies of the Franco dictatorship that pushed them to seek alternative food options within the cooking literature. A reassessment of cooking literature not

only reflects cultural aspects of Spanish society of the time—scarcity, nationalism, and austerity—but instructed Spaniards in cultural aspects that were not the goal of Francoism. Reading between the recipes published during the hunger years, the cooking literature of the early Franco dictatorship suggests that Spaniards were far from being apolitical during the post-civil war repression and terror of the Franco regime, but expressed their appetite for politics in their food choices and the food literature that they consumed.

Women and Everyday Life during the Hunger Years

“There is no work more disagreeable than shopping for food, nor tasks more arduous than managing a home. It never ends. Once one meal is finished, it is time to prepare another. Husbands know nothing about your work, as they limit your shopping budget... Have compassion for your wives! It is more difficult to grocery shop these days than to build a bridge across the Atlantic Ocean.”¹ These thoughts from the Spanish home economist Enrique Ambar were published in the nationwide women’s magazine *Y: revista para la mujer* in the summer of 1942. The women that Ambar was referring to had survived one of the worst food shortages in Spain’s modern history, and subsequent years would not significantly improve for almost a decade. This short reflection, intended to commiserate with housewives who found themselves in these impossible circumstances due to war, dictatorship, and famine, also reveals aspects of women’s experiences in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War. As he suggested, women’s actions were greatly restricted by men, but the challenges that they faced were largely ignored by men. This chapter looks to correct this hidden aspect of women’s lives during the hunger years. I argue that women played a central role in the reconstruction of Spanish society through their everyday negotiation of the urban foodscape during the hunger years.

As previous chapters have demonstrated, food was central to the Franco regime’s politics and ideology, and contributed to Francoist culture in literature and urban public life. I have argued previously that women, particularly housewives, engaged with the politics of the dictatorship through the food choices that they made and the meals that they prepared for their families. To understand the social circumstances and how urban Spaniards survived the food

¹ Enrique Ambar, “Cómo gastan las mujeres el dinero en el mercado,” *Y: revista para la mujer*, August 1942, 40, 41.

crises of the 1940s, an investigation into the everyday practices of Spanish housewives is essential. It was through daily meals that Franco's food policy had the largest effect, and it was familial meals at home which shaped Spain's food culture during the hunger years. While organizations such as the CAT and Social Aid intervened in the food supply, and cookbook authors and nutritionists weighed in on food policy debates, the bulk of the interpretation and implementation of food policy and food culture was carried out by Spanish housewives in the practice of everyday shopping, cooking, and eating.

This chapter examines women's important role in Spain's postwar urban society in relationship to food. The Spanish Civil War brought economic hardship to Spanish families, yet daily routines continued when possible and women of all classes adapted to their new life with the demobilization and normalization of society. Spain experienced a slow recovery from the civil war partly due to the limitations placed on women by the patriarchal ideology of Francoism, but women still made an impact on the quotidian level in the transition of Spanish society from the catastrophe of the war to the new opportunities of the 1950s and 1960s. By analyzing how Spanish women shopped, cooked, and served food to their families, I demonstrate how the food policies and food culture created by the Franco regime was translated into daily practices by urban Spanish housewives. Their responses to the food situation and coping strategies span a spectrum of reactions to Franco's food situation, ranging from acquiescence and support to non-conformity and resistance.

Currently, academic scholarship inadequately addresses the lived experiences of Spanish women and their daily food habits, despite their importance during the years of hunger. One of the reasons that women and their everyday food practices are understudied by scholars is because written sources are so elusive. Food literature only made up a small fraction of the publications

from the period, and women's literary material was also marginal within the larger publishing world. These narrow audiences shrank even further with the economic downturn because many women prioritized buying food over leisure reading materials. Coupled with abysmal literacy rates during the time, especially for women,² there are very few written sources that reveal how Spanish housewives thought and acted in their daily food acquisition and preparation practices. It is safe to assume that only the wealthiest and well-educated women had access to women's magazines or cookbooks during the 1940s, even within the large metropolitan areas.

Nonetheless, Spanish housewives were very present in the public sphere, in politics, and in the economy of the 1940s. Newspapers described Spanish housewives and their queues for rationed goods. The radio and television broadcasts provided shopping instructions and advertisements for urban housewives. The Franco regime created policy to regulate the movement and presence of Spanish housewives in urban spaces, and the education system developed through the Catholic Church and the FET-JONS addressed women's domestic practices. Additionally, the Women's Section of the FET-JONS, the branch of the party charged with addressing issues for women, reached out to women to teach them domestic economy and modern cooking practices.³ In my exploration of the daily lives of Spanish housewives, I have integrated elite sources such as magazines and cookbooks that illustrate the idea, with news reports and government documents that I have read in order to piece together at least a partial picture of urban housewives' daily lives.

² Kathleen Richmond, *Women in Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange, 1934-1959* (Rutledge: London, 2003), 5, 59.

³ *Ibid.*, 86.

The official Francoist ideology stressed that women should remain in the home and should pursue a life of “true Catholic womanhood,”⁴ or submissive wife and mother hidden within the privacy of the home, but the political and economic structure actively pushed women out of the home and into public spaces. Spanish housewives spent much of their time in the streets of Spanish cities standing in ration lines, and their visibility affected both the policy and culture of the Franco dictatorship. Far from being bystanders in the reconstruction process, Spanish women engaged the politics of the regime through their food choices. While these are only glimpses at some of the themes that contributed to the practice of everyday life, this case study of women in urban Spain reveals how Spaniards incorporated the practice of politics in their everyday food habits.

Scholars agree that women were marginalized politically and culturally within Francoist society, and many historians are working to uncover the “whole history” of women during the post-civil war period. A recent monograph by Encarnación Barranquero Texeira and Lucía Prieto Borrego on urban women in Málaga, and a chapter within Montserrat Miller’s monograph on Barcelona’s markets explore the historical aspects of everyday life of women during the Franco regime and the years of hunger.⁵ Both of these books integrate textual evidence from the time of the dictatorship with oral histories that collaborate or revise aspects of the printed culture of the postwar. They get closer to the real, lived experiences of women and their daily life under the authoritarian dictatorship. Their investigation into the history of everyday life reveals that

⁴ Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco’s Spain* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000).

⁵ Encarnación Barranquero Texeira and Lucía Prieto Borrego, *Así Sobrevivimos al Hambre: Estrategias de supervivencia de las mujeres en la postguerra española* (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2003).; Montserrat Miller, *Feeding Barcelona: 1714-1975: Public Market Halls, Social Networks, and Consumer Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015).

women were more than victims or agents—they lived diverse lives under the dictatorship despite the efforts of the regime to instill a monolithic, singular culture that regulated women.

The key similarity between these two books on the everyday life of women in Málaga and Barcelona are that they occurred in cities that experienced food crises during the hunger years, and that food was central to women's world during the hunger years. Traditionally, the exchange of recipes between women was an important social custom, and mothers passed down their cooking knowledge to their daughters.⁶ This practice continued into the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship, but additional food practices began due to food shortages and rationing. An investigation of food unites the historiographical threads of women, everyday life, and Francoism through urban housewives and their daily shopping trips to the market. Repression and fear shaped the experiences of women during the early Franco dictatorship, and food is central to understanding how women experienced political restrictions and fear of hunger. Some women resiliently negotiated the mechanisms of repression in Franco's food policy to carve out their own agenda within the Francoist political structure, while other women suffered starvation at the hands of the state. The motivations, actions, and experiences of Spanish women during the hunger years were far from uniform, and many women carried out their daily tasks along the spectrum between these two extremes.

This chapter is divided into three themes that analyze how women contributed to post-civil war Spanish society, revealing some aspects of women's experiences in everyday life. The first section analyzes the economic practices of women in their everyday food acquisition and the challenges of buying food on meager budgets. The housewife economy operated largely through non-monetary means of connection, such as black marketeering and non-paid work, because the

⁶ Gonzalez Turmo, Isabel, *200 Años de Cocina: Historia y Antropología de la Alimentación* (Madrid: Cultiva Libros, 2013) 69.

dictatorship limited the opportunities for women to earn wages, and currency was in chronic shortage in the immediate aftermath of the civil war. Spanish housewives utilized ration cards, requested charity, and received goods in exchange for services. The housewife economy of the 1940s was quite dynamic despite the stagnation of the official economy under autarky. The second section examines the organization of women's schedules and their time commitments and constraints in postwar society. Much of women's waking hours were dedicated to the acquisition, cooking, and serving of food. Women worked hard during the postwar to maintain their families, which then maintained society through one of Spain's most difficult times. As I will show, women's work also contributed to cultural shifts in how Spaniards understood and observed dinner, a cultural legacy provided by postwar women. The final section addresses feminine geography and provides a poignant example of the disconnection between the ideological ambitions of Franco's new society and women's social reality.

The Housewife Economy

Spanish housewives were tasked with stretching the family budget to cover the most basic of living necessities. Women's consumer habits, however limited they were in the hunger years, were the backbone of the Spanish economy during the early dictatorship. At a time when experts estimated that Spaniards spent 70% or more of the household income on food,⁷ how Spanish women budgeted, shopped, and stretched their meals to feed their families reflects how Spaniards lived during the hunger years and exercised their purchasing power. Despite the role

⁷ Antonio Cazorla Sánchez, *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco Spain, 1939-1975* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) 135.

of governmental bodies such as the CAT and Social Aid programs to provision the Spanish population as outlined in Chapter One, most Spaniards experienced their food provisioning through wives and mothers who shopped and cooked their daily meals. The economic and food policies adopted by the Franco dictatorship and applied to Spanish society affected how Spanish housewives performed their daily task of feeding their families, but it was still their task nonetheless to perform. Outside of the state's official economy and beyond the watchful eye of the Francoist state, women, especially Spanish housewives, created their own economies to feed their families.

Women's spending habits were largely ignored economically by the Franco regime, as the ideology of the regime stressed anti-capitalist and anti-consumerist austerity. Historians have continued this oversight into the economic importance of women's economic involvement in the 1940s, dismissing the impact of women's food purchases in rebuilding Spain's economy in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War. Economist Carlos Barciela theorized that the economic policies adopted by the Franco dictatorship after the war slowed the overall recovery of Spain by several decades,⁸ while others, such as the agrarian historians Ana Cabana and Alba Diaz Geada, assert that World War II was the main cause of Spain's economic woes in the 1940s.⁹ These scholars represent two sides to an academic debate, yet both focus on terms within the official economy, overlooking the unofficial economy created by Spanish housewives during the hunger years. Reliance on the official economy overlooks the role and contributions of women through their daily food purchases, often without wages, money, or recognized labor. Housewives worked outside the official economy, often performing household duties in their own homes or

⁸ Carlos Barciela, *La España de Franco (1939-195)*. *Economía* (Madrid: Editorial Sintesis, 2001) 10.

⁹ Ana Cabana and Alba Diaz Geada, "Exploring modernization: agrarian fascism in rural Spain, 1936-1951" in *Agriculture in the Age of Fascism: Authoritarian technocracy and rural modernization, 1922-1945* eds. Fernandez Prieto, Lourenzo and Juan Pan Montojo and Miguel Cabo (Tournhout: Brepols publishers, 2014), 192.

those of others in exchange for goods or services. While scholarship on the black market, further explored in Chapter One, gets closer to documenting the gray economies created for the exchange and consumption of goods and the wide spectrum of responses, only a “bottom-up” approach through the perspectives of housewives provides possible motivations for participating in extra-legal economic dealings who created an alternative economy to Franco’s official economy.

This section explains how urban women lived on the margins of Francoist regulation of the economy. According to Francoist legislation, women were not allowed to work without their husband’s or father’s permission. If granted permission, women were confined to labor only in certain state-approved occupations, and women’s wages were mandated to be capped at only a fraction of what men earned.¹⁰ Women were marginalized by the regime for their economic potential to the Spanish economy, but an investigation into the everyday lives of Spanish housewives and how they bought and sold goods and services paints a very different interpretation of everyday economic practices in Spanish society during the hunger years. Economic hardships were a constant burden on Spanish women, but the oversight of the state afforded them some opportunities beyond the surveillance of the authoritarian regime. The consideration of Spanish women’s shopping experiences during the 1940s is significant because they, embracing their traditional gender obligation to shop for their families, used most of the household budget to cook meals.

The Women’s Section as well as the larger domestic economy movement advocated that anyone could cook economically, and the organization sought ways to instruct Spanish women in creating grocery budgets. Their first textbook in domestic management, *Ciencia Gastronómica*,

¹⁰ For further information on women’s repression during the Franco dictatorship, see: María Teresa Gallego Méndez, *Mujer, FET-JONS y Franquismo*. Madrid: Taurus, 1983.

compiled by acclaimed home economist José Sarrau, included a “pantry inventory” log for women to document the availability, quantity, and price of cooking staples in the home.¹¹ The tool enabled women to assess the food situation in their home and operate the family’s food supply much like managing the assets of a company. “Proper” Spanish housewives were expected to know exactly how much rice, oil, salt, and other pantry items they had at home with every shopping trip so that they knew when to buy staples and when to save their money for other goods. The intent was to maintain a reserve of common food staples to alleviate the shock of weekly shortages or price inflations. Through domestic economy instruction, women were taught to be as organized and productive in the home as any business venture in the men’s economy. By keeping careful account of what women already had on hand, the unexpected shortages at the market became more manageable.

When planning meals, Spanish housewives needed to know the ingredients and quantities they needed for a recipe, but they also needed to maintain flexibility with their recipes if an ingredient was inaccessible or unaffordable in their local market. As described in Chapter Three, recipes might have been adapted or disregarded if certain foods were not affordable. Home economists of the time considered the creation of a meal as a work of art. Enrique Ambard wrote of mediocre housewives, “Before grocery shopping, the housewife piles the money on the table: this much for pepper, this much for cabbage, this pile is for buying fruit.”¹² Better housewives concocted their menu and priced ingredients and quantities on the meals they were going to produce. The article made clear that it was not enough for women to buy what they could afford—this did not create nutritious or delicious meals. The home economist stressed the importance of knowing which ingredients to buy for certain meals, but also to maintain

¹¹ José Sarrau, *Ciencia Gastronómica* (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1942), 233-237.

¹² Ambard, “Cómo gastan las mujeres el dinero en el mercado,” 40.

flexibility in menus to accommodate price fluctuations and food availability. For example, a good housewife would know what ingredients are necessary to prepare fish for dinner, but would then seek out the best value of fish to buy for the family.¹³ Housewives could not plan a menu based on taste or preference alone—price and availability had to be a consideration. Women were expected to juggle these two shopping strategies—having a menu planned and abandoning the menu if a bargain was found—which greatly increasing the burden and expectation on Spanish housewives. To satisfy their families during the hunger years, women had to expand their repertoire in the kitchen and improvise creatively for their daily dishes.

Cookbooks and women's magazines acknowledged that women could not follow old traditions for cooking, so they adapted their content in order to help women in the daily chore of making price-conscious meals for their families. Many recipes that had emerged with the growing urban middle classes in Spanish cities during the early twentieth century became unobtainable due to cost, quality of ingredients, and market shortages. Spanish families underwent rapid cultural changes during the urbanization, civil war, two dictatorships, and republic that occurred within a generation's time in the early twentieth century. As a result of that, many old habits of shopping and food preparation were no longer applicable to Spain's urban foodscape. As the first edition of the magazine *VENTANAL*, a women's magazine produced by the Women's Section, put it,

We dedicate this magazine to the housewives so that we might help lessen some of the daily headaches that occur from worrying about how to put food on the table. We understand that food provisioning is difficult to resolve in these times of hunger and scarcity. The recipes of our grandmothers can't even be modified for our present circumstances. For example, one of their recipes for muffins would call for twenty-four eggs, and a recipe like that can cause vertigo. The cookbooks of our mothers as well cannot account for the problems of today, where we are required to balance a thousand items in our household budget.¹⁴

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ "Cocina" *VENTANAL*, 1 (1), Abril 1946, 4.

The difficulties placed on women through the ultra-national policy of autarky, or “self-sufficiency,” as explained in Chapter Two, confined Spaniards to consume only what could be produced domestically. World War II further stymied any attempt for international trade, as ships intended to curb chronic food shortages in the peninsula were seized or sunk by warships.¹⁵ New eating strategies had to be adopted as a direct consequence of Francoist food policy. Staples of the Mediterranean diet—bread, oil, and fish—did not always reach the city due to hoarding in rural Spain and inadequate infrastructure to transport the products. When food did arrive to the city, it was often of an inferior quality (the leftovers that the rural regions did not mind casting out of their local economy) or nearly rotten due to slow transportation and bureaucratic mismanagement. The barely edible food was in such short supply that even sick animals, watered milk, or rotten fruit was sold at an inflated price to urban consumers.

Evidence of the budgetary woes facing many Spanish housewives is found in the practice of women’s magazines that published prices with their recipes so that women could anticipate how much they would need to spend to make the meal for their families. One such article advertised in its heading, “For one peseta, a plate of chicken!” which proceeded to provide nine ways to prepare chicken—using the entire bird—in order to create different meals for the family.¹⁶ One recipe for roasted chicken included making a broth using the animal’s feet. Two stews gave women instructions for using the chicken innards, and chicken pot pie utilized the livers, heart, and kidneys to maximize the quantity of food extracted from the chicken’s carcass. Other recipes, such as chicken croquets and chicken sausages, used very little of the meat to

¹⁵ "Asuntos Varios: Importación de arroz. Federación de industriales elaboradores de arroz" Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11) 7 63/08213.

¹⁶ “Por una peseta- ¡un plato de pollo!” *Y: revista para la mujer*, Febrero 1941, 32.

stretch the value of a peseta in the meal.¹⁷ The recipes were intended to provide instructions for cooking meals along with how to budget family meals. By including the price of items in the recipe, housewives were informed in what they needed to budget for the meal and how much money to bring to the market.

The magazine *VENTANAL* published by the Women's Section provided women with four recipes that cost less than "2 duros" and could feed a family of four.¹⁸ Stuffed carrots were priced at 2,95 pesetas, Galician-style cod cost 5,45 pesetas to make, cod balls cost 5,35 pesetas, and empanadas cost 3,05 pesetas. The prices listed for the recipes were the official prices set for Madrid in April 1946.¹⁹ This price did not include the cost of fuel to cook the meals, the cost of kitchen equipment to prepare the meals, or the inflated prices sometimes charged in the unofficial economy. The Women's Section tried to engage its feminine audience on contemporary topics of concern such as prices, but its recipes did not solve the economic challenge of feeding the family. The organization published many recipe tips and cooking suggestions for women on how to save money when cooking for their family. Nonetheless, the recipes served more as a mere template for Spanish women to adopt more cost-saving techniques when cooking, rather than providing actual information on prices or feasibility of dishes.

In general, the prices offered in the women's magazines were not the real costs that Spanish women encountered in their daily grocery shopping trips. Prices fluctuated widely in different regions of Spain and changed on a daily basis. As mentioned in Chapter One, the CAT set the prices of foodstuffs each month for the different regions of Spain. The cost of items could change from one province to another and differed on a monthly basis. For the recipes that

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Cómo por 2 duros comen 4 personas," *VENTANAL*, I (2), April 15 1946, 12.

¹⁹ "Cómo por 2 duros comen 4 personas," 12.; Delegación Provincial de Abastecimientos y Transportes de Madrid. *Memoria del ejercicio 1946* (Madrid: Delegación Provincial de Abastecimientos y Transportes de Madrid, 1947).

included an expected price, the real price of the ingredients was much different for Spanish shoppers living in the city. The amount of fish available in Spain increased 2.5% from 1941 to 1942, and the national price only increased 1.4% during the same time, seemingly making fish more accessible for ordinary women.²⁰ But prices were highly irregular due to middlemen, transportation costs, and opportunism. Lledo Martin, a lawyer and delegate for the Official Ministry of Maritime work, found that fishermen in Vigo were forced to sell their catch for 0,76 pesetas per kilogram, but by the time the fish were transported to the interior cities (such as Madrid) consumers had to pay 3,50 to 4,00 pesetas per kilogram for the fish.²¹ Additionally, three of the recipes required eggs, a product that had quadrupled in price since the end of the civil war in 1939.²² The price of pork products had decreased since the war's end but was still an expensive meat product for women who had few pesetas to buy ingredients. Food prices and availability were irregular throughout Spain and throughout the year.

Because food budgeting was such a challenging task due to price fluctuations in the market, Spanish housewives often sought out the cheapest foods they could find and the best deals. Couponing was one strategy adopted by some women to help remedy the financial worry of providing meals for their families. Municipal governments issued coupons as part of the rationing system, but some vendors incentivized the purchase of their products by publishing and circulating coupons. Franco's system intended to guarantee that women with the coupons were able to secure a specified quantity of a consumer product at a discounted price. For example, women who bought the cookbook, *Cooking for Lent*, received a coupon for a free box of

²⁰ José María Navaz y Sanz, *Pesca marítima: artes de pesca, embarcaciones, pesquerías, industrias para centros de orientación marítima y pesquería* (Madrid: Instituto social de la marina (servicio cultural), 1945), 94.

²¹ José Lledo Martín, *La Pesca nacional* (Madrid: Ediciones Pegaso, 1943), 478.

²² Higinio Paris Eguilaz, *El Movimiento de precios en España: Su importancia para una política de intervención* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943), 85.

seasoning cubes along with seventy-seven recipes that were appropriate for Lenten eating.²³ The women's magazine *Menage* also had different deals and offers for its readers. Subscribers could collect tickets from each edition and redeem them for prizes throughout the year, such as a bottle of liquor or a box of corn starch.²⁴ Such coupons were only available to the middle classes—literate women with expendable income to buy publications—while working class or poor women were overlooked by vendors for their purchasing power. The coupon strategy also required some level of investment—housewives had to buy a product in order to receive a discounted or free product. Likewise, women had to adhere to the terms of the coupon—they were not able to select the discounted or free item for themselves. But some women, who had enough resources for the initial purchase, were able to take advantage of the offer, stretching their household food budget a little further.

Budgeting and couponing are strategies for women in times of economic depression, and the techniques that Spanish women used were similar to the strategies of other women in wartime and postwar societies. But the women of Madrid and Barcelona were in a food crisis that went beyond normal reconstruction challenges, meaning that chronic shortages and food distribution irregularities augmented the challenges that women faced in buying foodstuffs at the markets and stores. The fear of a food crisis created a greater demand for food than the available supply as Spanish housewives hurried to hoard whatever foods they could find and afford. Their concern was warranted: many women were turned away from stores that lacked food inventory to sell, not from lack of money to buy food.²⁵ In other cases, official prices were not always affordable for Spanish families, who perhaps suffered the death or incarceration of the male

²³ Gonzalo Bosch Bierge, *Cocina de vigilia*, (Barcelona: Editorial Hogar, 1940), 58.

²⁴ *Menage* June 1940.

²⁵ "El verdadero problema que sufre el gremio", *La Carne* Año II núm 34: 15 julio 1946, p. 2-3.

heads of household who were needed for their breadwinner wage. Sometimes women were able to buy food at official prices, but other times the cost of a meal was determined by how much a woman was willing to pay for the ingredients. Some foods were available through extra-legal means, and a housewife's connections within her social circle determined the quality and price that she paid for daily food for her family. But even at official prices, creating a meal was difficult due to the additional costs factored into its creation: fuel, appliances, and labor hours.

As an example, Spanish omelet (*tortilla española*) was a traditional dish that was a staple to the Spanish diet across regions and classes, but its preparation cost in Madrid in 1946 at the official price was 11,56 pesetas.²⁶ For a woman, this equated to almost six hours of cleaning work at the official state wages set by the Franco regime. The official prices for the ingredients for the common recipe of tortilla were as follows: eggs had the average regulated price of 20,59 pesetas per kilo, potatoes cost 1,55 pesetas per kilo, onions cost 1 pesetas per kilo, and olive oil cost 5,20 pesetas per kilo.²⁷ This cost assumes that Spanish women were able to secure the ingredients at the official price and were not subject to exploitation by the vendors, and that the vendors had an ample supply of the goods. Autarky made traditional Spanish tortilla unobtainable for many Spanish women. They were forced to cook other dishes, or use alternative recipes for variations of Spanish tortilla that substituted the oil, eggs, potatoes, or onions.²⁸

Often rationed goods sold out quickly, so women were unable to access any of the staple ingredients in the Mediterranean diet. The intent of the price setting was to keep prices low for staple goods so that ordinary Spaniards could afford to eat and food would be evenly accessible

²⁶ Recipe for tortilla española: 6 large eggs, 700g of potatoes, 200g of onions, 500g of oil, salt to taste.

²⁷ Delegación Provincial de Abastecimientos y Transportes de Madrid. *Memoria del ejercicio 1946* (Madrid: Delegación Provincial de Abastecimientos y Transportes de Madrid, 1947).

²⁸ Ignacio Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos (Deseo Mi Comida)* (Barcelona: Publicaciones Selectas de Cocina, 1940), 61-62, 222; Choni, *200 recetas para cocinar sin emplear aceite, tratado de economía doméstica* (La Coruña: Roel, 194-), 11-12.

to all Spaniards.²⁹ But the government's intention to control society through policies often failed within Spain's cities. Miller calculates that in Barcelona, the municipal rationing system only supplied 4.4% of the beans, 16% of the salted cod, and 44.2% of the potatoes consumed in the city.³⁰ The rest of the consumable goods were priced according to what the vendor wanted to charge and what Spanish women were able to negotiate. Unofficial prices, such as goods sold through the unofficial economy or extorted by greedy vendors, made the cost of making a tortilla much more expensive than the official publications indicated.

The price of fuel for cooking a Spanish tortilla varied depending on whether the stove used wood, coal, gas, or electricity. Wood was usually cheaper than coal or gas, and it was the only type of fuel that was predominantly for household use.³¹ In Barcelona in 1943, as an example, the CAT established the price of coal at 60 cents per kilogram to be sold to the public while wood was only 25 cents per kilogram.³² Yet the demand for wood made it in short supply and of varying quality, leading to irregular burn times and cooking temperatures. When there was no wood available, women resorted to burning milk boxes or whatever they could find in order to cook their meals.³³ Wood-burning ovens were popularly known as "affordable ovens" (*cocinas económicas*) because women of lesser means could always find something to burn.³⁴ Some domestic economy manuals provided housewives with instructions to make their own fuel

²⁹ *La Justicia Social en el Nuevo Estado Español*. Zaragoza: El Noticero, 1937, 15.

³⁰ Miller, *Feeding Barcelona, 1714-1975*, 203.

³¹ "Escrito. A: Secretario General de la Junta Superior de Precios, Madrid." Madrid, 19 de octubre de 1942. Por El Director Técnico de Consumo y Racionamiento. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7, 63/09132.

³² "Correspondencia. Madrid, 26 de noviembre de 1943." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7, 63/09132.

³³ "Ref: Información sobre suministro de patatas" Madrid, 17 de octubre de 1939 Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno" Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704

³⁴ María Mestayer de Echague (Marquesa de Parabere), *Enciclopedia culinaria: La cocina completa*. 6 ed. Madrid: Espasa- Calpe, 1949, 13.

logs from posters or scraps of paper.³⁵ A tortilla cooked on an electric stove consumed 310 watts per hour, and the price of electricity varied by month and was dependent on the provider.³⁶ Only more affluent women could afford the new technology of electric stoves as large kitchen appliances were costly investments for the family. For women who struggled to feed their families on a daily basis, the investment in new, cost-saving kitchen technology was still prohibitive. Thus, although many lower-to-middle class women wanted to save money and time with better appliances, they did not have the expendable income to upgrade from their antiquated “affordable ovens”.

To pay for food and other living expenses, women had very few options: to marry someone who could earn a breadwinner wage, or to earn their own wages outside the home. The Franco regime restricted women from many job opportunities. Women were banned from several occupations, leaving only traditionally feminine positions like receptionist, teacher, or nurse as possible career paths.³⁷ Shopkeeper and restaurateur were other job opportunities for women, but these businesses were usually structured as family businesses and were difficult for women to maintain, since they also had responsibilities to care for their families and maintain a home and the cities were in economic ruin.³⁸ Married women had to receive permission from their husbands to work in a paying job. For factory jobs, women could only work as cleaning staff and received a fixed salary of 2 pesetas an hour through the vertical integration of Francoist unions.³⁹ A single or widowed mother working as a cleaning lady would have to work six hours without

³⁵ Domenech, *Cocina de Recursos*, 16-17;

³⁶ *Manual de cocina eléctrica* (Madrid: Asociación para el fomento de aplicaciones de la electricidad, 1941), 35.

³⁷ “Carrera para la Mujer” *Y: Revista Para la Mujer* #44, Septiembre 1941.

³⁸ Angela Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2009), 93.

³⁹ Sindicato Vertical de Cereales, Grupo Nacional de la Panadería. *Reglamento de régimen interior de Fábricas de Pan* (Zaragoza: Jefatura Provincial, 13 febrero 1947), 12.; *Reglamentación nacional del trabajo en la industria de la panadería* (Madrid: Editorial García Enciso, 1946), 11.; Arroyo López-Soro, José, *Reglamentación Nacional del Trabajo en las Industrias del Aceite y sus Derivados* (Madrid: Casa Goni, 1947), 37.

any other expenses in order to afford to cook one Spanish tortilla that served four people. There is no way of knowing how many Spanish women sought work outside the home, but it is estimated that nation-wide, the number of women who gained work permits by completing the Social Service program was about 31,000 a year during the 1940s.⁴⁰ Not all women who completed Social Service worked, but there were also women who worked in family businesses like shops, cafes, and restaurants who did not get official work permits, as well as women who worked in black-market networks or unofficially as domestic help. Wages and prices of the official economy forced women into dependency on the patriarchy of men and the state. Survival and daily life outside the breadwinning wage economy—those women who were widowed from the war or had spouses imprisoned or missing—had near impossible obstacles in food provisioning for themselves or their family.

While the regime limited women's opportunities to earn a living, the Francoist government expected women to work for free as volunteers in public relief projects like orphanages or hospitals. As forced volunteers, women were able to directly engage the political apparatuses available to them for the benefit of their family. Although their work did not pay wages, they formed social connections that increased their access to food and generated an alternative economy through a large network of women providing goods and services under the purview of the state but without always fulfilling its intent. The Women's Section required that all non-married women complete the Social Service program, which entailed three months of coursework (sewing, childcare, cooking, home remedies, religion, and FET-JONS ideology)

⁴⁰ Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 96.

followed by three months of volunteer work.⁴¹ In effect, women were subjected to six months of lost income and removal from contributing to the family economy.

Some women used the obligatory service to their country to seek compensation, often exploiting their assignment to work in the community kitchens, hospitals, or orphanages to better themselves, their family, or social network.⁴² Several inspectors reported that many of the “volunteers” were causing significant loss of food inventory through mismanagement. Inspector Pablo P. Velasquez reported of one community kitchen, “Everything is in a jumble in this kitchen, and the volunteers from the Social Service take advantage of these moments to act contrary to our mission. They are currently giving more bread to those in line than is officially allocated.”⁴³ One inspector reported from a different location that a woman would give a busboy and two women twenty-one bread rolls a day from the institution’s supply.⁴⁴ The same woman would also steal a few spoonfuls of sugar from the pantry for her personal use. Both cases exemplify small ways that women worked within the Francoist state-apparatus to feed themselves and their social network. These acts “contrary to the mission” of the Social Service were an important part of food provisioning process for some Spanish women. Those who worked in the kitchen not only used their access to the state’s food supply for their own benefit but also could help those within their social network. Volunteers in the program sometimes acted in direct subversion to Francoist institutions and ideologies, but their acts also reinforced the

⁴¹ Aurora G. Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 32.

⁴² "Cocina de Hermandad 3, Calle Ex-Presos, 6; Lope Silva 6 (Distrito Latina, Madrid)" 18 noviembre de 1939. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

⁴³ "Cocina de Hermandad 2, Calle Aguila 22 (Distrito Latina) Madrid; 22 noviembre de 1939 (Año de Victoria)". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

⁴⁴ "Ref Comedor Infantil 1, Calle Silva 6 (zona 2 centro) Madrid, 30 abril 1940" Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.

traditional gendered role of women in charity and meal acquisition. The workings of the housewife economy were to help themselves and others around them when possible.

Another strategy that some working-class women used was to syphon supplies from the pantry of the families who employed them. Just as some Spanish women were able to exploit their volunteer status to gain access to the state kitchens in order to receive their work permit, some women were able to keep helping themselves to the resources of those in power once they were employed in domestic labor. While there is little evidence to show the extent to which domestic help was able to steal food from their employers, the fact that women's magazines provided tips and tricks to keep the help from helping themselves to the family's food supply indicate that it was not uncommon. One tip jokingly suggested covering the sugar bowl not to keep out flies, but the hands of the domestic servant who would eat the sugar.⁴⁵ Another recommended that if a housewife suspected the domestic servant was drinking the family's wine, she should clean out the bottle and replace it with garlic water to trick the servant into drinking garlic.⁴⁶ While the public historical records do not reveal if any housewives actually tried these suggestions, or if any of the tricks worked, the magazine's article would suggest that stealing food was one strategy of working class women to acquire food.

Money and food were in short supply in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, so Spanish housewives strategized ways to secure as much food as possible during the early dictatorship. It was essential for women to maintain an inventory of the food they had and what they needed when they went on shopping trips because there was little economic freedom for excess. Many women began couponing to save money, while others invested in cost-saving appliances. Both of these strategies required capital that ranged from a few pesetas to buy a

⁴⁵ "Manera de averiguar si la criada se come el azúcar" *Medina* 9 Septiembre 1945, 13.

⁴⁶ "Averiguar si una criada se bebe el vino" *Medina* 9 Septiembre 1945, 13.

magazine or cookbook full of coupons to several hundreds to buy a new stove. For those without resources to purchase coupon-filled literature or energy-efficient appliances, they turned to their social networks to receive extra food from charity services or food vendors. Some women resorted to outright theft and black marketeering to secure food, while many others sought work outside the home to try and cover living expenses. Whether the Spanish women worked, volunteered, or managed a household, all suffered from limited access to money and risked being unable to pay for food for themselves or their families. Nonetheless, Spanish women created their own economies in which food was central, and their spending patterns during the hunger years helped to shape the larger economic activity of the early Franco dictatorship.

The Schedule of the Housewife

In the January 1941 issue of *Y: Revista para la mujer*, a publication of the Women's Section, issued the following schedule as a recommendation for how Spanish women should organize their time for housekeeping:

- 7am: Open the blinds, prepare breakfast. Set the table and serve.
- 8am: Clean the family's shoes. Never remove the reinforcement metal.
- 9am: Polish the glassware. Begin to cook lunch. Clean up breakfast.
- 10am: Clean the house. Clean one room thoroughly each day.
- 12pm: Finish cooking lunch. Set the table. Dress to serve the meal.
- 1:30pm: Appropriate time for serving lunch.
- 3pm: Clean off the table. Sweep. Put up the dishes.
- 4pm: Do the important works for each day of the week (explained in a weekly schedule for the housewife)⁴⁷ and budget for more or less time as needed.
- 5pm: Prepare a snack for the kids.
- 7pm: Prepare dinner. Close the fireplace.

⁴⁷ The weekly schedule is as summarized: Monday: brush and iron suits, Tuesday: wash laundry, Wednesday: enjoy leisure time, Thursday: sew, Friday: polish the gold and silver, Saturday: clean the mirrors and crystal.

9pm: Prepare the beds. Set the table.

10pm: Clean up dinner. Find a stopping place for your work. It is time to rest.⁴⁸

As this article reveals, Spanish housewives' lives were prescribed by the Franco regime to be centered upon food. The schedule recommended that two hours were to be dedicated to the preparation, consumption, and clearing of breakfast. The same hour that the housewife is cleaning the dishes from breakfast, she should begin to cook lunch: there is no break between these meals for the busy housewife. Two hours are allocated to cooking lunch while consumption time is less than the preparation time: one and a half hours. Children should receive a snack at 5pm and two hours should be allocated to the preparation of dinner. Food was central to the waking hours of the Spanish housewife schedule, and in the 1940s, Francoist food policies reinforced women's preoccupation with providing food for the family.

But as much as this schedule seems centered on food, it lacks the most essential component of food provisioning—time allocated for food acquisition. The guide suggested that women should never leave the house during the entire day and only implies a brief escape from the duties of private life between 4pm and 5pm. When did women go to the market or charity relief centers to secure food for their family? Women walked, rode bicycles, or took the electric trams to separate local stores to buy meat, eggs, dry goods, fruits and vegetables, bread, and dairy products. In the food shortages endemic to Spain's postwar society, ration lines sometimes were several blocks long, and women often had to wait in line for three to four hours. The more Spanish cities lacked food or regular distribution of household necessities, the more time women consumed to acquire the food necessary to feed their families. How could women dedicate several hours to standing in ration lines or store lines, yet also spend several hours in the home cooking, and several hours serving food to their families and then cleaning up? How could

⁴⁸ "Calendario del ama de casa, 1941," *Y: Revista Para la Mujer*, enero 1941, 40.

women perform other forms of work, such as paid work or raising children, if they had to dedicate so many hours to food provisioning?

Many time-saving strategies would be developed for housewives during the mid-twentieth century, but many of these perks were not available to Spanish women during the hunger years. Grocery stores came to Spain during the 1950s, around the time that Spanish cities were starting to recover from the hunger years.⁴⁹ Along with grocery stores came self-service food shops, but these were not a luxury for the women of the 1940s. Pressure cookers and hand mixers were technologies to help save time in the kitchen, but would not become common in Spain until the 1960s.⁵⁰ When Spanish women followed a recipe that called for stiffened egg whites, the egg-beating was done by hand. Spanish housewives knew nothing of the time-saving techniques that would await the next generation, so they coped with the hunger years as best as they could. Ads in women's magazines did not provide technological time-saving tools to their readers.

This section explores the relationship between food and time for Spanish women. As the aforementioned article suggests, the daily duties of Spanish housewives differed greatly from wage-earning men who worked according to a factory clock or ran a business with specific daily hours of operation. Women had a different understanding of time, not determined by a clock to punch or the shift assigned by a foreman, but by the minutes needed to boil water, the hours it took to go to the market, or the days it took to preserve fresh vegetables in jars. "Food time" can fit into three main categories: food acquisition, cooking, and eating. Of these tasks, food acquisition consumed the most time during the day. From these divisions of time, one can

⁴⁹ J. Carles Maixe Altes, "La modernización de la distribución alimentaria en España, 1947-1995," in *Revista de Historia Industrial*, núm 41 (año XVIII) January 2009, 132.

⁵⁰ Matthew J. Wild, "Eating Spain: National Cuisine Since 1900" (Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2015), 103. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1031&context=hispanic_etds.

reconstruct the daily life of women in terms of their duties in providing food for their families and maintaining a home.

The scarcity of food within Spanish cities made it much harder for women to acquire food, and it took longer for women to gather the ingredients necessary for daily meals for their families. The geography of available food within the city changed hourly, as some distributors ran out quickly or only opened their stores for a limited number of hours a day. For women who needed to work to support their families, their access to food was greatly reduced due to their limited time availability to acquire food, which thus retarded the meal times for their families. Working-class women were not able to begin to prepare the food until they arrived home. Irregular public transportation or occasional security stops within the city threatened to delay meal time even longer.

Once the food and the housewife arrived at home, Spanish women changed from food acquisition time to cooking time. Cooking time varied greatly due to the intended menu, quality of ingredients, and technologies available in the kitchen. Techniques such as frying could prepare a meal in very little time, while stewing could take several hours. The overall decline in quality of ingredients made available to housewives generally increased cooking time. Dirty potatoes took longer to wash and peel, tough meats needed several hours of slow-cooking to soften the tissues, and poor-quality fish needed to be double-fried.

Cooking time in Spain was not yet governed by the industrial rhythms analyzed by E.P. Thompson in the case of British urban classes. Thompson chronicles the transition from pre-modern time dependent on seasons to the mechanization of time in factories to accommodate the rise of capitalism.⁵¹ Historian Sara Pennell has applied the development of mechanized time to

⁵¹ E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, no. 38, December 1967.

the history of housekeeping and cooking in Britain. The incorporation of clocks and mechanized time became incorporated into many urban middle class homes and the wall clock became a central aspect of the modern British kitchen.⁵² While Spain had a domestic economy movement, mechanized time was less essential to its domestic economy manuals than other countries (especially capitalistic societies), and there is very little photographic evidence that show wall clocks in Spanish kitchens to the extent that they are featured in domestic manuals from other European countries. Perhaps the absence of clocks from private and public kitchens reflects a reliance on traditional cooking practices, and the strict anti-capitalism ideology of the Franco regime did not particularly encourage their use. In the community kitchens run by the regime, the policy listed the clock as being in the dining room, not in the kitchen.⁵³ Even in the ideology of Francoism, clocks governed the public sphere (dining room) but had no place in the feminine sphere (the kitchen). Instead, Spanish housewives relied heavily on process-driven timing, meaning that recipe instructions were largely determined by task completion rather than by minutes or hours. While the public sphere measured time in minutes, hours, and seconds as a consequence of industrialization and urbanization, the Spanish home maintained many of its traditional aspects of cooking and measuring time.

Some Spanish recipe publications from the period include cooking times in a similar style to other European cookery books, but the overwhelming majority of recipes measured time in terms of the preparation of the ingredients. When minutes or hours were listed on the recipe, they were more guidelines or estimates than the actual time it took to cook the recipe. The cookbook series “Biblioteca ama de casa” by Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer included within its series the

⁵² Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850*, (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2016), 97.

⁵³ "Inventario General de la Institución: comedor universitario del SEU" Calle Beneficencia, 8 Madrid. 2 Julio 1944." Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1660.

book, *125 Mejores maneras de preparar una comida en 30 minutos*. It is one of the few cookbooks published during the postwar that commodified time in minutes and sought to save time the same way a housewife would save pesetas. Bernard writes, “It’s with these verifiable conveniences that you all can prepare from time to time a meal in just a few minutes. Found here are recipes for soups, eggs, meats, vegetables, and desserts, that can be prepared in less than 30 minutes.”⁵⁴ These recipes had the potential to greatly help urban women who lacked the time necessary to prepare traditional Spanish meals. The benefits of quantifying time were significant, but only if women utilized a kitchen clock. The majority of Spanish women did not know how long their recipes took to prepare. The meal was ready when all of the preparation tasks were complete, and the mechanized clock did not supersede women’s own sense of time.

Still, there were many variables in cooking times that women faced in their daily lives. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, chronic shortages of fuel—either wood, gas, or electric stoves—greatly affected how long dishes took to prepare. When there was little fuel available, food had to be cooked quickly, so frying was an ideal choice.⁵⁵ Frying and double frying were also popular when only low-quality ingredients were available, such as smaller cuts of fish or less fresh cuts of meat as it helped to hide the taste.⁵⁶ The downside was that this technique required lots of cooking oil, and olive oil was sometimes scarce in Spanish cities, especially Madrid. What frying saved in cooking time, it cost in oil. Women had to balance the cost of utilities, appliances, and cooking methods to determine the most affordable way to prepare meals for their families.

⁵⁴ Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer, *125 Mejores maneras de preparar una comida en 30 minutos* (Barcelona: Editorial Molino, 194-), 7.

⁵⁵ *Manual de cocina eléctrica* (Madrid: Asociación para el fomento de aplicaciones de la electricidad, 1941), 11.

⁵⁶ Centro Diabéticos Martínez Campos, 36. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1664 BIS.

Soups and stews had been a staple of Spanish cuisine for centuries, and this was true in the postwar as well.⁵⁷ These dishes helped to divide ingredients that were in short supply among all the family members. Soups and stews made use of bones and lesser cuts of meat that could save women money when cooking meals. But this style of food preparation took a long time to prepare, especially if the cuts of meat were tough and needed extra time to soften over low heat. This extra time raised the cost in gas, wood, or electric fuel, and often no fuel was available for such a lengthy meal preparation.⁵⁸ Although meat was scarcely available in many urban households, Spanish housewives could adopt strategies for meats that cooked quickly. Two kilos of fresh pork would take two hours to cook, while 2.5kg of fresh beef could cook in only 90 minutes.⁵⁹ Fowl and game cooked quickly, with only 30 minutes needed to cook a small duck or quail. Pheasant and rabbit cooked in 45 minutes.⁶⁰ Game was another cost-saving food because it could sometimes be secured through a hunting trip to the countryside. Wildlife such as peacocks, ducks, cats, and dogs went missing from Madrid's public spaces during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath, sometimes ending up in a family's soup pot.⁶¹ Fuel and food scarcity changed the Spanish diet in that even traditionally modest dishes were cost-prohibitive for some Spanish families.

Madrid's municipal butcher confirmed the shift to fast-cooking meat among Spanish housewives in the 1940s. However, he did not acknowledge the fuel shortage as the culprit in the shift to quick-cooking meats. Rather, he blamed the trend on women's emancipation. He wrote,

⁵⁷ Isabel González Turmo, *200 Años de Cocina: Historia y Antropología de la Alimentación* (Madrid: Cultiva Libros, 2013), 103.

⁵⁸ "Ref Instituciones Zona 4" Madrid, 4 de marzo de 1940- Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración, fondo Auxilio Social. Caja 3 (122) 1704.

⁵⁹ Alberto León, *La cocina clásica española*, (Ciudad Lineal- Madrid: Editorial Estudio, 1941?), 39-40.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹ Carmen Gutiérrez Rueda and Laura Gutiérrez Rueda, *El Hambre en el Madrid de la Guerra Civil, 1936-1939* (Madrid: Ediciones La Librería, 2003), 111-112.

"Without getting too deep in the events that led to the emancipation of women, the phenomenon has resulted in women's incompatibility with the home. The emancipated woman who works in commerce or industry devotes very little time to cooking. Their meals have to be prepared quickly, so more women are choosing fillets that roast fast... The trends for modern women have consequences for the butchery trade. Top quality meats, which are suitable for roasts, are in high demand while the lesser quality meats, those used for stewing, are in low demand and occasionally do not even have a regulated sale price. The butcher in this economy has been forced to sell cheaper cuts of meat to industrial processors. Meat packing plants now perform the duty that housewives used to do."⁶²

The municipal butcher blames changes in meat processing to women's incorporation into the workforce, a trend that began in the early twentieth century and continued into the Second Republic.⁶³ While there is no way to know how long it took every woman to cook on a daily basis, the records of food supply by the Madrid butcher suggested that the amount of time that women spent cooking decreased in the 1940s. Whereas the butcher suggested that this was because more women worked outside the home, it is safe to assume that he made his assumption based on his observations at the time, and that would suggest that Spanish women in the 1940s largely ignored the recommended daily schedule provided by the Women's Section, which prescribed that women spend most of their day cooking in the home.

Fuel shortages might have also contributed to the truncation of cooking times for many Spanish families in the 1940s. Wood was the most common fuel used for stoves, but in the aftermath of the civil war, more and more Spaniards were converting wood into fuel for cars. Falangist leaders of the time considered the use of wood or other solid fuels as a form of "energy revolution" that was happening in Spain.⁶⁴ Unfortunately for many housewives, the process for

⁶² Carlos Sanz Egaña, *La carne como alimento*, (Madrid: Ediciones Pegaso, 1944), 289.

⁶³ Mary Nash, "Un/Contested Identities: Motherhood, Sex Reform, and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain" in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. Pamela Radcliff (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 32.

⁶⁴ "Escrito. A: Secretario General de la Junta Superior de Precios, Madrid." Madrid, 19 de octubre de 1942. Por El Director Técnico de Consumo y Racionamiento. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Comisaría General de Abastecimientos y Transportes, Caja CAT (11)7, 63/09132.

making “vegetable charcoal” to power tractors, trains, and automobiles of the 1940s required five parts firewood to make one lump of charcoal.⁶⁵ Lesser quality wood was allocated for domestic use, and although the government made it reasonably priced, the poor quality led to fast burn times and necessitated more wood for the stove. For many Spanish housewives, shorter cooking times not only saved time, but also fuel costs.

Another time- and cost-saving strategy for Spanish housewives in the post-civil war involved no cooking at all. Cold-served meals, dishes that required no heating, fuel, or cooking time at all, grew in popularity among Spanish housewives in the aftermath of the civil war. Cold-served meals were encouraged by the regime through the CAT and the Women’s Section, and reinforced through other cookbooks and domestic manuals of the time. In one article, the CAT recommended that household cooking time should not exceed fifteen minutes to save on fuel and fuel costs.⁶⁶ The article was followed by several suggestions for cold-served meals, including deviled eggs and sweet potato lunch meat.⁶⁷ While the article stressed the usefulness of not cooking a dish, it is important to note that both of these recipes still require some cooking—boiling the eggs and frying the sweet potato respectively. Nonetheless, the time-saving benefits of cold-served meals were echoed in the cookbook series by Bernard de Ferrer with the edition entitled, *Platos Fríos: Las 125 Mejores recetas para prepararlas* that included recipes such as cauliflower salad, ham butter, and royal asparagus.⁶⁸ The cold-served dishes still required extensive preparation—vegetables needed to be chopped or sauces stirred—but Spanish housewives still saved significant time by not heating a stove or oven.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ "Economía Doméstica" por Porrusalda. *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 4. 15 febrero 1942, 21.

⁶⁷ "Menús para las cenas frías". *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 4. 15 febrero 1942, 21.

⁶⁸ Genoveva Bernard de Ferrer, *Platos Fríos: Las 125 Mejores recetas para prepararlos*. Barcelona: Editorial Molino, 1946), 4.

Other cold meals that were available for women to serve to their families were preserves. Canned vegetables, cured meats, or cheeses could be served on bread or eaten by themselves to help feed the household. These goods had added benefit in that they had a long shelf life to help sustain a family through times of provisioning irregularity. Nonetheless, these foods had several drawbacks. First and foremost was cost. Especially in the case of the animal products, preserved foods were expensive, scarce, and in high demand. Often vendors could demand the highest price for the goods because of their advantages of shelf life and no fuel costs. Even in the case of vegetables, the canning process added additional processing, which carried an additional expense. The additional packaging through jars or tins added to the cost, because glass and aluminum were as scarce, if not more, than foods packaged in them at the time. Second, these processed goods lost many of their nutritional benefits when they underwent the preservation process. As the CAT warned Spanish women, “Cold dinners, along with the advantage of saving money on fuel, offer Spanish women less hassle in preparing dinner. However if these meals are relied on too heavily, especially those of deli meats or preserves, begin to be monotonous, and worse unhealthy.”⁶⁹ As many contemporary nutritionists agreed, preserved foods were one of the less nutritious and most dangerous foods that Spaniards could eat, correlating their overconsumption to infirmities such as gout or cancer.⁷⁰ But there were few other options for the Spanish women who were unable to heat their ovens. Cured meats and cheese, or canned fruits and vegetables, would be staples of Spanish meals despite their health risks.

Overall, the Spanish diet in the aftermath of the civil war changed to reflect the time it took for a housewife to cook a meal. Prices were not the only concern that housewives had when they bought food for their family. The length of time needed to prepare or cook foods greatly

⁶⁹ Porrusalda, “Economía Doméstica” in *Alimentación Nacional*. Año II núm 4. 15 febrero 1942, p. 21.

⁷⁰ Joaquín García Roca, *La Alimentación Natural del Hombre* (Barcelona: Editorial Sanatorium, 1949), 14.

influenced the meals that Spanish women prepared for their families. The amount of time that it took dried beans to soak, fowl to be plucked and dressed, or potatoes to be washed and peeled were all factors that contributed to how women spent their time in the kitchen and how they planned meals for their families. Cooking style and fuel costs were additional considerations that women had when planning their meals. On a daily basis, cooking time was watched, shortened, or averted to accommodate all of the other demands on a Spanish housewife's time. Likewise, the time needed to cook and prepare a meal created a diversity of techniques and meals that differed greatly from one home to another. Far from creating a uniform experience for women, cooking strategies further diversified women's activities in the kitchen and the meals that they cooked for their families on a daily basis.

Following the schedule of the Spanish housewife of the 1940s, after shopping time and cooking time came eating time, an event that incorporated the entire family around the table. Food scholar Xavier Medina notes that it was during the Franco dictatorship that Spaniards adopted the custom of late meals.⁷¹ As one cookbook author recounted, "When I was a girl, we used to eat lunch at twelve and dinner at six-thirty. Now, we eat lunch very late and dinner very late."⁷² Food took longer to acquire due to the problem of scarcity, so Spaniards grew accustomed to eating past two in the afternoon or past ten in the evening. The increased time that women had to spend waiting in ration lines, searching the markets for food items, strategizing a meal and preparing it had an impact on when eating was able to occur. The historical record demonstrates that ordinary eating time was in transition in the 1940s.

Eating times largely depended on the work schedule of the family. In rural areas when men went to work early and worked directly with agriculture, meals were determined by the

⁷¹ Xavier F. Medina, *Food Culture in Spain* (Westpoint, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2010), 27.

⁷² Mestayer de Echagüe, María. *Historia de la Gastronomía (esbozos)* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1943), 54.

production of the land and the farming schedule of the day.⁷³ Eating times in the city were quite different, especially during periods of food crisis, such as in the aftermath of the civil war. Many family members tried to work close to their homes, but with the shortage of employment, many had to seek work further from their house. Getting around the city was difficult due to the devastation to roads from the war, the shortage of gas for vehicles, and the added security stops and interrogations by municipal police. Meals in the city became more irregular and eating became dependent on when food was available rather than the work schedule outside the home.

The Franco regime tried to further regulate meal times for those who consumed meals independently of the state's provisioning to maintain control over eating. The state intervened in the operation of restaurants to control when businesses in the food service industry could serve breakfast, lunch, and dinner to hungry visitors to their establishments. The Official Decree of November 18, 1940 stated the following restrictions for hotels and dining establishments, "It is prohibited to serve lunch later than 14:30 and dinners after 21:30; and all classes of food and drinks are prohibited from being served after one in the morning."⁷⁴ This regulation was almost never followed according to the records of the dining facilities of Social Aid, nor by restaurants or households in the existing archival sources.

Nutritionists and home economists agreed with state bureaucrats that Spaniards needed to eat dinner at a regular hour and much earlier than what was occurring within the city. Dr. Andrius Vander, a nutritionist who lived in Barcelona, recommended that Spaniards wake up around seven or eight and eat a light snack, followed by a breakfast at ten. Lunch should be served midday with a snack around four or five in the afternoon, ending with a light dinner

⁷³ Sancho Nieves de Hoyos, "Comidas profesionales: labradores y pastores," *Revista de estudios políticos*, 37 (11), Madrid 1951, 117-129.

⁷⁴ Tomas Espuny Gómez, *Legislación de abastos: Exposición metódica de las principales disposiciones vigentes* (Tarragona: Imprenta de Jose Pijoan, 1942), 376.

around eight or nine in the evening.⁷⁵ But the prescribed dinner time by no means reflected the daily experiences of Spanish women and their families. A saying of the time recounted, “the best time to eat is when you are hungry,”⁷⁶ but this was not always the case during the hunger years. Urban Spaniards often worked outside the home and were subject to poor public transportation, police checkpoint delays, and lengthy commutes to acquire food. Meal times were pushed back to accommodate the busy schedule of Spanish women who had to work outside the home and stand in ration lines for many hours. Despite the efforts of the regime, medical experts, and restaurateurs to regulate Spanish meals, the reality of the post-civil war reconstruction in Spanish cities meant that many families ate when food was available.

The final time consideration for Spanish housewives was digestion time. Digestion determined how long family members would feel full after eating a meal, and when they would begin to hunger for more food. Digestion time was the longest for meats such as cooked beef or pork,⁷⁷ but these were not eaten often among working class families due to the scarcity of affordable meats. Instead, working-class families ate other foods such as cooked potatoes or tomatoes that had a digestion time of two hours,⁷⁸ moving quickly through their digestive system and leading to possible hunger faster. For those dependent on meals from Social Aid, a common meal served to impoverished Spaniards consisted of rice with green beans or rice with tomatoes,⁷⁹ and these dishes would only take one to two hours to digest,⁸⁰ leaving a gap of hunger between when lunch and dinner was available from the charity hunger. A consideration

⁷⁵ Andrius Vander, *Cocina vegetariana racional y enseñanza de una alimentación sana*, (Barcelona: Librería Sintés, 1941), 15.

⁷⁶ “La mejor hora de comer es cuando hay hambre” in Antonio Castillo de Lucas, *Refranerillo de la alimentación: Divulgación de higiene de la misma, a través de los refranes y dichos populares*, (Madrid: Graficas reunidas, 1940), 17.

⁷⁷ Alberto León, *La Cocina clásica española* (Ciudad Lineal- Madrid: Editorial Estudio, 1941?), 29-31.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ “Cocinas de Hermandad” Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 75/25494, carpeta 22.

⁸⁰ León, *La Cocina clásica*, 29-31

for digestion time demonstrates that even if Spanish families ate their daily meals, they could still be plagued by hunger.

But the social pressure to maintain the ideal Spanish home was very real, even if it was impractical for most women of the time. The *Enciclopedia Elemental*, the textbook assigned to students in the Women's Sections classes during the 1940s, claimed that "a good housewife spends the majority of her day in the kitchen, preparing meals and taking care of the crystal..."⁸¹ Women were taught from an early age the respectability required to be a good Spanish housewife, and that required them to spend their day in the kitchen. Some Spanish women failed to meet the social expectations to which they were raised. Others had to sacrifice their social status in order to acquire food. While the time spent out of the house acquiring food was a form of non-conformity to the top-down cultural and social impositions of the Franco regime directed towards Spanish women, it was a form of non-conformity that many would have gladly surrendered in exchange for better food security and more time with their families.

Although it was the intent of Francoism to regulate women's time and their daily routine, women lived in the circumstances available to them in the Spanish cities of the 1940s. Food acquisition took significant time, despite the Women's Section's omission of the task in its ideal schedule and despite the regulation imposed by municipalities on the hours of operation of food purveyors. Shopping required a lot of time because women walked or took public transportation to nearby shops or community kitchens. Waiting in line became an integral part of the Spanish woman's day. Once the food was brought home, cooking took place in the home and was therefore fairly autonomous from Francoist intervention, except that policies and circumstances directly affected how women cooked. Fuel shortages as a consequence of autarky placed heavy

⁸¹ Sección Femenina, *Enciclopedia Elemental*, (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1946), 461.

burdens on women to cook food according to the amount of material that they had on hand. Some techniques, such as frying, were impossible if a family did not have enough oil rations to adequately cook a meal. Lastly, eating times were a topic of contention between women and their families and the authorities who tried to regulate when Spanish families ate their meals. Regardless of the rules intended to force Spaniards to eat at regulated times, the same policies caused food crises in Spain's cities and contributed to greater irregularity in food consumption. The Franco regime generated many policies in an effort to regulate home life, including cooking and eating, but the policies and dictator were far from having control over the Spanish home and private life.

The Public and Private Spaces of Housewifery

Along with time, an investigation of everyday life also requires consideration of the space in which ordinary life was practiced. Historian Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru asserts that the space in which everyday life is practiced is limitless, removing the boundaries created by the theory of the public-private dichotomy.⁸² Everyday space transcends cultural space and the concept of “separate spheres.”⁸³ Women moved through designated public and private spaces as free agents on a daily basis, regardless of the cultural designation of places as “feminine” or “masculine” through gender constructions. The public sphere was gendered as masculine and political, and the private sphere was gendered as feminine and apolitical. Thus, Francoism intervened in the

⁸² Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Introducción a la historia de la vida cotidiana* (México DF: Colegio de México, 2006).

⁸³ For more on gender divisions within the culture propagated by the Franco regime, see Aurora Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain* (DeKalb, Ill: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000), 6.

cultural construction of separate spheres for Spaniards, but in the realm of daily practice the state was limited in its control of private life.

A new food landscape emerged at the end of the Civil War and the geographies of food provisioning became *de facto* female as women generally accepted their role as food providers for their families. As the location of food evolved, pushing women to travel further into men's domain of public life through food policy, women claimed the spaces despite Francoist ideology that emphasized women's place was in the home. Within the duties assigned to women through Francoism, women moved throughout public and private spaces.

In this section, I provide a snapshot of feminine spaces and how women transcended the cultural divide between public-private and masculine-feminine spaces through their use of the geographies of food provisioning. My analysis begins with the most quintessential of feminine spaces, the family kitchen. In this place, Francoism carefully prescribed women's actions, attitudes, dress, and decoration as part of the extreme interventionism of the dictatorship. But from the kitchen, women had access to a larger network of places, which at times blurred the line between masculine and feminine. Within the practice of daily life, women traveled to community kitchens, markets, food stores, and dining establishments—occasionally outnumbering the men roaming the streets. Often, women spent more time outside the home than inside the home, due to their obligations to secure food for the family and the existence of multiple food shortages throughout the urban landscape of Spanish postwar cities. The gendering of place was much more fluid in Spain's postwar cities than the cultural ideology of the regime would seem, giving new meaning to the characteristics of women's space during the hunger years.

The cultural ideal of the family kitchen propagated by Francoism largely came from the education programs of the Women's Section, and their instruction for proper kitchen

management came from the domestic economy movement that reached its height in Spain in the early twentieth century.⁸⁴ As part of the objective of the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War, the Franco regime wanted women to return to this previous system of *angel del hogar* (angel of the hearth) that had lost some popularity among women during the Second Republic in favor of the “modern” new woman who took an interest in politics and public life.⁸⁵ The Franco regime aligned with several female-led conservative campaigns to return women to the home and to their duties as wives and mothers.⁸⁶ Many women were happy to follow the gender roles outlined by their Catholic faith and dedicated their lives to providing a nurturing home to their families as housewives and mothers. But correlation in practices between the domestic economy movement, conservative organizations, and the norms imposed by the Francoist state do not imply causality or allegiance. Women could choose to dedicate their time and efforts to housewifery for their families, or for their religion, or for the FET-JONS, but that does not necessarily mean that they did it for Franco. The ideas of popular home economists were celebrated by the regime while the Women’s Section utilized their networks of famous home economist authors to further disseminate the views of the state. But a closer look at the detailed writing of the kitchen—and especially existing records of kitchen use—reveal aspects of non-conformity in how women constructed and utilized their kitchen, not by the terms prescribed by the regime or the FET-JONS, but by their own personal preferences or familial needs.

⁸⁴ Enrique Perdiguer-Gil and Ramón Castejón-Bolea, “Popularising right food and feeding practices in Spain (1847-1950). The handbooks of domestic economy,” *Dynamis*, 30, (2010): 141-165.

⁸⁵ Mary Nash, “Un/Contested Identities: Motherhood, Sex Reform, and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain” in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. Pamela Radcliff (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 30.

⁸⁶ Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, “Tenemos las armas de nuestra fe y de nuestro amor y patriotismo; pero nos falta algo. La Acción Católica de la mujer y participación política en la España del primer tercio del siglo XX.” *Historia Social* 44 (2002): 3-20.

Unfortunately, there is very little evidence that reveal actual functioning kitchens, but women's magazines and domestic economy manuals reveal aspects of the ideal home that was promoted by the press. Personal photographs⁸⁷ and depictions of the kitchens in home décor magazines help to provide evidence of what middle- and upper-class women wanted their kitchens to look like, or how they attempted to stage their homes to emulate interior design trends of the time. The Women's Section dedicated significant instruction to women regarding how to utilize their kitchen space. As Kathleen Richmond notes, the leaders of the Women's Section communicated their upper middle class expectations of domesticity to the women who participated in the Social Service program.⁸⁸ Yet, the sheer volume of publications that the Women's Section produced regarding proper maintenance and decoration of the kitchen helps to provide some clues about how an average working class kitchen might have looked in the wake of the Spanish Civil War. Although the Women's Section largely promoted an elite idealized kitchen for the Spanish home, their writings provide some indication of the material circumstances from which their pupils came.

In the post-civil war kitchen, light and ventilation were of the utmost importance. Spanish women were instructed to orient their kitchens to the north,⁸⁹ so that kitchens would stay cool despite the heat from the oven. Light came predominantly from windows that were clean, but a housewife could increase light in her kitchen by using light colors for the furniture and walls.⁹⁰ The domestic economy textbook, *Enciclopedia elemental*, instructed its readers: "The walls should be white-washed with chalk or oil-based paint using light colors. But the best option is to

⁸⁷ Great efforts have been made to collect personal photographs that provide greater insight to the history of ordinary Spaniards in Madrid through the project, *Memoria de Madrid*, <http://www.memoriademadrid.es>.

⁸⁸ Richmond, *Women and Spanish Fascism*, 102.

⁸⁹ Sección Femenina, *Enciclopedia Elemental*, 461.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 461.

renovate the walls with white tiles to a certain height.”⁹¹ The manual provided its readers with three types of walls that were seen as appropriate options for decorating the kitchen, presented in order from cheapest to most expensive. The *Enciclopedia* highlights the most expensive option—tiling the kitchen walls—as the best option, but it also provided two additional, more affordable options for women who did not have the resources or labor to tile their kitchen walls.

While these suggestions are largely aesthetic, they also correspond with the values transmitted through the hygiene movement of the early twentieth century. Instruction in domestic economy gained popularity in Spain in the 1850s and was taught in the girls’ curricula in both religious and secular schools from the Second Republic through the Franco dictatorship.⁹² Publications that reinforced the gender ideology of Francoism were not necessarily a form of support to the regime but a continuation of how women had practiced everyday life for almost a century. Home management was passed down from mothers or other maternal role models as much as it was created by new writers of the time through magazines, textbooks, and recipe collections. Yet, the cultural imposition of Francoism in the home was the way the state aimed to replace the role of family traditions in the transfer of knowledge from one generation to another. Through the repression and surveillance of the Franco regime, domestic economy was not to pass from mother to daughter, but from the Francoist state to the home via the Women’s Section.

Other aspects of the Francoist kitchen addressed food safety and preservation methods. The textbook refers to a *fresquera*, or a compartment to maintain the freshness of food as an essential part of the home.⁹³ Although refrigeration and freezing were technologies common in the West in the 1940s, they were far from common in the average home. Many Spanish families

⁹¹ Ibid., 461.

⁹² Enrique Perdiguero-Gil and Ramón Castejón-Bolea, “Popularising right food and feeding practices in Spain (1847-1950). The handbooks of domestic economy,” *Dynamis*, 30, (2010): 141-165.

⁹³ Sección Femenina, *Enciclopedia Elemental*, 461.

could not afford freezers or refrigerators to keep foodstuffs fresh, and there was little food available to preserve anyway. Foods would last a few days in a *fresquera*, but it was necessary that Spanish women journey to the market often. The use of a *fresquera* also elucidates the reliance on traditional preservation practices for foods—canning, drying, salting—instead of newer technologies and techniques that were becoming popular with consumers in Europe in the 1940s. But that is not to say that urban Spanish homes were devoid of all modern conveniences. The textbook assumes that all, if not most, homes have a sink with a plumbing system to remove the water waste.⁹⁴ It also assumes that many women might not know the name of the appliance, so the book is careful to define the sink as “the place where dishes, utensils, pots, and pans are washed.”⁹⁵ Similar to the walls, the *Enciclopedia* admitted that sinks made from marble, zinc, or artificial material have a very pretty look to them, but can be expensive.⁹⁶ It stressed that the cleanliness was more important than looks, and that any woman could manage to have a beautiful sink as long as she cleaned the grime out frequently and removed foul odors.

The pantry, and control of the pantry, was a topic of great concern in the domestic manuals. The organization understood that many households did not have a separate area for a pantry, so it solved this problem by suggesting a simple cabinet for keeping food stored. It recommended that the pantry or food storage area be in a cool place, so that food would stay cool and dry there for months. While not encouraging hoarding (as there were strict limits on what Spaniards were able to keep in the home),⁹⁷ it did see the need for women to store foodstuffs when there was a surplus of key ingredients. Many publications of the time provided tips and

⁹⁴ Ibid., 461.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 465.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 465.

⁹⁷ "¿Cómo delimitar la línea entre el depósito necesario de alimentos y el acaparamiento ilegal?: En una economía intervenida, el almacenamiento tiene que ser autorizado y regulado por el organismo estatal que dirige el abastecimiento" *Alimentación Nacional*, Año I núm 2. 15 diciembre 1941, 9.

tricks for canning and preserving food at home. Some goods were illegal to preserve in the home, such as meats or sausages,⁹⁸ but many women probably did not know that, and the Francoist state had few resources to enforce such regulations. In practice, women would pickle, can, and preserve foods that they bought in the markets. The pantry was a very useful part of the kitchen that provided some food security for the home, on the occasion the housewife could not go shopping, or there was a shortage of consumer goods in the market.

And, while the prescribed ideal was flexible on the nature of the pantry—a shelf, cabinet, or separate closet depending on the economic class of the family—one aspect of the pantry was imperative: it needed to be able to be closed and locked with a key.⁹⁹ The text book claimed, “There is no point in having food provisions stored at home if the foresight is wasted on foolish women and the food is made to be available to the whole world. It is not saving anything at all, rather it creates additional expense not to lock it, whether a cabinet or room.”¹⁰⁰ The manual does not explain further why Spanish housewives should lock up the food in their home. Perhaps the organization understood how valuable and scarce key commodities were in post-civil war cities. Spanish women needed to guard what few resources the family had in order to sustain their daily meals. Perhaps this was a reference to the campaign aimed at women in the late 1940s not to help *los maquis*, or render food or hospitality to guerrilla fighters working against the Francoist state.¹⁰¹ While the government was most concerned for guerrilla resistance in the countryside, reports to Franco claimed that many *maquis* came to the cities as well. Or perhaps the concern was more intimate, that family members might raid the pantry for a snack when the housewife

⁹⁸ Tomás Espuny Gómez, *Legislación de abastos: Exposición metódica de las principales disposiciones vigentes*, (Tarragona: Imprenta de José Pijoan, 1942).

⁹⁹ Sección Femenina, *Enciclopedia Elemental*, (Madrid: Sección Femenina de FET y de las JONS, 1946), 461.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 462.

¹⁰¹ Antonio Barroso Rodríguez, *Pan Para España. Estudio sobre el cultivo del Trigo para normalizar el Abastecimiento de Pan, Año 1949*, (Madrid: Nueva Imprenta Radio SA, 1949), 141.

was busy. To enforce the control of the housewife in the home, and her position of sole food provider for the family, the text advocated that women maintain the family's food supply under lock and key.

During the Franco dictatorship, the Spanish home, especially the kitchen, was gendered to be women's space. Spanish culture, dating back to the nineteenth century, had placed women's proper place in the private sphere away from the masculine domain of the public sphere.¹⁰² Women's literature advocated for Spanish women to stay in the home, and women were instructed to take pride in their space. Women were considered to have control over the home, and they were charged with managing the cleanliness and decoration in the home. The Franco regime, through the Women's Section, pressured women to spend most of their day in their home with the belief that women should stay in the private sphere. And many women did want to stay in the private sphere. With the culture of violence and repression that came with the civil war, many Spanish women resigned themselves to the safety of their home, and retreated from public life entirely.¹⁰³ Yet, although the house was women's space, women did leave the home to go to mass, pick up their children from school, visit neighbors and family, and buy food at the market. The home was gendered as their realm, but women frequently traveled outside into the urban landscape.

Through the course of each day, women had to leave their home, often for long hours each day, in order to secure food for their families through ration lines and stops at multiple vendor stalls. The kitchen was only one small aspect of a housewife's world. Women's sphere continued into the streets of Spanish cities as women shopped for consumer goods. The food landscape of the city became incorporated into women's world and the feminine space included

¹⁰² Morecillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 9.

¹⁰³ Cazorla Sanchez, *Fear and Progress*, 40.

stores, markets, community kitchens, restaurants, and cafes. These locales became important sites of women's social networks and daily life. In public spaces, women adopted strategies of survival and opportunism. Women's interaction with the geographies of food within the city was inherently political in their daily activity.

During the hunger years, food acquisition and ration queues occupied more of a woman's money and time, and so markets became an important daily site of women's experiences in the 1940s. Montserrat Miller's exhaustive investigation into Barcelona's markets shows that urban market spaces were a place where women were both vendors and consumers. Many market stalls were operated by women, despite the difficulty imposed by the policies of the dictatorship.¹⁰⁴ Within these women's spaces, women would share recipes and tell jokes to one another as they waited in line. Women's magazines were an excellent source of material to share with other women at the market and ration lines, and the pages of popular magazines of the time were filled with gossip about movie stars and news, quizzes and puzzles, horoscopes, and recipes.¹⁰⁵ While in these feminine food spaces, women sometimes sang songs to pass the time that reinforced the doctrine of the Women's Section or the Franco regime.¹⁰⁶ Others would share recipes, jokes, and talk of family news. Other women complained about the price of goods and the long lines for foodstuffs.¹⁰⁷ There was a spectrum of responses and experiences in the markets and food vendor locations, but women claimed the space for their diverse activities and views.

¹⁰⁴ Montserrat Miller, *Feeding Barcelona, 1714-1975: Public Market Halls, Social Networks, and Consumer Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 213-214.

¹⁰⁵ For example, see: "Concurso de rompecabezas", "Dime qué título prefieres y te dire quien eres", "cine" *Medina* núm 97 24 enero 1943.;

¹⁰⁶ "Alegria" *Medina* núm 97 24 enero 1943.; "Ref: Distrito de Congreso" Madrid, 25 diciembre de 1939- Auxilio Social: Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno. Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 2272.

¹⁰⁷ "Ref: Información sobre suministro de patatas" Madrid, 16 noviembre de 1939 Auxilio Social- Departamento Central de Auxilio de Invierno". Archivo General de Administración. Fondo Auxilio Social, Caja 3 (122) 1704.; *Franco in Barcelona*, (London: United Editorial Ltd., 1939), 22.

Spanish women pressured the municipal governments to open more markets, so that food was more readily available in each neighborhood. The Francoist government, through local officials, directly responded to the needs of Spanish women and their advocacy in their communities. Women were highly engaged in politics at all levels of government when they left their houses. They did not merely shop for food but engaged the regime's food policies. During the Franco dictatorship, Barcelona opened twenty new markets throughout the city.¹⁰⁸ In Madrid, the street fighting destroyed all but five of the city's markets: Tirso de Molina, Cebada, Olavide, San Miguel, and Vallehermosa.¹⁰⁹ While the municipal authorities wanted to build new markets to alleviate the problems of food provisioning in Madrid, the chronic shortage of building supplies greatly impeded all efforts for food relief. By 1943, Madrid had eleven functioning markets. Two more markets- San Fernando and De la Paz—were completed but unable to open to the public.¹¹⁰ Nine additional markets—Arguelles, Guindalera, San Anton, El Viso, Pacífico, Mostenses, Retiro, Los Dolores, and Prosperidad, were under construction with Hospicio, Guillermo de Osma, Usera, and Gaztambide in the planning stages.¹¹¹ Throughout the postwar, there was an increase in the geography of food provisioning by the municipal authorities through markets, but these construction projects were greatly retarded due to poor organization, lack of funding, and shortage of construction materials. Slowly, the food landscape of the city began to change and with it, women's paths in their daily shopping route. As new stores opened, new contacts and friendships emerged within communities which created a stronger social done between women.

¹⁰⁸ Miller, *Feeding Barcelona*, x.

¹⁰⁹ *Mercados de Madrid: Labor realizada por el excelentísimo Ayuntamiento durante los años 1939 a 1943* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Sección de Cultura e información, 1944), 8.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

In broad terms (and somewhat misleadingly), vendor and consumer interests aligned—vendors wanted to sell food and consumers wanted to buy food. However, food vendors were unionized through the state and paid dues to protect their business interests. Furthermore, economic competition was strictly repressed by the regime through its legislation, and the state took over control of the economy from consumers.¹¹² Vendors who were vertically incorporated into the Franco regime actively fought to maximize distance between shops in order to maximize their profits. Vendors were not concerned with the travel distance and time of housewives, nor in the quality of products they sold. In the case of Madrid, the city passed ordinances that one market was sufficient for 20,000 people and that the markets should be situated at least 500m from other food businesses.¹¹³ As buildings were repaired and businesses adapted to new ordinances, women changed their shopping routes according to where, when, and how much food was available within their communities.

In sum, women actively navigated the foodscape of the city to secure food for their families. They travelled to food vendors in their neighborhood and beyond, as well as utilized the newly constructed markets or charity locations in their area. Food acquisition was so essential to a woman's daily duties that she spent much of her day outside the home in efforts of food acquisition. She went to the school to make sure the educators fed her children, she collected her rations from her neighborhood vendor, and she carefully bought additional foods needed for her week's meals. Occasionally she traveled to receive food from community kitchens or friends and family in her neighborhood. Women's role within the home and her obligation to the family

¹¹² Carlos Barciela López, et al., *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Economía* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001), 27.

¹¹³ *Mercados de Madrid: Labor realizada por el excelentísimo Ayuntamiento durante los años 1939 a 1943* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Sección de Cultura e información, 1944), 9.

within Francoist food policy necessitated that the Spanish housewife spend much of the day outside the home and traversing the city for food.

The Daily Life of the Spanish Housewife

Within the confines of Francoist society, Spanish housewives lived and provided for their families as best as they could. Some women enjoyed family life, interpreting their role in the Catholic society as being good wives and mothers.¹¹⁴ They saw their daily habits as a form of religious practice and fulfilling the gendered doctrine of the Catholic Church. Other women enjoyed family life, but their happiness came from the instruction of the Women's Section. Since the elite women of the FET-JONS taught Spanish women to find happiness in their family and the work that they did for their families,¹¹⁵ some Spanish housewives followed in their tutelage. Still, other women took issue with the new gendered burdens placed on them during the dictatorship. While many Spaniards were glad that the civil war had come to an end, they also wanted the scarcity and food shortages that plagued the war-torn society to end as well.¹¹⁶ They grumbled at the long lines and the inconveniences of food scarcity in the city.¹¹⁷ Other women worried about adequately feeding their families, and their concerns were justified. Many women hoped that their children would grow up healthy, but many feared that their children were not getting enough to eat. They tried their best to adequately feed their children, but many children in

¹¹⁴ Morcillo, *True Catholic Womanhood*, 32.

¹¹⁵ Richmond, 43.

¹¹⁶ Carlos Blanco Soler, *Dos conferencias sobre alimentación, en el momento actual. Divulgación científica del problema* (Madrid: enero 1940; Valencia: Marzo, 1940), 3.

¹¹⁷ *Franco in Barcelona*, (London: United Editorial Ltd., 1939), 22.

working class neighborhoods were malnourished.¹¹⁸ Some women cried when they became overwhelmed with the struggles to feed their families and could not fulfill their role as good mothers.¹¹⁹ Some women struggled to maintain their own health as their frequent trips to the market and standing in ration lines exposed them to tuberculosis, and their overworked bodies succumbed to the disease.¹²⁰ Spanish women living in the city were motivated by a range of emotions—spirituality, happiness, discontent, worry, and fear—that shaped their daily practices and experiences in the hunger years. Spanish housewives, while very limited by the restrictions placed on them by society, experienced more than scarcity and monotony. They lived for their families as Spanish women had done for generations, but also adapted to the new situations that were brought by the civil war and dictatorship.

While this is not a complete analysis of the daily experiences of women who lived in Spain's postwar cities, it is a start to understanding mundane yet important aspects of women's lives and their impact on the food practices of post-civil war Spain. As this analysis of economy, time, and space demonstrates, women were far from mere apolitical bystanders in the Franco regime. Women were central to postwar politics, economy, and society in the cities of Madrid and Barcelona. How women provided food for their families had major ramifications for the implementation of Franco's regime. Unlike a top-down analysis of authoritative policies on Spanish cities, an investigation into the everyday food provisioning habits of women reveals gaps within the Francoist apparatus where Spanish women could conform or not conform to the demands of the regime.

¹¹⁸ Robinson, WD and JH Janney. "Studies of the physical characteristics of selected children in Madrid, Spain, in 1941." *The journal of Pediatrics*, 20 (6), 1942, 723-739.

¹¹⁹ Cenarro, *Los Niños del Auxilio Social*, 224.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

Francoism implemented strict gender divisions between men and women and actively sought to enforce the ideology of gender norms for Spanish women. Rather than censor or marginalize women's work, women's role in sustaining the Spanish family was central to the ideology of the regime. But the ideology of creating a nation of perfect housewives was undermined when it came to the regime's food policy. Rationing, high prices, and scarcity of foodstuffs greatly limited the ordinary housewife's ability to fulfill the role dictated by the regime. Between the opportunities available to them and the obligations placed on them by their families and the government, women carved out their practice of everyday life within a spectrum of conformity and non-conformity. Some women adopted new practices as a consequence of the food policy—both intentional and unintentional repercussions of rationing, while others continued some aspects of their lives and their cooking habits in the same manner as before the imposition of the culture of Francoism.

Finally, and most importantly, women were not resigned to their allocated place within the social structure of the postwar model created by the Franco regime. Women actively engaged politics on a daily basis, as food was the very essential and very political need of the Spanish housewife and the Spanish family. Women's relationship with the regime was not solely as victims—many women found ways to circumvent the too rigid policies of the regime for the benefit of themselves and their families. Nor should agency be overstressed as a form of feminist victory against the patriarchal apparatus, as the limitations placed on women by the hegemonic culture were very real and felt on a daily basis. While many of the policies enacted by the regime ranged from inconvenient to outright hostile to women, women were more than victims of the policy or the patriarchy. An investigation of their daily life reveals how women used both traditional and innovative forms of communication and political activism to achieve their

personal and family goals. Only with an expanded definition of economy, time, and space, can we better understand the nature of everyday life and the impact of women's experiences on the politics, culture, and society of the Franco dictatorship.

Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the urban food provisioning and food discourse of Spaniards living in Madrid and Barcelona during the early Franco Dictatorship. A unique urban food culture developed at the end of the Spanish Civil War as Spaniards adapted their daily practices to the policies and culture imposed by an authoritarian state. Beginning in Chapter One with the three institutions that provisioned food to Spanish cities at the end of the war—the CAT, Social Aid, and the black market—this dissertation has shown how the Francoist state intervened heavily in the practice of daily life, especially in terms of food provisioning. But state-control of urban food culture was far from complete or hegemonic. As the example of food provisioning shows, two of the three institutions were controlled by the Franco regime, but the other one, the black market, operated beyond the surveillance or control of the state. Likewise, Chapter Three demonstrated that in terms of cooking literature, the Women’s Section dominated the production of knowledge for cooking and household management, but there were non-party writers and cooks who failed to conform to the recipes laid out for Spanish housewives by the regime in the 1940s. Cooking literature provided Spanish housewives with several ways to cope with the hunger years: in some cases making due, as was the case with leftovers and the use of food substitutes, while in other cases escaping through fantasy cooking literature. Chapter Two examined how ideology was infused into policy, and how the values of the regime were then diffused into Spanish urban culture and society. The Franco regime, consisting of the Spanish military, the FET-JONS, and the Catholic Church, attempted to rebuild urban Spain into a “New State” corresponding to traditional, conservative values. But Chapter Four provided a deep analysis of the everyday lives of housewives, alluding to the values imposed upon them by

restrictive policies and culture that made the hunger years. An investigation into the daily practices of Spanish housewives confirms the limitations of the Francoist state to fully consolidate power over the Spanish cities of Madrid and Barcelona, and it points to the survival strategies of Spanish women to cope with the urban foodscape as best as they saw fit, not according to the judgements of the regime and its institutions.

Between the extreme forms of state repression through rationing, the black market, and the food regulation that shaped Spain's urban foodscape during the 1940s, Spaniards exhibited a wide spectrum of responses to the food politics of the regime through the practice of everyday life. For some Spanish housewives, they readily adopted aspects of the ideology and policies of the new regime and adapted their behavior as a response to the state coercion. Some Spaniards embraced the new opportunities provided by being on the "winning side" of the civil war. They used Franco's consolidation of power as a way to implement their vision for Spanish society on the urban populations of Madrid and Barcelona. Cookbook authors and domestic economists, along with members of the Women's Section, enjoyed their position of power to dictate proper femininity to Spanish women. Other Spaniards profited greatly from the Franco regime, but that was because of their social power as *estraperlistas* or black-marketeers. They used their connections to local authorities or military leaders for their own opportunistic gain, getting rich by exploiting the corrupt governmental structure created by the Franco regime. Others continued to practice many of the same habits as before the dictatorship, not necessarily in an effort to support Franco or his regime, but because they valued conservative ideals that happened to coalesce with the conservative culture of the dictatorship. A continuation of old habits did not always result in conformity, so everyday life also expressed aspects of non-conformity to the regime's beliefs. At other times, the branches of the Franco regime, such as the Catholic Church

or military, disagreed on how Spaniards should practice daily life, giving some Spaniards a choice, albeit limited, in how they lived.

Despite the efforts of the Franco regime and his its supporters to control every aspect of Spanish urban life, especially food consumption and urban life, many Spaniards practiced daily life autonomously from state intervention. Although the regime tried to control Spanish private life by dictating daily activities such as meal times, many individual practices within private spaces and were immune from state infiltration. Some Spaniards knew of the government's food policies and how they should eat according to the rationing program laid out by the CAT or recipes dictated by the Women's Section, but they chose to ignore them. These were not outright acts of rebellion, but they were resistant to the coercive elements of the regime. There was a large gap between the coercive model behavior of a good Spanish citizen and the outright repressed deviations. Many Spaniards lived their daily lives avoiding restricted practices, but did not conform to the model citizen promoted by the Francoist state.

Still further on the spectrum of political engagement with the state through food policies, many Spaniards were not satisfied with the provisioning efforts of the Franco regime, and they expressed their dissatisfaction by showing contempt for the empty promises of provisioning propagated during the war. Some Spaniards expressed a form of opposition to the regime by criticizing food policies while standing in ration lines, but discontent largely occurred in private spaces and among close friends or relatives. When given the chance, Spaniards preferred to eat in their own homes or restaurants, rather than in the state-controlled spaces of Social Aid. Some Spanish housewives looked for shortcuts in their daily cooking so that they did not spend their whole day in the kitchen, contrary to the recommendations of the Women's Section. Food policies enacted by the Franco regime were often ignored by Spaniards, manipulated for

opportunistic gain, or outright resisted by the urban population. The spectrum of apathy to outright resistance can be seen through all levels of society and it was manifested in many different ways.

The Franco regime formed out of similar but distinct ideologies that joined together to create the Nationalist side during the Spanish Civil War. The institutions of the dictatorship—the Catholic church, FET-JONS, wealthy elite, and military—continued to present slightly different values during the early Franco dictatorship and the period of economic autarky. Although the state operated as a single instrument and implemented authoritarian food policies of rationing, limited pluralism existed within the ideology of the dictatorship, creating gaps, blind spots, and mixed messages for how urban Spaniards should live in Franco's New State. State power diffused even further as ideology and policies traveled from the national level to local level authorities, arriving at the individual level with greatly more limited power and authority through the practice of everyday life. A closer look at cookbooks and the lives of urban Spanish housewives reveals how historical agents engaged elements of the regime while omitting others.

As an investigation into everyday life has revealed, when politics intervened to shape the public and private spheres, people engaged with politics in the practice of their everyday life. Since the Franco regime intervened in Spain's food supply, dictating who had access to food, at what price, and when, how Spaniards lived their lives in both the public and private sphere demonstrated an engagement with politics. When Spanish housewives chose between buying food at a market, receiving charity food through Social Aid, buying contraband food off the black market, or traveling to the countryside to gather their own food, they engaged with different levels of politics of the regime. The first option fitted within the repressive parameters imposed by the Franco regime, while the last choice demonstrated subordination to the ideology

of the regime. The third option was outright illegal but unstoppable by Francoist authorities, and the second was neither legal or illegal, just autonomous to the politics of the regime entirely. When Spanish women cooked, they could prepare the traditional Castilian dish of *cocido* (stew), which simultaneously supported and undermined the values of the Franco regime by supporting the castilianization of Spanish culture while undermining national culture in favor of regional culture. Women could cook according to recipes prescribed by the Women's Section, demonstrating a certain level of adherence to the instruction provided by the ideology of the FET-JONS, or they could use family recipes that did not conform to the teaching of the Women's Section, but supported the regime's veneration of the family. These small actions of non-conformity and resistance against the Francoist state, when carried out on a daily basis, slowly pushed the Franco regime to adapt to the city and its inhabitants.

These conclusions are only possible with a reevaluation of power relations between the state and citizen. From a top-down view, the institutions of the regime created policy and ideology that transformed many aspects of urban life. State-produced sources from the Women's Section and CAT would confirm this assertion. However, a look at power relations from the bottom-up, especially from published material that presented an alternative to state ideology, reveals a completely different history. Even during its most repressive period—the implementation of autarkic economic practices and a rationing system to control how much Spaniards ate during the early Franco dictatorship—Spaniards still exercised agency in their daily lives. As this dissertation has shown, state publications and propaganda were only one voice of many that informed Spanish housewives and their families how to eat their daily meals. The state only played a peripheral role in the choices that people made on a daily basis and the repressive apparatuses of the regime could not stamp out all possible forms of behavior that

occurred within the private sphere. Through cooking, Spanish housewives controlled their own homes and made their own choices along a spectrum of relationships to official government policy and ideology. The Francoist regime, through several mechanisms of intervention, controlled food production, distribution, and consumption at the macro-level, but this dissertation has provided glimpses where Spanish housewives controlled food production, distribution, and consumption within the home, through cooking a meal, serving it at the dinner table, and eating daily meals with family.

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