



The Review *Sexualidad* (1925–28), Social Hygiene and the Pathologisation of Male Homosexuality in Spain

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Unos y otros hemos de procurar la desaparición *parcial!*—total será imposible—de estos *estrellos* indeterminados, que perturban y entristecen la vida de este Madrid castizo y bullanguero, que se ha destacado siempre por la figura de sus gentiles y graciosas mujeres y por el valor heroico y varonil de sus hombres.

A los alcaldes, particularmente al de Madrid, interesa esta labor. El pueblo madrileño espera con ansiedad la *exterminación epidémica* para disfrutar tan sólo, a este respecto, de absoluta tranquilidad, a la vez que perpetuar su moralidad, gritando a todo pulmón que los homosexuales estorban a su moralidad y a su hidalguía, pidiendo se extinga rápidamente el homosexualismo. (Moreno y Díaz-Prieto 1927: 9)

The relationship between sexuality, hygienic discourse and practice, sexual pathology and emerging sexual categorisations and identities is a problematic one. This article argues that this relationship was in the making in Spain particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, a period of proliferation of discourse on sexuality. Despite this appropriation of sexuality and the deviant subject by a number of interconnecting discourses such as sexology and psychiatry, the attention given to analysing this relationship in twentieth century Spain has been scant (see Glick 1982; González Duro 1978; Smith 1998; Vázquez García and Moreno Mengíbar 1997). This may be due partly to the nebulous nature of sexology and social hygiene in Spain in the early twentieth century. It was common that of those medical doctors with an interest in the sexological, some may have been “alienists” of some kind, and others endocrinologists who gave a psychological inflection to their studies, all of whom may have done so out of interest or economic necessity. It may also be partly due to the lack of visibility of homosexuals themselves. As research on other countries has suggested, the existence of pathologising sexological and psychiatric discourses and the discernible existence of a homosexual subculture, are linked. While sexological discourses may well have “brought the homosexual into being”, such recategorisations of existing sexual behaviour cannot have been made without visible, identifiable subjects capable of being examined. What I do think can be sustained is that sexology and the “psysciences” “collaborated” in order to make homosexuals more visible in the 1920s and that these two emerging sciences cannot be separated from other discourses which focused on sexuality in the 1920s and 1930s such as the various race sciences and the construction of

“sexual abnormalities”, discourses which in turn had their roots in nineteenth century “moral or social hygiene” (for an account of this, see Rose 1985).

Sexualidad, even though it was short-lived, managed to appear fairly consistently every month for over four and a half years under the general editorship of psychiatrist Dr Antonio Navarro Fernández. The new review appeared on the first of February 1925. The last issue was number 165, dated 30 December 1928.² As such, *Sexualidad* offers an unprecedented source for the examination of the history of sexuality in Spain. In this article I argue that it is necessary to try to understand the genesis and content of the review as part of the developing sexological, eugenic and psychological discourse of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This work therefore connects with that of historians and sociologists such as Alvarez Peláez (1985), Amezúa (1991), and Vázquez García and Moreno Mengíbar (1997) who have written about some of these subjects.

If we examine the immediate origins of *Sexualidad* and discursive linkages between its contents and that of later reviews on similar subjects we need to ask: how does *Sexualidad* illustrate the development of the sciences of sex in early twentieth century Spain? What were the effects of social hygiene and other expert disciplines on the “creation” of sexuality as an area of intervention in Spain? What was the relation of the expert languages of psychiatry and sexology to popular discourse and practice? And, more specifically related to the subject of this article, what was the effect of psychiatric discourse in *Sexualidad* on any homosexual individual or group identities? In order to approach these questions—some of which will only be partly answered—this article is constructed in four parts:

- 1) a brief introduction to *Sexualidad* and its editor, Dr Navarro Fernández;
- 2) a brief account of the context of eugenics and sexology in Spain;
- 3) an analysis of a number of articles on homosexuality in *Sexualidad*;
- 4) conclusions and further questions.

Sexualidad: Revista Ilustrada de Divulgación Científica de Higiene Social³

The editor, Dr Antonio Navarro Fernández, had a long career in the medical profession. As was often the case in Spain, as in other countries, doctors, in addition to practising general medicine, had other branches of knowledge and practice. Navarro Fernández had established his mark in the field of social hygiene earlier in the century with the publication of his *La prostitución en la villa de Madrid* (1909). This study was one of the most extensive on the subject to date, and located the solution of the problem of prostitution within a hygienic discourse which called upon the government to save the “race” by means of the abolition of the practice. This book also contains some fascinating examples of male homosexual prostitution, including a typology of homosexuals and measurements of body parts (Navarro Fernández 1909: 137–54), linking in with other works on a similar subject which were published around the same time (Pick 1989).

The moral and social hygienic strain within Navarro’s work resurfaced in the pages of *Sexualidad* and informed its whole *raison d’être*. In the first issue of

the review, the review's inside cover masthead elaborated on the subtitle contained on the front, defining itself this time as *Sexualidad. Amor fisiológico, amor morboso. Revista semanal de divulgación de psicopatología sexual*, a description that locates the review more clearly in the management of all varieties of "sexual deviance", contrasting them with "physiological", reproductive heterosexuality. The editor's first address to the public explained the terms of the review's field of action. In this address Navarro stated that the objective of *Sexualidad* was to disseminate purely scientific knowledge on the sexual question, and that it would present material far removed from vulgar pornography. Pornography, on the other hand, was to be combatted. The function of the review was to seek out the truth of sexual matters; when this truth was located and applied, the family and the race would be strengthened. This sexological project would also be a democratic undertaking: any thinkers, Navarro Fernández continued, whether scientific or literary, could help in this "empresa de regeneración" (Navarro Fernández 1925a: 2). Navarro's introduction, which straight away places the review within "serious" scientific sexological material, and further within an already established race hygiene framework, was elaborated upon by a number of articles which followed. Fernando Mínguez, for example, discussed eugenic theory, and pondered over the relative importance of heredity and environment in the constitution of the morbid individual and degenerate race. Echoing a number of other exponents of eugenics, Mínguez declared that marriage certificates for the "best endowed" were only partly satisfactory as a means of improving the race since people could beget children out of wedlock, and certificates themselves could be forged.⁴ The only way of guaranteeing eugenically sound offspring was by ensuring that certain biological types simply did not procreate. Such an objective could be achieved by castration or sterilisation of the appropriate "dysgenics" (Mínguez 1925). Both this kind of tone and subject matter were consistently present throughout the review's production period.

The context of sexology and eugenics in early twentieth century Spain

The medical and sexological context in which the sciences of sexual pathology and eugenics grew in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Spain have been analysed elsewhere (Cleminson and Amezáa 1999). These points are not reiterated here. What can be said is that the 1920s seem to be one of a number of key periods in Spain for the transformation of sexual discourses and the possibility of creation of intense investigations into sexuality, a kind of "take-off" of the sexual question. In the early twentieth century *Sexualidad* was one of a very few journals and reviews that dealt predominantly with sexuality at all. Others included the anarchist neo-Malthusian *Salud y Fuerza* (Barcelona, 1904–14) and *Eugenia* (Barcelona, 1921–28). Despite this small number of reviews devoted predominantly to sexuality or eugenics, there was a wide-ranging debate on questions of sexuality across many disciplines. For example, much of the content of health reviews was highly sexualised. The *Anales de Medicina Legal, Psiquiatría y Anatomía Patológica* (from 1933, Barcelona), and the pediatric *Arxius de Psicologia i Psiquiatria Infantil* (from 1933, Barcelona), in which

hermaphroditism, inversion and fetishism were discussed, fall into this camp. The genealogy of these reviews is complex and they underwent a number of different metamorphoses, but in general they drew on similar pools—criminology, puericulture, and sexual science, even though the inflection they gave each discipline was remarkably different.⁵

In addition to mapping the creation of *Sexualidad* within the context of these developments in knowledge and specialised expert fields of the time, we see that a number of social and political influences encouraged an urgency in reviews such as this one of Navarro's. In the same way as we can trace not only scientific developments in, for example, the English *Eugenics Review*, we can see that a number of social and political changes powered the outlook and sphere of intervention appropriated by *Sexualidad*. The sexual sciences—like other sciences—and their political-social circumstances of generation cannot be viewed as independent spheres.

The expert fields that arose in late nineteenth century Spain, such as psychology, criminology and anthropology, coincided with attempts to reorder the state and to resolve issues thrown up by the loss of Empire. Part of this endeavour was heralded by the social, political and medical movement of *regeneracionismo*, which set about sanitising the state according to “rational”, hygienic and often “racial” criteria.⁶ It would be wrong, however, to assume that the message and reception of these discourses were identical across the fragmented constituencies of *fin de siècle* Spain; the issues thrown up by scientists and *regeneracionistas*—as well as their proposed solution—were the subject of intense debate as the complex terrain of modernity was negotiated.⁷

***Sexualidad*, social hygiene and “homosexual panic”**

It is not possible to analyse the full range of articles which appeared in *Sexualidad* over its almost five years of existence. However, there are a number of recurring themes of interest with reference to mainly male homosexuality in Spain in the early twentieth century. In the articles I have analysed here, it is possible to detect what might be described as a kind of “moral panic” with respect to the visibility and actions of homosexuals. While the tone of some articles in *Sexualidad* may not fit all the criteria laid down for moral panics as defined recently (Thompson 1998), I hope to show that their content was, if nothing else, strident and emotive and that it responded to a number of concerns: the visibility of sexual “inverts” on the streets of Madrid, anxiety over the use of illegal substances to induce altered states and possibly altered sexual orientations, and the loss of definition between the sexes, something threatened by the “new woman” of the late nineteenth century and the gender blurring of the belle époque; all areas which require more extensive studies than the one in hand.

One of medicine's on-going concerns has been the dangers of the (unregulated) use of narcotics or hallucinatory drugs. The use of magic and potions to induce exalted states of sexual inclination and the attempt by the medical profession to regulate and control the administration of such drugs are historical phenomena. Taking medicine out of the hands of herbalists and apothecaries is one manifestation of the growing sphere of influence of the medical elite. So

much can be seen in the early 1400s in England (Easlea 1980: 39) and in the late nineteenth century in Spain where healthy sexuality, the regulation of drug use and the promotion of racial hygiene were all rolled into one. This association is highlighted by Juan-Carlos Usó (1997: 52) with reference to Spaniards in the late 1800s and early 1900s:

Entonces se perseguían a sí mismos, y a sus congéneres, por miedo a otras “lacas sociales” que amenazaban la integridad de *la Raza y la Patria*, a saber: el alcoholismo, la blasfemia, la prostitución y, sobre todo, la publicación de libros, revistas e imágenes obscenas. De hecho, sería la guerra contra la pornografía [...] la que precedería—y en gran medida prepararía—la futura cruzada contra las drogas.

Justifying intervention into this world of drug-induced hypersexuality, Navarro Fernández in a 1926 article on drug use stated that mental hygiene had a role to play in securing “proper”, that is procreative sexual functioning (Navarro Fernández 1926a). The problem was that the procreative function of those who used drugs was severely impaired: “La actitud procreadora de los individuos irremisiblemente degenerados por las drogas tóxicas, incurablemente enfermos de la mente, sonsusceptibles [sic] de transmitir a la descendencia sus defectos y lacras patológicas y en otro orden de ideas crear ese otro género que se llaman desorientados del amor” (Navarro Fernández 1926a). Juan-Carlos Usó’s formula appears in Navarro Fernández’s concatenation of undesirable effects: “En íntimo consorcio las drogas tóxicas con la tuberculosis y la sífilis, crean un tipo de perversión, no solo individual, sino también étnico, incapaz, inepto y perjudicial para la vida social.” The (mis)use of drugs becomes an issue at the heart of racial biology.

People’s very sexual desires were also altered by their use. Substances could inflame or dampen down sexual desires and even sexual inversion could result from their use; even the respect that modern bourgeois society needed towards private property might be placed in jeopardy:

En los casos de amortiguamiento [de la pasión erótica] puede desviarse en el sentido de la inversión pasiva y en la otra forma, la pasión erótica aparece más fogosa en lucha por la imposición de su voluntad o quiere conquistar cayendo en la esfera del delito contra la propiedad (Navarro Fernández 1926a).

If drug abuse could have such an effect on one’s sexuality, it could also lead to crimes of violence:

Estos desorientados del amor por incitaciones de los paraísos artificiales que producen las drogas tóxicas, les lleva [sic] corrientemente a aéreas de ferocidad (sadismo, masoquismo) o a los más repugnantes crímenes que imaginar puede la bestia humana (Navarro Fernández 1926a).

This trail of violence supposedly left by “sexual inverts” was traced in other articles in *Sexualidad* which brandished lurid titles such as “Depravación”, “El decadentismo y las aberraciones sexuales”, and “Delincuencia sexual”. In “Depravación”, Navarro relates a bloody dénouement between two Madrid inverts. One beneficiary of the crime, however, was self-serving sexual psychology, a science which would be impoverished if there were no pathological subjects to feast upon: “La psicología sexual se ha enriquecido con un nuevo

caso de perversión de instintos. Un nuevo ser amoral ha entrado en los umbrales [sic] del crimen desde los vericuetos de la inversión sexual” (Navarro Fernández 1925c). Part of sexual psychology’s role was to identify “inverts” for the benefit of other specialists and the public at large by drawing on popular stereotypes of “invert” behaviour, depicting them as womanly and developmentally arrested in a stage of child-like innocence, yet still capable of extraordinarily depraved acts: “Los podéis ver a la hora crepuscular como deambulan por las calles; van pintarrajeados. Sus rostros denotan ingenuidad infantil; pero sus actos son depravados cuando necesitan caudal para el sostén de su vicio repugnante” (Navarro Fernández 1925c). If the pervert was the deviant child in grown up form, Navarro, in returning to the homosexuals’ atavistic past, to a period which could be psychologically managed, suggested that although their childhood had gone wrong it was also a route to their psychological and social recuperation. That authors in *Sexualidad* could write in such a manner also suggests that there was some popular or at least more generalised impression of what made an “invert” in 1920s Madrid. Paul Julian Smith has written that any perceived effeminacy in García Lorca did not necessarily lead his close friends to identify him as homosexual (Smith 1998: 13). If Smith’s analysis is correct for García Lorca, I would argue that this suggests strongly that the concept of inversion in Spain was being formed in this interstice between effeminacy as an acceptable trait of (Andalusian) or artistic manhood and the more common currency of inversion as an identifiable subject. Further, *Sexualidad* was able to write in such terms only because there was an identifiable homosexual subculture. My point here is that there must have been identifiable groups of “effeminate” men who were believed to be “inverts” at the time. Individuals, such as Lorca, may have escaped such categorisation, but what had become a subculture could not. This suggests that this period, place and interpretation of events was a critical “faultline” where the limits of effeminacy, “sexual inversion” and a new subculture were being inscribed (Sinfield 1994).

This boundary making is of course related to perceived sexual difference, a topic which was explored extensively in ensuing issues of the review. “Hibridismo sexual” declared against the confusion between the sexes, which had gained so much ground that it was becoming difficult to distinguish between males and females (Navarro Fernández 1925b). Part of the fault of this change, according to Navarro Fernández, lay with feminism. The “imitation” of men by women was viewed as a sexual aberration brought by modern society. Such “masculinismo” only countered any move towards a healthy eugenic population (Navarro Fernández 1926b).

Anxiety over the fusion of the sexes continued in Navarro Fernández’s “Delincuencia sexual”, which once more related the bloody crimes of “inverts”. The terms in which this latest event was related were even more florid, equating the activities of homosexuals with a kind of sodomitical and sacrificial Black Mass:

Un nuevo ultraje contra natura, con insulto al pudor, se ha cometido en la gran villa. El núcleo sexual repele este delito de sangre procaz e infame. Es el delito pasional de los invertidos; es la espuma sexual de la orgía, que estravasa [sic] sus deleites impuros

y graba con delincuencia de sangre el ambiente corrompido de la nueva Sodoma.
(Navarro Fernández 1926c: 1)

Once more the description of “inverts” as individuals who were not quite men, and not quite women, fakers, or simulacra of “real men”: “Ya los veréis, a poco que os fijéis, con sus caras pintarrajeadas por los colores femeniles de tocador, su pantalón falda y su americana ajustada [...]” (Navarro Fernández 1926c). However, this time, a solution linking the concerns over the lack of sexual differentiation and the presence of sexual inversion was advanced. Navarro Fernández wrote: “Hay que establecer un radical contraste entre los sexos [...] para que los hombres no parezcan mujeres, y las mujeres hombres”. This formula preceded Marañón’s theorisation of “intersexuality” by a few years; both drew on wider European sexological understandings of the aetiology of sexual inversion.

In addition to curtailing the confusion between the sexes and exalting sexual difference, it was necessary to unleash the cleansing powers of science on those who practised “homosexualismo”. In F. Gómez Sebastián’s article of March 1926, the curative, “democratic” tendencies of this science were set forth after an analysis of the possible roots—either innate or environmental—of homosexuality. It was not a case of straightforward repression, but scientific management: “No debe mirarse a los invertidos como seres despreciables; los invertidos son enfermos; la mayoría enfermos psíquicos y neuróticos. Puede, pues, intentarse su curación; la ciencia dispone de medios adecuados para ello” (Gómez Sebastián 1926), an endeavour that was in tune with the more progressive sexologists such as Marañón at the time.

According to Navarro Fernández, a major component of this process would be educational. Despite an evident nod towards a biological substrate for the cause of homosexuality, he was prepared to admit that psychosexual education could help to cure the problem. The mother would be at the heart of this project, under the surveillance of the medical or educational professional, and she was deemed to be both the cause of such deviance, and the repository of hope for its eventual elimination. She would also, as good sexology dictates, educate her children in an environment devoid of prudery and prejudice:

La madre, especialmente, es la que debe dirigir esta educación sexual alejada de todo prejuicio social, ante los que pueda creerse eximida por el pudor, puesto que si se deja influenciar por el medio ambiente, el individuo puede estar perdido antes de ser iniciado en la vida sexual normal.

La iniciación perfecta debe serle suministrada por el maestro o por el médico de familia, sin que corra el riesgo de despertar tempranamente el instinto sexual, cuyo peligro no compensa jamás de su caída en el homosexualismo. (Navarro Fernández 1926d)

In these articles we see the alignment of heterosexuality with the “natural” self so important to the bourgeois project of order. Rather than Catholicism retaining its monopoly on sexual morality, social and mental hygiene drew up a cultural and modernising framework for setting the limits of acceptable and non-

acceptable behaviours and for curing any deviations from the norm. In this project, the homosexual assumes a critical importance:

Of course, the homosexual is not the only one to have been positioned relative to the physician (psychiatrist, psychologist, etc.) and to science, and to have been equipped with significant manifestations of inner, sexual forces and made reliant on observation and analysis. This gradually came to be true of all modern people. However, it has made itself particularly felt in the case of the homosexual. He was prejudged morbid or abnormal, and thus belonged to the machinery *par excellence*. (Bech 1997: 102)

In this definition of bodies and space, homosexuality came to be of paramount importance for writers in *Sexualidad* who were keen on maintaining or redefining the material and cultural configuration of the bourgeois city, connecting sexual pathology with an “urbanistics of desire” which identified havens of respectability and ghettos of vice.

Conclusions

Sexualidad, by advocating programmes of psychosexual education, illustrated the roots of its own concerns. This specialist review grew out the new sciences of sexology of the nineteenth century and connected with other phenomena which were either pan-European or mainly Spanish. The language and fears that *Sexualidad* gave voice to were in part present in the bourgeois endeavour to embrace modern capitalism and the reorganisation of the city. But, more specifically in the Spanish case, *Sexualidad* also contributed to and drew from *regeneracionista* rhetoric and made its claim for national well-being, prosperity and racial cleanliness. For not only did *Sexualidad* urge readers to “buy and consume Spanish”, since the native country’s waters, *balnearios* and clothes were better than those abroad,⁸ but it also joined forces with the moral-hygienic project of the *regeneracionistas* by embracing and couching its reform in terms of “eugenics”. This “science of the population” was the motor behind the attempts of Navarro and others to create an idealised healthy new Spanish race. In an article Navarro Fernández (1926e) praises the best writers to spring from the Spanish race and names, amongst others, Maeztu, Azorín, and Insúa, as exemplars of the aspiration to achieve physical and moral regeneration. Eugenics, Navarro Fernández continued, was the guiding light in regulating marriage, abolishing prostitution, countering venereal disease, and it was of relevance to other more tangential areas including the reduction of the working day and the increase in workers’ wages that had been implemented, resulting, according to the good doctor, in failing health and the “perversion of moral instincts”. One negative result of this “new prosperity” was the increase in bars, and hence alcoholism. The battleground of eugenics, as set forth here, ranged from syphilis to alcoholism, from feminism to inversion, and from the prevention of disease in new generations to explicit race hygiene.

Navarro and others writing in *Sexualidad* embraced a more reactionary form of eugenics than some others in the country at the time. It has been amply demonstrated that it is not possible to equate eugenics with reactionary politics—or indeed with any kind of political ideology—in any simple way (Adams 1990).

The same is true for Spain. While there were a number of common areas of concern, and perhaps common proposed solutions, the scope of eugenics was broad, and its methods of action often rather diffuse. As two authors commented recently:

Lo que hace especialmente interesante al pensamiento eugénico durante el primer tercio del siglo XX en España—como en el resto del mundo—es su aparente asepsia ideológica y su capacidad para imbricarse en discursos políticos y en posturas de conciencia diametralmente enfrentadas. (Vázquez García and Moreno Mengíbar 1997: 352)

While eugenics had many different faces in early twentieth century Spain, the variety espoused by *Sexualidad* was a particularly nationalistic one, exalting the qualities of the Spanish race—understood as exemplified by the Castilian or Madrid *castizo*—and calling for a resurrection of the traditional values of male virility, female gentility and Golden Age *hidalguía*. For Navarro and others in *Sexualidad*, the homosexual or invert was expelled from the normative regenerative project undertaken by *castizo* Spaniards and eugenicists, only to be readmitted at the cost of his own medical and psychiatric destruction: “rehabilitation” into the healthy order of the nation. In this project, the specialist fields I have called social hygiene, sexual pathology and eugenics were all mobilised, to the extent that it becomes difficult (and counterproductive) to attempt to separate them from one another.

Such expert knowledges have throughout the twentieth century in many different instances sat uncomfortably with lived homosexuality. How can we investigate the consequences of such exchanges? In what way did sexological discourse permeate and structure sexuality in early twentieth century Spain? It is possible that sexological discourse in *Sexualidad* may have responded to a more visible homosexual community and subculture in the major cities (Madrid, Barcelona) in the early twentieth century. It is possible that *Sexualidad* emerged at a time when the boundaries between male/female, masculinity/femininity, were becoming blurred, a “moment of indeterminacy” in gender and sexual relations (Sinfield 1994: 8). Perhaps unlike the late nineteenth century, the 1920s was a period during which the conditions of possibility of visible and identifiable “sexual inversion” and “homosexuality” were made viable. The 1920s, in this case, can be seen as a period of *identification* of homosexuality in Spain. Knowledge that there were homosexuals “out there” had become more generalised and popularised. It may also be added that the fears reflected in *Sexualidad* on this subject came in a period during which civil disorder and crime were major issues amongst certain sectors of the elites. This much can be suggested. But answers to the question of whether the public also participated in this “homosexual panic” and whether this interest had any effect on the invert/homosexual population itself are still some way off.

The relationship between a precarious homosexual subculture and a precarious psychiatric and sexological movement in Spain requires detailed research. Professional discourse on sexuality was the site for multiple conflicts and ideological battles throughout the early twentieth century, with some sectors receiving institutionalised backing most notably after 1939. *Sexualidad* shows

the alliances forged in the construction of the version of the modern state that a number of vociferous and expert groupings wanted, an alliance between modernising elites, legal expertise, pathologising psychiatry and the racial hygiene of nationalistic eugenics, redefining Spain, this time from a scientific perspective, as racially pure, *castiza* and decidedly non-homosexual.

Notes

- ¹ I would like to thank participants at the Second Bradford Conference on Hispanic Lesbian and Gay Experience May 1999 as well as Dr Alison Sinclair, University of Cambridge, for their many helpful suggestions during earlier versions of this article.
- ² I assume this was the final issue of *Sexualidad*, even though no statement of any kind of economic or other difficulty is made in its pages. The almost complete collection is housed in the Hemeroteca Municipal, Conde Duque, Madrid.
- ³ After some issues the subtitle became “Revista Ilustrada de Higiene Social”.
- ⁴ A number of works which discussed the convenience or otherwise of marriage certificates and eugenics in the late 1920s and early 1930s were Marañón (1972); Noguera (1930); Madrazo (1932); Madrazo (1998); and Haro (1932).
- ⁵ A study is needed to trace the development of this kind of review and their relationship with others with a predominant interest in sex, such as *Eugenia* whose prime focus was eugenics, and professional sexological reviews such as *Sexus*, the journal of the Spanish League for Sex Reform.
- ⁶ The literature on eugenics can be consulted in this vein. Of Hispanic relevance is Balderston (1998).
- ⁷ See Ramsden (1974); Balfour (1997).
- ⁸ See “Reglas de todo buen español”, *Sexualidad*, 4, 22 February 1925: pp. 8–9.

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