

So[u]ldiers for Christ and Men for Spain: The *Apostolado Castrense*'s Role in the Creation and Dissemination of Francoist Martial Masculinity

Soldados para Cristo y hombres para España: El papel del *Apostolado Castrense* en la creación y difusión de la masculinidad franquista marcial

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Abstract: This article explores the *Apostolado Castrense*'s role in the Spanish military's attempt during the Franco regime in Spain (1939–1975) to make a certain type of man by instilling in soldiers a masculinity based on gendered notions of Catholic national identity. Focusing on its publications and several key authors, the article determines the organization's notion of normative masculinity, investigates how it sought to inculcate those norms in troops, analyzes the success or failure of the organization's *raison d'être*, and places the *Apostolado* in a comparative perspective within the military and regime.

Keywords: *Castrense, Franco regime, masculinity, gender, mandatory military service.*

Resumen: El presente artículo explora el papel del *Apostolado Castrense* en el intento del ejército español durante la dictadura franquista (1939–1975) para crear un cierto tipo de hombre, infundiéndolo a los soldados una masculinidad basada en nociones de género de la identidad nacionalcatólica. Concentrándose en varios autores clave y sus publicaciones, el artículo determina la noción de la organización de la masculinidad normativa, investiga cómo procuró inculcar aquellas normas en la tropa, analiza el éxito o fracaso de su *raison de d'être*, y coloca el *Apostolado* en una perspectiva relativa dentro del ámbito militar y del régimen.

Palabras clave: *Apostolado Castrense, la dictadura franquista, la masculinidad, el género, el servicio militar obligatorio.*

During the Franco regime in Spain, the state pressed all men who met basic physical requirements into two years of active military duty. This conscription served as a means of indoctrinating young men with the ideals of the dictatorship and the military. The Catholic Church, as a key interest group within the power structures of Francoism, aspired to influence the identity and values of the nation and played a fundamental role in the military's efforts to do the same. Both creating and supporting

mental role in the military's efforts to do the same. Both creating and supporting military discourse the Church's representative in the armed forces, the *Apostolado Castrense* (Martial Apostolate), positioned itself to shape the lives and gendered subjectivities of generations of Spanish men. As José Ramón Rodríguez Lago argues,

«In an authoritarian state in which the weight of the army is fundamental in order to interpret the balance of power and the position of Franco as the final arbiter of the regime, it is essential to analyze the institutional relationship created in those years between the Church and the army»¹.

An analysis of the Church and military's efforts to inculcate a Francoist masculinity in soldiers gauges the successes and failures of the *Apostolado* and sheds light on the role of the Catholic Church within the structures of Francoism as well as its impact on Spanish society.

Utilizing Joan Wallach Scott's definition of gender, this article defines masculinity as historically and culturally specific knowledge about men in which ostensibly masculine behavior is normalized, prescribed, challenged, and resisted². George L. Mosse writes that ideas of manliness and femininity, normal and abnormal, and heterosexual and homosexual play a pivotal role in shaping modes of respectable comportment and demarcating boundaries of national identity³. Likewise, the Franco regime institutionalized in the armed forces a militarized masculinity that it intended to normalize in Spanish men through obligatory service. The *Apostolado* played a pivotal role in that Francoist undertaking.

Comprising part of that larger perspective, this article does not offer a comprehensive history of the *Apostolado*. Briefly situating the organization in the context of the Spanish Civil War, the article investigates the *Apostolado* from 1939–1975. Although other chapters of the work utilize archival evidence, this article relies on discursive texts and discourse analysis. A general study of the *Apostolado* would permit the use of more archival sources. Methodologically, this article examines *Apostolado* discourse in its own right as well as within broader conceptions of masculinity held by the military. Organized thematically rather than chronologically, the article has the intention of discovering and analyzing the themes of *Apostolado* conceptions of masculinity, which themselves remained more or less static during Francoism.

This article is a condensed chapter of a dissertation that analyzes how power and knowledge, the institution of the military, and martial culture functioned in the Franco regime and Spanish society to inculcate a specific type of masculinity in men and how individual agency and systemic flaws transformed that very identity. The dissertation histori-

¹ José Ramón RODRÍGUEZ LAGO: *La Iglesia en la Galicia del franquismo (1936-1965): Clero Secular, Acción Católica y Nacional-catolicismo*, A Coruña, Ediciones de Castro, 2004, p. 491.

² Joan Wallach SCOTT: *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 1-15.

³ George L. MOSSE: *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*, New York, Howard Fertig, 1985, pp. 1-22; and Íd.: *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 3-16.

cizes Spain's economic modernization, the consequences of Vatican II, and the influx of cultural influences from the United States and Europe during the 1960s and 1970s. Addressing the lacuna of research on masculinity during the Franco regime, it includes chapters on the parameters of normative masculinity and male sexuality, the *Apostolado Castrense*, the system of military justice and courts-martial for homosexuality, the treatment of women, and normative womanhood in relation to martial manhood. The project examines several types of sources: cultural (military journals and magazines), educational (training manuals), and social (autobiographies, service records, courts-martial, and statistics). An analysis of this evidence indicates that the regime, military, and Catholic Church sought to make soldiers into martial, masculine, obedient, and pious members of the nation who fulfilled their role as dutiful husbands and fathers.

Each chapter demonstrates that despite systemic entrenchment of normativity, the Franco regime and military, along with the Catholic Church, proved unable to inculcate their versions of proper manhood. The interplay between those efforts and the persistence of social norms indicates that despite its authoritarian power, the dictatorship failed to instill the gendered values of Francoism in Spanish men. Such a historical project displays how modern states have deployed viewpoints of gender and sexuality as immutable categories to condition and control ordinary people. At the same time, the dissertation and this article suggest that seeds of progress often germinate in the very authoritarian practices meant to stifle their growth.

Historical Context

Before Franco's usurpation of state power, the Church in Spain had been struggling to impose and maintain its influence on the Spanish nation. Although a multi-causal conflict, which was both internecine and internationalized, the Civil War of 1936–1939 cannot be understood, as Paul Preston argues,

«without some sense of how Catholics felt themselves threatened by the secularizing legislation of the Second Republic and some awareness of the way in which the right legitimized its own resistance to social reform by surrounding it with the rhetoric about the defense of religion»⁴.

The Second Republic attempted to limit the power of the clergy in Spain such as separating church and state and assuming control of public education. These secularizing efforts pushed traditional Catholics into a political corner, the escape from which they increasingly viewed as armed military revolt. Religious reforms also affected the military. In 1931 Manuel Azaña Díaz, in his role as minister of war, required all chaplains to swear an oath of allegiance to the Republic, and in effect also forced other chaplains to retire. A year later, those reforms continued with the abolition of the army's and navy's ecclesiastic

⁴ Paul PRESTON: "Forward," in Audrey BRASSLOFF, *Religion and Politics in Spain: The Spanish Church in Transition, 1962-96*, New York, St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1998, p. ix.

corps, expulsion of most remaining chaplains from the army, and removal of budget allocations for worship and religious assistance in military hospitals, colleges, and centers⁵.

Once the Nationalist war effort was underway in July of 1936, the Church quickly aligned itself with the mission of defending Spain from the sacrilegious forces of modernity, Republicanism, and the revolutionary left. That conservative mindset, combined with the shock of anti-clerical violence, quickly led to codifying the war effort as a religious crusade. Mary Vincent writes, «For the Church, those [clerics] who died were martyrs of the faith, and the blood of the martyrs was that which converted the civil war into a ‘crusade’»⁶. During the war the Nationalist Army reintegrated chaplains into its forces in conjunction with the lay Catholic group, *Acción Católica Española* (Spanish Catholic Action). Also with *Acción Católica*, the Nationalists worked to diffuse religious and martial values in a heterogeneous force.⁷ Already during the war, as Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas demonstrates, a feature of Francoism was «the idea to transform Spain into an immense social barracks, where faith and martial discipline should reign...»⁸. Discussed in more detail below, these martial values comprised an integral aspect of the nationalism that Francoists consciously sought to inculcate in Spanish men⁹.

Following the Spanish Civil War, the new dictatorship granted the Church large-scale governmental financial support, oversight over its own propaganda, control over primary and secondary education, and initial appointments to the Ministries of Justice and Education. One reason the regime granted the Church such wide latitude was the collective desire shared by Catholics and the government to re-Christianize the nation. By the same token and as William J. Callahan argues, the Spanish clergy had as its ally «a government ready and willing to act aggressively on behalf of a Church anxious to seize the moment to realize old dreams of religious reconquest»¹⁰. Scholars have given the term National-

⁵ See Pablo SAGARRA RENEDO: *Capellanes en la División Azul: los últimos cruzados*, San Sebastián de las Reyes, Madrid, Editorial ACTAS, 2012, p. 83. For more on the army during the Second Republic, see Mariano AGUILAR OLIVENCIA: *El ejército español durante la Segunda República (Claves de su actuación posterior)*, Madrid, ECONORTE, 1986.

⁶ MARY VINCENT: “Religión e identidad nacional,” in Javier MORENO LUZÓN and Xosé M. NÚÑEZ SEIXAS (eds.), *Ser españoles: Imaginarios nacionalistas en el siglo XX*, Barcelona, RBA Libros, 2013, p. 225. See also, MARY VINCENT: “The Spanish Civil War as a War of Religion,” in Martin BAUMEISTER and Stefanie SCHÜLER-SPRNGORUM (eds.), *“If You Tolerate This...”: The Spanish Civil War in the Age of Total War*, Frankfurt/New York, Campus Verlag, 2008, pp. 74-89.

⁷ For soldiers’ motivations and efforts to construct mobilizing myths during the Spanish Civil War see James MATTHEWS: *Reluctant Warriors: Republican Popular Army and National Army Conscripts in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 63-101.

⁸ Xosé Manoel NÚÑEZ SEIXAS: *¡Fuera el invasor!: Nacionalismos y movilización bélica durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)*, Madrid, Marcial Pons Historia, 2006, 212.

⁹ For a brief historiographical synopsis of Francoist imaginings of the nation see Stéphane MICHONNEAU and Xosé M. NÚÑEZ SEIXAS, “Imaginar España durante el franquismo,” in ÍD., *Imaginarios y representaciones de España durante el franquismo*, 1-6, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2014.

¹⁰ William J. CALLAHAN: *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998*, Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 2000, p. 344.

Catholicism to this ideological and institutional alliance between church and state.¹¹ Callahan writes that «cooperation with the clergy by government officials at every administrative level» encompassed «an essential part of the strategy of reconquest»¹². The *Apostolado*, one such institution, has received scant historiographical coverage¹³. With its members belonging to both the Church and military, the *Apostolado* provided the components of a martial masculinity inspired by National-Catholicism.

Mandatory military service was the tip of the spear in the campaign to normalize the values of Francoism in Spanish men. It was, writes Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez, a means of ideological reproduction:

«For the Army, military service is the perfect platform, the ideal framework that permitted the transmission of their values to the civil world, and the consequent ‘elevation’ of it. With the ‘mili’ social hierarchy disappears...»¹⁴.

Most scholars agree that obligatory military service was a coercive institution of social control. José Antonio Olmeda Gómez, for example, calls conscription «the basic instrument of the dissemination of national values» and argues that the regime intended it to make «uniform the masculine population» and flatten differences between individuals from distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds¹⁵.

Historians of the Francoist armed forces have demonstrated that the military values of morality, virtue, honor, chivalry, discipline, obedience, and subordination loomed large within that ideology¹⁶. Olmeda Gómez contends,

«military values provided a fundamental ideological nexus for the architecture of the Francoist system as political form. Together with them, it is necessary to emphasize the role of Catholicism, but remembering that this religion [was] consubstantial with the professional subculture of the military men in Spain»¹⁷.

This article places the Catholicized components of that martial ideology under the analytical lens of gender, examining them in conjunction with scholarship conducted on Francoist norms of manhood.

Historians who have analyzed Francoist masculinity view it in the paradigm of the «half monk, half soldier», in which ideal Spanish men are warriors engaged in or dying for a religious crusade. Mary Nash provides a representative summation of this understanding:

¹¹ For the army and the Church’s ideology in this regard see Juan Carlos LOSADA MALVÁREZ: *Ideología del Ejército franquista (1939-1958)*, Madrid, Istmo, S.A., 1990, pp. 36-43.

¹² Ibidem., p. 466.

¹³ Juan Carlos Losada Malvárez devotes the most attention to the *Apostolado* as well as its journal, *Reconquista*. Juan Carlos LOSADA MALVÁREZ, op. cit., p. 43, pp. 269-294.

¹⁴ Juan Carlos LOSADA MALVÁREZ: op. cit., pp. 256-259.

¹⁵ José Antonio OLMEDA GÓMEZ: *Las fuerzas armadas en el estado franquista*, Madrid, El Arquero, D.L., 1988, p. 120.

¹⁶ See for example Mariano AGUILAR OLIVENCIA: *El ejército español durante el franquismo*, Madrid, Ediciones Akal, S.A., 1999, p. 254; and José Antonio OLMEDA GÓMEZ: op. cit., pp. 112-123.

¹⁷ José Antonio OLMEDA GÓMEZ: op. cit., p. 112.

«In the post-war years male gender models were those of outstanding soldiers and fighters, exceptional figures that transcended daily life. The image of the warrior-monk shaped around a combination of *conquistador* and the founder of the Jesuits, Saint Ignatius de Loyola, and combining courage, virility, religiosity, and military values, became the prototype of role models for young Spanish males».¹⁸

Mary Vincent investigates the concept further, contributing two articles on such a masculinity as it coalesced during the civil war and early years of the dictatorship¹⁹. She demonstrates that Francoists militarized masculinity and linked it to the Civil War as crusade, making the ideal Francoist man a crusading martyr²⁰. Vincent also argues that in its initial years, the regime relied on Carlist notions of paternal masculinity in a move away from the version of masculinity propounded by the *Falange* [Spain's fascist party]²¹.

Due to the heavy Catholic influence in the armed forces and on mandatory service, and in relation to the lack of Falangist power in those areas, the specifically Catholic and traditional version of the monk-soldier was that which the *Apostolado* attempted to inculcate in troops. However, although the martyred priest-warrior played an important part in both Catholic and Falangist imaginations of martial masculinity, it was only one component of a much larger model of Francoist manhood and was not necessarily its definitive ideal. Francoism glorified that type of man, but the armed forces desired to teach soldiers more how to live their lives after completing their service than how to fight and die on the battlefield. Both the military and *Apostolado* portrayed ideal men more as heterosexual productive members of the nation than as martyred priests.

History, Mission, and Goals

The Nationalist Army incorporated *Acción Católica* into its ranks during the first months of the Spanish Civil War. After the war, *Acción Católica* developed a plan for a specific Church entity within the army. In 1944, those efforts resulted in the creation of the *Apostolado*, which became independent from *Acción Católica*. Between 1944 and 1951, the *Apostolado* solidified its organizational structure, integrated itself into the armed forces, and received ministerial approval²². An accord signed between Franco's government and the Holy See in 1950 officially reestablished ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the armed forces. A year later, Pope Pious XII made the highest position within the *Apostolado*, that of *Vi-*

¹⁸ Mary NASH: "Towards a New Moral Order: National-Catholicism, Culture and Gender," in José ALVAREZ JUNCO and Adrian SHUBERT (eds.), *Spanish History since 1808*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 295.

¹⁹ Mary VINCENT: "The Martyrs and the Saints: Masculinity and the Construction of the Francoist Crusade", *History Workshop Journal*, 47 (1999), pp. 69-98; and Mary VINCENT, "La reafirmación de la masculinidad en la cruzada franquista" *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 28 (2006), pp. 131-151.

²⁰ Mary VINCENT, "The Martyrs and the Saints..." p. 94.

²¹ Mary VINCENT, "La reafirmación de la masculinidad..." p. 148.

²² For an autobiographical history of the organization see, EL APOSTOLADO CASTRENSE: *Catolicidad Militar*, Madrid, Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1959. See also Juan Carlos LOSADA MALVÁREZ: op. cit., pp. 269-267.

cario General, into an Archbishopric. He named, with Franco's approval, Don Luis Alonso Muñoyerro as the Archbishop of Sión and the first *Vicario General* of the *Apostolado Castrense*. Father José López Ortíz succeeded Alonso Muñoyerro in 1969 and held the position until 1977.

Led by Alonso Muñoyerro, this new organization within the military saw its mission as the spiritual transformation of the armed forces and Spain: «Synthetically, we can establish that the mission of the *Apostolado Castrense* is the CONQUEST OF THE ARMY FOR CHRIST»²³. The *Apostolado* aimed to disseminate Catholic culture, combat immorality, develop consciousness, and re-Christianize and reconquer Spanish society.²⁴ The organization declared publicly,

«When each [soldier], is a perfect Catholic, is a man for Spain and for God; when each component of the three Armies are the mystical warriors of our glorious past, then the *Apostolado Castrense* will see its mission accomplished».²⁵

One of the primary goals the *Apostolado* had in this endeavor was to curb a spiritual crisis it diagnosed in Spanish society, a theme running throughout its discourse for the duration of the regime.

Initiatives and Publications

Offering premilitary courses to young men in nearly all cities and small towns in Spain and controlling all religious activities and information within the armed forces and barracks, the *Apostolado* profoundly influenced military discourse, pedagogical materials, and print culture. Its pamphlets, training manuals, magazines, and journals afforded a forum for discourse creation and functioned as an instrument for the dissemination of its messages. A centerpiece of the organization's premilitary campaigns, *¡Para ti...soldado*, was the *Apostolado*'s most widely published pamphlet.²⁶ Likewise intended for the rank and file, the organization published two national magazines, *Empuje* for recruits and *Formación* for noncommissioned officers, as well as several local publications such as *Temple* from Valladolid and *Oriflama* from Barcelona. The *Apostolado* also published journals that targeted the officer corps, with the intention of transmitting messages and stimulating internal dialogue. These publications included *Reconquista* (the organization's premier journal), *Pensamiento y Acción*, and *Guías Información y Directivas del Apostolado Castrense*.

²³ «El *Apostolado Castrense* agente de la transformación espiritual del Ejército y éste de la España,» *Guías*, 11, (mayo, 1954), p. 8. Emphasis in original.

²⁴ EL APOSTOLADO CASTRENSE, op. cit., pp. 34-39.

²⁵ *Ibidem.*, p. 8.

²⁶ Aresio GONZÁLEZ DE VEGA: *¡Para ti..., soldado! (Manual del soldado) (Obra declarada de utilidad por el Ministerio del Ejército)*, Madrid, Ministerio del Ejército, 1944. For more on this pamphlet see Juan Carlos LOSADA MALVÁREZ, op. cit., p. 270.

Three Discourse Producers

The *Apostolado* produced many of the most significant military publications on martial masculinity during the Franco dictatorship. Significant Francoist discourse producers worked and wrote for the organization. Jorge Vigón Suero-Díaz (1893–1978), Miguel Alonso Baquer (b. 1932), and Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón (1936–2008) were the three most important Francoist authors on militarized masculinity. They also held high-level posts within the military, *Apostolado*, and government.

Of the three, Vigón played the most foundational role in the construction of military discourse on masculinity. He fought for the Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War and, by 1952, was a brigade general. In 1957, Franco named him minister of public works, a position he held until 1965. He additionally served as military governor of *El Ferrol del Caudillo* and as national leader of passive defense. A prolific writer, he was also director of *Reconquista*. He won the national prize for Journalism in 1949 and for Literature in 1950²⁷. Gabriel Cardona describes Vigón as conservative and reactionary, labeling him «The general with the most polemic pen»²⁸. Mariano Aguilar Olivencia writes that Vigón was Franco's personal friend, arguing that both men advocated for Catholicism as integral to Spanish nationalism²⁹.

Although from a younger cohort, Alonso Baquer's writings paralleled Vigón's ideas and carried them into the next generation. Both men wrote in high intellectual style, looked to Spain's Golden Age for the basis of their ideas, and held similar opinions on the importance of Catholicism and spirituality. More than any other authors, they shaped the *Apostolado*'s discourse on normative masculinity. Alonso Baquer rose to the rank of general, worked and taught for the *Estado Mayor*, and, like Vigón, held the position of director for *Reconquista*.

Different from Vigón and Alonso Baquer in terms of subject matter, writing style, and interests, Gonzalo Muínelo Alarcón represents the third most important *Apostolado* writer on masculinity, particularly on male sexuality and women. Born in 1936, he became a cavalry lieutenant at age twenty-one and two years later held the position of national president of the youth branch of the *Apostolado Castrense*. During his career, he was editor-in-chief of both *Formación* and *Empuje*. He retired from military service in 2001 as a cavalry colonel and superintendent of the Local Police of Valladolid³⁰.

Vigón's, Alonso Baquer's, and Muínelo Alarcón's copious amount of writing created a distinct discourse of masculinity within the *Apostolado* and the broader military. As sources, the writings of these men and the publications of the *Apostolado* provide a window into the parameters of Francoist martial masculinity, making it possible to reconstruct the organization's discourse, understand its goals, and gauge its successes and failures.

²⁷ "Ha muerto el general Vigón," *Reconquista*, 335 (febrero, 1978), p. 4.

²⁸ Gabriel CARDONA: *El gigante descalzo: El Ejército de Franco*. Madrid, Aguilar, 2003, pp. 203-205.

²⁹ Mariano AGUILAR OLIVENCIA: op cit., 255. For more on Vigón's early career see *Ibidem*, pp. 27-30.

³⁰ Gonzalo MUÍNELO ALARCÓN: *La vida como se ve*, n.p., Castilla Ediciones, 2008.

The *Apostolado* and Normative Masculinity

The *Apostolado* directed its messages about masculinity at conscripts in particular. Its training pamphlet, *Campaña premilitar*, informed future and current recruits that going into the army was a great opportunity to form the human and spiritual qualities of a man:³¹ In a book published in 1969 and intended for the rank and file, Muínelo Alarcón advised young men that serving in the armed forces was “an authentic trial of manhood.”³² In an especially revealing quotation from *Reconquista*’s “Talks with Soldiers” section, the *Apostolado*’s premier publication stated in 1953 that the army is specifically for men:

«THE ARMY IS A MATTER FOR MEN, who energetically and generously prepare their bodies and ready their souls to fight [and] sacrifice their lives with the most complete devotion...

...THE ARMY OFFERS YOU THE FINAL OCCASION YOU WILL HAVE IN YOUR LIFE TO LEARN YOUR ROLE AS MEN...

Note well that MILITARY SERVICE IS A PROOF OF CHARACTER. IT IS GOING TO TELL YOU IF YOU HAVE THE CAPACITY AND MATERIAL OF MEN...

WITH THE CARE THAT YOU PLACE IN CARRYING OUT THESE SMALL DUTIES, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SAY ONE DAY THAT YOU HAVE BECOME THAT WHICH IS THE GREATEST IN THIS WORLD: A MAN».³³

Similarly, another *Reconquista* article about conscription from the previous year called the army a “transformative factory of men”³⁴. A common theme in *Apostolado* writings across time, the conscious intention to make Spanish soldiers into certain types of men is unambiguous in these statements.³⁵

³¹ *Campaña premilitar*, Madrid, Imprenta del Ministerio de Marina, 1960, p. 5.

³² Gonzalo MUÍNELO ALARCÓN: *La última diana*, Madrid, Apostolado Castrense, 1969, pp. 84-85.

³³ “Tú, Recluta,” *Reconquista*, IV: 39 (marzo, 1953), pp. 50-52. Emphasis in original

³⁴ “Significado de la incorporación de una nueva quinta: No se trata de tantos analfabetos menos sino de tantos ‘hombres’ mas,” *Reconquista*, II: 25 (enero 1952), pp. 21-23: pp. 22-23.

³⁵ See also for example: *Campaña premilitar*: “Significado de la incorporación de una nueva quinta: No se trata de tantos analfabetos menos sino de tantos ‘hombres’ más,” *Reconquista*, II:25 (enero, 1952), pp. 21-23; Teniente Coronel SOTTO: “La acción social del Oficial en los Cuerpos Armados,” *Reconquista*, III:36 (diciembre, 1952), pp. 37-39; “El Ejército como centro de cultura de masas,” *Reconquista*, IV:39 (marzo, 1953), pp. 11-12: p. 15; Capitán R. TOUCEDA: “Nueva fisonomía del cuartel,” *Reconquista*, XIV:166 (octubre, 1963), pp. 39-41; P. TEJERINA: “Hombres Nuevos,” *Reconquista*, XV: 175, (julio, 1964), pp. 10-13; Enrique DE LA VEGA VIRGUERA: “Diana: Y tú, ¿Qué piensas?”, *Empuje*, 266-267 (diciembre, 1966), p. 7; “Tú y el Ejército”, *Empuje*, 278 (segunda quincena de noviembre, 1967), p. 4; “Tú, hombre”, *Empuje*, 279 (primera quincena de diciembre, 1967), pp. 6; Francisco DELGADO PIÑAR: “¿Tenemos una misión social concreta?: Elevación moral y espiritual”, *Formación*, 130 (mayo, 1964); Saturnino MORATIEL RODRÍGUEZ: “El cuartel, centro de formación”, *Temple*, VIII: 145, (mayo, 1955), pp. 3-4.

The content and messages of *Apostolado* discourse remained static during the course of the regime. Alonso Baquer argued in 1968 that this mindset was founded upon the desire to recreate Spanish society following the Civil War:

«It is not necessary to repeat that the Spanish army, through its victorious action of 1939, finds itself in a phase in which the determination is notable to develop young people according to traditional norms»³⁶.

The intentions behind mandatory service and the messages of the *Apostolado* represent the unyielding worldview, shared by Franco himself, of hardline Catholic soldiers.

A key impetus behind both the *Apostolado*'s sacred mission and vested interest in forming pious members of the nation was to alleviate a certain spiritual crisis it diagnosed in Spanish society. The specter of immorality particularly haunted *Apostolado* writers, who often described modern decadence as the root cause of the nation's problems³⁷. These complaints reveal tensions between members of the *Apostolado* and the military. The former perceived the latter as deficient in advancing religiosity. For the *Apostolado*, alleviating Spain's disastrous spiritual crisis rested on teaching boys how to become masculine soldiers who embodied Catholic values. Although similarly stressing the importance of morality, the military did not necessarily share the *Apostolado*'s religious fervor.

Alonso Baquer, for example, ran afoul of the military hierarchy for four articles appearing in *Reconquista* in 1954 and 1955³⁸. Utilizing a discourse of masculinity, these essays presented a picture of the military old guard losing touch with the newer generation of officers as well as the needs of Spanish society³⁹. Alonso Baquer wrote in the second article that a new man, forged in and by the military, would help bridge a gap in the officer corps between a revolutionary mindset on the one hand and a traditionalist outlook on the other hand. Speaking of the military's duty to alleviate Spain's dire spiritual crisis, he described this new man as one who «will endeavor to prove and demonstrate the efficacy and depth of discipline and hierarchy...»⁴⁰. Continuing this line of argument in the third controversial article, Alonso Baquer in effect contended that the military suffered from a crisis of spiritual values, which needed to be resolved through the development of a new type of man⁴¹. In the fourth article, he responded to criticisms he received about the other three pieces⁴². This final essay reveals a generational shift between officers who had fought in the civil war and

³⁶ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *La religiosidad y el combate*, Madrid, Consejo Central de Apostolado Castrense, 1968, p. 158.

³⁷ See for example: Juan M. COROMINAS: "Crisis de moralidad", *Pensamiento y Acción*, VII:69 (junio, 1956), pp. 15-16; and, "3 preguntas a un páter", *Reconquista*, III:27 (marzo, 1952), p. 14.

³⁸ See also Juan Carlos LOSADA MALVÁREZ: op. cit., pp. 294-309.

³⁹ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: "Modernos y antiguos en el Ejército", *Reconquista*, 54 (junio, 1954), pp. 2-5; Íd.: "Tradicionales y revolucionarios en el Ejército", *Reconquista*, 61 (enero, 1955), pp. 24-29, p. 27; Íd.: "Bélicos y sociales en el Ejército", *Reconquista*, 66 (junio, 1955), pp. 8-12; Íd.: "Desde mi atalaya: carta cerrada al capitán Sáez de Govantes," *Reconquista*, Núm 71, Año VI (noviembre, 1955), pp. 39-43.

⁴⁰ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: "Tradicionales y revolucionarios en el Ejército", p. 27.

⁴¹ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: "Bélicos y sociales en el Ejército", pp. 8-12.

⁴² Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: "Desde mi atalaya", pp. 39-43.

those who had graduated from Spain's military academies after the victory. Alonso Baquer wrote that the older generation, secure in their orthodoxy and incapable of understanding other viewpoints, had closed itself off to newer officers⁴³: Such a state of affairs, he argued, had led to a devaluation of spiritual and moral values and education⁴⁴.

These four articles led to a scandal and placed Alonso Baquer at odds with higher-ranking officers, including Vigón, with some calling for his arrest⁴⁵. Alonso Baquer writes in his autobiography that those officers who had fought in the civil war interpreted his thought as «a direct attack on their professional virtues...»⁴⁶ Vigón, according to Alonso Baquer, felt that the articles went against the current political regime in particular as well as military spirit in general⁴⁷. Although the two men's thought often aligned, Alonso Baquer in this case, having directed his attacks against the senior cadres of the officer corps, aggravated Vigón despite the shared religious content of their ideologies.

Aside from these different degrees of religiosity, both military and *Apostolado* discourse posited that to truly possess masculinity a man must be a soldier. For the *Apostolado*, this idea had an interconnected and reciprocal relationship with being a Christian. Alonso Baquer put it well:

«To be a soldier is something more than being a professional. To be a soldier —and we already know that in this manner we mean a whole man— is to have taken an attitude towards life in which the duties of religion, profession and family are hierarchized and ordered.»⁴⁸

Vigón held the same opinion:

A soldier, in effect, cannot be a good Christian if he is not also a good soldier; and he will never be a better soldier than when he lives as a perfect Christian»⁴⁹.

Although the logic here is circular, Alonso Baquer and Vigón make clear that living as a complete or genuine man was impossible without concomitantly being a Christian soldier.

Apostolado authors often looked to Christianity's past as inspiration for this idealized masculinity. In his book, *La religiosidad y el combate*, Alonso Baquer presented St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and St. Thomas Aquinas as the three

«indispensable milestones for an accurate knowledge of the ideal of perfection that was realized in the middle ages, and that has a precise name and figure: *The prayerful and militant knight*»⁵⁰.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 42.

⁴⁵ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *Memorias de un brigadier tolerado: Tomo I*, Basauri, Grafite Ediciones, 2004, p. 146.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 145-146.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 146.

⁴⁸ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *La religiosidad y el combate...*, p. 29.

⁴⁹ Jorge VIGÓN: *El espíritu militar español: Replica a Alfredo de Vigny*, Madrid, Ediciones Rialp, S.A., 1956, p. 122.

⁵⁰ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *La religiosidad y el combate...*, p. 115. Emphasis in original.

Those three saints, by infusing warriors with Catholicism, contributed to the advent of the uniquely Spanish archetype of the priestly knight⁵¹. Then, the Reconquest of Spain forged a uniquely Spanish military spirit that was embodied specifically in Hernán Cortes and Don Quixote⁵². These conceptions of masculinity, based on medieval knights and Spain's Golden Age, contributed to a cohesive and comprehensive discourse of normative masculinity in part predicated on the desire to form Spanish men in the mold of religious warriors.

However, both military and *Apostolado* discourse presented a complex definition of the ideal man, in which Francoist martial masculinity required other qualities less often assumed to relate to gendered identities. Although military historians have argued for the value of the traits of morality, spirit, honor, chivalry, discipline, obedience, and subordination to martial ideology, those characteristics cannot be fully understood without placing them under a gendered mode of analysis. Founded on religious morality and spirit, *Apostolado* books, training manuals, and print culture masculinized those qualities.

Catholic Morality and Spirit

Like the system of military pedagogy, the *Apostolado* placed a premium on moral education for all soldiers. The organization pontificated at length on the subject, and sometimes criticized the army for its poor moral levels and harped on the need to improve them⁵³. To the armed forces' broader and less-Catholic discourse, Vigón provides an illustrative counterpoint, arguing in his one of his books that a military style of life or ethos was inextricably linked to Christian morality⁵⁴. Vigón's thought demonstrates that a powerful segment of the armed forces believed that Catholic and military morality were one and the same.

Similarly, to be true Christian men, soldiers had to possess a Catholicized military spirit. A gendered notion, this aspect of martial masculinity imbued recruits and officers with soldierly qualities, allowing them to become exemplary men: «The man with military spirit is an ideal type of man, because he is capable of carrying out his duties...»⁵⁵ Alonso Baquer, arguing that military spirit was religious and Christian,⁵⁶ postulated that

«To be a soldier is something more than being a professional. To be a soldier—and we already know that this denominates a complete man—is to have taken an attitude towards life in which the duties of religion, profession and family are hierarchized and

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 121-125.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 135.

⁵³ See for example, «Cara al futuro», *Reconquista*, VII:73 (enero, 1956), pp. 2-3: p. 2.

⁵⁴ Jorge VIGÓN: *Hay un estilo militar de vida*, Madrid, Editora Nacional, 1966, note to the First Edition. Emphasis in original.

⁵⁵ «Nos afirmamos en nuestras afirmaciones», *Reconquista*, III:30, (junio, 1952), p. 6. This quote is repeated almost verbatim in, «Tu y la disciplina», *Empuje*, XIV:285, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *La religiosidad y el combate...*, p. 14.

ordered. The spirituality of the soldier is precisely the Christian answer to this problem of harmony ... He who must be Christianized is a total man»⁵⁷.

Quite clearly in statements like these, the *Apostolado* presented military spirit as an integral component to being a soldier. Men and soldiers with this spirit personified duty and faith, and valued hierarchy and order.

Like other *Apostolado* authors, Alonso Baquer based the inherent good of military spirit on two key passages in the Bible. In his book on religiosity and the military, he cites Jesus's quote from the Gospel of Matthew 10:34, "I come not to bring peace, but to bring a sword"⁵⁸, and quotes from the Book of Job 7:1, «Military service [*milicia*] is the life of man on Earth»⁵⁹. For Alonso Baquer, an inherently and naturally militant spirituality corresponded to the teachings of Christianity. Military spirit also had uniquely Spanish connotations in his opinion, as it was born in Spain in the heady days of the Reconquest of Iberia from Muslims and became embodied in personages like El Cid⁶⁰. Don Quixote provided another key model for Alonso Baquer. In *Reconquista*, he wrote that Miguel Cervantes's character in particular possessed the key traits of Spanish military spirit: «Loyalty, fidelity, chivalry, ethics in combat, the capacity to suffer and pray»⁶¹. Utilizing both Spain's Catholic history and an interpretation of the fictional Don Quixote as representing a real past, no other military writers spilled more ink than Alonso Baquer or Vigón on establishing the historical and intellectual roots of the notion of Spanish military spirit. Without the qualities provided by this spirit, stressed both authors, neither could soldiers become men nor could men become soldiers.

Honor and Chivalry

Military spirit flowed into other crucial aspects of martial masculinity, including that of honor. Muñelo Alarcón wrote,

«Honor, spirit...! How many times has one heard these words during their time in the barracks! Before coming to the "mili" nobody had spoken of the men who had honor and who could do things only because of [their] spirit, without gaining anything in return»⁶².

Notions of honor weighed heavily in *Apostolado* discourse. Linked to conceptions of Catholic morality, real men possessed honor and the honorable man was a military man. *Apostolado* essays emphasized the religious aspect of the martial code of honor: «The true

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 15.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*. In Spanish: "Milicia es la vida del hombre sobre la tierra." In English this passage is usually translated along the lines of, "Do not mortals have hard service on earth."

⁶⁰ Teniente ALONSO BAQUER: "IV.—EL espíritu militar español", *Reconquista*, XI:125 (mayo, 1960), pp. 29-34: p. 34.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² Gonzalo MUÑELO ALARCÓN: *La última diana...*, pp. 71-72.

man of honor is, then, a religious man»⁶³. Alonso Baquer argued that «The soldier has to be a man of honor. The soldier works believing that stains [of one's] honor cannot be cleaned»⁶⁴. This honor, achieved through religiosity, harkened back to the days of the Christian warriors of the Military Orders: «today's type of man of honor is calculated on, is a copy, an actual representation of the Christian knight of past times»⁶⁵

Often citing Don Quixote as an exemplar, Alonso Baquer also presented chivalry, along with and connected to honor, as integral to a soldier's masculinity⁶⁶. To describe this trait authors used the words *hidalguía* and *caballerosidad*, both of which roughly translate to chivalry. *Hidalguía*, while connoting chivalry, also means nobility, with the noun, *hidalgo*, denoting a nobleman. *Caballerosidad* stems from the word *caballero*, which translates to gentleman, knight, and cowboy. Thus, not only do both terms connote chivalry but also a certain type of man. *Apostolado* authors ascribed additional meaning to these terms, enmeshing the idea of chivalry in many other requirements of martial masculinity.

Alonso Baquer viewed *hidalguía* as a fundamentally Spanish concept rooted in the Middle Ages and inspired by Christianity⁶⁷. Employing Don Quixote, with whom the lineage of *hidalguía* began, Alonso Baquer viewed chivalry as a heritage of the spirit. For men like the knight, it was enough «to fill the soul with an ideal of service, to take to the roads to redress wrongs, to have a lady and to be faithful»⁶⁸. This selective view failed to account for Cervantes's character as not only fictional but also delusional, outmoded, and quixotic. Such selectivity was a hallmark of *Apostolado* interpretations of Cervantes's classic work.

Together with *hidalguía*, chivalry also required *caballerosidad*. Alonso Baquer held this opinion, writing that the historical examples of the Crusades and the Reconquest of the Spain were the highest flowering of medieval chivalry, and that the *caballero* of those times was in fact the antecedent of western European soldiers⁶⁹. The prototypical chivalric soldier for Alonso Baquer was inextricably united with Christianity because the warrior's religious character in armed struggle purified and redeemed in a spiritual sense⁷⁰. Such a conception further contributes to the ideal of the monk-soldier, or in Alonso Baquer's terminology, “*the prayerful and militant knight*.”⁷¹ In relation to chivalry, the *Apostolado*'s im-

⁶³ Francisco DELGADO PIÑAR: “El honor”, *Empuje*, XV: 288-289, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *La religiosidad y el combate...*, p. 97. This is also nearly verbatim to an article Baquer published in *Reconquista* in 1961, see, Teniente ALONSO BAQUER: “4. Visión torcida de las virtudes militares”, *Reconquista*, XII:134 (febrero, 1961), pp. 19-25.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: “Pedagogía de la hidalguía”, *Pensamiento y Acción*, X: 109 (octubre, 1959), pp. 11-12: p. 11.

⁶⁸ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: “Pedagogía de la hidalguía: El linaje”, *Pensamiento y Acción*, X: 110 (noviembre, 1959), pp. 9-10: p. 10.

⁶⁹ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *La religiosidad y el combate...*, p. 88.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*. This aspect of Baquer's thinking within his conception of the monk-warrior could be argued to contain the fascistic element of the importance and inherent value of violence.

⁷¹ Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: *La religiosidad y el combate...*, p. 115. Emphasis in original.

age of the ideal man most resembles that of the half monk, half soldier. Here, the organization's imagining of masculinity reveals that the priest-warrior was a concept based on medieval chivalry, embodied by the fictional character of Don Quixote, and made manifest in the religious wars of reconquest against Muslims. Being half monk meant that a man lived by a rigidly traditional and moral Catholicism. On the soldierly side, a man fought for the holy cause of righteousness as an honorable, chivalrous, and noble knight. Understanding the content of those terms indicates that this imagining of normative masculinity was especially Catholic.

Discipline/Obedience/Subordination

Both the *Apostolado* and military agreed on the importance of discipline, obedience, and subordination. Authors presented these three components as inseparable from one another, and interconnected them with the other key components of martial masculinity. For instance, in his four-part series published in *Pensamiento y Acción* Alonso Baquer argued that obedience constituted a key pillar of military development⁷². For Alonso Baquer, Spain needed a soldier who united within himself the heroism of the characters of Homer, the loyalty of the medieval warriors, the manliness of Spanish noblemen and the professional capacity required by modern techniques⁷³. Once again, Alonso Baquer employed notions of Spanish history to help lay the foundations for this idea within military discourse. Religiosity also infused the manly soldier. Using etymology, Vigón linked subordination to the spiritual:

«Subordination—*sub ordinatio*—is the spiritual disposition of those who submit themselves to a superior management; this concept must be a quality of all those who enter the army...»⁷⁴.

Like Alonso Baquer, and in line with military discourse generally, Vigón stated that obedience and subordination should not be blind, drawing a distinction between military obedience and servility⁷⁵.

Through inducing men to behave obediently in such a proscriptively Catholicized manner, the *Apostolado*'s tried to make Spanish men into Michel Foucault's notion of the "obedient subject," that is a man and member of the nation who allows authority to "function automatically in him..."⁷⁶ Here, the *Apostolado* represents an important nodal point in the power networks of the regime, reinforcing the authoritarian structures of Francoism and the ideology of National-Catholicism. However, despite occupying an advantageous

⁷² Miguel ALONSO BAQUER: "Pedagogía de la obediencia: I. —El hombre disciplinado", *Pensamiento y Acción*, IX:105 (junio, 1959), pp. 8-10: p. 8.

⁷³ *Ibidem*.

⁷⁴ Jorge VIGÓN: *Hay un estilo militar de vida...*, pp. 92-93; and Jorge VIGÓN: *El espíritu militar español...*, pp. 78-79.

⁷⁵ Jorge VIGÓN: *El espíritu militar español...*, pp. 92-93.

⁷⁶ Michel FOUCAULT: *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, New York, Vintage Books, 1991, pp. 128-129.

and central position in the religious reconquest of the Spanish nation, the *Apostolado* continued to complain about the poor moral state of soldiers and their education, suggesting that efforts to instill a particularly pious masculine identity in conscripts was not as successful as traditionalist Catholic Francoists had hoped.

The Conditioning and Control of Male Sexuality

Especially salient in regards to the organization's inability to influence the military was its failure to inculcate a Catholic and moral sexuality in soldiers. Victory in the Civil War presented the Church with the ideal opportunity to advance its view of human sexuality, one which considered sexual subjectivity to be a morally impure sin and considered procreation to be the only appropriate reason for having sexual relations of any kind. In specific, the *Apostolado* firmly grounded men's sexuality within the bounds of marriage and a family⁷⁷. Diverging from the monk-soldier ideal, the *Apostolado* did not call for soldiers to be chaste priests but exhorted them to practice chastity outside marital procreative sex.

The *Apostolado* conjoined this idealized male sexuality with Francoist norms of femininity. If the normative woman in the framework of "true Catholic womanhood" was a "mother, wife, and housekeeper,"⁷⁸ the normative masculinity propagated by the *Apostolado* can be understood as "true Catholic manhood" and the normative man as the "dutiful and chaste husband and father." The honorable life for a man consisted of marrying a Catholic woman, having children, and becoming the patriarch of a family—not necessarily martyring himself in combat. The local relations of men's patriarchal power over their wives and children in the family supported the overall power relations of Francoist paternalism. While head of their own households, men would know and obediently occupy their subordinate place in the family of the nation.

Assuming that soldiers would be sexually tempted during their time in "*la mili*," the *Apostolado* went to great lengths to help them overcome putatively immoral sexual urges. Success in conquering one's sexual desires comprised a key attribute of the *Apostolado*'s version of normative masculinity. Linked especially to *caballerosidad* and *hidalguía*, the organization's discourse asserted the importance of *hombría* (manliness) in particular. *Campaña premilitar* posited that *hombría* was "the typical quality of a man," although it should not be «the brute force of a bull or the sexuality of a monkey or a roost-

⁷⁷ See for example, Aresio GONZÁLEZ DE VEGA: op. cit.; Gonzalo MUINELO ALARCÓN: *El soldado y la mujer (cartas a enamorados)*, Madrid, n.p., 1967; Fernando RIPOLL: "El matrimonio y sus cuatro contratos", *Reconquista*, 295-296 (julio-agosto, 1974), p. 19; Francisco DELGADO PIÑAR: "La familia, esa pieza fundamental de la sociedad: ¿Qué es educar?", *Formación*, 119 (junio, 1963); José María CASES DE ORDAL and Álvaro CAPELLA RIERA: *Hombres de caqui: (Diario de un soldado en la paz)*, Madrid, Editorial LUX MUNDI, 1962, p.145.

⁷⁸ Aurora MORCILLO GÓMEZ: *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain*, Dekalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2000.

er...»⁷⁹ In and of itself, therefore, manliness did not a normative man make. To be sufficiently manly, a specific type of sexualized manhood had to be inculcated in soldiers.



appeals to masculinity: Real men do not have sex with prostitutes.

Along with prostitution, the *Apostolado* concerned itself with masturbation and pornography⁸⁴. Its educational material often declared that engaging in such activities

The *Apostolado* posited chastity before marriage as crucial in turning boys into soldierly men. Imploring soldiers to be masculine, one author pronounced in *Empuje* in a piece entitled “Facets of manliness,” that «I think that he is one hundred times more a man who knows how to maintain his chastity...»⁸⁰. Likewise appealing to masculinity, *Campaña premilitar* advised that when a man failed to be celibate outside marriage, “He is not more of man, but less of a man...”⁸¹ Attempting to instill this chastity, the *Apostolado* cautioned soldiers about engaging in sex with prostitutes from the perspective of masculinity. One pamphlet co-written by a former chaplain and a former high-ranking member of the *Apostolado* contained a section entitled “Neither a man nor a Christian.” These authors warned that going to a brothel even once was enough to lose one’s manhood and religion.⁸² The message is clear: «He who enters a house of prostitution leaves at the door everything that makes him a man»⁸³. In this case, the implication ap-

⁷⁹ *Campaña premilitar...*, pp.10-11.

⁸⁰ Luis DE ARGAMASILLA: “Facetas de la hombría”, *Empuje*, V: 79-80, (primera y segunda quincena de febrero, 1958), p. 2.

⁸¹ *Campaña premilitar...*, p. 28. Emphasis in original.

⁸² José María CASES DE ORDAL and Álvaro CAPELLA RIERA, op. cit., p. 87.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 86. Emphasis in original.

⁸⁴ Homosexuality should also be added to this list. In general, however, the *Apostolado* did not engage much in discussions about homosexuality in their discourse or pedagogy. *Campaña premilitar* is the source that alludes to homosexual acts most directly, again warning of their dangers: “Homosexuality, in whichever of its forms, constitutes a grave aberration that, being contrary to nature and morally as well socially repugnant,” puts those who engage in homosexuality at the margins of society and leads them to

would lead to health problems and moral depravities. For example, taking a hygienic perspective, *Campaña premilitar* told young men that masturbation of any kind came with “grave dangers”⁸⁵. The desire to curb masturbatory practices reveals the ways in which the *Apostolado* sought to condition the private sexualities of Spanish men inside and outside of marriage.

Linked with masturbation, pornography represented another serious problem according to the *Apostolado*. For example, in an article from 1955, the leader of the *Apostolado*

declared pornography a vice “opposed to the moral and physical health of a man”⁸⁶. In general, the organization had a broad definition of pornography, as demonstrated by an illustration from *Reconquista* and *Formación* showing a recruit destroying a pin-up girl calendar⁸⁷.

However, the struggle to keep pornography out of the barracks lost ground to shifts in Spanish society and the military. Following the nation’s economic modernization during the 1960s and 1970s, cultural influences from Western Europe and the United States flooded into Spain. A concurrent inundation of Spain’s beaches with foreign women in bikinis combined with the government’s easing of censorship laws, resulted in a burgeoning culture of erotics in Spain. The military was not insulated from these transformations and, by the 1970s, scantily clad women were a mainstay of RES (*Recreo Educativo del Soldado*) publica-



crime (*Campaña premilitar...*, p. 24). In general, the *Apostolado's* attitude toward intercourse within marriage only for procreation being the most masculine, moral, and healthy form of sex implies that homosexuality is unmanly, immoral, and unhealthy.

⁸⁵ *Campaña premilitar...*, p. 23. See also Aresio GONZÁLEZ DE VEGA, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁸⁶ Luis, ARZOBISPO DE SIÓN: “La pornografía va a los cuarteles...,” p. 5.

⁸⁷ Image n. 1: *Reconquista*, X: 111 (marzo, 1959). This image was also republished in: Gonzalo MUINELO ALARCÓN: “Tony el recluta ye-yé”, *Formación*, XIII: 163 (febrero, 1967).

tions, magazines produced by individual barracks beginning in the late 1960s⁸⁸. The contrast to the *Apostolado* illustration above and its intentions are clear:⁸⁹

Although the *Apostolado* attempted to keep sexualized images of women away from recruits, individual barracks produced evocative images of women for troop's consumption. The organization proved unable to protect young soldiers from what it deemed pornography, while the military fanned the flames of supposed moral depravity with its publications and distribution.

Although the *Apostolado* and its magazines provided soldiers with a Catholic brand of sexual pedagogy, *Para ti... soldado* warns that a young man is not taught these Christian values when first arriving in the military⁹⁰. The book informs conscripts that doctors will give them talks about venereal diseases from a sanitary, rather than moral point of view. This description of pedagogy inspired more by health and hygiene than by morality and religion aptly describes the larger focus of the military's sex education initiatives. In general, the Catholic message of sex and sexuality conflicted with both that of the military and Spanish society. Sexual education for troops in training manuals or the talks *Para ti... soldado* references reflected the reality that soldiers often had sex before and outside marriage and that the military provided sex education that acknowledged those facts. Making matters worse, the *Apostolado* found itself swimming against the current of the Spanish Church when in the 1960s, as Callahan argues, the «reforming tendencies [of Vatican II] introduced a more positive view of marriage and sexuality...»⁹¹. By Franco's death in 1975, the *Apostolado* had proven itself a weak link in the chain of Francoist power, which was itself incapable of binding the Spanish nation to the values of Catholic sexual morality⁹².

The *Apostolado* & the Failures of National-Catholicism

The *Apostolado* consistency trumpeted its rhetoric about normative masculinity for the duration of Franco's dictatorship. Additionally, and regardless of the year, the organization persistently complained about a growing social crisis in the nation's youth, the cure for which was creating normative men by indoctrinating soldiers with the spiritual compo-

⁸⁸ See especially, for example, the R.E.S. publication out of Palma de Mallorca, *Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares*.

⁸⁹ Top middle, image n. 2: José VILANOVA: "Calor' de verano", *El Palleter: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado* (III Región Militar), VII: 46 (julio-agosto, 1972), pp. 20-21. Bottom left, image n. 3: "Galería de Beldades", *Honderos: Revista del Recreo Educativo del Soldado de la Capitanía General de Baleares*, p. 42 (enero-febrero, 1972); Bottom right, image n. 4: *Santa Ana: Revista Ilustrado del C.I.R. nº 3* (Cuarto Llamamiento Reemplazo, 1971), p. 29.

⁹⁰ Aresio GONZÁLEZ DE VEGA: op. cit., pp. 65-66.

⁹¹ William J. CALLAHAN: *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875-1998...*, p. 486.

⁹² In his brief discussion of the *Apostolado*, Losada Malvárez makes the similar argument that even in the 1950s "there is evidence of anxiety in the military that the messages transmitted during military service do not at all interest the recruits, and do not achieve the transformation of their consciences as desired." Juan Carlos LOSADA MALVÁREZ: op. cit., pp. 270-271.

nents of a Catholicized and militarized masculinity. Not only did these complaints fail to decrease over time, but the *Apostolado* repeatedly asserted that the problem was worsening⁹³. As it had from the advent of the regime, masculinity played a fundamental role in curbing Spain's spiritual crisis. Not surprisingly, *Apostolado* authors doggedly posited Catholic morality as the primary solution to the nation's youth crisis as the decades passed. An article in *Reconquista* from October 1974, for instance, went into detail about how the armed forces, through mandatory military service, could save the country's youth from their immorality⁹⁴. These same complaints of spiritual crisis, and their proposed solutions, went back to the beginning of the regime. Despite mandatory military service, cultural and societal shifts in Spain—mirroring those throughout Western Europe and the United States—contributed to the failure of indoctrinating conscripts with the values of traditional Catholicism. Nevertheless, the *Apostolado* was implacable in advocating moral instruction as the panacea for Spain's ills.

Apostolado writers did not simply image the intensification of the nation's spiritual crisis. It was merely their understanding of the cultural liberalization in Spain during the last fifteen years of the dictatorship. Most scholars attribute the economic reforms made by Opus Dei for this progression of Francoist Spain from an economically antiquated country sealed off from outside cultural influences and heavily steeped in Catholicism into a modernized and secularized nation. As mentioned above, all of these processes exposed Spain to foreign, modern, and more liberal cultural attitudes and influences⁹⁵. Those trends led to anxiety in segments of the regime, like the intractable *Apostolado*, about the exacerbation of a disastrous societal crisis.

To make matters worse, after Vatican II the *Apostolado* was not only becoming increasingly distanced from the realities of Spanish society but also those of the Catholic Church. For example, Feliciano Montero García argues that *Acción Católica* «revolved along with Spanish society, the regime itself, and, above all, the Church»⁹⁶. Unlike the Spanish Church and *Acción Católica*, the ultramontane members of the *Apostolado* were quixotic fighters for tradition in the face of these Church-wide modernization efforts. As the organization's discourse demonstrates, not all segments of the Catholic Church or the Francoist

⁹³ See for example, J. BELLAS GASULLA: "Los valores del hombre", *Reconquista*, Época 2:269, (mayo, 1972), pp. 37-43; José RIVERO: "La crisis del espíritu", *Reconquista*, Época 2:270, (junio 1972), pp. 56-57.

⁹⁴ Pedro GARCÍA ZARAGOZA: "La formación moral hoy", *Reconquista*, 298 (octubre 1974), pp. 13-15: p. 14. Also see, Pedro GARCÍA ZARAGOZA: "La formación moral en la actualidad", *Ejército*, XXXVI:421, (febrero, 1975), pp. 56-58: p. 57. The publication of similar arguments by the same author in both *Reconquista* and *Ejército* provide an example of the cross-pollination of *Apostolado* ideas into military discourse more broadly.

⁹⁵ See for example, Antonio CAZORA SÁCHEZ: *Fear and Progress: Ordinary Lives in Franco's Spain, 1939-1975*, Malden, Mass., USA, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, especially pp. 133-172; and Nigel TOWNSEND (ed.): *Spain Transformed: The Late Franco Dictatorship, 1959-1975*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

⁹⁶ Feliciano MONTERO GARCÍA: *La Acción Católica y el franquismo: Auge crisis de la Acción Católica especializada en los años sesenta*, Madrid: Universidad Nacional de educación a Distancia, 2000, p. 15.

military had relinquished the dream of indoctrinating Spaniards with the principles of National-Catholicism.

Conclusion

In that sense, the organization also provides a window into how and why National-Catholicism failed. An examination of the *Apostolado* reveals that from the outset to the end of the Franco era, the regime and Church proved themselves incapable of alleviating the perceived crisis of modernity they had in part gone to war over in 1936. The *Apostolado* never succeeded in curing the moral and spiritual sickness that Catholics in Spain had diagnosed before the war and that its publications repeatedly saw as worsening during Franco's dictatorship. As much a figment of the imagination as Cervantes's Don Quixote, the *Apostolado's* ideal of the normative man in the Catholicized mold of the moral, honorable, and chivalric soldier proved unworkable in Spain. The fictional knight, whose imaginary world of idealized medieval chivalry needed saving from perceived crisis, provides a fitting parallel to the *Apostolado's* fearful view of modernity and the organization's fight against the dangers it thought to be menacing the nation.

That its discourse ultimately failed to Catholicize the nation was not for lack of effort, however, and the *Apostolado* definitively and successfully influenced the creation of military discourse. Analyzing the organization's contribution to that discourse enhances historical understandings of how the *Apostolado* and Francoist military created and disseminated knowledge, how the Catholic Church influenced the armed forces, and how the Franco regime unsuccessfully attempted to instill its version of masculinity in Spanish men. Importantly, due to the fact that the majority of Spanish men served in the armed forces, the *Apostolado* put discourse into practice, and therefore its understanding of martial masculinity did not exist only in the pages of the organization's publications or in the minds of men like Vigón, Alonso Baquer, and Muínelo Alarcón. The *Apostolado Castrense's* specific contribution to this discourse and practice lies in the spiritual realm. Through a complex understanding of normative masculinity, the Catholic Church's organization within the armed forces attempted to put the soul in soldiers—intending, but ultimately failing, to develop warriors for God and men for Spain.