

MMAGAZINES

AND **WAR**

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PROPAGANDA LABORATORIES:

ARTISTS AND MAGAZINES

DURING THE

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

BY

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1. INTRODUCTORY SECTION

Nearly a decade ago, the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía (MNCARS) held an exhibition titled *Arte Moderno y Revistas Españolas 1898-1936* [FIG. 2]. Taking magazines out of the library and archive and putting them on display within a museum context, the curators of the exhibition, Eugenio Carmona and Juan José Lahuerta, sought to call attention to the rich complexity that characterized print culture in relation to the propositions and challenges posed by new art. The range of the magazines, their sheer variety — from the kind of paper and design used to the ambitions of the magazine's editors and contributors — was audacious, demonstrating that one would have to look beyond unique works of art to fully grasp the contours of modern visual culture during the early twentieth century. Even more provocative was the exhibition's primary thesis that no understanding of modern art would be complete without a consideration of magazines as a new creative medium, one that was, at the same time, the principal means by which this same novelty was communicated to readers, locally and internationally.

Instead of dwelling on divisions between “high” and “low,” “élite” and “mass,” “original” and “reproduction” or attempting to articulate one over arching conclusion that might apply to all of the magazines included in the exhibition, *Arte Moderno y Revistas Españolas* proposed that we bracket off such categories and generalizations to look instead at the magazine itself as a complex, and sometimes contradictory, material and visual sign of modernity. The exhibition encouraged visitors to re-imagine the location of modern art not solely within a single artist's studio or upon the walls of a gallery (although in the exhibition this was the place now occupied by the magazines), but as the collaborative product of an editorial board or a print shop. The exhibition focused on those magazines primarily dedicated to literature and the

arts (and thus aimed at a specialized audience), however there was an implicit argument as well: these more limited circulation publications were part of a broader reading and viewing practice that was made available for purchase or trade at street-side kiosks or through regular (and irregular) distribution among friends (and strangers). Artists did not stand apart from the growth of the literary and illustrated press, or uniformly resist its temptations in an effort to be singular. Rather, the exhibition recognized that artists responded repeatedly, albeit in radically different ways, to the call to participate in a new kind of collective identity in print. Modern artists understood, and often took advantage of the fact, that paper in circulation had come to define the most advanced forms of political and artistic communication, and that manifestos of all kinds were finding their way to an increasingly diversified readership.¹ Magazines created a networked world, well before our twenty-first century understanding of the term, wherein print culture broadened and deepened the ways in which artists were able to participate in a growing sense of public culture, even when the size and demographic of that public may have been limited for programmatic or material reasons.

Following *Arte Moderno y Revistas Españolas*, the MNCARS organized *Fotografía Pública* [FIG. 3], which was grounded in the idea, as explained by curator Horacio Fernández, that “Photography was, from its very beginnings, public.”² As a public medium, photography became the defining feature of a new kind of illustrated press that brought images from afar close up for inspection. As an international technology that was enlisted by artists and industrialists to create new forms of communication and display, photography

¹ See Janet Lyon, *Manifestoes: Provocations of the Modern* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999) and Mary Ann Caws, ed., *Manifesto: A Century of Isms* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

² Horacio Fernández, “Introduction,” *Fotografía Pública: Photography in Print, 1919-1939* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1999), 28.

fueled the kind of cross-cultural networks mapped out in the MNCARS's earlier exhibition. Surveying a spectrum of print culture — from specialized technical journals to mass-circulation illustrated newspapers — the exhibition extended a discussion of magazines and modernity to include an expansive understanding of the relationship that magazines held with other forms of mass media. Posters and postcards were seen as facets of the same impulse that drove photography from imitating the selective culture of the salon to embracing the psychology of advertising and engaging the fraught terrain of political ideology. Together these exhibitions made the case for seeing magazines as dynamic forms of artistic dialogue and exchange. As multi-layered visual and textual artifacts, magazines hold as strong a place within the history of modernity as any other singular work of art. When magazines are brought into the museum, viewers are asked to think about the visual arts within a much broader field, one that includes issues related to manufacturing, censorship, labor, distribution, and literacy [FIGS. 4 and 5].

As much as magazines are motivated by literary and artistic projects, they also carry a social function that is both entrepreneurial and political, even when the politics of the magazine appear to challenge the economic structure of the press as an institution.³ At times, this social role, when linked to a specific partisan position, has been described as “art in the service of politics,” however the relation of magazines to their social and cultural context extends far beyond any single political agenda. The question of whether or not art should exist within or outside of political pressures resonated with contributors to and readers of these new illustrated journals. Thus, publicly intentioned or not, magazines were by context political objects, even if

their editors wanted them to be considered primarily on aesthetic terms. Within the field of literary studies, the subject of “little magazines” has received increasing attention, in large part because they offer the opportunity to think about modernism in much more specific and nuanced ways, and because as theoretical objects they straddle the aesthetic and the political.⁴ Though treasured for their avant-garde design and content, and produced for a select cultural élite, “little magazines” often engaged with ideas, debates, and scandals from mass culture. One of the pressing topics for scholars looking at these magazines is not whether or not there was a relation between limited and mass circulation magazines, but rather the challenge of describing the nature of that relation. Artists, like their cohabitants of modern life, were readers, consumers, and critics of the mass press. Where they differed from most other readers was in their response; artists who created magazines drew from and against what they were surrounded by and, in this sense, the little magazines are also sites from which to gauge the avant-garde as a particular group of readers whose own publications, in turn, were often cited and reviewed in the daily press. The manifestations of this dialogue in print can be tracked in both the visual and textual forms taken by the magazines.

In *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception 1905-1920*, Mark Morrisson argues that early twentieth-century modernists in America and England, before and during World War I, saw promotion and the mass market as the means to reshape the public sphere, to create a space within low cost, little magazines for counter culture. For Morrisson, the central question is whether modernists saw mass-market publicity as a crisis or a new opportunity for liter-

³ For an excellent discussion of these issues in relation to nineteenth-century Spanish periodicals, see the recent work of Lou Charon-Deutsch: “The Making of Mass Media in Spain,” *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 32.1 (Spring 2005): 186-226; and “From Engraving to Photo: Cross-cut Technologies in the Spanish Illustrated Press,” *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. Susan Larson and Eva Woods (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 1780-206.

⁴ See the special issue “Little Magazines and Modernism,” ed. Suzanne Churchill and Adam Mckible, *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism and Bibliography* 15.1 (2005).

ary and artistic experimentation. Morrisson posits that it was by adopting the lessons of the market — publicity in particular — that modern authors and editors attempted to create and distribute experimental work within the frame of the radical politics of the alternative press. Thus, not only were avant-garde artists and writers adopting lessons from business and early experiments in marketing, they were doing so to challenge these same institutions. In addition, as the MNCARS's exhibitions and scholarship like Morrisson's make clear, we have to understand the press itself as a diversified field where alternative and mass-market periodicals exist alongside a range of other kinds of publications. Whether or not, and how, artists and intellectuals were able to articulate their politics from within or outside the institutional apparatus of the press indicates that the decision to participate in magazine culture — as an editor, writer, illustrator, photojournalist, publisher, distributor, or reader — was one that carried high stakes, and could represent a significant, politically committed gesture. It is with the question of the relation of illustrated, literary, and artistic magazines to mass politics that this new exhibition organized by the MNCARS is most concerned. What choices do artists have when participating in a press that is, sometimes by circumstance and other times by choice, defined by its politics? Within extreme situations of war, that span from boredom to violence,⁵ what role do magazines play? Does the visual content of magazines suffer as a result of the restrictive conditions of wartime contexts, or do magazines continue to

exist (and perhaps even thrive) as a location for modern art during war?

Some of the last magazines published in the catalogue for *Arte Moderno y Revistas Españolas 1898-1936* appeared during the summer of 1936. Looking at the covers of these magazines, it is difficult to understand immediately how, if at all, the rising political tensions and the war itself would be registered in print culture. Indeed, even into the war, many magazines stubbornly resisted displaying any political conflict on their covers. The ambiguity of modernity, and the complicity of print culture with the difficulty to trace a clean line between art and politics, seems particularly evident at this historical moment when mass politics and mass culture met violently, even if not so suddenly. The exhibition provoked an important, necessary question: What happened to the role of artists in the production of magazines during and after the outbreak of the civil war in July 1936?⁶ *Revistas y Guerra 1936-1939* seeks to explore this and other questions by surveying a selection of the hundreds of magazines that were published in Spain from the summer of 1936 to the spring of 1939. Some of the magazines that began publication before or during the Second Republic, and were featured in *Arte Moderno y Revistas Españolas*, continued to appear during the war, including *Nueva Cultura* [CAT. 177], *A.C.: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, *Isla* and *Mediodía* [CATS. 142 and 143]. Now responding to a different set of limitations and conditions, these magazines nonetheless renewed their commitments to readers and often

⁵ Although the issue of banality and war has been under explored in relation to the Spanish context, classic studies on this concept in relation to Nazism in Germany and Fascism in France are: Hannah Arendt, *Eichman in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking Press, 1964); and Alice Yaeger Kaplan, *Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature, and French Intellectual Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

⁶ In an essay that I wrote a few years ago on the role of the visual arts in political magazines during the Second Republic, I did not address the vitality of the illustrated press in war despite the fact that many of the artists and publications treated in that essay continued in the same or other forms during the war. Having now researched the topic more fully, I would revise some my conclusions about artists and their role in the wartime press, especially with respect to the relation between political ideology and creative expression. See Jordana Mendelson with Estrella de Diego, "Political Practice and the Arts in Spain," *Art and Journals on the Political Front, 1910-1940*, ed. Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 183-214.

made their longevity in the face of war a demonstration of defiance. Some magazines not featured in the MNCARS's earlier exhibition, like the Valencian *Estudios* or the Catalan *Tiempos Nuevos* [CAT. 210], come to take on an even greater presence during the war by returning readers to their long-standing radical politics as a prominent feature of their editorials and publishing agendas. By including these and other titles in *Revistas y Guerra*, we hope to indicate that in many ways the proliferation of magazines, many with dedicated political philosophies, was not a novelty of war but the continuation of a practice that was based on decades of innovation in and dedication to the graphic arts by artists, writers, and skilled technicians throughout Spain. Understanding and questioning, with an open mind, the links between pre-war, wartime, and post-war magazines provides a fuller view into the complex stories, collaborations, and sometime contradictions that created the deep historical and artistic context for what took place in the art studios, print shops and editorial offices of the magazines on display in this exhibition. The role of group identities,⁷ the geographies of design and publishing in Spain, the significance of publicity and psychology, and the influence of international trends and artistic networks are all important factors in tracking the relation of wartime publications to the pre-war.

In addition to understanding the longer history of these early twentieth-century magazines, it is critically important to recognize that, with war, new practices, contributors, and readers also emerged and, for this reason, the main focus of *Revistas y Guerra* is on illustrated magazines that began during the war, on both sides of the conflict. The protagonists in this exhibition are magazines that were marked by their connection to events, institutions, and circumstances that dominated the

⁷ On the role of group identities in Spain during the early twentieth century, see Susanna Tavera and Enric Ucelay da Cal, "Grupos de afinidad, disciplina bélica y periodismo libertario, 1936-1938," *Historia Contemporánea* 9 (1993): 167-190.

everyday lives of individuals on the front and in the rear guard. Many of these magazines are beautiful *and* violent objects. They display in their manufacture practiced ideas about design and literary culture, even when they were created on the front by self-taught and soldier-artists. Some were printed on *couché* paper, rich with illustrations, and were declaratively modern. Others were more conventional in appearance, even restrained, while some made traditional iconography and conservative design into a political ideology. Yet, all were products of war, something that should be kept in mind when trying to examine the conditions of their production and the outcome of their appearance through critical analysis and academic study. Magazines published during war are not neutral objects. Those who participated in their publication often faced persecution, both during and after the war. For some, the tons of paper that were collected after the war served as criminal testimony. The papers from the war that survive today are traces of the sacrifices made so that images and ideas in print could continue to circulate. The survival of so many magazines from the war — often conserved at great risk to their owners — is further testament to the importance these artifacts held at the time of their production and long afterwards. Our hope is that this exhibition and accompanying catalogue serve as a platform for dialogue about these issues, and about the significance of artists to any discussion about the value of and risks to culture during war.

The magazines in this exhibition all include the visual arts in some way or another, on covers, featured in articles, or as part of the magazine's central mission. Literary and arts magazines form a core group of publications, including *Hora de España* [CAT. 116], *Meridià* [CAT. 144], and *Cauces* [CAT. 139], but they are not the majority to be surveyed. The objective of most wartime magazines, even if difficultly met, was to reach the greatest number of people: they were principally issued as forms of propaganda. Though few were aimed at a reduced audience, many were focused on a partic-

ular group and an even greater number were, by intention or fate, single issue or short-run publications. The difficulty of obtaining paper, ink, and access to working presses were among the major challenges faced by any publisher. And, yet, there were magazines like *Mi Revista* and *Umbral* that lasted nearly the entire duration of the war. The main publishers of wartime magazines were political or cultural organizations, trade unions, government departments, and military divisions. What is most surprising about these magazines is the great variety that existed among them, the vigorous participation of artists in their design, and the hard-to-believe fact that, until recently and on rare occasions,⁸ these magazines have received scant attention from scholars as visual artifacts. In contrast to the numerous exhibitions, articles, and books dedicated to the posters produced during the Spanish Civil War, similar attention has not been paid to the serially produced, multi-page magazines that were visible throughout the war, in the trenches, on display in kiosks, distributed by subscription, or available at public reading rooms.

To date, there has been no exhibition or monographic study dedicated to surveying the visual content of Spanish Civil War magazines, despite the vast number of illustrated magazines that were published. This is not a question of an absence from the historical record, as these magazines were registered at the time of their publication and have in their majority been at least partially reviewed in scholarly bibliographies and inventories. In a July 1938 article in *Blanco y Negro*, Juan Fer reported during a tour of Madrid's Hemeroteca Municipal that the "catalogue of wartime press has reached more than five hundred titles" [FIG. 6]. After recalling General Miaja's order that two copies of every serial publication be deposited with the Hemeroteca and acknowledging the function of the collection as an

"historic document," Fer made a particularly keen observation about the value of tracking wartime publications over the course of their development: "Our companion shows us some magazines from the front, many of which have been archived from their first number. In these one sees the continual progress of a publication, from the first numbers written in pencil to the present ones printed on *couché* paper, and [magazines] that constitute a true display of [design and] confection" [CATS. 105 and 181] Recognizing the importance of Fer's insight into the evolution of magazines over the course of the war, in the MNCARS exhibition and catalogue we have tried to make the transformations within specific publications visible by showing several issues of a single title. At the same time, while Fer seems to indicate a progressive development of magazines from pencil to *couché*, during the war multiple formats, design techniques, and quality of papers coexisted, a reality of wartime publishing that is immediately apparent when one consults the volumes of Spanish Civil War periodicals still conserved in the Hemeroteca today.

The total number of magazines published during the war is difficult to determine, not only because of the challenge of strictly defining objects that often appear to blur the difference between magazine, newspaper and bulletin, but also because of the vast quantity of publications that appeared throughout Spain during the war. In his *Cuadernos Bibliográficos de la guerra de España*, Vicente Palacio Atard catalogued "1,346 serial publications from the war, the majority edited in Spain"; Palacio Atard knew of another hundred or so more from references.⁹ His catalogue included periodicals from both sides of the conflict and although recent studies have provided additional titles and information, this early compilation provides a solid foundation from which to survey the

⁸ In addition to the authors mentioned in the following sections of the text, see also Ramond Conlon, "Loyalist Graphic Art," *The Spanish Civil War and the Visual Arts*, ed., Kathleen Vernon (Ithaca: Center for International Studies, Cornell University Press, 1990), 104-125.

⁹ Vicente Palacio Atard, "La prensa periódica durante la guerra civil," *La Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, Archivos y Museos, 1980), 56.

field of magazines published from 1936-1939. In 1988, Julio Aróstegui coordinated *Historia y Memoria de la Guerra Civil. Encuentro en Castilla y León. Salamanca, 24-27 de septiembre de 1986*, which included in its third volume a comprehensive treatment of the periodicals published in the Francoist zones during the war [FIG. 7]. Eduardo González Calleja, Fredes Limón Nevado and José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez catalogued 961 titles, among which were included newspapers, magazines, and other forms of serial publications.¹⁰ In 1992, Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart dedicated a three volume study to the “prensa de guerra” published on the republican side during the war; she catalogued 454 serial publications, with another twenty-three cited but not consulted.¹¹ Not included in her study are those magazines published in the republican controlled zones that were not explicitly dedicated to wartime propaganda. We are, thus, confronted with a situation in which during three years of war somewhere between 1,500 and 2000 periodicals were published. Multiply this number by the individual issues edited of each title, and one gains an appreciation for the ubiquity and importance of artists’ participation in the creation of thousands of highly visible, widely circulating, and far reaching publications.

In addition to these and other inventories of the press that have been organized geographically, chronologically or by political affiliation, focused studies have helped to shed light on the particular situation of the arts during the war. Rafael Pérez Contel’s two-volume *Artistas en Valencia, 1936-1939* included a section dedicated to periodicals and reproduced several covers from Valencian magazines. Miguel A. Gamonal Torres’s *Arte y Política*

en la Guerra Civil Española: El Caso Republicano has become a corner stone for understanding the presence of the arts in the polemics of the Spanish Civil War on the republican side. Like Pérez Contel, Gamonal Torres reproduced a selection of pages and covers from magazines that should have provoked more scholarly attention given the clear indications that these magazines, from which most of the primary texts reproduced in his anthology came, were significant visual artifacts in their own right. Studies on artists working on Falangist and Francoist propaganda similarly demonstrated that magazines became one of the leading platforms for artists to contribute to wartime propaganda. Alexandre Cirici’s *Estética del Franquismo* from 1977 and, more recently and in greater detail, Ángel Llorente’s *Arte e ideología en el franquismo, 1936-1951* reproduced illustrations, designs, and covers from magazines that clearly demonstrate the fact that magazines were a contested territory shared by artists on all sides of the conflict.

In preparing this exhibition, we have benefited tremendously from the above mentioned studies as well as the ground breaking work of other authors, including José Álvarez Lopera, Alicia Alted Vigil, Manuel Aznar Soler, Ana Isabel Álvarez-Casado, María Campillo, Enric Satué, Andrés Trapiello, and Miriam Basilio. Scholars coming from the fields of political science and military history, have also noted the proliferation of magazines during the war, and have charted their relation to ideology, military strategy, and union politics¹² [FIG. 8]. Unfortunately, even those authors interested in the role of artists in war have paid scant, if any, attention to the magazine as an object that calls for visual (as well as historical, political, and economic)

¹⁰ Eduardo González Calleja, Fredes Limón Nevado, and José Luis Rodríguez Jiménez, “Catálogo de las publicaciones periódicas localizadas en la zona franquista durante la guerra civil española,” Julio Aróstegui, coord., *Historia y Memoria de la Guerra Civil. En cuenta en Castilla y León. Salamanca, 24-27 de septiembre de 1986. Vol. III. Hemerografías y Bibliografías* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1988), 9-164.

¹¹ Mirta Núñez Díaz-Balart, *La prensa de guerra en la zona republicana durante la guerra civil española (1936-1939)*, tomo I (Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1992), 15.

¹² See, for example, Michael Seidman’s work on resistance to labor in Spain during the civil war; he uses for some of his case studies unions representing workers in the graphic arts. Michael Seidman, “Individualisms in Madrid during the Spanish Civil War,” *The Journal of Modern History* 68.1 (1996): 63-83.

analysis. Only in the last few years have curators and art historians written dedicated studies on specific artists, agencies, and locations that produced illustrated publications during the war [FIG. 9]. Among the most useful for this exhibition have been José Ángel Ascunce's *San Sebastián, Capital Cultural (1936-1940)*, Javier Pérez Segura's *Horacio Ferrer*, the monographic exhibitions on print culture and graphic design organized by the IVAM and the MNCARS over the past decade, and Miguel Sarró's recently published *Pinturas de Guerra. Dibujantes Antifascistas en la Guerra Civil Española*, which provides one of the strongest indications of the scope of artists' involvement in wartime publications, while arguing for the urgent need to compile information about these artists, their lives, and the magazines and newspapers to which they contributed [CATS. 61 and 161].

Given the overwhelming documentation supporting the significance of magazines in war, why the lack of attention paid to objects that have been shown to play such a significant role in the cultural politics of the civil war? Logistical and methodological challenges may provide some explanation. The titles of many civil war magazines and their affiliations eschew the artistic for the technical or descriptive. For example, who would expect to find Boni Naval's colorful illustrations and montages on the covers of the magazine *Transporte en Guerra: Órgano del servicio de tren del Ejército del Centro?* [FIG. 10]. Likewise, how would scholars have known to look for the work of Mauricio Amster or José Bardasano, two of Spain's most renowned designers, on the covers of *Tierra, Mar y Aire: Revista Militar* [CAT. 212] or *Pasionaria: Revista de las mujeres antifascistas de Valencia?*¹³ [CAT. 187]. Civil war magazines are not centralized in one location; the magazines in this exhibition come from many

different archives, libraries, and private collections from, among other places, Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, La Coruña, Sevilla, and Málaga. Even if a researcher is familiar with a text or image that has been transcribed or reprinted from a civil war magazine, it is uncommon to consult the original publication. Most scholars have no idea that the magazine from which their research comes was full of illustrations and dynamic design elements. Seeing the original magazine provides critical insights and a new understanding of the material presence these magazines held at the time of their publication, and yet few scholars (and even fewer members of the general public) are able to gain access to these magazines on a regular basis. The geography of the history of the war and of graphic design in Spain have contributed to the difficulty in gaining the broadest view possible of these magazines, what they looked like, and the details of their publication history. Most archives do not conserve full serial runs. When available, researchers are usually provided with a microfilm or digital version instead of the originals (in order to conserve the paper copy from further deterioration). As a result of the scarcity and inaccessibility of civil war magazines, the visual impact that the drawings, montages, and designs might have for artists and scholars today has been lessened if not entirely lost in their mediated form.

Methodologically, a study of artists and magazines during the Spanish Civil War challenges discipline-specific categories. Scholars working on print culture come from a variety of fields and draw upon knowledge gained from areas that often reside outside of their professional specialization. In the past, magazines were largely subjects considered under the umbrella of communications or journalism. Both areas offer insights into how to study print culture within its historical context and in terms of its

¹³ In addition to the exhibitions held at MNCARS dedicated to magazines mentioned above, see also the following monographic exhibition catalogues: Patricia Molins and Carlos Pérez, eds., *Mauricio Amster: Tipógrafo* (Valencia: IVAM, 1997); Juan Manuel Bonet and J. Ramón Escrivá, eds., *Antonio Ballester: Esculturas y Dibujos* (Valencia: IVAM, 2000); Patricia Molins, ed., *Enric Crous-Vidal: De la Publicidad a la Tipografía* (Valencia: IVAM; Lérida: Museu d'Art Jaume Morera, 2000); Patricia Molins, ed., *Los humoristas del 27* (Madrid: MNCARS, 2002).

rhetorical function (written, verbal and visual). Some of the most interesting work being done on magazines has come out of the interdisciplinary field of modernist studies and has been undertaken largely by literary scholars.¹⁴ Art historians have rarely engaged with print culture to the degree required in an examination of the press. Photography, prints, and drawings are generally those media included within art histories, and even then they are still considered “minor arts.” As a result, few art historians have considered the artistic content of magazines (not only the “little magazines” but also mass produced and popular magazines). There are exceptions and those scholars working on the history of print, photography, and design have turned to magazines and other forms of print culture as part of a wider field within which to understand the relation between media and culture.¹⁵ Thus, by paying attention to these magazines as visual artifacts, and by registering the quantity and diversity of the artists who contributed to them, it is impossible not to reevaluate the methodologies needed to write an art history of the Spanish Civil War.

In making the selection of works for *Revistas y Guerra*, we have been limited by issues of conservation and space, as well as the desire to give an organization to the material that might allow visitors

to the exhibition and readers of this catalogue to understand the intersecting stories that this material brings forward. If a magazine is bound or fragile often we were unable to request it for exhibition. In some cases there are few places that conserve a particular title, so despite its centrality to this subject, a specific magazine may not be included in the exhibition. We hope to remedy some of these absences through the reproduction of select additional magazines in the catalogue. Similarly, though we have sought to exhibit the greatest number and variety of magazines, space is a factor when trying to show hundreds of magazines, each one a multi-page object that exists serially. For every example of a magazine displayed, there were tens of others that might have been exhibited in its place. We have not included newspapers, though many like *Tierra y Libertad*, *ABC* (published in both Seville and Madrid), *Ahora*, *Mundo Gráfico*, and *La Vanguardia* [FIG. 11] included illustrations and were significant publications during the war. We encourage visitors to the exhibition and readers of this catalogue to take our selection as an impetus to further explore this subject on their own, by visiting libraries and archives and taking advantage of the increasing digitization of magazines from the period that have been published on the Web. During the exhibition, digitized copies of a selection of civil war magazines

¹⁴ Individual papers and group panels have been regularly featured as part of the annual conference of the Modernist Studies Association.

¹⁵ See for example: *Graphic Design in the Mechanical Age: Selections from the Merrill C. Berman Collection*, with contributions by Maud Lavin and Ellen Lupton (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998); *Montage and Modern Life, 1919-1942*, ed. Matthew Teitelbaum (Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press, 1992); *From the Picture Press*, ed. John Szarkowski (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1973); and the exhibition *The Rise of the Picture Press*, held at the International Center of Photography in 2002.

¹⁶ The digitization of select Spanish Civil War magazines and the creation of a Web portal and data base for this project was funded in part by the Campus Research Board, Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and the National Center for Supercomputing Applications and the University of Illinois, under the auspices of the NCSA/UIUC Faculty Fellows Program. Additional support was provided by the Rare Book and Special Collections Library and the School of Art and Design, UIUC. Throughout the course of this project, I have received support from a number of grants, for which I am grateful: a William and Flora Hewlitt Summer International Grant, UIUC (2000); a Campus Research Board Grant and a European Union Center Research Grant, UIUC, a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend, and a Research Grant from the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and North American Universities (2002); and a Mellon Faculty Fellowship, UIUC (2003). The writing of this catalogue was undertaken in part while a member in fall 2005 at the School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ.

held in the collections of the MNCARS and the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign library will be available for browsing virtually on a monitor displayed within the exhibition space.¹⁶ This material will also be developed into an on-line Web site so that scholars and members of the general public may gain greater access to the historical ephemera of the civil war. Our hope in creating this parallel digital archive is to provide visitors with the ability to experience the magazines as multi-page objects, as well as to create a scholarly portal on the Web through which the examples of civil war magazines and related documentation gathered for this exhibition might have a prolonged after-life as a stimulus for new research. In addition to ventures that enlist new technologies,¹⁷ there also has been a continued interest in the facsimile publication of some Spanish Civil War magazines; these too are an excellent resource for extending one's knowledge of and experience with the complexity of magazines as visually and materially significant historical objects.¹⁸

The organization of this catalogue roughly follows that of the exhibition by thinking about these magazines in relation to broad thematic areas, editorial organizations, and specific artists involved in their production. Because the exhibition charts the publication of magazines from the many sides of the conflict — Loyalist and Insurgent, Republican and Nationalist, Anarchist and Communist, among others — there is also a geography of these magazines that is loosely followed. The republican government held control of Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia for most of the war's duration. Bilbao was initially held by the

government and then fell to Franco's troops in June 1937. The military insurgency led by General Francisco Franco took control of Sevilla, Burgos, Málaga, Palma de Mallorca, La Coruña, Pamplona, Salamanca and San Sebastián. From all of these, and other, locations magazines were published. The quality and duration of many of the magazines depended upon the existing publishing infrastructure in these cities. By far, the leading centers for magazine publication throughout the war were Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and San Sebastián. In these locations, the materials, factories, and print shops often drew on supplies and expertise from before the war,¹⁹ creating unusual lines of continuity in the publication of images or the appearance of the magazine itself. Although not included in this exhibition or catalogue, to fully track the legacy of these publications one would need to consider the post-war histories of the writers, artists, publishers, and magazines in exile and Francoist Spain. Likewise, to understand the comparative impact of print culture during the war, Spanish magazines would need to be brought into relation with those published internationally. Foreign magazines that featured images and stories about the war often drew their materials from original Spanish sources; conversely foreign magazines also exercised a significant influence over Spanish print culture. Thus, the aim of the following text is modest in comparison to what may be needed to grasp the full story of Spanish Civil War magazines. Through a series of case studies, this catalogue will provide a window into the intersecting relations of artists, publishers, and readers during the Spanish Civil War who understood

¹⁷ See, for example, *Republica de les Lletres(CD) Quaderns del Literatura, Art i Política 1937-1938: Números 1 al 8: Valencia 1934-1936* (Valencia: Faximil Edicions Digital, 2005).

¹⁸ Among the many Spanish Civil War magazines that have been republished in facsimile editions, see *Isla (Cádiz & Jerez, 1932-1940)*, Ed. facs. (Cádiz: Renacimiento, 2006); *Comisario (Madrid: Comisariado del Grup de Ejércitos de la Zona Central, 1938-1939)*, Ed. facs. (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003); *Milicia Popular (Madrid: Prensa Española, 1936-1937)*, Ed. facs. (Barcelona: Hacer, 1977); and Topos Verlag's "Biblioteca del 36," which included *El Mono Azul*, *Nueva Cultura* and *Hora de España*.

¹⁹ See Renau's comments about existing supplies used to make propaganda at the start of the war in María Riupérez, "Renau-Fontseré: Los Carteles de la Guerra Civil," *Tiempo de Historia* 49 (1978): 10-25.

magazines to be a central part of their daily activity, and who took the visual appearance of magazines to represent a critically important component of wartime cultural production.

2. FROM THE TRENCH TO THE WALL: MAGAZINES AT THE FRONT

Government propaganda agencies were among the most prolific editors of magazines during the war, and their activities in publishing extended from the rear guard into the front lines, making the trench one of the war's most active locations for the production and distribution of magazines [FIG. 12]. On the republican side, the Junta de Defensa de Madrid, the Comissariat de Propaganda de la Generalitat de Catalunya, the Subcomisariado de Propaganda del Comisariado General de Guerra, the Milicianos de Cultura, and later the Ministerio de Propaganda all actively supported the publication of magazines during the war. Contributing further to the production of magazines and other forms of print propaganda were the related organizations of the Altavoz del Frente and the Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas para la Defensa de la Cultura, each with its own magazine. Among the brigades fighting in support of the popular front government, and especially after the centralization of the armed forces with the Comisario as the leading political figure within the popular army, the "periódico del frente" or newspaper on the front, took on an increasingly important role as the primary vehicle for building morale, making public newly adopted slogans, or "consignas," of the day, and undertaking one of the central tenets of the government: the promotion of culture and literacy as weapons against fascism.

On the Insurgent side, the Delegación de Prensa y Propaganda del Estado (in Salamanca), the

Delegación de Prensa y Propaganda de Falange (in Pamplona) and later the combined Delegación Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda de Falange y de las J.O.N.S. worked to create a comprehensive network of serial publications. Editorials in the Falange's magazines *Fotos*, *Vértice*, and *La Ametralladora* boasted of reaching soldiers on the front. The free distribution of magazines was a shared strategy adopted by both sides during the war. Photographs of soldiers reading magazines filled the press, and were often used as a way of promoting the close connection between the magazine's stated and accomplished objectives as a useful wartime commodity. However, there is a sharp and quantifiable difference between the number of serials published by Francoist and republican forces on the front. Whereas there are limited cases of magazines being edited by the armed forces fighting under Franco, and only *La Ametralladora* [CAT. 12] was published specifically for soldiers,²⁰ on the republican side the number of bulletins, newspapers, and magazines published on the front, and in the service of the armed forces, proliferated throughout the war. Because most of the war military units deployed to defend Madrid were considered front-line combatants, many of the brigades stationed near the capital were able to make use of existing printing presses and the proximity to the city to obtain material and human resources.

The printing press was praised in many wartime periodicals as one of the primary means for transmitting and unifying political ideals. Melitón Ballesteros wrote in his February 1938 article on "Gutenberg in Civilization" for the front-line magazine *50 Brigada*, "Gutemberg [sic] invented the printing press, the marvelous medium for the diffusion of culture that we know today." In Ballesteros's estimation, it was the printing press that allowed for the spread of class-consciousness and the "imposition of the empire of truth." He reminded his fellow soldiers that culture signified the

²⁰ See, Jerry W. Knudson, "Military Propaganda in the Spanish Civil War," *Mass Communication Review* 16.3 (1989): 21-28.

unification of humanity, and implied that the printing press was one of the key inventions to accelerate this process. For Ballesteros and others who published editorials about the press during the war, the publication of a bulletin, newspaper or magazine was heralded as a major accomplishment, an act of heroism and determination that for some was seen as a building block for social revolution and, for others, the foundation for military victory. Given that these pronouncements — about the history of the press in general and of individual publications specifically — appeared in the same serials that were being praised, readers gain quick insight into two of the primary characteristics to define civil war magazines produced in and for the trenches: self-referentiality and repetition.

The history of the illustrated press is full of instances in which a magazine refers to itself, its own history, and its perceived relationship with its readers as part of its editorial content. The strategy was often used as a way to establish the stability, reliability, and authority of the press. In the context of the Spanish Civil War, magazine editors and their contributors employed self-referentiality to create a sense of legitimacy for newly formed or recently collectivized publications. Often this took the form of reprinting past covers within current issues, recounting the labor involved in bringing a magazine to press, or commemorating a specific number of issues published. Not only was the magazine's own history made a protagonist, but the risks involved in establishing and maintaining a wartime publication were also thematized. *ABC. Diario Republicano de Izquierdas* (Madrid) [FIG. 13] published a full-page reportage with photographs by Díaz Casariego on "A Newspaper that is Made on the Front-Lines" showing the editorial team, typographers, and the innovative "coche-imprensa," or automobile-printing press, that was built by the first regiment of the *Milicias Populares* in order to publish the periodical *Avance*.²¹ The captions under the photographs underlined the fact that

Avance was made "entirely on the front lines." Other magazines assured readers of a similarly authentic connection to the realities of war by indicating the sometimes changing locations of a magazine's editorial office with the highly significant "en campaña," or in the field. For those not on the front, the magazine became a material referent of a perhaps distant battleground, something that brought a version of the realities of war closer to home. For those on the front, the magazine became a voice for their own concerns and experiences, and was described as such by editors. The trench magazine, like other wartime periodicals, was published for multiple constituents, both on the front and in the rear guard. Throughout the war the first issue of almost any publication was careful to outline the rationale for its appearance, while at the same time emphasizing the sacrifices being made to insure the relevance and service of the periodical to the war's military objectives.

As in the front-line mobile press of the *Milicias Populares*, other military units and union controlled shops highlighted ingenuity and dogged perseverance as the key to their continued ability to produce printed material during the war. *Ímpetu: Revista de Carabineros* (Madrid), which featured covers by the illustrator Augusto [CATS. 125 and 126] and was a large format fully illustrated magazine, published a special issue in January 1939 that explained: "The situation of the Press is very difficult because of diverse circumstances ... the effects of which are frequently noted in magazines."²² Time and again the editorial emphasized the connection between the magazine and the war, pointing out to its readers that the burden of bringing out the publication was carried solely by the "carabineros," or the armed guards, and that the magazine "is not distanced from front line combat" since "[The magazine] is made right in the middle of the contingencies of war." Not wanting to be seen as a frivolous magazine in the service of design for its own sake, the editorial

²¹ "Un periódico que se hace en los frentes," *ABC. Diario Republicano de Izquierdas* (21 October 1936): 16.

²² "Editorial," *Ímpetu*, special issue (1 January 1939): 3.

repeatedly defended its publication of literary reports by the capital's best writers and "photographic notes of intense modernity," explaining: "Our graphic sections, of abundant and exuberant perspectives, are not a beautiful light, but the great light of contemporary History, for which this publication lives." Even if the reiteration of its ambition to be both beautiful and topical was particularly emphatic, the high pitch of *Ímpetu's* insistence on its relevance to war and its dedication to bringing out a quality magazine were not unusual.

To reinforce the hyperbole apparent in the editorial's detailed account of its mission, *Ímpetu's* special issue included a two-page spread on "*Ímpetu's* Printing Press" [FIG. 14]. Following a description of the city transformed by fighting that tore apart architecture and continually upset daily routines, the article directed the reader's attention to the photographs that accompany the text:

"Look among these graphic motifs ... at this comrade, already very old, whose wrinkled hands jump over the keyboard of the linotype machine. He alone takes up the deeds of Madrid's workers. To him, thus, goes the offering of the homage of admiration that we owe to all of the workers in the capital of the Republic."²³

The photographs contrast images of buildings destroyed and the general chaos of war with the repeated labors of an older worker; juxtaposition here works rhetorically to create an implied proximity between the two contexts. As the editorial insists, *Ímpetu's* printing press served as a "marco," or frame, for the heroism of war. Scenes of work that might otherwise appear peaceful, we are reminded "take on life in the zones where the fascist artillery sends bursts of destruction and death." One reason for the desperation that seems to underlie *Ímpetu's* editorial and its insistent reliance on photography as testimony may be the late date of its special issue: by January 1939 the scarcity of paper, ink, and the duration of the war itself may have become a particularly heavy strain on any

²³ "La Imprenta de *Ímpetu*," *Ímpetu*, special issue (1 January 1939): 48.

magazine trying to maintain a regular publication schedule.

Numerous books and pamphlets were published by government agencies about the wartime periodicals and the artists and writers involved in their production. These published accounts, often edited bi- or tri-lingually for foreign distribution, complemented the elements of self-referentiality that appeared in the trench magazines that were published largely for front-line and national distribution. In the 1937 *Periódicos del Frente* [CAT. 317] published by Ediciones Española, the introductory text (in English, French and Spanish) was brief, letting the variety and number of the reproduced newspapers speak for themselves: "In this book we are collecting a few examples of what these newspapers are and what they mean to the cultural, political and technical formation of our soldiers." The pamphlet did not pretend to represent a complete anthology of the trench periodicals, instead there was a sense that the newspapers were interchangeable: what was important was the effect of the publications in combination and as unique artifacts of Spain's civil war. The cover of the pamphlet featured a photographic montage of soldiers reading copies of *Octubre: Boletín de la 30 Brigada* [CAT. 184], a magazine that included on its covers the work of José Bardasano, Rodríguez Luna, Gil Guerra, Hotelano, and others. *Periódicos del Frente* seems above all to give notice to the international community that the act of publishing newspapers was a significant wartime activity that was shared by anonymous and well-known artists, writers and readers. As the author clarified: "We do not include them all, nor do we mean to say that these [newspapers] are the best but they will suffice to show the transcendence of this cultural service clearly, in all its complex expression."

Similar to *Periódicos del Frente*, but much more expansive, was the Ministerio de la Guerra's *Propaganda y Cultura en los Frentes de Guerra* [CAT. 318]. Published as a compilation of the work realized by the Subcomisariado de Propaganda del Comisariado General de Guerra, the book brought

together reproductions of periodicals and juxtaposed a summary of the war's events with primary source documents and drawings by some of the Subcomisariado's leading artists, including Arturo Souto, whose work was featured on the covers of many magazines and newspapers throughout the war. Surveying the Subcomisariado's activities, the book listed the publication of magazines along with the transmission of radio and the staging of theater as some of its primary cultural activities. One of the Subcomisariado's leading publications was *El Comisario*, the first issue of which was printed at the press that had produced the newspaper *Claridad* on 27 October 1936 with a print run of 30,000. This first iteration was replaced when the Subcomisariado moved to Valencia with another magazine *Vanguardia*, which in turn was revised under the title, once again, of *El Comisario*, a small format magazine that featured illustrations by Souto and photographs by various authors on its covers but was sparsely illustrated on its interior pages. Following the brief history of the Subcomisariado's publications, a photograph reproduced on page nineteen [FIG. 15] features a display of almost twenty magazine covers that track the evolution of *El Comisario*, from *Vanguardia* back to its original title. Some covers are layered over each other while others are hung individually across columns and rows. The cumulative effect reinforces the display board's title "Variedad Inicial," or initial variety. Repetition, variation, and accumulation are here made manifest for the reader as positive qualities ascribed to the propaganda efforts of the government during war. While each of the issues of the magazine is different, the repeated use of the same artist (in this case Souto) and similar mastheads create the illusion of a message that is shared across different issues of the same magazine. As a form of unification, here the Subcomisariado harnesses the seriality of the press to express a message of discipline, control, and productivity.

El Comisario featured the article "Newspapers on the Front: An Opinion about Them" in February 1937 with a drawing by Souto of two sol-

diers working at a printing press [CATS. 46 and 304]. Here the self-referential citation takes place within the visual field even more so than in the accompanying text. Reviewing the pros and cons of the proliferation of front-line publications in relation to the army's attempts to centralize its slogans and administration, the author acknowledged the value of the front-line periodical as an aspirational object. The desire to produce, in other words, was recognized as a fundamentally positive quality within the activities of any military unit. Nonetheless, the author also acknowledged: "We are not, in principle, as one can see, very supportive of the newspapers on the front, although we believe that they could become publications of interest if chance happily brings together men and circumstances that are able to combine into a pleasing exception."²⁴ If a Brigade was going to publish a newspaper, the author insisted, then there should at least be guidelines in place that were overseen by the Comisarios. After identifying what issues were of greatest concern to the Brigade, the author suggested that appropriate individuals should be identified who could observe and reproduce the concerns of their fellow soldiers. After organizing the themes to be covered (enemy, us, world, events, fighting, songs, local geography, arms, meals, rear guard, slogans, etc.) and identifying the personnel in the Brigade capable of editing the newspaper, the greatest challenge would be locating a printing press. Not without remedy, the author recommended that an easy solution would be for the Comisariado General to requisition the necessary equipment and supplies while assigning those soldiers with experience in typography the responsibility of working on the Brigade's newspaper.

El Comisario was not the only publication to voice both support of and concern about the number of periodicals being published on the front. As with the general inventories taken during the war of the total number of serials published, those peri-

²⁴ M. "Los periódicos del frente. Una opinión acerca de ellos," *El Comisario* 13 (25 February 1937): 42.

odicals directly related to wartime combat were also the subject of sustained attention and analysis throughout the war. Editorials, like the one in *El Comisario*, that delivered instructions for the manufacture of periodicals or criticism of the resulting publications, filled the pages of front-line magazines. It is, thus, within the magazines themselves that we find a building discourse around the work of soldiers as writers, artists, editors, and photographers. Ernesto Muñoz Chápuli, writing on “The Press in the Army” for the magazine *Tierra, Mar y Aire* in September 1937 observed that “It is close to 200 the number of periodical publications that bi-weekly, weekly, and even daily, in some cases, treat the specific problems of the Battalions, Brigades, etc.” While he was more supportive than the author of the *El Comisario* editorial, Muñoz Chápuli nonetheless also set forward recommendations for the effective use of the Brigade newspapers in creating a unified front against fascism. He suggested that units smaller than Brigades should not publish their own newspaper. At the same time, he wanted newspapers to include a balance between general observations and those specifically aimed at the particularities of each group. In reviewing the various magazines published on the front, one sees these guidelines put into practice through the repeated appearance of specific messages and types of images, even though the particularities of the materials available and the designs chosen allowed for difference within these shared conventions.

The prominence of repetition — understood loosely here as the broad based circulation of shared images, layouts, and rhetorical conventions — within Spanish Civil War magazines was seen not as a negative formal attribute or a sign of unauthorized plagiarism. Instead, repetition as the representation of a group identity made manifest in print became a quality of civil war publications that was at times creatively deployed and ingeniously reworked, even while maintaining the key signs that might link back multiple copies to a single political objective. While this may be a signature characteristic of the magazines included in this

exhibition, it should not be considered an exclusive trait since repetition of images and text in print is a quality inherent to the medium itself.²⁵

Thus, a paradox emerges when viewing the hundreds of magazines published on the front lines: a magazine had to be recognizable as a military publication that existed within a larger organization while at the same time individual artists working for a particular Brigade might give a unique stamp to that military unit as a way of differentiating themselves from other Brigades. Difference within sameness, uniqueness within repetition, and experimentation within convention: these might be some of the ways that the variety within front-line magazine might be described. *Guerra. Portavoz de la Brigada 146*'s covers became riotous exclamations against fascism due to Bartoli's exaggerated caricatures [CAT. 112]. Torrado's contrasting use of black and white created schematic, angst filled juxtapositions of soldier's grimaces and wartime machinery on the covers of *¡¡En Guardia!! Boletín de la 34 Brigada 3 División* [CAT. 70]. Photographs were used to create dynamic, urgent montages on the covers of *25 División* [CAT. 222], *Balas Rojas: Portavoz de la 75 Brigada Mixta* [CAT. 24], *Nuevo Ejército: Órgano de la 47 División* [CAT. 180], and *Reconquista: 35 División* [CAT. 196]. In each case, the artist-soldiers of the Brigade or Division were able to create an identity for the publication that differentiated the design work of that military unit from another. Although it might be a stretch to describe their designs as a form of branding, the greater the artist's ability to formulate a unique masthead and cover image the more likely an individual publication would stand out from the dictated guidelines of the commanding units.

Paralleling the establishment of printing presses as described in *Ímpetu* and *El Comisario*, was

²⁵ See Cara Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty: Print Culture and FSA Photographs* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003); and Jordana Mendelson, *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929-1939* (University Park, P.A.: Penn State University Press, 2005).

the organization of artists' workshops to help in the quick design and production of wartime materials. Some artists worked alone, but most shuttled between numerous "clients" (government agencies, political parties, labor unions, etc.) and print shops. Ad-hoc schools were set up in the rear-guard and on the front to teach those with talent, but little training. Commentators labeled these wartime art studios "laboratories" and they became spaces in which artists negotiated the need to conform to wartime expectations and conventions with the impulse, shared by some artists, to innovate within a context of high expectations (in terms of quantity of output and diversity of tasks) and limited resources [FIG. 16]. Artists who had careers before the outbreak of the war were considered the leaders among this expanding group of "soldier-artists." Many of the artists in these workshops simultaneously produced materials for posters, magazines, prints, and postcards.

The artist José Bardasano [CAT. 270], for example, led a workshop that designed posters and design work for several publications, including front-line magazines like *Choque: Portavoz de la 34 División* [CAT. 57] and Bardasano's own satirical magazine *No Veas* [CAT. 168]. Photographs from the period in the Biblioteca Nacional's collection document Bardasano's workshop [FIG. 17], in which artists are shown drafting posters and the masthead for the periodical *Juventud*. The caption reads: "The workshop of notable artist Bardasano where his disciples are undertaking interesting propaganda work."²⁶ As Miguel Sarró explains, Bardasano founded and directed the workshop *La Gallofa* that was formed by the communist Sección de Artes Plásticas de las JSU (Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas).²⁷ Among the other artists who collaborated with Bardasano and his wife Juana Francisca were Desiderio Babiano, Ufano, Peinador, Enrique Martínez de Echevarría ("Echea") — all of whom

designed posters as well as contributing to such civil war magazines as *Tierra, Mar y Aire* [CAT. 213], *Crónica: Revista de la Semana*, *Hierro: Órgano de los Batallones de Enlace*, *Tren: Boletín Oficial de Información del 4 Batallón Local de Transporte Automóvil* [CAT. 218], *Milicia Popular*, and *Muchachas* [CAT. 159].

In addition to Bardasano and other well-known artists, magazines took care to review the work of lesser-known and anonymous contributors. An article published on "Our Workshop" in *Fuego: Órgano del III Cuerpo de Ejército* summarized the work of the artists Serralde, "a young man nineteen years old," and V. Martín, "a painter and illustrator who fought well before this war in order to give art a revolutionary and class sensibility," as well as the foreign photographer Filippo B. Halbig who documented the two artists at work for the article.²⁸ The author's tone in summarizing Martín's work reveals a possibly wide spread tension between the smaller, Brigade-based workshops and others, perhaps located in the rear guard:

He drew in the trenches, in the rough terrain of life in the field, and today he doesn't move for days at a time from his drawing table or easel. He is not well known despite his artistic capabilities. He wanted to live like this during the war and he preferred to come as a soldier from the ranks instead of plugged in to one of those workshops of lazy pick pockets, unfortunately as bad as they are numerous.

Other artists were also featured in the magazines to which they contributed, creating another form of self-referentiality in which the information that we know about certain artists comes almost exclusively from the press of the period. *Trinchera: Órgano del 3 Batallón de la 4 Brigada Mixta* wrote that the artist Gumbau, who had been active with *Altavoz del Frente*, was "an artist who emerged

²⁶ *Fotografías Guerra Civil, Carpeta 54, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.*

²⁷ Miguel Sarró, "Mutis," *Pinturas de Guerra: Dibujantes Antifascistas en la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid: Queimadas Gráficas, 2005), 53-59.

²⁸ "Nuestra Propaganda. Taller Artístico," *Fuego* 6 (1937): 3.

from people.” The author proceeded to recount the artist’s biography along with an interview that detailed Gumbau’s desire to create work that was popular and full of emotion.²⁹ The artist Fernando Guijarro, “Fergui,” was interviewed in the magazine *Alianza: Semanario de barriada del radio Chamberí del Partido Comunista* about his process as an artist, to which he responded: “A poster like the one you see on the street is made in an hour ... when you have ‘the thing inside,’ the colors come out by themselves from your hand ...”³⁰

Photographers as well as illustrators were featured within the wartime magazines as major contributors to the production of civil war print culture. Not only documentarians like Halbig, but also photojournalists who were quickly recognized for the risks they took on the front with their cameras. The same author who described Guijarro’s relation to paint and color was quick to recognize the difference between easel painting and photography. In the second article in the series dedicated to “Anonymous work in the rear guard” published in *Alianza*, Jotagea reminded his readers:

When you are leafing through the press and contemplate the photographic plates, read behind them the existence of their author, in the most advanced trench, audacious and valiant, defying danger, in order to capture with [his] camera the document that overwhelms later for its eloquence.³¹

As witness to the risks taken by photographers, the article was accompanied by an image of the photographer Luvalmar’s camera that had shattered in its owner’s hand when a mortar exploded; the author reminded his reader’s that many photographers had died on the front in an attempt to record the war’s events in a language “that the whole world understands.”

The desire to communicate beyond the front lines to create a form of print culture that could be widely embraced on the front and the rear guard motivated the creation of numerous magazines, including *Centro* [CAT. 43] published by the Milicias de Cultura in Madrid and *Cultura Popular* [CAT. 53] published in Valencia, that were aimed at educating soldiers in political, cultural, and linguistic literacy. Photography, illustration, poetry, and design were combined in some of the more visually dynamic publications, each one devising its own way of reaching the greatest number of readers. Among the writers to contribute to *Alianza* were Rafael Alberti, José Bergamín, and María Teresa León, who were also leading contributors to *El Mono Azul: Hoja semanal de Intelectuales Antifascistas para la Defensa de la Cultura* [CAT. 156], a weekly large format magazine that published poetry, essays, and drawings by its affiliated writers and artists. These were individuals who had varied experiences in publishing prior to the war (for example María Teresa León and Rafael Alberti had edited *Octubre* and Bergamín had been involved with *Cruz y Raya*), and who were active in a range of magazines during the war. León was the first editor of *Ayuda: Portavoz de la Solidaridad*, which featured the work of artists Bartolozzi, Puyol, Garrán YES, Bardasano and the photographs of the Hermanos Mayo as well as texts by Emilio Prados and Miguel Hernández.

Understanding that print culture encompassed a range of practices that could be used to cultivate readers and build a loyal following for their publications, we see nearly all of the civil war magazines putting posters to use to publicize their activities. An article about the Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas para la Defensa de la Cultura published in *Crónica* in November 1936 [FIG. 18] outlined the group’s multi-faceted approach to propaganda, while describing their efforts to distribute

²⁹ Velasco, “Un Artista Surgido del Pueblo: Gumbau,” *Trinchera. Órgano del 3 Batallón de la 4 Brigada Mixta* 22 (31 July 1938): 8-9.

³⁰ Jotagea, “Tareas anónimas de la retaguardia: Los dibujantes y la Prensa,” *Alianza* 23 (23 May 1936): n.p.

³¹ Jotagea, “Tareas anónimas de la retaguardia: Los fotógrafos de la Prensa,” *Alianza* 30 (11 May 1937): n.p.

their publication: “*El Mono Azul* is a seed of culture, and the seeds, in the form of printed sheets, are distributed by a group of enthusiastic young people who leave for the towns and the combat zones in a car loaded with issues that have just come off the press.”³² A photograph from the period, now in the Josep Lluís Sert Collection at Harvard University’s Frances Loeb Library [CAT. 305], shows the free distribution of the magazine and the animated interaction between the magazine’s contributors and its potential readers. Meanwhile, the Sección de Artes Plásticas, which included the artists Miguel Prieto, Rodríguez Luna, Souto, and others designed posters announcing the magazine, that also served as stand alone antifascist propaganda. Posters like the one announcing the publication of *El Mono Azul* [CAT. 279] littered Spain during the war, and are critical objects to understanding the relation between publicity and propaganda mapped out by all sides during the conflict.

The closeness between the design of posters and work for magazines needs to be emphasized, not only because it was a common practice throughout the early twentieth century but because it also signals the dynamic interaction between two forms of print media that worked in conjunction to stimulate a market for visual culture during the war. It was in the workshops that practices associated with two different spaces — the page and the wall — intersected and fueled each other. Print shops regularly produced both magazines and posters, and many of the illustrations that first appeared on posters were later publicized through their reproduction in magazines. (Indeed, perhaps the richest, untapped resources for dating and cataloguing posters would be a full inventory of their appearance in the press.) Posters were often used to promote magazines and, as we have seen, civil war

periodicals featured stories about artists known for their poster designs.

One of the most spectacular cases of the relation of magazine to poster, of trench to wall, is the relation of periodicals published on the front to the production of wall-newspapers, or “periódicos murales,” on the front and in the rear guard [FIG. 19]. The wall-newspaper displays in its manufacture the fluid movement that existed between posters and magazines, and indicates the significant role of readers in becoming producers. Moreover, in the production and evaluation of wall-newspapers during the war, we find the development of a form of art criticism in the judgment of wall-newspapers through collective exhibitions and peer review. Tens of articles about wall-newspapers were published from 1936-1939, making this particular form of propaganda a focused object of critical attention [CAT. 217]. In response to the repeatedly asked rhetorical question “What is a Wall-Newspaper?” [CAT. 42] authors described the “periódico mural” variously as “the simplest expression of the press,”³³ the “true newspaper of the front,”³⁴ “a tablet, a piece of wall, wherever a soldier exhibits [his] thoughts,”³⁵ and perhaps most idealistically as “a gymnasium, an intellectual and artistic training camp, where the cultural activities of our soldiers are manifested.”³⁶ Thousands of wall-newspapers were produced during the war by a variety of groups; labor unions, military units, children’s colonies, and international aid organizations all participated in what could be described as a veritable “do-it-yourself” publishing craze.

Suggestions for creating wall-newspapers were written by critics and Comisarios alike and disseminated throughout the wartime press, increasing the likelihood that new creators of wall-newspapers would follow the criteria standard-

³² R.M.G., “La Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas para la Defensa de la Cultura,” *Crónica* 364 (1 November 1936): 2.

³³ “El periódico mural, portavoz gráfico de nuestro Ejército popular,” *Acero* 1 (12 May 1937): n.p.

³⁴ “Nuestros periódicos murales,” *Valor: Órgano de la 4 División* 4 (15 May 1937): n.p.

³⁵ Bienvenido Melguizo Puente, “¿Qué es el periódico mural?” *Centro* 1 (October 1938): n.p.

³⁶ Jaime Fusté, “El periódico mural,” *Tracción*, número extraordinario (January 1939): n.p.

ized in military magazines. A series of “Wall-Paper Score Charts” conserved in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archive at the Tamiment Library, New York University [CAT. 323] detail the categories used to grade submissions to wall-newspaper competitions: illustration, balance, general appearance, originality, content of articles (political, military, etc.), and number of contributors. The critical reviews of wall-newspapers echo these categories, leveling judgment on: the degree of collaboration (many wanted a greater number of collaborators to insure that the wall-newspaper was a truly communally produced object), the reproduction of texts versus their summary, the need to constantly renew wall-newspapers posted for viewing on the front (to stimulate interest in their contents), the relation of the wall-newspaper to both army-wide and Brigade-specific concerns, and the need to make the wall-newspaper open to everyone, not just literary or artistic experts.

By studying wall-newspapers, one also gains further appreciation for the extent to which the circulation and re-use of wartime magazines became a wide spread, if sometimes criticized, practice on the front and in the rear guard as editors of wall-newspapers combined images and texts from already published sources with their own additions. Even with complaints like the one published in *Al Ataque* in August 1937 that “a wall-newspaper composed of cut-outs from graphic magazines is not at all effective,”³⁷ the majority of documented wall-newspapers from the period demonstrate that, in fact, the recycling of images first published in the press and composed into bold, often idiosyncratic, compositions was one of the most characteristic methods used to produce wall-newspapers during the war. In the *Periódico Mural* created by the sick and wounded at the Hospital Militar Clínico in Barcelona [CAT. 273], images were culled from

³⁷ A.A. “Autocrítica. Periódicos murales,” *Al Ataque* 26 (9 August 1937): 6.

diverse publications to produce often surprising juxtapositions of Hollywood film stars with images of agriculture, soldiers on the front, propaganda, and hand-drawn or -painted scenes of war and humorous vignettes. The collage aesthetic present in hand crafted wall-newspapers extended to those that were published as single sheet posters. Appropriation and emulation, as conventions, are immediately visible if we compare, for example, the publication of a photograph documenting the popular defense of the Republic during the first moments of the war, which appeared on the cover of the special issue of *Ejército del Pueblo* [CAT. 68] from July 1937, with its re-appearance on the published poster-size *Solidaridad: Periódico Mural del Socorro Rojo de España* from a year later. In both forms (hand-made and mass reproduced), the wall-newspaper was seen as a vital instrument for connecting writers, editors, and readers with each other, and with a larger public. Whether or not one could see the actual cut marking the excision of the image from the illustrated press or not, the idea of the circulation and reutilization of photographs, drawings, and texts across multiple publications and print contexts was of critical importance; the wall-newspaper connected its editors and readers to a larger constituency by making this public information network plainly visible in its own aesthetic. The wall-newspaper was valued as a dialogic medium that provided individuals with the ability to participate in a collaborative and creative group effort, one that was at the same time directed by specific wartime goals.

Despite the material, visual and functional similarities between posters, magazines, and wall-newspapers (and the recurring comparison in the press between wall-newspapers and these other forms of propaganda), art critic Francisco Carreño, in one of the most detailed explanations of “What is and How to make a Wall-Newspaper” dissented:

The wall-newspaper is a popular creation and not the work of a professional. It is, at its base and in its spirit, different from any other medium of information and propaganda. It is not a printed newspaper nor a poster, not only because it is created by different means, but because its character is particular and independent.³⁸

As someone who was trained in looking closely at works of art, the intentions behind their creation, and the intricacies of their production, one has the sense that Carreño saw in the medium the potential for it to move beyond the restrictions of its political charge, despite the fact that the article itself was published in the October 1938 issue of *Comisario: Revista Mensual* [CAT. 47], the serial that filled the void left when *El Comisario* ceased publication toward the end of 1937 [CAT. 306]. For Carreño, the wall-newspaper was different from both the text dominated magazine and the image dominated poster because it was polyvalent, open to multiple, layered meanings at once. One could argue that both magazines and posters are also polyvalent objects, but Carreño saw the wall-newspaper to be unique in its complexity. In particular, Carreño seemed drawn to the ways in which the wall-newspaper registered in its form the points of convergence that it had with other media, and with its maker. Although many of Carreño's suggestions were similar to those of other authors, he paid particular attention to the visual and material aspects of the wall-newspaper advocating for the inclusion of the "greatest number of spontaneous illustrators" and humorous drawings. At the same time that he argued against the frequent use of images and texts from other magazines, he recommended the establishment of a graphic archive in which the material derived from other publications would be organized into folders by category. Carreño then outlined the process for creating a wall-newspaper: 1) Make a sketch; 2) Cut out a piece of paper the

size of the desired wall-newspaper (if paper is in short supply, reuse the un-inked side of posters); 3) Use color to unify the composition and be sure that slogans are legible; and 4) Place a date, title, and name of the military unit on the upper part of the mural. We have, thus, a wall-newspaper that takes as its support a used poster, relies on previously published images from magazines, and abides by both museological and archival standards by employing formal techniques for the creation of the mural and bibliographic information to insure its status as a historical document for posterity.

The paradox of the wall-newspaper is, in fact, what it shares with the civil war magazine. Both are textual and visual objects that function aesthetically and politically (despite Carreño's initial characteristic of the press as predominantly text based). This may, in part, explain the proliferation of exhibitions dedicated to the wall-newspaper during the war. Many writers recognized the artistic value of the wall-newspaper and described them in ways that parallel discussions of other forms of visual art. Mariano García instructed in the September 1937 issue of *Norte: Órgano de la 2 División* that "[o]ne has to make [wall] newspapers that have mobility, dynamism, diversity of sections, [and] pleasantness all together, so that they are agreeable to the eyes, because in this way the soldiers will read it more easily."³⁹ The wall-newspaper's confection as an object with visual interest allowed it to fulfill its role as an agent for literacy. An article from almost a year later published in *Ayuda* drew a further connection between forms of visual display and the creation of wall-newspapers. Mourning the government decree that removed the posters from Madrid's walls, the author explained:

The capital of Spain, with the loss of its posters now has the sensation of a gigantic Exhibition that has been closed, at the same time that a wave of agitation and popular art has pene-

³⁸ Francisco Carreño, "Qué es y cómo se hace un periódico mural," *Comisario 2* (October 1938): 51.

³⁹ Mariano García, "Nuestros murales," *Norte. Órgano de la 2 División* 6 (15 September 1937): 12.

trated into the heart and bowels of Madrid, in the immense depths of the factories and sites of production.⁴⁰

That which took hold of Madrid in the absence of the poster was the wall-newspaper. And, although the author recognized that not all shared the same “artistic value,” according to *Ayuda* the medium functioned heroically as a creative tool for the people to participate in crafting their own images and slogans.

Photographs of individuals viewing wall-newspapers on the streets in the rear guard and as part of the daily life on the front paralleled the documentation of the numerous exhibitions of wall-newspapers that were held throughout Spain during the war. Repeatedly we see photographers capturing the moment at which a reader engages in rapt attention with the object. Not just a moment of contemplation (though there are similarities in the photographic compositions between viewing the wall-newspapers and a work of art), these scenes portray visitors in an active role as readers. On the occasion of *Cultura Popular*’s exhibition of wall-newspapers from Madrid in Valencia, E. Fornet published an extensive review in *Ayuda* [FIG. 21] that recounted the history of the wall-newspaper (and its roots in the Soviet revolution and the ideals of Vladimir Mayakovsky). He embraced the medium as a hybrid and saw, like Carreño, that its polyvalence opened up for the viewer multiple points of political and artistic entry: “The wall-newspaper has the rapid efficiency of the poster and the literary transcendence of the book. It is the book, in the street, open to everyone’s gaze ... It is, moreover, something which is above propaganda, because it is the collective shout of knowledge, of understanding, and of the affirmation of the personality of a cultured and free people.”⁴¹ Vidal

⁴⁰ “Periódicos Murales,” *Ayuda* 91 (15 June 1938): 6.

⁴¹ E. Fornet, “Cultura Popular trae a Valencia los periódicos murales de Madrid,” *Ayuda* 99 (31 July 1938): 5.

Corella’s photograph of three young boys looking at a wall newspaper accompanied Fornet’s article, and embodied his enthusiasm for these widely produced objects.

That *Cultura Popular*’s exhibition was aimed at bringing the greatest number of people in to see the collection of wall-newspapers is further reinforced by the multiple posters that the group published announcing the exhibition. Special posters were made to target different groups of possible visitors: women, workers, and soldiers. Each one presented a different framing of the wall-newspaper in relation to the subject. The poster dedicated to bringing women to the exhibition presented a scene in which three different figures were captured in profile looking at the wall-newspapers hanging on display [FIG. 22]. The artist, Cantos, broke the implied distance between object and viewer by having the largest figure hold between her fingers an image that, at the same time, appeared to be adhered to the wall. This subtle spatial shift introduced the possibility that viewers were also participant-creators. The other posters offered similar devices for thinking about the objects on display differently: the arms of a worker emerging from a factory-scape hold up a wall-newspaper that towers over the composition [CAT. 281], while the poster dedicated to soldiers features an empty space within the wall-newspaper that invites viewers (in this case soldiers) to imagine themselves filling the blank field with their own images and ideas.

The desire on the part of exhibitors to allow visitors to identify with the act of creating a wall-newspaper served a political function as well. Because these were objects made both in the rear guard and on the front, and they required little of the special equipment that was necessary for the printing of a magazine or newspaper, the exhibitions opened up the possibility for readers to think about themselves not as the passive recipients of political slogans but potentially as agents who were able to voice their concerns and engage actively in production of wartime propaganda. As a wartime tool, the goal could not be clearer: con-

vert viewers into producers, exhibitions into opportunities for cultural and political education, and the display of two-dimensional objects into transformational situations in which a viewer might move from being an observer of war into an active defender of the goals of social revolution and the fight against fascism.

The triangulated situations of exhibition, magazine, and poster came to describe some of the most interesting and challenging contexts for understanding innovations in propaganda during the war. Like *Cultura Popular*, which had organized the exhibition of wall-newspapers while also publishing its own magazine, the 5th Regiment of the Popular Militias also became one of the leading producers of a multi-faceted approach to bringing the work of soldiers together with the spaces of display. From 1936-1937, the 5th Regiment published the magazine *Milicia Popular* [CAT. 150]. Both María Teresa León and Rafael Alberti formed part of a core group of artists, writers, and intellectuals who contributed to the reputation of the regiment as the “Talent Battalion.”⁴² In 1937, the regiment sponsored an exposition of their cultural work and published a commemorative book as a souvenir. Within the exposition, there was a section devoted to publications [CAT. 307]. And, like the reproduction of magazine covers in *El Comisario* and other periodicals, here too the purpose was to demonstrate the history and authority of the regiment as a cultural producer. The page of the catalogue [CAT. 308] dedicated to the regiment’s wall-newspaper, *Milicia Popular: Periódico Mural de la Exposición del 5º Regimiento*, is provocative in that it

⁴² Eduardo Comín Colomer, *El 5º Regimiento de Milicias Populares. Historia de la unidad político-militar que fue cuna del Ejército Popular y del comisariado político* (Madrid: Librería Editorial San Martín, 1973), 222.

⁴³ Even after the war, the memory of the impact of the wall-newspapers remained strong. See, for example the review of wall-newspapers published in the post-war period under Franco: “Los periódicos murales del S.E.U.,” *Gaceta de la prensa española* 6 (1 November 1942): 372.

reproduces a specially created board that openly invites visitor participation and critique. Activated in the space of public display, *Milicia Popular*’s wall-newspaper epitomizes the dialogue that emerged among artists — professional and amateur, individual and collective, producers and consumers — and between soldier-artists and their viewers.⁴³

3. TRADE UNIONS, CIVIL WAR MAGAZINES, AND THE GRAPHIC DESIGN INDUSTRY

Throughout the war, and in parallel to the periodicals edited by the military, were the large format popular illustrated magazines, many of which were edited by the sindicatos, or trade unions. These publications also reached the front, as archival records conserved in the Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española in Salamanca demonstrate. The logic of their manufacture and breadth of their contents often extended beyond that of the bulletins, newspapers and magazines published on the front lines. Like the magazines discussed in the previous section, however, their pages were full of self-analysis about their ideal role and appearance during the war. Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid — all cities held by the Loyalists during most of the war — had long histories of advanced graphic design and printing. Of the cities, Barcelona had perhaps the richest variety of illustrated publications with strong connections to European advancements in the arts and commerce. What all three cities shared after the outbreak of the civil war was a wide scale collectivization of urban and rural industries that dramatically impacted the kinds of magazines being published. As factories, professional organizations, and farms were being collectivized, magazines emerged to represent workers in areas as diverse as the culinary arts, agriculture [CAT. 45], transportation, textiles, radio [CATS. 192 and 193], theater, electricity, metalwork, and construction

[CAT. 183]. Although magazines dedicated to specific professions were not uncommon before the war, the visibility of these periodicals was markedly different from 1936-1939 [CAT. 209] in large part because the combined fields of journalism, publicity, illustration, and typography were equally transformed under the conditions of increased unionization and the rising difficulties of rear guard privations.

In order to create distinctive covers for the magazines of often newly formed collectives, drawings and photographs were used, along with innovative design layouts, to capture and transmit an essential idea about the group being represented. This, at least, appears to have been the goal of the majority of magazines that were surveyed for this exhibition in that they display conspicuously their use of eye-catching graphics. As with other magazines, editors published statements about their goals for the publication in the first issue. Repeatedly, we see an emphasis on the magazine as a primary outlet for the union's aspirations as well as its organizational challenges and advancements. Instructions for complying with a new directive, complaints about a current rule, or recommendations for appropriate labor practice were often the most frequent subjects. Many editorials called attention to the effort invested by the union to create a magazine of quality, especially at a time of paper, ink, and labor shortages.

Symbolically, a richly designed and carefully composed magazine might demonstrate in its form the value of the union itself. In these cases — such as with *Luz y Fuerza* [CAT. 139], *Gastronomía* [CAT. 107], *Colectivismo*, *Metalurgia*, and *Espectáculo* [CATS. 74, 75 and 204] — there was a clear connection between the image or design chosen and the represented group: a power station or trolley car for the industries of water, gas and electricity; a waiter or steaming cup of coffee for hospitality services; the photograph of a farmer or rural landscape for agriculture; a figure straining under the weight of forging steel for metalworkers [CATS. 146 and 206]; and the caricatured face of a famous

actress for the theater. Despite the impressive number of union magazines to be adorned with elaborately designed covers, few except those related to culture and the arts extended their publication of visual content beyond that point. As happened with the front line military magazines, some unionized publications eschewed the visual all together. In these cases, the magazines were often almost exclusively textual, functioning more as news bulletins than as illustrated propaganda.

Of the magazines published by collectivized workers, it was by far those related to journalism and graphic design that are most revealing about the issues confronting the organization, publication, and distribution of illustrated magazines. Several of these magazines were in existence long before the outbreak of the war. Such was the case with the *La Gaceta de las Artes Gráficas* [CAT. 106], published in Barcelona since 1923 as a technical journal for those in the industry. Through it, one learns of the difficulties confronting publishers: lack of paper, insufficient funds, and high unemployment. Paired with these material concerns was a sustained theorization of the role of print in wartime propaganda. Rafael Bori and Juan Oller, who were frequent contributors to *La Gaceta de las Artes Gráficas*, had built distinguished careers in publicity and were known throughout Spain as leaders within this emerging field. Bori co-wrote with José Gardó numerous books and articles on the subject of publicity, including the two volume *Manual Práctico de Publicidad* in 1926/1928. In 1936, the second edition of their *Tratado Completo de Publicidad y Propaganda* [FIG. 23] was published, providing a strong indication as well to at least one of the likely sources to which designers and publishers turned for advice on marketing images and ideas during the war.

As an object for purchase and as a medium for promotion, *La Gaceta* provided, through example, a justification for the role of the graphic arts in war. Its covers changed with each issue, becoming a means through which the display of different fonts, designs, and formats was made

visible on newsstands across Barcelona. It also showed the range of possibilities that graphic art professionals had at their disposal. Instead of advocating a conservative approach to design, the editors of *La Gaceta* pushed for innovation and experimentation. Numerous authors theorized the relation of the graphic arts to the other industries on the front and in the rear guard. In his article of November 1936 on “Budgets in the Graphic Arts,” Juan Oller argued: “The [printing] press doesn’t produce articles of war or of urgent necessity, but [it does produce] articles that commercial businesses and industries need for their development. And, it is irrefutable that, in spite of the war, the economic life of Catalonia, at least in some of its spheres, has an active rhythm, and this rhythm demands a series of imprints that are indispensable”⁴⁴. In effect, Oller was arguing that the maintenance of a regular system of commerce and the continued development of industry depended upon the active use of the graphic arts. Without properly designed imprints and publicity, how would industry connect its products to consumers? If industry failed, how would the economic support for sustaining reliable employment practices in the rear guard continue?

Artes Gráficas [CAT. 23], which was edited by the anarchist Sindicat d’Arts Gràfiques as a bulletin, was, like the *La Gaceta de las Artes Gráficas*, a specialized publication for professionals. At the forefront of every issue were editorials about the economic and material concerns of the graphic design fields, with special attention paid to the print shop and its relation to the changing organizational structure and politics of the trade union during the war. The most pressing matter at

the start of the war was the process of collectivization itself. How should the need for skilled workers be handled? What role should the previous owners, who often held the most knowledge about the presses, play within the new worker run structure of the print shop?⁴⁵ The magazine also reflected on the status of the union itself, announcing the establishment of the Federación Nacional de la Industria del Papel y de las Artes Gráficas in September 1937. With a reported 35,000 members, the magazine celebrated the Federación as “the most powerful organization of workers in the graphic arts formed in Spain.”⁴⁶ As this brief summary indicates, the bulletin was not aimed at a general readership, nor did it use the magazine to showcase in its own manufacture new design ideas, as had *La Gaceta*. The editors did, however, praise the latest publications issued by other agencies including the Consejería de Economía’s magazine *Economía* [CATS. 65 and 66], which, it observed: “Is a real magazine, printed in various colors on *couché* paper.”⁴⁷ The editors made special note of the magazine’s form and presentation, and the great technical skill and professional competence of those who worked on the magazine in the print shop of “Seix y Barral,” which was responsible for its production.

The positive review of *Economía* came just one month after a lengthy editorial on the front page of *Artes Gráfica*’s second issue complained about the need for the graphic arts industries to have its own magazine. The author of “For a Popular Illustrated Magazine,” criticized the abundance of daily papers at the expense of quality graphic magazines for the general public, and asked why Barcelona did not have as many illustrated

⁴⁴ Juan Oller, “Los presupuestos en las Artes gráficas,” *La Gaceta de las Artes Gráficas* 7 (November 1936): 5-6.

⁴⁵ “Secretaría de Trabajo Colectivo. Informe que la Ponencia designada en cumplimiento del acuerdo recaído en la Asamblea general del Día 16 de agosto, sometió a la celebrada el día 18 de octubre,” *Artes Gráficas* 1 (10 November 1936): 3.

⁴⁶ “Ha quedado constituida la Federación Nacional de la Industria del Papel y de las Artes Gráficas,” *Artes Gráficas* 15 (1 September 1937): 3.

⁴⁷ Anonymous, [Review of *Economía*], *Artes Gráficas* 4 (25 December 1936), 7.

magazines as other cities in Spain. As the author pointed out, there was no lack of expertise in the city: “We have ... specialized workers, artists, writers — Catalan and Castilian —, with a significant administrative organization.”⁴⁸ Though these observations are surprising given that in Barcelona probably as many, if not more, illustrated magazines were published than anywhere else in Spain during the war, they provide insight into the perception among some graphic arts professionals that not enough was being done to insure the continuous growth of popular illustrated magazines specifically. The editorial argued that new wartime publications should cover the concerns of the working class and “transform the criminal civil war into a liberatory, revolutionary war.”

“For a Popular Illustrated Magazine” argued that part of the revolutionary work in graphic design must be to break with traditions; innovation should extend to all areas involved in the production of the press (writers, painters, artists, and typographers). The editorial claimed that magazines should be as revolutionary in their form as they are in the subjects they cover. *Artes Gráficas* confidently proclaimed: “The revolution that we are making should manifest itself in typography.” In conclusion, the article called for an illustrated magazine that would serve as a record of the participation of the graphic industries in the goals of the revolution, and as a fundamental part of the history of the civil war “[s]o that one can’t say to oneself tomorrow, when the civil war has ended and we are confronted with the reconstruction of our economy, that the typographic arts did not contribute in our day in the manner that we should and could to benefit the working masses and the artistic and cultural movement in which we participate.”

Following this editorial in *Artes Gráficas*, two similar, even competing, popular illustrated maga-

zines appeared in Barcelona. The combined unions representing journalists, Catalan writers, illustrators, and advertising professionals published its first issue of *Moments: La Revista del Nostre Temps* [CATS. 153 and 154] in December 1936.⁴⁹ Aimed at a general readership and featuring articles on film, fashion, the war, and popular interest stories, the magazine began publication in December 1936 and appeared irregularly through 1938. It cost one peseta and was published in a large format with many illustrations and vibrant covers that featured the work of leading artists, including SIM, Juana Francisca, and many others. Just as *La Gaceta de Artes Gráficas* had made manifest the creativity of design with its changing use of typography on its covers, *Moments* argued through its presentation of a different artist with each issue that the role of illustrators and painters during the war was equally vital to the life of the rear guard and the front. Because the *Sindicat de Dibujants Professionals* was also the dominant producer of posters in Barcelona during the war, there was a close relation between that which a viewer might see hanging on the walls of the city and what was simultaneously displayed on kiosks.

The problem of propaganda was discussed repeatedly in *Moments*. As we have seen with other forms of self-referentiality, here the authors articulated views about propaganda in war that paralleled the activity of the magazine and the unions it represented. In an article from October-November 1937 on “The Importance of Propaganda,” the author reminded readers: “Propaganda has imposed itself as a necessity of modern times.”⁵⁰ The author went on to provide an interpretation of the evolution of publicity, explaining that with its origins in capitalism and its primary use in support of commerce, propaganda itself became an industry with every effort invested in its perfection. From there, propa-

⁴⁸ “Por una revista gráfica popular,” *Artes Gráficas* 2 (25 November 1936): 8.

⁴⁹ The following were listed as sponsors to the magazine: Unión General de Trabajadores de España, Agrupació d’Escriptors Catalans, Agrupació Professional de Periodistes, Associació d’Agents Professionals de Publicitat, and the *Sindicat de Dibujants Professionals*.

⁵⁰ “La Importancia de la Propaganda,” *Moments* (October-November 1937): 50.

ganda jumped from its origins in business to its adoption by nation states, and from that position to its central role in shaping public opinion about the civil war. Though he paid tribute to the artists and photographers who were working to create anti-fascist propaganda, the author nonetheless acknowledged that the most effective display of the war's impact was witnessing the material and human destruction in person, and the will of the people to make propaganda through their positive deeds. Action, in other words, was an even greater form of propaganda than image, but it was through effective written and visual propaganda, the author argued, that individuals might, in turn, understand the actual destruction taking place during the war [CAT. 322].

While *Moments* offered its readers reflections on the state of propaganda and published some of the Sindicat de Dibuxants Professionals's best artists, it was nevertheless the Sindicat d'Arts Gràfiques's *Mi Revista*, which began publication in October 1936, that seemed best equipped to answer its own union's call for a popular illustrated magazine.⁵¹ In the spring-summer of 1937, *Mi Revista* [CAT. 148] published a survey that asked: "What do you like about *Mi Revista*?". As one of a long line of surveys undertaken by popular and literary magazines in Spain,⁵² this one too promised a dialogue between the magazine's editors and its readers [CAT. 291]. Most of the responses were written as flattery for the work of the editors and praise for the magazine's coverage of diverse topics, with a general appreciation for

the magazine's high production value. *Mi Revista* was one of the longest running popular magazines to appear during the war; it was large format, fully illustrated, with original covers made for each issue, and at the same price as *Moments* (one peseta) was more expensive than a newspaper, but in range with other weekly and bi-weekly magazines published in Catalonia's capital city during the War.

The published responses to the survey were mostly taken from interviews or written statements from government officials, minor celebrities, or fellow writers, like Dr. Félix Martí Ibáñez who, in addition to contributing articles to *Mi Revista*, was also the director of the Conselleria de Sanitat i Assistència Social (SIAS) of the Generalitat de Catalunya.⁵³ In the spring of 1937, at the same time as *Mi Revista*'s survey, Martí Ibáñez served as technical director for the agency's magazine *SIAS* which published its first issue in March 1937 with a cover by the magazine's artistic director and frequent contributor SIM, the pseudonym for Rey Vila⁵⁴ [CAT. 205]. SIM published his work widely during the war, contributing covers to *Mi Revista* and other rear guard and front line magazines. He is well known for his illustrated book *Estampas de la revolución española. 19 julio de 1936*, published by CNT-FAI in 1937, and the print portfolio *12 escenas de guerra*, published by the Comissariat de Propaganda. The artist Arteché, who also created the illustration for the cover of *Metalurgia* featured in the exhibition, provided the artwork for *SIAS*'s fourth (and last) cover.⁵⁵ Joining Martí Ibáñez and

⁵¹ María Campillo summarizes the comparative histories of *Mi Revista* and *Moments*, and the probable competition between the two, in her book *Escriptors Catalans i Compromís Antifeixista (1936-1939)*, 119-121.

⁵² Some of the most remarkable of these surveys were conducted by *La gaceta literaria*, for example: "Política y literatura: Una encuesta a la juventud española" of 1927; and "Una encuesta sensacional: ¿Qué es la vanguardia?" of 1930. For studies of these surveys, see Carmen Bassolas, *La ideología de los escritores: Literatura y política en La gaceta literaria (1927-1932)* (Barcelona: Editorial Fontamara, 1975); and Miguel Ángel Hernando, *La gaceta literaria (1927-1932). Bibliografía y valoración* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1974).

⁵³ Richard Cleminson, "Anarchist, Poet and Sex Radical: the *Estudios* writings (1934-7) of Dr. Félix Martí Ibáñez." *IJIS (International Journal of Iberian Studies)* 12.1 (1999): 17.

⁵⁴ SIM designed the covers for three of the magazine's four issues.

⁵⁵ Other artists listed as collaborators include: Blanch, Maynadé, Gili y Tusell. Photographs were published from the Comissariat de Propaganda and the Sindicato de Banca, Bolsa y Ahorro.

SIM on the *SIAS* editorial board was art critic and writer José Francés.

Martí Ibáñez's awareness and experience with the illustrated press, from both during and before the war (he had been an active contributor to the anarchist magazine *Estudios* and others throughout the 1930s) is apparent in his advocacy of the importance of a popular illustrated press in his answer to the *Mi Revista* survey: "today's magazines should contain a panoptic, integral vision of the new cultural movements, the latest technical innovations, capture the new, authentic voice of the artist, choosing from the international scene all that signifies scientific advances and cultural progress, and present [all of this] in a popular form ..." ⁵⁶ The form that the magazine should take was a primary concern for Martí Ibáñez, who stated: "The magazine today should never be a photographic, written or graphic reproduction of reality, accepting it as good no matter what it is. The magazine should be a work of art — creative, elevated, pretty — and not a mirror." In contrast to other sources of information, Martí Ibáñez wanted *Mi Revista* to be the product of an artistic vision, to offer a fabrication, a fantasy even, for readers to enjoy instead of a mere record of the war's daily events. This might explain why much of *Mi Revista's* content was dedicated to distraction; features about the arts, cinema, fashion, interviews, and public interest stories filled the magazine's pages on a regular basis [CAT. 278]. Martí Ibáñez also acknowledged something even more basic about magazines: they are artifacts, objects in their own right, and as such they are the products of the imaginations of those who contribute to them: writers, artists,

designers, editors and readers [CAT. 147]. That *Mi Revista* shared in Martí Ibáñez's support of the visual arts as a significant aspect of its content is evidenced by the creation of original artwork for many of its covers.

As a writer, medical doctor, and administrator, on the one hand Martí Ibáñez was a member of the Spanish élite, but on the other he was an invested participant in the transformative mission of the social revolution led by anarchists following the popular defense of Barcelona during the outbreak of the civil war. ⁵⁷ He was, at the moment of *Mi Revista's* survey, fully involved in transforming the press into a significant mouthpiece for the social, artistic, and political revolution he saw as part of his work within the government, and the culmination of years of social advocacy during the Second Republic. In a letter [CAT. 313] he sent to the director of *Mi Revista*, Eduardo Rubio, on December 19, 1936, Martí Ibáñez expressed in even more laudatory terms his enthusiasm for the role of the press generally and *Mi Revista* specifically during the war:

Never in history has the press taken on such an important mission as in these moments, in which the daily newspaper and the magazine acquire the distinction of [becoming] weapons for fighting and tools for work. *Mi Revista* signifies a valuable intellectual and graphic contribution to the revolutionary movement We celebrate the brilliant dawn of this magazine, whose first rays tint the spiritual landscape of the moment in a humanist and creative dye. As a magazine is given its tone from its collaborators, we will all try to give to the ink we put to

⁵⁶ "Encuesta *Mi Revista*: ¿Qué es lo que le agrada de *Mi Revista*, qué le sobra o le falta? ¿Qué temas prefieren que contenga una revista ilustrada?" *Mi Revista* 14 (1 May 1937): n.p.

⁵⁷ Earlier presentations of my thoughts on Martí Ibáñez, in particular at "Disciplining Discourses: Conflict, Conversation and Issues of Authority in Spanish Cultural and Intellectual Life" in Cambridge, England 27-28 May 2005, were key to my thinking about *Mi Revista's* surveys and Martí Ibáñez's participation in them. I thank the organizers of "Disciplining Discourses," Alison Sinclair and Richard Cleminson as well as the participants for their suggestions, especially Thomas Glick, who encouraged me to look into Martí Ibáñez's medical newsmagazine *MD*, which began publication in the United States in 1957.

paper the same agility and elevation as that which is in the wings of a swallow.⁵⁸

Martí Ibáñez's poetic salutation to the magazine was characteristic of his embrace of a broad literary, humanistic culture, one that infused his medical writings and his publishing projects with a surprising versatility and openness to diverse forms of expression. In December 1936, he also published "For a Revolutionary Art" in the anarchist magazine *Tiempos Nuevos* [CAT. 211]. Here, even more than in his texts for *Mi Revista*, Martí Ibáñez outlined the role of art in war, calling for the dismissal of an independent bourgeois art and the embrace of "Art placed in the service of the Revolution!" No doubt he had in mind artists like SIM when he referred to "some albums of *estampas* from the Revolution." He described this work as an "art of the barricades" in which the pencil joins the rifle as a weapon in war. For Martí Ibáñez it was within the reach of the illustrated press, and part of its mission, to transform public rhetoric about the arts into an energizing force. Through the publication of visually interesting, dynamic magazines he hoped that the message of social revolution would be communicated to the broadest possible audience, both popular and elite.

Amadeo Vidal, whose response to *Mi Revista's* survey was printed in the same issue as Martí Ibáñez's, brought the discourse of the magazine's survey down to the level of the street: his own pleasure and education, and the relation of both to the economy of print culture. Vidal, a *miliciano*, was interviewed just after buying a copy of *Mi Revista* at a newsstand. Like Martí Ibáñez, he located magazines as part of a revolutionary project, however in contrast he placed access to print culture in front of, or at least equal to, issues of composition and appearance. He exclaimed: "I like magazines, especially if they're cheap, so that they can be within the reach of everybody. They should

have the same for books as for newspapers so that they are available to the masses and stop being a gift of the privileged classes." Vidal's response was all about access: who gets to buy magazines and how often. Whereas Martí Ibáñez was concerned with the process that goes into making the magazine — the editorial choices and decisions about the aesthetics of the illustrated press — Vidal was focused on the reader, himself. It was important to Vidal that he could go to the newsstand and buy a magazine at an affordable price. In his hands, and perhaps fulfilling Martí Ibáñez's hopes, magazines had the potential to level class difference. Combined, the responses by Martí Ibáñez and Vidal to *Mi Revista's* survey bring together two spheres that intersected in nearly every Spanish magazine, not just the popular illustrated ones, during the war: art and political economy.

4. THE CASE OF UMBRAL

In Valencia as in Barcelona, the anarchists were responsible for some of the most dynamic uses of the visual arts in print, while at the same time the art criticism in these same magazines often returned to a more traditional artistic canon. *Tiempos Nuevos* [CAT. 284] and *Estudios* were anarchist magazines that had begun well before and continued their editorial activities after the outbreak of the civil war. Many of the same artists appeared in these magazines and the quantity of articles dedicated to art and propaganda published in them during the war was significant, certainly deserving of a critical review. Other anarchist magazines appeared in Madrid, for example *Revolución: Semanario de la Federación Local de Juventudes Libertarias de Madrid* [CATS. 201, 202 and 295], and in areas other than the major capital cities, like *Cultura y Porvenir* [CAT. 56] in Seu de Urgell or *Liberación: Revista Mensual de Orientación Sindicalista* [CAT. 131] in Gijón. Of the anarchist mag-

⁵⁸ Letter from Dr. Félix Martí Ibáñez to Eduardo Rubio, Director of *Mi Revista* (19-XII-36). AHGCC, P.S. Barcelona, C. 1069, page 5044.

azines published during the war in Valencia, there is one that emerged with the war that was unique in its dedication to artists who participated in the illustrated press. *Umbra! Semanario de la Nueva Era* was a weekly magazine published on regular newsprint but with exceptionally high design value from 1937-1939 [CAT. 220]. In the salutation to readers of *Umbra!*'s first issue, dated 10 July 1937, the director of *Umbra!*, Antonio Fernández Escobés, regarded the magazine as an opportunity and a triumph: "The mere fact of *Umbra!*'s birth in this difficult hour constitutes an authentic demonstration (prueba) of our optimism, our sense of continuity, our faith in the destinies of the laboring classes *Umbra!* is born healthy and happy. And, it is born to be, at the same time screen and microphone for our Spain of today."

Umbra! communicated its message to a broad public through the edition of promotional materials, like posters, which featured the work of several of its designers. In one poster, a graphic zone complements and reinforces the text: the magazine, aimed at the urban proletariat, the rural farmer, and the soldier is for "todos los antifascistas," [FIG. 27] or all of the antifascists. The photographs, positioned together, form an arrow that points to the magazine's title. The advertisement is effective, concise, legible, and dynamic. Another poster featured a montage of photographs contained within the profile of a soldier's open-mouthed face and helmet, while yet a third poster announced the magazine's inclusion of "16 large pages in photogravure" and featured a single photograph of a confident soldier whose gaze appears to greet the announcement of *Umbra!* as a "magazine [of the] people" [CAT. 286].

Many of *Umbra!*'s covers, especially those that featured complex photomontages, were designed by the Valencian artist Manuel Monleón. At the same time that he was designing for *Umbra!*, Monleón also created covers for the books and magazine published by the Estudios collective, also responsible for the magazine *Estudios*, which had begun publication in 1929. Monleón's covers, along

with those produced by Valencian artist Josep Renau, made of *Estudios* one of the most visually dynamic magazines of the period. In most of his covers for *Estudios*, Monleón employed vibrant colors to highlight the juxtaposition of a reduced number of photographic and graphic elements that generally created a relationship between a "before" and "after" image. For the cover of *Estudios*'s special issue from January 1937 [CAT. 84], the artist juxtaposed a photograph of a young mother and her child with a rendition of a decapitated statue of a female torso. The iconic representation of a bomb dropping amidst multi-colored flames with the label "fascist culture" provides the clear agent for the transformation of a maternal image into a headless ruin. The cover for the following month [CAT. 85] offers a similar rendition of the violent fate that the Nazi support of the insurgency would bring about: in front of a cropped image of a mother breast feeding her child lies a slightly older child crucified on a swastika as a wartime sacrifice. For *Umbra!*, Monleón also employed photographs of children to create visual narratives of both hopeful utopias and fearful scenes of war.

Both *Umbra!* and *Estudios* could have been on the newsstand at the same time, both were edited and printed in Valencia, and both utilized the same artist. How would the simultaneity of their publication impact their position within the field of magazines published during the war? How might Monleón's participation in both magazines have insured their success? I imagine at least two ways to approach these questions. First we might consider Monleón's reputation as an artist. Would owning an example of Monleón's designs have been attractive for readers? Would his long-standing participation in Valencian print culture have given his work greater prominence, and thus brought attention to the magazines for which he designed covers? Second, and more broadly, we might take into account the role of the arts in general in *Umbra!*. Did the magazine's favoring of the visual arts, both as a design element and as part of its editorial content, impact its ability to market itself as an illus-

trated magazine with broad appeal? This second approach requires a methodology that focuses on the magazine's publication history, its editorial decisions, and its ability to entice artists to participate in *Umbral*.⁵⁹ Additionally, the magazine's ability to continue to compose itself as a richly illustrated magazine throughout the war would have depended, at least in part, on its revenues from subscriptions which, in turn, would have depended upon effective distribution to get the magazine out to its readers over a two year period.

Umbral created a magazine culture that revolved around the visual arts by using its articles to promote artists who were publishing not only in *Umbral* but also in other magazines at the same time (like *Monleón*), and by promoting their work not only in print culture but also their careers as exhibiting artists. In the fall of 1937, *Umbral* ran a series of articles called "Other Weapons" that featured stories about artists who were published in the press; most of them were both illustrators and satirists. One of the early articles about *Monleón*, "Other Weapons: The Photomontage," [FIG. 28] was written as an interview that alluded to the artist and his biography but revealed few details other than that he sold newspapers as a child, had shuttled around a number of jobs to support himself as an artist, and was influenced in his montage work by Soviet posters and John Heartfield's magazine covers for *A.I.Z.*⁶⁰ Another artist discussed in the series was "Les" (Ángel Lescar) who also used photography on occasion in montages for the front line magazine *25 División*. The article, written by Carrasco de la Rubia, highlighted the other publications to which Les contributed (*Tierra y Libertad*, *Popular Film*, *Solidaridad Obrera*, and

Tiempos Nuevos). The artist himself is given credit for powerfully swaying his viewers' opinions: "in his hands [the pencil] is a cannon, tank, and machine gun that perforates the mind, which, upon seeing clearly the repugnance of fascism, falls vanquished before Les's graphic truths"⁶¹ [FIG. 29].

Another series of articles in *Umbral* was dedicated to painters and, as with the series on "Other Weapons," these also sought to connect the work of contemporary artists to the events of the war. In January 1938, one of the articles from the series by the author "JAES" [FIG. 30] featured the work of the young artist Joan Borrás Casanova. In the interview, the author qualified the artist's work as "a constant laboratory of experimentation." He also remarked that Borrás Casanova was wearing "military boots," to which the artist replied: "Yes, military boots. I am 28 years old and mobilized. I hope to leave soon to fight for the revolution. I'll carry a rifle and [have my] eyes open to 'see' life."⁶² The artist, we are told, studied painting in Valencia and then Madrid. He began as a portrait painter but quickly understood that to earn a living he would have to alter himself artistically to accommodate the tastes of his patrons: "Then, I realized that artistic liberty is connected to the political and economic liberty of the workers This is to say that to liberate myself of the 'family' portraits I needed the revolution. And I felt the revolution as a man and as an artist." The narrative is one of awakening to political consciousness. Instead of serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie, Borrás recognized that the only way to artistic freedom was through identification with the working class. That transformation was documented for readers of *Umbral* through the first

⁵⁹ For a comprehensive study of *Estudios* and an examination of the management style of its editors (in relation to a more capitalist business model despite being an anarchist magazine) and a discussion of the magazine's popularity among a diverse group of readers, not just anarchists, see Francesc Xavier Navarro Navarro, "El paraíso de la razón". *La revista Estudios (1928-1937) y el mundo cultural anarquista* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim: Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997).

⁶⁰ JAES, "Las otras armas: El Fotomontaje Monleón," *Umbral* (4 September 1937): 12.

⁶¹ Carrasco de la Rubia, "Las otras armas: El Lápiz: Les," *Umbral* (23 October 1937): 13.

⁶² JAES, "Pintura: J. Borrás Casanova," *Umbral* (15 January 1938): 14.

person. The artist told his own story with the magazine as a platform for the direct transmission between artist and reader. As had been hoped for in the magazine's first issue, *Umbra* was a microphone for the artist as well as a screen for the projection of his work. The reader received both: testimony (historical record) and creativity (the exhibition of the artist's "laboratory").

In April 1938, Borrás Casanova exhibited his paintings at the offices of the Valencian anarchist collective "Libre-Studio," which also published a magazine from 1937-1938 [CATS. 133, 134, 135 and 136]. Like *Umbra*, *Libre Studio* featured the work of many artists and its covers present a rich variety of artistic styles and techniques. The Hungarian artist Kati Horna, who recalled being friends with Borrás Casanova, José-María Escrivá, and Miguel Marín (who were also featured in the Valencian and Catalan anarchist press), published her photo reportages in *Umbra* and the Barcelona-based *Mujeres Libres* [CATS. 162, 280, 289 and 315] while her montage *La Catedral de Barcelona* was reproduced in *Libre-Studio*.⁶³ In *Umbra*'s review of Borrás Casanova's exhibition, there is a slight shift in the description of the function of his art in war. We are reminded of the artist's biography, that he's gone off to war to experience life and the revolution with his eyes open as both a man and an artist. In addition to being the agent for a personal revelation of the artist's class-consciousness, the author of the exhibition catalogue, cited in *Umbra*, describes Borrás Casanova's work as a sedative for the unsettling experience of war, and as a means to elevate, through the public display of the artist's "profound creative temperament," the spirit of the people. Both *Umbra* and *Libre-Studio* argued that through public exhibition, art had the potential to transform the individual and society. Thus, these wartime magazines, the authors argued, also had the potential to be agents for change through their publication of the arts.

⁶³ Manuel García (Interview with Kati Horna), *Lápiz*, vol. 20, no. 173 (May 2001): 66-71.

5. ASPIRATIONAL OBJECTS, OR THE GOVERNING OF PROPAGANDA

"Propaganda is, first, an effect, and later, the cause of the divisions that exist in the modern world."⁶⁴ Bertrand Russell, "On Propaganda," *Estudios* (September 1936) [FIG. 31].

Drawing a map of the major centers of the production of illustrated magazines during the war betrays both truths and fictions about the central agencies that edited propaganda during the war. As we have seen, the geographies of design dictated that one needed to have printing presses, workers, and supplies in order to create and distribute magazines of quality, and yet we have also seen that magazines were produced just about everywhere and by nearly every group during the war, from the trench to the factory floor and in both hand-made and mass produced forms. Tracking the changing institutional titles for the producers of these magazines, and the lineages of the magazines themselves, can be perplexing, as agencies, publishers, and distribution networks were constantly being renegotiated. This is nowhere more visible than in the nomenclature assigned to the government ministries and individuals in charge of directing propaganda campaigns on both sides of the war. Layers of bureaucracy, political disagreements, and leadership hierarchies make a clear organizational description of the production of print culture one of the greatest challenges to figuring the relation between artists, government policy, and the appearance of illustrated magazines throughout the war.

What does become clear is that two of the main locations for the production of the war's most notable and visibly modern illustrated magazines were Barcelona and San Sebastián. The leading agencies associated with these two cities were the

⁶⁴ Bertrand Russell, "De la propaganda," *Estudios* 156 (septiembre de 1936): 48.

Comissariat de Propaganda of the Generalitat de Catalunya [CAT. 271] and the Falange's Delegación Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda (which became the Dirección General de Propaganda under Franco) [CAT. 287]. While the seat of the Catalan government was Barcelona, which also coincided with the primary location of printing presses, material resources, and artists, in the case of San Sebastián the situation was much more complicated. As José Ángel Ascunce has explained, the primary cultural and political centers in the Francoist controlled zones, when looked at bureaucratically, were Burgos (as the center for government), Salamanca (as the location for the Delegación de Prensa y Propaganda del Estado), and Pamplona (as the center for the Delegación de Prensa y Propaganda del Falange), however, the main production center for illustrated publications, and hence the location with the most artistic and cultural resources, on the insurgent side was San Sebastián.⁶⁵ Thus, we have two very different organizational models, each of which generated a different magazine culture, but both of which became iconic during the war for their publication of richly illustrated, large format magazines.

Both organizations, the Comissariat and the Falange, focused their efforts on creating a range of periodicals for a diversified public that were distributed both within Spain and abroad. In this respect, they worked hard to build a reputation for their magazines that for many came to represent the realities of war as mediated through the model of a large format and expertly designed serialized publication. Both organizations used posters and publicity in other magazines to build an audience, and both employed leading artists, many of whom had their roots in the most advanced art and design practices of the pre-war (both so-called avant-garde and commercial). There are also significant differ-

ences between their leading magazines. *Nova Iberia* [CAT. 173] was published by the Comissariat as one of their highest production value magazines and appeared in several languages, yet it reached a total number of only three issues. It was designed primarily as an artifact of propaganda meant to raise the profile of the Comissariat and the fight against fascism internationally. Features in the magazine focused on the government's initiatives, and it was less of a regularly published popular magazine than a carefully composed ambassador of Catalan culture and the educational, agricultural, and political reforms undertaken by the government since the war (with some features about pre-war, republican era programs). The Falange's *Vértice* [CATS. 224 and 229] was published in Castilian, though it reached other countries (and included content summaries in French, German, Italian, and English), and appeared continuously from 1937-1946. It was also meant as an object of propaganda, and the Falange's political ties to Germany, Italy, and Japan were clearly announced. It was an expensive magazine (ranging from three pesetas at the start of the war to nine pesetas for a special issue)⁶⁶ that was aimed, as José-Carlos Mainer has detailed, at a middle class readership with features that covered a range of topics from fashion, interior decorating, and humor to political rallies and social service programs. Both magazines featured the nation's leading writers, artists, and designers and were fabricated as show pieces for their agencies, as dream images of a sort that tempered coverage of the war with the illusion of prosperity.

While both magazines have become iconic representations of civil war print culture, and demonstration pieces for the propaganda initiatives of their related organizations, neither has been identified primarily with their editors (Pere Català-Pic as head of publications for the Comissariat and Ma-

⁶⁵ José Ángel Ascunce, "San Sebastián y *Vértice*, sede y expresión ideológico-cultural de la primera época Franquista," *Estudios sobre Historia del Pensamiento Español (Actas de las III Jornadas de Hispanismo Filosófico)*, ed. Antonio Jiménez García (Santander: Asociación de Hispanismo Filosófico, Fundación Histórica Tavera, Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 1998), 321.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 327.

nuel Halcón as the first editor of *Vértice*). Instead, at the time and into the present, they have been seen as synonymous with the directors of the organizations who began these larger propaganda initiatives (as was the case with Jaume Miravittles in Barcelona) or were appointed in the last year of the war (as was the case with Dionisio Ridruejo, who was the head of propaganda under Franco from February 1938 until 1940). Both Miravittles and Ridruejo published memoirs after the war, and each was known for their participation in and support of print culture, both before and after the war, especially in relation to literary and artistic magazines. As heads of these leading propaganda agencies, they were both active in supporting other artists and writers during the war, while being featured themselves in the press.

During the war, the Falange commented on the propaganda produced on the Loyalist side, with the Comissariat being the target of an early article in the illustrated photographic magazine *Fotos* [CAT. 101]. Describing the propaganda of the “rojos” as a criminal travesty that was turning social roles and literary norms upside down, the April 1937 article focused specifically on the work of the Comissariat and was illustrated with photographs from the Comissariat’s publications, including photographs by Agustí Centelles that were widely published both in the Comissariat’s *Visions de Guerra i Reguarda* [CATS. 255 and 256] and internationally throughout the war. In his account, Ramón de Sanchis immediately launched into an attack of Miravittles: “At the head of the Comissariat is the ex-seller of newspapers and communist lampoons, Jaume Miravittles, an individual whose only life-long passion has been to live without working ...”⁶⁷ After making his way through the Comissariat’s collaborators and what he described, in typical propagandistic form, as the organization’s history of corruption, De Sanchis made an astute observation: “One of the propaganda techniques most

employed [by the Comissariat] is graphic, as much in newspapers as on street-side posters.” From the tone of his other remarks, one gathers that De Sanchis viewed being overly graphic in pejorative terms and as further proof of the Comissariat’s (and hence Miravittles’s) disconnect from the realities of war, despite the fact that the editors of the Falange’s own leading magazines (including *Fotos*) prided themselves on their ability to bring out magazines replete with illustrations.

In contrast to De Sanchis’s cynicism was Ridruejo’s own assessment of the Comissariat published in his *Casi unas Memorias*. Ridruejo openly expressed his admiration for Miravittles and the accomplishments of the Loyalist propaganda agencies. Recalling his entrance into Miravittles’s office when he arrived in Barcelona in the spring of 1939 with Franco’s army, he wrote:

I found, perfectly organized, all of the Catalan and Castilian publications produced during the war, including the most significant magazines like *Hora de España*. I saw that the resources for republican propaganda had been far superior to ours and the participation of intellectuals was far more extensive, valuable and organized⁶⁸

Ridruejo was right in his assessment. The republican side had placed much more emphasis on the production of propaganda at all levels, as we have seen, from the front line trench to the most elite cultural organizations, and saw in culture (especially literature and the visual arts) a powerful tool against what it understood to be the tyranny of fascism. Organizationally as well, the Comissariat was one of the most efficient agencies in creating and disseminating its publications, in large part due to Miravittles’s broad network of contacts, especially in France. Whereas on the Insurgent side the different centers of authority were spread out across the country, with production largely focused in San

⁶⁷ Ramón de Sanchis, “Estampas de Barcelona en barbarie: El comisario de prensa y propaganda de la Generalidad,” *Fotos* 9 (24 de abril de 1937), n.p.

⁶⁸ Dionisio Ridruejo, *Casi unas memorias* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1976), 167.

Sebastián but political power and administration of propaganda taking place elsewhere, on the Loyalist side there were focused publishing groups and administrative orders to coordinate, consolidate, and conserve the wartime propaganda.

While it appears as if some within the military hierarchy of the Falange and Franco's government expressed the belief that the work of artists in creating visual culture [FIG. 32] was of lesser value to the Movement than the "real" work of war,⁶⁹ Ridruejo placed a high priority on literature and culture as forms of propaganda, and was thus impressed with what he saw in Barcelona. Others included: Fermín Yzurdiaga Lorda (Director of the magazine *Jerarquía: Revista Negra de la Falange* and Head of the Delegación Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda), Pedro Laín Entralgo (Head of the Departamento de Publicaciones and Secretary of the magazine *FE.*) [CATS. 87 to 92], Eugenio d'Ors (who later became Jefe de Bellas Artes under Franco), Juan Cabanas (Basque artist who was influenced by the aesthetics of Italian fascism⁷⁰ and Head of the Departamento de Plástica) [FIG. 33], Joan Ramón Masoliver (who Ridruejo assigned to manage the Burgos office of the propaganda department), the publicity specialist Anontio Rivière and the photographer J. Compte (who Ridruejo characterized as a "curious Catalan pair" in his memoirs) [CATS. 242, 243, 250 and 252], and Ernesto Giménez Caballero (who had published the magazines *La Gaceta Literaria* and *Robinson Literario* and the book *Arte y Estado* before the war, and wrote key texts on aesthetics for *Vértice* and other wartime

magazines, even though under Franco he later became, in Douglas Foard's words, "the forgotten Falangist"⁷¹).

The challenges facing the Insurgents in establishing effective illustrated propaganda were documented by several of the individuals involved in what might be called the pre-history of the Servicio Nacional de Propaganda as led by Ridruejo after 1938. In his account of the establishment of the Jefatura Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda de las J.O.N.S., Vicente Cadenas y Vicent explained that the key to launching the Falange's first illustrated magazines was his ability to convince Manuel Hedilla (Head of the Falange in Burgos up to the unification of the F.E.T. and the J.O.N.S. under Franco's leadership in April 1937) that San Sebastián was the only viable production site for propaganda. As he recalled in 1975:

A brief tour through the Northern zone, from Zaragoza to La Coruña, made me think that the Jefatura Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda should only be set up at a location near to the frontier [with France], because this was the only way to receive news continuously and organize activities that were necessary to the Falange's press.⁷²

Further on, Cadenas y Vicent explained that San Sebastián was unique among the areas held by the Insurgents. The city's publishing history, available printing presses, and proximity to the border would enable the Falange to obtain materials not available from within the occupied areas, like paper, zinc for photogravures, ink, and replace-

⁶⁹ Evidence of the imbalance in the writing of an artistic discourse during the war between the political left and the right has been summarized by Ángel Llorente, *Arte e ideología en el franquismo (1936-1951)* (Madrid: Visor, 1995), 26-32.

⁷⁰ Interview with Cabanas published in San Sebastián newspaper *Unidad* on 14 December 1936. Cited in Miriam Basilio, "Genealogies for a New State: Painting and Propaganda in Franco's Spain (1936-1940)," *Discourse* 24.3 (Fall 2002): 80

⁷¹ Douglas W. Foard, "The Forgotten Falangist: Ernesto Giménez Caballero," *Journal of Contemporary History* 10.1 (January 1975): 3-18.

⁷² Vicente Cadenas y Vicent, *Actas del último consejo nacional de Falange Española de las J.O.N.S. (Salamanca, 18-19-IV-1937) y algunas noticias referentes a la Jefatura Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda* (Madrid, 1975), 12.

ment parts for the presses. Most of the factories for manufacturing materials related to the press were located in the Loyalist-held territories, and even with the equipment and workshops that existed in San Sebastián, Cadenas y Vicent recalled that putting a chain of presses together, outfitting them properly, and bringing in trained workers required him to pool existing resources from multiple locations, from within and outside San Sebastián.

In his 1975 republication of the 1937 *Actas* from the Falange Española de las J.O.N.S.'s last meeting and the *Plan Nacional de Prensa*, Cadenas y Vicent acknowledged that he was inspired in his ideas about the creation of the Jefetura Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda by Germany's Ministry of Propaganda. The agency would, according to the plan, oversee the publication of "daily newspapers, weeklies, different kinds of magazines, agencies for distribution and collaboration."⁷³ With the support of Hedilla and the establishment of the presses in San Sebastián, he reported that within months publication had begun of *Vértice*, which he compared to "the French *Ilustración* in terms of size,"⁷⁴ and *Fotos* [CAT. 103], "whose importance is enormous, since a magazine of this kind analogous to *Estampa* and *Crónica*, and as such of great popularity among the humble classes, would exercise a great influence from the point of view of our doctrine."⁷⁵ The *Plan* also announced the upcoming publication of the magazines *Flecha* [CATS. 96 and 97] and *F.E.*, a morning newspaper, an official evening paper, an official bulletin of the Falange, a weekly humor magazine [CAT. 160], a sports weekly, a bi-weekly women's magazine, a literary-philosophical monthly, a monthly agricultural magazine, and a monthly arts magazine "without any words." What is remarkable about the *Plan* is that the projected magazines to be published in San Sebastián were

quickly set into motion and published shortly thereafter as *Y: Revista de la Mujer* [CAT. 258 and fig. 34], *La Ametralladora: Semanario de los Soldados*, and the sports magazine *Marca*.

Although Cadenas y Vicent discussed San Sebastián as the only viable center for the Jefetura, and as both José Carlos Mainer and José Ángel Ascunce have studied at length, it was indeed in San Sebastián where the most significant illustrated magazines published by the Falange appeared, other publications formed part of an extended group of literary and doctrinal magazines that emerged during the war from other geographic locations, including *Isla* [CAT. 128] and *Cauces* in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz); *Cartel* in Vigo [CAT. 35]; *Dardo* in Málaga; *F.E.* in Pamplona; *España*, *Horizonte* [CAT. 117], and *Mediodía* in Sevilla; *Renacer* in Zaragoza; *Haz* in Bilbao; *Aquí Estamos* in Mallorca [CAT. 16]; and *Mundo Ilustrado* and *Radio y Cinema* in La Coruña. In correspondence conserved in the Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española in Salamanca between Ridruejo and his colleagues, it is clear that for each of the editors and contributors to these magazines it was desirable to have Ridruejo's support, or at minimum to have him be aware of their ongoing efforts to publish magazines of quality during the war. Pedro Pérez Clotet, editor of *Isla* (a poetry magazine that had begun publication prior to the war), sent Ridruejo the three numbers that had appeared during the war and encouraged him to become a contributor, writing "I would be truly satisfied to add your name to those who write in [the magazine]"⁷⁶ [CAT. 299]. Pedro Laín Entralgo wrote to Ridruejo in the fall of 1937 to encourage him to contribute to *F.E.*, and recommended him as the only one capable of leading the newly formed Servicio Nacional de Propaganda, when asked by Franco's

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* *Estampas* and *Crónica* were pre-war photo illustrated magazines that continued publication in Madrid during the war.

⁷⁶ Letter from Pedro Pérez Clotet from Jerez de la Frontera to Dionisio Ridruejo, dated 1 May 1938, Fondo Dionisio Ridruejo 5/1 (45), Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española, Salamanca.

Minister of the Interior Ramón Serrano Suñer⁷⁷ [CAT. 298].

Despite the high profile of the magazines published in San Sebastián, in large part due to the contributions of artists like Tono (as artistic director) [CAT. 240], Escassi, Cabanas, Compte, José Caballero, Carlos Sáenz de Tejada, and Teodoro Delgado (as contributors) in *Vértice* [CAT. 247], Kemer in *Fotos*, and Tono and Aróztegui in *La Ametralladora* [CAT. 11], there were also numerous smaller magazines published elsewhere, many of which associated themselves directly with the Falange and Franco's "Nuevo Estado." They were also, for the most part, more idiosyncratic, with a greater range of artists, and perhaps qualified as what Cadena y Vicent had called "unorthodox," when referring to the need to bring coherence and order to Falangist propaganda. The artists who contributed to the Seville-based *Mediodía* and *Horizonte* included Caballero, Escassi, Delgado [CAT. 246] and Adriano del Valle. *Cauces* included illustrations by Juan Padilla and the photographs of both well-known artists like Cecilio Paniagua [CAT. 41] and others like Margara Muntaner [CAT. 40], who sent her photographs of architectural monuments from Italy to the magazine's editor. In La Coruña, *Radio y Cinema* appeared with covers by Valdés, Stefan Frank [CATS. 194 and 225], who also contributed to *Vértice*, and others. In studying these magazines, one realizes that there was an axis between San Sebastián and the rest of Insurgent-held Spain. The artists who participated in the primary journals of the Falange also actively submitted their work to other magazines and their editors. Adriano del Valle's poetry appeared in *Mediodía*, *Horizonte* [FIG. 35], *Isla*, and *Vértice*. Carlos Sáenz de Tejada's prints and drawings [CAT. 282] were published in *Vértice* and *Y: Revista de la Mujer* [CAT. 262], as well as *Yugo* [CAT. 267], published in Manila, and *Dardo* in Málaga. Similarly, the pho-

tographer Jalón Ángel [CAT. 309], who was based in Zaragoza and marketed his own portfolios and postcards of Franco and his generals [CATS. 319, 320 and 321], saw his work appear throughout nationalist Spain, from *Renacer* [CATS. 197 and 198] and *Vértice* to *Hogar Español*.

The above list may give the impression that magazines on the Insurgent side began to publish immediately and with great success following the military coup that led into the civil war, however most of these magazines did not begin publication until 1937 or later. Newspapers did appear throughout the Insurgent territory, and cases like *ABC* in Sevilla are well known. Only following the consolidation of printing presses in cities like San Sebastián and elsewhere, and the recruitment of artists and writers to contribute to both continuing and newly formed illustrated periodicals, would the Insurgents be able to undertake the kind of propaganda that had been initiated on the Loyalist side from the first moments of the war. Evidence of the difficulties faced by the individuals and agencies responsible for the illustrated press appears in both unpublished and published sources, with numerous accounts of Ridruejo's awareness of the importance of artists to the propaganda initiatives of Franco's government (whether or not they identified themselves as pro-Franco). José Caballero recalled:

In the Francoist zone they weren't really overflowing with visual artists. Someone had spoken about me to Dionisio, who knew perfectly well of my friendship with Lorca and of my little adherence or enthusiasm for the ideas of the Movement. Nonetheless, he generously offered me his friendship and defended me against anonymous accusations....

I made some drawings and book covers, trying to avoid the ones that had political significance. I also made some illustrations for

⁷⁷ Letter from Pedro Laín Entralgo to Dionisio Ridruejo, dated 25 October 1937, from Pamplona. Fondo Dionisio Ridruejo 4/25 (17), Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española, Salamanca; Pedro Laín Entralgo, *Descargo de Conciencia (1930-1960)* (Barcelona: Barral Editores, 1976), 222.

magazines and some covers for *Vértice*, the magazine of that moment, in which I tried to envelop in surrealism any intentionality whatsoever in more or less conventional symbols.⁷⁸ [CATS. 143, 230 and 232]

The Catalan art historian Javier de Salas [CAT. 294] wrote from Burgos to Ridruejo in Salamanca in the fall of 1937 with a special request: Could Ridruejo help his friend the painter Pedro Pruna — “a great spirit and very *Action Française*”⁷⁹ — find work in the rear guard? Pruna was a leading Catalan artist whose paintings and drawings had been exhibited frequently in the years before the war. De Salas implored: “I don’t know if with the events you can take care of Pruna, the painter, or not. He leaves for the front today. He is much more than 30 years old and his place is not there; when here we have almost no poster artists, decorative painters, or stagehands.”⁸⁰ [CAT. 261]

By the time *Vértice*, *Fotos*, and *Y* were published in San Sebastián, tremendous efforts had been made to establish working presses, though the difficulties in bringing these magazines out to the public was made perfectly clear to readers in the editorials accompanying their first issues. In this respect, the self-referentiality observed in the magazines on the Loyalist side was very similar to that which appeared in the Insurgent publications. The first issue of *Vértice* began with an apology, “We offer to our Spanish readers, and even to those foreigners, a magazine that is not in the least what we would have liked to make,”⁸¹ after which the editors provided an accounting of the origin of every aspect of the magazine’s production (from ink and

paper to workers and machinery). Even more discursive in its notices about its own benchmarks and those of other publications, *Fotos* repeatedly provided its readers with information about the cost, quantity, and readership of Insurgent periodicals. Above all, the editors emphasized that *Fotos* (and magazines like *Y*) were becoming best sellers and that the progress of the Falange’s illustrated magazines was following in the footsteps of Franco’s military campaigns. In its report on the entrance of Franco’s troops into Santander, *Fotos* reported: “The graphic weekly of the Falange can say, without hyperbole, that it materially flooded, in the shortest of instances, the recently liberated streets.”⁸² With the celebration of its 100th issue on 28 January 1939, *Fotos* proclaimed: “From a ruler and a pencil emerged the most popular magazine in Spain.”⁸³ A graphic illustration accompanied the article to give image to the tally of what had been used in the fabrication of its 100 issues: 840 tons of paper, 45,000 Kg of ink, 11,000,000 individual numbers of the magazine published, and more than 10,000 photographs received (of which 3,500 were published) [FIG. 36].

In contrast to the ambition of *Vértice*, *Fotos*, and *Y* to reach the greatest number of readers and to achieve a level of production that would stir admiration in its readers from Spain and abroad, magazines like *Jerarquía* in Pamplona or *Dardo* in Málaga produced very different kinds of magazines from those emerging out of San Sebastián. *Jerarquía* was not illustrated, and yet it stands as an intentionally monumental work of design [CAT. 129]. As José Carlos Mainer succinctly explained in his study on *Falange y Literatura*: “The maga-

⁷⁸ Manuscript by José Caballero (16 January 1991). Reprinted in *José Caballero Exposición Antológica 1931-1991* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Centro Cultural de la Villa, 1992), 395.

⁷⁹ Letter from Javier de Salas to Dionisio Ridruejo, dated 7 October 1937. Fondo Dionisio Ridruejo 4/25 (14), Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española, Salamanca.

⁸⁰ Letter from Javier de Salas to Dionisio Ridruejo, dated 23 October 1937. Fondo Dionisio Ridruejo 4/25 (15), Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española, Salamanca.

⁸¹ “A Nuestros Lectores,” *Vértice* 1 (April 1937), n.p.

⁸² “Fotos en Santander,” *Fotos* 28 (1 September 1937), n.p.

⁸³ Alfredo R. Antigüedad, “Fotos cumple hoy 100 números,” *Fotos* (28 January 1939), 21.

zine appeared as several beautiful black volumes, printed in four inks and in which were repeated various invariable *mottos*.”⁸⁴ In the magazine itself, Ángel María Pascual praised the art of typography in moral terms, equating the beauty of a well-designed book to the fulfillment of the national syndicalist ideal of the unification of the work of the artisan with that of the intellectual.⁸⁵ If *Jerarquía*'s aesthetic was meant to embody in its form a doctrinal truth, *Dardo*'s betrayed the history of the print shop that produced it and the lingering ties between the main Falangist magazine in Málaga and the publication of experimental literary magazines prior to the war. *Dardo* is unclassifiable in terms of the other, more “orthodox” Falange publications, though perhaps similar to the early issues of *Vértice* in its broad inclusion of a diverse range of artistic styles and techniques, from illustrations by Sáenz de Tejada, photographic portraits of José Antonio, and doctrinal texts to more experimental uses of typography and design. It is, frankly, an unusual, idiosyncratic, and unpredictable magazine that has been overlooked by scholars who have focused solely on other centers of publication [CATS. 58, 59 and 60]. Fabricated in the “Imprenta Sur” (founded in 1925 by Manuel Altolaguirre and Emilio Prados), which was later changed to “Imprenta Dardo,” the magazine came out of the same workshop that had produced Málaga's avant-garde *Litoral* in the 1920s. In looking at *Dardo*, one has the sense that its founding director José María Amado and artistic director Guillermo González (a Dominican who had received his architecture degree from Yale University) took advantage of the left over colored paper, modern types, and photographic clichés to compose each issue with a different cover that complemented the equally startling variety of images

⁸⁴ José-Carlos Mainer, *Falange y Literatura* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1971), 40.

⁸⁵ Ángel María Pascual, “Tipografía y virtud de los oficios,” *Jerarquía* 2 (1937), 170-177.

⁸⁶ Juan M. Soler, “La Comisaría de Propaganda de la Generalidad,” *Mi Revista* (1 May 1937): n.p.

and design elements, including photomontages that appear to have been specifically commissioned for the magazine.

In contrast to the Falange's late publication of illustrated magazines and Ridruejo's difficulty in finding artists, in Barcelona the Comissariat's organization was relatively straight forward, widely written about in the press, and a working partner with many of the city's leading artists, writers, and designers. Having been established in October 1936, Miravittles boasted in an interview with *Mi Revista*: “I am pleased to affirm that the Comissariat de Propaganda of the Generalitat de Catalunya was the first official propaganda institution of Loyalist Spain.”⁸⁶ Miravittles set up an ambitious program for the Comissariat, which was summarized as follows in the *Mi Revista* article:

National press; foreign press; ‘Catalans d'América’; very complete files; section for printing with the most modern machinery for ‘Offset’ lithography; editions; exhibitions; photographic laboratory for copies; section for film, with an excellent projector and salón for the showing of movies; archive; artistic section; religious section and distribution, which occupies the entire lower level of the building, which is six stories.

Over and over, we hear about the modernity and scope of the Comissariat's propaganda efforts. In addition to *Nova Iberia* [CATS. 174 and 175], the Comissariat published bulletins (among these the *Boletín de Información Religiosa*) [CAT. 31], postcards, pamphlets, posters (though not many), and other illustrated magazines, portfolios, and books [CAT. 13]. The photographic albums of the Comissariat, which catalogued the images used by the Comissariat in its publications and are now held by the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya in Sant Cugat, are full of photographs of current events, life in the rear guard, and, of special interest to this discussion, publicity photographs of the Comissariat's own propaganda [CATS. 300 and 303]. We see in these photographs an emphasis on marketing that

extended beyond any other propaganda agency in Spain during the war. In some of the photographs, magazines are set up like a still life, immaculately lit and beautifully cropped. The Comissariat's workshops, printing presses, offices, and temporary exhibition stands throughout the city (especially for the Feria del Libro and to collect books and magazines for the front), are all documented in the albums as well. Miravittles understood that the Comissariat was making history. The artists and writers he employed were similarly aware of the importance of not only producing propaganda, but marketing the Comissariat itself as culturally aware, politically responsible, and internationally connected [CATS. 76 and 314].

The artists who worked for the Comissariat had their roots in some of the most advanced publications of the 1930s, including the popular illustrated magazine *D'Ací i d'Allà* [FIG. 37], which had become a landmark of visual modernity in print under the artistic direction of Josep Sala, who designed posters and took photographs for the Comissariat's publications. Pere Català-Pic, who Miravittles had selected as Head of Publications, was one of the city's leading theorists and practitioners of modern photography, as well as having had a leading role in the pre-war magazines *Public-Cinema*, *Publicidad y Ventas* [FIG. 38], and *Claror*. Gabriel Casas, who had made a reputation for himself publishing photographic reports for the short-lived *Imatges*, created complex photomontages for the *Butlletí Trimestral* of the Generalitat's Conselleria de Economia [CATS. 33 and 34]. Agustí Centelles, who was a pioneer photojournalist, was also widely featured in the Comissariat's magazines, especially *Visions de Guerra i Reraguarda*, which was published in two series, "retrospective" and "current." The illustrators and painters employed by the Comissariat were equally active, designing covers for magazines and publishing limited edition print portfolios. What is most striking in reviewing the Comissariat's publications is the diversity of styles, in addition to the scope of their contents. While *Nova Iberia* was large format with

an exquisite interior design, *Visions de Guerra i Reraguarda* was a small format photographic magazine primarily aimed at local audiences (its covers displayed schematic renditions of warfare and were published on rougher paper than *Nova Iberia*). The *Boletín de Información Religiosa* was meant as a newsletter of sorts with the visual content limited to its cover page. Understanding that not all propaganda fits every audience, Miravittles and Català-Pic took the surprisingly modern strategy of aiming for niche markets at home and abroad.

The impact of the Comissariat on others working on propaganda in Barcelona must have been great. As an energizing force and employment center for the city's leading artists and writers, Miravittles was setting a very high standard for quality printed materials during the war. Other artists and agencies seemed to take their cue from both the Comissariat and the unions, and as a result Barcelona's kiosks were filled with high production value illustrated magazines. *Aire* [CATS. 4 to 8] and *Ímpetu* [CATS. 123, 124 and 126] were spiral bound illustrated magazines that were clearly modeled after *D'Ací i d'Allà*.⁸⁷ The earlier review of union publications from Barcelona further demonstrates that while there were a number of competing propaganda organizations operating at once, there was a shared commitment to design that cut across party lines and extended from the most humble of hand-made periodicals to the largest format, mural sized magazines. We also have in Barcelona, and within the Comissariat itself, a combination of long running and single-issue magazines; whereas *Catalans! El Magazine Popular* [CAT. 36] published more than thirty issues, *Inten* [CAT. 127] only appeared once.

⁸⁷ The artist Salvador Ortiga, who had experimented with collage during the 1930s, was the artistic director and designer for *Aire*. Ortiga was friends with the surrealist artist Antoni García Lamolla, who contributed drawings to the magazine *Espectáculo* during the war. Both were actively involved in the modern art group ADLAN (Amics de l'Art Nou) during the Second Republic.

While politically the communists and the anarchists in Barcelona were spilling blood to gain control of the city, there was nonetheless cross over in terms of the shared investment in visual culture (and sometimes the literal sharing of artists whose work appeared in the publications of both parties, as was the case with Eduardo Vicente and Josep Renau). Although communist and anarchist magazines alike benefited from the city's long history of graphic design and excellent resources, sharp differences emerged with respect to the appearance and goals of their wartime publications. The short run children's magazine, *Mirbal*, which included in one of its issues the Comissariat's then famous photographs of children killed by Insurgent bombs, was the focus of both praise and critique in the Catalan press [CAT. 152]. *La Gaceta de las Artes Gráficas* remarked: "*Mirbal* could be the perfect children's magazine of this hour... The format of *Mirbal* is splendid. The illustrations are delicious; all of them."⁸⁸ Two issues of *Mirbal* were published [CATS. 151 and 152], so it is likely that this reviewer responded to the first issue, which did not include the Comissariat's photographs of dead children. While *La Gaceta's* reviewer was sympathetic to the magazine's attempt to raise children's "internationalist" conscience, Ramón Calopa in the anarchist magazine *Ideas* attacked the editors of *Mirbal* for creating confusion between the world of children and that of adults⁸⁹ [FIG. 39]. Instead of a magazine filled with communist ideology (which Calopa identified not only in the magazine's prose but also in its illustrations), the review advocated for a children's magazine that would be spontaneous, humane, and free of the intentional design of the Soviet-inspired editors.

Amidst the proliferation of anarchist and communist publications, a single issue of *Norte: Revista*

Gráfica Socialista [CAT. 169] appeared in Barcelona in August 1938. The debate leading up to its publication dated back at least to the year before in Madrid. In the records for a socialist party meeting from July 17-21, 1937, the issue of propaganda was made a central focus for debate. One member observed: "We have to make propaganda; a Party without propaganda can't be anything. It is indispensable so that things enter through the eyes of the people"⁹⁰ After which, he made a bold suggestion: "I would like to allow myself to propose the following, which for some of you is a huge monstrosity: that we spend the money from the subscription [to help the victims of fascism] on the creation of a Secretaría de Propaganda . . . because in my judgment it would be shameful for a Party to have in the bank 293,000 pesetas without having a mouthpiece to express what the Party thinks"⁹¹ Further, he stated that a modern political party had to organize itself to "edit pamphlets, publish single sheets with interesting articles, and make graphic magazines" [CAT. 290].

Norte is a beautiful magazine that wears the mark of its Barcelona manufacture on the cover: bold typography and geometric design frame a photograph of the masses. It is not all that dissimilar from the last issue of the architectural magazine *A.C.: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea* [CAT. 1], which was published just before the war's end and only partially distributed. In contrast to its strident, conspicuous modernity, the editorial salutation that introduced readers to the publication stressed the magazine's simplicity: "The war only left us with the time to publish the indispensable... From now on we are taking a small license to give light to this Magazine."⁹² The editors declared to their readers: "we publish a Magazine without pretensions." Compared to the price of other civil war

⁸⁸ "Nuevas publicaciones en Cataluña," *La Gaceta de las Artes Gráficas* 5 (May 1937): 11.

⁸⁹ Ramón Calopa, "*Mirbal* o las publicaciones comunistas para los niños," *Ideas* 30 (11 August 1937): 3.

⁹⁰ Fundación Pablo Iglesias, AH-III-4 (PSOE-CN/ACTAS. Actas del CN del Partido Socialista Obrero Español, 17-21 July 1937, 186, ISIH), page 104.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, page 105.

⁹² "Saludo," *Norte* 1 (August 1938): 1.

magazines published in Loyalist Spain, *Norte* was expensive. Its sole issue was put on sale for three pesetas. Correspondence between the editors and subscribers of *Norte* conserved in the Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española in Salamanca indicate that a second number was planned, but never appeared. The difficulties of war alluded to in the letters could have ranged from lack of funds and paper to personnel. In January 1939 the editors were still promising their readers a second issue, though they were by then returning money to subscribers perhaps in recognition of their premonition that their “license could expire with the imperatives of our fight.” Shortly thereafter the magazine passed into history almost unaccounted for, a passage that seemed to already be predicted in José Prat’s essay for *Norte* “The Propaganda of the Party and the Propaganda of the State,” [FIG. 40] in which he reflected: “It would be a great service to future historical investigations to create a great museum of propaganda, conserving for future generations the documented record of such a great effort.”⁹³ Ironically, the “museum” where the records from *Norte* are conserved began initially as part of Franco’s Delegación del Estado para la Recuperación de Documentos (State Delegation for the Recuperation of Documents), an indication that while both sides recognized the value of propaganda as a persuasive instrument in forging public opinion during the war, it was under Franco that these same publications became incriminating pieces of evidence against those who participated in their production.⁹⁴

⁹³ “José Prat, “La Propaganda de Partido y la Propaganda de Estado,” *Norte* 1 (August 1938): 28.

⁹⁴ See for example, Josep Cruanyes, *Els papers de Salamanca. L’espoliació del patrimoni documental de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2003).

6. THE POLITICS AND AFTER-EFFECTS OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND MONTAGE: PERE CATALÀ-PIC AND JOSEP RENAU

In reviewing the magazines surveyed up to this point, it is clear that photography played a central role in the fabrication of propaganda across Spain, and spanned every political party and union organization [CATS. 269 and 272]. Though degrees of sophistication and frequency varied, using manipulated photographs as a compositional element in mastheads, as part of full-page spreads, or framed off as illustrations on their own was a technique shared by Loyalist and Insurgent artists with radically different intentions and audiences, from Tolosa’s covers [CATS. 17 and 166] for the Valencian anarchist magazine *Argos* to Compte’s multi-page photographic layouts for the Falange’s illustrated magazine *Vértice*. Like artists who used pencil, ink, or other printing processes, by the 1930s photomontage was employed by artists internationally and in contexts that ranged from international exhibitions to widely circulating newspapers [CAT. 165]. Already visible in designs for posters, magazines, and book jackets prior to the war, Spanish artists continued to be in contact with other international artists who used photography [CAT. 55] through the circulation of printed matter from the Soviet Union, France, Germany, and Italy.

Throughout the 1930s, the two strongest influences on the adoption of photomontage and photocollage by Spanish artists came from advertising, on the one hand, and politically committed art (mostly Soviet and German), on the other. Though one might assume that these two contexts were diametrically opposed, many avant-garde artists in the early twentieth century saw in advertising a revolutionary tool that could be used in commercial practice, or adopted for more experimental purposes.⁹⁵ In Spain these areas were not separated entirely from each other either. Many of

the artists who were active making posters and magazine layouts during the war had been trained in advertising, and several who had participated in making some of the most notable political propaganda during the war continued to work in commercial graphic design under Franco or in exile.⁹⁶

Of those dedicated to photography and publicity during the 1930s, it was Pere Català-Pic and Josep Renau who most significantly marked the path between commercial design and political propaganda. Renau, worked primarily out of Valencia and Madrid. He was a founding member of the communist party in Valencia and took a leading role throughout the 1930s in articulating a polemical position on what he believed to be the necessary, and critically aware, practice of using design to promote the connection between political ideals and artistic choices. In addition to his commissioned work, which ranged from posters for Valencian tourism to photographic montages and drawings for the anarchist magazines *Orto* and *Estudios*, Renau was also the editor of the illustrated antifascist magazine *Nueva Cultura* through 1937. Català-Pic began as a studio photographer in the town of Valls outside of Tarragona, a city about sixty miles to the south of Barcelona. After establishing a successful business, he relocated to Barcelona and quickly became known as an early adopter of modern photographic techniques within the Catalan arts community. He embraced the rational use of experimental practices in his design work and supported the application of the field of *psicotécnica* (the use of psychology to study labor,

technology, and perception) to the development of publicity. As a theorist and commercial photographer, Català-Pic was less interested in debating the social role of the artist (as was Renau's focus) than in exploring and implementing the idea of the photo-technician who utilized psychology and photographic experimentation in publicity.

Barcelona had more publications devoted to publicity, both books and magazines, than any other city in Spain.⁹⁷ It was the location of the nation's first government sponsored programs and it was temporary or full-time home to the country's leading practitioners and theorists, including Juan Aubeyzon, Rafael Bori, José Gardó, and Pedro Prat-Gaballí. The director of the Catalan government's Institut d'Orientació Professional (later renamed the Institut Psicotècnic) was the prominent psychologist Dr. Emili Mira i López, who would introduce Català-Pic to Jaume Miratvilles.⁹⁸

In Català-Pic's contributions to the Institut's *Butlletí del Seminari de Publicitat*, he laid out his theories on publicity and guided readers in the practical application of photography in advertising. Among the different techniques that he outlined (including the use of the camera-less photogram as a key method for incorporating greater abstraction into design), he dedicated most of his attention to photomontage. One of Català-Pic's most extensive articles on photographic technique in the 1930s was his "Technique of Publicity Photography," which appeared in the Institut's *Butlletí* in 1933. The essay begins by reviewing what readers may know about publicity and the artistic techniques

⁹⁵ Maud Lavin, "Advertising Utopia: Schwitters as Commercial Designer," *Art in America* LXXIII. 10 (October 1985): 134-9.

⁹⁶ Bardasano and others worked for advertising agencies prior to the outbreak of the war; Emeterio Melendreras, one of the leading poster designers on the republican side during the war, edited the magazine *Arte Comercial* after the war. For details on many of the artists featured in this exhibition and their work in design before and after the war, see Enric Satué, *El diseño gráfico en España. Historia de una forma comunicativa nueva* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1997).

⁹⁷ See Raúl Eguizábal Maza and M^a Luisa García-Ochoa Roldán, *La publicidad y los libros 1920-1972* (Madrid: Biblioteca Universidad Complutense, 2001).

⁹⁸ For more on the relation of psychology to publicity in Barcelona during the Second Republic, and its relation to Català-Pic's work, see Jordana Mendelson, "Desire at the Kiosk: Publicity and Barcelona in the 1930s," *Catalan Review* 18.1-2 (2004): 191-207.

associated with it: drawing and painting. After introducing photography in relation to these media, he acknowledged photography's value to advertising because of its ability to represent objects in all of their detail. However, even more than photography's use as a recorder of reality, Català-Pic insisted on the potential for the medium to stimulate an emotional response in the viewer through distortion. While most readers would be familiar already with the value of photography as an objective medium, he argued that it was in its other, more experimental, applications that photography was of most use to advertisers. He outlined the ways in which photography opened the door to unexpected images by describing the camera's ability to transform reality through such processes as abstraction, multiple exposure and combination printing. Rather than such image transformations distracting from the object's planned function, however, Català-Pic advocated that it was just such changes in the image's appearance that would awaken viewer response (making photography ideal for propaganda).

Català-Pic repeated many of the central ideas from this essay in his other publications and lectures, demonstrating the degree to which he sought to popularize his views on publicity photography for both general and specialized publics. In each text, he emphasized that photography must go beyond its beginnings as an objective recording device; it was the technician's job to transform the medium into a useful tool for the communication of more than just the materiality of an object. The photo-technician had to make something much less tangible — the subjective states of emotion — real through the production of dream-like images that were nonetheless obtainable through purchase. Thus, he explained in his essay on "Publicity Photography" published in *Mirador* in 1932: "we concede to photography not only a documentary, objective value, but also a subjective value capable of communicating a psychological state."⁹⁹ It was

⁹⁹ Pere Català-Pic, "Fotografia publicitaria," *Mirador* 196 (1932), n.p.

in this same essay that Català-Pic inferred what would later become a significant idea during the war: individual emotional states were part of the larger psychological component of the social sphere, and in altering an individual's response one would also be able to address collective psychological states. He articulated this idea at the close of his essay when proposing the establishment by the Catalan government of an archive of publicity posters, which should pay special attention to the conservation of publicity photography: "We shouldn't forget that publicity also reveals, in a great way, a people's degree of civilization."

While he was working for the *Comissariat*, Català-Pic published articles on art and culture in the magazine *Meridià* (the title given to the wartime version of the literary-arts magazine *Mirador* after it was collectivized). His work as a critic along with his position at the *Comissariat* left him little time to compose posters, with the exception of *Aixafem el feixisme*, which became one of the war's most famous and memorable visual slogans: a foot wrapped in the popular Catalan rope-soled sandal hovers forcefully over a cracked swastika. No words are needed, the message is clear: popular revolution has the power to defeat fascism.

In Català-Pic's 1937 article for *Nova Iberia*, titled "Framework for New Propaganda" [FIG. 41], he argued for the centrality of publicity to the economic and political work of the country. If before his main focus was on the role of the photo-technician in the development of publicity, his concern in this essay was to demonstrate the vital relationship between well-planned propaganda and the saving of lives. Acknowledging that a shift took place during the war from the promotion of commerce to politics, he pointed out that while the process may be the same (in terms of design and the study of human emotion) the stakes were, of course, much higher: the success of a publicity campaign must now be measured against the cost of human life. For Català-Pic, the outpouring of creative activity that accompanied the revolution in "defense of the cause" promised to be the start of the production

of “propaganda of great proportions and great prospects.”

In Madrid, Renau was named Director General de Bellas Artes and oversaw the government’s efforts to save the nation’s artistic patrimony during the war. He was actively involved in the Spanish Pavilion for the 1937 Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne in Paris, coordinating the photo-murals that extended throughout the pavilion and assisting in the collection of other materials for the various displays on Spanish culture, industry, and the war.¹⁰⁰ He created posters for the communist party and the popular army [CATS. 310 and 316], including *El Comisario, Nervio de Nuestro Ejército Popular*, a poster that drew on a few simple photographic elements to communicate the centralization of the armed forces under the Soviet model of the comisario. In 1938, when the government moved to Barcelona, Prime Minister Juan Negrín named him Director of Graphic Propaganda for the Comisariado General del Estado Mayor Central. He supervised the publication of magazines like *Boletín de Información Cultural del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Sanidad* [CAT. 27], which shared with Renau’s poster a focus on monumentalized photographs of military figures. In the final year of the war, Renau created what some have considered his most dynamic photomontages to illustrate Negrín’s *13 Puntos de la Victoria* (13 Points of Victory).¹⁰¹ The series was reproduced widely in Loyalist and foreign magazines, from *Ímpetu* in Madrid and *Meridià* [CAT. 145] in Barcelona to *Levante* in Valencia [CAT. 277].

If in Català-Pic’s writing we see the evolution of a designer from studio photographer to photo-technician, and from advocate of publicity photography to initiator of political propaganda, in the case of Renau there is a much more constant connection in his writings between his work as an

artist and his ideas about art as a political tool. Nevertheless, like Català-Pic he drew ideas about montage from both research in publicity and the international avant-garde. That said it is important to note that whereas Català-Pic supported the work of photographers like Man Ray and Henri Cartier-Bresson, Renau leaned toward the more politically informed experiments of German and Soviet artists. Even more, his own writings provided a commentary and critique on both the development of the publicity poster, and its relationship to what he characterized as the “abstract” practices of contemporary art. Thus, it is important to understand how Renau both connected with and differentiated himself from the discourse around publicity and political montage during the war.

Renau was a frequent contributor to many politicized art journals during the Second Republic. The covers of poet-activist Rafael Alberti’s Madrid-based magazine *Octubre* featured Renau’s constructivist montages [FIG. 42], which have clear connections to the propaganda designs by Soviet artists Gustav Klucis and El Lissitzky. At the same time, Renau continued to contribute designs for the covers of the Valencian anarchist journals *Orto* and *Estudios*, both of which circulated widely and became well known, like *Octubre*, for their striking covers. In the work that he did for all of these journals, Renau blended images from international publications with those taken directly from Spanish sources. His style of montage varied throughout these years and became even more fully developed in serial form through his editorship of *Nueva Cultura*, for which he designed the covers and interior pages as a complete work, often using double page spreads to create a complex montage of image and text [CAT. 171]. During the war, Renau’s political engagement with Soviet communism brought him into contact with pro-Soviet cultural magazines [CAT. 285] published in Spain like *Rusia de Hoy* [CAT. 283], *AUS* [CAT. 25], and *Cultura Soviética* [CAT. 54], and the military magazines *Mundo Obrero* [CAT. 164] or *Nuestra Bandera* [CAT. 176]. When he was in Barcelona, he likely also saw

¹⁰⁰ See Mendelson, *Documenting Spain*, 125-72.

¹⁰¹ Forment, Albert, *Josep Renau. Història d’un fotomuntador* (Catarroja, Valencia: EditorialAfers, 1997), 160-1.

the magazine *Companya* [CATS. 49, 50 and 51] and its Soviet-inspired montage covers.

It should come as no surprise then that Renau used magazines as a forum to initiate a discussion on the role of the poster artist during the war. Based on the lectures that he gave at the University of Valencia in 1936, Renau published a multi-part essay on the “Social Function of the Publicity Poster” [CAT. 311] which was edited into book form shortly after by *Nueva Cultura*. This text has become a benchmark in the history of visual culture in Spain and was reprinted with other Renau texts in 1976 as *Función Social del Cartel*. In 1978, Renau also published *La Batalla per una Nova Cultura*, an anthology of his recent writings and earlier texts from the 1930s. As a third in this series of republished essays and autobiographical reflections, Renau published *Arte en peligro 1936-1939* in 1980, a book that recounted his experiences saving the nation’s artistic patrimony during the war.

As published in *Nueva Cultura*, “Función social del cartel publicitario” is both an overview of the history of poster art and a call for the relevance of the poster to Spain’s current political situation. In the course of his discussion of the poster’s development, from serving the needs of capitalist culture to being transformed into a political weapon by Soviet artists using photography, Renau is careful to indicate the place of Spain’s artists within this international context. Each of the essay’s ten sections address a specific element within Renau’s tracking of the poster’s evolution, from a discussion of the difference between painting and poster titled “Work of Art, Poster, and the Public” to his conclusion on “Our Political Poster should Develop the Legacy of Spanish Realism.” The commentary he developed about the relation of publicity to national psychology, capitalism, concurrent practices in the visual arts, and the attitude of the public to the arts is both intricate and ambitious. That Renau should first launch this text from the pages of his magazine *Nueva Cultura* is compelling as it leads one to extend his analysis of posters into the field of graphic design and print culture more broadly.

The model for Renau’s explanation of the social function of the poster was Soviet, especially the photographic poster, which he wrote was “the pure creation of Bolshevik Russia.” He admitted that despite its Soviet origin, the use of photography in posters was perfected within capitalist countries because of the more sophisticated technological means available. He observed that once perfected, the technique that originated in Russia (and here Renau was thinking no doubt about photomontage as well) was now being used in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Renau’s awareness of the appropriation of montage by competing political forces demonstrates his understanding that montage as a form was not limited to a specific political ideology, but rather was a mobile technique that, once introduced, became available for wide spread use, to be employed in both political and publicity posters.

When turning to the Spanish case, and describing the transformation forced upon artists with the urgent task of producing wartime posters, Renau described the situation from the perspective of one whose political commitments had already made his connection to the public’s social concerns part of his daily life; for other artists, among whom Renau might have included Català-Pic, this experience was both shocking and violent:

18 July 1936 surprised the majority of artists, as often has been described vulgarly, in their under shirts. The poster-artist finds himself, all of a sudden, before new motives which, breaking the empty routine of bourgeois publicity, fundamentally turns upside down his professional function. Undoubtedly, it is no longer an issue of announcing a specific [medicine] or liquor. War is not a brand of automobiles.¹⁰²

Witnessing the immediate response of artists to their new found situations, Renau both acknowledged the “easy adaptation to the causes of the

¹⁰² Josep Renau, “Función social del cartel publicitario. II Hacia un nuevo realismo,” *Nueva Cultura. Información. Crítica y Orientación Intelectual* 3 (May 1937): 9.

revolution and the war” of formulas from publicity and cautioned that there hadn’t yet been an appropriate resolution in the form of the poster to the “reality in whose name [the poster-artist] pretends to speak.”

How Renau understood photography in the context of war, and his insistence on the commitment of artists to respond to their new wartime situations using the most efficient modes of communication (which for Renau was photography and photomontage), was elaborated through a series of public exchanges with other artists. The correspondence with the artist Ramón Gaya published in *Hora de España* revealed the contentious nature of photomontage as an expressive and propagandistic form during the war.¹⁰³ Gaya argued that montage was too utilitarian, too brutal for the Spanish public and was best suited for foreign propaganda (where showing the atrocities of war might serve to generate political and economic support for the Republic). He insisted that artists had the responsibility to maintain a space away from war, and to communicate this vision creatively to the public as a form of resistance. Renau, countered that this was merely an insistence on “pure” art and that the artist had a social responsibility to provide images that documented and reflected the conditions of war, conditions that the artist shared with his public.

In his 1938 essay “Between Life and Death,” published in the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia*, Renau recognized a shift in montage practice from the caustic juxtapositions of the German Dadaists to the greater reliance on documentary realism in Soviet art. Renau argued that the literal depiction of reality was a powerful weapon; instead of disjunction and fragmentation, Renau argued in this late text for the journalistic photograph. The public, Renau argued, needed both the evidence of their struggle and positive images of hope. Even his own writing style here shifts away from the condemnatory evaluation of artists’ engagement with

the public (which was evident in his 1937 *Nueva Cultura* essays) to a sympathetic meditation on the difficulty artists have confronting violence: How, Renau asks, should artists deal with the presence of death in life? As a partial answer to Renau’s pressing question, this exhibition has proposed that one of the ways that artists dealt with the challenges of war, and “the presence of death in life,” was to focus their attention on a different kind of armament, that of the illustrated press.

* * *

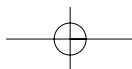
“Modern memory is above all archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image.” Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”¹⁰⁴

This exhibition has sought to bring out from the archive and into the museum visual and material artifacts from the Spanish Civil War that have heretofore resisted entrance into art historical narratives about the war. Magazines are complex, multivalent objects. The artists who contributed to them were diverse, their political commitments were varied, and their prior experience with print culture ranged from expert to novice. As different forms of magazines emerged during the war — from pre-established journals with long histories to single issue hand-crafted wall-newspapers — so too did accompanying discourses around their production, distribution, and reception. In revisiting the intersecting histories of artists, editors, printers, distributors, subscribers, readers, and collectors, it is in the magazine’s dual status as immediate and ephemeral, present and historical, serial and unique that we might begin to trace back into our histories of the Spanish Civil War the fragile violence, and distracting enjoyment of the illustrated press.

[FIGS. 43 and 44]

¹⁰³ Miguel Ángel Gamonal Torres, *Arte y política en la guerra civil española. El caso republicano* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1987), 174-180.

¹⁰⁴ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 8.



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