

PRINT CULTURE AND THE  
FORMATION OF THE ANARCHIST  
MOVEMENT IN SPAIN  
1890-1915

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the formation of the anarchist movement in Spain, from the collapse of the movement in the early 1890s to the consolidation of the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (CNT) in 1915. The grassroots anarchist print culture established over these years was central to the movement's survival and expansion. Periodicals were the site in which anarchist ideology and practice came together, where abstract ideas were given meaning in relation to contexts and developments over time. The anarchist press, and the groups which produced it, also gave the movement an informal structure which it otherwise lacked. Together, the ideas and networks established by print formed the cultural foundations of the movement, prior to its mass expansion during the First World War.

The first section of this thesis examines the movement's relationship with violence in 1890-1898. In these years, popular violence, terrorism and state repression had a profound impact on the ways in which anarchist practice was conceived. The anarchist press provided a forum for debates between anarchist factions over the legitimacy of violence, while at the same time it attempted to stabilise the movement in the face of the broad, heavy-handed repression of the Spanish state. It failed in this last regard, and by 1896 the movement and its press had collapsed. The second section focuses on the recovery of the movement from 1899 to 1906. In this period, the movement made its first consolidated effort to establish education as a revolutionary strategy, which became seen as the prime means to cement anarchist culture and practice in local contexts. Print was central to these developments, carrying the anarchist educational message into new areas and assisting in the establishment of centres and schools. The third, and final, section discusses the attempts to unite the movement around the organisational theory of syndicalism, from the first articulations of these ideas in Barcelona in 1907-1910 to the consolidation of the CNT in 1915. The spread of – and in some cases, resistance to – syndicalist ideas outside Cataluña relied on the networks of anarchist publishing which had been established over the turn of the century. Yet, by helping to create an alternative, more formal, structure within the movement, the anarchist press sowed the seeds of a decline in its own heterogeneity and significance. This was symbolised by the establishment of the syndicalist daily *Solidaridad Obrera* in Barcelona in 1916, and the subsequent contraction of anarchist publishing elsewhere in Spain.



## Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Abbreviations and Notes</i>	ix
With Words, With Writings and With Deeds: Introduction	1
Anarchism in Spain, 1870-1890	2
The Value of Print	10
Approaches to Anarchism	16
Geographic Scope	20
Anarchist Print Culture, 1890-1915	25
Thesis Outline	41
1. More Workers' Blood!: Anarchism and Violence, 1890-1898	45
Violence and the Anarchist Press	48
The Legitimacy of Violence	50
Popular Violence: 1890-1892	53
The Jerez Uprising	55
The First Martyrs	58
Individual Violence: Terrorism in Barcelona: 1893-1896	66
The Attack on Martínez Campos	69
The Liceo Bombing	73
The Lull: 1894-1896	75
The Corpus Cristi Bombing	80
State Violence: 1893-1898	82
The Blood of 'True' Martyrs	83
The Blood of the Innocent	88
The Cuban War and the 'Disaster' of 1898	93
2. The Cult of Reason: Anarchism and Education, 1899-1906	99
Education and Print	100
La Revista Blanca: Defining the Movement Through Print	102
Relatives and Enemies	110
Performing Print	115
Schooling, Literacy and Power	117
Education as Emancipation: The Growth of Anarcho-Feminist Ideas and Practice	122
Sex, Love and the Family	126
Women in Print Culture	131
Working for the Cause	134
'Andando se prueba el movimiento': Education in Practice	137
The New Geography of Spanish Anarchism	139
Centres for Social Studies	143
Modern Schools	146
Local Schools	151
Organisation and Collapse	160
The Return of Violence	162
Division and Fragility	165

3. Our Love of Organisation: Anarchism, Syndicalism and the Creation of the CNT, 1907-1915	171
Syndicalism, Solidaridad Obrera and the Semana Tragica	173
Early Syndicalist Support	176
The Tragic Week	179
Confederación General – Confederación Nacional – Huelga General	185
The 1910 Congress	190
Building a National Presence	195
The 1911 Congress and Repression	200
Maintaining Organisational Ideas	207
‘Organisation, sí; But Free Organisation’	214
A Plural, Indifferent Press	220
Reformation: The Outbreak of the First World War	224
A War of Print	225
The Ferrol Peace Congress	231
Consolidation	233
Conclusion	239
<i>Appendix</i>	243
<i>Bibliography</i>	253

## Illustrations

### Charts

0.1: Number of Anarchist Periodicals Published in Spain, 1870-1936	
0.2: Number of Anarchist Periodicals Published in Spain, 1890-1920	8
	9

### Tables

0.1: Anarchist Titles and Issues Published in Spain, 1890-1915	13
2.1: Societies Adhered to FSORE and UGT, 1900-1903	107
3.1: Societies and Delegates at the 1910 Congress	191
3.2: Societies and Delegates at the 1911 Congress	201
3.3: Groups and Delegates at the Ferrol Peace Congress	232

### Maps

0.1: Areas of Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1870-1936	14
0.2: Distribution of <i>La Protesta</i> , 1901-1902	34
1.1: Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1890-1898	49
2.1: Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1899-1906	142
3.1: Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1907-1915	221

### Plates

0.1: Anti-Electoral <i>Hoja</i>	27
0.2: Pamphlet <i>La Moral Anarquista</i> within <i>La Protesta</i>	29
1.1: Commemoration of executed ‘martyrs’ of Jerez in <i>El Corsario</i>	64
2.1: Frontispiece and masthead of <i>La Humanidad Libre</i>	133
2.2: Masthead of <i>Suplemento a la Revista Blanca</i>	154
3.1: Commemoration of Ferrer in <i>Escuela Moderna</i>	183

*For my parents*



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## Abbreviations

### In the text:

CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail [France]
CNT	Confederación Nacional de Trabajo
CRT	Confederación Regional de Trabajo [Cataluña]
FAI	Federación Anarquista Ibérica
FNOA	Federación Nacional de Obreros Agricultores
FRE	Federación Regional de España
FTRE	Federación de Trabajadores de la Región España
FSOE	Federación Regional de Sociedades de Resistencia de la Región España
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
SO	Federación Local Solidaridad Obrera de Barcelona
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores

### In source references and Appendix:

AFPI	Archivo Fundación Pablo Iglesias
AHPC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz
AMJF	Archivo Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera
Ce.	Cedall.org
BL	British Library
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BPC	Biblioteca Provincial de Cádiz
BVA	Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía
HMM	Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid
IISG	International Institute of Social History
LSE	London School of Economics

## Notes

For consistency, all place names and personal names are presented in Castilian Spanish, including names now more commonly presented in Catalan, Galician and Basque, and those with common English usage (e.g., Catalonia is here Cataluña; Seville is Sevilla). This reflects the language used in the source material. Provinces and regions correspond to the 1833 territorial division of Spain, which remained in effect through the period under examination (e.g., Madrid is here part of Castilla La Nueva; Cantabria and La Rioja are here part of Castilla La Vieja etc.).

All translations are the author's.

References to periodicals have been given as fully as possible, in the format: Name, [pseudonym], *Title*, (Location), Epoch, Number, (Date), Page. Shortened versions of this format have been given for particularly long article titles and multiple references to the same paper.



# With Words, With Writings and With Deeds

## Introduction

Between 1890 and 1915 the anarchist movement in Spain collapsed, reformed, and expanded. Print culture was central to these developments, performing two essential functions within the movement. First, print was the means by which anarchist ideas and practice came together, forming the ideological underpinning of the movement; second, print and the groups who produced it allowed anarchists to communicate between localities, providing a structure to the movement, which lacked a formal organisation.<sup>1</sup> In this way, print culture helped to maintain anarchism in Spain during periods of extreme pressure; it gave the movement the means to expand to new areas and develop new ideas; and it laid the foundations for a new, national confederation of anarchist-syndicates – the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (CNT) – which underwent massive expansion from 1915 onwards, and by 1919 was the largest anarchist organisation in the world.

This investigation into anarchist print culture does not only explain what anarchism was, but also what it meant; not *why* anarchism survived and thrived in Spain as it collapsed elsewhere, but *how* it did so.<sup>2</sup> It is notable how few recent studies are concerned with the transition of anarchism from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, a ‘complex but fundamental period’ in the construction of anarchist political culture and the future development of the movement.<sup>3</sup> The period 1890-1915 is more commonly treated as belonging to a wider timeframe, as the appendage of one type of anarchist movement (which reached an apex in the 1880s) or the prelude to another (beginning with the CNT in 1910). In contrast, this thesis concentrates exclusively on these twenty five years.

This thesis emphasises the role of networks, exchanges and collaborative development, seeking to situate Spanish anarchism within the history of political movements. While the size and particular manifestation of anarchism in Spain was unusual, the movement’s formation and workings have much in common with smaller, contemporary anarchist movements in Europe and the Americas. More broadly, the fact that anarchism in Spain had unique characteristics does not set it apart from other

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<sup>1</sup> Compare dual role of press in F. Baena, *Una revolución de papel: Prensa y cultura obrera en la colonia británica de las minas de Riotinto, (1913-1920)*, (Sevilla, 2011), 53.

<sup>2</sup> A comparable approach outlined in M.D. Steinberg, *Proletarian Imagination: Self, Modernity and the Sacred in Russia, 1910-1925*, (Ithaca, NY, 2002), 11-13.

<sup>3</sup> O. Freán Hernández, ‘El anarquismo español: Luces y sombras en la historiografía reciente sobre el movimiento libertario,’ *Ayer*, 84.4, (2011), 222.

working-class mobilisations; rather it was ‘as normal or as abnormal as any other labour movement’.<sup>4</sup> All working class movements of the turn of the century had idiosyncratic features, and all were minorities within their national context. Anarchism in Spain should not, therefore, be contrasted too sharply with social democratic and communist movements in other countries, as if the latter were a homogenous, ‘typical’ historical development. Looking beyond this period, the movement’s particular focus on grassroots participation and loose, decentred structures is comparable to, for example, the social movements of the 1960s and contemporary anti/alter-globalisation movements. Focusing on how the many strands of anarchist ideology and practice came together in Spain, through the lens of its print culture, thus has resonances across numerous eras and contexts, and allows us to see anarchism in Spain not as an historical aberration, but as one of many similar and comparable movements in modern history.

#### Anarchism in Spain, 1870-1890

Anarchist ideology was the product of two revolutionary traditions. The first had its origins in the eighteenth century, and was rooted in liberal theories of natural rights and individual autonomy. Nineteenth-century anarchism took this position to a seemingly logical, if extreme, conclusion, regarding any interference in the free choices of the individual as anathema to their liberty. Anarchist ideology was thus hostile to the exercise of power, including within trade unions and political parties, and ultimately sought to abolish hierarchical institutions such as the state, army, police and Church. In the latter half of the century this tradition was fused with revolutionary socialism, which articulated collective demands for a reordering of society along egalitarian principles of distribution. The anarchist revolution was conceived with these two underlying principles in mind: it would be brought about by a mass revolutionary moment led by the working class, who would be acting on their own, natural desire to abolish authority in the name of liberty. The result would be Anarchy: a society based on natural, egalitarian principles and free from the exercise of power.<sup>5</sup>

Like contemporary Marxism, anarchism saw capitalism as key to the subjugation of the working class. Yet, unlike Marxism, anarchism regarded the State and Church as additional, independent sources of oppression, which did not originate in economic processes. Together these manifestations of power formed a ‘nefarious trilogy of authority’: the State (often synonymous with the Army and Civil Guard, as the embodiment of direct, physical force), the Church (which practised cultural violence against Reason and Science [*sic.*]), and Capital (which maintained a structural form

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<sup>4</sup> B. Altea, ‘Analysing revolutionary syndicalism: The importance of community,’ C. Bantman and D. Berry, (eds.), *New Perspectives on Anarchism, Labour and Syndicalism: The Individual, the National and the Transnational*, (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010), 182.

<sup>5</sup> J. Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español (1868-1910)*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Madrid, 1991), 17-42; J. Paniagua, ‘Otra vuelta de tuerca: Las interpretaciones del arraigo del anarquismo en España: ¿Sigue la polémica?’, *Germinal*, 1, (2006), 12; C. Levy, ‘Social histories of anarchism,’ *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 4.2, (2010), 4-5; C. Velasco Mesa, ‘Revolutionary rhetoric and labour unrest: Liège in 1886 and Sevilla in 1901,’ *International Review of Social History*, 56.2, (2011), 246-249.

of violence through wage labour).<sup>6</sup> Variations on these elements of ‘the trilogy’ or the ‘triple aspect of the social question’ dominated anarchist analyses from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

Anarchism was also distinct in the means it proposed for the class struggle. Its adherents saw no legitimacy in seizing political and economic power, and instead sought the state’s immediate destruction. They rejected the notion of a ‘party of the workers,’ interpreting the founding principle of the International – ‘the emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class themselves’ – as a disavowal of parliamentary politics.<sup>7</sup> In place of ‘politics,’ anarchists proposed three means of struggle: direct confrontation, which would meet the repressive violence of the state head on; education, to combat religion and liberate culture; and organisation, which would allow for resistance against capitalism. These were presented as both opposites and solutions to the trilogy of authority, forming a ‘moral battery’ which contrasted the positive and negative forces in the world as a means to inspire action: ‘the master robs you, the government slaughters you, ignorance maligns you... unite to be strong; study to be conscious... make war against your enemies’.<sup>8</sup>

Anarchism began to draw support in Spain in the late 1860s. In contrast to most of its contemporaries, the Spanish branch of the First International (Federación Regional de España, FRE) was dominated by Bakuninists, committed to anarchist principles of revolutionary, bottom-up unionism. The first publications of the movement infused traditional working-class publishing in Spain with the new, revolutionary ideas and rhetoric of the FRE. In 1872 the FRE and its press split, reflecting the divisions between the Marxist and Bakuninist factions of the international labour movement following the repression of the Paris Commune. Anarchism remained the dominant ideology of the FRE, represented in papers such as *El Condenado* (Madrid, 1872-1873), while a smaller, breakaway group of Marxists formed around *La Emancipación* (Madrid, 1871-1873), which included many of the founding members of the Spanish Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE) on its editorial board, including Pablo Iglesias, who led the PSOE from its foundation in 1879 until his death in 1925.<sup>9</sup>

Soon afterwards the FRE was repressed. During the brief First Republic (1873-1874) the FRE instigated a strike in Alcoy (Alicante) and briefly gained control of the town. A similar insurrection

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<sup>6</sup> L. Litvak, *Musa libertaria: Arte, literatura y vida cultural del anarquismo español (1890-1913)*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Madrid, 2001), 69-99; M.A. Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Oakland, CA, 2005), 37-38.

<sup>7</sup> *Provisional Rules of the Workingmen’s International Association...*, (London, 1864), cited in W. Smaldone, *European Socialism: A Concise History with Documents*, (Lanham, MD, 2014), 81-82.

<sup>8</sup> P.P. Preto, ‘Nuestro gran delito,’ *La Voz del Obrero del Mar*, (Cádiz), II, 2, (13/10/1907), 3; E. Romanos, ‘Emotions, moral batteries and high-risk activism: Understanding the emotional practices of the Spanish anarchists under Franco’s Dictatorship,’ *Contemporary European History*, 23, (2014), 555-556.

<sup>9</sup> R. Flaquer Montequi, *La clase obrera madrileña y la Primera Internacional, (1868-1874): Un análisis de prensa*, (Madrid, 1977), 96-99, 141-180; J. Termes, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en España: La Primera Internacional (1864-1881)*, (Barcelona, 1977), 11-170; F. Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista y anarcosindicalista en España desde la I Internacional hasta el fin de la Guerra Civil’, I.1, ‘Análisis de su evolución, 1869-1930,’ Ph.D. thesis, (Universidad Central de Barcelona, 1988-89), 66-85; G. Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain, 1868-1898*, (Berkeley, CA, 1989), 11-38; A. López Estudillo, ‘El anarquismo español decimonónico,’ *Ayer*, 45.1, (2002), 80-93.

took place in Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz), alongside numerous strikes and federalist uprisings unconnected to the movement, most significantly in Cartagena.<sup>10</sup> As the Republic collapsed, order was restored by General Manuel Pavía, who led a fierce repression against those involved in the uprisings. In January 1874 Pavía dissolved the Cortes (Parliament) and restored the monarchy. The FRE was declared illegal and the organisation, and its press, was forced into clandestinity.<sup>11</sup>

The Restoration system which replaced the First Republic formed the political context in which the anarchist movement operated over the turn of the century. The Restoration settlement was designed by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (Prime Minister 1875-1879; 1879-1881; 1884-1885; 1890-1892; 1895-1897) as a constitutional monarchy underwritten by mass suffrage, which safeguarded stability and peaceful transitions of power. Elections were rigged to ensure that the two main dynastic power blocs – Cánovas' Conservatives and the Liberals of Práxedes Mateo Sagasta (Prime Minister 1881-1883; 1885-1890; 1892-1895; 1897-1899; 1901-1902) – rotated in power, with voting returns largely determined in advance. This system guaranteed that there would be no national electoral challenge to the political status quo until the turmoil produced by the First World War.<sup>12</sup> In this context, parliamentary socialism struggled to convince the working class that the pursuit of electoral victory was worthwhile. The PSOE thus remained marginal within Spanish politics over the turn of the century, and only won its first seat in 1910.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast, the anarchist movement briefly flourished in the early 1880s. It returned to legality in 1881, when the FRE was reformed as the Federación de Trabajadores de la Región España (FTRE). The FTRE grew rapidly; according to Anselmo Lorenzo, the organisation claimed a membership of 49,561 in 1882, primarily from Andalucía (60.63 per cent) and Cataluña (26.60 per cent), with smaller areas of support in Valencia (4.75 per cent), the two Castillas (3.13 per cent), Galicia (1.43 per cent), the Basque regions (1.43 per cent), Aragon (1.39 per cent) and Murcia (0.53 per cent).<sup>14</sup> The FTRE's growth was supported by a flourishing of anarchist periodicals, including its semi-official organ *La Revista Social* (Madrid, 1881-1885) whose subscription grew from 2,700 to 18,000 in its first year of publication.<sup>15</sup>

Like the FRE, however, the FTRE soon faced a double pressure of repression and internal divisions. In the winter of 1892-3 a series of murders in Jerez (Cádiz) were blamed on anarchist cells,

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<sup>10</sup> T. Kaplan, *The Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903*, (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 105-110.

<sup>11</sup> R. Carr, *Spain, 1808-1975*, (Oxford, 1966), 330-335; Termes, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo*, 197-276. See also M. Morales Muñoz, 'Entre la Internacional y el mito de "La Federal": Los obreros españoles durante el Sexenio Democrático (1868-1874),' *Bulletin d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Espagne*, 17-18, (1993), 125-135.

<sup>12</sup> J. Valera Ortega, *Los amigos políticos: Partidos, elecciones y caciquismo en la Restauración (1875-1900)*, (Madrid, 1977), 135-203.

<sup>13</sup> P. Heywood, *Marxism and the Failure of Organised Socialism in Spain: 1879-1936*, (Cambridge, 1990), 1-28.

<sup>14</sup> Figures taken from A. Lorenzo, *El proletariado militante: Memorias de un internacionalista*, (Madrid, 1974; reprint of 2 vols. Barcelona, 1902 and 1925), 425. A larger figure of 57,934 is given in Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 83 with explanatory notes on 229-330, n.9.

<sup>15</sup> F. Urales, *La evolución de la filosofía en España*, ed. R. Pérez de la Dehesa, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Barcelona, 1977), 142-144; Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 94-111.

in what became known as the ‘Mano Negra’ (‘Black Hand’) affair. The ‘Mano Negra’ was used to justify an extensive repression against the workers’ movement in Andalucía, which stifled the movement in the region for almost a decade.<sup>16</sup> Soon afterwards, disputes emerged within the FTRE between anarcho-collectivists and anarcho-communists over questions of organisation. The former had dominated the movement since 1870, and based their revolutionary strategy on the collective power of trade unions. In contrast, anarcho-communists were hostile to unions – which they distrusted as ‘reformist’ – and limited their organisation to small groups of dedicated militants. Although a minority, anarcho-communists managed to gain prominence within the movement in the mid-1880s through papers such as *La Autonomía* (Sevilla, 1883-1884), which engaged in public attacks against the dominance of collectivists in the FTRE, leading to schism. The loose structure of the FTRE was unable to cope with the pressure caused by such disputes, and was eventually disbanded in 1888.<sup>17</sup> It was only at this point – in the absence of an anarchist labour organisation in Spain – that the socialist movement saw an opportunity to create its own national labour organisation, the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), which was set up in 1888 with Iglesias at its head.<sup>18</sup>

Although the FTRE had collapsed, a number of local anarchist-orientated labour federations continued to exist into the 1890s. Anarchists also remained free to publish. As the FTRE collapsed, the movement’s press began to look to alternative strategies for revolutionary change, such as the hitherto neglected area of education, exemplified in journals such as *Acracia* (Barcelona, 1886-1888) and cultural events, such as the two literary competitions (*Certámenes Socialistas*) held in Reus (1885) and Barcelona (1889).<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, there had been a tangible shift from the optimism of the early 1880s. Anarchists remained split over the doctrinal questions and felt increasingly distanced from the wider labour movement.

Over the following twenty five years, anarchists in Spain sought to recapture, and, if possible, surpass their former strength. By 1915 this had been largely achieved. Anarchism was once again the ideological preference of a substantial section of the Spanish working class; the movement had expanded into completely new areas and had attracted tens of thousands of new supporters. By 1919 the anarcho-sindicalist CNT claimed the support of 800,000 members, making it the largest anarchist

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<sup>16</sup> C. Lida, ‘Agrarian anarchism in Andalusia: Documents on the Mano Negra’, *International Review of Social History*, 14.3, (1969), 315-352; Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 126-134; Á. Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita y revolución social: Violencia y represión en la España entre siglos (1868-1909)*, (Madrid, 2011), 53-60.

<sup>17</sup> The FTRE split into two limp organisations: the Federación de Resistencia de Capital (known as the Pacto de Unión y Solidaridad) and the Organización Anarquista de la Región Española. Both did very little of note. See López Estudillo, ‘El anarquismo español decimonónico,’ 98-100. The proceedings of the Pacto agricultural workers’ congress in 1893 were published as *Conferencia de los Trabajadores del Campo, Celebrada los días 20 y 21 de mayo de 1893 en Barcelona*, (Barcelona, 1893). See also Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 98-133.

<sup>18</sup> S. Castillo, *Historia de la UGT*, Vol. I, *Un sindicalismo consciente, 1873-1914*, (Madrid, 2008), 90-96.

<sup>19</sup> On *Acracia* see C. Serrano, ‘*Acracia*, los anarquistas y la cultura,’ B. Hofmann, P. Joan i Tous, and M. Tietz, (eds.), *El anarquismo español y sus tradiciones culturales*, (Frankfurt/Madrid, 1995), 347-360. On the *Certámenes* see M. Morales Muñoz, ‘La subcultura anarquista en España: el primer certamen socialista (1885),’ *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez*, 27.3, (1991), 47-60 and *Cultura e ideología en el anarquismo Español (1870-1910)*, (Málaga, 2002), 66-73, 117-138.

organisation in world history.<sup>20</sup> This development was in complete contrast to anarchist movements elsewhere in Europe and the Americas, all of which were surpassed by their Marxist and democratic socialist counterparts in the early twentieth century.

Trends in the levels of anarchist publishing reflect the broader patterns of activity in the movement [Chart 0.1]. Beginning in 1870, there was a short burst in anarchist publishing, followed by an almost total absence during the first six years of the Restoration, when the movement was repressed. Only a handful of clandestine titles were published in this time. When anarchist practice was legalised in 1880 there was an accompanying upsurge in print. Although there were fluctuations through the 1880s, the general picture is one of relatively steady number of anarchist titles, as the movement operated in a climate of relative tolerance. Even the collapse of the FTRE in 1888 did not dramatically affect the general state of anarchist publishing. Looking beyond 1920, anarchist publishing again contracted severely during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera from 1923 onwards, when the CNT was repressed. This period was followed by two dramatic peaks in publishing levels, corresponding to the legalisation of the movement at the declaration of the Second Republic (1931) and the outbreak of the Civil War (1936). Although only a rough guide, there was a clear correlation between periods of high anarchist activity and high levels of anarchist publishing, which confirms Esenwein's contention that 'a thriving anarchist cultural life was manifested...most notably in the proliferation of libertarian newspapers, sociological journals, pamphlets, and books'.<sup>21</sup> Publishing activity thus represents a useful barometer for judging the general condition of the movement. Also evident from the periods 1870-1890 and 1920-1936 is a link between high levels of anarchist print and the (re)formation of anarchist organisations, evident in 1870 (FRE), 1881 (FTRE) and 1931 (CNT).

With this relationship established, we can examine the period 1890 to 1920 more closely [Chart 0.2]. This demonstrates the rapid decline of anarchist periodicals after the terrorist attacks of 1893, when anarchist publishing was made illegal. Following a brief respite in 1894 and 1895, the movement's press collapsed completely in 1896 following the terrorist attack on the Corpus procession in Barcelona. At this point, the movement was at its lowest ebb since the 1870s, severed from popular support and unable to function in the face of broad and heavy-handed repression. Relaxation of repression was followed by an unprecedented explosion of publishing over the turn of the century, corresponding to a general upsurge in anarchist activity across the whole of the country. Cultural initiatives flourished, and the movement extended in both size and geographic scope. From 1903 onwards, however, this expansion slowed, and by 1906 many of the gains of the previous eight years were reversed. The attempted assassination of King Alfonso XIII in that year prompted a brief spell of repression, including the arrest of a number of anarchist publishers. Partial recoveries in

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<sup>20</sup> CNT membership figures in 1915 and 1919: A. Bar, *La CNT en los años rojos: Del sindicalismo revolucionario al anarcosindicalismo (1910-1926)*, (Madrid, 1981), 338-339; 490-492.

<sup>21</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 9.

publishing levels through subsequent years were mitigated by repression following the Tragic Week of 1909, and the outlawing of the newly-formed CNT following the general strike of 1911. It was only in the period 1911-1915 that anarchist publishing reached a comparable level to the years 1900-1905. Both of these periods suggest a caveat to the link between anarchist organisations and anarchist publishing. An organisation closely associated with the movement was established 1900, known as the Federación Regional de Sociedades de Resistencia de la Región España (FSORE), yet – as will be demonstrated in Chapter 2 – this organisation achieved little of note, and was largely abandoned by the movement and its press from 1903 onwards. In 1911-1915 the CNT technically existed as a clandestine organisation, but outside Cataluña it had no tangible presence, and was never discussed in the movement's press. Thus, while in 1870-1890 and 1920-1936, high levels of publishing corresponded with the existence of the FRE, FTRE and CNT, from 1890 to 1920 peaks of publishing occurred in the absence of a functioning organisation. This suggests that in this period, at least, print culture was indicative of the general state of the movement rather than simply organisational strength.

Another telling development took place at the end of this period. Although there were no legal restrictions placed on anarchist publishing in 1915-19, the number of papers in print declined at a rate comparable to that seen during periods of repression. This contraction was prompted by a development internal to the movement. In 1916 the CNT organ *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) was transformed into the first successful daily publication in the movement's history. The daily *Solidaridad Obrera* contained as much content in a month as most anarchist papers published in a year, leading many publishing groups to regard their titles as redundant. Papers closed, and a number of proposed new publishing projects were abandoned. This trend was reversed in 1919, when there was an upsurge in publishing levels following the closure of *Solidaridad Obrera*. This thesis therefore takes 1915 as its end point, regarding it as a seminal moment in anarchist print culture, which marked the beginning of a different relationship between the movement and its press.

Something remarkable occurred to the anarchist movement in Spain in the years between the collapse of the FTRE and the consolidation of the CNT. Within this organisational vacuum, print became the primary means by which new revolutionary tactics took hold within Spanish anarchism, instigating new practices, new opportunities and new challenges. At no other time in the history of the movement was print culture as central to anarchism in Spain as between 1890 and 1915, when it played a decisive role in the cultural construction of anarchism as an identity, an ideology and a movement.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See M. Pérez Ledesma, 'La formación de la clase obrera: Una creación cultural,' R. Cruz and M. Pérez Ledesma, (eds.), *Cultura y movilización en la España contemporánea*, (Madrid, 1997), 201-233.

Chart 0.1: Number of Anarchist Periodicals Published in Spain, 1869-1936

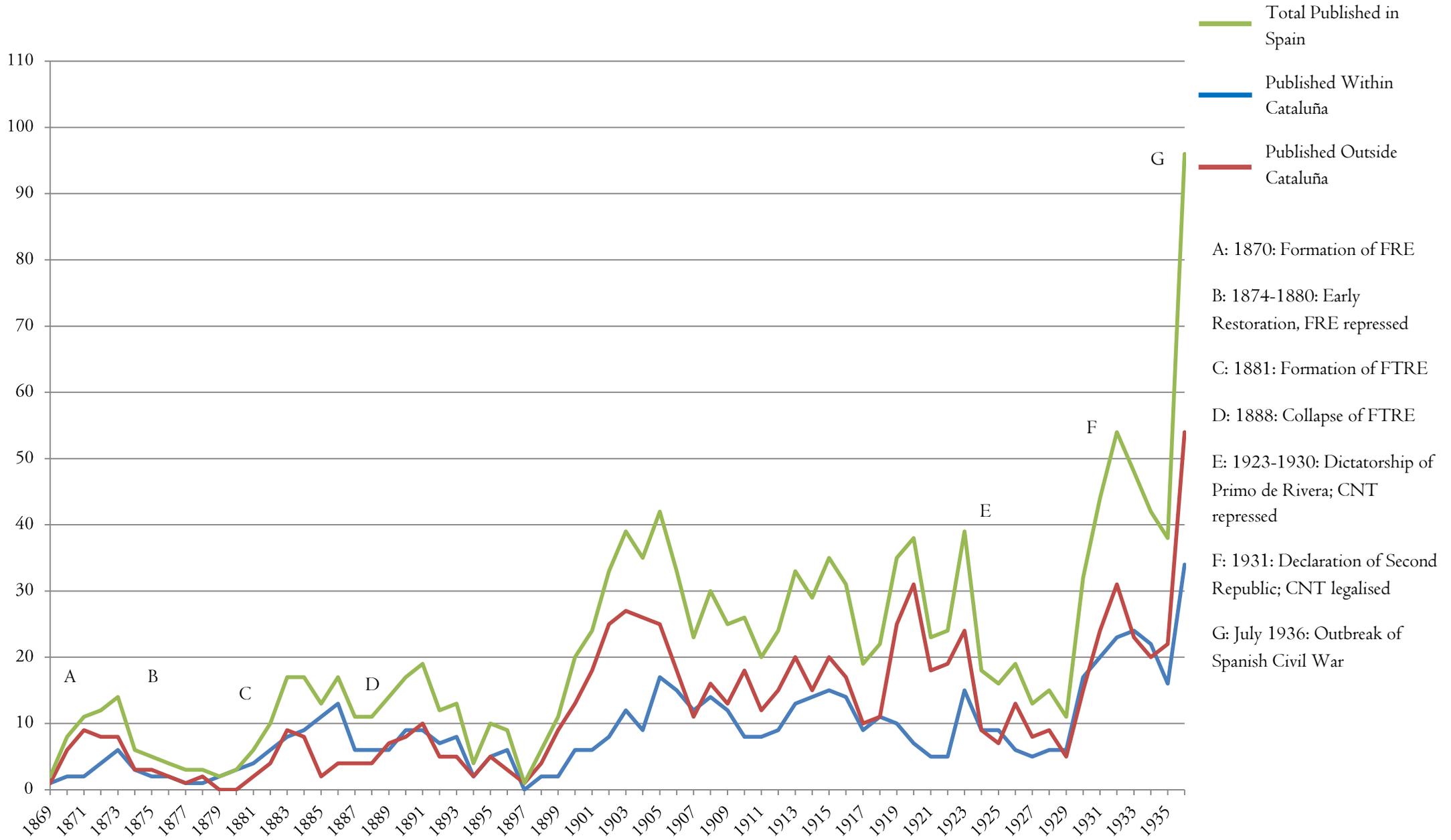
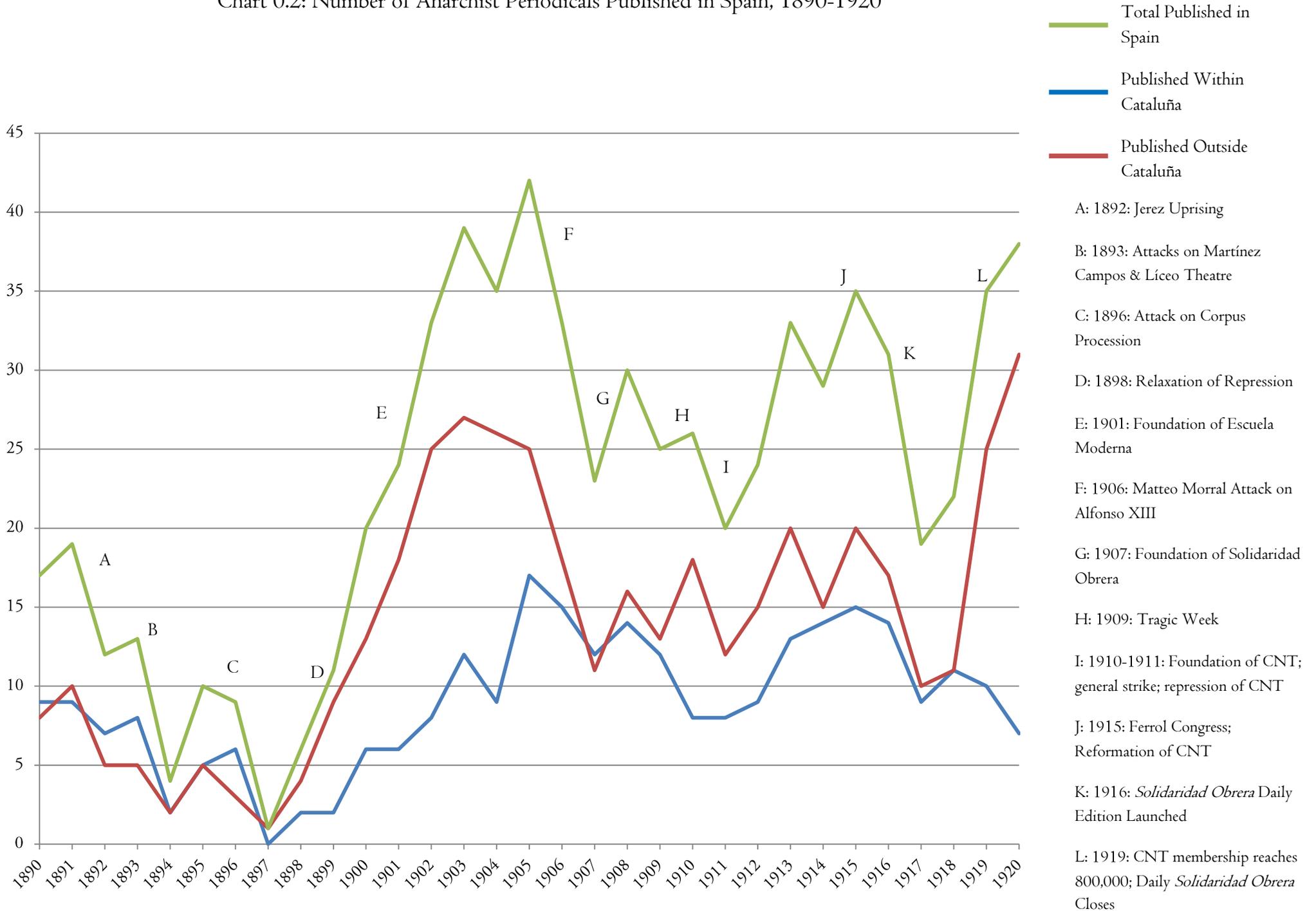


Chart 0.2: Number of Anarchist Periodicals Published in Spain, 1890-1920



## The Value of Print

Although it operated at a time when mass, mainstream forms of print were expanding in Spain, anarchist print had much more in common with older forms of media, such as weekly periodicals, pamphlets and broadsides. This type of print culture has been examined most thoroughly in studies of seventeenth-century England, which have demonstrated how the invention of the periodical press and expansion of pamphleteering played a significant role in reflecting, creating and sustaining political communities in the fractious political climate of the English Civil War (1642-1651).<sup>23</sup> The study of this type of print culture has thus become associated with the period when it first became widely accessible. Yet books, pamphlets, periodicals and broadsides never lost their significance, and remained crucial for movements such as the Quakers in England, the political factions of revolutionary France and radical abolitionists in Antebellum USA. In all of these movements, print assisted in the creation of a common identity through shared ideas and practices.<sup>24</sup> Books, pamphlets and periodicals served the purposes of the anarchist movement in Spain just as ably, and while it was no longer novel, this older form of print culture was far from being anachronistic in the early twentieth century, despite the growth of mass media and different, newer forms of communication.<sup>25</sup> In this thesis, the detailed material aspects of anarchist print culture – the paper, printing presses, typographic layout etc. – are not of particular concern. These technical aspects of anarchist printing were largely passed over to commercial printers, which meant that the production and style of the movement's periodicals and pamphlets were not particularly distinctive from those of its political and cultural rivals, such as the socialist, republican and Catholic press. What made anarchist print culture distinct was its content and those who created it, the ways in which it was distributed, the effect that it had on ideology, and the foundational role it played within the movement.

The experience of anarchism in Spain was expressed and shaped by the producers, distributors and consumers of the movement's print. Printed sources were not a simply a repository of information, but the symbolic and material site where numerous, dynamic elements of anarchism

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<sup>23</sup> On the first English newsbooks and historiographical debate surrounding this moment see J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649*, (Oxford, 1996), 80-126 and 'The newspaper, public opinion and the public sphere in the seventeenth century,' J. Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, (London, 1999), 109-140; I. Atherton, 'The press and popular opinion,' B. Coward, (ed.), *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, (Oxford, 2003), 88-110; H. Love, 'Early modern print culture: Assessing the models,' *Parergon*, 20.1, (2003), 45-64; P. Lake, and S. Pincus, 'Rethinking the public sphere in early modern England,' *Journal of British Studies*, 45.2, (2006), 270-292. See also A. Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War*, (New York, NY, 1981), 125-157; D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England*, (Princeton, NJ, 2000), esp. 174-216; A. Hughes, 'Print, persecution and polemic: Thomas Edwards' *Gangraena* and Civil War sectarianism,' J. Crick and A. Walsham, (eds.), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, (Cambridge, 2004), 255-274.

<sup>24</sup> J.D. Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799*, (Durham, NC, 1990), esp. 106-123; A. Rohrbach, "'Truth stronger and stranger than fiction": Reexamining William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*,' *American Literature*, 73.4 (2001), 727-755; K. Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, (Cambridge, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Compare with oral and print culture in 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain, E.P. Thompson, 'Eighteenth-Century English society: Class struggle without class?,' *Social History*, 3.2, (1978), 153.

converged.<sup>26</sup> They were crucial in the formation of anarchist discourse, which ‘configured experiences’ and gave meaning to abstract ideas.<sup>27</sup> Print was particularly important for an ideology which loathed ‘inertia’.<sup>28</sup> Rather than a series of static ideas, – or, in the words of anarchist commentators, ‘dogma’– anarchism required constant, active engagement from its followers in order to have meaning.<sup>29</sup> At times, a minority within the movement demanded ‘action’ in contrast to the ‘theoretical’ work of print.<sup>30</sup> Much more common, however, were those who regarded ‘intellectual labour’ as a vital component of anarchist practice, which shaped revolutionary action and made it possible.<sup>31</sup> The value of print was ‘immense,’ as it rid workers of ‘political lethargy,’ turning the active working class into ‘proselytisers for the cause of liberty’.<sup>32</sup> Propaganda was a means of struggle, a way to introduce new comrades to the ideas of anarchism, to ‘educate and direct opinion, exposing the most just ideas’ and ‘to conquer the sympathies of all people’.<sup>33</sup> Thus the argument of Marcel van der Linden that ‘what counts is what [a] movement does in practice, and not how it justifies what it does’ is based on a false distinction between words and deeds. To construct ideology and culture through print inspired practice, and was practice in itself.<sup>34</sup> To engage in print – to write, edit, print, receive, distribute, read, hear and respond to periodicals – was to engage in the movement. This did not come at the expense of activity, but rather fostered and reinforced other forms of participation.<sup>35</sup> ‘We the anarchists’ – wrote Ricardo Mella, the most respected theorist in the movement – ‘work for the coming revolution with words, with writings and with deeds...the press, the book, the private and public meeting are today, as ever, abundant terrain for all initiatives’.<sup>36</sup>

Print is the only means to evaluate the movement in its own words, and the only reliable indicator of anarchist identity at this time. No reliable membership statistics are available for the movement from 1890 to 1915, nor was there an undisputed national voice, such as a regular daily newspaper, which can be taken as a mouthpiece for the movement as a whole. Likewise, detailed sources of information on sociability and cultural practices are also sparse for many areas in Spain

<sup>26</sup> See approach of R. Chartier, ‘Texts, printing, readings,’ L. Hunt, (ed.), *The New Cultural History*, (Berkeley, CA, 1989), 154-175 and M. Lenoe, *Closer to the Masses: Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers*, (Cambridge, MA, 2004), 1-8.

<sup>27</sup> Pérez Ledesma, ‘La formación de la clase obrera,’ 206. See also W.H. Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor from the Old Regime to 1848*, (Cambridge, 1980); G.S. Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History: 1832-1982*, (Cambridge, 1983), 90-178.

<sup>28</sup> J. Prat, ‘A un amigo: VI,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 28, (06/09/1911), 2 and ‘El sindicalismo: III: Armas del “sindicalismo”,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 6, (15/01/1910), 1.

<sup>29</sup> T. Claramunt, ‘La substancia ideal,’ *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 4, (22/05/1909), 1.

<sup>30</sup> L. Rodríguez, ‘La revolución se impone,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 122, (22/02/1902), 1-2.

<sup>31</sup> F. Macein, ‘Manuales è intelectuales,’ *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 3, (01/05/1902), 4.

<sup>32</sup> Editorial, ‘Aquí estamos,’ *La Acción*, (La Coruña), 1, (11/11/1909), 1; El grupo editor, ‘Nuestros bonos,’ *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 3, (18/11/1901), 4.

<sup>33</sup> ‘La misión de la prensa,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 83, (27/12/1891), 1.

<sup>34</sup> M. van der Linden, ‘Second thoughts on revolutionary syndicalism,’ *Labour History Review*, 63.2, (1998), 183; see also Altena, ‘Analysing revolutionary syndicalism,’ 188-189. Argument made in reference to syndicalism in particular, but is suitable to anarchism more broadly.

<sup>35</sup> Compare with analysis of social network participation in L. Izquierdo Labella, *Comunicación glocal: El periodismo local abre una ventana al mundo*, (Valencia, 2012), 134-135.

<sup>36</sup> R. Mella, ‘¿Otra vez?,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 133, (07/06/1902), 1.

during this period.<sup>37</sup> Other sources, such as police records or those relating to labour unrest, are both limited in number and myopic, as they are overwhelmed by their interest in (or paranoia towards) anarchist violence and conspiracy. There is a small number of autobiographies and personal papers from this period, yet most – for example Federico Urales’ *Mi Vida* (1930) – suffer from being written in hindsight by exceptional individuals, often with idiosyncratic experiences and agendas.<sup>38</sup> Such sources may add colour and detail to a history of the movement, but they are not representative of the general experience of anarchism in Spain.

In contrast, a wealth of print sources allows us to examine anarchism from the perspective of those who were engaged in the movement. Between 1890 and 1915, 298 anarchist periodicals and journals were launched by groups across the whole of Spain, publishing approximately 7,328 issues between them [see Table 0.1 and Map 0.1]. These were grassroots publications, written by ordinary members of the movement in collaboration with one another. As such, they offer access to the anarchist experience as conceived by anarchists, in a way that no other material can provide. Yet while they are valuable, anarchist papers are problematic sources. They rarely present the kind of information required in order to fully recreate an historical ‘event,’ as the reports they give on activities such as meetings, speeches and strikes are often conflicted and hard to corroborate.<sup>39</sup> What they do provide, however, is evidence of how such events were portrayed to others within the movement. While we may question the account of a particular congress, for example, the fact that it was written, published and distributed in the press allows us to examine how such activity was represented, and an insight into how such representations informed the movement’s collective knowledge.

This thesis uses print sources in three ways. First, as means to establish how the movement represented events, ideas and discussions. This is the most typical way in which anarchist papers have been used in works on the pre-CNT movement, from studies of ideology to discussions of the workings of the early CNT, since they are the only abundant source of information for the period 1890 to 1915. Second, the press is used as a proxy for the movement itself. Taken collectively, the anarchist press can be used to trace the developments within Spanish anarchism more generally, in a manner similar to the above discussion on the relationship between publication levels and the broader trends of the movement. Third, print culture is to be examined in its own right. Publishers, readers,

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<sup>37</sup> C.P. Boyd, ‘The anarchists and education in Spain, 1868-1909,’ *The Journal of Modern History*, 48.4, (1976), 138-139.

<sup>38</sup> M. Ralle, ‘La sociabilidad obrera en la sociedad de la Restauración (1875-1910),’ *Estudios de Historia Social*, 3.50-51 (1989), 163.

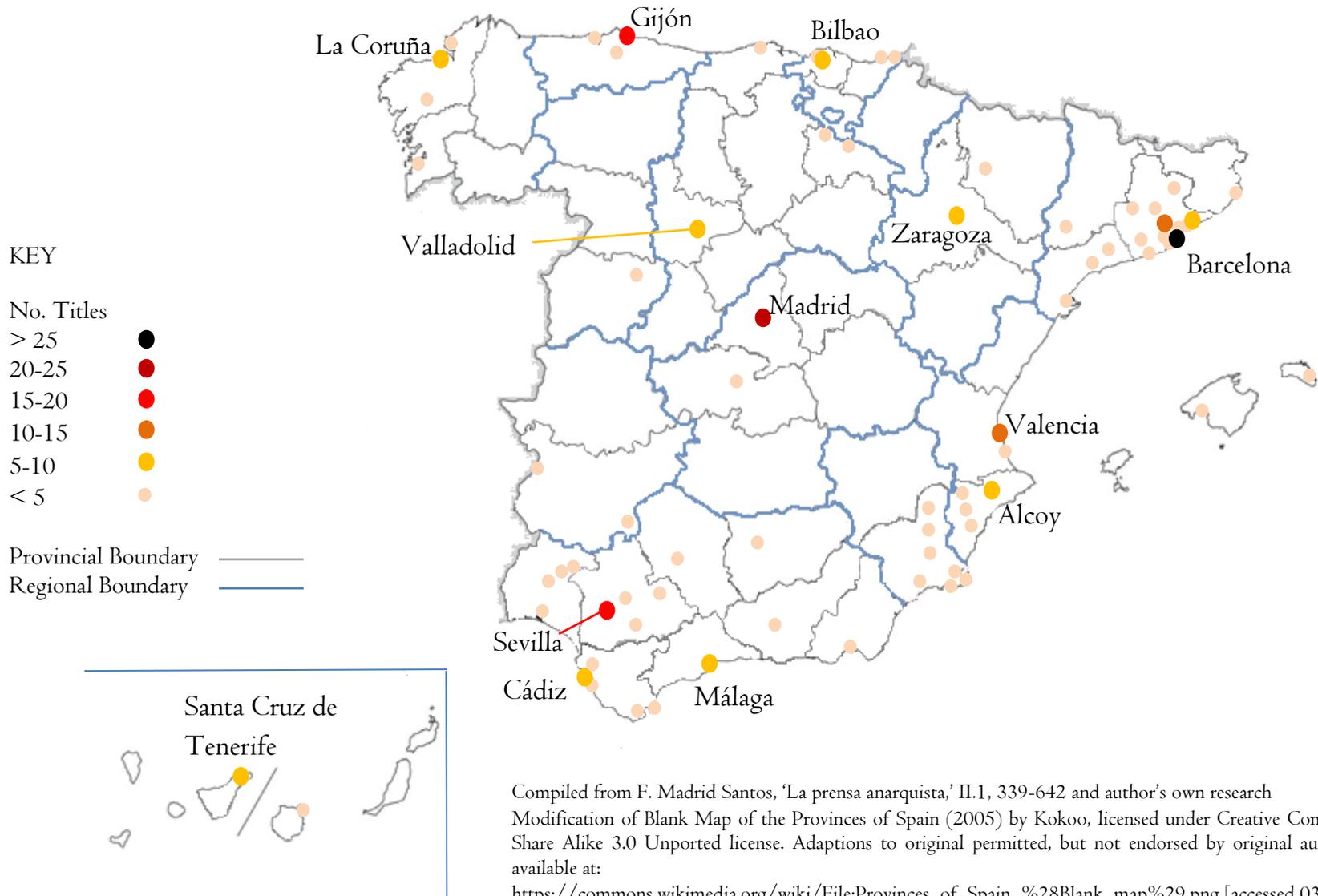
<sup>39</sup> Compare with problems discussed in P.A. Pickering, ‘Class without words: Symbolic communication in the Chartist movement,’ *Past and Present*, 112.1, (1986), 144-162.

Table 0.1: Anarchist Titles and Issues Published in Spain by Province, 1890-1915

	No. Titles	No. Issues	Title: Issue Ratio	No Surviving Issues
<b>Spain</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>7328</b>	<b>1:25</b>	<b>4930</b>
<b>Cataluña</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>3299</b>	<b>1:31</b>	<b>2448</b>
Barcelona	95	3149		2396
Gerona	5	52		25
Lérida	3	49		2
Tarragona	4	49		25
<b>Andalucía</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>314</b>	<b>1:6</b>	<b>211</b>
Almería	2	15		0
Cádiz	16	183		148
Córdoba	1	6		0
Granada	2	2		0
Huelva	6	29		24
Jaén	1	1		0
Málaga	7	10		2
Sevilla	18	68		37
<b>Aragón</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1:3</b>	<b>13</b>
Huesca	1	1		0
Zaragoza	9	31		13
<b>Asturias</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>1:22</b>	<b>184</b>
<b>Castilla la Nueva</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>1266</b>	<b>1:53</b>	<b>1101</b>
Madrid	23	1246		1100
Toledo	1	20		1
<b>Castilla la Vieja</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>1:14</b>	<b>126</b>
Logroño	3	4		2
Santander	1	42		42
Valladolid	6	97		82
<b>Extremadura</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>1:36</b>	<b>10</b>
Badajoz	3	107		10
<b>Galicia</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>565</b>	<b>1:33</b>	<b>202</b>
A Coruña	14	557		196
Pontevedra	3	8		6
<b>Islas Baleares</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>516</b>	<b>1:129</b>	<b>451</b>
<b>Islas Canarias</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>1:19</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>León</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1:1</b>	<b>0</b>
Salamanca	1	1		0
<b>Murcia</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>1:21</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Provincias Vascongadas</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>1:5</b>	<b>34</b>
Guipúzcoa	2	10		7
Vizcaya	8	36		27
<b>Valencia</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>1:12</b>	<b>115</b>
Alicante	10	62		35
Valencia	12	184		80

Compiled from F. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1, 339-642 and author's own research

Map 0.1: Areas of Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1890-1915



correspondents and the papers themselves are regarded as having importance in and of themselves, not solely as reflections of other aspects of the movement.

Given its centrality to the movement, and its importance as an historical source, it is surprising how few studies treat print culture as a subject of inquiry in itself.<sup>40</sup> By far the most comprehensive study of anarchist periodicals is the doctoral thesis of Francisco Madrid Santos, which catalogues every anarchist periodical produced in Spain from 1868 to 1939, a total of around 850 titles.<sup>41</sup> Madrid Santos gives a detailed account of the context in which anarchist periodicals were produced: the development of print media in Spain, the finances of anarchist papers, their distribution, the legal contexts in which they operated, their language, the individuals and groups who produced them, their readers and contributors, their objectives and results.<sup>42</sup> With Ignacio Soriano, the same author has produced an equally comprehensive catalogue of anarchist books, pamphlets and publishing groups.<sup>43</sup> Madrid Santos' study remains the only attempt to evaluate all of the anarchist press in Spain. Most other studies of anarchist print have a much smaller scope, preferring to focus on a single periodical, usually the cultural journal *La Revista Blanca* or the CNT organ *Solidaridad Obrera*.<sup>44</sup> Some studies

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<sup>40</sup> A comparable argument is made for the examination of newsbooks during the English Civil War in G. Rivett, 'English newsbooks, storytelling and political criticism,' *Media History*, 19.1, (2013), 3-4. See also comments about the 'walk-on' role of print in J. Raymond, 'Introduction: Newspapers, forgeries and histories,' J. Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, (London, Frank Cass, 1999), 6-7.

<sup>41</sup> The much shorter monograph version of this thesis, F. Madrid Santos, *Solidaridad Obrera y el periodismo de raíz ácrata*, (Badalona, 2007), is, understandably, far less comprehensive than the 2 volume thesis and concentrates on a single periodical. Madrid Santos builds on the work of other efforts in this area, including V.M. Arbeloa, 'La prensa obrera en España, (1869-1899),' *Revista de Trabajo*, 30, (1970), 117-195. See also Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 630-633.

<sup>42</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 19-65. See also S. Tavera i García, 'La prensa anarcosindicalista, (1868-1931),' *Recerques*, 8, (1978), 85-102.

<sup>43</sup> I. Soriano and F. Madrid Santos, *Antología documental del anarquismo español*, V.I, *Bibliografía e historiografía: Bibliografía del anarquismo en España, 1868-1939, Enriquecida con notas y comentarios*, (5<sup>th</sup> edn, 2012); published online: [http://www.cedall.org/Documentacio/IHL/Antologia%20Documental%20del%20Anarquismo%20espanol\\_Bibliografia.pdf](http://www.cedall.org/Documentacio/IHL/Antologia%20Documental%20del%20Anarquismo%20espanol_Bibliografia.pdf) [accessed 20/12/2012].

<sup>44</sup> On *La Revista Blanca*: S. Tavera i García, 'La Revista Blanca: Análisis de una publicación anarquista,' Ph.D. thesis, (Universidad de Barcelona, 1973); L. Domergue and M. Laffranque, 'Le dialogue dans *La Revista Blanca* 1<sup>ère</sup> série (1898-1905),' J. Maurice, B. Magnien and D.B. Genevois, (eds.), *Peuple, mouvement ouvrier, culture dans l'Espagne contemporaine: Cultures populaires, cultures ouvrières en Espagne de 1840 à 1936/Pueblo, movimiento obrero y cultura en la España contemporánea: Culturas populares, culturas obreras en España entre 1840 y 1936*, (Paris, 1990), 195-205; C. Senabre Llabata, 'La estética anarquista y *La Revista Blanca*,' J. Maurice, B. Magnien and D.B. Genevois, (eds.), *Peuple, mouvement ouvrier, culture dans l'Espagne contemporaine: Cultures populaires, cultures ouvrières en Espagne de 1840 à 1936/Pueblo, movimiento obrero y cultura en la España contemporánea: Culturas populares, culturas obreras en España entre 1840 y 1936*, (Paris, 1990), 207-216; E. Scardovi, 'Editoria militante e cultura libertaria: *La Revista Blanca*,' *Spagna Contemporanea*, 5, (1994), 45-60; E. López Campillo, 'Vanguardia burguesa y cultura anarquista en *La Revista Blanca*, (1923-1936),' B. Hofmann, P. Joan i Tous, and M. Tietz, (eds.), *El anarquismo español y sus tradiciones culturales*, (Frankfurt/Madrid, 1995), 237-242; D. Ortiz Jr., 'Redefining public education: Contestation, the press and education in Regency Spain, 1885-1902,' *Journal of Social History*, 35.1, (2001), 73-94; A. Prado, *Escritoras anarco-feministas en La Revista Blanca (1898-1936): Matrimonio, familia y estado*, (Madrid, 2011); R. Cleminson, 'The construction of masculinity in the Spanish labour movement: A study of the *Revista Blanca*,' *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 24.3, (2011), 201-217. On *Solidaridad Obrera* see S. Tavera, *Solidaridad Obrera: Fer-se i desfer-se d'un diari anarcosindicalista (1915-1939)*, (Barcelona, 1992); J. Zambrana, *El movimiento obrero catalán en el periódico "Solidaridad Obrera" (1907-1919)*, (2012), published online:

have also focused on the publishing activity in a local area, such as Flaquer's examination of the Madrid anarchist press during the FRE and Santullano's examination of the working class publications of Asturias in the late nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup> While his scope is unparalleled, what Madrid Santos explicitly does not do is examine the content of anarchist publications in depth. He correctly states that a detailed examination of each title would be near-impossible, given the volume of material he is concerned with.<sup>46</sup> This thesis thus aims to add depth to Madrid Santos' outline by examining the content of the press, made manageable by limiting the timeframe to 1890-1915, when the press was the focal point of the movement's ideological development and its only recognisable structure.

### Approaches to Anarchism

In contrast to some older studies, this thesis is not an all-encompassing analysis of anarchist ideology, treating anarchism as a 'general libertarian trend or sensibility in all human societies for all historical epochs'.<sup>47</sup> Such an approach does little to explain the experience or meaning of anarchism, and runs the risk of resting historical developments on great thinkers and abstract ideas, rather than the means by which they were understood and put into practice.<sup>48</sup> The development of anarchism in Spain was not a linear story of success, or a neat progression from one dominant thinker to the next. There were many ideas which were adopted and then discarded, many wrong turns and failures in the history of the movement, which were as important to the movement as its achievements.<sup>49</sup> One of the few consistent features of the anarchist movement from 1890 to 1915 was its constant experimentation. A great range of ideas became incorporated within anarchist ideology from 1890 to 1915, transforming

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<http://www.cedall.org/Documentacio/IHL/MovObreroCat%20Solidaridad%20Obrera%201907%201919.pdf> [accessed 12/11/2012]. See also studies of other papers: V. Ripoll, 'El Productor (1887-1993): Setmanari anarquista, difusor de cultura i propaganda,' *L'Avenç*, 104, (1987), 40-43; F.J. Navarro Navarro, 'El paraíso de la razón': *La revista Estudios (1928-1937) y el mundo cultural anarquista*, (Valencia, 1997); J. Beltran Dengra, *La ideología política del anarquismo a través de El Productor (1887-1893)*, (Barcelona, 2007); J. Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado en los orígenes de la CNT: "Tierra y Libertad," 1910-1919*, (2009), published online: <http://cedall.org/Documentacio/IHL/Tierra%20y%20Libertad%201910-1919.pdf> [accessed 13/04/2013].

<sup>45</sup> G. Santullano, 'Algunas notas sobre la prensa obrera en Asturias en el siglo XIX (1868-1899),' *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos*, 88-89, (1976), 509-534; Flaquer Montequi, *La clase obrera*. See also P. Aubert, et al., *Anarquismo y poesía en Cádiz bajo la Restauración*, (Córdoba, 1986), 47-73; M. Íñiguez, *La prensa anarquista en el País Vasco, La Rioja y Navarra*, (Vitoria, 1996). Although not specifically focused on anarchist publications, Baena's recent examination of the workers' press in Huelva, *Una revolución de papel*, provides a good example of these locally-focused press studies.

<sup>46</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 18. A comparable statement is given in Rivett, 'English newsbooks,' 6.

<sup>47</sup> Levy, 'Social histories of anarchism,' 24.

<sup>48</sup> The most obvious example of such a study is P. Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism*, (London, 1992), which traces anarchist ideology to ancient China. See also G. Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Harmondsworth, 1986). In contrast, Levy, 'Social histories of anarchism,' 1-44 provides an excellent overview of the many features of anarchism as an ideology, practice and subject of inquiry.

<sup>49</sup> Approach comparable to M. Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,' cited in G. Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society*, (Ann Arbor, MI, 2005), 128.

an already diffuse set of principles and practices into a vast, nebulous entity, which permitted almost as many contradictions as convergences within its broad framework.<sup>50</sup>

By far the most comprehensive analysis of anarchist ideology prior to the creation of the CNT is Álvarez Junco's *La ideología política del anarquismo español* (1976), which gives full recognition to the multi-faceted nature of the movement. Most of the ideological themes and developments discussed in this thesis are examined in depth by Álvarez Junco's seminal work. Yet where Álvarez Junco is concerned with the history of ideas and ideology, this thesis seeks to examine the related, and complementary, question of how these ideas were constructed, presented, understood and manifest. Like almost every study of this period, print forms a substantial part of Álvarez Junco's sources, yet where *La ideología política* sees print as evidence for ideology, here print is seen as an element in the formation of ideology.<sup>51</sup> Like *La ideología política*, Litvak's *Musa libertaria* (1981) remains a key text on anarchism in Spain over the turn of the century, in this case in regards to anarchist culture. Litvak correctly identifies anarchist culture – its art, literature, theatre, ascetics etc. – as a formative part of anarchist ideology, however there is little comment on the medium by which this culture was produced and transmitted, aside from one separate and rather limited section dedicated to periodicals.<sup>52</sup> Both of the aforementioned studies stand out in their scope and depth of analysis, nevertheless, there is space for a different kind of analysis of this period, which foregrounds print itself. Perhaps the closest example of this type of study is George Esenwein's *Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain*, which remains the best study in English of the nineteenth-century movement. Although his primary concern is with the development of ideas, Esenwein rarely loses sight of the process by which ideology was constructed, and stresses the role of the movement's print and associational culture, given particular emphasis in his analysis of the 1880s.<sup>53</sup>

Following Álvarez Junco, Litvak and Esenwein, this thesis examines the anarchist movement in its own words. It argues that one can only confidently call activity 'anarchist' if its participants actively engaged with the movement's ideology and its aims. As such, it rejects the methodology of studies – such as Eric Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels* – which set out with preconceptions of what anarchism was. More often than not, those with a predefined view on anarchism associate it with sporadic, violent behaviour, which they regard as out of sync with accepted narratives of historical development. Such approaches observe anything which resembles this behaviour as 'anarchist.'

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<sup>50</sup>C. Ealham, "From the summit to the abyss": Contradictions of individualism and collectivism in Spanish anarchism,' P. Preston and A. MacKenzie, (eds.), *The Republic Besieged: Civil War in Spain*, (Edinburgh, 1996), 157.

<sup>51</sup> See Rivett, 'English newsbooks,' 3-4.

<sup>52</sup> Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 211-238. See also L. Litvak, 'La prensa anarquista (1880-1913),' B. Hofmann, P. Joan i Tous, and M. Tietz, (eds.), *El anarquismo español y sus tradiciones culturales*, (Frankfurt/Madrid, 1995), 215-235 and 'La buena nueva: Cultura y prensa anarquista (1880-1913),' *Revista de Occidente*, 304, (2006), 5-18.

<sup>53</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 124-133.

regardless of its connection to the ideas, discourses, practice or aims of the movement.<sup>54</sup> These studies have led to exaggerations about the extent of anarchist support in Spain, particularly in the agrarian South, where anarchism has often been conflated with rural revolt. Although anarchist militants saw it as their duty to encourage and steer peasant revolts, they were often exasperated at the disengagement of *campesinos* (fieldworkers) with the ideas of the movement.<sup>55</sup> A similar, although less prevalent tendency can also be found in some studies of labour activism in Spain, which again equate all violent, grassroots industrial action as anarchist in nature, even if the workers in question gave no indication of their political beliefs, or belonged to unions in direct conflict with the anarchist movement. Again, this takes a pre-defined view of what anarchism was – sporadic, confrontational, naïve – and applies the definition to anything that fits this behaviour.<sup>56</sup> Rural rebellion and confrontational labour relations were common strategies used across Spain to settle social grievances. Anarchists wanted to channel this activity into a far more circumscribed and effective revolutionary movement, yet at the turn of the twentieth century they were far from achieving this goal, thus what these scholars are observing was not necessarily anarchism, or the anarchist movement.

A related tendency of studies which ‘observe’ anarchist behaviour is to portray anarchism as a religious sect, or, in the words of Carl Levy, ‘a spunky millenarian leftover from an older era’.<sup>57</sup> This view of anarchism was evident in contemporary studies of the movement, such as the deeply patronising works Bernaldo de Quirós, and the much more nuanced and rigorous *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas* (1929) by Juan Díaz del Moral.<sup>58</sup> These studies informed Gerald Brenan’s analysis of anarchism in his influential *The Spanish Labyrinth* (1943), which attributed the ‘millenarian fervour’ of anarchism to the ‘Spanish temperament,’ which valued ‘the spiritual’ above the material and rejected authority as a matter of course.<sup>59</sup> Hobsbawm, in turn, drew heavily on this interpretation for his analysis of anarchist millenarianism in *Primitive Rebels*, reframing Brenan’s nationalistic, racial explanations of Spanish anarchism into a narrative centred on Spain’s stuttering industrial development.<sup>60</sup> In Hobsbawm’s view, anarchism was akin to Anabaptism – a furious,

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<sup>54</sup> The classic example of this type of study is E. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, New York, NY, 1965), 74-92. See similar criticism of Hobsbawm in J. Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust: the relationship between anarchism and syndicalism in the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo 1910-1931,’ Ph.D. thesis, (University of Kent, 2000), 8-9.

<sup>55</sup> It also follows the logic of the Spanish state, see J. Joll, *The Anarchists*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, London, 1979), 219.

<sup>56</sup> C. Grocott, G. Stockey and J. Grady, ‘Anarchism in the UK(‘s most famous fortress): Comradeship and cupidity in Gibraltar and neighbouring Spain, 1890-1902,’ *Labour History*, (October 2015): published online (DOI:10.1080/0023656X.2016.1086542):

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0023656X.2016.1086542>, 1-22 [accessed 13/10/2015].

<sup>57</sup> Levy, ‘Social histories of anarchism,’ 8.

<sup>58</sup> C. Bernaldo de Quirós, ‘Bandolerismo y delincuencia subversiva en la baja Andalucía,’ *Junta para la ampliación de estudios científicos: Anales*, 9, (1913), 33-55 and ‘El espartaquismo agrario andaluz,’ *Revista general de legislación y jurisprudencia*, Tom.134, (1919), 307-319, 396-413, 491-502; J. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas-Córdoba: Antecedentes para una reforma agraria*, (Madrid, 1967). See comments in Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 207-209.

<sup>59</sup> G. Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Cambridge, 2014), 214-268, 317. See also Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 299-334 which refers to Spain as ‘a land whose people are violent and generous’.

<sup>60</sup> Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 74, n.1.

spiritual rebellion of the dispossessed poor, who were unable (rather than unwilling) to articulate their grievances against inequality through Marxist-socialism because industrial capitalism was underdeveloped in Spain.

The millenarian hypothesis was widely criticised in a series of new studies which emerged following the end of the Franco dictatorship in 1975, including those of Álvarez Junco, Litvak and Temma Kaplan.<sup>61</sup> Such works correctly portrayed the millenarian analysis as mechanistic, and underpinned by racial, nationalistic or economic determinism.<sup>62</sup> It was unable to explain the complexity of anarchist theory, the movement's internal disputes, its support amongst the urban working class or the rationality of anarchist tactics of class struggle.<sup>63</sup> Yet in stressing anarchism's 'modern' qualities, critics of the millenarian school maintained a distinction between modern political movements and 'pre-modern,' 'primitive' religions, only now regarding anarchism more favourably, as a forward-looking, 'modern' ideology. This too can overlook anarchism as expressed and practised by anarchists, which at times did resemble a religion, indeed it would be surprising if anarchism were not influenced by the dominant, Catholic culture of Spain, and more generally the millenarian-revolutionary tone of most European socialist movements.<sup>64</sup> Anarchists had martyrs and saints, missionaries and proselytisers, baptisms, weddings and funerals, all of which resembled traditional Catholic practice. This thesis does not wish to play down these comparisons with religious practice, as it does not see the label of 'religion,' or the claim that anarchism was highly 'emotional' as an insult that requires defending.<sup>65</sup> At times anarchism exhibited the characteristics of a religion; at times it resembled a more 'modern' political movement. It can as easily be compared with contemporary global justice movements as with Anabaptism. Like the former, anarchism was a decentred, transnational movement, which emphasised local action; like the latter, it required faith and passionate commitment from its adherents. Anarchism at the turn of the century was a complex mixture of emotion, thought, tradition, experience and reason, all understood within the specific economic,

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<sup>61</sup> P. Gabriel, 'Historiografía reciente sobre el anarquismo y el sindicalismo en España, 1870-1923,' *Historia Social*, 1, (1988), 46-48. Other critiques include: J. Casey, 'The Spanish anarchist peasant: How primitive a rebel?,' *Journal of European Studies*, 8.34, (1978), 34-43; J.R. Corbin, 'The myth of primitive Spain,' *Anthropology Today*, 5.4, (1989), 15-17; and A. Castillo Cañiz, "'Todo es nuevo, como nueva es la idea, como nuevo es el principio, como nuevo es la vida": Hacia un estudio del anarquismo del fenómeno de la modernidad,' J.A. Caballero Machí, R. Mínguez Blasco and V. Rodríguez-Flores Parra, (eds.), *Culturas políticas en la contemporaneidad: Discursos y prácticas políticas desde los márgenes a las élites*, (Valencia, 2015), 166-170. Example of continuation of millenarian hypothesis: A. Elorza, *La utopía anarquista bajo la Segunda República: Precedido de otros trabajos*, (Madrid, 1973). See also A. Elorza, 'Utopía y revolución en el movimiento anarquista español,' B. Hofmann, P. Joan i Tous, and M. Tietz, (eds.), *El anarquismo español y sus tradiciones culturales*, (Frankfurt/Madrid, 1995), 79-120.

<sup>62</sup> Pérez Ledesma, 'La formación de la clase obrera,' 203-205.

<sup>63</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 210-212. See also Á. Barrio Alonso, 'Historia obrera en los noventa: Tradición y modernidad,' *Historia Social*, 37, (2000), 145-146 on the search for 'normality' within Spanish historiography in the 1990s.

<sup>64</sup> M.G. Duncan, 'Spanish anarchism refracted: Theme and image in the millenarian and revisionist literature,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, 23.3, (1988), 323-346; Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 1-4; Levy, 'Social histories of anarchism,' 8-10.

<sup>65</sup> Romanos, 'Spanish anarchists,' 546-547.

cultural and political context of Restoration Spain. Rather than reducing anarchism to a singular or straightforward analytical model, we must acknowledge its complexity and attempt to understand it in its own words.<sup>66</sup>

### Geographic Scope

The spread of anarchism across Spain was not uniform: it had numerous directions, rhythms and tempos, which responded to both national and local conditions. Studying anarchist print helps to recreate a sense of this fluid geography. From 1890-1915 engagement in anarchist periodicals waxed and waned across the whole of the country. Some areas, such as Cádiz, were deeply engaged in anarchist print culture in the nineteenth century, yet gradually diminished in significance after 1906. In contrast, Gijón's involvement in the anarchist press was negligible until 1898, yet after this point the city was home to a string of significant publications, reflecting and contributing to the city's increasing prominence in the wider movement.<sup>67</sup> A reading of anarchist print which encompasses a broad geographic scope helps to recognise this fluidity and look beyond it, with the aim of reconstructing a sense of the general direction of the movement between 1890 and 1915.

This thesis is not bound to a particular locality. It is a study of anarchism across the whole of Spain, albeit with one major exception: it does not discuss the Catalan movement or periodicals produced in the region, except in reference to their influence elsewhere.<sup>68</sup> Its scope thus encompasses around half of the movement in Spain, spread in clusters in south-west Andalucía (Cádiz, Sevilla and to a lesser extent, Huelva), the Islas Canarias, the Levante (Valencia and Murcia), the Islas Baleares, cities on the northern coast (La Coruña, Gijón and Bilbao) and Madrid [see Map 0.1 for reference].<sup>69</sup> There was a common experience of anarchism in these areas, which was different to that of Cataluña, but no less typical of the movement as a whole.

This geographic scope addresses an imbalance in the historiography of this period, itself a result of the imbalanced geography of the movement. Barcelona was the centre of anarchism in Spain. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards the city expanded massively, drawing in migration from surrounding Cataluña, neighbouring Aragon and Valencia, and the rural south. Migrants arrived in a city which had developed a distinct economy, politics and culture.<sup>70</sup> Anarchism became the dominant ideology of the city's working class, which became a highly concentrated body of support for the movement. Barcelona was also the location the major developments in the history of Spanish anarchism. From 1890 to 1915 the city was the site of all but one of the major anarchist terrorist

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<sup>66</sup> Altea, 'Analysing revolutionary syndicalism,' 189-190.

<sup>67</sup> R., [R. Mella?], 'La epopeya de Gijón,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 29, (13/09/1911), 1.

<sup>68</sup> In this thesis, the term 'Catalan' will be used to define those papers published in this region, however this should not be taken that they were regionalist in outlook, see Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 31-35 and 96-99

<sup>69</sup> López Estudillo, 'El anarquismo español decimonónico,' 102-104.

<sup>70</sup> C. Ealham, *Anarchism and the City: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Barcelona, 1898-1937*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Oakland, CA, 2010), 1-10.

attacks in Spain, the home of Francisco Ferrer's Escuela Moderna, and the headquarters of the CNT. Nowhere else in Spain could match the city's significance to the movement.<sup>71</sup> The experience of anarchism in Barcelona was, however, unique. Anarchists in Barcelona could count themselves as among thousands of like-minded people, spending their lives in predominantly anarchist *barrios* (districts) and anarchist workplaces.<sup>72</sup> They were also far more likely to suffer from repression, which frequently swept through Barcelona following anarchist outrages and labour unrest. The city thus exemplified the highs and lows of the anarchist experience in Spain, which helped to form a distinct collective identity built upon cycles of success, defeat and resistance. Because of its significance, Barcelona weighs heavily on history of anarchism in Spain, making it difficult to discuss the movement without an imbalance towards the north-east of the country. Many studies which purport to cover all of Spain are in fact studies of Barcelona, with only token references to the movement outside the city.<sup>73</sup> Other studies have made clear their intention to study the region separately. These include some of the best scholarship on the movement, covering many of the most significant features of the development of anarchism over the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>74</sup>

Local studies elsewhere in Spain have attempted to address this imbalance towards Cataluña. Andalucía, as the second 'heartland' of anarchism in Spain, has been particularly well served, above all in the excellent works of Jacques Maurice.<sup>75</sup> Cádiz province has received particular attention in studies of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century movement, many of which focus on rural violence and the rich anarchist culture which developed in the area.<sup>76</sup> The early twentieth-century

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<sup>71</sup> Garner, 'The politics of mistrust,' 11-12.

<sup>72</sup> Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, 22-53.

<sup>73</sup> For example, Bar, *La CNT*; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*.

<sup>74</sup> A small selection of works centred on Cataluña and Barcelona: J. Romero Maura, *La rosa de fuego: Republicanos y anarquistas: La política de los obreros barceloneses entre el desastre colonial y la Semana Trágica*, (Barcelona, 1975); X. Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo en Cataluña (1899-1911): Los orígenes de la CNT*, (Madrid, 1976); T. Kaplan, *Red City, Blue Period: Social Movements in Picasso's Barcelona*, (Berkeley, CA, 1992); and more recently J.L. Oyón Bañales and J.J. Gallardo Romero, (eds.), *El cinturón rojinegro: Radicalismo cenetista y obrerismo en la periferia de Barcelona (1918-1939)*, (Barcelona, 2004); A. Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State, 1898-1923*, (New York, NY, 2007); J.L. Oyón Bañales, *La quiebra de la ciudad popular: Espacio urbano, inmigración y anarquismo en la Barcelona de entreguerras, 1914-1936*, (Barcelona, 2008); A. Dalmau, *El cas Rull: Viure del terror a la ciutat de les bombes (1901-08)*, (Barcelona, 2008) and *Siete días de furia: Barcelona y la Semana Trágica (Julio de 1909)*, (Barcelona, 2009).

<sup>75</sup> J. Maurice, *El anarquismo andaluz: Campesinos y sindicalistas, 1868-1936*, (Barcelona, 1990) and *El anarquismo andaluz, Una vez más*, (Granada, 2007). See also A. M. Calero, *Movimientos sociales en Andalucía (1820-1936)*, (Madrid, 1976); R. Görling, 'El anarquismo como cultura proletaria en Andalucía: Acercamiento al proceso de conservación y reforma de una cultura popular,' B. Hofmann, P. Joan i Tous, and M. Tietz, (eds.), *El anarquismo español y sus tradiciones culturales*, (Frankfurt/Madrid, 1995), 139-150; A. López Estudillo, *Republicanismo y anarquismo en Andalucía: Conflictividad social agraria y crisis finisecular (1868-1900)*, (Córdoba, 2001); J.L. Gutiérrez Molina, 'Andalucía y el anarquismo,' (1868-1936), *Ayer*, 45.1, (2002), 171-195.

<sup>76</sup> For example: Kaplan, *The Anarchists*; G. Brey, 'Ideología y acontecimiento en la poesía de un periódico obrero de Cádiz: *El Proletario*,' B. Barrère, et al., *Metodología de la historia de la prensa española*, (Madrid, 1982), 43-57; Aubert et al., *Anarquismo y poesía*; J. Álvarez Junco, et al., *El movimiento obrero en la historia de Cádiz*, (Cádiz, 1988); F. de Puelles, *Fermín Salvochea: Republica o anarquismo*, (Sevilla, 1984); J. Aguilar Villagrán, *El asalto campesino a Jerez de la Frontera en 1892*, (Jerez de la Frontera, 1984); J.L. Pantoja Antúnez, and M. Ramírez López, *La Mano Negra: Memoria de una represión*, (Cádiz, 2000); J.L. Gutiérrez Molina, *El anarquismo en Chiclana: Diego Rodríguez Barbosa: Obrera y escritor (1885-1936)*, (Chiclana de

movement in Sevilla has also been investigated, most notably the opening chapters of González Fernández' excellent *Utopía y realidad*, and Velasco Mesa's comparative analyses of revolutionary discourses in the general strikes of Liège (1886) and Sevilla (1901), which has helped shape the approach of this thesis.<sup>77</sup> Less attention has been given to the other provinces within Andalucía.<sup>78</sup> In other regions the period 1890-1915 is often placed as a starting point in studies of a longer timeframe, as in Barrio Alonso's work on anarchism in Asturias (1890-1936) and Radcliff's examination of political polarisation in Gijón (1900-1937).<sup>79</sup> A handful of accounts exist for Galicia and the Islas Canarias, while the minority anarchist presence in the Basque regions and Logroño has also been the subject of longer studies.<sup>80</sup> Anarchism in the Islas Baleares has been the subject of only one, short monograph, which only briefly covers the earlier movement.<sup>81</sup> In most of these works the period around the turn of the century suffers from a lack of sources, beyond those available in print. Little investigation of this period has focused on Valencia and Aragon, both of which had a strong CNT presence in later years.<sup>82</sup> Madrid has been almost entirely neglected by scholarship of anarchism in Spain. The capital was the site of a number of anarchist unions, national congresses and challenged Barcelona as the centre of anarchist publishing in Spain in the early twentieth century, yet it remains understudied.

The geographic divergence in studies of the movement reflects the prevailing trend in Spanish historiography towards local and regional history. This approach is particularly suited to the anarchist movement, which placed a heavy emphasis on local, autonomous activity.<sup>83</sup> Detailed studies of local

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la Frontera, 2001) and *La tiza, la tinta y la palabra: José Sánchez Rosa: Maestro y anarquista andaluz (1864-1936)*, (Ubrique, 2005); A. López Estudillo, *Insurrección y provocación policial: Los sucesos de Jerez de 1892*, (La Laguna, 2008); J.M. Mato Ortega and S. Moreno Tello, *Fermín Salvochea (1842-1907): Historia de un internacionalista*, (Cádiz, 2009); J. Maurice (ed.), *Fermín Salvochea: Un anarquista entre la leyenda y la historia*, (Cádiz, 2009); C. Grocott, G. Stockey and J. Grady, 'Anarchism in the UK'.

<sup>77</sup> A. González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad: Anarquismo, anarcosindicalismo y organizaciones obreras: Sevilla, 1900-1936*, (Sevilla, 1996); C. Velasco Mesa, *Los nombres de la cuestión social: Discurso y agitaciones obreras: Lieja y Sevilla en el tránsito de los siglos XIX y XX*, (Sevilla, 2003) and 'Revolutionary rhetoric'.

<sup>78</sup> Exceptions include: A. M. Calero, *Historia del movimiento obrero en Granada (1909-1923)*, (Madrid, 1973); Baena, *Una revolución de papel*, esp. 35-61; J. Martín Mora, *Anarcosindicalismo en Málaga (1930-1931)*, (Málaga, 2003).

<sup>79</sup> Á. Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo y anarcosindicalismo en Asturias, 1890-1936*, (Madrid, 1988); P. Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War: The Politics of Polarization in the Spanish City of Gijón, 1900-1937*, (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>80</sup> G. Brey, 'Economie et mouvement syndical en Galice (1840-1911),' Ph.D. thesis, (Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, 1989); O. Freán Hernández, *El movimiento libertario en Galicia, 1910-1936*, (Sada, 2006); O. Brito, *Historia del movimiento obrero canario*, (Madrid, 1980). R. Pérez Brito, *El anarquismo y los orígenes del movimiento obrero canario, 1900-1910*, (Tenerife, 2005). C. Gil Andrés, *Protesta popular y movilización en la Rioja de fin de siglo, 1890-1906*, (Logroño, 1995); C. Gil Andrés, (ed.), *Echarse a la calle: Amotinados, huelguistas y revolucionarios (La Rioja, 1890-1936)*, (Zaragoza, 2000); A., Velasco Núñez, *El hilo negro vasco: Anarquismo y anarcosindicalismo en el País Vasco (1870-1936)*, (Bilbao, 2009); J. Estebaranz, *Breve historia del anarquismo vasco: Desde sus orígenes al siglo XXI*, (San Sebastián, 2011).

<sup>81</sup> I. Martín Jiménez, *Conflicto social y pensamiento anarquista en Menorca (1897-1936)*, (Algaida, 2007).

<sup>82</sup> L. Vicente Villanueva, *Sindicalismo y conflictividad social en Zaragoza (1916-1923)*, (Zaragoza, 1993), 36-59. Both regions are better served in recent historiography focused on the Second Republic and Civil War.

<sup>83</sup> Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*, 168; S. Tavera i García, 'La historia del anarquismo español: Una encrucijada interpretativa nueva,' *Ayer*, 45.1, (2002), 13; Freán Hernández, 'El anarquismo español,' 213-215.

areas add much to our understanding of the day-to-day realities of anarchism, and how the ideas of the movement were interpreted in relation to specific, local conditions. The best of these works – for example, those of González Fernández and Barrio Alonso – successfully situate anarchism in its local or regional arena, without sealing it off from the wider developments of the movement. Nevertheless, the proliferation of local studies has not fully addressed the geographic imbalance in the historiography of the movement. Taken individually, none of these areas can compete with the size and significance of Barcelona. Yet taken collectively – as in this thesis – the movement outside Cataluña was as large, as important and as representative of anarchism in Spain. Examining these areas in relation to Barcelona, and in relation to one another, gives a sense of the ‘core-periphery’ and ‘periphery-periphery’ relationships within the movement.

Many areas of anarchist support outside Cataluña had similar economic and social profiles. Many were ports, or other centres of trade. While industrialisation was increasing across Spain, the economies of these cities were based largely on casual, artisan and agrarian labour. Aside from Madrid, Valencia and, to a lesser extent Sevilla, most had modest urban populations surrounded by larger rural hinterlands. Some of these rural areas were also sites of support for the movement, as in Cádiz province, although many, for example rural Galicia, were not. Anarchists in provincial cities generally came from comparable working backgrounds, including construction and decoration (bricklayers, labourers and painters); woodwork and furniture making (carpenters, cabinetmakers and turners); clothing, (tailors, bootmakers and hatters); agriculture; metalwork; and other artisans, such as locksmiths and glaziers.<sup>84</sup> Although smaller in number, some teachers and other professionals – such as the railway surveyor Ricardo Mella – played an important role in the movement’s print culture.

Unlike the mass backing of the urban area of Barcelona and its surrounding towns, anarchism in other regions of Spain consisted of smaller pockets of support, often within cities separated by vast distances. Here, anarchist activity was often a struggle against local authorities, rival political movements and prevailing working-class attitudes. It was also more piecemeal, fragmented, and less prone to dramatic manifestations of anarchist practice.<sup>85</sup> This disparity was acknowledged by anarchists based outside Cataluña. Some wrote enviously of the development of the movement in Barcelona while the rest of Spain languished in inactivity and ‘ignorance’. At the same time, there was a feeling that the strength of anarchism in Cataluña had created a sense of superiority amongst the city’s workers and a desire to centralise the movement around its Barcelona core.<sup>86</sup> Anarchist papers from outside the region occasionally accused the larger periodicals of Barcelona of ignoring or

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<sup>84</sup> Professions which made up first three FSORE Congresses, see: I Congress: ‘Movimiento social...Madrid,’ *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 75, (20/10/1900), 2; II Congress: ‘Movimiento social...Madrid,’ *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 127, (19/10/1901), 3 and *La Federación Regional Española: Manifiesto, estatutos, delegaciones, adhesiones y acuerdos: Segundo Congreso*, (Madrid, 1901), 21-34; III Congress: ‘Los congresos obreros: La Federación Regional,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 210, (21/05/1903), 1.

<sup>85</sup> See letter from isolated anarchist in Bilbao: Un obrero, ‘Desde Bilbao,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 33, (23/03/1900), 2.

<sup>86</sup> X., ‘Movimiento social...Cataluña,’ *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 15, (16/11/1912), 4 and 16, (23/11/1912), 3.

belittling them.<sup>87</sup> Such statements suggest a shared experience of anarchism in Spain away from its traditional centre.

The anarchist emphasis on local activity was not an excuse for parochialism. Anarchists were hostile to regionalist and separatist movements in Spain and largely avoided regional cultural practices, such as using the Catalan, Basque or Galician languages. Regionalist introspection would only erect new boundaries across the working class, which was already divided by national myths, boundaries and languages.<sup>88</sup> While anarchism was a place-based political movement, heavily shaped by local conditions, it was also a universalist ideology which was intended to undermine the boundaries of the local, regional and national.<sup>89</sup> One way of thinking about this relationship is through the term ‘translocalism’. This concept aims to encapsulate the process by which individuals and groups prioritise action in their immediate environment, while at the same time aspiring to transcend boundaries both within and between nations. The premises of translocalism have a great deal to offer historians of bottom-up political movements by drawing attention to the ‘material flows...the movement of styles, ideas, images and symbols,’ which form a collective imagination and instigate collective action across localities, without the need for formal political structures.<sup>90</sup> In order to foster this translocalism, anarchists in Spain needed a mechanism through which local experiences could be expressed, shared and framed within a broader understanding of the universal struggle against authority.<sup>91</sup> Since centralised structures and channels were unavailable, they constructed an alternative: a grassroots network of periodicals, which maintained a flow of information across and beyond Spain, and in the process bound individuals and groups together in a collaborative development of the movement and its ideology.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> For example see attacks on *El Productor*, (Barcelona), in ‘Mesa revuelta,’ *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia), 4, (04/06/1892), 2 and Editorial, ‘¡Luz, mucha luz!,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 1, (03/06/1893), 2-3.

<sup>88</sup> For example see E.Q. [Eleuterio Quintanilla], ‘Por la gran patria,’ *Tiempos Nuevos*, (Gijón), 2, (08/12/1905), 1; R. Mella, ‘La conferencia de Brossa,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 8, (06/01/1911), 1-2. See also J. Álvarez Junco, ‘Les anarchistes face an nacionalisme catalan (1868-1910),’ *Le Mouvement Social*, 128, (1984), 43-58.

<sup>89</sup> D. Featherstone, *Resistance, Space and Political Identities: The Making of Counter-Global Networks*, (Oxford, 2008), 31; T. Goyens, ‘Social space and the practice of anarchist history,’ *Rethinking History*, 13.4, (2009), 439-457. The phrase ‘acting locally, thinking globally,’ often used in relation to contemporary social movements, is also appropriate for way in which anarchists imagined their struggle; see A. Cumbers, P. Routledge and C. Nativel, ‘The entangled geographies of global justice networks,’ *Progress in Human Geography*, 32.2, (2008), 194; C. McFarlane, ‘Translocal assemblages: Space, power and social movements,’ *Geoforum*, 40.4, (2009), 562; Izquierdo Labella, *Comunicación glocal*, 93.

<sup>90</sup> C. Greiner, and P. Sakdapolrak, ‘Translocality: Concepts, applications and emerging research perspectives,’ *Geography Compass* 7.5 (2013), 376, 379. See also Featherstone, *Resistance, Space*, 4-5; K. Brickell and A. Datta, ‘Introduction: Translocal geographies,’ K. Brickell and A. Datta (eds.), *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, (Farnham, 2011), 3-20. A good example of translocal history is I. Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism: 1860-1914*, (Berkeley, 2013). See also C. Levy, ‘The rooted cosmopolitan: Errico Malatesta: Syndicalism, transnationalism and the international labour movement,’ C. Bantman and D. Berry, (eds.), *New Perspectives on Anarchism, Labour and Syndicalism: The Individual, the National and the Transnational*, (Newcastle upon Tyne 2010), 71-77.

<sup>91</sup> S. Stromquist, ‘“Thinking globally; acting locally”: Municipal labour and socialist activism in comparative perspective,’ *Labour History Review*, 74.3, (2009), 233-256.

<sup>92</sup> Compare with role of anarchist press within and between other nations, for example D. Turcato, ‘Italian anarchism as a transnational movement, 1885-1915,’ *IRSH*, 52, (2007), 407-444; L. Anapios, ‘“Una promesa de

## Anarchist Print Culture 1890-1915

Anarchist publications were generally one of five types: books, pamphlets, journals, periodicals and *hojas* (broadsides). Longer forms of writing, such as books and pamphlets, provided the textual foundations of anarchist ideology. In the words of the most respected figure in the movement, Anselmo Lorenzo (1841-1914), they were a means to ‘store in perfect classification all the knowledge’ needed to produce the revolution.<sup>93</sup> Over 700 anarchist books and pamphlets were published between 1890 and 1915, covering an enormous range of subjects, such as geography, history, political theory, biology and birth control, sociology, current affairs, the law, art and literature.<sup>94</sup> Some books were extremely popular, particularly those of Petr Kropotkin, whose *Words of a Rebel* collection sold 14,000 copies in eight years, while *Mutual Aid* sold 20,000 in three years, and *The Conquest of Bread* – which went through eleven editions over the turn of the century – had sold approximately 28,000 copies by 1909. Marx’s *Capital* sold around 9,000 copies in the same period.<sup>95</sup> Yet although they were popular, most groups could not afford to publish books. Their production was thus limited to handful of larger publishers, such as the ‘Escuela Moderna’ and ‘Salud y Fuerza’ groups of Barcelona. In contrast, pamphlet publishing flourished from 1890 to 1915. As well as prose, pamphlets were used to publish plays, poetry, songs and transcripts from conferences. These shorter publications provided an inexpensive, one-off contribution to print culture. Despite their cheap paper and flimsy binding (many pamphlets were held together by string), these items were treasured by their readers, and seen by many within the movement as the height of publishing activity. Popular pamphlets would be reprinted numerous times by different groups across the country, for example Errico Malatesta’s dialogue *Entre campesinos* was published in 15 different editions from 1889-1915.<sup>96</sup> At the other extreme to longer forms of print were *hojas*, or broadsides. These one-sheet publications were designed for specific, immediate calls to action such as notices for upcoming demonstrations and strikes. They were also used to reach out to individuals outside the movement, handed out in a local area or affixed as posters in public spaces. *Hojas* were particularly popular during elections, as in 1896 and 1913, when they were used to carry calls to abstain from voting,

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folletos”: El rol de la prensa en el movimiento anarquista en la Argentina (1890-1913),’ *A Contracorriente*, 8.2, (2011), 1-33; S. Sueiro Seoane., ‘Prensa y redes anarquistas transnacionales: El olvidado papel de J.C. Campos y sus crónicas sobre los mártires de Chicago en el anarquismo de lengua hispana,’ *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 36 (2014), 259-295. Compare also with thoughts on collaboration in social media in Labella, *Comunicación glocal*, 137-138.

<sup>93</sup> Cited in Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 63.

<sup>94</sup> Figure compiled from Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 67-448.

<sup>95</sup> Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 282 gives the sales of *The Conquest of Bread* at 50,000, however 22,000 of these copies were sent to the Americas, see Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 16-17, 212-213, 216.

<sup>96</sup> Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 237-238.

[Plate 0.1].<sup>97</sup> Despite their importance to anarchist print culture, books, pamphlets and *hojas* have been used sparingly in this thesis. Few *hojas* from the period have survived, while those that are available are context specific and of limited significance. Books and pamphlets, however, are abundant in the archives, to the point that a systematic analysis of their role within print culture merits study in itself. This has not been feasible in this thesis, which instead focuses on the other ‘blade’ in the ‘double-edged sword’ of anarchist print: the weekly and monthly press.<sup>98</sup>

Of the 298 anarchist periodicals and journals launched between 1890 and 1915, roughly two-thirds were based outside Cataluña (191, 64 per cent; to 107, 36 per cent from Cataluña), accounting for just over half the total number of issues (c.4,029 issues, 55 per cent; to c.3,299 issues, 45 per cent from Cataluña). Of these, 2,482 issues from non-Catalan papers have survived in various archives in Spain, the Netherlands and Britain. These publications form the main source base for this thesis [refer to Table 0.1; see also Appendix and Bibliography for full details of press published in this period, include archival location].

Periodicals were a middle ground between the theoretical depth provided by books and pamphlets and the immediacy of *hojas*. In periodicals, ideology was presented in short, easily-digestible articles, deployed in relation to immediate events as a means to articulate the ‘daily struggle for truth’.<sup>99</sup> Rather than the singular voice of a pamphlet or book, periodicals were the product of numerous editors, authors, correspondents and readers, engaged in a constant dialogue with one another. Periodicals were sites of discussion and dispute, and their content was constantly modified and updated, giving them a sense of development which was lacking in other forms of print. They were thus more representative of how the movement constructed and interpreted – rather than simply transmitted – theory in relation to practice, and vice versa. The press was also used to distribute other aspects of print culture. Extracts from a pamphlet could be printed on the third and fourth pages of a paper, designed to be torn out, folded and added to with serialised extracts from subsequent issues [Plate 0.2]. After several weeks or months, the subscriber to the paper would be able to bind a complete pamphlet together with string.<sup>100</sup> A similar, although less common, practice was to print a *hoja* on the last page, which again would be ripped out of the paper and used as independent

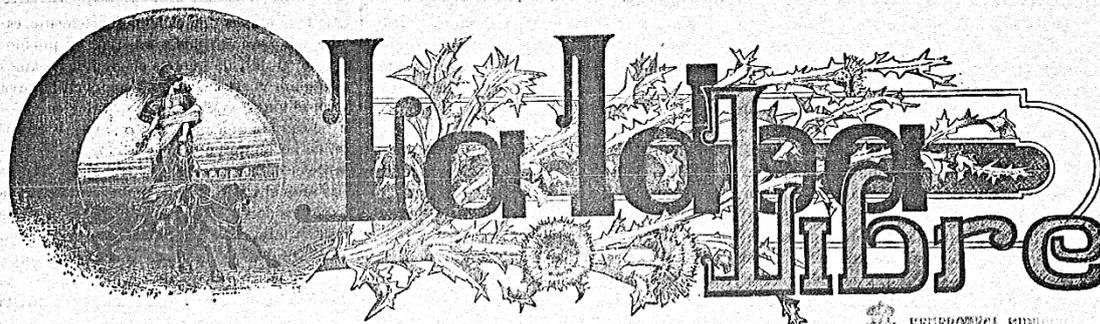
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<sup>97</sup> See ‘Manifiesto abstencionista,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 100, (28/03/1896), 1; ‘Administración,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 102, (11/04/1896), 4; ‘Una buena labor y un atropello,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 26, (14/11/1913), 1. See also anti-Cuban war *hoja* produced by *El Corsario*: ‘¡Abajo de la guerra!,’ *Suplemento al Número 245 de El Corsario*, (22/08/1896), 1.

<sup>98</sup> Lorenzo in Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 63.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, 63.

<sup>100</sup> For a comparative practice with *octavo* papers in revolutionary France see Popkin, *Revolutionary News*, 99.



Suplemento al núm. 100.

Dirección y Administración: Feijóo, núm. 1, 3.º—Madrid.

ABRIL DE 1896.

## ¡TRABAJADORES, NO VOTEIS!

Los conservadores han disuelto unas Cortes y convocan al pueblo español á nuevas elecciones. Lo mismo han hecho los liberales en diferentes ocasiones. Lo mismo proceden los republicanos allí donde gobiernan. De igual modo se conducirían cuantos necesitan para las funciones gubernamentales de un órgano legislativo. La diferencia de ideas y de procedimientos no afecta al fondo de la cuestión. Todo gobierno constitucional necesita de una fuerza parlamentaria que lo sostenga, fuerza obediente á sus designios y á sus mandatos. Gobernar sin una mayoría de diputados y de senadores y aun de concejales es, en el sistema constitucional, absolutamente imposible. Los gobiernos, sin distinción de colores, son los que hacen las mayorías parlamentarias, no los pueblos. Los hechos, repetidos con abrumadora monotonía, prueban la veracidad de nuestra afirmación y nos dispensan de más amplias demostraciones. Trabajadores ó burgueses, nadie duda á estas horas de que de la urna electoral surgirá como por ensalmo una mayoría conservadora. Si mandaran los liberales, sería liberal. Si los republicanos, republicana. El poder es incompatible con la imparcialidad y la justicia.

¿Oíremos á los monárquicos? ¿Prestaremos atención á los republicanos? ¿Guiáremos ó dejáremos guiar por la sirena socialista que se apresta á reñir pueril batalla con la burguesía adinerada?

¡Lamentable espectáculo el de los políticos de oficio á fin de siglo! Los monárquicos no tienen mas ideal que el del presupuesto. Gente sin corazón y sin cabeza, no aspiran á nada, en nada piensan, ni nada sienten como no sea el apartamiento de la marmita gubernamental. La vida se ha reconcentrado para ellos en el estómago. Los republicanos, divididos hasta el infinito, completamente desorientados, no se entienden ahora ni se entenderán más tarde. Están moralmente muertos, materialmente impotentes para toda obra de regeneración. Con aires de jacobinismo trasnochado los unos, de empachoso legalismo los otros, todos yerran, incapaces de comprender que ha pasado su tiempo, que ha llegado la hora de sumarse resueltamente con la reacción ó de tomar partido por la Revolución

social que se avecina. Una hora de poder evidenciaría que son ante todo y sobre todo amantes del orden burgués que santifica la propiedad y reverencia el robo.

Los socialistas, reducidos á la fuerza microscópica de un microscópico grupo exótico, continúan, como el primer día que hicieron traición á los obreros revolucionarios españoles, la cantilena de la lucha legal y de la conquista del poder político para la total emancipación del cuarto estado. Sus pujos de orden, de prudencia, de sentido gubernamental, arranca aplausos á la prensa de gran circulación, avergüenza á la clase trabajadora y acredita los sueños ambiciosos de los presuntos diputados de blusa colcándose satisfechos con los expoliadores y panamizantes de todos los partidos. Quieren concejales y diputados obreros, como si no tuviéramos bastante con los concejales y diputados burgueses. Recomiendan prudencia y mansedumbre á los trabajadores, como si la prudencia y la mansedumbre no fuera su desdichada característica; como si mansedumbre y prudencia y orden no nos fueran á toda hora recomendados por las clases directoras, cuya paz se perturba con la más ligera manifestación de energía popular. El pueblo no los oye. ¡Que los oiga Cánovas, y el Parlamento español abrirá sus puertas á los futuros redentores de la humanidad!

El pueblo trabajador no votará ni con los unos ni con los otros. ¡Dudamos que la mayoría de los que á las clases directoras pertenecen se tome la molestia de ayudar á esta nueva representación de la eterna comedia política! La urna electoral, todo el mundo lo va comprendiendo, representa la anulación de la personalidad. Convencidos todos de la falsedad gubernamental, ¿cómo hemos de continuar abdicando nuestra soberanía en unos cuantos que de la política hacen oficio? La indiferencia por la lucha electoral se extiende cada vez más. Se engañan los que la atribuyen á los abusos del poder, á la inmoralidad y al caciquismo. Por ahí se empieza ciertamente, pero se termina reconociendo que el mal es más hondo, como que proviene del sistema mismo.

La religión del Estado ofrece los mismos aspectos que las religiones de la teología. Se

pierde primero la fe en el cura, luego en los santos, y se acaba necesariamente por reconocer la fragilidad del sistema entero. Alrededor de todos los altares no queda mas que un puñado de tontos y de vividores.

Se pretende, no obstante, prolongar el engaño. Se nos invita á que luchemos por purificar el sistema. Se quiere que enarbolemos la bandera de la sinceridad electoral y que luchemos por imponernos á la turbamulta de los que ofician de políticos en beneficio propio. Mienten sentimientos que no abrigan los que tal dicen. Saben que toda purificación y toda sinceridad son imposibles. Saben que el pueblo, explotado hoy como siempre, esclavo del salario, ni aun puede intentar imponerse por el voto, porque el derecho de votar libremente no le pertenece. Aparentan, en fin, olvidar que el derecho y la libertad y la justicia no son mas que palabras escritas en papel, sin realidad alguna en la vida práctica.

Mas aun cuando tal intento fuera factible, aun cuando las leyes fueran algo mas que papel mojado, ¿de qué nos serviría?

Lo repetimos. Votar es lo mismo que anularse. El que vota se abandona á la voluntad ajena; reconoce á otros, sin saber á quiénes, el derecho de hacer con los comunes intereses lo que les plazca. La papeleta electoral es el signo de la esclavitud política, así como el salario lo es de la esclavitud económica. Todo hombre que estime en algo su dignidad, debería alejarse de la urna electoral como nos alejamos de todo lo que degrada y mancha. Apenas concebimos cómo hombres de talento, que gozan fama de integridad y de firmeza, van gravemente á depositar en la urna un papel que les despoja de todos sus derechos. Sin duda, al igual de los pobres de moello, han aprendido, y no pueden olvidar, el camino de la servidumbre habitual.

Aun se nos dirá, trabajadores, que fomentamos el escepticismo, que aconsejamos la indiferencia como si quisiéramos perpetuar la injusticia. Vosotros que nos habéis oído y entendido cien veces, nos oiréis y nos entenderéis una vez más, porque no os ciega la rutina oficial, la enseñanza universitaria ni la garrulería de los partidos políticos. No propagamos el escepticismo. No enseñamos la indiferencia. Convencidos de la ineficacia de

material.<sup>101</sup> This reproduction of other publications reflects the importance of periodicals to the wider print culture of the movement.

The vast majority of anarchist periodicals consisted of one sheet of paper, which would be folded to create four pages. This was a common size for many papers in Spain, including the PSOE's weekly *El Socialista* (Madrid) and much larger national newspapers, such as the Republican daily *El País* (Madrid).<sup>102</sup> The only exception to this format were journal-style publications, such as *La Revista Blanca* (Madrid), which consisted of longer, theoretical pieces over eight, sixteen or thirty-two pages. Journals of this type have been included in this thesis, although there since they were much less common than 4-page periodicals – particularly outside Cataluña – they form only a minor part of the analysis.

Four-page papers would usually open with theoretical pieces and commentaries on current affairs, followed by sections devoted to letters from correspondents and smaller news sections. On the final page most papers would publish administrative information and summaries of collections and solidarity campaigns. Other regular sections included poetry, short stories and plays; summaries and refutations the of 'bourgeois,' Catholic, Republican and socialist press; columns containing brief sardonic remarks on local and national news; sections devoted to international news and 'bibliographies,' which contained information on other publications of the movement. In contrast to most other publications in Spain (although not *El Socialista*), only a handful of anarchist papers contained adverts.<sup>103</sup> Pictures were also rare in the anarchist periodical press, and usually only appeared in special or commemorative issues, such as those published on the anniversaries of executions of martyrs.<sup>104</sup> Those that did use pictures drew from a relatively small pool of images, often repeating pictures used in previous years and/or other publications.<sup>105</sup> These drawings and reproductions of photographs were clearly popular with readers, who were often told when new images would appear in a forthcoming issue.<sup>106</sup> Many publishing groups made larger orders to their printers for issues containing images to cope with the expected increased demand.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> For example see *hoja* 'Justicia y libertad,' published in *El Productor*, (Barcelona), 36, (01/08/1903), 4.

<sup>102</sup> D. Ortiz Jr., *Paper Liberals: Press and Politics in Regency Era Spain*, (London, 2000), 58.

<sup>103</sup> The only exceptions to this rule are the few daily publications of this period, such as *La Organización*, (Gijón), *La Defensa del Obrero*, (Gijón); the earliest issues of *El Productor*, (Barcelona), I, when the paper was published as a daily [1, (01/02/1888), 4 – 31, (08/03/1887), 4] and *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona), III, after it transformed into a daily publication in March 1916 [earliest surviving issue with adverts: *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 257, (10/07/1916)].

<sup>104</sup> Exceptions to this rule include *La Anarquía* (Madrid), *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), I, and most journal-style publications. See M.A. Fernández, 'La revolución social en imágenes: Iconografía de la prensa socialista y anarquista Española (1872-1920),' *Spagna Contemporanea*, 28, (2005), 88-92, 100-105.

<sup>105</sup> See picture of storming of Bastille which appeared in both *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 45, (17/07/1891), 1 and *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 63, (13/07/1895), 1. Also in Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 604.

<sup>106</sup> 'Noticias varias,' *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 13, (27/10/1899), 4. The same was true of larger, daily papers, which limited pictures to special editions, see M.C. Seoane, *Oratoria y periodismo en la España del siglo XIX*, (Madrid, 1977), 419-420.

<sup>107</sup> For example see 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 101, (20/04/1901), 4.

Plate 0.2: Reproduction of pamphlet *La Moral Anarquista* within *La Protesta* (La Línea de la Concepción), 1901

ventes de los acretas, resultan hechos como los de Bilbao y otros el inuerto al hoyo, los heridos al hospital, los alborotadores á la cárcel y los futuros disputados con sus respetables calabazas machucadas á fuerza de pucherazos, á contar á los suyos las peripetias de la lucha; á elaborar mitos para protestar de la *legitimidad* del sufragio, de los chanchulos de éste y el otro partido ó para... «denunciar la sociedad de albaniles» «El porvenir del Trabajo» como sociedad anarquista». Niegue V. todo esto si es tan *despreciable*, que el día llegará en que el pueblo os reconozca y no será el «*ari* que según V., puso Ojeda á los sufridos higienistas» ni el que puso á los socialistas el autor de los «*dictadores*», el *ari* que le está reservado á los *zánganos* de la clase obrera en el llevado á cabo con un miserable que fué alcalde de Aloy, que lo arrastraron por las calles como un perro despaunado.

A. ESPINOSA.

(Continuara)

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**POCOS LINEAS**

El capataz de la fábrica de Larros, Juan García Menacho, nos ha manifestado que si efectivamente amonazó á los chicos con quinientos un cuarto por porque estaban jugando al lado de unos farlos cuya caída podía originarles grandes daños, pero que no tenía intención de desquitárselo ni despedirlos si no hubieran maltratado de obra á otros dos muchachos.

También nos ha asegurado que se repasarán los cajones para precisar la labor á destajo que hacen los chicos.

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El viernes tuvimos ocasión de ver la revista general de que son objeto á su vez de Gibraltar á La Línea. los pocos mal aconsejados obreros que han hecho tradición á sus hermanos de trabajo.

Mujeres y hombres se desataban en denuncias é improperios contra los que legando de la causa de sus enemigos, que son también los suyos y de todos los obreros, han arrestrado por el todo la dignidad de la clase obrera.

4. PEDRO KROPOTKINE

pero insensiblemente el despertar gana á la mayoría; el impulso está dado, la revolución surge.

Y á cada momento, la esencia de la moral se pone sobre el tapete.—¿Por qué seguir yo los principios de esta moral hipócrita?—se pregunta el cerebro emancipado del terror religioso.—¿Por qué determinada moral ha de ser obligatoria?

Uno intenta entonces darse cuenta de ese sentimiento que le asalta á cada paso sin haberse-lo todavía explicado; y que no se lo explicará jamás en tanto lo crea un privilegio de la naturaleza humana, en tanto no descienda hasta los animales, las plantas, las racas para comprenderle. Sin embargo procura explicárselo según la ciencia del momento.

Y—es preciso decirlo—cuanto más se miran las bases de la moral establecida, ó mejor, de la hipocresía que la sostiene, más el nivel moral se eleva en la sociedad. Sobre todo en esta época, precisamente cuando se la crítica y se la niega, el sentimiento moral hace más rápidos progresos; crece, se eleva, se purifica.

Se ha visto en el siglo dieciocho. Desde 1723, Mandeville, el autor anónimo que escandalizó á Inglaterra con su «*Fábula de las abejas*» y los comentarios que añadiera, atacó de frente la hipocresía de la sociedad disfracada con el nombre de moral. Manifestaba, cómo las costumbres sedicentes morales, no son más que una indec-

Si las cosas siguen por el buen camino que llevan, no tardarán en sufrir el castigo de su indigno acoso.

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Hemos visto los elegantes programas y tarjetas de entrada para la función que el grupo dramático de esta localidad «*Luz Futura*» ha consentido á repartir para la primera representación que se verificará el día 21 del corriente.

Los citados compañeros, que dedican todos sus desvelos al estudio de los respectivos papeles que les han sido confiados, saldrán regularmente arosos de su cometido.

Además tienen la ventaja de que algunos de los que componen el citado cuadro son aficionados que han *pisado* las tablas diferentes veces.

Reina con este motivo bastante curiosidad por que se realice la función, y es seguro que, á instancias de los amigos de Gibraltar, se ponga allí también en escena y posteriormente en Algeciras, Tánger, San Roque y Tarifa.

Como los citados amigos no persiguen un fin utilitario particular, sino que los productos los destinan á la propaganda, resulta indolentemente simpático su propósito.

ALTAIR.

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**PAGINAS INSTRUCTIVAS**

Todas cuantas instituciones sociales se han creado, y á ellas se asistieron en la misma variedad forma, responden inequívocamente á las preocupaciones religiosas, á jerarquías autoritarias, á proporciones económicas, al preludio de la fuerza.

Las costumbres, las leyes, la familia, la justicia, la moral, la libertad, el derecho, la educación, la industria, el comercio, y también el arte, y aun cierta mercadería científica, militan subordinadas á los poderes religiosos, políticos, económicos y militares fuertemente enlazados y solidarios en la común explotación del resto de la humanidad; procuran las primeras la restauración y la manselumbre de las masas; imposibilitan cuanto pueden los segundos todo avance reivindicativo del pueblo subyugado, por medio de un escudamentado jurídico y penal; exprimen y aborven los terceros todo el jugo de las tradiciones; y se encaminan los últimos á sostener los privilegios de todos los opresores, y á la vez los suyos, por medio de la organización de la fuerza. Tales son las bases sobre las cua-

les descanza el edificio social, de todo punto contrarias á la Ciencia, á la Naturaleza, á la dicha de la humanidad.

Es, pues, un hecho positivo que las leyes naturales se han quebrantado y repudiado, transcurriendo unos siglos tras otros, sin poder desmentir todavía aquellas odiosas palabras de Mirabeau: «*No conozco sino tres maneras de existir en el sociedad: es preciso ser meligro, ladrón ó asaltador*». Y esto no es ni puede ser la sociedad basada en la Naturaleza y en la Ciencia; y en consecuencia, contrario al régimen igualitario, sin el cual no puede existir el derecho, la paz, el bienestar.

«*Cómo la humanidad se apartó del orden natural de las cosas, penetrando en los dominios de la arbitrariedad? Repeatedmente lo hemos dicho: por la ignorancia*. En vez de adoptar una simple organización sólo para mejor satisfacer las necesidades individuales y colectivas, sino más edulcoradas que las que la misma naturaleza ofrece, viviendo entre sí los individuos con la misma igualdad con que la Tierra sustenta á todos los seres, se guio por sus grandes preocupaciones y errores, interpretando muy mal á la Naturaleza, y á la concepción de la arbitrariedad creadora de los mundos, sucedió la arbitrariedad social.

Y que equivocó la humanidad el camino, prueba el hecho de la constante rebelión; á pesar de la ignorancia, acusado el hombre por un tan extraordinario sufrimiento que no ha podido sobrelevarlo sin protesta, por más que no haya podido precisar el modo é emanciparse totalmente por falta de ciencia.

«*Qué son tantas guerras y revoluciones que narra la historia sino nuevas posturas para hallarse mejor, combates y nuevas vistas para aliviar su maldad? En qué libro no se encuentra manifiesta la constante desidia, la continua queja y la ardiente lucha...?*»

No es merced ciertamente más para evidenciar que *no somos de acuerdo con la Naturaleza y con la Ciencia*; concluyendo que *para que la sociedad realice sus fines—el bienestar individual y colectivo—es indispensable la igualdad para todos los seres que la constituyen*.

PARACRE.

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2. PEDRO KROPOTKINE

Pero el enemigo inveterado del pensamiento—el gobernante, el curial, el religioso—se rehacen en seguida de la derrota. Reunen poco á poco sus diseminadas fuerzas, modifican su fú y sus códigos, adaptándose á nuevas necesidades; y, valiéndose de ese servilismo del carácter y del pensamiento que ellos han tenido buen cuidado en cultivar, aprovechan la desorganización momentánea de la sociedad, explotando la necesidad de reposo de ésta, la sed de riqueza de aquellos, los desengaños de los otros—sobre todo los desengaños—comenzan de nuevo y con calma su obra, apoderándose desde luego de la infancia por la educación.

El espíritu del niño es débil, y fácil por lo tanto de someterle por el terror: esto es lo que hacen. Le intimidan, y le piotan los tormentos del infierno, le hacen ver los sufrimientos de las almas en pena, la venganza de un Dios implacable; más tarde le hablarán de los horrores de la Revolución, explotarán cualquier exceso de los revolucionarios para hacer del niño «un amigo del orden». El religioso le habituará á la idea de ley para mejor hacerle obedecer lo que él llama la ley divina, el abogado le hablará de la ley divina, para mejor someterle á los textos del código. Y el pensamiento de la generación siguiente tomará ese tinte religioso, ese tinte autoritario y servil á la par—tanto religioso y servil como van siempre cogidos de la mano—ese hábito de sumisión

**Desde Sevilla**

Amigos de LA PROTESTA:

Ayer domingo se celebró un mitin en el Salón de Oriente, en el que nuestros amigos Luis Rodríguez, Sóla, Ojeda y Vázquez retaron á los que habían pretendido manchar su reputación con un artículo titulado «*Dos preguntas*», publicado en *El Volcadero Obrero* de esta.

Á la reunión asistieron unas 3.000 personas, y casi es excusable decir que los detractores brillaron por su ausencia, demostrando así que sólo tienen valor para herir por la espalda.

Presidió el compañero Julio Fernández, preguntando si había alguien que se hiciera cargo de las injurias.

Habló á seguido el compañero Man D'Bagos protestando enérgicamente de las citadas «*preguntas*» por creerlas injuriosas.

Claro manifestó que más de una vez ha perdido el trabajo por propagar las ideas redimidas, y protestó no solo del autor ó autores de las «*Dos preguntas*», sino también de la federación sevillana, á la que estima complicada en el asunto.

Julio Fernández protestó enérgicamente también y calificó de viles á los que de tal modo atacan á dignos compañeros que si viajan, no es por recero ni comodamente, sino por difundir las ideas y muchas veces teniendo que satisfacer parte de los gastos de su peculio.

Luis Rodríguez dijo que si alguno de los autores ó inspiradores de «*Dos preguntas*» se hallaba en el local subiese á la tribuna á mantener sus acusaciones.

Un compañero llamado Antonio Víctor dijo que, en vista de las manifestaciones de Claro respecto á la marcha de la federación sevillana, si había firmado una carta y creído justo en el fondo el artículo «*Dos preguntas*», se retractaba de ello.

Berredo (hipógrafa) dijo que en la federación sevillana, como en toda colectividad, hay individuos y malos.

El compañero Joaquín Álvarez atacó á la federación sevillana por haberse manifestado, y pidió que se creara otro de más amplio espíritu, y en la que cupieran todos los trabajadores.

Antonio Ojeda dice que el firmante del escrito sólo merece el desprecio.

Combate á la federación diciendo que no conduce, sino al inepto concepto local.

Á la salida se recogieron 2950 pesetas para un acto de solidaridad.

Hay se ha inscrito civilmente con el nombre de Acracia una niña de los compañeros Antonio Fresno é Isidora Campos.

Con este motivo se celebró una reunion en que hicieron uso de la palabra los compañeros Sóla y Fernández.

Reinaron el entusiasmo y la cordialidad.

— Adelantan los trabajos para publicar un semanario libertario.

Vuestro y de la idea

F. R.

2 Septiembre 1901.

**LA ÚLTIMA BATALLA**

—¡Ah! ¡La última guerra, la última batalla! Fueron tan terribles, que los hombres han rato para siempre sus espadas y sus cañones... Era el comienzo de las grandes crisis sociales que acaban de renovar el mundo, y yo he sabido estas cosas por boca de seres cuya razón se había entenebrecido á consecuencia del choque supremo entre las naciones.

En la delirante crisis de los pueblos, ya llevada en su seno la sociedad futura, una mitad de Europa se arrojó sobre la otra, y los continentes siguieron y las escuadras chocaron sobre todos los océanos, por la fundación de las aguas y de la tierra. «*Si una nación quedó descartada; encadenadas las unas á las otras, dos ejércitos inmensos entraron en línea de combate—enfrentados por terrores ancestrales, resistentes á aniquilarse, como si en los campos vacíos y estériles hubiera, de entre dos hombres, uno de más...*»

**LA MORAL ANARQUISTA**

1

La historia del pensamiento humano recuerda las oscilaciones del péndulo, las cuales hace ya siglos que perlaban. Después de un largo periodo de sueño, viene el despertar; y entonces se libera de las cadenas con las que todos los interesados—gobernantes, magistrados, clérigos—le habían cuidadosamente amarrado. Las rompe. Somete á severa crítica todo cuanto se le había enseñado; y pone al desnudo la vaciedad de los prejuicios religiosos, políticos, legales y sociales en cuyo seno había vegetado. En aras de un espíritu de investigación se lanza por caminos desconocidos, cartujea nuestro saber con descubrimientos imprevistos: crea nuevas ciencias.

2. PEDRO KROPOTKINE

Pero el enemigo inveterado del pensamiento—el gobernante, el curial, el religioso—se rehacen en seguida de la derrota. Reunen poco á poco sus diseminadas fuerzas, modifican su fú y sus códigos, adaptándose á nuevas necesidades; y, valiéndose de ese servilismo del carácter y del pensamiento que ellos han tenido buen cuidado en cultivar, aprovechan la desorganización momentánea de la sociedad, explotando la necesidad de reposo de ésta, la sed de riqueza de aquellos, los desengaños de los otros—sobre todo los desengaños—comenzan de nuevo y con calma su obra, apoderándose desde luego de la infancia por la educación.

El espíritu del niño es débil, y fácil por lo tanto de someterle por el terror: esto es lo que hacen. Le intimidan, y le piotan los tormentos del infierno, le hacen ver los sufrimientos de las almas en pena, la venganza de un Dios implacable; más tarde le hablarán de los horrores de la Revolución, explotarán cualquier exceso de los revolucionarios para hacer del niño «un amigo del orden». El religioso le habituará á la idea de ley para mejor hacerle obedecer lo que él llama la ley divina, el abogado le hablará de la ley divina, para mejor someterle á los textos del código. Y el pensamiento de la generación siguiente tomará ese tinte religioso, ese tinte autoritario y servil á la par—tanto religioso y servil como van siempre cogidos de la mano—ese hábito de sumisión

3. La Moral Anarquista

que conocemos demasiado entre nuestros contemporáneos.

Durante estos periodos de sueño, raramente se discurre sobre cuestiones de moral. Las prácticas religiosas, la hipocresía judicial les entretiene. No discuten; se dejan llevar por la costumbre, por la indiferencia. Uno no se apasiona ni por, ni contra la moral establecida, se hace lo que se puede para acomodar exteriormente sus actos á lo que se dice profesar; y el nivel moral de la sociedad desciende cada vez más. Se llega á la moral de los romanos de la decadencia, del antiguo régimen, del fin del régimen burgués.

Todo lo que había de bueno, de grande, de generoso, de independiente en el hombre, se enmudece poco á poco, se oculta como un cuchillo sin uso. La mentira se convierte en virtud, el aplazamiento en deber.

Enriquecerse, gozar del momento, agotar su inteligencia, su ardor, su energía, no importa como, «lega á ser la palabra de orden de las clases acomodadas; así como también de la multitud de los pobres, cuyo ideal es el pauper burgués. Entonces la depravación de los gobernantes—del juez y de las clases más ó menos acomodadas—llega á ser tan repulsiva que la otra oscilación del péndulo comienza.

La juventud se emancipa poco á poco, arroja los prejuicios y se levanta por la borda; la crítica vuelve. El pensamiento despierta desde luego en algunos;

Although several attempts to establish an anarchist daily were made between 1890 and 1915, all proved too costly to maintain. Most anarchist periodicals aspired to a regular weekly, fortnightly or monthly output.<sup>108</sup> In practice, most were much more erratic, which meant that they were often published days, weeks or months after the events they reported on took place. ‘Breaking news’ was occasionally crammed on to the back page of publications, usually in verbatim copies of telegraph wires from official sources, but by and large papers relied upon the postal system for news.<sup>109</sup> This lack of immediacy, added to the ideologically-framed nature of their reporting, meant that these publications were much more akin to media such as newsbooks and parish newsletters than mass readership daily ‘newspapers’.

Anarchist publishing groups generally saw themselves as ‘workers,’ rather than journalists or intellectuals. This included the few print professionals who worked within anarchist periodicals – Ernesto Álvarez, for example, edited *La Anarquía* (Madrid) while he worked as a proof-reader for *El Globo* (Madrid), and the typographers of Barcelona were an important part of the early CNT – whose work for the movement was separate from their occupation.<sup>110</sup> The people who managed anarchist papers were largely the same as those who made up the bulk of the movement: they were coopers, bootmakers, locksmiths, seamen, dockers, construction workers etc. None received payment for their services to the anarchist press. Establishing and running a periodical was regarded as a crucial part of the struggle against authority, rather than an opportunity for professional or financial gain.<sup>111</sup> Most conducted their work for the anarchist press after the working day.<sup>112</sup> Some papers were set up as the organ of a workers’ society or federation, such as *El Obrero del Río Tinto* (Río Tinto), founded by the anarchist copper miners’ society ‘Los Manunitidos,’ and *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), which acted as the organ of the Gijón anarchist labour federation. Others papers were founded by loosely structured ‘propaganda’ groups, who were united only by their shared desire to spread anarchist ideas.

Publishing groups considered themselves as engaged in a totally different activity to the ‘bourgeois,’ ‘salaried’ press. During the Restoration, the mainstream press in Spain had expanded dramatically, offering a form of public expression which was largely denied by the political system.<sup>113</sup> Anarchists saw these papers as ‘vile... intellectual cretinism’, consisting of nothing more than political intrigues, sensationalism, bull fights, adverts and slander against their movement.<sup>114</sup> Yet

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<sup>108</sup> Exceptions included anarcho-communist papers such as *El Comunista*, (Zaragoza), which stated it would appear ‘when able’.

<sup>109</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 23-30.

<sup>110</sup> A. Smith, ‘Los tipógrafos de Barcelona (1899-1914): Relaciones laborales, desarrollo sindical y praxis política,’ S. Castillo, (ed.), *El trabajo a través de la historia: Actas del II Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Social, Córdoba, Abril de 1995*, (Madrid, 1996), 437-445. On Álvarez see ‘Miscelánea semanal,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 98, (17/04/1892), 3 and Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 135, n.685.

<sup>111</sup> Seoane, *Oratoria y periodismo*, 409-410; Sueiro Seoane., ‘Prensa y redes anarquistas,’ 261-262.

<sup>112</sup> See for example, masthead of *El Corsario*: ‘Office Hours, From Seven to Nine in the Evening’.

<sup>113</sup> Ortiz Jr., *Paper Liberals*, 1-7.

<sup>114</sup> ‘Vuelapluma,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 2, (12/08/1899), 2; ‘Salutación,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 1, (04/01/1903), 1. See also ‘La prensa obrera y la cuestión social,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 45,

while they advised their readers against reading these papers, equating it with ‘moral suicide,’ they were aware that their readers were likely to receive at least one daily mainstream paper alongside their weekly anarchist periodical.<sup>115</sup> Rather than a substitute for the mainstream press, anarchist papers provided an alternative, parallel source of news and discussion.<sup>116</sup> Some papers devoted a huge amount of space to attacks on other papers, not only national dailies, but also local papers, religious publications, republican periodicals and *El Socialista*.<sup>117</sup> In contrast, other anarchist papers were seen as comrades. Established papers advised their readers to subscribe to ‘all of the anarchist press’ and gave as much support as they could to aspiring publishing groups and new titles.

Launching a periodical was a difficult task. A group would often publicise its intentions in other papers of the movement, asking for donations to help cover start-up costs.<sup>118</sup> Another method of raising funds was to arrange a raffle, for which the prizes were usually books, either of anarchist literature or other useful materials, such as dictionaries and atlases. The whole movement would be invited to participate, linking anarchists together across localities in a simple and popular activity.<sup>119</sup> Raffles were also used to sustain existing papers, to help with the publication of pamphlets, to cover the cost of propaganda tours and, in one case, to raise money to send a comrade from Tenerife to Madrid for surgery.<sup>120</sup>

The majority of periodicals were produced by commercial printers, which was a potential source of difficulty. Local authorities frequently persuaded or coerced printers into rejecting existing orders and rethinking their relationship with the anarchist movement.<sup>121</sup> Relationships with printers could also be strained for more mundane reasons, such as delays or mistakes in the printing, which could lead to public attacks on printing houses by the very papers they produced.<sup>122</sup> Many groups aspired to set up their own printing press as a means to secure their independence. One of the few groups to succeed in this aim was the El Corsario group in La Coruña, who established the ‘El Progreso’ printers in late 1895. Within a few months the printing house was thousands of pesetas in

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(24/03/1900), 2. For a similar attack on sensationalism in *El Socialista* see D.J. O’Connor, *Crime at El Escorial: The 1892 Child Murder, the Press and the Jury*, (London, 1995), 3.

<sup>115</sup> ‘Pensamientos,’ *La Razón Obrera*, (Cádiz), 15, (28/12/1901), 3.

<sup>116</sup> For example see ‘De actualidad: Bombas explosivas en Barcelona,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 169, (01/10/1893), 1-2.

<sup>117</sup> See J.L. Guereña, ‘Las estadísticas oficiales de la prensa (1867-1927),’ B. Barrère, et al., *Metodología de la historia de la prensa española*, (Madrid, 1982), 81-118 on the expansion of the political and religious press during the Restoration.

<sup>118</sup> Example of start-up costs for a small paper (c.400 issues), in ‘Aclaración,’ *La Razón Obrera*, (Cádiz), 1, (23/09/1901), 4.

<sup>119</sup> See raffle of Castilian dictionary to assist launch of *Acción Libertaria* (Gijón), won by a comrade in Vigo: ‘Noticias varias,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 25, (16/09/1910), 4; ‘Mesa revuelta: Resultado de una rifa,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 2, (25/11/1910), 4, and 4, (09/12/1910), 4.

<sup>120</sup> ‘Asuntos varios: Rifa,’ *Liberación*, (Elche), 6, (01/09/1912), 4; ‘Notas sueltas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 21, (12/05/1904), 4; ‘Excursión de propaganda,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 97, (23/03/1901), 1; ‘Noticias sueltas,’ *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 8, (17/07/1909), 4.

<sup>121</sup> ‘La redacción de “El Rebelde,” bloqueada,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 30, (14/07/1904), 1.

<sup>122</sup> *La Protesta* fell out with two printing houses while it was based in La Línea de la Concepción, see ‘Explicación necesaria,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 90, (11/07/1901), 1 and ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 117, (16/01/1902), 4.

debt and under police surveillance, and less than a year after it had been founded 'El Progreso' was forced to close.<sup>123</sup> In the following years a few, slightly more successful publishers were established and staffed by anarchists, however in general anarchist publishers continued to rely upon printers external to the movement until after 1915.<sup>124</sup>

The content of papers came from a variety of sources. Locally-focused stories and theoretical pieces were often written by the publishing group themselves, particularly if they were experienced writers.<sup>125</sup> Other content was copied from articles from other papers, or from well-established texts by theorists in the international movement, such as Kropotkin and Malatesta. The remainder of the paper would be made up from original material from correspondents and contributors based elsewhere in Spain. As soon as a newspaper was established it would be inundated with theoretical reflections, stories, poetry, calls for solidarity, news of union activities, meetings and collections, and reports of scandalous behaviour by employers and police. Editorial decisions were difficult for many publishing groups, as this could be interpreted as an exercise of authority. Many editors apologised to correspondents whose work they did not print, blaming lack of space in the paper, yet this hardly explained why some articles made it to print ahead of others.<sup>126</sup> Established authors appeared to be preferred over others, as were those that kept their articles brief, did not need corrections, and paid for their own postage (letters were often sent without stamps, passing the cost of postage onto the receiver).<sup>127</sup> Correspondents often became irate with editorial decisions, and were asked to show 'patience' and 'understanding' when their works were not published. Nevertheless, there remained no shortage of individuals willing to send in material.

Most correspondents were workers and activists, who acted as spokespersons for the movement in their local area.<sup>128</sup> In areas which did not sustain a periodical, the link between the correspondent and a publishing group was the prime means through which anarchists communicated with the wider movement. This meant that anarchist periodicals were never simply 'local' papers. Each one aspired to forge links across the whole of Spain, and contain content which was relevant to anarchists everywhere. Papers would regularly travel hundreds of miles to reach their readership; for example, *La Protesta*, based in La Línea de la Concepción – a town on the southern coast of Andalucía, on the

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<sup>123</sup> 'Importante,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 84, (07/12/1895), 3; 'Atropello inaudito,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 213, (16/01/1896), 1; *Extracto del estado de cuentas de El Progreso*, (18/11/1896), 1.

<sup>124</sup> Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 23-28.

<sup>125</sup> For example the 'Germinal' group in Gijón, which produced *Acción Libertaria*, which included Mella, Eleuterio Quintanilla and Pedro Sierra Alvarez amongst their number.

<sup>126</sup> 'Noticias varias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 197, (17/01/1895), 4; notice in *La Voz del Obrero del Mar*, (Cádiz), II, 9, (30/04/1908), 1.

<sup>127</sup> See apology that a number of articles had not been published to make space for an article by Mella, in 'Noticias varias,' *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 42, (25/05/1900), 4. See also criticism of material sent to paper in 'Noticias,' *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 13, (21/01/1905), 4; 15, (18/02/1905), 4; 19, (15/04/1905), 4. A particularly strong rebuke to correspondents, which suggested that they attempted to blackmail publishers, can be found in N. Dezmenjés, [José Menéndez?], 'Reflexiones' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 12, (03/02/1911), 1.

<sup>128</sup> See call for correspondents in 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 55, (02/06/1900), 3.

border with Gibraltar – was sent to over 80 different villages, towns and cities in the space of a year, travelling as far as Bilbao (506 miles), Mahón (582 miles), Dowlais (South Wales; 1,081 miles), New York (3,636 miles) and Buenos Aires (5,971 miles) [see Map 0.2]. Because of their reach amongst working-class communities in Spain and their presence in migrant communities in Europe and Latin America, a number of papers were asked for help in practical, day-to-day issues, such as locating estranged family members and friends.<sup>129</sup>

The flow of information between publishers and correspondents ran both ways. As well as acting as stringers, correspondents (also named *paqueteros*) received and distributed papers in their local area. This could be done by hand, or through a workers' centre or kiosk. These sites were important focal points for anarchist communities, acting as information hubs and places of socialisation.<sup>130</sup> Distributing information could also involve reading papers to others. In 1900, an average of 63.8 per cent of Spanish adults were illiterate, a figure which was more acute amongst women, and amongst the working-class constituencies that anarchists sought to reach.<sup>131</sup> Yet this was not as serious a barrier to anarchist publishers as might be assumed.<sup>132</sup> Reading newspapers aloud was a popular communal practice in Spain throughout the nineteenth century, which gave all papers a wider audience than would be expected from their modest print runs and the limited literacy of their audience.<sup>133</sup> With this in mind, it is assumed – although near impossible to prove – that the audience for anarchist papers was 5-15 times larger than the number they printed.<sup>134</sup> Reading periodicals, books and pamphlets aloud also fostered anarchist sociability, creating bonds between the audience and reader through political texts. It gave illiterate and semi-literate workers the chance to engage with the ideas of the movement, and invited their 'commentary, criticism and debate,' which was welcomed by anarchist authors and editors.<sup>135</sup> The task of reading anarchist papers to others would be undertaken by literate individuals, most often the local correspondent.<sup>136</sup> The readings often took place at public meetings and smaller gatherings in centres, as observed by the reformist commentator

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<sup>129</sup> For example see: 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 96, (16/03/1901), 4; 'Notas sueltas,' *Nueva Aurora*, (Málaga), 1, (18/06/1909), 4; 'Mesa revuelta: Noticias varias,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 11, (27/01/1911), 4.

<sup>130</sup> For example, the kiosk 'El Sol' in La Coruña run by local correspondent Enrique Taboada: 'Movimiento social: La Coruña,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 133, (30/11/1901), 4; 'Notas sueltas,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 3, (09/01/1904), 3; see also 'Noticias,' *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 11, (24/12/1904), 4, in which comrades in Pontevedra (Galicia) were told to write to the kiosk if they had any information on a local comrade's father who had gone missing. On Taboada see also Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 348.

<sup>131</sup> Ortiz Jr., 'Redefining public education,' 76.

<sup>132</sup> A. García Maroto, *La mujer en la prensa anarquista: España, 1900-1936*, (Madrid, 1996), 234.

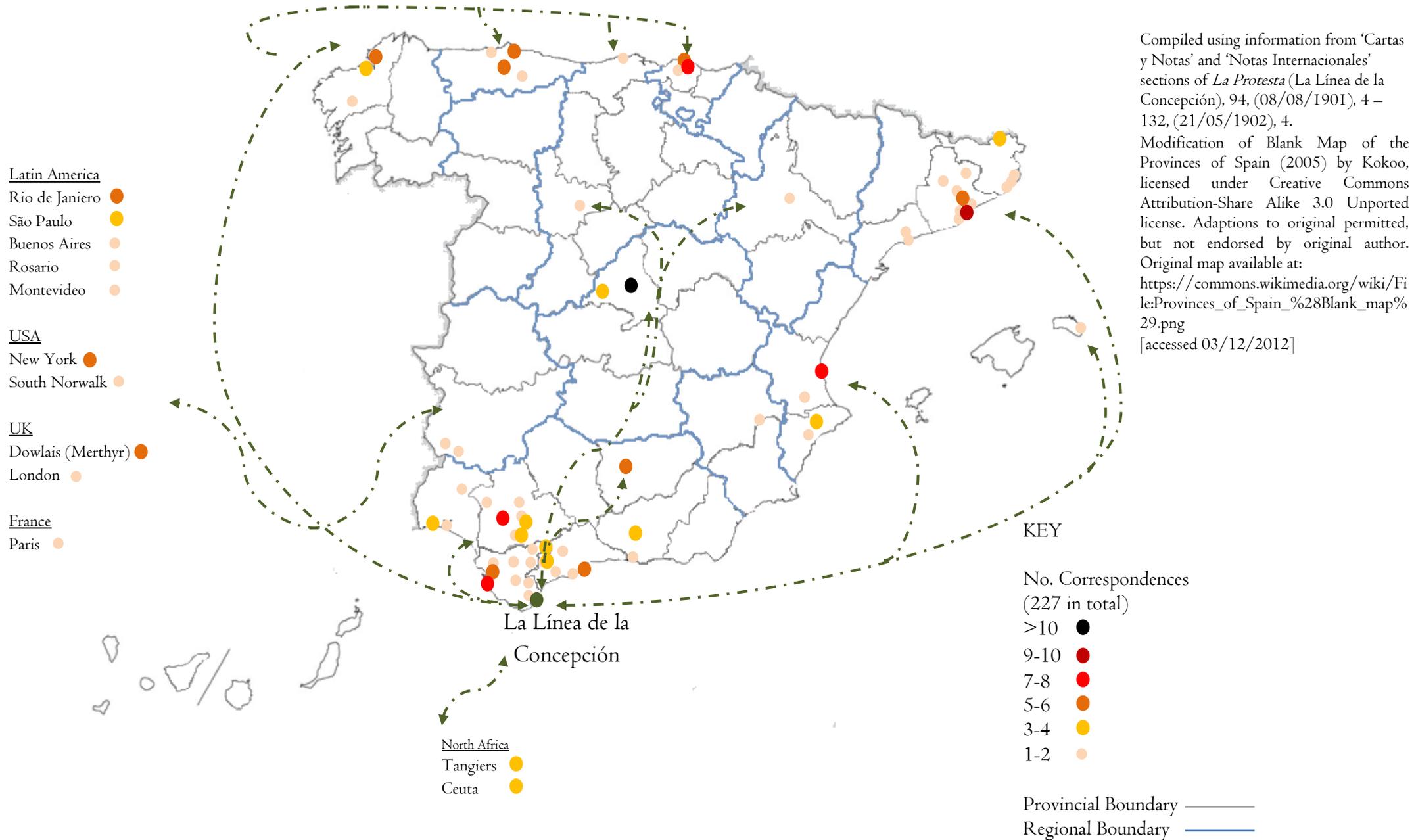
<sup>133</sup> Seoane, *Oratoria y periodismo*, 7-18. Compare with relationship between oral and print culture in 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain, Thompson, 'Class struggle,' 153

<sup>134</sup> M. Laffranque, 'Juan Montseny y los intelectuales: 1899-1905,' *Anthropos*, 78, (1987), 42.

<sup>135</sup> See R. Chartier, 'Leisure and sociability: Reading aloud in modern Europe,' S. Zimmerman and R. Weissman, (eds.), *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, (London, 1988), 103-120, at 107.

<sup>136</sup> See reports of readings of *La Protesta* (Valladolid) in Sevilla: 'Movimiento obrero,' 26, (26/01/1900), 3 and 'Adhesiones,' 28, (09/02/1900), 4.

Map 0.2: Distribution of *La Protesta* (La Línea de la Concepción), 1901 –1902



Compiled using information from 'Cartas y Notas' and 'Notas Internacionales' sections of *La Protesta* (La Línea de la Concepción), 94, (08/08/1901), 4 – 132, (21/05/1902), 4.

Modification of Blank Map of the Provinces of Spain (2005) by Kokoo, licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Adaptions to original permitted, but not endorsed by original author. Original map available at: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces\\_of\\_Spain\\_%28Blank\\_map%29.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces_of_Spain_%28Blank_map%29.png) [accessed 03/12/2012]

Ramiro de Maeztu in 1901:

These books, pamphlets and periodicals are not read in the manner of others...the reader of anarchist works – generally a worker – does not have a library, nor buys books for himself. [I have] witnessed the reading of *The Conquest of Bread* in a workers' centre. In a room dimly lit by a candle, up to fourteen workers met every night of the winter. One of them reads laboriously, the others listen...I have also witnessed the reading of the Bible in a puritan household. The impression was identical.<sup>137</sup>

Papers could also be read during working hours, where 'teams of workers would divide labour so that one of them would be free to read anarchist literature'.<sup>138</sup> Thus the texts of the anarchist press were not static. Their creators did not want them to 'gather dust' on shelves or be dispensed with once they were read.<sup>139</sup> Instead they 'lived' through repeated communal readings, which ensured that anarchist papers could reach a much greater audience than the poor levels of literacy in Spain would suggest was possible.<sup>140</sup> Through the correspondent-reader, the printed word became the spoken word.<sup>141</sup> This process was assisted by the language and structure of many articles in the press. The page-long paragraphs, repetition and rhetorical devices within anarchist writing make them trying for a solitary reader, yet when spoken aloud they come to life. This is particularly noticeable when articles ended with capitalised phrases such as 'VIVA LA ANARQUIA! VIVA LA REVOLUCION SOCIAL!', designed to elicit a call-and-response style climax to a reading.<sup>142</sup>

Correspondents were also responsible for collecting money for publishing groups. The most common price for a single issue was 5 céntimos, a small but significant sum for unemployed and badly paid individuals with little or no disposable income.<sup>143</sup> The only exception were anarcho-communist publications, which were funded by voluntary donations. The communist view was that periodicals should be as accessible as possible, even at the risk of increased ephemerality. 'When will those comrades [other anarchist papers]...understand' – asked the anarcho-communist *La Controversia* – 'that no pamphlet nor periodical, being edited by anarchists, should be sold nor

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<sup>137</sup> R. de Maeztu, 'El ideal anarquista en España: 1,' *El Imparcial*, (Madrid), 12,442, (28/11/1901), 3.

<sup>138</sup> Á. Herrero López, 'Anarchist sociability in Spain: In times of violence and clandestinity,' *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, 38.1, (2013), 163. A very similar practice is recounted in the memoirs of Puerto Rican activist Jesús Colón in *A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, New York, NY, 1982), ix.

<sup>139</sup> A. Arranz, 'Juicios sindicalistas: I,' *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 121, (10/01/1914), 4.

<sup>140</sup> See Chartier, 'Texts, printing, readings,' 161: 'no text exists outside of the support that enables it to be read,' also cited in E.A. Sanabria, *Republicanism and Anticlerical Nationalism in Spain*, (New York, NY, 2009), 116.

<sup>141</sup> O'Connor, *Crime at El Escorial*, 29-30; Ortiz Jr., *Paper Liberals*, 56.

<sup>142</sup> Compare with 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish texts in Chartier, 'Leisure and sociability,' 104.

<sup>143</sup> See Tavera, 'La prensa anarco-sindicalista,' 101, n.77 which cites a Barcelona worker who sacrificed his daily coffee to buy *Solidaridad Obrera*. Journal-style papers were usually a little more expensive, and a few 4-page periodicals were priced at 10 céntimos.

bought, but that each one, *according to their forces*, should assist in propaganda?’<sup>144</sup> For the majority of papers which did charge, correspondents would receive a discount for making bulk orders, which would often be sent by the publishing group prior to receiving payment. Correspondents were also responsible for collecting money for the solidarity funds managed by anarchist papers, set up to provide assistance for anarchist strikers, prisoners and widows of former comrades. These collections would be made at workplaces and during social events, such as meetings, plays, marriages and funerals, in the manner of a Catholic offertory.<sup>145</sup>

The numerous roles entrusted to correspondents made them crucial in maintaining the networks of anarchist print culture.<sup>146</sup> They were the ‘nodes’ through which the anarchist press was channelled into localities, and the thoughts, experiences and money from localities were channelled out to the press. Their literacy and connections gave them a position of authority and influence within the movement at large, making them focal points and ‘informal elites’ at the local level.<sup>147</sup> On a national level, publishing groups gave the movement a semblance of coherence which was lacking in its fissiparous ideology. Just as correspondents controlled the flow of information and finances in their locality, publishing groups acted as the ‘supernodes,’ directing the workings of the movement across Spain. Publishing houses also established strong links with one another.<sup>148</sup> When a new paper was launched it would be sent to all other anarchist papers in Spain, and would usually continue to send issues until the paper went out of print. These bonds were particularly important for smaller papers, which relied upon well-established titles for exposure and distribution. Since larger papers were relatively stable and published regularly, they could maintain a flow of information between more erratic titles and their readership, for example by informing publishers of changes to orders from distributors. Publishing groups expected reciprocity, and would often comment if they felt that another group neglected them. Relations between papers were underpinned by a sense of duty to support one another, which was, in theory, seen as more important than potential ideological or personal disagreements between editors. This system added a layer of structure to the movement, uniting the movement’s press through mutual exchange. Bonds between papers also extended beyond Spain, to the larger anarchist papers in Europe and the Americas. Indeed, the extensive collection of

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<sup>144</sup> ‘A los redactores de *La Controversia*’ *Suplemento al núm. 3 de “La Controversia”*, (01/07/1893), 1; ‘Bibliografía,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 4, (19/08/1893), 6-7. *La Controversia* also felt that it had been slighted by *La Anarquía* as the latter failed to publicise the former’s forthcoming publication, see ‘Mosaico,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 1, (03/06/1893), 5. See response to *La Controversia* in ‘Aclaración conveniente,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 143, (09/06/1893), 4.

<sup>145</sup> Herrerín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 166.

<sup>146</sup> An apt analogy of their position within the movement is given by Cumbers et al. in their discussion of ‘imagineers’ in contemporary translocal movements and networks, ‘The entangled geographies,’ 196.

<sup>147</sup> C. Bantman, ‘Internationalism without an international? Cross-channel anarchist networks, 1880-1914,’ *Revue Belge de Philologie & d’Histoire*, 84.4, (2006), 969-970; Cumbers et al., ‘The entangled geographies,’ 189; McFarlane, ‘Translocal assemblages,’ 566. See also examination of asymmetrical power relationships between media and movements in W. Gamson and G. Wolfsfeld, ‘Movements and media as interacting systems,’ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528, (1993), 114-125.

<sup>148</sup> Influential activists as ‘nodes’ and ‘supernodes’: J. King, ‘The packet gang,’ cited in Cumbers et al., ‘The entangled geographies,’ 190.

the movement's press in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam is largely based on papers sent from Spain to titles such as *Freedom* (London) and *Les Temps Nouveaux* (Paris) and subsequently archived, and not from the generally poorly-conserved collections from within Spain. Some papers also maintained exchanges with *El Socialista*, even those which were publically critical of the socialist movement. Such links usually only became apparent when they broke down, as in 1902, when ties between *La Protesta* and *El Socialista* were severed after 'many years' of exchange, which had hitherto endured in spite of the deep antagonism between the editors Ernesto Álvarez and Pablo Iglesias.<sup>149</sup>

Anarchist print culture had a hierarchy, based on the standing of publishers and the papers they produced. Despite the exchange system within the press, smaller papers, managed by relatively unknown anarchists were often largely ignored, particularly at times when there was an abundance of periodicals in print. In contrast, larger, well-established papers drew respect, as did those associated with the elites of anarchist print culture, such as the Federico Urales, Soledad Gustavo, Anselmo Lorenzo, Fermín Salvochea, Ricardo Mella and José Prat. Many of these papers were based in Barcelona, for example *El Productor*, *Tierra y Libertad* (post-1906) and *Solidaridad Obrera*. Yet from 1890-1915 papers such as *La Anarquía* (Madrid), *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), *El Corsario* (La Coruña), *La Protesta* (Valladolid-Sabadell-La Línea de la Concepción), *Acción Libertaria* (Gijón), and, in particular, *La Revista Blanca* and *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca* (Madrid) all claimed a readership and influence which matched that of their contemporaries in Barcelona. These elite publishing groups had links with hundreds of localities in Spain and drew contributions from leading figures in international anarchist circles. Larger papers connected anarchists in Spain, Europe and the Americas and were the first to bring new works and ideas to the movement. They were also the central points of national solidarity campaigns, which often raised thousands of pesetas for the cause. When such papers offered interpretations of theory and suggested new directions for the movement, it was as close to an 'official' statement as was possible. Yet this elite position was also fragile. The anti-hierarchical premise of anarchism ensured that no single voice could legitimately claim to be the undisputed mouthpiece of the movement. Disputes regularly erupted within and between publishing groups, leading to splits and the creation of rival papers. Even the most prominent individuals in the movement could be ostracised and lose their links to the wider movement, as happened to the 'Urales family' publishing group in 1904 (see Chapter 2).

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<sup>149</sup> 'Noticias varias,' *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 121, (15/02/02), 4. The animosity between Álvarez and Iglesias was based on personal as well as political grievances. It is probable that Álvarez and Iglesias had known each other professionally since the 1880s (Iglesias was a prominent member and later president of the Spanish typographers' association, which was Álvarez's profession), where they may have disagreed over politics. Yet the root of their most bitter dispute appears to stem from 1891, when Iglesias had called Álvarez a *canalla* ('scoundrel') in *El Socialista*. Álvarez responded by challenging Iglesias to a duel, which was only averted by the latter's apology. See J. Álvarez Junco, *The Emergence of Mass Politics in Spain: Populist Demagoguery and Republican Culture, 1890-1910*, (Brighton, 2002), 15. From this point until Álvarez's death both parties frequently insulted one another in the pages of their respective newspapers. It was, however, only in 1902 that Álvarez's group stopped receiving *El Socialista*.

Fragilities ran throughout the system. Papers of all sizes frequently collapsed, with few lasting beyond a handful of issues. The average lifespan of a paper in non-Catalan Spain was roughly 21 issues per title (compared to 31 in Cataluña) [see Table 0.1]. Even this small ratio is skewed by a few exceptional titles such as *El Porvenir del Obrero* (Mahón), which produced 413 issues over two epochs from 1899-1915. In contrast, papers in Andalucía collapsed far more readily. 53 periodicals were produced in the region in this period – the highest number outside Cataluña – yet managed an average of only six issues per title. Financial difficulties were endemic to anarchist papers and the most common cause of their collapse. Unless they were linked to some form of external funding, such as a wealthy backer (which was very rare) or membership fees from a local workers’ society, papers were constantly in debt. In order to break even, papers usually had to secure a print run of around 4,000 copies per issue.<sup>150</sup> Although the majority of papers in Spain did not publish their sales, it can be assumed that most did not reach this figure. Those that did publish their sales and balance reveal a common theme, with printing costs outstripping income from sale for every issue, resulting in a steadily growing deficit.<sup>151</sup> Many papers tried to plug this gap by opening up separate donation funds ‘for the life of the periodical,’ which rarely worked. A few papers did manage to reach and/or surpass this figure, for example the *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca* which at its peak claimed to distribute 15,000 copies. Those that reached a stable print run of at least 4,000 had a much larger distribution than anarchist papers in other countries. According to their respective delegates at the 1907 International Anarchist Congress, *Freiheit* (New York) published around 3,000 copies, *Der Anarchist* (Berlin) around 1,800 and *Freedom* (London) around 1,500.<sup>152</sup>

Anarchist papers were also reliant on their correspondents. Every paper, large or small, had correspondents who did not pay for the papers they received. *El Rebelde*, which claimed a healthy readership of around 8,000, was one of many papers that collapsed as a result of correspondents failing to wire over money from sales.<sup>153</sup> A similar problem affected *Acción Libertaria* (Madrid), which at the time of closure was distributing 5- 6,000 copies of each issue.<sup>154</sup> These ‘bad comrades’ were seen as ‘the principal cause of the disappearance of [the anarchist press]’ and ‘vampires,’ who

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<sup>150</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 36-38.

<sup>151</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 7, (03/02/1900), 4 and 8, (17/02/1900), 4; ‘Cuentas de *Nueva Aurora*,’ *Nueva Aurora*, (Málaga), 2, (30/06/1909), 3; ‘Balance mensual,’ *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 4, (03/12/1909), 2 and 8, (07/01/1910), 3; ‘Balance,’ *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 2, (27/11/1909), 2 and 3, (12/12/1909), 2; ‘Administración de *El Látigo*,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 8, (14/12/1912), 3-4 and 25, (16/01/1914), 4.

<sup>152</sup> *The International Anarchist Congress Held at the Plancius Hall, Amsterdam on August 26th-31st, 1907*, (London, 1907), 3-7. These figures also demonstrate the wider spread of anarchist publications in Spain compared to other countries, as the papers cited were in most cases the only anarchist publication in print, whereas in Spain there were often several papers of this size in print at the same time.

<sup>153</sup> ‘Nuestra situación: A todos los anarquistas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 53, (12/01/1905), 1. See also ‘Ecos y comentarios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 292, (22/02/1907), 4 on the collapse of *Via Libre* (Zaragoza). See also Díaz del Moral, *Historia*, 186, n.8.

<sup>154</sup> ‘Entre nosotros,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 31, (19/12/1913), 4.

preyed upon the goodwill of publishers in order to make money.<sup>155</sup> In response, papers constantly published calls for correspondents to pay their dues.<sup>156</sup> If these calls went unheeded, subscriptions were cancelled and threats were made to publish the names of non-paying correspondents.<sup>157</sup> These threats were occasionally carried out, publically branding such correspondents as untrustworthy ‘crooks’ in an attempt to blacklist them from their colleagues and other papers.<sup>158</sup>

Anarchist papers were also exposed to a range of external pressures. Their reliance on the official postal system (*Correos*) was the source of many frustrations. Although postal workers were occasionally seen as fellow workers, they were also frequently accused of stealing from letters. Many papers advised correspondents to wire over money rather than risk it in the post.<sup>159</sup> Ernesto Álvarez – editor of *La Anarquía*, *La Idea Libre* and *La Protesta* – was particularly critical of the *Correos*, labelling them as slow, careless and dishonest. At one point he sardonically wondered if ‘Jerez were in the Congo’ after a package of papers arrived there from Madrid four weeks late, and a decade later he claimed that a donkey would be quicker than Spanish mail trains.<sup>160</sup> More serious problems also resulted from the *Correos*. All post directed to anarchist papers was subject to interception by authorities.<sup>161</sup> Papers were often aware that their post was being read – many letters arrived showing clear signs of having been opened – suggesting that interception was as much about intimidating anarchist publishers as gaining information on the movement.<sup>162</sup> In some cases this appears to have worked; *El Libertario*, for example, decided to write a handwritten note on its final copy to one correspondent, advising against using the paper’s title in correspondence as they knew their post was being read.<sup>163</sup>

In theory, anarchist papers operated within a relatively tolerant legal context. The 1883 Press Law established freedom of expression in print, relaxing the restrictive publishing climate of the early Restoration.<sup>164</sup> In practice, however, the anarchist press was persecuted with ‘rigour and severity’.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> ‘Mesa revuelta,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 5, (16/12/1910), 4; ‘Movimiento social: Cádiz,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 209, (14/05/1903), 3;

<sup>156</sup> See repeated calls for debts to be settled in ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 58, (23/06/1900), 2; 64, (04/08/1900), 3; 65, (11/08/1900), 4; 66, (18/08/1900), 2.

<sup>157</sup> ‘Noticias sueltas,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 19, (25/06/1910), 4.

<sup>158</sup> ‘Noticias y comunicaciones,’ *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 18, (07/12/1912), 4; ‘Mesa revuelta: Avisos de administración,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 11, (27/01/1911), 4.

<sup>159</sup> ‘¡Correos!,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 36, (05/01/1895), 2; ‘Ojo, ojo, mucho ojo,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 8, (08/07/1899), 4; ‘Noticias,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 9, (11/03/1900), 4; ‘Advertencias importantes,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 3, (09/01/1904), 3.

<sup>160</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 17, (25/08/1894), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 88, (22/06/1901), 4. See also ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 48, (07/08/1892), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 4, (26/05/1894), 4; 15, (13/08/1894), 3; ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (Sabadell), 57, (15/09/1900), 4; ‘Aclaración necesaria,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 108, (14/11/1901), 3-4.

<sup>161</sup> ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 122, (14/09/1901), 4.

<sup>162</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 8, (12/11/1904), 4.

<sup>163</sup> Note, *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 6, (20/02/1910), 3. See also ‘Para nosotros,’ *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 5, (10/01/1910), 1.

<sup>164</sup> Seoane, *Oratoria y periodismo*, 398-399; C. Soria, ‘La ley española de policía de imprenta de 1883,’ *Documentación de las Ciencias de la Información*, 6, (1982), 21-23; Ortiz Jr., *Paper Liberals*, 5.

Publishers were denounced to local authorities on a regular basis, particularly if they celebrated violent activity or criticised members of the Church, military, and politicians. If successfully prosecuted, papers were not censored, but rather the entire issue would be stalled, or, preferably, the paper would be forced to close. At times papers appeared to revel in hostile attention. *El Rebelde*, for example, printed a regular section named ‘Our Denouncements’ (which reached number 35 within 50 issues), signing off each one with a glib ‘until next time’.<sup>166</sup> While denouncements may have demonstrated that a paper was being combative and subversive – as an anarchist publication should be – more often than not they drained the already limited funds of publishing groups, and hastened, if not directly caused, the collapse of a paper.

While papers could survive the attentions of hostile authorities in normal circumstances, very few managed to weather periods when constitutional guarantees – including press freedoms – were suspended. The most prolonged period of this kind came in the mid-1890s, when the public practice of anarchism was prohibited. By late 1896 every anarchist paper in Spain had closed. Similar, although briefer and less intense periods of repression followed in 1906, 1909 and 1911. Some of these were direct closures: editors were imprisoned, offices searched and materials were seized. Correspondence lists were often confiscated and used to identify prominent activists across the country. Almost as problematic were the indirect results of repression, which severed the networks binding publishing groups to the wider movement, starving their papers of funds and readers.

All of these problems ensured that the vast majority of anarchist periodicals were acutely ephemeral. Yet they were not disposable, transitory, or insignificant. Anarchist papers were treasured by their readers, preserved in complete collections in homes, centres and workplaces, to be returned to for multiple readings.<sup>167</sup> The presence of printed material ascribed local anarchist centres with an anarchist significance and meaning, transforming rooms and other spaces into ‘libraries’.<sup>168</sup> Requests frequently came in to newspapers for back issues so that a group constructing a library had a complete collection on offer to those visiting.<sup>169</sup> Again, Ramiro de Maeztu gives a good sense of the way in which anarchist print was treated by its readers:

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<sup>165</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 44-50.

<sup>166</sup> ‘Nuestras denuncias: La treinta y cinco,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 50, (01/12/1904), 3.

<sup>167</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 50-51.

<sup>168</sup> Goyens, ‘Social space,’ 451-452; Herrérín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 164.

<sup>169</sup> For one example of such a request see ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 81, (12/04/1901), 4; see also ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 79, (17/11/1900), 4; I. Ibarra, ‘Grupo “Sociología”,’ *La Protesta*, (Madrid), 2, (11/08/1901), 3.

One reads an infinitely larger number of ‘bourgeois’ periodicals, but in these it is the present which occupies everything, and that which happens today is followed by that of tomorrow...the interest is entirely fleeting. This is not the case with anarchist periodicals...the influence of these publications outlives their death...I know of many men who conserve a complete collection of issues. How many [bourgeois] weeklies could you say that about?<sup>170</sup>

Anarchist print thus had significance and longevity which marked it out from the more disposable, mainstream press. It provided the movement with an ‘institutional memory’: a body of texts containing ideas, events and narratives, which provided a reference point in future years.<sup>171</sup> Print collections thus served to militate against the problems experienced by anarchist publishers in maintaining long-running publications, ensuring a lasting significance for each paper published.

From 1890 to 1915, nothing was as central to or as representative of anarchism in Spain as the periodical press. These were the ‘revealed words’ of the movement; the carriers of the ideas which gave meaning to the anarchist experience and guided almost every significant development of this period.<sup>172</sup> Those who created, distributed and contributed to this print culture sustained the movement for a quarter of a century, forming a flexible, fragile, and surprisingly durable structure, upon which anarchism in Spain reformed and expanded.

### Thesis Outline

This thesis follows the development of three strategies adopted within the movement between 1890 and 1915, through three thematic and chronological chapters. The first chapter focuses on the theme of violence. Between 1890 and 1898 anarchism in Spain became entangled with violence, particularly after 1893 and the advent of ‘propaganda by the deed’ (terrorism, which was designed to shock the working class into revolutionary action). This development was extremely damaging for the movement, which was targeted with severe, violent repression from the state.<sup>173</sup> The violence of these years is the most commonly studied aspect of the pre-CNT anarchist movement in Spain.<sup>174</sup> Such

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<sup>170</sup> R. de Maeztu, ‘El ideal anarquista en España: 1,’ *El Imparcial*, (Madrid), 12,442, (28/11/1901), 3.

<sup>171</sup> C. Linde, ‘The transformation of narrative syntax into institutional memory,’ *Narrative Inquiry*, 9.1, (1999), 139-174.

<sup>172</sup> Morales Muñoz, *Cultura e ideología*, 123.

<sup>173</sup> G. Rojas Sánchez, ‘Legislación sobre asociaciones anarquistas en España: 1890-1910,’ *Revista Chilena de Derecho*, 8, (1981), 76-77.

<sup>174</sup> R. Núñez Florencio, *El terrorismo anarquista, 1888-1909*, (Madrid, 1983); F. Fernández, *La sangre de Santa Águeda: Angiolillo, Betances y Cánovas*, (Miami, 1994); Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*; J. Avilés Farré *La daga y la dinamita: Los anarquistas y el nacimiento del terrorismo*, (Barcelona, 2013). On repression see E. González Calleja, *La razón de la fuerza: Orden público, subversión y violencia política en la España de la Restauración (1875-1917)*, (Madrid, 1998); A. Dalmau, *El procés de Montjuïc: Barcelona a final del segle XIX*,

works are drawn to exceptional, unrepresentative figures, whose actions were largely confined to Barcelona, yet the effect of violence upon the wider movement remains understudied.<sup>175</sup> This first chapter seeks to re-examine the role of violence within the anarchist movement, exploring how anarchists constructed different meanings of popular, individual and state violence. Away from Barcelona, these debates took place primarily in print, and reveal the movement's heterogeneous response to violence as a revolutionary strategy. Examination of the press also reveals how publishing groups attempted – and ultimately failed – to respond effectively to repression, through the construction of a martyr culture, and by providing the practical means to foster solidarity with their comrades in Cataluña.

The second chapter addresses the revival of the movement and its adoption of education as a revolutionary strategy. From 1899 to 1906 anarchist cultural practices flourished, driven in large part by a dramatic expansion of the movement's periodical press. This chapter uses the press as the site of common ground between the numerous works on anarchist culture and education, which have proliferated in the historiography of the movement since the early 1980s.<sup>176</sup> Studies of education in this period have long focused almost exclusively on Cataluña, above all on the pioneering anarchist educator Francisco Ferrer and his Escuela Moderna in Barcelona. The weight of Ferrer's legacy is such that it finds its way into almost every discussion of anarchist educational projects at this time.<sup>177</sup> This chapter seeks to situate Ferrer and anarchist educational theory within the broader movement. In doing so it touches upon ideas of anarchist spaces and sociability, which have hitherto focused largely on Cataluña – above all in the numerous works of Pére Solà – or later periods.<sup>178</sup> Outside Cataluña,

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(Barcelona, 2010) and 'La oleada de violencia en la Barcelona de 1904-08,' *Ayer*, 85.1, (2012), 157-173. On violence in later periods see J. Casanova, *Anarquismo y violencia política en la España del siglo XX*, (Zaragoza, 2007).

<sup>175</sup> A similar tendency is evident in studies of later terrorist attacks and the movement's relationship with Tragic Week of 1909, for example see Dalmau, *El cas Rull* and *Siete días de furia*; D. Marín Silvestre, *La Semana Trágica: Barcelona en llamas, la revuelta popular y la Escuela Moderna*, (Madrid, 2009); E. Masjuan, *Un héroe trágico del anarquismo español: Mateo Morral, 1879-1906*, (Barcelona, 2009).

<sup>176</sup> The turn towards cultural and social features of the movement was epitomised, and in many ways inspired by J. Álvarez Junco and M. Pérez Ledesma, 'Historia del movimiento obrero: ¿Una segunda ruptura?,' *Revista de Occidente*, 12, (1982), 19-41. See also R Cleminson, *Anarquismo y sexualidad en España (1900-1939)*, (Cádiz, 2008), 19-30.

<sup>177</sup> P. Solà i Gussinyer, 'El honor de los estados y los juicios paralelos en el Caso Ferrer Guardia: Un cuarto de siglo de historiografía sobre la "Escuela Moderna" de Barcelona,' *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 26, (2004), 49-75. Broad introductions to anarchist education include: Boyd, 'The anarchists and education,' and F.J. Cuevas Noa, *Anarquismo y educación: La propuesta sociopolítica de la pedagogía libertaria*, (Madrid, 2003). The only comparable work on education outside Cataluña has been conducted on the Escuela Moderna of Valencia, see L.M. Lázaro Lorente, *La Escuela Moderna de Valencia*, (Valencia, 1989) and *Las escuelas racionalistas en el país valenciano, (1906-1931)*, (Valencia, 1992).

<sup>178</sup> P. Solà i Gussinyer, 'Els ateneus populars,' *L'Avenç*, 9, (October 1978), 31-35; 'Acerca del modelo asociativo de culturización popular de la Restauración,' J.L. Guereña, and A. Tiana Ferrer, (eds.), *Clases populares, cultura, educación: Siglos XIX-XX*, (Madrid, 1989), 393-402; *Historia de l'associacionisme català contemporani: Barcelona i comarques de la seva demarcació: 1874-1966*, (Barcelona, 1994); *Itineraris per la sociabilitat meridional catalane: L'associacionisme i la cultura popular a la demarcació de Tarragona (1868-1964)*, (Tarragona, 1998). See also P. Gabriel, 'Sociabilidad obrera y popular y vida política en Cataluña, 1868-1923,' *Bulletin d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Espagne*, 17-18, (1993), 145-156. Studies based in the Second Republic include: F. Bernalte, *La cultura anarquista en la República y la Guerra Civil: Los ateneos libertarios*

the history of anarchist cultural and spatial practice in the early twentieth century has largely been absorbed into wider studies of working class culture, and the focus has often rested on specific regions – particularly Asturias – and the socialist movement.<sup>179</sup> This second chapter also engages with the early development of anarcho-feminism, which has previously been mentioned only as a prelude to studies of the ‘Mujeres Libres’ feminist group of the 1930s.<sup>180</sup> Aside from a handful of works by Litvak, Brey, Lida and others, anarchist art, literature, poetry and theatre in this period also remain understudied, particularly in recent years.<sup>181</sup> One area which has been examined in depth is anarchist attitudes to sexuality and neo-Malthusian ideas of birth and population control, above all in the work of Richard Cleminson, which acknowledges its geographical focus on Cataluña.<sup>182</sup> Likewise, the evolutionist rhetoric within anarchist ideology has been thoroughly examined by Girón Sierra.<sup>183</sup> In both of these areas, however, the focus has centred largely on the history and evolution of ideas, while uptake within the wider movement has been of secondary concern. The periodical press was the site where all of these ideas and practices came together, allowing for an examination of how these aspects of the anarchist cultural programme integrated and interacted with the movement. Print carried anarchism into new areas, and helped in the establishment of cultural spaces and schools which, in turn, formed the foundations of the movement in localities across the whole of Spain. At the same time, periodicals maintained communications between these areas, providing a structure to the movement as it re-established its presence as a national entity.

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*de Madrid*, (Madrid, 1991); J. Navarro Navarro, *Ateneos y grupos ácratas: Vida y actividad cultural de las asociaciones anarquistas valencianas durante la Segunda República y la Guerra Civil*, (Valencia, 2002) and *A la revolución por la cultura: Prácticas culturales y sociabilidad libertarias en el País Valenciano, 1931-1939*, (Valencia, 2004).

<sup>179</sup> X. Motilla Salas, ‘Bases bibliográficas para una historia de la sociabilidad, el asociacionismo y la educación en la España contemporánea,’ *Historia de la educación: Revista interuniversitaria*, 31, (2012), 339-358.

See, for example, F. Villacorta Baños, *El ateneo de Madrid (1885-1912)*, (Madrid, 1985); M. Morales Muñoz, ‘Asociaciones obreras de instrucción en Málaga (1892-1919),’ J.L. Guereña, and A. Tiana Ferrer, (eds.), *Clases populares, cultura, educación: Siglos XIX-XX*, (Madrid, 1989), 403-437; J. Uría, *Una historia social del ocio: Asturias 1898-1914*, (Madrid, 1996); J.L. Guereña, *Sociabilidad, cultura y educación en Asturias bajo la Restauración (1875-1900)*, (Oviedo, 2005).

<sup>180</sup> Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, which does give some sense of the earlier developments in this sphere. See also J.M. Montero Barrado, *Anarcofeminismo en España: La Revista Mujeres Libres antes de la Guerra Civil*, (Madrid, 2003); O. Baigorria, (ed.), *Amor (el) libre: Eros y anarquía*, (Tafalla, 2010); E. Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias: Mujeres Libertarias durante la República, la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo*, (Barcelona, 2010); Prado, *Escritoras anarco-feministas*.

<sup>181</sup> C. Lida, ‘Literatura anarquista y anarquismo literario,’ *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 19.2 (1970), 360-381; L. Litvak, *Musa Libretaria* and *El Cuento Anarquista*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Madrid, 2003); Brey, ‘Ideología y acontecimiento,’ 43-57; Aubert et al., *Anarquismo y poesía*; W.K. Glöckner, ‘Sean mis versos bombas que estallen a los pies del ídolo: La poesía como forma de “acción directa”,’ B. Hofmann, P. Joan i Tous, and M. Tietz, (eds.), *El anarquismo español y sus tradiciones culturales*, (Frankfurt/Madrid, 1995), 129-138; J.L. Ramos-Gorostiza, ‘Socio-economic utopianism in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century: *La Nueva Utopía* by Ricardo Mella,’ *Utopian Studies*, 20.1, (2009), 5-39.

<sup>182</sup> R. Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex: Eugenics in Eastern Spain, 1900-1937*, (Oxford, 2000) and *Anarquismo y sexualidad*.

See also J. Navarro Navarro, ‘Anarquismo y neomaltusianismo: La revista *Generación Consciente* (1923-1928),’ *Arbor*, 156.615, (1997), 9-32.

<sup>183</sup> A. Girón Sierra, *Evolucionismo y anarquismo en España, 1882-1914*, (Madrid, 1996). See also M. Iñiguez, *Anarquismo y naturismo: El caso de Isaac Punte*, (Vitoria, 2004).

The third and final chapter analyses the developments in anarchist organisational strategy and the creation of the CNT, from 1907 to 1915. Perhaps surprisingly, the adoption of syndicalism within Spanish anarchism and the formation of the CNT – particularly on a national level – have drawn little attention since the seminal studies of Xavier Cuadrat and Antonio Bar. Once again, these scholars (and the few which have followed them) have focused on the movement’s epicentre in Barcelona, and the internal politics of the early CNT leadership.<sup>184</sup> Very few studies have focused on how syndicalism was regarded elsewhere, how it was presented in relation to previous organisational theories, the contingencies in the development of the CNT, or the early resistance to the organisation. Examination of the periodicals of this period provides a sense of the cultural formation of syndicalism within the anarchist movement outside Cataluña. The anarchist press was vital in the process of promoting – and, in some cases, resisting – the spread of syndicalism and in bringing disparate groups together to assist in the creation of the CNT, firstly in its inaugural congresses in 1910 and 1911, and again during the early years of the First World War. The thesis ends with a symbolic milestone for the movement and its press, when the CNT’s official organ, *Solidaridad Obrera*, was transformed into the movement’s first stable daily publication in 1916, leading to a contraction and centralisation of the hitherto pluralised and fragmented anarchist print culture.

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<sup>184</sup> Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust’; C. Sanz, *La CNT en pie: Fundación y consolidación anarcosindicalista, 1910-1931*, (Barcelona, 2011).

# More Workers' Blood!

## Chapter 1: Anarchism and Violence: 1890-1898

From 1890 to 1898 anarchism in Spain was defined by violence. Popular uprisings and acts of terrorism undertaken in the name of anarchism proliferated in these years, followed by an intensification of state repression against the movement. Violence also dominated the anarchist press. Periodicals became saturated with the rhetoric of violence and discussions of its legitimacy. A varied, yet patterned response to violence emerged within anarchist print culture through the decade, reflecting a plurality of positions on the subject from within the fractured movement.

Studies of anarchist violence have tended to focus on the perpetrators of terrorism, with only a secondary interest in the effects of violence upon the broader movement and its press.<sup>1</sup> Focusing on the minority of anarchists who committed or supported violent acts can lead to some questionable conclusions about the wider movement. For example, the works of Ángel Herrerin López and Juan Avilés Farré portray the violence of the 1890s as an indirect cause of the longevity of anarchism in Spain.<sup>2</sup> To these scholars, violence helped to cement the movement in Spain, while similar movements in Europe and the Americas faded away. This is not because anarchist violence was successful in inspiring others to the cause – as was the terrorists' intention – but rather because the repression of the Spanish state was so broad and ruthless that it provoked sympathy for anarchists from the Spanish public, while providing the movement with a cultural repertoire of martyrs and a collective memory of struggle.<sup>3</sup> In France and Italy – so the argument goes – the state reacted to similar acts of terrorism in a limited manner, persecuting only the perpetrators of crimes.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, these countries began to address the social factors behind anarchist support, which undermined the anarchist critique of the state and led its supporters towards more social democratic channels, which were unavailable to their Spanish contemporaries.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Notable exceptions include Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 494-510; Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 166-188. See Gabriel, 'Historiografía reciente,' 51-53 for a discussion of earlier works on this subject.

<sup>2</sup> J. Avilés Farré and Á. Herrerin López, 'Propaganda por el hecho y propaganda por la represión: Anarquismo y violencia en España a fines del siglo XIX,' *Ayer*, 80.4 (2010), 165-192. See also Á. Herrerin López, 'España: La propaganda por la represión, 1892-1900,' J. Avilés Farré and Á. Herrerin López (eds.), *El nacimiento del terrorismo en occidente*, (Madrid, 2008), 103-139 and *Anarquía, dinamita*, esp. 172-180.

<sup>3</sup> Avilés Farré and Herrerin López, 'Propaganda por el hecho,' 167, 189-190; R. Bach Jensen, 'The international campaign against anarchist terrorism, 1880-1930s,' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21.1, (2009), 100-101.

<sup>4</sup> J. Avilés Farré, 'El terrorismo anarquista como propaganda por el hecho: de la formulación teórica a los atentados de París, 1877-1894,' *Historia y Política*, 21, (2009), 188; Bach Jensen, 'The international campaign,' 106-107.

<sup>5</sup> R. Bach Jensen, 'The international anti-anarchist conference of 1898 and the origins of Interpol,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, 16.2, (1981), 340 and 'Daggers, rifles and dynamite: Anarchist terrorism in nineteenth-century Europe,' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16.1, (2004), 142-143.

The Spanish state's unwillingness to accommodate demands for reform undoubtedly contributed to a climate in which some anarchists saw violence as a viable strategy. Rather than attempting to militate against social grievances through politics, the Restoration state turned to 'indiscriminate, illegal and extremely harsh repression'.<sup>6</sup> Public order was primarily maintained through a military police force named the Civil Guard.<sup>7</sup> Created in the 1840s to police the Spanish countryside, the Civil Guard was frequently employed in urban contexts during disturbances, gaining a reputation – and deep resentment – for its brutal conduct. In periods of acute unrest local authorities could declare a 'state of war,' in which constitutional guarantees were suspended, and all administrative, judicial, political and civil powers were passed over to the military.<sup>8</sup> Mass arrests, imprisonment without charge and torture were common occurrences during such periods, particularly in Barcelona and Andalucía. In this context, a violent response to the state's actions appealed to sections of the anarchist movement. Yet this was never supported by a majority, nor was violence the exclusive domain of anarchists. The Spanish state's frequent resort to violence can thus help explain why some individuals took it upon themselves to conduct terrorism, but it does little to explain the general attitude of the movement.

Nor does repression help to explain the longevity of anarchism in Spain. The 1890s were a disaster for the anarchist movement in Spain. Repression demonstrably worked. Anarchism required 'at least a modicum of official tolerance' to exist, and had the suffocation of the anarchist movement continued much longer than 1898 the movement might have been irreversibly crushed.<sup>9</sup> This was recognised by anarchists who engaged in the movement's print culture, who began to adopt a rather forlorn, introspective tone from 1893 onwards, which was distinct from the revolutionary grandstanding that characterised anarchist periodicals in both the 1880s and 1900s. In the early years of the decade the anarchist press provided the movement with a forum through which it could engage with the question of violence and its effects. However, as the climate of violence intensified in Spain anarchist print culture became increasingly difficult to maintain. By 1896 the Spanish anarchist press had completely disappeared, for the first time since 1880.<sup>10</sup> As anarchist publishing collapsed, the collective responses to repression – for example the creation of martyrs and a repeated invocation of past experiences of hardship – may have helped to maintain the few anarchist groups still able to publish. The hundreds of anarchists directly affected by repression may also have forged a sense of communion during imprisonment and exile. However, these responses were the signs of an 'impotent and desperate' movement on its knees, rather than a movement building strength for future decades.<sup>11</sup> Martyrs may have been necessary for the movement in the 1890s, but they were largely forgotten

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<sup>6</sup> Herrerín López, 'Anarchist sociability,' 157.

<sup>7</sup> González Calleja, *La razón de la fuerza*, 32-64.

<sup>8</sup> M. Vincent, *Spain, 1833-2002: People and State*, (Oxford, 2007), 32-33, at 33.

<sup>9</sup> Bach Jensen, 'Daggers, rifles and dynamite,' 121.

<sup>10</sup> On the clandestine anarchist publications of the 1870s see Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 86-93.

<sup>11</sup> Núñez Florencio, *El terrorismo anarquista*, 185.

when the movement returned to legality. As the years of violence subsided, the anarchist press looked to the future, towards different methods for revolutionary change such as education and organisation, which helped the movement attract mass support in a context of relative stability and legality. It was during the period between 1899 and 1906, and not the years which preceded it, that the ideological, social and cultural bases of the movement were rejuvenated and developed.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to studies which focus on terrorism and repression, some scholars have diminished the centrality of violence to the anarchist movement. Madrid Santos, for example, claims that to frame this decade around violent events is ‘tendentious’.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Litvak is keen to stress the ‘fundamentally peaceful’ nature of anarchist ideology and downplay the role of violence within the movement.<sup>14</sup> This desire to shift focus away from anarchist violence is understandable, given that terrorism was supported by a minority and carried out by only a handful of militants based in Barcelona. Likewise, few recognised anarchist militants took part in uprisings, and the movement generally denied claims of anarchist instigation in these events. Yet, violence cannot be written out of the anarchist experience of the 1890s, simply because it was conducted by a minority, or because it had a negative effect on the movement, as the broader implications of terrorism and repression were enormous. Outside Cataluña, newspapers and associations were closed and prominent local anarchists were arrested, severing the movement’s mechanisms of exchange and its networks of communication. While the instigators of violence and those who suffered at the hands of the state became the enduring image for many scholars of the movement, at the time they remained ‘considerably less important to the...anarchist movement than those who attempted to maintain newspapers, associations and unions’ in an increasingly difficult climate.<sup>15</sup> It was not the execution of terrorists, but the arrest of anarchist publishers and local activists which threatened the existence of anarchism in Spain.

This chapter will examine the various forms of violence within the anarchist press of this period, examining how the movement portrayed uprisings, terrorism, repression and war through the lens of anarchist ideology. In doing so it will explore how anarchist print culture gave meaning to the violence which surrounded the movement in the 1890s, and how the press networks sought – and failed – to maintain the movement at this crucial juncture. Violence became the prime concern for the movement’s press, producing a heterogeneous, often conflicted response, which neither foregrounded the perpetrators of violence nor ignored their actions. The reaction to state violence – repression, and, later in the decade, war – was also far from uniform. There was no consensus on violence from within the movement; no single, definable position. Thus violence both defined and divided the movement in the 1890s, accentuating factionalism and hastening its collapse.

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<sup>12</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 287-288.

<sup>13</sup> Madrid Santos, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 42.

<sup>14</sup> Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 194-210, at 195.

<sup>15</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 184-185.

## Violence and the Anarchist Press

Most of the violence committed by and upon the anarchist movement in the 1890s occurred in Barcelona. The city was the site of three of the four major terrorist attacks and the most intense and long-lasting repression of the decade. Thus anarchists in Barcelona regularly experienced violence directly, either as participants in the planning and execution of violent acts and/or as subjects of arrest, imprisonment, torture and execution. Outside Cataluña, the movement had a more indirect relationship with violence. Since uprisings, terrorism and intense repression did not take place in the majority of Spain, the movement's connection to violence largely took place in the debates which emerged in its press [see Map 1.1 for the sites of anarchist publishing in these years].

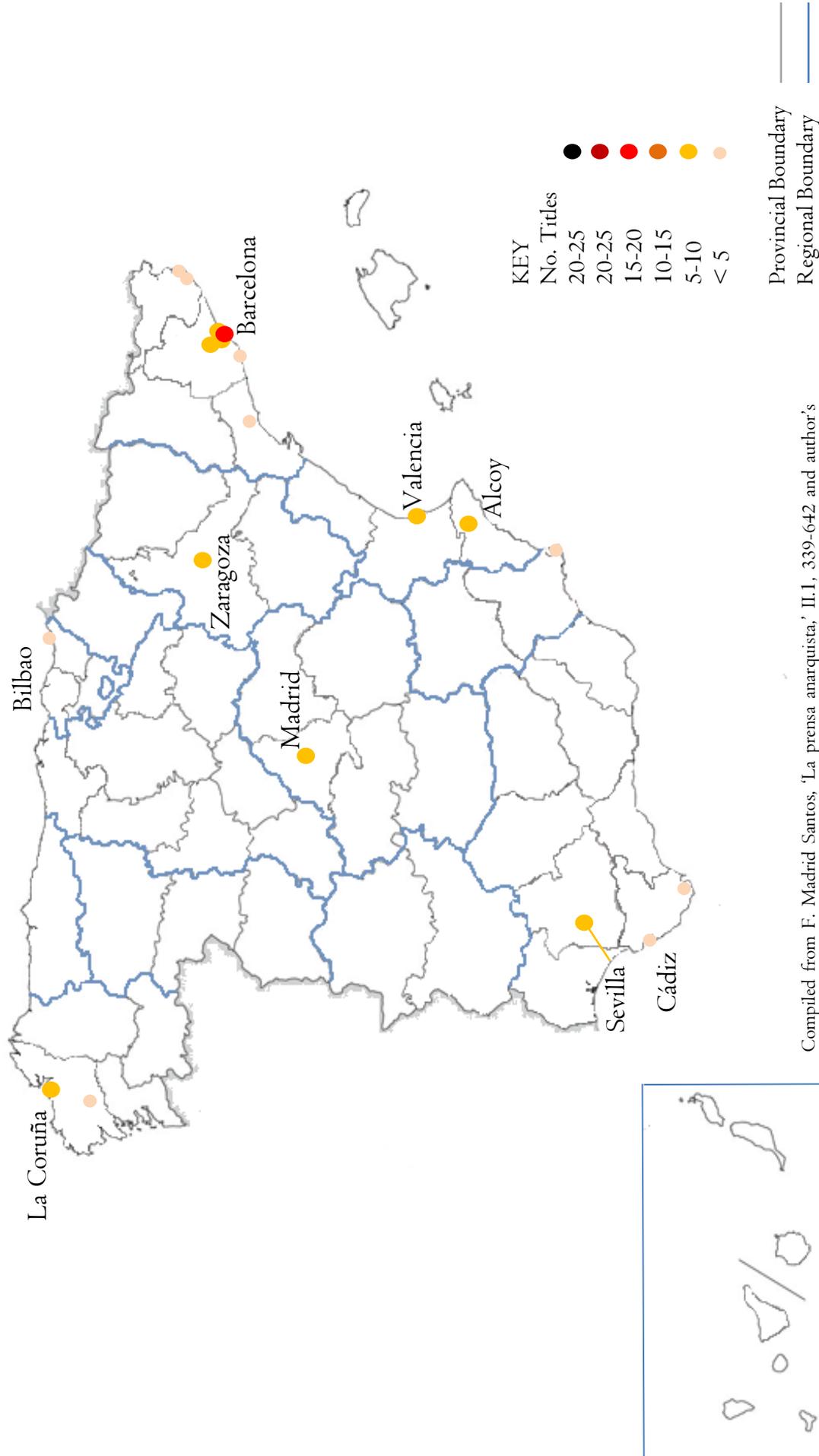
The subject of violence is one of the most difficult aspects of Spanish anarchism to address through a study of the movement's press. First, there is a question of timing. In this period, no anarchist papers were published on a daily basis. At best they were published as weeklies; however, as repression intensified publishing became more erratic and was often interspersed with large gaps or suspensions of print runs. Anarchist papers were thus rarely capable of reporting on violent events as they happened. The scale of repression in this period also raises the question of censorship. Even in relatively peaceful periods, anarchist papers attracted persecution. In the 1890s the situation of anarchist papers became even more precarious, particularly after the passing of extraordinary legislation in 1894, which made the publication of anything deemed supportive of 'terrorism' – broadly understood as 'anarchism' in general – illegal.<sup>16</sup> As well as external censorship, contributors and editors of the anarchist press may have engaged in self-censorship in order to avoid prosecution and closure. Publishers may have withheld overtly provocative articles, creating a detachment between what anarchists thought about violence and what they actually published. It is thus hard to judge if a paper published its complete opinion on violence, or only discussed the matter 'as completely as was allowed by the censor'.<sup>17</sup> However, anarchists were not prone to pragmatism, which would have saved them from trouble with the law. Their newspapers were filled with inflammatory material, such as attacks on the Church, military and local politicians, all of which were just as likely to attract denouncements as articles discussing the validity of terrorism. Thus it would seem odd that they would self-censor their thoughts on violence, while continuing to publish on other subjects that would also attract the attention of local authorities.

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<sup>16</sup> Rojas Sánchez, 'Legislación,' 76-77.

<sup>17</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 497.

Map 1.1: Areas of Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1890-1898



Compiled from F. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1, 339-642 and author's own research  
 Modification of Blank Map of the Provinces of Spain (2005) by Kokoo, licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Adaptions to original permitted, but not endorsed by original author. Original map available at: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces\\_of\\_Spain\\_%28Blank\\_map%29.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces_of_Spain_%28Blank_map%29.png) [accessed 03/12/2012]

Given the issues of timing and censorship, it is almost impossible to judge the reliability of individual anarchist opinions on violence as published in the press. Nevertheless, the public discourse of the movement was shaped by what was printed. Whatever doubts we may have over the link between what an anarchist commentator thought about an event and what they published, the press remains the only way in which anarchists publically discussed violence, and thus the only means available of examining the broader attitude of the movement. Despite the problems with print, it remains a more credible and representative marker of anarchist opinion than the words and deeds of terrorists.

### The Legitimacy of Violence

Anarchist ideology was based upon a critique of violence. To anarchists, society was based on the domination of authority, which systematised violence as a means to control and exploit the working class.<sup>18</sup> This violence was manifest in various forms: through culture, as the enforced ignorance of the masses by religion and the institutions of the Church; through the structural oppression of capitalism, which enslaved the working class to work for the profit of the bourgeoisie; and through the state, which represented violence in its most stark and direct form, articulated through the repressive mechanisms of the army and police. This latter form of violence – violence as direct, physical force – formed the basis of the anarchist experience of the 1890s.

Anarchists sought an end to violence through the destruction of authority. The result of the revolution – Anarchy – was seen as synonymous with peace and harmony; a new order in which the rule of violence would be abolished.<sup>19</sup> This did not necessarily mean that anarchists were peaceful. While some pacifist sections within the movement regarded any use of force as illegitimate, others advocated revolutionary violence as means to establish peace, or as a means of self-defence against the violence of authority.<sup>20</sup> The legitimacy of violence was thus subject to interpretations based on its origin and purpose.<sup>21</sup> State violence – war (external state violence) and repression (internal state violence) – was illegitimate by its very nature, since it was the product of authority. In contrast, collective violence undertaken by ‘the people’ was portrayed as a legitimate response to oppression. Yet popular violence was rarely glorified in its own right. Rather, it was seen as a necessary, regrettable likelihood. This was the position of Richard Mella, the most celebrated anarchist theorist and writer of the period. In *La Nueva Utopia* (1890) – one of the most widely-read pieces of anarchist fiction of the late 19 century – Mella suggested that the revolution would be a bloody ‘prologue

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Victima social,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 3-4; Palmiro [V. García?], ‘La fuerza,’ *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 1-2. See also later examples, such as J. Cualquiera, ‘Contra el terrorismo,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 330, (23/11/1912), 1.

<sup>19</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 311-322.

<sup>20</sup> V. García, ‘Dentro el ideal,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 392, (29/04/1915), 3-4.

<sup>21</sup> K. Schaffer, ‘By dynamite, sabotage, revolution and the pen: violence in Caribbean anarchist fiction, 1890s-1920s,’ *New West Indian Guide*, 83:1/2, (2009), 6-8, 32-33.

of...immense transformation'. However, Mella situated this violence far away from the new society he described, placing it off-stage, 'in distant lands' between unspecific actors. Thus for Mella, revolutionary violence was vague. It was not necessarily the conscious product of individuals, nor a planned mass uprising or insurrection.<sup>22</sup> In this and similar imaginings of the revolution, violence appeared only as a brief interlude between the oppressive contemporary world and the peace of an anarchist future.<sup>23</sup>

In the 1880s, discussions of violence within the anarchist movement were largely theoretical. The only major violent incident of the decade was the 'Mano Negra' affair of 1883, when the Andalusian authorities blamed a series of murders on a clandestine revolutionary network of anarchists, based in the countryside around Jerez de la Frontera, a city twenty miles north of Cádiz known primarily as the home of sherry production. The existence of the 'Mano Negra' was disputed by the anarchist movement, and has since been the subject of lengthy historiographical debate.<sup>24</sup> Whether it existed or not, the 'Mano Negra' was used to justify an extensive repression against the workers' movement in Andalucía: newspapers and workers' societies were closed and around 5,000 of workers in Cádiz province were imprisoned. Of the seventeen that stood trial for the murders in June 1883, two were absolved, seven were given long prison sentences and eight were executed by public garrotting.<sup>25</sup> Those who remained in prison were intermittently the subjects of amnesty campaigns within the anarchist press until their release into exile twenty years later.<sup>26</sup> While it was clearly a significant moment for the movement, the 'Mano Negra' affair did not challenge the model of violence within anarchist ideology. To anarchists, the incident was always seen as an invention of the state, which remained ultimate source of violence. The violence of 'the people' was thus denied, rather than brought into question.

Around the same time, a new revolutionary strategy developed within the anarchist movement. 'Propaganda by the deed' originated in the international anarchist movement during the 1870s as a method to shock the working class into revolutionary action.<sup>27</sup> Originally, the term applied to insurrectionary violence, conducted by groups of anarchists engaged in guerrilla-like struggles against the state. By the 1880s 'propaganda by the deed' also incorporated individual action and a range of

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<sup>22</sup> R. Mella, 'La Nueva Utopía,' L. Litvak, (ed.), *El Cuento Anarquista*, 219. See also Ramos-Gorostiza, 'La Nueva Utopía,' 5-39 and Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 147-152.

<sup>23</sup> For example see, 'Necesidad y bases de una inteligencia,' *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 90, (05/06/1892), 1-2, which spoke against a violent imposition of anarchist ideas but nevertheless saw some violence during the revolutionary process as inevitable.

<sup>24</sup> The central text which claims to prove the existence of the 'Mano Negra' remains C. Lida, 'Agrarian anarchism,' 315-352. Lida's position is supported in Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 58-58. Critics of Lida's discovery include Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 126-134; Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 84-92.

<sup>25</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 57-58.

<sup>26</sup> The final (and ultimately successful) amnesty campaign for the 'Mano Negra' prisoners began in 'La mano negra,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 141, (25/01/1902), 1.

<sup>27</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 493-494; Bach Jensen, 'Daggers, rifles and dynamite,' 121-126. See also U. Linse, "'Propaganda by the deed" and "Direct action": Two concepts of anarchist violence,' W.J. Mommsen and G. Hirschfeld (eds.), *Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth Century Europe*, (London, 1982), 201-212.

direct, violent deeds, including robbery and protest.<sup>28</sup> At times the phrase was also used to signify any activity not confined to print, for example acts of solidarity towards fellow workers.<sup>29</sup> By 1890, however, ‘propaganda by the deed’ was primarily used to refer to acts of individual violence, such as assassinations of symbolic figures and indiscriminate public bombings. Although anarchists largely rejected the term ‘terrorism’, this is how ‘propaganda by the deed’ has been understood since this point.

It is difficult to consider terrorism as part of a broader tactic of class struggle – as suggested by Herrerin López – which included labour protests and uprisings.<sup>30</sup> Popular violence had always accompanied the anarchist movement in Spain, yet terrorism was far more controversial, and was subject to different questions of legitimacy.<sup>31</sup> In 1890 the anarchist movement was split into anarcho-collectivist and anarcho-communist factions. These groups had different interpretations of legitimate revolutionary activity. Anarcho-collectivists saw working-class mobilisation through trade unions as the best means to bring forth revolutionary change. This position had dominated the anarchist movement in its early years, and was the guiding principle of the FTRE in the 1880s. Yet collectivists had been challenged mid-way through this decade by the relatively new position of anarcho-communism. Rather than a source of revolutionary potential, anarcho-communists saw unions as inherently reformist, and advocated only small group organisation and direct agitation. The disputes between these two groups hamstrung the FTRE from 1895 onwards, eventually resulting in the dissolution of the organisation in 1888. Collectivists and communists coalesced into antagonistic groups, and attacked one another through the anarchist press. Many former affiliates of the FTRE grew tired of these doctrinal disputes which meant little to their daily lives, and left the movement altogether. Some would find their way into the new socialist trade union, the UGT, yet this did not deter the warring factions within the movement, who continued to polemicize against one another in the following years.

Divisions between these groups were reflected in contrasting attitudes to anarchist violence. Anarcho-communists saw confrontation with the state as a necessary step towards the establishment of a peaceful anarchist future. Direct action, committed by individuals or small groups, appealed to anarcho-communists, as it gave them a sense of immediacy and individual power. Spectacular acts of terrorism were seen as a means to awaken the working-class from their stupor; violence would lead the people to revolution, without recourse to unions, legalism or intellectualism.<sup>32</sup> Anarcho-communists were thus the main advocates of propaganda by the deed in Spain from the mid-1880s onwards, as the tactic appealed to their conception of legitimate revolutionary activity. Yet as support

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<sup>28</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 61-63.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Al propaganda por el hecho,’ *El Socialismo*, (Cádiz), 61, (12/01/1890), 4.

<sup>30</sup> Herrerin López, ‘Anarchist sociability’, 161.

<sup>31</sup> J. Casanova, ‘Terror and violence: The dark face of Spanish anarchism,’ *International Labour and Working-Class History*, 67, (2005), 97.

<sup>32</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 166-170.

for ‘propaganda by the deed’ grew in anarchist circles, so too did its critics. Although the majority of the movement conceded that violence might be necessary in the ultimate revolution, and accepted collective violence – such as civil disobedience, strikes and sabotage – most anarchists regarded individual violence and terrorism as morally unacceptable. This was particularly true of anarcho-collectivists, who (correctly) predicted that ‘propaganda by the deed’ would invite repression and alienate working-class support, rather than inspire it.<sup>33</sup> Likewise, not all anarcho-communists were supportive, most notably, Petr Kropotkin, who published a clear rejection of the legitimacy and effectiveness of terrorist tactics in the French anarchist periodical *Le Révolté*, shortly before the wave of anarchist terrorism began across Europe.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, in Spain the supporters and critics of propaganda by the deed aligned closely to the doctrinal splits within anarchism. Anarcho-collectivists tended to reject terrorism as a legitimate strategy, and although not all anarcho-communists were terrorists, all terrorists were anarcho-communists, or were portrayed as such in anarcho-communist papers.

These divisions over organisation and the validity of terrorism remained in place for the first years of the 1890s. There seemed little that could bring the movement together on these fundamental questions of strategy. Indeed, in the event, nothing did. The dispute was settled only by repression later in the decade, which made both positions irrelevant. Anarcho-communist groups and publications were repressed because of their advocacy of violent tactics, while anarcho-collectivism became meaningless when the wider movement was made illegal, making union organising impossible.

### Popular Violence: 1890-1892

The 1890s are usually depicted as the decade when anarchism became synonymous with terrorism, which marked a shift in the conception of legitimate violence from within the movement. While this is an apt depiction of the movement after 1893, the first episodes of violence during the 1890s were not novel, and do not fit easily into the category of propaganda by the deed. Rather, they were part of the broader anarchist conception of popular violence, in which anarchist figures and anarchist ideology were a factor, but were not the sole cause. Popular violence was most commonly associated with labour unrest. In nineteenth-century Spain labour conflict, strikes and protests were often accompanied by attacks on individuals and property and small explosions, almost as a matter of course. Often the identity of those involved in these incidents was unclear; however from the 1870s

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<sup>33</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 508-510; Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 170-172.

<sup>34</sup> Kropotkin stated in *Le Révolté* (Paris) that ‘a structure [authoritarian European society] built on centuries of history can not [*sic*] be destroyed with a few kilos of explosives’. Cited in Bach Jensen, ‘Daggers, rifles and dynamite,’ 126. Explanatory note from Bach Jensen.

onwards they were normally attributed to anarchist militants acting within the wider labour movement.<sup>35</sup>

In 1890-2 anarchists joined the socialist movement in staging mass demonstrations and strikes during May Day celebrations.<sup>36</sup> Aside from larger strikes in Barcelona and Bilbao, most May Day events across Spain were ‘relatively tranquil’ in 1890.<sup>37</sup> In Cádiz, however, the anarchist paper *El Socialismo* attempted to escalate May Day demonstrations into city-wide disturbances, as a means of demonstrating the strength of the city’s working class.<sup>38</sup> This paper was edited by Fermín Salvochea (1842-1907), a prolific contributor to the anarchist press and instigator of numerous educational ‘missions’ to the Andalusian countryside.<sup>39</sup> Salvochea believed that collective agitation during labour unrest could be transformed into revolutionary activity. Following disturbances in 1890, the local authorities in Cádiz closed *El Socialismo* prior to May Day 1891, and arrested Salvochea and two other members of the paper’s publishing group.<sup>40</sup> Over the following days thousands marched in protests in Cádiz, accompanied by explosions across the city which killed five bystanders. Again, Salvochea and *El Socialismo* were blamed, after the police claimed to have discovered explosives at the paper’s offices.<sup>41</sup> These claims were vehemently denied by those involved, who claimed the ‘discovery’ of explosives was a police set-up.<sup>42</sup>

The cause of *El Socialismo* was taken up by the anarchist press across Spain, in particular *La Anarquía*, edited by the veteran anarcho-collectivist Ernesto Álvarez.<sup>43</sup> As well as declaring the

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<sup>35</sup> A. Schubert, *The Road to Revolution in Spain: The Coal Miners of Asturias, 1860-1934*, (Chicago, IL, 1987), 104-105; Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 172-174; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 60-64.

<sup>36</sup> ‘La huelga del 1º de Mayo,’ *La Víctima del Trabajo*, (Valencia), 8, (26/06/1890), 1; J.C. Campos, ‘La verdad ante todo,’ *El Combate*, (Bilbao), 1, (11/11/1891), 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 107-108; López Estudillo, *Republicanism and anarchism*, 415-418.

<sup>38</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 169.

<sup>39</sup> Maurice, *El anarquismo andaluz*, 219-220 and ‘Apóstoles, publicistas, hombres de acción y sindicalistas en la historia del anarquismo español,’ *Cahiers de civilisation espagnole contemporaine: De 1808 au temps présent*, Special Edition: 1: ‘L’anarchisme espagnol,’ (October 2012), published online: <http://ccec.revues.org/3914> [accessed 17/11/2012], sections 3-5. Salvochea has been the subject of a number of works, including by his near-contemporaries R. Rocker, *Fermín Salvochea: Precursores de la libertad*, (Toulouse, 1945) and P. Vallina Martínez, *Crónica de un revolucionario: Con trazos de la vida de Fermín Salvochea*, (Paris, 1958) and more recently Mato Ortega and Moreno Tello, *Fermín Salvochea*; and Maurice (ed.), *Fermín Salvochea*. The ‘lay saint’ Fernando Salvatierra in Vicente Blasco Ibáñez’s *La Bodega*, (Valencia, 1905) is largely based on Salvochea. See C. Serrano, ‘Personaje, mito y mistificación: Salvochea y *La Bodega* de Vicente Blasco Ibáñez,’ J. Maurice (ed.), *Fermín Salvochea: Un anarquista entre la leyenda y la historia*, (Cádiz, 2009), 155-194.

<sup>40</sup> J.F., ‘Proceso de Salvochea,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 68, (24/12/1891), 2-3; see also case against Salvochea, Juan José García and José Ponce in Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz (AHPC): Libro de Sentencias de Tribunal de Juzgados: 1892: I: Sentencia número 1 (09/03/1892).

<sup>41</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): ‘Petardos en Cádiz,’ 52, (03/09/1891), 2; ‘Miscelánea semana,’ 53, (11/09/1891), 2. See also Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 169.

<sup>42</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): M. Cerrejón, J. García and F. Salvochea, ‘La verdad sobre lo ocurrido en Cádiz...,’ 54, (18/09/1891), 1-2; F. Salvochea, ‘Desde Cádiz,’ 61, (06/11/1891), 2.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 42, (26/06/1891), 4. On Álvarez’s previous publications see F. Urales, *Mi vida*, I, (Barcelona, 1932), 142-144 and Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 118-119, 128 and II.1, ‘Catálogo cronológico, 1869-1923,’ 380, 392-393. See also A. Lorenzo, ‘Ernesto Álvarez,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 179 (18/10/1902), 2. Other examples of support: ‘Los petardos de Cádiz,’ *El Corsario*, (La

prisoners' innocence, *La Anarquía* organised a relief fund for their families, which raised around 1,500 pesetas in six months.<sup>44</sup> A similar fund was opened by *El Corsario*, a much smaller paper which served as the mouthpiece of the La Coruña anarchist labour federation.<sup>45</sup> The cause of the May Day prisoners briefly captured the attention of the national movement: meetings were held in Barcelona, Madrid and Valencia to publically denounce the Cádiz authorities, and the names of the prisoners were adopted within anarchist naming practice, for example the newly-founded 'Salvochea' group of Trebujena (Cádiz).<sup>46</sup> When the editors of *El Socialismo* were absolved at the end of 1891 the anarchist press was jubilant, printing reports of Salvochea's exemplary performance in court and claiming that thousands of workers thronged the streets of Cádiz in celebration, despite the fact that Salvochea remained in prison.<sup>47</sup>

The events in Cádiz marked the first anarchist press campaign against repression during the 1890s. Elements of the response to the arrest of Salvochea – publishing letters sent from prison, opening subscriptions for prisoners and their families, and eulogising those subject to state violence – were common in anarchist papers over the next eight years. The response played into a wider narrative which attacked the groundless claim that anarchists were responsible for every public disturbance.<sup>48</sup> Anarchist papers denied any guilt on behalf of those imprisoned; the state remained the source of violence, while the random, anonymised violence accompanying labour unrest was passed off as a justifiable reaction of 'the people' to their oppression. For anarchist commentators, nothing within their ideology explained this violence, thus to blame the movement for such incidents was simply an excuse to arrest its figureheads and close its papers.<sup>49</sup>

### The Jerez Uprising

On the night of 8 January 1892 an uprising took place in Jerez de la Frontera. Five to six hundred *campesinos* (fieldworkers) marched into the city armed with agricultural tools, hoping to rouse a

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Coruña), 69, (13/09/1891), 3-4; *El Corresponsal*, 'Causa y sentencia...', *La Tribuna Libre*, (Sevilla), 1, (23/12/1891), 3; 'Movimiento obrero: Cádiz,' *El Combate*, (Bilbao), 3, (12/12/1891), 3-4.

<sup>44</sup> 'Noticias varias,' and 'Solidaridad...', *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 53-78, (11/09/1891-08/03/1892), 3 and 4.

<sup>45</sup> Subscription printed in *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 71-75, (27/09/1891-25/10/1891), 1-4. Last published balance: 40,40 pesetas. Antonio Vidal and Benito Cadavid were both cited as the editor of the paper at this time, although little to nothing is known about these individuals; see Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1, 400-402.

<sup>46</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): 'Noticias varias,' 48, (07/08/1891), 4; 'Meeting en Barcelona,' 55, (25/09/1891), 2-3; 'Aclaración,' 'Datos biográficos,' and 'Noticias varias,' 56, (01/10/1891), 1-2; 'Meeting de Valencia,' 57, (09/10/1891), 2-3.

<sup>47</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): 'Salvochea absuelto,' 66, (11/12/1891), 2; G.J.F., 'Ultima hora: De Nuestro corresponsal,' 66, (11/12/1891), 2. See also R. Mella, *Los sucesos de Jerez: 8 Enero 1892 – 10 Febrero 1892*, (Barcelona, 1893), 9-10. Manuel Díaz y Martel, from Puerto Real (Cádiz) shouted 'death to the bourgeoisie!' at the celebrations and was arrested. He was sentenced to two months a one day imprisonment for sedition, see Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz: Libro de Sentencias de Cádiz: 1892: I: Sentencia número 249 (12/05/1892) and J.F., 'Proceso de Salvochea,' *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 68, (24/12/1891), 2-3.

<sup>48</sup> 'Miscelánea semanal,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 87, (24/01/1892), 4.

<sup>49</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): '¡Todavía más!,' 43, (02/07/1891), 2; picture 'Asesinatos en Fourmies' and article 'Carne de metralla,' 46, (24/06/1891), 1-2; 'Noticias varias,' 48, (07/08/1891), 4; C. Oemor, 'En nuestro puesto,' *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia), 1, (30/04/1892), 1-2.

revolt from the local population. Neither the *jerezanos* nor the local soldiers backed the rebellion, leaving the *campesinos* isolated, and the uprising was put down within hours. In total three people were killed: a soldier in the Cuban army – Antonio Núñez Montenegro – who was shot from the local barracks by mistake, and two young men – Manuel Castro Palomino, a local tax official and José Soto, a travelling wine salesman – who were labelled as ‘bourgeois’ and targeted by mob violence.<sup>50</sup>

No singular motivating factor can be used to explain the events in Jerez. Rural rebellions, particularly in Andalucía, were nothing new in Spanish history.<sup>51</sup> Similar incidents had taken place in previous decades, including attacks on Utrera and El Arahál (Sevilla) in 1857 by local fieldworkers, and a revolt in Loja (Granada) led by Rafael Pérez del Álamo – the ‘Spartacus of Andalucía’ – in 1861.<sup>52</sup> Such incidents were associated with the anarchist movement from 1870 onwards. During the First Spanish Republic, uprisings took place in Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) and Alcoy (Alicante), inspired by the FRE.<sup>53</sup> After 1892 uprisings continued to take place in the south, as in 1903, when a similar incident erupted in Alcalá del Valle (Cádiz).<sup>54</sup> Thus the Jerez uprising belongs within a wider context of rural violence in modern Spain, which is often attributed to anarchist support in Andalucía. Yet the causal connection between the uprising and anarchist ideology is questionable, and has been a source of historiographical debate for over a century.<sup>55</sup> Although local anarchists were undeniably involved, the incident was not a clear example of ‘anarchist’ violence. Nor were those involved gripped by a ‘collective madness’ or a ‘bestial’ urge for violence, as claimed by the contemporary commentator Bernaldo de Quirós.<sup>56</sup> The *campesinos* demanded the release of local prisoners, and wished to protest against the appalling economic situation of the region.<sup>57</sup> Thus the uprising had material objectives, which were probably of more pressing concern than the desire to land a ‘definitive’ blow to the prevailing social order.<sup>58</sup> In the words of Ricardo Mella, in Jerez ‘one did necessarily have to be an anarchist to be pushed towards rebellion’.<sup>59</sup> Nor were all of the *campesinos* of Jerez dedicated anarchists. A desire for an anarchist revolution may have spurred on many *campesinos*; yet just as many were put off from joining the uprising because it was raining.<sup>60</sup> Thus on

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<sup>50</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 173-176; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 76-77. Jerez civil records detailing deaths: Archivo Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera (AMJF): C.24 [Previously 3302 – this earlier file record is given by Kaplan and subsequent studies, but has since been relabelled]: Proceso contra anarquistas: Ejecución de los anarquistas: Protocolo No.302: Año 1891-2: Certificación gratuitas 28 (Palomino); 29 (Soto); 30 (Núñez Montenegro).

<sup>51</sup> V.V. Magagna, *Communities of Grain: Rural Rebellion in Comparative Perspective*, (New York, NY, 1991), 180.

<sup>52</sup> Termes, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo*, 22-23; Bernaldo de Quirós, ‘El espartaquismo,’ 312.

<sup>53</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 104-110; Termes, *Anarquismo y sindicalismo*, 197-209.

<sup>54</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 208-214.

<sup>55</sup> López Estudillo, *Los sucesos de Jerez*, 3-6.

<sup>56</sup> Bernaldo de Quirós ‘El espartaquismo,’ 402, critiqued in Maurice, *El anarquismo andaluz*, 124-125

<sup>57</sup> G. Brey, ‘Crisis económica, anarquismo y sucesos de Jerez, 1886-1892,’ R. Rodríguez Aguilera et al., *Seis estudios sobre el proletariado andaluz (1868-1939)*, (Córdoba, 1984), 75-127; Maurice, *El anarquismo andaluz*, 124-125.

<sup>58</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 183-184.

<sup>59</sup> Mella, *Los sucesos de Jerez*, 11.

<sup>60</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 174-175.

the night of 8 January 1892 ideological and material motivations collided with immediate and long-term grievances, to producing an act of popular violence, which can be associated with the ideology and practice of anarchism, but is not entirely explained by it.

Severe repression had begun in Andalucía before any anarchist paper could comment on the uprising. Without access to their own correspondents in Cádiz, anarchist commentators begrudgingly relied upon official reports from the government and mainstream media for information.<sup>61</sup> Some papers agreed with the official depiction of the uprising as an act of revolutionary violence. The anarcho-communist paper *La Tribuna Libre* (Sevilla), for example, had been warning that the Andalusian workers were on the brink of revolution since the end of 1891.<sup>62</sup> When the uprising took place, the paper saw it as a spontaneous, rational and inevitable response to the crippling poverty in Jerez. Violence was wholly justified as a means to end ‘tyranny’ and enable the workers to ‘feed themselves,’ and the paper’s only regret was that the uprising had not been successful.<sup>63</sup> In keeping with anarcho-communist perspectives on violence, the paper advised its readers that a failure to meet ‘force with force’ would leave them cursed by future generations.<sup>64</sup> After publishing its support for the failed uprising, *La Tribuna Libre* was immediately forced to close.<sup>65</sup>

A more common response was to refuse to condemn popular violence, while denying its connection to anarchism. A fortnight after the uprising, *El Corsario* stated that there was good reason for popular violence in Jerez. The scandalous aftermath of the Mano Negra affair and the ‘atrocious’ exploitation of the Andalusian fieldworkers gave the *campesinos* of the region the right to take matters into their own hands. Yet, within the same issue, the paper attacked the coverage of the incident in the ‘bourgeois press’, which (it claimed) had spuriously used the uprising to slander the anarchist movement, despite the fact that anarchists had ‘demonstrated a thousand times that we never have to use such means’ and that the movement preferred the ‘honourable’ tactics of written propaganda, education and trade unionism.<sup>66</sup> Thus, this paper neither condemned the uprising nor sanctioned it as legitimate anarchist behaviour. These mixed messages on violence became a common feature of *El Corsario* over the following years, particularly in the paper’s coverage of anarchist terrorism.

The most thorough discussions of the Jerez uprising were provided by *La Anarquía*, by far the largest non-Catalan paper of the movement and second only in reputation to *El Productor* (Barcelona). The paper repeatedly denied that the uprising was a ‘political’ revolution – which ‘are only possible in barracks’ – or a ‘social’ revolution – which the paper declared (in distinctly Marxian

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<sup>61</sup> ‘Lo de Jerez,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 87, (24/01/1892), 2-3.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Misceláneas,’ *La Tribuna Libre*, (Sevilla), 1, (23/12/1891), 4. This short-lived paper was edited by the longstanding anarcho-communist Miguel Rubio, see Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 138.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Sucesos de Jerez,’ *La Tribuna Libre*, (Sevilla), 3, (23/01/1892), 1.

<sup>64</sup> Un Zapatero, ‘No más tutores,’ *La Tribuna Libre*, (Sevilla), 1, (23/12/1891), 3-4.

<sup>65</sup> The paper appeared to be aware of this fate, see ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Tribuna Libre*, (Sevilla), 3, (23/01/1892), 4.

<sup>66</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 87, (24/01/1892): ‘Lo de Jerez,’ 2-3 and ‘Miscelánea semanal,’ 4.

tone) could only take place ‘in great cities such as London, Paris, New York or Berlin’.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, the paper saw the fact that lines of communication and transport had not been attacked as evidence that the uprising had not been intended as a revolution. While the paper did admit that some of those who took part were anarchists, it suggested that they had been misguided, and had placed too much faith in the revolutionary potential of the Jerez fieldworkers.<sup>68</sup>

For *La Tribuna Libre* the Jerez uprising was anarchist in nature, whereas for *El Corsario* and *La Anarquía* it was not. Despite their differences, all of the papers denied that the Jerez uprising had been deliberately instigated by anarchists. This was a direct refutation of most of the mainstream press and *El Socialista*, which declared that the uprising was the result of the political immaturity of the Andalusian working class and their support for anarchist ‘fantasies’ and ‘gibberish’.<sup>69</sup> Hesitance to accept responsibility for the uprising may, in part, be seen as an attempt by anarchist papers to avoid censorship. It also reflected the fact that anarchist commentators denied that social revolution required anarchist leadership. Variations of this debate appeared regularly in the following years, for example during discussions of anarchist education, in which claims of indoctrination provoked arguments within the movement, and in the early Congresses of the CNT, where the question of leadership within the workers movement was the subject of lengthy debate.<sup>70</sup> In all of these instances, as in Jerez, ‘manipulation’ of the working class was seen as anathema, since ‘the emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class themselves’. Anarchist militancy and propaganda was therefore not seen as leadership, but direction, or instruction, which helped the working class realise their natural, reasoned desires for autonomy. Thus whether they supported the uprising or not, the movement’s press was united in claiming that the incident could not be attributed to anarchist leadership.

### The First Martyrs

The local authorities in Jerez never questioned the assumption that the uprising was a direct result of anarchist instigation. Responsibility for restoring order in the region was given over to the army, who treated the event as a military insurrection. The resulting repression was both fierce and wide-ranging. The Civil Guard spent months scouring the Jerez countryside, rounding up labour organisers and known anarchists. The anarchist press and its print network were singled out as ‘the key means by which the rebellion was organised’ and the bedrock of working-class activity in the region. During searches, anarchist papers became incriminating evidence – defendants were asked at trial if they

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<sup>67</sup> Un compañero, ‘Desde Cádiz...,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 72, (22/01/1892), 2.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Que ha sido lo de Jerez?’, *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 71, (15/01/1892), 1.

<sup>69</sup> ‘Lo de Jerez,’ *El Socialista*, (Madrid), 306, (15/01/1892), 1.

<sup>70</sup> See also the response to claims in the mainstream press that Francisco Ferrer was the ‘jefe’ (boss) of the anarchist movement in 1909, such as Pérez, ‘Comentado,’ *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 1, (07/11/1909), 2: ‘they do not know that the anarchists hate every class of authority and, as such, we have no leader’. See also Abayá, ‘Carta de Barcelona,’ *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia), 2, (21/05/1892), 2.

‘recognised’ packages of *El Productor* and *La Anarquía*, as one would be asked to identify a weapon – and known correspondents and distributors were amongst the first to be arrested. In total 315 suspects were detained, three quarters of them fieldworkers, most of whom identified as anarchists. The movement in Cádiz province was flattened: its labour organisations were closed, its publishing activity was halted and its most active militants were imprisoned.<sup>71</sup>

Much of the evidence against those brought to trial was based on denunciations provided by an informant, Félix Grávalo, and confessions extracted under torture.<sup>72</sup> Two military tribunals sat in judgement on the accused. The first trial, held a month after the uprising, focused on the most serious accusations of sedition and murder. Eight were brought to trial, four of whom were executed: two self-declared anarchists, Antonio Zarzuela and Jesús Fernández Lamela, who were blamed for instigating the uprising, and Manuel Fernández Reina [*Busiqui*] and Manuel Silva Leal [*el Lebrijano*], who were convicted for the murder of Manuel Castro Palomino. All four were garroted on 10 February 1892.<sup>73</sup> Manuel Caro Clavo (given a life sentence for his alleged role in the murder of Palomino) died in his cell on the same day as the executions. The informant Grávalo, the schoolteacher José Romero Loma and Antonio González Macías were given life imprisonment for rebellion.<sup>74</sup> The latter two denied that they were anarchists.<sup>75</sup> Later in the year a further forty-six stood trial for their alleged role in the uprising, including José Sánchez Rosa and Manuel Díaz Caballero, who were accused of visiting Fermín Salvochea in prison with Lamela and Grávalo to plan the uprising. They and eight others received life sentences, while a further seven received terms of between eight and twenty years. Salvochea – who had been in prison throughout the events – received a twelve year sentence.<sup>76</sup>

Although the uprising itself was unexceptional, its repression was remarkably severe.<sup>77</sup> The disproportionate response of the authorities was criticised in many independent and liberal papers, such as *El Heraldo* (Madrid), which saw the uprising as a product of hunger and misery, which was ‘not something you kill with bullets but rather requires prudent measures and knowledge...something

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<sup>71</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 179-184; López Estudillo, *Insurrección y provocación policial*, 27-28; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 76-80.

<sup>72</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 176-181. Kaplan’s excellent reconstruction of the repression in Jerez is mainly based on records at AMJF: C.24: Proceso contra anarquistas: Caja 4, which contains hundreds of telegrams from Civil Guardsmen. Further primary information is available in Cajas 5-8[bis].

<sup>73</sup> Records of executions: AMJF: C.24: Proceso contra anarquistas: Ejecución de los anarquistas: Protocolo No.302: Año 1891-2: Certificación gratuitas: 111 (Lamela); 112 (Zarzuela); 113 (Fernández Reina); 114 (Silva Leal).

<sup>74</sup> The cause of Caro Clavo’s death is unclear, Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 180 claims that was possibly suicide, while Salvochea claimed that he died as a result of an untreated stomach infection, see Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 77-80. Caro Clavo’s death record simply states that he died suddenly: AMJF: C.24: Ejecución de los anarquistas: Protocolo No.302: Año 1891-2: Certificación gratuita 115.

<sup>75</sup> Aguilar Villagrán, *El asalto campesino*, 85-88.

<sup>76</sup> Coverage of sentences in Un preso, ‘Correspondencia: Desde Jerez,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 135, (15/01/1893), 3.

<sup>77</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 81.

that is contrary to the conduct of the present government'.<sup>78</sup> The republican paper *La Justicia* (Madrid) did not deny the culpability of the Jerez 'anarchists,' but it considered the heavy-handed response as an 'abominable crime' and a 'political blunder,' which was the result of pressure put on the tribunals by the government and the mainstream press.<sup>79</sup>

The anarchist press responded to the executions in a more outraged and ominous manner. *La Anarquía* was quick to label the repression as the 'error of errors,' stating that the state's 'perverse' and 'bloodthirsty' response to the uprising would 'brew eternal hatred' and provoke 'bloody massacres'.<sup>80</sup> The violence of contemporary society had provoked the popular violence of the uprising, which in turn led to the shedding of 'more workers' blood'.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, *El Corsario* was keen to point out to 'the bourgeoisie' that they had achieved 'absolutely nothing': 'perhaps you have done something in benefit of your cause? No...Have you frightened those to whom we spread and defend [our] ideas? Even less... how much you are going to suffer if you do not try to amend yourself! See well what you have done; think and reflect while there is time'.<sup>82</sup> For these papers, unless this cycle of violence ended, unless a rational response to the situation was found, unless anarchism and peace were established, there would be further violent responses. This was not necessarily desired by anarchist commentators, but it was expected nevertheless.

The initial anger of the anarchist press following the executions reflected the mood of the movement in Spain and abroad. After 10 February Spanish consulates across Europe saw protests against the executions, punctuated by explosions and violent confrontations with police. Protests took place in a number of cities, most notably in Barcelona, where an explosion in the Plaza Real killed one bystander and wounded several others.<sup>83</sup> Similar attacks continued through the year, including one attempt to plant explosives in the entrance to the Cortes (Parliament) in Madrid which was blamed on the *La Anarquía* publishing group. Ernesto Álvarez and the typographer Francisco Ruiz were arrested and held in custody for a fortnight before being released.<sup>84</sup> Catalan anarcho-communist papers had called for such responses and celebrated them when they took place.<sup>85</sup> In contrast, the handful anarcho-communist published outside Cataluña at this time were less confrontational. In a

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<sup>78</sup> Cited in Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 182.

<sup>79</sup> Article cited in 'Patibulos en perspectiva,' *La Anarquía*, 75, (11/02/1892), 2.

<sup>80</sup> '¡Error funesto!', *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 75, (11/02/1892), 2.

<sup>81</sup> '¡Más sangre obrera!', *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 78, (03/03/1892), 1.

<sup>82</sup> '¿Qué habéis hecho?', *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 90, (14/02/1892), 2-3.

<sup>83</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 82. This incident was blamed on a group of anarcho-communists based in Gracia (Barcelona), whose publication *El Porvenir Anarquista* was closed and its editorial group arrested, see Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 41-42.

<sup>84</sup> 'Las bombas en el Congreso' and 'Los dinamiteros: En el gobierno civil,' *La Correspondencia de España*, (Madrid), 12417, (05/04/1892), 3; 'Las bombas explosivas: Otras noticias,' *La Iberia*, (Madrid), 12746, (18/04/1892), 3; 'Misceláneas,' *El Productor*, (Barcelona), 293, (07/04/1892), 2 and 294, (14/04/1892), 2; 'Convocatorias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 99, (24/04/1892), 4. *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): 'Miscelánea semanal,' 84, (21/04/1892), 2-3; E. Álvarez, 'Desde la cárcel' and 'Miscelánea semanal,' 85, (29/04/1892), 3 and 4. While in prison Álvarez was accused of having instigated the Jerez uprising, a charge which his paper strongly denied, see 'Miscelánea semanal,' *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 87, (13/05/1892), 2.

<sup>85</sup> 'El desgajamiento' and 'Miscelánea,' *Ravachol*, (Sabadell), 2, (11/11/1892), 1-2 and 3-4.

discussion of the ‘feudal’ repression of Jerez, *El Oprimido*, a short-lived anarcho-communist paper published in Algeciras (Cádiz), insisted that ‘anarchists are not supporters of the right of force...because despair does not drive anyone to violate the laws of nature’.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, *La Controversia* (Valencia) adopted a far more conciliatory tone than its anarcho-communist contemporaries in Cataluña.<sup>87</sup> Most other non-Catalan papers also distanced the movement from these attacks and instead blamed them on the police. One of the three convicted for the attempted attack on the Cortes – Francisco Muñoz – was widely believed to be an *agent provocateur*, and the incident was seen as an excuse to quell forthcoming May Day unrest.<sup>88</sup> *La Cuestión Social* declared that anarchists ‘do not need to place explosives in public plazas, since this would not resolve any problem, and we are not terrorists...only tyranny and despotism make use of the means of terror; the lovers of the liberty of the human race do not appeal to such trivial and ridiculous methods’.<sup>89</sup> *El Corsario* was also keen to stress that it was not anarchists who planted bombs but ‘the enemies of the worker’.<sup>90</sup> In September 1892, *La Anarquía* suggested that ‘mysterious persons’ were using ‘the name of a comrade of the editorial’ [presumably Álvarez] in an attempt to rouse further uprisings in Andalucía.<sup>91</sup> The paper distanced itself from these rumours, and warned that any further uprisings would be untimely and damaging to the ultimate goal of the Social Revolution [*sic*], ‘which in this precise moment is extremely uncertain of success’.<sup>92</sup>

The executions of Jerez marked the beginning of a sustained anarchist ‘martyrology’ in Spain, which would come to dominate the movement’s press for the following decade.<sup>93</sup> Valorising those who had been persecuted was a well-established response by anarchists to state violence, which sought to ‘turn the state’s most drastic punishment – death – against it by denying the state’s ability to terrify or defeat them,’ establishing a ‘reservoir of cultural images that [anarchists] continued to utilise for propaganda’.<sup>94</sup> Martyrs existed in Spanish anarchist culture prior to 1890s, but these had primarily been either historical figures, reimagined as martyrs to progressive ideas – for example Galileo Galilei, Giordano Bruno and Michael Servetus – or contemporary revolutionaries persecuted abroad.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>86</sup> ‘Cuatro palabras a la prensa burguesa,’ *El Oprimido*, (Algeciras), 2, (11/10/1893), 2.

<sup>87</sup> The closest this paper came to advocating or justifying violence was in the article ‘Otra táctica,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 3, (01/06/1893), 2. Even this article was mild compared to the tone of the Catalan anarcho-communist publications.

<sup>88</sup> ‘Miscelánea semanal,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 84, (21/04/1892), 2-3; ‘Paso el ciclón,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 86, (06/05/1892), 1; Palmiro [V. García], ‘Anarquistas, a defenderse,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 100, (01/05/1892), 1-2. See also López Estudillo, *Insurrección y provocación policial*, 34.

<sup>89</sup> F. Abayá, ‘Sección doctrinal,’ *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia), 1, (30/04/1892), 2.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Miscelánea,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 161, (30/07/1893), 2.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 105, (15/09/1892), 4.

<sup>92</sup> Cited in López Estudillo, *Insurrección y provocación policial*, 36-37.

<sup>93</sup> Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 197-200; Avilés Farré and Herrerín López, ‘Propaganda por el hecho,’ 173-174.

<sup>94</sup> E. Gabriel, ‘Performing persecution: Witnessing and martyrdom in the anarchist tradition,’ *Radical History Review*, 98, (Spring 2007), 46.

<sup>95</sup> References to Galileo, Bruno and Juan Huss in ‘¡Inútil empeño!,’ *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia), 2, (21/05/1892), 2; anarchist educational society named ‘Miguel Servet,’ in ‘Miscelánea semanal,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 112, (24/07/1892), 4 and 113, (31/07/1892), 3; ‘Lo de siempre,’ *El Invencible*, (Zaragoza), 1, 27/08/1895), 4.

The memory of the Paris Commune of 1871 was strong in Spanish anarchist culture; for example, in 1886 anarchist groups in Barcelona commemorated the fifteenth anniversary of the Commune with musical pieces, poetry, short plays and lectures in honour of the ‘martyrs’ of French repression.<sup>96</sup> The most prominent foreign martyrs, however, were the five anarchists blamed for the Haymarket ‘Affair’ of May 1886, when a protest in favour of the eight-hour day in Chicago had turned into a riot, and a bomb had been thrown at the police, killing seven officers and wounding several others. In response, the anarchists Albert Parsons, George Engel, Adolph Fischer and August Spies were hanged on 11 November 1887, while Luis Lingg committed suicide in his cell the previous evening.<sup>97</sup> All five were immediately made into martyrs by anarchist movements in the Americas and Europe, including Spain, where the anarchist press unanimously declared their outrage at the executions.<sup>98</sup> The ‘Chicago Martyrs’ were the subject of numerous special editions of papers and standalone pamphlets, including *¡¡Siete setencias de muerte!!* (1887), in which Ernesto Álvarez used the executions as evidence that all political systems – monarchical or republican – were sustained by violent oppression.<sup>99</sup> These foreign martyrs became central to anarchist commemorative culture in Spain, surpassing even those executed following the ‘Mano Negra’ affair five years previously.<sup>100</sup> Their international notoriety and assumed innocence captured the imagination of the movement, which made them the unquestioned symbol of the violent nature of the state. 11 November became ingrained as a time of remembrance, replacing the anniversary of the Commune as the prime date in the anarchist calendar, marked by special editions of periodicals and new publications.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Suplemento al número 5 de Acracia: 18 de Marzo 1871 – 1886: Velada socialista artístico-literaria en conmemoración del XV aniversario de la proclamación de la Commune de París*, (Barcelona, 1886), i-xx. See also celebrations organised by *La Anarquía* to celebrate the Commune in 1892: ‘El 18 de Marzo en Madrid,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 81, (25/03/1892), 4. In the 1890s many articles appeared in *La Idea Libre* (Madrid) on the Paris Commune: for example ‘Nuestro orden y vuestro desorden,’ 6, (09/06/1894), 1-2; ‘Veinticuatro años despues,’ L. [A. Lorenzo?], ‘Recuerdo de la Commune,’ (which sought to rehabilitate the memory of the masons in France), and ‘Episodo,’ 46, (16/03/1895), 1-2; the paper also reported on commemorations of the Commune which occurred in Barcelona in L., ‘Biblioteca Arus,’ 32, (08/12/1894), 2-3, Tarrasa and Sabadell in ‘Noticias,’ 100, (28/03/1896), 4. See also ‘¡Gloria inmarcesible a los mártires de la Commune de París!’, *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 94, (20/03/1892), 1-2 and special edition on the Commune: *Juventud*, (Valencia), 13, (27/03/1903), 1-6. On the immediate impact of the Commune in Spain see C. Lida, ‘La comuna de París y sus repercusiones: El caso Español,’ G. Palacios, and E. Pani, (eds.), *El poder y la sangre: Guerra, estado y nación en la década de 1860*, (Mexico City, 2014), 183-195.

<sup>97</sup> See P. Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, (Princeton, NJ, 1984) and T. Messer-Kruse, *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks*, (Urbana, IL, 2012).

<sup>98</sup> ‘Protesta contra las ejecuciones de los anarquistas de Chicago,’ *El Socialismo*, (Cádiz), 43, (12/12/1887), 3; frontispiece of *Acracia*, (Barcelona), 23, (11/1887), 1. Sueiro Seoane, ‘Prensa y redes anarquistas,’ 266-274. On the broader response to the execution and the memory of the martyrs see M. Murphy, ‘And they sang the “Marseillaise”: A look at the French press as it responded to the Haymarket,’ *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 29, (1986), 28-37; R.C. Sun, ‘Misguided martyrdom: German social democratic response to the Haymarket Incident, 1886-87,’ *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 29, (1986), 53-67; P. A. Shackel, ‘Remembering Haymarket and the control for public memory,’ L. Smith, P.A. Shackel and G. Campbell, (eds.), *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes*, (Oxon, 2011), 34-51.

<sup>99</sup> E. Álvarez, *¡¡Siete sentencias de muerte!! Proceso de los anarquistas en Chicago*, (Madrid, 1887), 3-7.

<sup>100</sup> ‘El martirio,’ *El Socialismo*, (Cádiz), 43, (12/12/1887), 1.

<sup>101</sup> López Estudillo, *Republicanism and anarchism*, 412-413; A. Ribera, ‘Memoria libertaria: Usos del calendario militante del anarquismo hispanoamericano,’ *Historias*, 75, (2010), 109-110, 119-122. For example *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 1, (11/11/1899); *Suplemento a “El Corsario” Numero 78: Honor a las*

After 10 February 1892 Spanish anarchism had martyrs of its own. *El Corsario* reified all five of those who had died in the aftermath of the uprising, dedicating its whole front page to the names of Zarzuela, Lamela, Fernandez Reina, Silvo Leal and Caro Clavo, followed by the statement: ‘redemptive ideas invigorate themselves with the blood of its martyrs’ [Plate 1.1].<sup>102</sup> The paper made no distinction between the executed, and downplayed the significance of the declaration against anarchism signed by Silvo Leal in the hours before his death, stating that he was illiterate and did not know what he was doing.<sup>103</sup>

Over the turn of the year 1892-3, the La Coruña workers’ federation which published *El Corsario* experienced severe economic difficulties. The paper was saved from collapse by the propaganda group ‘Ni Dios Ni Amo’ (Neither God Nor Master).<sup>104</sup> Its comrades at *El Productor* (Barcelona) – who had previously largely ignored the paper – celebrated *El Corsario*’s new-found ‘independence and liberty’ from the workers’ organisation, which had prevented it from fully embracing anarchist ideas.<sup>105</sup> One of the first acts of the new editors was to publish a special edition dedicated to the Jerez martyrs. Every article was full of praise for the honourable qualities of the executed – ‘Loyalty, Valour, Suffering, Abnegation and Heroism’ – and cries of ‘Glory to the martyrs of Jerez!’ and ‘Hurrah for Anarchy!’<sup>106</sup> ‘Ni Dios Ni Amo’ also organised an event on the evening of the 10 February 1893 at the local workers’ centre.<sup>107</sup> Precisely what the paper’s readers should do to venerate these martyrs was unclear. Commentators occasionally suggested that anarchists should seek ‘vengeance’ when ‘a new occurrence such as that of Jerez recurs,’ yet generally readers were encouraged to simply remember the names of the executed and continue their work for anarchism.<sup>108</sup>

The other major non-Catalan paper of this time, *La Anarquía*, was more selective in its portrayal of martyrdom than *El Corsario*. For this paper, martyr status was based upon two principles: innocence and a commitment to anarchism. These criteria were not met by all of those who died on 10 February. While lauding Zarzuela and Lamela, who were executed for ‘being anarchists,’ the paper made no mention of Fernández Reina, Silva Leal or Caro Clavo, who had been convicted of murder (or, in Caro Clavo’s case, as an accomplice to murder).<sup>109</sup> These three were widely believed to be guilty, even within anarchist circles, and none of them were recognised as being committed members

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*Mártires de Chicago: 11 de Noviembre de 1887*, (La Coruña, 1891), 1. On the broader cultural legacy of the Chicago martyrs in Spain see Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 159-160; Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 197-198.

<sup>102</sup> ‘A los anarquistas de Jerez,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 90, (14/02/1892), 1.

<sup>103</sup> ‘Miscelánea semanal,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 91, (21/02/1892), 4.

<sup>104</sup> *El Corsario: A Sus Lectores* – Letter published by ‘Ni Dios Ni Amo’ group as a *hoja* (01/01/93), 1.

<sup>105</sup> ‘Misceláneas,’ *El Productor*, (Barcelona) 333, (12/01/1893), 3. On *El Productor* previously ignoring the paper see ‘Noticias,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 84, (03/01/1892), 4. The same accusation was made by other non-Catalan papers, for example ‘Mesa revuelta,’ *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia), 4, (04/06/1892), 2.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Dos palabras a los mártires de Jerez,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 139, (10/02/1893), 2-3.

<sup>107</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): ‘Trabajadores coruñeses,’ 139, (10/02/1893), 1; La redacción, ‘¡¡¡10 de Febrero de 1892!!!,’ 139, (10/02/1893), 1.

<sup>108</sup> J. Ch., ‘Lo que hemos de hacer,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 139, (10/02/1893), 1.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Frente al patíbulo,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 75, (11/10/1892), 1.

Plate 1.1: Front-page commemoration of executed 'martyrs' of Jerez, *El Corsario* (La Coruña), 90, (14/02/1892), 1



of the anarchist movement.<sup>110</sup> Thus they were excluded from the martyr-narrative of *La Anarquía*, which venerated only the innocent, anarchist ‘comrades Zarzuela and Lamela’.<sup>111</sup> *La Anarquía* was also selective in its practical responses to the repression. The paper initially set up a relief fund for all four families of those executed in Jerez, yet after just one week the paper removed its support for the families of Fernández Reina and Silva Leal, since they were already receiving money from the ‘high classes,’ having repented for their actions and denied their involvement in the anarchist movement.<sup>112</sup> They were replaced with the family of Caro Clavo, who – the paper reported, although it could not possibly have known – had died with a cry of ‘Viva la Anarquía!’ The subscription was closed in the following July, by which time it had raised 170 pesetas.<sup>113</sup>

This stance drew criticism from other papers. *La Controversia* (Valencia), for example, attacked *La Anarquía*, stating that in a society founded on violence it was impossible to judge between guilty and innocent, thus all of those who died in Jerez deserved reverence.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, *La Anarquía* was not entirely alone in its selective interpretation of the Jerez martyrs. One year after the executions, Ricardo Mella published a detailed study of the uprising, stressing that the two men convicted of murder (Fernández Reina and Silva Leal) were not anarchists; a fact which had been overlooked by both the mainstream press and the military tribunals. While this ‘was of little importance’ to Mella – who considered them all to be ‘victims of bourgeois exploitation’ – he did see it as evidence of a deliberate blurring of the facts by the government, which sought to link anarchism to all violent activity.<sup>115</sup> For Mella, there was nothing within anarchism itself which either explained the uprising or justified the movement’s repression.

On the first anniversary of the executions *La Anarquía* returned to its praise for the executed, in particular for Lamela, whose portrait was printed on the paper’s front page, alongside a eulogy which claimed that ‘the death of one Lamela has caused the resurrection of new Lamelas...fervent anarchist[s], dedicated revolutionar [ies]’. Once again the paper stressed the innocence of Lamela and Zarzuela (and to a lesser extent Caro Clavo), while the names of Fernández Reina and Silva Leal were entirely absent.<sup>116</sup> Selective remembrance was also evident during a memorial service in Jerez in 1893, where the graves of Lamela, Zarzuela and Caro Clavo were the site of a public demonstration of

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<sup>110</sup> ‘Dos documentos y un suelto,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 77, (25/02/1892), 2; and Mella, *Los sucesos de Jerez*, 18-19.

<sup>111</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): ‘Después de la venganza,’ 76, (18/02/1892), 1; ‘Apuntes para la historia: Recortes de la prensa: Antes de la ejecución,’ 76, (18/02/1892), 4. López Estudillo, *Insurrección y provocación policial*, 34. This emphasis on innocence was also one of the prevailing features of the anarchist veneration of the Chicago martyrs, who had always maintained their innocence and were widely believed to have been subjected to an aberration of justice, a point emphasised in Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, 271-272.

<sup>112</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): ‘A todos los amantes del derecho,’ 76, (18/02/1892), 4; ‘Dos documentos y un suelto,’ and ‘Subscripción protesta,’ 77, (25/02/1892), 2 and 4.

<sup>113</sup> ‘Subscripción protesta a favor de las familias de Lamela, Zarzuela y Caro,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 96, (15/07/1892), 4.

<sup>114</sup> ‘Pusilánimes,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 4.

<sup>115</sup> Mella, *Los sucesos de Jerez*, 13; Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 181.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Lamela,’ ‘10 Febrero de 1892,’ ‘Los muertos hablan’ and ‘¡Gloria a nuestros compañeros: Sacrificados en Jerez!,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 126, (10/02/1893), 1-4.

around 4,000 people. No mention was made of the graves of Fernández Reina or Silva Leal in a report of the demonstration sent to *La Anarquía* from Lamela's brother.<sup>117</sup>

Other non-Catalan papers gave scant attention to the Jerez 'martyrs'. The uprising was mentioned only twice in the four issues of *La Cuestión Social* (Valencia), in which the repression was written into a narrative alongside the Paris Commune and Chicago, as an example of how 'the anarchist idea was put into the hands of the executioner'. The paper made no mention of martyrs, and repeatedly stated that individual violence was not an appropriate response to repression.<sup>118</sup> Instead the paper stressed that education and organisation were the only viable routes to an anarchist future.<sup>119</sup>

The Jerez uprising and its repression did not have a dramatic impact on conceptions of violence as portrayed by the anarchist press. Depictions of the popular violence during the uprising were largely uniform – the violence was understandable and to some extent inevitable, given the misery of the Jerez fieldworkers. Only a few, smaller papers portrayed the uprising as a legitimate revolutionary moment, and no anarchist publication outside Cataluña suggested that it had been the product of anarchist instigation. Differences did emerge, however, in the interpretation of the state violence that followed. The movement was united in its critique of the excessive and bloody repression, yet its papers differed in their interpretation of who deserved commemoration as martyrs. *El Corsario* was the main advocate of a broad interpretation of legitimate popular violence and the illegitimacy of the state's repression. In contrast, *La Anarquía* and figures such as Mella were keen to stress the nuances between anarchist activity – which was not responsible for the violence in Jerez – and that of 'the people'; the latter being understandable, but not deserving the same veneration. Although relatively slight at this point, these distinctions developed during the remainder of the decade, when a wave of terrorist attacks forced the movement to accept the reality of violence committed in the name of anarchism.

### Individual Violence: Terrorism in Barcelona: 1893-1896

1892 was a turning point for the international anarchist movement. Although anarchism had long been associated with uprisings, labour unrest, and to a lesser extent murder and robbery, from this year onwards anarchist violence became associated primarily with terrorism.<sup>120</sup> The first high-profile anarchist terrorist attacks occurred in France. In March 1892 a series of explosives were planted across Paris by a groups of anarchists led by François Koenigstein, known by his maternal surname,

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<sup>117</sup> J.F. Lamela, 'Desde la tumba,' *La Anarquía*, 127, (17/02/1893), 2-3; see also J.F. Lamela, 'Un saludo,' *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 125, (02/02/1893), 1; Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 184.

<sup>118</sup> *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia): C. Oemor and F. Abayá, 'Sección doctrinal,' 1, (30/04/1892), 1-2; 'Consideraciones,' 2, (21/05/1892), 1-2; 'El proletariado militante,' 4, (04/06/1892), 1.

<sup>119</sup> This paper was denounced to both civil and military authorities for its activities prior to 1 May 1892, see 'Noticias varias,' *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 89, (27/05/1892), 4.

<sup>120</sup> Bach Jensen, 'Daggers, rifles and dynamite,' 133-134.

‘Ravachol’.<sup>121</sup> Shortly afterwards the group was apprehended and all of its members sentenced to life imprisonment. Ravachol gained international notoriety from the moment of his arrest. He became a symbol of the depravity of anarchism in the popular press; a model type of the ‘mad bomber’ who threatened the general public with revolutionary ideas and violent tactics. The eminent criminologist Cesare Lombroso – who usually opposed the death penalty – stated that he ‘would not hesitate’ to execute a terrorist such as Ravachol.<sup>122</sup> In France, Ravachol’s actions were also the cause of controversy and debate in anarchist circles. While some groups saw him as an inspiration and admired his staunch defence of anarchism during his trial, others regarded his actions as detrimental to the cause and labelled him ‘an assassin and not an anarchist’.<sup>123</sup> Following a separate investigation, Ravachol was found guilty of several murders – including that of a 93-year-old hermit, which took place the previous year – and was guillotined.<sup>124</sup>

Ravachol briefly attracted a great deal of attention in the Spanish anarchist press. Many papers made reference to the defence given by ‘comrade Ravachol’ in the courtroom, praising his valiant defence of anarchism, and sold copies of his portrait.<sup>125</sup> Veneration of this ‘pioneer of anarchist terrorism’ extended beyond print culture, demonstrated by the numerous groups and pseudonyms which employed his name, such as the ‘Ravachol’ group of Sevilla and the moniker ‘Hurrah for Ravachol!’ which appeared in one subscription list.<sup>126</sup> One correspondent to *El Corsario* went as far as to name one of his twins Ravachol (the other was named Spartacus).<sup>127</sup> Ravachol caught the attention of the movement in a manner that the martyrs of Jerez had not. His terrorism had a clear intention, he was proud of it, and wanted to use his trial to explain publically that he had been driven by the injustices of contemporary society. Yet the image of Ravachol constructed in the anarchist press had little to do with the realities of his actions.<sup>128</sup> His terrorism had caused little damage, and no deaths, while the earlier murders for which he was executed were not designed as acts of propaganda.

In Spain, as in France, anarchist opinion on Ravachol’s actions was mixed. Yet whether anarchists in Spain agreed with his actions or not, they were driven to discuss Ravachol and the ‘propaganda by the deed’ he had conducted in the name of their movement. Álvarez labelled Ravachol as one ‘obsessed by maleficent influence,’ and claimed that he should not have been tried as

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<sup>121</sup> J. Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror*, (Boston, MA, 2009), 69-80; L. Rivas Lara, ‘El terrorismo anarquista en Francia,’ J. Avilés and Á. Herrérin (eds.), J. Avilés Farré and Á. Herrérin López (eds.), *El nacimiento del terrorismo en occidente*, (Madrid, 2008), 58-59.

<sup>122</sup> Cited in E.J. Erickson, ‘Punishing the mad bomber: Questions of moral responsibility in the trials of French anarchist terrorists,’ *French History*, 22.1, (2008), 61.

<sup>123</sup> Avilés Farré, ‘Los atentados de Paris,’ 179-183, at 180.

<sup>124</sup> Merriman, *The Dynamite Club*, 82.

<sup>125</sup> ‘Extracto de la defensa del compañero Ravachol,’ *La Cuestión Social*, (Valencia), 3, (28/05/1892), 4; ‘De todas partes,’ *La Anarquía*, (Madrid), 137, (27/04/1893), 4 and 138, (05/05/1893), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 153, (21/05/1893), 4.

<sup>126</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): ‘Subscripción...: Valencia,’ (La Coruña), 136, (22/01/1893), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ 144, (19/03/1893), 4.

<sup>127</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *El Corsario*, 170, (08/10/1893), 3.

<sup>128</sup> Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 196-197; Herrérin López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 85.

a criminal, but as a ‘therapeutic case,’ deserving neither praise nor condemnation, but compassion and ‘education’.<sup>129</sup> *El Corsario* found itself torn between not wishing to ‘make common cause with those who commit crimes’ while maintaining that Ravachol was an ‘energetic and dedicated...revolutionary’ whose actions were the fault of ‘this corrupt society’.<sup>130</sup> In subsequent years the paper portrayed Ravachol’s terrorism as a response to the violent character of the French state, without mentioning the crimes for which he was executed.<sup>131</sup> In contrast, anarcho-communist groups deemed Ravachol as being ‘logical in his acts’ and attacked *La Anarquía* and other papers which had ‘injured, libelled and dragged [his name] through the mud’.<sup>132</sup> In Cataluña, the short-lived anarcho-communist publication *Ravachol* (Sabadell, 1892, 2 issues) revelled in the actions of its namesake, while its successor *El Eco de Ravachol* (Sabadell, 1892-1893, 3 issues) provided its readers with two pages of information on the production of dynamite, ostensibly to help comrades in the explosives industry avoid accidents.<sup>133</sup>

The Spanish movement soon had terrorists of its own, although the first was nothing like as celebrated as Ravachol. In June 1893, for the second time in a year, the editorship of *La Anarquía* was held responsible for an attempted attack on the government. The paper’s typographer Francisco Ruiz was killed while planting a bomb at the house of the prime minister, Cánovas del Castillo, after the explosive detonated prematurely (reportedly because Ruiz was smoking a cigarette). His remains were scattered across the nearby street, including a card bearing the name of Ernesto Álvarez. *La Anarquía* was immediately closed and Álvarez was arrested, along with the paper’s printers and numerous well-known anarchists in Madrid.<sup>134</sup> Ruiz’s actions were amateurish and embarrassing to his colleagues in *La Anarquía*, who had constantly denied the legitimacy of using terrorism to further the anarchist cause. The attack did not capture the movement’s attention, nor was it portrayed as a true act of terrorism. *La Controversia* depicted his death as tragic, rather than heroic, and suggested that Ruiz was more of a republican federalist than an anarchist.<sup>135</sup> *El Corsario* stressed that Ruiz had ‘killed no-one, nor injured, nor caused any damage; he was the only victim,’ and suggested that the arrests which had followed were simply the product of government’s ‘blind’ hatred of anarchism.<sup>136</sup> Later in

<sup>129</sup> *La Anarquía*, (Madrid): E. Álvarez, ‘Desde la cárcel,’ 84, (21/04/1892), 2 and ‘La ejecución de Ravachol,’ 96, (15/07/1892), 1-2.

<sup>130</sup> ‘Declaraciones de Ravachol,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 111, (17/07/1892), 3-4.

<sup>131</sup> A.M., ‘De actualidad: ¡11 Julio de 1892!!,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 160, (23/07/1893), 2.

<sup>132</sup> ‘Nuestro fin,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 1, (03/06/1893), 1.

<sup>133</sup> ‘La dinamita,’ *El Eco de Ravachol*, 3, (21/01/1893), 1; Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 139. On the denouncement of *Ravachol*, see ‘Misceláneas,’ *El Productor* (Barcelona), 329, (15/12/1892), 2; on the reported escape of F. Toronell – editor of *Ravachol* – from prison in Sabadell see ‘Misceláneas,’ *El Productor*, (Barcelona), 358, (06/07/1893), 1.

<sup>134</sup> ‘Una explosión de dinamita en el palacio de Cánovas,’ *El Imparcial*, (Madrid), (21/06/1893), 2; ‘El atentado anarquista’ and ‘Conversación con dos anarquistas,’ *La Época*, (Madrid), 14,644, (22/06/1893), 2 and 3; ‘Miscelánea,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 158, (29/06/1893), 3. González Calleja, *La razón de la fuerza*, 271-272; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 90-91.

<sup>135</sup> ‘¡Gloria Victis!,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 3, (01/07/1893), 6.

<sup>136</sup> ‘Miscelánea,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 158, (29/06/1893), 3; ‘Sigue la arbitrariedad,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 160, (23/06/1893), 2.

the year this paper publicised a fund for Ruiz's widow instigated by an anarchist group in Sestao (Vizcaya), although this received little support from the paper's readership.<sup>137</sup> Scant attention was paid to Ruiz in future years, and even his former colleagues in *La Anarquía* made no mention of him in subsequent publications.

### The Attack on Martínez Campos

The first true act of anarchist terrorism in Spain took place two months later. On 24 September 1893 Paulino Pallás Latorre, an unemployed printer from Cambrils (Tarragona), threw 2 Orsini bombs at General Martínez Campos during the Fiesta de la Merced in Barcelona.<sup>138</sup> Martínez Campos was virtually untouched by the attack, but one Civil Guard and one civilian were killed, and several bystanders were wounded. Pallás remained at the scene, shouting 'Viva la Anarquía!' as he was apprehended. Pallás's attack was the first clear incident of 'propaganda by the deed' in Spain. It was a spectacular act of individual violence, of clear authorship, with a specific and symbolic target, designed to provoke a response which would benefit the anarchist movement.<sup>139</sup>

The attack forced the anarchist press to relocate away from Cataluña. Aside from *La Anarquía*, in the early 1890s all of the well-established papers of the movement were based in Barcelona. The most important, *El Productor*, had emerged in 1887 as an attempt to reconcile the doctrinal differences between anarcho-communists and anarcho-collectivists.<sup>140</sup> With a print run of up to 7,000 issues, and an extensive national and international distribution network, the paper was acknowledged as 'the most important workers' publication of its time' and 'the voice of Spanish anarchism,' not only by anarchists but also by the authorities who sought to curb its influence.<sup>141</sup> After the attack on Martínez Campos and under pressure from the city's authorities, *El Productor*'s printers refused to take any further orders from the paper. All of the other printers in the city did the same.<sup>142</sup> As their

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<sup>137</sup> Grupo de los desheredados, 'A todos los trabajadores,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 171, (15/10/1894), 3. Two months later the fund for Ruiz's widow was only 20 pesetas, compared to the 170 pesetas raised for the widow of Paulino Pallás, see 'Subscripción voluntaria a favor de las familias de los compañeros Francisco Ruiz y Paulino Pallás,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 177, (03/12/1894), 4. This discrepancy in the two funds remained constant in the following months, see 'A los habituales lectores de *El Corsario* y á todos los anarquistas,' one-off flyer published by *El Corsario*, (c.16/06/1894). See also sales of Ruiz's portrait for the benefit of his family in 'Noticias varias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 194, (27/12/1894), 4.

<sup>138</sup> On the development of the Orsini bomb – named after an Italian nationalist, who tested his device in Sheffield – see B.R. Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*, (London, 2005), 115, n.89 and Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 96.

<sup>139</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 93 and 'Anarchist sociability,' 161.

<sup>140</sup> 'Entre Anarquistas,' *El Productor*, (Barcelona), 95, (08/06/1888), 1. Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 126-127; Sueiro Seoane, 'Prensa y redes anarquistas,' 262-265.

<sup>141</sup> Arbeloa, 'La prensa obrera,' 163-165. The paper was singled out following the Jerez uprising as the prime motivator for the unrest of the *campesinos*; see Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 177-178 and Avilés Farré and Herrerín López, 'Propaganda por el hecho,' 173-174. *El Productor* also features in AMJF: C.24: Proceso contra anarquistas: 8: Documentos relativos a la rebelión anarquista, Cuaderno 4: Meses de Agosto de 1892 á de [no end date]:1893: Letter signed José Lopez, 14 April 1893, for its insidious reporting of the events in Jerez on year later, in the article 'Desde Jerez,' published in *El Productor*, (Barcelona), 335, (26/01/1893), 3.

<sup>142</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 134. The suspension of the paper was commented on in 'Noticias,' *El Corsario*, 170, (08/10/1893), 3 and 'Miscelánea,' *La Revancha*, (Reus), 3, (14/10/1893), 4.

paper was being suffocated out of existence, the editors of *El Productor* decided to pass their affairs over to a publishing group outside the city. With *La Anarquía* closed following Ruiz's attack, the only remaining candidate was *El Corsario*, which was the only non-communist paper outside Cataluña still in print.<sup>143</sup> Anarchist publishing in Barcelona ceased, and did not regain its pre-eminence in the movement until 1901.<sup>144</sup>

The shift from Cataluña to Galicia as the centre of the anarchist press network was unexpected. Although rural Galicia had long been regarded as a cultural backwater and the source of mass seasonal migration, Galician cities had been home to a mixture of progressive political movements, and maintained a strong tradition of republican federalism.<sup>145</sup> The FRE had held outposts La Coruña and Ferrol since the 1870s, and was particularly strong amongst artisans and construction workers.<sup>146</sup> A number of anarchist-worker papers – *El Trabajo* (Ferrol, c.1871), *Boletín de la Asociación de Trabajadores* (Ferrol, c.1872), *La Propaganda* (Vigo, 1881-1883), *El Higo del Trabajo* (Pontevedra, c.1882-3), *La Lucha Obrera* (La Coruña, c.1883-1884; c.1886), *La Unión Obrera* (Ferrol, c.1884), *El Cuarto Estado* (Orense, c.1886-1887), *La Bandera Roja* (La Coruña, c.1888) – were published in Galicia prior to the 1890s, however as the 'worst conserved' of all local anarchist newspapers, little is known about them other than their extremely short existence.<sup>147</sup> Like all of these papers, *El Corsario* was relatively marginal to anarchist print culture until 1893.<sup>148</sup> The handover from *El Productor* dramatically increased the scope of the paper, and made it responsible for the movement's national campaign funds.<sup>149</sup> This wholesale transfer of concerns from one anarchist paper to another was repeated twenty years later, when *El Libertario* (Gijón) became *Acción Libertaria* (Madrid) in 1913. Both were dramatic and unprecedented measures to sustain the movement through a period of repression. Despite the differences between anarchist papers, such moves suggest that throughout this period those working within the movement's print culture shared a sense of common purpose, and a

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<sup>143</sup> 'Notas administrativos de "El Productor",' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 174, (05/11/1893), 4.

<sup>144</sup> Romero Maura, *La rosa de fuego*, 204.

<sup>145</sup> On the First Republic and the federalist leader Pi y Margall see C.A.M. Hennessey, *The Federal Republic in Spain: Pi y Margall and the Federal Republican Movement: 1868-74*, (Oxford, 1962) and Carr, *Spain*, 305-346. Margall himself was a follower of Proudhon – also a key figure for the anarchist movement – and translated many of his works into Spanish, see Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 298-301. General introductions to the situation of Galicia in the nineteenth century can be found in Carr, *Spain*, 8-11. On migration from Galicia see X.A. López Taboada, *La población de Galicia: 1860-1991: Crecimiento movimiento natural y estructura de la población de Galicia*, (Santiago de Compostela, 1996) and X.M. Núñez Seixas, *Emigrantes, caciques e indianos: O influxo sociopolítico da emigración Transoceánica en Galicia (1900-1930)*, (Vigo, 1998).

<sup>146</sup> Freán Hernández, *El movimiento libertario*, 11-12.

<sup>147</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 137, n.697. The only one of these titles with any surviving copies is the anarcho-collectivist titles *La Propaganda* and *El Hijo del Trabajo*. The problem of conservation also applies to the earliest issues of *El Corsario*, as even the most complete collection of this title begins with number 44 (15/03/1891), almost a year after the paper began publishing.

<sup>148</sup> 'Noticias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 84, (03/01/1892), 4.

<sup>149</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): 'Correspondencia administrativa de "El Productor",' 174, (05/10/1893), 3-4; 'Notas administrativos de "El Productor",' 175, (12/11/1893), 4.

belief that their publications provided anarchism in Spain with a structure which should be maintained.

As in its reaction to the Jerez uprising, *El Corsario* presented a conflicted interpretation of the attack on Martínez Campos. The paper appeared to sympathise with Pallás and admired his ‘spirit of rebellion,’ but did not agree with his violent tactics.<sup>150</sup> The incident was portrayed as an individual act of an ‘honourable man and worker,’ whose unemployment had brought misery to his family, but it had not been undertaken for collective aims in the name of the anarchist movement. *El Corsario* also rejected the claim of the bourgeois press that Pallás was motivated by the ‘mere fact of being an anarchist’ and denied that the anarchist books and papers owned by Pallás had ‘confused his intelligence’ (which was suggested by his own defence council).<sup>151</sup> Rather than celebrate Pallás’s terrorist act, *El Corsario* sought to explain it through an anarchist analysis – society is corrupt, change is necessary, and individuals, driven by despair will inevitably commit violent acts such as this – while avoiding stating that terrorism was acceptable.

Pallás was executed by firing squad on 6 October in Montjuich Castle in Barcelona. In its coverage of the execution, *El Corsario* again stressed the desperation of Pallás and his family’s plight: ‘Pallás has been shot – for what crime? – because [he was] tired of traversing the world in search of bread to feed his children...and rather than dying like a coward he believed it best to protest’.<sup>152</sup> Pallás’s deed – the throwing of a bomb into a crowded public space with the aim of killing a symbolic military figure – was barely mentioned.<sup>153</sup> Nor did *El Corsario* publish Pallás’s own explanation for the attack, which he had outlined in a letter sent from his cell in Montjuich to the Republican paper *El País* (Madrid). In this letter Pallás made little mention of his own hardship and stressed that he had been motivated by a desire to ‘regenerate’ Spain’s ‘gangrenous’ society through a great ‘bath of blood’.<sup>154</sup> These comments were not repeated by *El Corsario*, which continued to stress Pallás’s desperation and misery and appeared unwilling to accept that he had been inspired by anarchist ideas.

In contrast, anarcho-communist papers reprinted Pallás’s letter with enthusiasm.<sup>155</sup> At the time of Pallás’s attack there were three anarcho-communist papers published outside Cataluña: *El Rebelde* (Zaragoza), *La Controversia* (Valencia) and *El Oprimido* (Algeciras). All of these papers depicted Pallás as an anarcho-communist, which they saw as a means to attack their rivals in the wider movement. In the days following the attack on Martínez Campos, prominent anarchists in Barcelona

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<sup>150</sup> Compare with French anarchist response to Émile Henry, see Avilés Farré, ‘Los atentados de Paris,’ 185.

<sup>151</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): ‘De actualidad,’ 169 (01/10/1893), 1-2; ‘Miscelánea’ and ‘Noticias,’ 170, (08/10/1893), 3, 4.

<sup>152</sup> La Redacción, ‘Pallás fusilado,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 171, (15/10/1893), 1.

<sup>153</sup> ‘De Actualidad,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 169, (01/10/1893), 1-2.

<sup>154</sup> Letter sent by Paulino Pallás to Alexandro Lerroux, then editor of *El País*, dated 03/10/1893, published as ‘Carta de Paulino Pallás: Autobiografía,’ *El País*, (Madrid), (08/10/1893), 1. Pallás chose *El País* because of all the mainstream press it had ‘insulted him the least’, see Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 94-96. On Lerroux’s relationship with the anarchist violence of 1893 see J. Álvarez Junco, *El emperador del Paralelo: Lerroux y la demagogia populista*, (Madrid, 1990), 147-150.

<sup>155</sup> ‘Documento notable,’ *El Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 4, (11/11/1893), 3-4.

had suggested to the mainstream press that the repression of the movement was unreasonable, since Pallás had not been involved in the city's anarchist unions.<sup>156</sup> Anarcho-communist papers such as *El Oprimido* saw this as evidence that he was 'a communist anarchist,' never to be 'seen in "meetings"... nor demonstrations of any kind...like Ravachol...[he] lived intensely, reflecting in solitude on the means to put his ideas into practice'.<sup>157</sup> *La Controversia* was also incensed by anarchist claims from Catalan anarcho-collectivists that Pallás was 'not an anarchist' as he was unknown to the Barcelona police, and sarcastically advised its readers to 'register yourselves!' with their local Civil Guard, if they wanted to be accepted by anarcho-collectivists.<sup>158</sup> This paper also attacked the anarchist periodical *La Tramontana* (Barcelona), which had declared that those who used dynamite were 'not anarchists,' in response to Pallás's terrorism.<sup>159</sup> *La Controversia* pointed out that there had been no vote on the subject, nor should there be, as true anarchists acted upon their own volition.<sup>160</sup>

Anarcho-communist papers saw Pallás's act as a legitimate response to the ills of contemporary society. It was not an individual act of a desperate man – as in *El Corsario* – but a symbolic and calculated blow against society. They praised the propaganda aspect of his attack, which was 'an immense protest against the crimes, the infamies and the social torments' of contemporary society.<sup>161</sup> They also praised the honourable way in which he had conducted himself, by remaining at the scene, accepting arrest and holding to his anarchist beliefs in court. 'Men [who are] truly men' – like Pallás – did not shy away from such deeds; they were not '*mujerzuelas* [tarts]' who regretted their actions.<sup>162</sup> This use of misogynistic rhetoric was uncommon in the wider anarchist press. Framing violence in a gendered manner emphasised Pallás's violence as one of a strong, independent individual, fully immersed in the ideals of anarcho-communism. He was virile and prepared to act, in contrast to the weak, effeminate passivity which marked the opponents of terrorism, including those within the anarchist movement. If Pallás intended his terrorism to act as an effective means of propaganda, he might have expected more robust support from the movement's press. Only a small number of papers had given unconditional support for his actions, and even these did not necessarily suggest that his terrorism should be repeated.

The situation of the anarchist press deteriorated after Pallás's attack and subsequent execution. *El Rebelde* was denounced to the local authorities; *La Controversia* and *El Oprimido* were closed by the end of October 1893, as were the Catalan publications *La Revancha* (Reus) and *La Conquista del*

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<sup>156</sup> 'Lo de Barcelona: Anarquistas que protestan,' *El Liberal*, (Madrid), 5,108, (27/09/1893), 1; 'Pusilánimes,' *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 4.

<sup>157</sup> 'Paulino Pallás,' *El Oprimido*, (Algeciras), 2, (11/10/93), 2-3, emphasis added.

<sup>158</sup> 'Pusilánimes,' *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 4, emphasis in original.

<sup>159</sup> *La Tramontana* was very unusual in the anarchist press of this period, as it published many of its articles in Catalán, for more on this paper and the use of the Catalán language in the anarchist press see Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 31-35, 96-99.

<sup>160</sup> 'Pusilánimes,' *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 4.

<sup>161</sup> 'Os habéis vengado,' *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 1.

<sup>162</sup> 'Os habéis vengado,' *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 1; 'Contestaciones,' *El Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 3, (21/10/1893), 2-3.

*Pan* (Barcelona), while *La Tramontana* was suspended until 1895.<sup>163</sup> The only paper which survived this wave of closures was *El Corsario*, leaving it the sole anarchist commentator on the next incident of anarchist violence.

### The Líceo Bombing

On 7 November 1893, a month after Pallás's execution, two Orsini bombs were thrown into the stalls of the Líceo Opera Theatre in Barcelona during a performance of Rossini's *William Tell*.<sup>164</sup> Fourteen people were killed immediately and a further six succumbed to their injuries in the following weeks.<sup>165</sup> The Líceo bombing was different to Pallás's attack on Martínez Campos. It was not an attempted assassination, but an indiscriminate attack upon the general public. While the audience of the theatre could conceivably be seen as belonging to the 'bourgeoisie,' this was a vague target compared to the clear symbolism of Pallás assault upon a high-ranking military official. The suggestion of Herrerín López that the Líceo was the second of a sequence of attacks upon the state (Martínez Campos), capitalism-bourgeoisie (Líceo) and Church (the 1896 attack on the Corpus Christi celebrations) is attractive; however it also suggests a degree of coherency and clarity linking these attacks, which is not apparent from most sources.<sup>166</sup>

Investigations into the attack began immediately. Unlike Pallás, the author of the Líceo attack had not remained at the scene and proclaimed the values of anarchism. Although the culprit remained unknown, it was assumed that this was another incident of anarchist terrorism, prompting clamours for a specific law against anarchism across the mainstream Spanish press.<sup>167</sup> A 'state of war' was declared in Barcelona, which remained in place for over a year. A huge wave of arrests began immediately. The vast majority of those arrested were anarchists and 'ringleaders' in the labour

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<sup>163</sup> Notice of suspensión of *El Rebelde* in 'Noticias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 177, (03/12/1893), 4; 'Post nubilla febius,' *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 1; Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1, 363, 413-415.

<sup>164</sup> It had been claimed by Benedict Anderson that the performance was deliberately chosen, as the Swiss character was 'widely regarded as an ancestral hero' by late nineteenth century radicals, see Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 116, n.91. Tell does appear occasionally in Spanish anarchist culture: for example, the symphony of same opera was performed during a commemoration of the Paris commune in 1886, see *Suplemento al número 5 de Acracia*, ii. Tell also appeared in *La Idea Libre*'s discussion of Switzerland as 'the land of William Tell' in 'Mercado de niños,' 73, (21/09/95), 1, although the connection with the opera-attack is not made explicit anywhere. It is more likely that the performance was chosen by Salvador as it was the opening of a new season. That *William Tell* was the opera selected for this prestigious position in the calendar relates to the burgeoning Catalan nationalist identity and its high regard for small, independent, successful states such as Switzerland and their folklore traditions.

<sup>165</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 98-99.

<sup>166</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 129.

<sup>167</sup> See 'Detalles de catástrofe,' *El Imparcial*, (Madrid), (09/11/1893), 1-2, for the immediate suspicion of anarchist involvement in the attack and 'La dinamita en Barcelona,' and 'Campaña contra los anarquistas,' *El Imparcial*, (Madrid), (12/11/1893), 1, 2 for the European-wide suppression of the movement. The bombing made news across the continent, for example in the famous front-page depiction of the event in *Le Petit Journal: Supplément Illustré*, (Paris), 157, (25/11/1893), 1. See also Jensen, 'Daggers, rifles and dynamite,' 141-142.

movement, who were taken to the military fortress of Montjuich for questioning.<sup>168</sup> Suspects were tortured, and the documents from newspapers and workers' associations were seized, but it was not until January 1894 that a culprit was established. Santiago Salvador Franch, a former bartender and alcohol smuggler, was arrested in Zaragoza, where he confessed to the police after unsuccessfully attempting to commit suicide.<sup>169</sup> In the following months Salvador attempted to repent his actions, publically renouncing anarchism and begging for forgiveness from the Catholic Church.<sup>170</sup> When salvation was unforthcoming, he changed position again and publically mocked the Church prior to his execution, which he met – like Pallás – with the cry of 'Viva la Anarquía!' on 21 November 1894.<sup>171</sup>

Salvador's indiscriminate attack, his muddled attempts at escaping and constant backtracking made him a more ambiguous author of 'propaganda by the deed' than his predecessors Ravachol and Pallás. This confusion was reflected in the pages of *El Corsario*. The paper's first response was to condemn the 'salaried,' 'bourgeois' press for its myopic depiction of current events in Spain: 'Hypocrites!...you cry for the victims of the *Líceo* and yet you are not even shaken when 200 miners are left buried between the rubble'.<sup>172</sup> Without a distinct author or motive for the attack, the paper focused on the repression in Barcelona, calling for solidarity across the country for those comrades arrested and warning the authorities to 'bear in mind not to give further motive for reprisals' since the movement 'already has enough'.<sup>173</sup> As with the attack on Martínez Campos, *El Corsario* displayed no ecstasy in the violence of the *Líceo* bombing, and denied the revolutionary potential of terrorism, declaring that 'we know that Anarchism [*sic*] cannot succeed through terrorising, but through convincing; we do not want...to implant our ideas by imposition, but by freedom'.<sup>174</sup>

*El Corsario* was still adjusting to its role as the main publication of the movement and much of its print space was dedicated to administrative affairs. Its editors felt responsible for maintaining the movements national and international networks, which were threatened by the bombing of the *Líceo*, particularly as no one had accepted responsibility for the attack. Repression of the paper was inevitable, given its standing as the sole anarchist paper left in print. Seemingly aware of its imminent

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<sup>168</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 100. Figures on the total number of arrests vary, Nuñez Florencio puts the number at 124 in *El terrorismo anarquista*, 193, whilst the contemporary French anarchist paper *Le Révolte*, (Paris), (06/01/1894) claimed that 500 had been arrested since Pallás attack. Herrerín López's figure of 260 by the end of 1893 comes from *Diario de Barcelona*, (Barcelona), (29/12/1893).

<sup>169</sup> 'Los anarquistas: En Zaragoza,' *El Imparcial*, (02/01/1894), 2.

<sup>170</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 187.

<sup>171</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 496. An account of Salvador's apparent conversion, his confession and desire to enter the Dominican order can be found in 'Los anarquistas: La conversión de Salvador,' *La Época*, (Madrid), 15,066, (27/08/1894), 2; and his final moments, including his last minute denouncement of all religions in 'Ejecución del anarquista Salvador,' *La Época*, (Madrid), 15,987, (21/11/1894), 1.

<sup>172</sup> 'Una bomba...', *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 176, (19/11/1893), 3. The article does not specify which mining disaster it refers to.

<sup>173</sup> '¡Solidaridad!' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 176, (19/11/1893), 4.

<sup>174</sup> 'Justificación,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 177, (03/12/1893), 1.

closure, the paper informed its readers of the immense difficulty it was having in December 1893, labelling itself ‘anaemic’, and closed shortly afterwards.<sup>175</sup>

The Lull, 1894-1896

Anarchist outrages continued to take place outside Spain. Between November 1893 and June 1894 a string of attacks took place in France, including an attack on a Serbian diplomat by Léon Leauthier; the bombing of the National Assembly by August Vaillant; the bombing of the café Terminus by Émile Henry (who was also responsible for planting dynamite at a mining company in 1892); and the assassination of President Carnot by Sante Caserio.<sup>176</sup> Most of these figures cited revenge as one of their key motivations: Vaillant referenced the execution of Ravachol at trial; Henry’s attack took place one week after Vaillant’s execution, which had infuriated him; while Caserio claimed he was motivated for vengeance for all of his predecessors, and sent a photograph of Ravachol to Carnot’s widow-to-be, which arrived on the same day that he murdered her husband.<sup>177</sup>

In contrast to the spiralling violence in France, there was lull in anarchist terrorism in Spain after the Liceo bombing. This allowed for a partial reconstruction of anarchist print culture. A handful of titles emerged in Cataluña, including *Ciencia Social* (Barcelona), a journal of ‘sociology, arts and writing’ launched in October 1895. Yet the largest papers of the movement continued to be based away from Barcelona. Unlike their colleagues at *El Productor*, the administration of *El Corsario* was not completely incapacitated by repression and the paper returned to print in September 1894. Although this second epoch was not marked by any new anarchist attacks in Spain, the paper did comment on the continuing violence in France. Vaillant, Henry and Caserio were commemorated as martyrs by the paper, which was far more prepared to celebrate anarchist terrorism abroad than it was in Spain.<sup>178</sup> Nevertheless, the paper retained its general tone of negativity towards violence, for example in a piece ‘I do not conform’, which declared the throwing of bombs to be ‘unwanted’ and its perpetrators ‘not good anarchists’.<sup>179</sup>

As anarchist outrages ceased in Spain, a series of short-lived anarcho-communist papers were launched in Zaragoza: *El Eco del Rebelde*, (1894), *El Invencible*, (1895) and *El Comunista*, (1895), which between them published only nine issues. These papers followed the publishing line of *El Rebelde*, and retained their predecessors’ celebratory attitude to terrorism.<sup>180</sup> Vicente García, the former editor of *El Combate* (Bilbao) and a frequent contributor to the anarchist press, suggested to the readers of *El Eco del Rebelde* that ‘the violence of society’ should be ‘combated with another

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<sup>175</sup> ‘Miscelánea,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 177, (03/12/1893), 3.

<sup>176</sup> Avilés Farré, ‘Los atentados de Paris,’ 183-186.

<sup>177</sup> Rivas Lara, ‘Terrorismo anarquista en Francia,’ 63-74; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 159-160.

<sup>178</sup> ‘Augusto Vaillant: 5 de Febrero de 1894,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 200, (07/02/1895), 1; ‘Año nuevo y año viejo,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 195, (03/01/1895), 2.

<sup>179</sup> ‘Ne se conforme,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 204, (07/03/1895), 2.

<sup>180</sup> ‘Post nubilla febius,’ *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 1; ‘Aviso importante,’ *El Invencible*, (Zaragoza), 1, (27/08/1895), 1.

force'.<sup>181</sup> He claimed that 'the anarchists know perfectly well that by getting rid of one bourgeois, two or twenty, one general, marques, prince, king, emperor etc. we do not end evil' but if an anarchist was to 'possess enough phosphorus' and 'considered it more honourable ...to give a harsh lesson to the society of banditry than to die as a coward' then he was not to blame.<sup>182</sup> The contributor 'Yllenatnom' [J. Montanelli?] was equally convinced of the need for action, stating in *El Invencible* that the only route to a peaceful, acceptable society was 'violent revolution' and an acceptance that 'blood must be spilt'.<sup>183</sup> Both papers stressed the martyrdom of Ravachol, Pallás, Salvador, Vaillant, Henry and Caserio, and were convinced that their example would be followed: 'prepare the scaffolds, sharpen the guillotines...the anarchist knows how to die'.<sup>184</sup> Both papers were denounced in quick succession and their editor, Nicaso Domingo, was imprisoned, but this did not prevent the publication of *El Comunista* three months later.<sup>185</sup> Although less violent in tone, this paper continued largely in the same style as its predecessors. Immediate revolution was the only solution to the injustices of modern society, while peaceful revolutionary strategies such as education were futile, since they would not 'produce the great social cataclysm' and would serve only to 'reinforce the phalanxes of the privileged'.<sup>186</sup> *El Comunista* was forced to close after just four issues, marking the end of nineteenth-century anarcho-communist publishing in Spain.<sup>187</sup>

Despite the violent rhetoric of these anarcho-communist papers, they were not entirely untroubled by terrorism. Even for these groups, anarchists were not 'supporters of force' out of choice; they were obliged to adopt these tactics in order to remove the yoke of oppression from the masses they looked to liberate. Terrorism was thus only justified because they were locked in a 'life-and-death contest' with the ruling classes.<sup>188</sup> This distinguishes the anarcho-communists of the early 1890s from the Nietzschean-influenced sections of the movement a decade later, whose espousal of violence was much more concerned with 'sculpting' a new type of humanity, rather than as a means towards a peaceful future.<sup>189</sup> Nevertheless, the anarcho-communist heyday of the late 1880s and early 1890s was brought to an end by its support for terrorism, which became increasingly untenable after

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<sup>181</sup> Palmiro [V. García], 'La fuerza,' *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 1-2. On García's use of this pseudonym see M. Íñiguez, *Esbozo de una enciclopedia histórica del anarquismo Español*, (Madrid, 2001), 250. Further evidence for this can be found in Palmiro, 'Crímenes sociales,' *El Comunista*, (Zaragoza), 2, (30/11/1895), 1, in which Palmiro speaks of being arrested in 1890 for crimes related to publishing – the same charges brought against García in that year.

<sup>182</sup> Palmiro [V. García], 'La fuerza,' *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 1-2.

<sup>183</sup> Yllenatnom, [J. Montanelli?], 'A grandes males grandes remedios,' *El Invencible*, (Zaragoza), 1, (27/08/1895), 1-2.

<sup>184</sup> Palmiro [V. García], 'No lo olvidaremos,' *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 2; R., 'Sante Caserio,' *El Invencible*, (Zaragoza), 1, (27/08/1895), 1; Un estudiante, '¡Luz! ¡Luz!,' *El Invencible*, (Zaragoza), 1, (27/08/1895), 2. See also J. Palomo, 'A un artículo de Castelar,' *Suplemento al Num.3 de El Eco del Rebelde*, (16/06/1895), 2.

<sup>185</sup> 'Aviso importante,' *El Invencible*, (Zaragoza), 1, (27/08/1895), 1; 'De todo un poco,' *El Comunista*, (Zaragoza), 3, (31/12/1895), 4.

<sup>186</sup> R., 'Criterio revolucionario,' *El Comunista*, (Zaragoza), 2, (30/11/1895), 4.

<sup>187</sup> 'Noticias varias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 233, (04/06/96), 4.

<sup>188</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 168.

<sup>189</sup> La Redacción, 'Hacia las cumbres,' *Anticristo*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 1, (31/03/1906), 1.

1893. Although few anarcho-communists had actually carried out terrorist attacks, they and their press had become victims of their own hubris in a context of repression, placing themselves outside the law and distancing themselves from support within the wider movement.

It was not only anarcho-communism that suffered in this period, so too did its factional rivals. Anarcho-collectivism had ceased to be used as a term by most anarchist papers in the early 1890s. Those who supported collectivism's preference for unionism – such as Ricardo Mella – began to refer to themselves simply as supporters of an *anarquismo sin adjetivos* [‘anarchism without adjectives’].<sup>190</sup> This was also the stated position of papers such as *El Productor* and *El Corsario*, which sought to present a unity of purpose within the movement by not engaging in disputes with anarcho-communist papers. Despite these attempts at reconciliation, anarcho-communist groups continued to refer to all non-communist papers by the term ‘collectivists’. This was intended as an insult, which presented communism as the only true form of anarchism and collectivism as a form of quasi-parliamentary socialism.<sup>191</sup>

Collectivism, with its emphasis on trade unionism, ceased to have much relevance as the movement lost support from large swathes of the working class. Rather than anarchism ‘without adjectives,’ anarcho-collectivism had been reduced to anarchism without support, epitomised in the last collectivist publication of the 1890s, *La Idea Libre* (Madrid). After Francisco Ruiz's botched attack on Cánovas and the closure of *La Anarquía*, Ernesto Álvarez and the remainder of his publishing group set about the reconstruction of their paper. The result, *La Idea Libre*, was another example of the group's preference for discussions of ideology, world events and cultural projects such as ‘revolutionary’ theatre.<sup>192</sup> The first issue of the paper was published in April 1894, at almost exactly the same time that legislation criminalising the provocation of ‘violence committed by explosives’ – in effect a law against anarchism – was passed through the Cortes.<sup>193</sup> In this context, *La Idea Libre* initially struggled to get off the ground.<sup>194</sup> Its early subscription lists were small, and the

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<sup>190</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 134-154.

<sup>191</sup> ‘Puritanismo anarquico,’ *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 2-3. A collectivist response to this tendency can be found in ‘Anarquía y colectivismo,’ *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 4, (19/08/1893), 3-4.

<sup>192</sup> Discussion of the theatre was given a great deal of space in the paper, particularly towards the end of the first epoch, when a regular common ‘Teatro Moderno’ appeared (for example see, 96, (29/02/1896), 2-3; 98 (14/03/1896), 3-4; 104 (25/04/1896) alongside adverts for Teresa Claramunt's ‘Teatro Circo Barcelonés,’ (97, (07/03/1896), 4) and front-page portraits and biographies of the ‘revolutionary’ Norwegian playwrights Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Henrik Ibsen, see 108, (22/05/1896), 1 and 107, (15/12/1896), 1 respectively. The paper's enthusiasm towards any play which portrayed ‘social realities’ came from Álvarez. This attitude provoked a dispute with Anselmo Lorenzo, who wrote to the paper to deny the purely ‘anarchist’ message of the play *Juan José* by Joaquín Dicenta, which Álvarez had given a glowing, two-page review, see *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): E. Álvarez, ‘Juan José,’ 80 (09/11/1895), 1-2 and A. Lorenzo, ‘Á Juan José,’ letter to the editorial, 83 (30/11/1894), 2-3.

<sup>193</sup> The law was passed by Sagasta's Liberal Government, who successfully managed to resist calls from conservatives to specifically name anarchism or associations in general in its wording, see Rojas Sánchez, ‘Legislación,’ 76-77. Nevertheless, the target of the law was clearly the anarchist movement.

<sup>194</sup> A frank appeal detailing the low readership of the paper was printed in early 1895, which stated that the life of *La Idea Libre* lay in the hands of its subscribers and correspondents: ‘A los nuestros,’ *La Idea Libre*,

paper constantly railed against the ‘scandalous abuses’ of the postal service, which reportedly ‘lost,’ tampered with and delayed packages of the paper.<sup>195</sup> Nevertheless, by mid-1895 the paper had become the most respected publication of the movement, and received contributions from the leading figures in Spanish anarchism, such as Anselmo Lorenzo (often simply ‘L.’), José Prat (‘J.P.’ and ‘Urania’) and above all Mella (going by his various titles of ‘R’, ‘R.M’. and ‘Raúl’), alongside ‘Tracio’ (‘Thracian’) who it can be assumed was Álvarez.<sup>196</sup>

*La Idea Libre* did not discuss individual terrorists. The name of Santiago Salvador did not appear a single time in the paper, nor did those of the French anarchist terrorists, although it did make one short reference to the assassination of President Carnot.<sup>197</sup> Pallás was mentioned only in passing, when the paper briefly explained that it would not be printing his portrait – as it had previously announced – as no picture of him existed.<sup>198</sup> This was not true, as at least three portraits of Pallás had been published in the mainstream press between September and October 1893, as well as in the anarchist paper *La Controversia*. It is hard to believe that Álvarez was unaware of these.<sup>199</sup> The paper was, however, prepared to discuss the uprising in Jerez, which it portrayed as a product of economic grievances rather than ‘invented’ revolutionary agitation.<sup>200</sup> As in *La Anarquía*, the paper was only concerned with those who had been condemned under what it saw as false pretences – Lamela, Zarzuela and Caro Clavo – whom it saw as the victims rather than the perpetrators of violence.<sup>201</sup>

Instead of discussing terrorists, the paper clung to the ever-diminishing prospects of cementing anarchism within the workers’ movement.<sup>202</sup> The 1894 legislation designed to halt terrorism did not only restrict the practice of anarchism; it also gave room for allowed local authorities to suppress any working class organisation which could be said to facilitate ‘criminal’ intent, including unions, publications, meetings and ‘discussions in general’. Although similar laws were drawn up across Europe, their application in Spain was more indiscriminate, and successfully suppressed the wider

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(Madrid), 42, (16/02/1895), 2. That the paper did not collapse and the growth of its administration section suggests that orders increased. See also ‘Noticias,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 59, (15/06/1894), 4.

<sup>195</sup> Examples of public complaints about the Correos in *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): ‘Noticias varias,’ 15, (13/08/1894), 3; ‘Noticias varias,’ 17, (25/08/1894), 4; ‘El nacimiento,’ 35, (29/12/1894), 1-2, n.1; ‘¡Correos!’, 36, (05/01/1895), 2; ‘Noticias,’ 54, (11/05/1895), 4; ‘Noticias,’ 79, (01/11/1895), 4 and throughout its administrative correspondence section.

<sup>196</sup> The claim that Álvarez was probably ‘Traico’ is supported by the fact that this name does not appear in any issue in a period when the editor was ill in 1896 [*La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 93-94, (08/02/1896-15/02/1896)]. Tracio is presumably a reference to Spartacus (from Thrace). One of Álvarez’s few stand-alone publications was the 84-page pamphlet *Espartaco (bosquejo histórico)*, (Madrid, 1895), which valorised Spartacus as the leader of a great revolutionary movement which had been crushed and cruelly repressed. Álvarez also named his son Spartacus, see E. Álvarez, ‘Remitido,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 93, (31/07/1901), 4.

<sup>197</sup> L. Bonafoux, ‘En el fango,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 89 (11/01/1896), 2.

<sup>198</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 58, (15/06/1895), 4.

<sup>199</sup> Portraits published in ‘Lo de Barcelona,’ *El Liberal*, (Madrid), 5,109, (28/09/1893), 1; ‘Atentado contra al general Martínez Campos,’ *La Época*, (Madrid), 14,745, (03/10/1893), 2; ‘Ecos de otoño,’ *La Ilustración Ibérica*, (Barcelona), 562, (07/10/1893), 2; *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 1.

<sup>200</sup> ‘Fermín Salvochea y Álvarez,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 93, (08/02/1896), 1-2.

<sup>201</sup> Editorial notice dedicating paper to Jerez martyrs, *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 93, (08/02/1896), 2.

<sup>202</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 25, (20/10/1894), 4.

workers' movement until 1898.<sup>203</sup> In *La Idea Libre*, former collectivists despaired of this situation, which they blamed on 'individual acts' which had brought about 'confusion' and an indelible stain on the name of anarchism.<sup>204</sup> They rejected the 'fanaticism' of 'idiots,' whose 'anachronistic' programme for destruction had changed nothing and had instead brought immense harm to the movement.<sup>205</sup>

*La Idea Libre* represented the last publication of nineteenth-century anarcho-collectivism. Discussions of union organisation were largely absent from the paper, not because its contributors no longer valued this strategy, but because it was futile to even imagine the reconstruction of a popular anarchist movement at this time. A telling feature of *La Idea Libre*, which set it apart from its predecessor *La Anarquía* and its successor *La Protesta* (1899-1902), was its frequent evocation of the past. Historical pieces praised past glories such as the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, the Paris Commune and the Spanish First Republic as evidence of mass, spontaneous revolutionary action, moments of glory which contrasted with the seemingly endless repression of the 1890s.<sup>206</sup> The paper also differed from earlier papers in its criticism of May Day celebrations. Previously a sign of worker strength, the date had been hijacked and 'disfigured' by parliamentary socialists and transformed into a 'humdrum *fiesta*...of slavery' which was 'losing character and importance every year,' to the point that it was now 'a wasted symbol'.<sup>207</sup> The content and rhetoric of *La Idea Libre* was indicative of its inability to speak to the wider workers' movement and the precarious state of Spanish anarchism in general. Such resignation, introspection and lament had been uncommon in the anarchist press up to this point.

The debate between anarcho-collectivists and anarcho-communists had torn the movement apart in the late 1880s, making the FTRE unworkable and leaving deep resentments between the conflicting parties. By 1895 the argument had been settled, but neither had emerged victorious. The antagonism of communism and the irrelevance of collectivism ensured that both of these sectors of anarchist thought waned when confronted with the realities of violence and repression.

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<sup>203</sup> Herrerin López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 107-110

<sup>204</sup> Raúl, [R. Mella], 'En defensa del anarquismo,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 47, (23/03/1895), 1;

<sup>205</sup> R.M. [R. Mella], 'Un recuerdo,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 28, (10/11/1894), 3-4; Ramos-Gorostiza, '*La Nueva Utopía*,' 8; A. Fernández Álvarez, *Ricardo Mella o el anarquismo humanista*, (Barcelona, 1990), 44.

<sup>206</sup> On the French Revolution see *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): 'La bastilla: 14 de Junio de 1789,' and '¡A la bastilla!', 4 (26/05/1894), 1 and 1-2; '¡Llor a los héroes de 1789!', 63, (13/07/1895), 1-2; A. Lorenzo, 'La gran muralla de Francia,' 89, (11/01/1896), 1; 'Agitación,' 19, (08/09/1894), 2; L. Blanc, 'Junio de 1848,' 4, (26/05/1894), 1-2; M. González de Quesada, 'La revolución y el principio de autoridad: Estudio histórico,' 54, (11/05/1895), 1-2; '¡10 de Julio de 1873!', 63, (13/07/1895), 3; 'Evolución, revolución,' 65, (27/07/1895), 1-2.

<sup>207</sup> 'RIP,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 2, (09/05/1894), 2; 'Vuelapluma,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 50, (11/04/1895), 3; A. Calderón, 'Statu quo,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 54, (11/05/1895), 1; 'El congreso internacional de Londres,' *La Idea Libre*, 97, (07/03/1896), 1; A. Lorenzo, 'Sobre el 1 de Mayo,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 105, (01/05/1896), 2. On the socialists' continued enthusiasm for May Day see C. Serrano, , '*La Lucha de Clases et le 1er mai (1896-1907)*,' J. Maurice, B. Magnien and D.B. Genevois, (eds.), *Peuple, mouvement ouvrier, culture dans l'Espagne contemporaine: Cultures populaires, cultures ouvrières en Espagne de 1840 à 1936/Pueblo, movimiento obrero y cultura en la España contemporánea: Culturas populares, culturas obreras en España entre 1840 y 1936*, (Paris, 1990), 217-226.

## The Corpus Cristi Bombing

The lull in anarchist violence was shattered in the summer of 1896. On 7 June a bomb exploded in Barcelona, at the junction of Cambios Nuevos and Arenas de Cambio, during the Corpus Christi procession, leaving 12 dead and more than 70 hospitalised.<sup>208</sup> As with the Liceo bombing, the author of this indiscriminate terrorism was initially unknown; indeed, a definite identity for the bomber was never established.<sup>209</sup> Nevertheless, the culprit was assumed to be an anarchist and vengeance was the order of the day in both the mainstream press and the Cortes. Repression targeted specifically against anarchism intensified, exceeding that which followed the attacks of 1893 in both severity and scale. Hundreds of anarchists were arrested in Barcelona, alongside republicans, socialists, unionists, masons, free-thinkers, secular educators and anyone who ‘resisted the status quo’. The rest of Spain was not exempt from this spirit of retribution. Legislation passed in September 1896 made the expression of anarchism illegal, in an attempt to outlaw the ideology. Any group, centre or periodical bearing the name ‘anarchist’ was banned, as were those which ‘disguised their [anarchist] ends,’ and crimes of the press were placed under military jurisdiction.<sup>210</sup>

Following this attack anarchist publishing became near-impossible, severely limiting the ability of the movement to comment. *La Idea Libre* was able to publish only a single issue in the wake of the Corpus Christi bombing, which opened its front page with an unambiguous condemnation of the attack from Álvarez:

Whoever the authors of the attack of Barcelona may be, we object to the brutal act carried out last Sunday in the Condal City [Barcelona], and we solemnly declare that, if the success of our ideas were founded upon the bodies of defenceless women and innocent children, we would renounce them. Our long-standing opinions in respect to this point in particular are well-known; this new protest of ours arises from honourable impulses of conscience, which do not allow us to associate ourselves, nor to have any kind of relation with, those who intend to command by terror as opposed to by reason and conviction.<sup>211</sup>

The paper’s position was clear. Not only was the terrorist attack on the Corpus unacceptable, so too were those of Pallás and Salvador. *La Idea Libre* did not consider individual violence as a by-product of the potential revolution, but as anathema which inhibited it. The paper was suspended shortly

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<sup>208</sup> An artist’s impression of this attack can be found in *El País*, (Madrid), (11/06/1896); reproduced in Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, n.page (in pictures section between pages 160 and 161).

<sup>209</sup> Debates over the responsibility for the attack began immediately within anarchist circles – distinct from the repressive proceedings – which have continued into the historiography of the period; see Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 147-152.

<sup>210</sup> Rojas Sánchez, ‘Legislación,’ 77-78; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 130-137.

<sup>211</sup> Editorial, *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 111, (12/06/1896), 1.

afterwards. Its offices were closed and its editors and contributors were brought in for questioning in Barcelona.<sup>212</sup>

Only one paper remained in print beyond this point. The second epoch of *El Corsario* had ended in April 1895. In a manner similar to the demise of *El Productor*, the printers of La Coruña refused to print the paper and forced it into closure, despite no illegal activity on its part.<sup>213</sup> This did not deter the paper's publishing group, which spent the latter half of 1895 securing funds to purchase their own printing-house, named 'El Progreso'. This was a rare achievement in anarchist print culture at this time, and in the context of the 1890s it was seen as a moment of transcendental importance, which bucked the recent downward trajectory of the movement by placing the means of propaganda in the hands of anarchist publishers themselves.<sup>214</sup> Buoyed by this success, *El Corsario* resumed print in January 1896, making it one of the few papers in print when the Corpus bombing took place six months later. As with the two attacks of 1893 the paper neither defended nor condemned the bombing.<sup>215</sup> *El Corsario* suggested a number of times that the attack could have had been a plot devised by the authorities to justify extreme reactionary measures.<sup>216</sup> Once again *El Corsario* was unwilling to embrace, justify or even fully acknowledge the existence of anarchist violence, despite the overwhelming popular belief that the author of the attack was indeed an anarchist.<sup>217</sup> Coverage of the Corpus Christi attack in *El Corsario* focused almost exclusively on the repression of the movement. As this 'vicious and barbarous persecution' intensified, *El Corsario* attempted to bypass closure by launching a new title, named *El Productor*. This manoeuvre failed. Each of the five issues of *El Productor* was denounced, the paper was closed and 'El Progreso' went bankrupt.<sup>218</sup>

Unlike any other paper, *El Corsario* had been in print during the Jerez uprising and all of the terrorist attacks in Barcelona. During all of these incidents, the paper had been unwilling to acknowledge that violence had been committed in the name of the movement. When it did engage in discussion on violence, it was presented as epiphenomenal – a 'detail...which it can do without' –

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<sup>212</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 141.

<sup>213</sup> See *Suplemento al no.212 de El Corsario*, (La Coruña, 1895), 1 and 'Noticias,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 56, (25/05/1895), 4.

<sup>214</sup> 'Hemos Triunfado,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 212, (09/01/1896), 1; 'Atrópelo,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 90, (18/01/1896), 3. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 137.

<sup>215</sup> The one exception to this overview is a single, anonymous paragraph which supported violent revolution, see *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 235, (18/06/1896), 1.

<sup>216</sup> Urania, [José Prat], 'Murmillos Barceloneses: 18 Junio de 1896,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 236, (25/06/1896), 4. Herrerín López, *Anarquía dinamita*, 150.

<sup>217</sup> Every mainstream paper, as well as the socialist and republican press blamed not only the adjudged anarchist perpetrator for the attack but the ideas of anarchism in general. For *El Corsario*'s indignant response to the attacks of the socialists, where they are compared to Brutus at the murder of Cesar, see 'Ellos también?,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 236, (25/06/1896), 1-2. The only exception was the Pi i Margall's federalist paper, *El Nuevo Regimen*, (13/06/1896) which called for calm and consideration before the 'liberal conquests of a century' were overturned, see Herrerín López, *Anarquía dinamita*, 130-131.

<sup>218</sup> 'Comentarios,' *El Productor*, (La Coruña), 4, (01/10/96), 4 and the *hoja "El Progreso"*, 2. Arbeloa, 'La prensa obrera,' 165.

which was potentially justifiable, but far from essential to anarchist practice.<sup>219</sup> It claimed to understand the cause of anarchist terrorism, yet refused to unequivocally support it. The end result was one of mixed messages, which makes *El Corsario* an apt symbol of the movement's attitude to violence in general. There was no consensus on the legitimacy of anarchist violence from within the movement, indeed, even within individual papers opinions were divided and ambiguous on this subject. Thus to claim that the movement uniformly supported or rejected terrorism is to ignore the movement's plurality, as manifest in its press. After the Corpus bombing there could be no further comment on the subject. Following the closure of *El Productor* (La Coruña) no anarchist periodical remained in print in Spain, leaving the movement repressed, voiceless and desperate.

### State Violence: 1893-1898

The final act of propaganda by the deed of the 1890s took place one year later. Michele Angiolillo was an Italian typographer, who was working in Spain when the Corpus Christi bombing took place. Suspecting that he would be arrested for being an anarchist, he left the country and spent months travelling around Europe, making acquaintances with high-profile anarchists and notable figures in the Cuban and Philippine independence movements. He returned to Spain in the summer of 1897, while the repression of the anarchist movement was still ongoing. On 8 August he located and shot dead Prime Minister Cánovas del Castillo at the Basque spa of Santa Águeda. Like Pallás, Angiolillo remained at the scene of his attack and attempted to use his trial as a platform to advocate anarchist ideals. He was found guilty, and on 20 August he was garrotted.<sup>220</sup>

The attack on Cánovas was hardly a surprise. He was seen as the architect of repression and ultimately responsible for the excesses of the Spanish authorities in Barcelona. He was loathed across Europe, within and beyond anarchist circles. The repression in Spain provoked widespread international condemnation, and prompted a revival of the image of 'Black Spain' analogous to the fifteenth-century Inquisition, in which Cánovas played the role of the Grand Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada.<sup>221</sup> It was, in the words of Herrerín López, 'a death foreseen a thousand times' by both anarchists and the police since 1896. Indeed, the most surprising thing about Angiolillo's attack was that the police had not prevented from happening, given that they were aware of the threat to Cánovas's life.<sup>222</sup> The murder of Cánovas had demonstrated to the Spanish government that blanket

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<sup>219</sup> R. García Rojas, 'Abajo lo existente,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 177, (03/12/1893), 1. For a conception of 'epiphenomenal terror' as a by-product of mass violence see P. Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, (New York, NY, 1979), 57-58.

<sup>220</sup> Fernández, *La sangre de Santa Águeda*, 50-63; Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 193; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 160.

<sup>221</sup> J. Juderías, *La leyenda negra: Estudios acerca del concepto de España en el extranjero*, (2nd edn, Salamanca, 2003), 277-287.

<sup>222</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 158-159.

repression only encouraged further terrorist attacks. Instead of widespread retribution, the state restricted persecution to those guilty of obviously criminal acts.<sup>223</sup> Thus the response from the Spanish authorities to Canóvas' assassination was muted in comparison to that which had followed previous acts of terrorism. Although legislation against anarchism remained in effect until 1901, local authorities began to scale down repression, allowing for a de facto legalisation of the movement in many areas.

*La Idea Libre* returned to print in the same month as Canóvas's assassination.<sup>224</sup> The return of anarchist publishing in Spain after almost a year of silence was inauspicious. *La Idea Libre* initially printed a modest print-run of 2,000 copies, yet it became clear that only a fraction of its former network was capable of resuming engagement with the anarchist press. The paper soon scaled back dramatically, subsequently printing only 157 copies for those who had explicitly requested them.<sup>225</sup> Although this figure steadily grew, as did donations to help cover the paper's deficit, from August 1897 to July 1898 anarchist publishing remained limited to this one paper. As in its former epoch, *La Idea Libre* did not celebrate those who had committed terrorism. Its views on anarchist violence had not changed: terrorism was a 'microbe', fermented by the state, and it had no place in the struggle for ideas. The paper wanted the spiral of terrorism and repression to end, and for anarchists to be allowed to conduct their legitimate work as educators, through 'books, newspapers [and] the noble struggle of contradiction and debate'.<sup>226</sup>

### The Blood of 'True' Martyrs

Since *La Idea Libre* was the only anarchist paper in print in 1897, there was no contemporary discussion of Angiolillo in the movement's press. Nevertheless he, Pallás and Salvador, have been cited as examples of anarchist martyrs who were universally celebrated by the anarchist movement.<sup>227</sup> For Avilés and Herrerín López, repression and martyrdom were central to the anarchist experience of this period, as they created a culture of resistance and a shared experience of struggle. Thus, anarchist violence was in some ways a success, as it provoked the state into exposing its violent nature, giving credence to the anarchist critique of society and sustaining support for the movement.<sup>228</sup> Herrerín López's definition of 'true martyrs' were those who committed acts of violence, stayed at the scene, defended the ideals of anarchism while on trial, and met their inevitable 'immolation' at the hands of the state with calmness and pride. By this definition, Pallás and Angiolillo were the only true martyrs

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<sup>223</sup> Rojas Sánchez, 'Legislación,' 79; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 161.

<sup>224</sup> The exact date of the first issue of this epoch is unknown, but is suggested as being August 1897 in 'Á nuestros amigos,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 136, (06/08/1898), 4, which states that the paper had 'completed one year of publication'. See also Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 136-137. The first surviving issue of this epoch is number 121, (08/01/1898), leaving a total of nine issues (112-120) published in 1897 which are unavailable for analysis.

<sup>225</sup> 'Á nuestros amigos,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 136, (06/08/1898), 4.

<sup>226</sup> Tracio [E. Álvarez], '¡Á la revisión!', *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 121, (02/01/1898), 2.

<sup>227</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 176.

<sup>228</sup> Áviles Farré and Herrerín López, 'Propaganda por el hecho,' 192.

of this period. Salvador's flight, attempted suicide and apparent conversion to Christianity after the bombing of the Liceo his muddled martyr status. Since no author was identified for the attack on the Corpus Cristi, the movement had no martyr to venerate following this attack.<sup>229</sup>

An examination of martyrdom within the anarchist press reveals a different picture. Although Pallás and Salvador were martyrs to some papers, so too was Salvador; while for others none of these figures were deserving of veneration. There was no consensus on the meaning of martyrdom, but rather a diversity of opinions, which mirrored the heterogeneous reaction to anarchist terrorism. This was despite the fact that the execution of a terrorist was an act of state violence, rather than the individual violence for which they were punished. Internal state violence, such as arrest, imprisonment, exile and execution, had hitherto been universally condemned in anarchist theory, regardless of its justification.<sup>230</sup> The fact that the movement's reaction to the punishment of terrorists was mixed suggests that individual violence had altered this long-standing belief. Little analysis of this opinion within the anarchist movement has taken place. Indeed, there is scant discussion of the construction of martyrdom within any anarchist papers, even those which did honour executed terrorists. Instead the process is assumed to have been straightforward, and is referred to with only passing reference to the words of the movement itself.

Unsurprisingly, papers which had valorised terrorism were clear that those executed for carrying out attacks were martyrs. Pallás's execution was particularly significant for anarcho-communist papers. While *La Controversia* claimed that it had no emotional reaction to the event – stating that 'his death does not move us' – the paper wrote Pallás into a lineage of martyrs, who demonstrated the state's violence and legitimated further acts of terrorism.<sup>231</sup> Pallás remained a martyr in anarcho-communist papers through the following years, although he was rarely discussed as deserving of special worth. Instead he was generalised. Pallás's name was one of many, written into a pantheon of martyrs who had collectively shed blood and sacrificed themselves in order to 'fortify the new land,' germinating thousands of new anarchists and assuring the victory of the idea.<sup>232</sup> Although no anarcho-communist papers were in print to commemorate Salvador's execution, when they returned in 1894-5 he too appeared on the pantheon alongside Pallás, with no distinction between their statuses as martyrs.<sup>233</sup> These papers were the most willing to invoke martyrdom to validate a violent response from anarchists, and are often used in studies of anarchist terrorism as evidence of a widespread use violent rhetoric within the movement.<sup>234</sup> This is despite the fact that all of these papers were acutely ephemeral, and much smaller than their contemporaries *El Corsario* and *La Idea Libre*.

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<sup>229</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 176-178.

<sup>230</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 266-271.

<sup>231</sup> 'Os habéis vengado,' *La Controversia*, (Valencia), 5, (07/10/1893), 1.

<sup>232</sup> Palmiro, 'No lo olvidaremos,' *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 2; Yllenatnom, [J. Montanelli?], 'A grandes males grandes remedios,' *El Invencible*, (Zaragoza), 1, (27/08/1895), 1-2.

<sup>233</sup> Palmiro, 'No lo olvidaremos,' *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 2.

<sup>234</sup> See for example Núñez Florencio, *El terrorismo anarquista*, 169-185.

As such it is difficult to gauge their effect in on the wider culture of martyrdom within Spanish anarchism.

A far more enduring martyrology was constructed by *El Corsario*. While this paper had held back from celebrating the violence of Pallás and Salvador, both men were immediately made into martyrs at the time of their execution, and continued to be regular features of the paper until its final closure in 1896. Pallás was referred to as a ‘martyr’ in *El Corsario* from the moment he was executed. The paper frequently made references to Christian martyrdom in discussions of his death, subverting traditional religious rhetoric into a form more acceptable to an anarchist audience. Like Christian martyrs, Pallás’s death was sacrificial and redemptive, but to a cause with very different values to the Catholic Church: ‘What did Tertullian say at the start of Christianity? “The blood of the martyrs is the seed of Christians”: [ours] will be much greater since we are accompanied by Reason [*sic*] and Justice [*sic*].’<sup>235</sup> The issue dedicated to Pallás’s death was so popular that the paper sold its entire print run, and apologised for being unable to meet requests for extra copies of the issue in following weeks.<sup>236</sup>

The memory of Pallás was invoked in other forms of print. Within days of Pallás’s execution, Juan Montseny i Carret – a former cooper and teacher, who was one of the most high-profile anarchist writers of the period – wrote to *El Corsario* to announce the publication of a pamphlet titled *Consideraciones sobre el hecho y muerte de Pallás*, [*Considerations on the Deed and Death of Pallás*], which would be used to raise funds for Pallás’s widow and their three children, one of whom Montseny would later briefly adopt.<sup>237</sup> The responsibility for the fund – which by December had reached 565 pesetas – fell upon Montseny himself, while the pamphlet was published by the La Coruña printers ‘El Gutenberg’ which also printed *El Corsario*.<sup>238</sup> Rather than a glorification of terrorism or martyrdom, the pamphlet gave a rather general discussion of anarchist ideology, in which Pallás’s terrorism and his execution were of secondary importance. Montseny referenced the attack on Martínez Campos only in passing, and even Pallás was not discussed in depth. This pamphlet was the only extended writing on Pallás published in the period.<sup>239</sup> In following issues, the contributors to *El Corsario* demonstrated their allegiance to Pallás’s memory. News came in to the paper that a group named ‘Bomba Pallás’ had been created in Buenos Aires with the aim of collecting money for the martyr’s family in Latin America. Pallás’s name also lived on in the pseudonyms of contributors, such as ‘one who desires to avenge the death of Pallás’ (0.25ptas.), ‘one who has 1000 *duros* (a coin of 5 ptas) for bombs and to support the act of Pallás’ (0.25ptas.),’ and ‘the head of Martínez Campos’

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<sup>235</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 171, (15/10/1893): La Redacción, ‘Pallás Fusilado,’ 1; Serol, ‘¡Preparémos!,’ 1; E. Paredes, ‘¡¡Paulino Pallás!!,’ 2-3.

<sup>236</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 173 (29/10/1893), 4.

<sup>237</sup> J. Montseny i Carret, ‘A todos los anarquistas’ and editorial response, *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 171, (15/10/1893), 2; A. Dalmau, *El procés de Montjuïc*, 73-74.

<sup>238</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 177, (03/12/1893), 3. The pamphlet was initially intended to be distributed from the offices of the anarcho-communist paper *La Revancha* in Reus, the paper was soon denounced and its offices closed, see ‘Miscelánea,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 175 (12/11/1893), 3.

<sup>239</sup> J. Montseny i Carret, *Consideraciones sobre el hecho y muerte de Pallás*, (La Coruña, 1893).

(0.25pts.)'.<sup>240</sup> A year on from his execution, Pallás was memorialised on the front page of *El Corsario*, where he was explicitly compared to Christ.<sup>241</sup> The paper maintained the name of the 'unforgettable' Pallás through an open subscription for his family, which caused controversy in 1895 when it was claimed that Pallás's widow, Ángela Vallés, had enrolled their children in a Catholic school.<sup>242</sup> Vallés – who was herself arrested following the attack on the Corpus – denied any wrongdoing, and was vouched for by Montseny in an open letter to the paper.<sup>243</sup> The fund set up upon Pallás's execution was closed in July 1895 with the final figure in excess of 660 pesetas, slightly less than the 820 pesetas had been collected through sales of Montseny's pamphlet.<sup>244</sup> Pallás also continued to feature heavily in correspondence to the paper, where he was depicted as a timeless, ever-present symbol, as in one letter from a correspondent who claimed that Pallás had appeared to him in a dream on the anniversary of his death, calling for revenge in his name.<sup>245</sup>

The treatment of Pallás by *El Corsario* fits the description of a 'true' anarchist martyr. His death was eulogised, the date of his execution was commemorated and his memory was sustained. Pallás also served as a point of coalescence, his execution providing the basis for nation-wide demonstrations of solidarity and exchange. A similar construction was evident in the paper's portrayal of Santiago Salvador, who is a more problematic figure for Herrerin López's definition of martyrdom. When Salvador was executed, *El Corsario* printed a eulogy about his sacrifice at the hands of the violent Spanish state, praising his death for the 'most noble of causes, the most beautiful of ideas: ANARCHISM!'<sup>246</sup> Salvador was 'one more' martyr, taking his place alongside Pallás, Ravachol, Vaillant, Henry and Caserio.<sup>247</sup> As in the wake of Pallás's execution, spontaneous collections began to appear in the paper for Salvador's family.<sup>248</sup> He was evidently just as much a martyr as Pallás to the writers and contributors of *El Corsario*, despite his less than committed approach to his arrest, capture and sentence. Unlike anarcho-communist papers, *El Corsario* made Pallás and Salvador martyrs without discussing their violence, or advocating violent responses. Instead, the paper employed the symbolism of martyrdom to call for acts of solidarity and unity across the movement. Together with

<sup>240</sup> 'Subscripción voluntaria...', *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 177 (03/12/1893), 4.

<sup>241</sup> '¡6 de Octubre!', *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 182, (04/10/1894), 1.

<sup>242</sup> Letter sent to *El Corsario* from Barcelona (27/02/1895), printed in 'Noticias Varias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 204 (07/03/1895), 4.

<sup>243</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): 'Noticias varias,' 207 (28/03/1895), 4; J. Montseny i Carret, 'A los anarquistas,' 208, (04/04/1895), 1-2. Pallás and Vallés's children were put into a childrens' home when the latter was arrested following the attack on Cambios Nuevos, and although they were reclaimed by Vallés upon her release they returned to the care system when she died in 1900. See A. Dalmau, *El procés de Montjuïc*, 73-74 and Herrerin López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 146-147.

<sup>244</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): 'Subscripción voluntaria...Francisco Ruiz y Paulino Pallás,' 212, (09/01/1896), 4; 'Subscripción del folleto...', 242, (06/08/1896), 4.

<sup>245</sup> E.P., 'Realidad de un Sueño,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 184, (18/10/1894), 1.

<sup>246</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): 'Noticias varias,' 183, (11/10/1894), 4; 'Santiago Salvador Frank,' 190, (29/11/1894), 1-2.

<sup>247</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): Palmiro, [V. García], '¡Uno Más!', 191, (06/12/1894), 1-2; Palmiro, 'Año nuevo y año Viejo,' 195, (03/01/1895), 2.

<sup>248</sup> Collections from 'Humanity' Group in Havana, in 'Noticias varias' in *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): 205, (14/03/1895), 4 and 208, (04/04/1895), 4.

its discussions of anarchist violence, this paper continually straddled a boundary between what was acceptable – being the subject of violence – and what was left unspoken – being the author of violence. For *El Corsario* anarchism was certainly a cause worth dying for, but whether it was a cause worth killing for was unclear.

In contrast, *La Idea Libre* made no attempt to portray terrorists as martyrs. The paper had no interest in discussing acts of terrorism, nor did it devote any space to the execution or memory of Pallás and Salvador. Even Angiolillo, whose act was the most seemingly justifiable of all the anarchist violence of the 1890s, received no attention in the paper when it returned in 1897. For *La Idea Libre*, the blood of terrorists did not germinate new anarchists, it ‘sterilised’ the soil; what was needed was ‘work and intelligence,’ which were the only legitimate means of action in ‘the vast and infinite struggle for existence’.<sup>249</sup> Angiolillo was thus denied of martyr status in the immediate aftermath of his attack. In future years Angiolillo’s name appeared sparsely, and he was not held up as a martyr to be revered and remembered as Pallás and Salvador had been.<sup>250</sup> Most post-1898 papers made no reference to Angiolillo, and only a handful of correspondences suggested that his name was maintained in the wider culture of the movement.<sup>251</sup> The same was true of Pallás and Salvador, who lost their martyr status and appeared only fleetingly in a handful of papers after 1898. Thus these ‘true’ martyrs – the self-immolating advocates of propaganda by the deed, proud of being found guilty by a society they loathed – were a contested and transitory feature of the anarchist press, questioning the premise that their example helped to sustain the movement at this time.

Anarchist terrorism did not end in 1897. In the following decades anarchists were responsible for an attempt on Prime Minister Antonio Maura (Barcelona, 1904), several attempts on King Alfonso XIII (Madrid, 1902; Paris 1905; Madrid 1906; Madrid 1913) and the successful assassination of Prime Minister José Canalejas (Madrid, 1912). Those responsible for these attacks briefly attracted the attention of the anarchist press, however none of them gained the notoriety of their predecessors of the 1890s, nor were they martyred.<sup>252</sup> After 1898 the anarchist press usually distanced itself from terrorism and denied its causal connection to anarchist ideology. Rather than celebrating or denouncing anarchist terrorists and martyrs who had killed for the cause, after 1898 the anarchist press simply stated that terrorism had nothing to do with them. During the 1890s, terrorists had been used by a few papers as examples of ‘men of action’ engaged in direct struggle against authority. In

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<sup>249</sup> P. de Lidia, [Adrián del Valle], ‘Los vidrios rotos,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 133, (25/06/1898), 2-3; Íñiguez, *Esbozo de una enciclopedia*, 617-618.

<sup>250</sup> Only seven references to Angiolillo were made in 119 issues of *La Revista Blanca*, the most prominent publication of the post-1898 period. For example C. Malato, ‘Fisiología moral,’ *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 154, (15/11/1905), 297. The date of Angiolillo’s execution was also marked in the ‘anarchist calendar’ published in the annual *Almanaque de la Revista Blanca para 1900*, (Madrid, 1899), 10.

<sup>251</sup> One official report published in 1905 claimed that there was a group in La Coruña named ‘Angiolillo in G. La Iglesia y García, *Caracteres del anarquismo en la actualidad: Obra premiada por la Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas con diploma y 4,000 pesetas*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Barcelona, 1907), 293, n.1. Aside from this one example, such usage of Angiolillo’s name is scant.

<sup>252</sup> Herrerrín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 214-231.

the climate of repression this was one of the few ways in which anarchist papers could hope to forge a sense of unity across the movement. Yet marking dates and proclaiming glories to the dead did nothing to prevent the movement from collapse, and any potential benefit the example of terrorists may have provided was massively outweighed by the damage their actions brought upon the movement.

### The Blood of the Innocent

Although the term ‘martyr’ proliferated in the anarchist press of the 1890s, it was not reserved exclusively for executed terrorists. Instead, the term was applied liberally, to include the victims of repression, participants in strikes and uprisings – such as that of Jerez – as well as the victims of industrial accidents. According to Herrerín López, all of these individuals had a lesser martyr status than Pallás and Angiolillo, or ‘were not martyrs’ at all, since their victimhood was passive.<sup>253</sup> This claim is not born out in examination of the movement’s press. These figures attracted a more unified, consistent and practical response from the anarchist press than the authors of propaganda by the deed, suggesting that innocence was a more significant factor in the creation of anarchist martyrs than a deliberate desire for immolation.

After 1893 repression defined the anarchist experience in Barcelona, where anyone with connection to the anarchist movement fell under suspicion. Over 260 individuals were detained following the attack on the Liceo, many of whom remained in prison for over a year without charge. Many were subject to torture, two of whom (Miguel Nacher and Juan Bernich) died in their cells, and one, Martín Borrás, committed suicide in prison. Another six anarchists – Mariano Cerezuela Subías, José Codina Juncá (both of whom were initially been blamed for the Liceo attack), Jaime Sogas Martí, Manuel Archs Solanelles, José Sabat Ollé and José Bernat Cirerol – were found guilty of conspiracy with Pallás in the attack on Martínez Campos. They were executed on 21 May 1894, the same day that Emile Henry was guillotined in France.<sup>254</sup> Of those on trial for the Liceo attack, 16 were absolved – including José Prat, a prominent figure in the anarchist press – and two declared in contempt of court. The remaining seven adjudged guilty for the Liceo attack (Nacher, Cerezuela, Codina, Sogas, Archs, Sabat and Bernat) were already dead.<sup>255</sup> Unlike Pallás and Salvador, all of these individuals were presumed to be innocent by the anarchist press.

*El Corsario* denied that a wider conspiracy within the anarchist movement had prompted the attacks in 1893. Instead, the paper asserted that both terrorists had acted alone, and claimed that the authorities in Barcelona were using the attacks as a pretext to destroy the wider, essentially peaceful anarchist movement in the city. *El Corsario* was particularly aggrieved when it became unwillingly culpable in this repression. In early 1894 its subscription lists were seized and used as a ‘guide for the

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<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>254</sup> Palmiro, [V. García], ‘Recuerdos,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 187, (08/11/1894), 1.

<sup>255</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 102-103, 111-113.

vampires' of the state in tracking down suspects.<sup>256</sup> Later that year, Montseny began to work on a pamphlet to raise funds for the families of Nacher, Bernich and Borrás. This would become *El proceso de un gran crimen* (1895), a diatribe against the arbitrary arrests and torture that had become synonymous with anarchism in Barcelona.<sup>257</sup> As with the subscription lists of *El Corsario*, the police used the distribution of this pamphlet to locate suspects. The authorities made it known that 2,000 copies of the pamphlet were available at the home of an accomplice named Joaquín Llagostera y Sabaté – who was declared an 'infamous traitor' by *El Corsario*, which also published his description and encouraged comrades to give him his 'reward' – and arrested all of those who showed up.<sup>258</sup> In doing so, the Spanish authorities revealed both the value and fragility of the movement's reliance on print. When the movement could operate legally, the links maintained by papers created a fluid structure, which could expand and converge without recourse to a central organisation. Yet during times of repression these same connections became incriminating evidence, and were used to smash the movement apart.

The assumed innocence of the victims of repression did not prevent them from being portrayed as martyrs, as is suggested by Herrerín López.<sup>259</sup> In November 1894 *El Corsario*'s ever-growing list of martyrs included those executed following the Paris Commune, the Mano Negra affair and the Haymarket, Lamela, Zarzuela and Pallás, the nine 'innocent' suspects of the Martínez Campos attack, as well as those who had been condemned to life imprisonment, such as Domingo Mir and Rafael Miralles. All were 'martyrs of Anarchy,' regardless of either their deeds or their punishment. What was important is that they were seen as anarchists who had been subject to the violence of the state. As well as a rhetorical device, *El Corsario* invoked martyrdom as a means of provoking practical, material solidarity from its readership, in the form of open subscriptions to support the families of the executed and imprisoned. The readership of the paper did not consider authors of the violence to be more deserving than their innocent counterparts. The paper ran three funds: one for the family of Pallás, one for all anarchist prisoners in Spain, and one for the families of those who had been 'murdered' in early 1894 (Nacher, Borrás and Bernich). Between April 1895 and August 1896 the general solidarity fund had grown five times as much (+171.04 pesetas) as that of the fund specifically for Pallás's family (+33.95 pesetas), and both were dwarfed by the growth in the fund for Nacher, Borrás and Bernich (+1,670.80 pesetas).<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> *A los habituales lectores de "El Corsario" y a todos los anarquistas*, (La Coruña, 1894), 1.

<sup>257</sup> The pamphlet was also published in Argentina by the group 'La Lucha,' and was serialised in the paper *El Obrero Panadero*, (Buenos Aires). See G. Zaragoza, *Anarquismo argentino, (1876-1902)*, (Madrid, 1996), 161, 169 n.63.

<sup>258</sup> J. Melich, 'Noticias,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 211, (25/04/1895), 4.

<sup>259</sup> *El Corsario: A sus habituales lectores y a todos los anarquistas*, (La Coruña, 1894), 1.

<sup>260</sup> Comparison from point where subscriptions appear simultaneously: *Suplemento al número 212 de "El Corsario"*, (La Coruña, 1895), 2, - 'Subscripción voluntaria...', *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 242, (06/08/1896), 4.

Innocent martyrdom was also a common theme in anarcho-communist papers. As with *El Corsario*, these papers extended their portrayal of martyrs to include the victims of repression.<sup>261</sup> *El Rebelde* also extended its conception of martyrdom to include the victims of industrial accidents, including four workers who had died during the construction of a road in Zaragoza.<sup>262</sup> This proliferation of ‘martyrs’ indicates that rather than having a specific function within anarchist culture, martyrdom was a term with multiple meanings. Martyrs could be anyone who was seen to have suffered at the hands of the state, whether they had committed acts of violence or not.

For *La Idea Libre*, innocence was an essential component of what constituted a martyr, which emphasised the moral worth of the victims of state violence. This condition excluded terrorists, but encompassed a range of other individuals. By far the most prominent martyrs in the paper were the Chicago martyrs, who were memorialised in special editions and a series of biographies and portraits.<sup>263</sup> Innocence was also central to the paper’s treatment of other historical victims of state violence, such as those caught in the mass repression which followed the Paris Commune and the Alcoy uprising of 1872. As in *La Anarquía*, the paper also emphasised innocence in its portrayals of the repression which followed the Jerez uprising.<sup>264</sup> This was an inversion of Herrerín López’s formulation of anarchist martyrdom. Instead of violence and immolation, *La Idea Libre* made innocence a defining feature of who constituted a martyr. Yet the paper made few references to the repression of the 1890s, aside from one brief reference in May 1895, when it published of the portraits of Archs, Bernat, Codina, Sabat and Cerezuela at the behest of ‘various friends,’ who were hoping to raise money to ease the misery of an ‘unnamed’ family.<sup>265</sup> The paper did, however, maintain a strong interest in international repression, frequently informing its readers of the increasing suppression of the workers movement in Italy, Germany, the USA and, above all, France.<sup>266</sup>

Repression intensified following the attack on the Corpus procession in 1896. In Barcelona, anyone who was known to hold beliefs or engage in practices deemed ‘different’ was suspect. In total 424 individuals were arrested, including many figures active in the anarchist press, such as Montseny (imprisoned and exiled for 13 months), Anselmo Lorenzo (imprisoned for 17 months) and Teresa

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<sup>261</sup> Palmiro [V. García], ‘No lo olvidaremos,’ *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 2.

<sup>262</sup> ‘Martirologio obrero,’ *El Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 3, (21/10/1893), 4.

<sup>263</sup> Special editions to the Chicago martyrs in *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): 28, (10/11/1894); 81, (16/11/1895). The portrait series in early 1896 was muddled at the pre-printing stage because of a mistake by Álvarez, explanation given ‘Noticias,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 94, (15/02/1896), 3-4. The series ran Lingg (correct portrait-biography): 90, (18/01/1896), 1-2; Spies biography – Parsons portrait: 91, (25/01/1896), 1-2; Parsons biography – Engel portrait: 92, (01/02/1896), 1. The portraits are identical to those published in *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), 201 the day after the executions took place (12/11/1887).

<sup>264</sup> ‘Fermín Salvochea y Álvarez,’ *La Idea Libre*, 93, (08/02/1896), 1-2.

<sup>265</sup> ‘Obra Filantrópica,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): Archs -54, (11/05/1895), 3; Bernat - 55, (18/05/1895), 3; Codina - 56, (26/05/1895), 3; Cerezuela - 57, (08/06/1895), 3.

<sup>266</sup> Examples of international repression in *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): in Italy: ‘Internacional,’ 30, (24/11/94), 2; in Germany: ‘¡Asesinos!’ 13 (31/07/1894), 2, ‘Revista internacional,’ 38, (19/01/1896), 4; ‘Internacional,’ 30 (24/11/94), 2; France: ‘Revista internacional,’ 15 (13/08/1894), 3, ‘Revista internacional,’ 33 (15/12/94), 2-3.

Claramunt.<sup>267</sup> Montjuich Castle became the symbol of repression; its cells were filled with prisoners, many of whom were subject to brutal torture.<sup>268</sup> Suspects were deprived of food, drink and sleep; gagged and manacled by hand and foot for days; beaten, forced to sit on hot irons and sexually abused. Others, such as Francisca Saperas, the widow of Martín Borrás, were forced to convert to Catholicism to avoid having their children being sent to a religious orphanage. The infamous ‘Proceso de Montjuich’ [Montjuich trial] began in December 1896. Of the 87 brought to trial, five – Tomás Ascheri, Antonio Nogués, José Molas, Luis Mas and Joan Alsina – received death sentences, which were carried out on 4 May 1897. Few, even amongst the Barcelona authorities, genuinely believed that these figures were responsible for the bombing. Around 50 others were exiled to France and a further 20 were given prison sentences of between 10 and 20 years.<sup>269</sup>

No anarchist papers were in print to comment on this wave of repression; however a substantial commentary on the Proceso was compiled by Ricardo Mella and José Prat, which was published by *El Corsario* as a 200-page exposé named *La barbarie gubernamental en España*.<sup>270</sup> This ‘devastating critique of the Spanish government’ outlined the brutality of the repression in Barcelona, and the feeble evidence used to imprison, exile and execute hundreds of workers and intellectuals.<sup>271</sup> There was also a strong reaction to the repression from the mainstream press across Europe, and protests against the Spanish government regularly took place in France and Britain.<sup>272</sup> Often this took place alongside Spanish exiles; for example one demonstration of solidarity took place in Liverpool when 28 exiles, including Montseny, arrived in the city in July 1897.<sup>273</sup> Yet the on-going repression in ‘Black Spain’ itself hampered any sustained critique of the government until early 1898.<sup>274</sup>

When *La Idea Libre* returned to print it devoted more space to the victims of repression than in its previous epoch. The paper was particularly supportive of Francisco Callís Calderón, who had been tortured and ‘unjustly condemned’ to life imprisonment, and opened a subscription for his 70 year old mother.<sup>275</sup> As before, the paper was only concerned with the innocent – those who had been unjustly shot in Montjuich, and those who continued to ‘vegetate in the prisons of Africa and the Peninsula’.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Montseny gives an account of his experience of his arrest, imprisonment and exile in Urales, *Mi vida*, I, 78 – 253.

<sup>268</sup> On Montjuich Castle see Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 133-134.

<sup>269</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 140-152. Documents on the trial in Dalmau, *El procés de Montjuïc*, 401-447.

<sup>270</sup> This publication stated it was published in New York through the anarchist publishers ‘El Despertar,’ however it was actually published clandestinely in La Coruña, see Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 94.

<sup>271</sup> R.M [Ricardo Mella] and J.P. [José Prat], *El proceso de un gran crimen*, (La Coruña, 1897), 38-42. Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 200.

<sup>272</sup> T. Abelló Güell, ‘El proceso de Montjuich ante la opinión pública europea,’ *Estudios de Historia Social*, 40, (1987), 275-289.

<sup>273</sup> *Campaña de “El Progreso” a favor de las víctimas del proceso de Montjuich*, (Barcelona, 1898), 562-568; Urales, *Mi vida*, I, 215-221.

<sup>274</sup> Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 152-157.

<sup>275</sup> ‘En favor de una anciana,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 121, (02/01/1898), 2 and 125, (26/02/1898), 4.

<sup>276</sup> *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): Tracio [E. Álvarez], ‘¡Adelante la justicia!’, (12/02/1898), 1; E. Álvarez, ‘¡Justicia!’, 133, (25/06/1898), 2.

The paper was adamant that the sentences should not be pardoned but overturned, verifying the accused's innocence.<sup>277</sup> Many of its contributors supported this stance, and reported that public opinion was also in favour of a revision of the trials.<sup>278</sup> In early 1898 a campaign for a revision of the trials was launched by the the Republican daily *Progreso*, which drew support from a broad section of Spanish public opinion and inspired meetings in La Coruña, Zaragoza, Gijón and Barcelona.<sup>279</sup> *Progreso's* campaign included contributions from numerous high-profile anarchist writers, including Montseny – now going by the pseudonym Federico Urales – who had returned to Madrid in November 1897 with his wife Soledad Gustavo (pseud. Teresa Mañe Miravet), a prominent anarchist-feminist author and teacher. Montjuich remained a primary concern in the publications of the 'Urales family', particularly *La Revista Blanca* (launched July 1898) and its *Suplemento* (launched May 1899).<sup>280</sup> These publications kept the cause of the remaining victims of repression alive in anarchist print culture until 1900, when the remaining 23 prisoners had their sentences reduced to exile.<sup>281</sup> Following this partial success, the paper immediately turned its attentions to the five remaining prisoners of the Jerez uprising of 1892, organising a protest tour through Andalucía in May 1900, led by Gustavo.<sup>282</sup> The campaign attracted support from a number of mainstream papers and was supported in protest meetings in Galicia and Cataluña. On 8 February 1901 the government of Marcelona Azcárraga approved a royal pardon for the prisoners, and the last 'martyrs' of the 1890s were released.

Martyrdom was evoked with regularity in the following years, above all in 1909 following the execution of Francisco Ferrer.<sup>283</sup> Yet the martyrs of the 1890s were almost entirely absent from these future discussions. Zarzuela, Lamela, Pallás and Salvador were not remembered into the twentieth century, nor were their dates of execution commemorated. The innocent martyrs of Jerez and Montjuich also disappeared from anarchist print culture after their release. Only the Chicago martyrs

<sup>277</sup> Tracio [E. Álvarez], '¡Á la revisión!', *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 121, (02/01/1898), 2.

<sup>278</sup> 'Pidiendo la revisión,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): 125, (26/02/1898), 3; 126, (12/03/1898), 3; 127, (26/03/1898), 4.

<sup>279</sup> Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 158-169.

<sup>280</sup> See for example 'Símbolos de la civilización española...' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 6, (24/06/1899), 1; reproduced in Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, n.page (in pictures section between pages 160 and 161).

<sup>281</sup> Discussions of Montjuich featured in almost every issue of the paper from 1899-1900. A selection of articles from *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): F. Urales, 'La vergüenza de Montjuich,' 1, (20/05/1899), 1-2; V. García, '¡Montjuich!', 3, (03/06/1899), 2; 'El proceso de Cambios Nuevos,' 9, (15/07/1899), 3-4; S. Gustavo, 'Torturas morales,' 14, (19/08/1899), 2; F. Urales, 'Por la justicia,' 16, (02/09/1899), 1; 'La farsa de la revisión,' 21, (07/10/1899), 2; 'Los crímenes de Montjuich,' 26, (11/11/1899), 2-3; J. la Montenegro, 'Habrà justicia,' 32, (23/12/1899), 1; 'Sin embargo, hubo martirios,' 37, (27/01/1900), 4. On the pardons and exile see 'El proceso de Cambios Nuevos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 47, (07/04/1900), 1-2; 48, (14/04/1900), 1-2; 49, (21/04/1900), 1-2; 50, (28/04/1900), 1-2. A full revision of the 'proceso' only came thirty years later, when Pere Corominas (who had been arrested in 1896) annulled the trials in his capacity as Minister for Justice in the Catalan Generalitat during the Second Republic. See Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 173, n.101. See also Dalmau, *El procés de Montjuïc*, 450-534.

<sup>282</sup> 'Los tormentos en Jerez,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 53, (19/05/1900), 3. On an earlier tour led by Lerroux see López Estudillo, *Republicanism and anarchism*, 469-470.

<sup>283</sup> See Chapter 3.

retained their position as the exemplary examples of state violence, albeit with a more diminished presence than in previous years.<sup>284</sup> The claim that the movement was sustained by its creation of martyrs is not borne out in the central mechanism of anarchist culture: its press. While martyrdom was invoked with regularity in this period, it was not a stable, nor a singular concept which promoted a unified response from the movement. Some aspects of the anarchist press' response to repression – for example subscription funds – did help to maintain a sense of cohesion in the 1890s, however it is clear that the anarchist press at this time was not operating from a position of strength. Repression was neither invited nor welcomed by anarchist papers, which were amongst the most obvious casualties of repression outside Cataluña. Periodicals tried, and ultimately failed, to employ various forms of martyrdom as a unifying cause in the face of difficulties, but rather than a symbol of the movement's survival, the use of martyrdom was no more than evidence of the dismal situation that it faced.

### The Cuban War and the 'Disaster' of 1898

One of the most consistent elements of anarchist ideology was its hostility to war and militarism. Both were constantly derided in the anarchist press as the ultimate expression of the violence inherent in the state, used to force men to kill one another in the name of the 'nation' or 'Empire,' misleading 'the people' away from their genuine goals of emancipation and liberty.<sup>285</sup> A particular hatred was reserved for conscription, which demonstrated the state's exploitation of the working-class, while allowing the bourgeoisie to pay to be excused from service.<sup>286</sup> Yet anarchists were not necessarily pacifists. Many preferred the term anti-militarism, which legitimised popular violence if it was directed against the state, and could therefore be seen as revolutionary or an act of self-defence.<sup>287</sup> Nevertheless, there was little discussion within the Spanish movement on what constituted a legitimate response to war, which left the movement's ideological position on the matter unclear.

This ambiguity was exposed at the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence in February 1895.<sup>288</sup> The war provided a common point for the anarchist movement to focus its long-standing antagonism to state violence. From the outbreak of the war, the movement's press was united in its condemnation of conscription, which was portrayed as a means of sending hundreds of thousands of

<sup>284</sup> 'Minuta: El 11 de Noviembre,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 47, (10/11/1904), 1.

<sup>285</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 272-277; R. Núñez Florencio, 'Patria y ejército desde la ideología anarquista,' *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 178, (1991), 589-643; O. Freán Hernández, 'Imperialismo, fascismo y revolución: El discurso sobre la guerra en la prensa anarquista gallega,' *Cahiers de civilisation espagnole contemporaine: De 1808 au temps présent*, Special edition: 1: L'anarchisme espagnol, (2012), published online: <http://ceec.revues.org/3959#tocto1n2> [accessed 15/01/2013].

<sup>286</sup> The most celebrated publication on this subject was F. Salvochea's *La contribución de sangre: Al esclavo*, (Madrid, 1900), which also includes one of the few post-1898 references to Pallás in print on page 20.

<sup>287</sup> Examples in later periods: A. López, 'Tribuna del obrero: De la guerra,' *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 1, (01/07/1898), 26-27; V. Merio, 'Pacifistas y antimilitaristas,' *Tierra y Libertad*, [New Series], (Barcelona), II, 4, (06/01/1905), 1; Jacobo, 'Las guerras necesarias,' *Escuela Moderna*, (Valencia), 71, (09/09/1911), 1; J. Chueca, 'El desenvolvimiento del militarismo...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 5, (20/06/1913), 2; V. García, 'Dentro del ideal,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 392 (29/04/1915), 3-4.

<sup>288</sup> A summary of the war is given in S. Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire, 1898-1923*, (Oxford, 1997), 1-63.

working-class Spaniards to fight in the appalling conditions of rural Cuba – depicted as a ‘swamp’ brimming with ‘plagues’ – for the sake of the state’s capitalist interests.<sup>289</sup> In the summer of 1896 *El Corsario* developed this critique into a fully-fledged campaign, which dominated its final issues. The paper was inspired by women’s protest meetings across Spain, regarding them as the first manifestation of a popular, revolutionary anti-war sentiment. The paper called upon its readers to join with these ‘mothers of Spain,’ who shared anarchism’s ‘love’ and ‘humanitarianism’.<sup>290</sup>

Yet despite their shared stance on Spain’s militarism, anarchist papers differed in their portrayal of the Cuban insurrection.<sup>291</sup> *El Corsario* was supportive of the independence movement, most evidently in its column – ‘The Week in Cuba’ – from correspondent ‘Pantin’ in Havana, which ran throughout its third and final epoch.<sup>292</sup> This section reflected the mood of most Cuban anarchists towards the conflict, who saw the cause for a ‘Free Cuba’ as the first step towards wider social emancipation on the island.<sup>293</sup> The insurrection was considered revolutionary – a war between ‘the people and the Spanish oligarchy’ – and therefore legitimate.<sup>294</sup> The strong and regular connection between *El Corsario* and the island reflected a shared sense of purpose between Cuban nationalists and Spanish anarchists in La Coruña, a link which was underwritten by the high levels of migration between Galicia and Cuba in the nineteenth century.<sup>295</sup>

The handful of anarcho-communist papers published during the war also lent their support to the insurrection. Writing in *El Eco del Rebelde*, Vicente García portrayed the Cuban cause as the same as that of anarchists in Spain, both of whom legitimately used violence against the bourgeoisie and the state.<sup>296</sup> Towards the end of 1895 *El Comunista* published an extract from the pamphlet *Cuba libre* by General Antonio Maceo, the black insurgent leader who led Cuban forces in the east of the island, portraying him as the ‘soul of the revolution,’ and agreeing with his depiction of the black Cuban cause as the same as that of ‘anarchists in Europe; slaves of Africa...Jews, exiles, émigrés everywhere’. The paper was also supportive of Maceo’s call to ‘Destroy! Destroy! Destroy all the

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<sup>289</sup> ‘¡Como premia la patria!’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 90, (18/01/1896), 2; ‘La situación,’ *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), (30/01/1896), 1. The Spanish Minister of War put the total figure of Spanish troops sent to island at 214,333, see Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire*, 11, n.2.

<sup>290</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): ‘¡Abajo la Guerra!’ 241, (30/07/1896), 1-2; 242, (06/08/1896), 1; 244, (20/08/1896), 1 and *Suplemento al número 245 de “El Corsario,”* (La Coruña, 1896), 1. Reports on protest meetings in *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): ‘Revista Semanal... Zaragoza,’ 242, (06/08/1896), 2; ‘Revista Semanal... Alicante,’ 244, (20/08/1896), 3.

<sup>291</sup> López Estudillo, *Republicanism and anarchism*, 464-466.

<sup>292</sup> *El Corsario*, (La Coruña): Pantin, ‘La semana de Cuba,’ 212, (09/01/1896) – 244, (20/08/1896). See also Álvarez Junco, *La ideología*, 263-265, esp.n.63.

<sup>293</sup> A. Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales: Anarquistas españoles en Cuba (1902-1925)*, (Sevilla, 2008), 115-128, esp.117.

<sup>294</sup> R. Núñez Florencio, ‘Los anarquistas españoles y americanos ante la Guerra de Cuba,’ *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 179, (1991), 1077-1092, at 1092.

<sup>295</sup> Over 20 per cent of all Spanish emigrants to Cuba were Galician, making a migrant community second only to Catalans in size, see Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*, 90.

<sup>296</sup> Palmiro [V. García], ‘La fuerza,’ *El Eco del Rebelde*, (Zaragoza), 2, (06/06/1895), 1-2.

time and at all hours' as the best means to secure 'autonomy'.<sup>297</sup> *El Comunista's* identification with the cause for racial equality within Cuban independence contrasted sharply with the mainstream Spanish press, which caricatured the black Cuban revolutionaries as wild, bloodthirsty savages.<sup>298</sup> Sympathy towards the Cuban independence movement was also common in international anarchist circles. Numerous personal connections existed between Cuban and anarchist revolutionaries, often made in exile in cities such as Paris and London. The causes were united in figures such as Fernando Tárriada del Mármol, a Cuban anarchist who had been arrested in Barcelona following the Corpus bombing. Following his release, Tárriada moved to Paris and then on to London, where he published accounts of the brutal repression of the anarchist movement in Barcelona.<sup>299</sup> Tárriada explicitly linked the repression of anarchism to Spanish colonial rule of Cuba, underlined by a common cause against the Spanish state, which was attracting increasing international criticism for its heavy-handed reaction to domestic and colonial revolutionaries.

*La Idea Libre* maintained a different perspective on the Cuban war to its contemporaries. It recognised the war as a capitalist adventure to prevent the secession of the island, yet it did not hold much faith that the workers of Cuba would benefit from a new republican state.<sup>300</sup> This paper saw a basic contradiction between nationalism and anarchism, seeing independence as a means to bring about a change in authority, rather than its abolition.<sup>301</sup> *La Idea Libre's* Cuban correspondents emphasised the need to organise workers and 'persuade them towards their complete economic and social emancipation' above the mere 'political' freedoms being fought for at the time.<sup>302</sup> They ignored the bulk of the fighting, and never once mentioned the leaders of the independence movement, such as José Martí. Instead they focused on vague reports that a 'true' social revolution was imminent, and claimed that the majority of workers who supported the revolution did so because of hunger, rather than Cuban nationalism.<sup>303</sup>

<sup>297</sup> 'El ideal de Maceo,' *El Comunista*, (Zaragoza), 3, (31/12/1895), 2-3. A. Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1999), 144-145.

<sup>298</sup> A. Elorza, 'Con la marcha de Cádiz (imágenes españolas de guerra de independencia cubana, 1895-1898),' *Estudios de Historia Social*, 1.44-47, (1988), 327-386.

<sup>299</sup> Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 170-173, 183-184.

<sup>300</sup> *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): 'Revista internacional,' 45, (09/03/1895), 3, see also story accompanying a picture of a mother strewn across a table in despair at her son's call-up (claimed to be drawn from life) 'El grabado: ¡La patria agradecida!', 96, (29/02/1896), 1 and tale of grief-stricken parents reading the last letter sent by their son in 'Noticias póstumas,' 98, (14/03/1896), 3.

<sup>301</sup> G.E. Poyo, 'The anarchist challenge to the Cuban independence movement, 1885-1890,' *Cuban Studies*, 15.1, (1985), 33-35. Some sections of the Cuban anarchist movement held a similar position prior to the insurrection, including Enrique Roig y San Martín, who was keen to stress to the workers of Cuba that "[no] political system will improve anything" once Spain's grip on the island had been removed". Cited in J. Casanovas, *Bread or Bullets!: Urban Labour and Spanish Colonialism in Cuba, 1850-1898*, (Pittsburgh, PA, 1998), 192. See also 'Enrique Roig y San Martín,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 95, (22/02/1896), 1-2, which avoided his views on separatism whilst stressing his importance as a journalist and organiser.

<sup>302</sup> Letter from 'Grupo Número 1 – Federación de Cuba,' printed as 'Acuerdo,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), (11/04/1896), 3.

<sup>303</sup> *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid): 'Vuelapluma,' 59, (15/06/1895), 3 and 'Noticias,' 91, (25/01/1896), 4.

The attitude of *La Idea Libre* was thus similar to the majority of PSOE opinion, see C. Serrano, 'El PSOE y la Guerra de Cuba (1895-1898),' *Estudios de Historia Social*, 8-9, (1979), 289.

The differing conceptions on the war in Cuba paralleled similar divisions over anarchist violence within Spain. Some sections of the press supported the revolutionary struggle of the Cuban people, seeing it as analogous to the popular and individual violence directed against the Spanish state. *La Idea Libre* saw the war differently, as simply a struggle between two ills, mirroring its negative attitude towards terrorism. Where these papers could agree, however, was in their condemnation of Spain's role in the war. Imperialism and war remained anathema; the expressions of externalised state violence which was illegitimate by its nature.

In contrast to the Cuban insurrection, anarchist papers paid little attention to the growing Philippine independence movement, and gave only a limited response to the revolution which broke out in the colony in August 1896. In the final few issues of *El Corsario* and its short-lived successor *El Productor*, the Philippine cause was celebrated as part of an international struggle against the 'yoke of oppression,' yet there was no sense of the common cause that the paper had made with the Cuban independence movement.<sup>304</sup> With the collapse of the anarchist press in October 1896, no further attention to the Philippines could be provided by the anarchist press in Spain. Likewise, coverage of the war in Cuba ceased as repression made anarchist publishing impossible.

By the time the anarchist press returned, both conflicts were drawing to a close. Despite desperate attempts from Spanish diplomats to keep the US out of the wars in Cuba and the Philippines, three years of stalemate persuaded President McKinley that intervention was necessary. The US declared war on Spain on 25 April 1898, and by 13 August, the US navy had crushed the Spanish forces in both the Philippines and Cuba, signalling an end to both wars of independence and thus the end of the Spanish Empire. In Spain, this 'disaster' had a profound impact on public political discourse, prompting a prolonged period of introspection in which 'Spain's political system, its national character, and Spanish nationhood itself...began to be widely questioned'.<sup>305</sup> In contrast, *La Idea Libre* welcomed US intervention in the war, and saw the defeat of Spain as a moment of 'atonement' for the Spanish bourgeoisie.<sup>306</sup> Nevertheless, the paper remained pessimistic about the prospects of the new Cuban Republic, claiming that the nationalists had simply swapped an imperial master for the domination of US capitalism.<sup>307</sup> By the time that other anarchist papers emerged later in the year the war was over, and had largely disappeared as a subject of discussion for the movement.

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<sup>304</sup> 'Revista semanal... Islas Filipinas,' *El Corsario*, (La Coruña), 245, (27/08/1896), 4; N. Díaz Pérez, 'La insurrección en Filipinas,' *El Productor*, (La Coruña), 5, (08/10/1896), 2-3.

<sup>305</sup> Balfour, *The End of the Spanish Empire*, 21-49. On the public reaction to the loss of Cuba, see C. Serrano, 'Guerra y crisis social: Los motines de mayo del 98,' *Estudios de Historia de España*, 1, (1981), 439-450; S. Balfour, 'Riot, regeneration and reaction: Spain in the aftermath of the 1898 disaster,' *The Historical Journal*, 38.2, (1995), 405-423.

<sup>306</sup> 'Noticias varias,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 127, (26/03/1898), 4.

<sup>307</sup> 'Vuelapluma,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 137, (20/08/1898), 3. On post-war Cuban anarchism see K.R. Shaffer, 'Cuba para todos: Anarchist internationalism and the cultural politics of Cuban independence, 1898-1925,' *Cuban Studies*, 31, (2000), 45-75.

With the end of the war in Cuba and the relaxation of repression, the anarchist press began to look to the future. As the movement's press returned, it called for new methods towards the revolution and new responses to the challenge of authority.<sup>308</sup> The anarchist press took centre stage in this development. In the following years the movement would no longer be defined by violence, but by its relationship with print culture, which became the driving force behind a reconstruction of anarchism in Spain. In *La Idea Libre*, pieces such as 'Faith in the Future' by José Prat demonstrated the paper's shift from the introspective, nostalgic tone of 1894-6. Rather than dwelling on past glories, Prat employed history as an example of the inevitable march of progress, which could not be quelled by periods of repression.<sup>309</sup> Likewise, the newly-launched *La Revista Blanca* saw the movement's return to legality as a new dawn for anarchism in Spain. The journal's emphasis on education and culture, and a general sense of optimism, represented a sharp change in tone from the press of previous years.

The violence of the 1890s had brought anarchism in Spain to its knees. It divided anarchist opinion and prompted the creation of competing cultural symbols. Only three anarchists in Spain threw bombs in Barcelona, killing a total of 34 people. Another killed a prime minister, and under a hundred anarchists were held responsible for a rural uprising in which three people died. Many within the movement supported these actions, just as many condemned them. Individuals, groups and newspapers changed their attitude through the decade, some hardening in their support for violence, some refuting their former positions to condemn it outright. This heterogeneous, fluid situation was created and mediated by the anarchist press, which also attempted to sustain the movement through the symbolism of martyrdom and practical activity, such as solidarity funds. The efforts of the press were ultimately futile, as repression wiped out its fragile infrastructure, severing the networks of communication which the movement relied upon. When the press returned, the symbols provided by the perpetrators and victims of violence of the 1890s did not resonate past the turn of the century. Violence remained a salient feature of anarchism in Spain: strikes and protests continued to be marked by violence, violent uprisings continued to take place, anarchists continued to commit violent acts, and were routinely subject to the violence of the state. Yet violence ceased to define the movement and dominate its print culture. Instead, anarchists in Spain moved on from this decade, and put this immensely difficult period behind them.

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<sup>308</sup> Casanova, 'Terror and violence,' 84-85.

<sup>309</sup> J. Prat, 'Fe en el porvenir,' *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 140 (16/09/1898), 1-2 and 141, (24/09/1898), 1-2.



# The Cult of Reason

## Chapter 2: Anarchism and Education: 1899-1906

The assassination of Cánovas del Castillo and the loss of empire brought a change in the political climate in Spain, not least in regards to the anarchist movement. Although legislation against anarchism remained in effect until 1901, it was rarely implemented after 1898, bringing about a de facto legalisation of anarchist practice in every area outside Cataluña.<sup>1</sup> What followed was a remarkable expansion of the movement across the whole of Spain. Within a few years anarchism in Spain dwarfed the nineteenth-century movement in term of size, spread, level of activity and cultural development. In the words of ‘Juan’ from Cádiz, repression ‘had not stopped the march of progress’ and the movement was springing back to life ‘with more fervour’ than ever before.<sup>2</sup> Invigorated by its newly found support, the movement began to realise objectives that had previously been solely theoretical, particularly those associated with the broad revolutionary strategy of education. The expansion of 1899-1906 reshaped anarchism in Spain, laying a cultural foundation for the movement which would last until 1939.

Anarchist periodicals flourished in this period, not only re-emerging in areas where they had previously existed – such as Madrid, Cádiz, La Coruña and, after 1901, Barcelona – but also launching in new localities, for example Valladolid, Huelva, Santander, La Línea de la Concepción, Gijón and the Islas Canarias. By the end of this period there were more anarchist periodicals in print than at any other point in the history of the movement, a proliferation of print that both reflected and contributed to the wider expansion of the movement.<sup>3</sup> Papers provided an ideological structure to anarchist activity and experience, united disparate groups of activists, and framed the discourse and meaning of the movement. When the press prospered, so did the movement. As suggested in the introduction, the significance of this period is frequently overlooked, often either left out of studies, or incorporated into wider discussions of the nineteenth century movement.<sup>4</sup> But this ignores the shift

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<sup>1</sup> See comments on the relaxation of the law in *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Dichos y hechos,’ 69, (08/09/1900), 4; 82, (08/12/1900), 4; 88, (19/01/1900), 4 and ‘Gracias, Republicanos,’ 83, (15/12/1900), 2. See also Rojas Sánchez, ‘Legislación,’ 79. Prior to the official repeal of the legislation, papers that would have previously been suppressed under the terms of ‘concealment’ of anarchist intent, were produced in Madrid, Asturias, Valladolid and Cádiz prior to 1900. See *La Idea Libre* (Madrid, reappeared August 1897); *La Revista Blanca* (Madrid, first issue 01/06/1898); *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca* (Madrid, first issue 19/05/1899); *La Protesta*, (Valladolid, first issue 09/10/1899); *Fraternidad*, II, (Gijón, first issue 11/11/1899) and *El Trabajo* (Cádiz, first issue 17/12/1899).

<sup>2</sup> Juan, ‘Libertad,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 12, (05/08/1899), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Studies which exclude period include Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*. Studies which cover the period as part of a broader, pre-CNT timeframe: J. Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*; Litvak, *Musa libertaria* and Herrero López, *Anarquía, dinamita*.

which took place within anarchism in these years, which was a consequence of the highly damaging repression of the 1890s. The move towards education at the turn of the century thus followed the failure of violent revolutionary tactics in the previous decade. Many of the ideas were not particularly ‘new,’ but they were put into effect in new areas and with markedly more success than ever before. Likewise, these years were not simply a prelude to twentieth-century movement, studies of which often only begin with the origins of the CNT in 1907.<sup>5</sup> The turn of the century was neither the same as the periods which surrounded it, nor completely separate from them. It represented a crossroads, where neither violence nor labour organisation was regarded as the best tactic to advance the anarchist cause. Instead, the movement looked to ‘education’: a broad and ambiguous revolutionary strategy, representing a huge range of ideas, aspirations and activities, symbolised above all by the explosion of print culture at this time.

### Education and Print

In anarchist ideology, power and authority did not reside solely in the state or capitalism: it was also manifest in the cultural violence of religion.<sup>6</sup> The Church, regarded as an ‘enemy of Reason’ [*sic*], fed the working-class fantasies of God and redemption that aimed to pacify protest and maintain ignorance in order to assure servility.<sup>7</sup> ‘Education’ would combat this manifestation of authority. Reason, science and progress were sacrosanct, and regarded as being locked in a constant struggle with superstition and faith.<sup>8</sup> There could be no compromise between these forces. More education meant less religion; science would ‘destroy the palace of God,’ its light would ‘invas[e] dark chambers inhabited by mysticism until at last no darkness should be left’.<sup>9</sup> The term ‘education’ had been ubiquitous in Spanish anarchist discourse since the 1860s, signifying a large range of ideas and methods, at the root of which were mutually-reinforcing aims: a raising of ‘culture’ amongst the working-class and a revolutionary overhaul of schooling.<sup>10</sup> Education was a revolutionary tactic, which sought individual improvement for collective ends, bringing about a ‘transformation of reality’ through self-enlightenment. Education was both a political strategy and an end in itself, which would establish a new morality free from vice and corruption, and liberate the masses, particularly women and children, from the cultural oppression of the Church.

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<sup>5</sup> For example see Bar, *La CNT*.

<sup>6</sup> S. Gustavo, ‘La prueba del fuego,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 6, (24/06.1899), 2.

<sup>7</sup> J.L. Montenegro, ‘Política y religión,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 36, (20/01/1900), 1; S. Suñé, ‘Los enemigos de la razón,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 23, (03/11/1900), 2; prolonged attack on religion, contrasted with Science [*sic*] in ‘Anatema Sic,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 9, (17/02/1906), 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Girón Sierra, *Evolucionismo y anarquismo*, 188-191.

<sup>9</sup> B. Merino, ‘Mi saludo,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 3, (18/01/1903), 3. Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 63-114. Second quote from O. Chadwick, *The Secularisation of the European Mind in the 19th Century*, (Cambridge, 1975), 15.

<sup>10</sup> C. Lida, ‘Educación anarquista del ochocientos,’ *Revista de Occidente*, 97 (1971), 33-47.

Anarchism's focus on 'cultural ascendancy' as revolutionary strategy marked it out from its contemporaries.<sup>11</sup> While many of its cultural aspirations were similar to those of Spanish liberals and republicans, anarchism differed from these middle-class educators in its focus on the working class and its view that education would bring forth a destruction of the status quo. The socialist movement was far less concerned with education and culture than their anarchist contemporaries, and only began to expand in this field after the turn of the century. In the words of one scholar, the central periodical of the socialists, *El Socialista*, gave 'little...literary, scientific and cultural...nourishment' to its readers.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, anarchists used print as the prime means of realising their educational ambitions. Pamphlets, books, journals and newspapers transmitted ideas, and provided a system by which anarchists could structure grassroots educational initiatives.<sup>13</sup> Engagement with print culture required education, in the form of literacy and comprehension of anarchist theory; it imparted education, through the practice of skills such as reading; and it transmitted education, through the constant exchange of anarchist ideas.<sup>14</sup>

During the 1870s, anarchist educational aspirations remained largely secondary to organisational concerns. In the early years of the movement the revolution was seen as imminent, thus the most important task for anarchists was to ensure that it was carried out correctly. Cultural emancipation could wait until anarchy had arrived.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, in the early 1880s the movement was primarily concerned with strengthening its influence in the labour movement, and gave little attention to educational ideas. This changed in 1886 with the arrival of *Acracia* (Barcelona, 1886-1888), the first anarchist publication to give prominence to theory and culture over 'politics and agitation'.<sup>16</sup> *Acracia* focused on enlightenment as a revolutionary tactic, hoping to bypass doctrinal arguments between anarcho-collectivists and communists that split the movement in the late 1880s.<sup>17</sup> Its approach to 'raising culture' through the press situated anarchist ideology within the rhetoric of late nineteenth-century social science, stressing that anarchism was 'scientific' and 'sociological,' a product of reason rather than *a priori* belief. This language was employed in direct opposition to religion, framing science and sociology as weapons against the 'imbecilic superstition' of

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<sup>11</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 73; Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 117-118.

<sup>12</sup> Marie-Madeleine Compère, cited in O'Connor, *Crime at El Escorial*, 45. See also C. Serrano, 'Le parti socialiste espagnol et la culture (1890-1910),' J.L. Guereña, and A. Tiana Ferrer, (eds.), *Clases populares, cultura, educación: Siglos XIX-XX*, (Madrid, 1989), 457-466; F. de Luis Martín, *Cincuenta años de cultura obrera en España: 1890-1940*, (Madrid, 1994), 7.

<sup>13</sup> J. Álvarez Junco, 'La subcultura anarquista en España: Racionalismo y populismo,' *Culturas populares: Diferencias, divergencias, conflictos: Actas del coloquio celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez, los días 30 de noviembre y 1-2 de diciembre de 1983*, (Madrid, 1986), 197-208; Navarro Navarro, 'El paraíso de la razón', 18.

<sup>14</sup> Several elements of the anarchist view of the emancipatory quality of education, the role of print and the benefits for correspondents engaging in the press can be compared with early NEP Soviet Russia (1921-1925), see Lenoë, *Closer to the Masses*, 31-32.

<sup>15</sup> Boyd, 'The anarchists and education,' 131-132.

<sup>16</sup> Serrano, 'Acracia,' 347.

<sup>17</sup> The name *Acracia* itself was an attempt to promote a term for anarchism '*sin adjetivos*' (without labels). Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 126. In 1899 the group behind *La Revista Blanca* tried to revive the term, see for example A. Domínguez, 'Acracia,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, 18, (16/09/1899), 2.

Catholicism.<sup>18</sup> Yet while science was considered as an objective good, it could conceivably be misused. Works which presented results at odds with the overarching logic of anarchism were not seen as true science or sociology by papers such as *Acracia*.<sup>19</sup> For example, many within the movement were (understandably) hostile to the criminologist Cesare Lombroso, who portrayed anarchism as a result of a biologically-determined criminality.<sup>20</sup> One of the most famous anarchist pamphlets of the time, Mella's *Lombroso y los anarquistas*, dismissed Lombroso's work as 'dressed up dogmatism' and bad science, since he had only studied the tiny violent element of the anarchist movement and had ignored its ideology. In contrast, the 'good' sociologist Augustin Hamón regarded anarchists as 'a superior psychological type,' and was thus praised and published regularly in the movement's press.<sup>21</sup> The discourse of science and sociology spread from *Acracia* into almost every anarchist publication of the late 1880s. Yet education remained an abstract idea, confined to the pages of the anarchist press and the intellectual elite of the movement, and any prospects for enacting educational ideas were soon quelled by the repression of the 1890s.

#### La Revista Blanca: Defining the Movement Through Print

The educational discourse reappeared within the movement as soon as repression relaxed in 1898. This was symbolised by the arrival of *La Revista Blanca*, the most significant anarchist cultural publication since *Acracia*, launched in July 1898 as a fortnightly publication of 'sociology, science and the arts,' under the editorship Federico Urales. The paper included contributions from several leading intellectuals of the 'Generation of 98,' such as Azorín (pseud. José Martínez Ruiz), Miguel de Unamuno and Pío Baroja, whose disillusionment with contemporary Spain led them to flirt with anarchist ideas, providing the movement with an 'intellectual dynamism it had not had before'.<sup>22</sup> This relationship was distrusted by 'truly representative anarchist theorists,' such as Mella, Prat and Lorenzo, who thought that these intellectuals were only interested in the theory, aesthetics and individualism of anarchism and distained the movement's collective and revolutionary practices.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> 'Discurso,' *Via Libre*, (Zaragoza), 12, (16/12/1906), 3-4.

<sup>19</sup> Cleminson, *Anarchism, Sex and Science*, 261-262. See discussion of 'our sociology,' V. Daza, 'Sociología del obrero,' *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 12, (21/04/1900), 2.

<sup>20</sup> D. Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder*, (Cambridge, 1989), 109-139; R. Bach Jensen, 'Criminal anthropology and anarchist terrorism in Spain and Italy,' *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 16.2, (2001), 31-44.

<sup>21</sup> R. Mella, *Lombroso y los anarquistas: Refutación*, (Barcelona, 1896), 118-119; A. Hámon, 'Determinismo y responsabilidad,' *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 2, (23/11/1899), 1-2. A number of Hámon's works were translated and published by anarchist groups, see Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 198-199. See also Á. Girón, 'Los anarquistas españoles y la criminología de Cesare Lombroso (1890-1914),' *Frenia*, 2.2, (2002), 81-108; Erickson, 'Punishing the mad bomber,' 58.

<sup>22</sup> M. Blinkhorn, 'Spain: The "Spanish problem" and the imperial myth,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15.1, (1980), 12-13; Laffranque, 'Juan Montseny,' 42-46; R. García Mateo, 'Unamuno y el pensamiento anarquista,' B. Hofmann, P. Joan i Tous, and M. Tietz, (eds.), *El anarquismo español y sus tradiciones culturales*, (Frankfurt/Madrid, 1995), 121-128.

<sup>23</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 203-204.

*La Revista Blanca* was one of the longest-lasting and most influential publications in the history of Spanish anarchism. It was also one of the most well-read anarchist publications prior to the creation of the CNT, with an estimated print-run of between 6,000 and 8,000.<sup>24</sup> Urales wanted the journal to encourage the development of anarchism through education.<sup>25</sup> The very first article in *La Revista Blanca* demonstrated Urales' belief that greater attention to theory would foster revolutionary action: 'changes in ideas turn themselves into changes in facts ...elements which transmit to the people reforming ideas; [they] serve as communication between the past and the future, between that which reigns and that which should reign...this is the mission that *La Revista Blanca* proposes'.<sup>26</sup> Urales believed that workers should assist in their own 'transformation of spirits' by reading the journal.<sup>27</sup> Until January 1901, it maintained an open 'Workers' Section,' which promoted a mutual cultural exchange between the journal and its readers. One letter to this section aptly represents this process. Its author, Hermenegildo Guilafre, expressed 'immense satisfaction' that Urales had 'placed a section of this journal to the disposition of workers, with the object of assisting their literary interests and to encourage them towards the study of contemporary problems'. He had been frustrated with both the mainstream press and *El Socialista*, which had refused to print the 'poor writings' of an ordinary worker. In contrast, *La Revista Blanca's* openness demonstrated the true mission of the workers' press: 'to educate and dignify the class with the aim of preparing it for the material and intellectual battles to come'.<sup>28</sup>

The publication's emphasis on workers' concerns led it to launch a separate weekly publication, the *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca* (hereafter *Suplemento*) in May 1899.<sup>29</sup> This 4-page, weekly periodical focused on 'current events,' leaving longer theoretical and educational articles to the monthly *Revista*.<sup>30</sup> Campaigns for prisoners formed a large part of the *Suplemento*. The paper administered funds, organised demonstrations and gave a voice to imprisoned workers, beginning in 1899 with the campaign for the reversal of the Montjuich trials (May 1899-May 1900), which was immediately followed by campaigns for the prisoners of the Jerez uprising of 1892 and the 'Mano Negra' (January 1900-February 1901). As popular and industrial unrest spread across Spain in 1901, the paper became the focal point for campaigns against repression in Gijón (December 1900-March

<sup>24</sup> These figures appear in S. Tavera, 'La prensa anarco-sindicalista,' 88, R. Pérez de la Dehesa in his introduction to Urales, *La evolución*, 21 and Laffranque, 'Juan Montseny,' 42. It is almost exactly the same figure given for the print run of the papers' second epoch (Barcelona, 1923-1936) by Urales' daughter, Federica Montseny, in a 1977 interview, see Tavera, 'La prensa anarco-sindicalista,' 88, n.8.

<sup>25</sup> See Urales' comments on the first epoch of the journal in 'Nuestros ideas y nuestros popósitos,' *La Revista Blanca*, (Barcelona), II, 1, (01/06/1923), 1.

<sup>26</sup> 'La Revista Blanca,' *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 1, (01/07/1898), 1-2.

<sup>27</sup> Phrase 'transformation of spirits' from 'La Revista Blanca,' *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 1, (01/07/1898), 1; Laffranque, 'Juan Montseny,' 44. See also Ortiz Jr., 'Redefining public education,' 82.

<sup>28</sup> Hermenegildo Guilafre, 'Carta de un obrero,' *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 2, (15/07/1898), 58.

<sup>29</sup> The *Suplemento* was launched with the support of 10,000 pesetas received from Francisco Ferrer (5,000) and Juan Gregahe (an Argentinian doctor; 5,000), see Urales, *Mi vida*, II, 153 and Madrid Santos, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 74, n.149.

<sup>30</sup> 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 97, (23/03/1901), 4.

1901), Lebrija and Sevilla (April-December 1901) and La Coruña (May-October 1901).<sup>31</sup> As well as these campaigns, the *Suplemento*'s 'Movimiento Social' section reported on growing anarchist activity across the whole of Spain, with news of propaganda groups, workers' societies, industrial action and educational centres, all of which saw a sharp increase from 1898 onwards. Both of these elements of the *Suplemento* gave the movement a sense of structure and purpose as it recovered from the disaster of the 1890s.<sup>32</sup>

Although Madrid is rarely cited as an anarchist stronghold – due, in part, to its long association with the socialist movement – the Urales family made the city the publishing centre of the movement. Urales saw the *Suplemento* as anarchism's 'central' periodical, and labelled all papers 'local' publications.<sup>33</sup> Its writers were often self-congratulatory, informing readers of its expanding circulation and the influence it had on the movement.<sup>34</sup> At times this attitude did not sit comfortably with the wider movement. For example, in 1899, the Spanish anarchists were sent an open invitation to send delegates to the International Anti-Parliamentarian Congress, to be held in Paris alongside the Fifth Congress of the Second (Socialist) International the following September.<sup>35</sup> Lacking any formal means of electing a representative, the movement turned to its press. Anarchist groups from around the country were invited to send in their nominations to Ernesto Álvarez' new publication, *La Protesta* (Valladolid). Problems arose when the *Suplemento* suggested three members of its own editorial group as delegates, which Álvarez rejected as being too costly.<sup>36</sup> In response, the *Suplemento* began its own, separate commission, which it funded with special double-price editions of the paper.<sup>37</sup> Neither commission raised enough money to send their own delegate, so the two funds were eventually combined and handed over to Ricardo Mella, who received the overwhelming majority of

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<sup>31</sup> On the Gijón general strike see Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*, 253-254 and Á. Barrio Alonso, 'Cultura del trabajo y organización obrera en Gijón en el cambio de siglo,' *Historia Contemporánea*, 5, (1991), 40-46. On the strikes in Sevilla see Velasco Mesa, 'Revolutionary rhetoric,' 237-238. On the protest, strike and repression in Coruña in 1901, and the support of the *Suplemento*, see A. Capelán, *Da violencia que non condenan: O centenario da folgo xeral de maio na Coruña*, (Santiago de Compostela, 2003), 14-31.

<sup>32</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La preense anarquista,' I.1, 147-148.

<sup>33</sup> 'Nuestros periódicos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 117, (10/08/1901), 4.

<sup>34</sup> For example see 'Nuestras polémicas,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 57, (16/06/1900), 2-3.

<sup>35</sup> 'Una circular,' *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 14, (03/11/1899), 2; *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II: 'Importantísimo,' 2, (25/11/1899), 3; 'El Congreso revolucionario de París,' 3, (09/12/1899), 1; 'Congreso socialista,' 5, (06/01/1900), 1.

<sup>36</sup> Examples of nominations in: *La Protesta*, (Valladolid): 'Adhesión,' 18, (01/12/1899), 2; 'Adhesiones,' 20 (15/12/1899), 2. 'A los libertarios españoles,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 33, (30/12/1899), 2; 'De todas partes,' *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 9, (11/03/1900), 3.

<sup>37</sup> 'Asuntos importantes,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 34, (06/01/1900), 3-4 and 'Congreso antiparlamentario y conferencia libertaria,' *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 24, (12/01/1900), 2-3. The first 'augmented' issue of the *Suplemento* was number 53 (19/05/1900), which was dedicated to the Montjuich and Jerez martyrs, and was one of the few issues of the paper to contain pictures. The paper believed the issue had been 'much to the liking of our comrades and the public in general'. The total amount raised by the separate funds was published in 'Dichos y Hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 84, (22/12/1900), 4, showing that the commission based in the *Suplemento* raised 148.50 pesetas while *La Protesta*'s fund raised 107.70.

nominations received by the *La Protesta* commission.<sup>38</sup> In the event, the Congress was shut down by the Parisian police and the foreign delegates were forced to hold their meetings in secret, separate from their French counterparts. According to Emma Goldman, visiting Europe from the USA, the Congress was a disaster, and the intervention of the police had ‘made constructive work impossible’.<sup>39</sup>

Despite occasional criticism, the *Suplemento* was generally respected and appreciated by the wider movement. It drew the largest and most geographically diverse readership of any anarchist periodical of the time, and was at the forefront of every major development within the movement over the turn of the century. As such, the paper and its editors maintained an informal position of authority over its colleagues. At this point, the elite role of Urales and his publications was appreciated by anarchists, who were buoyed by the return to legality and the subsequent expansion of the movement. When times were good, as they were in 1899-1903, potential divisions were accommodated, and the movement accepted the direction advanced by the *Suplemento*, allowing itself to be defined by its leading paper. The *Suplemento* outlined the boundaries of the movement, often by defining what anarchism was not. For example, it was not ‘political,’ which was a dirty word within anarchist rhetoric, signifying corruption, authority and the pursuit of money.<sup>40</sup> By ‘politics,’ anarchists referred solely to politics of government and the state. As such, anarchists regarded their extra-parliamentary activity and concentration on social and cultural forms of authority as ‘apolitical,’ since they did not participate in the ‘electoral farce’ or advocate change through the mechanisms of government and the state.<sup>41</sup> This was not only a critique of established Liberal and Conservative parties, but also all ‘progressives’ who sought to use ‘politics’ and the state in order to bring change.<sup>42</sup>

The *Suplemento* was therefore hostile to the ‘political’ socialist movement and its paper *El Socialista*, edited by Pablo Iglesias, also the head of the PSOE and UGT.<sup>43</sup> Urales and Iglesias constantly bickered with one another through their papers. To *El Socialista*, the anarchists were naïve and lacked organisation, and their impetuous calls for revolution did nothing to help Spain’s

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<sup>38</sup> Mella was initially suggested by the *Suplemento* – alongside three members of the paper’s editorial (Soledad Gustavo, Fermín Salvochea and Fernando Tarrida del Marmól) and Anselmo Lorenzo, who ruled himself out as he felt he was too old to travel, see letter published in *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 41, (24/02/1900), 4. When it became clear that only one delegate could be funded, the *Suplemento* supported Gustavo over Mella, but accepted the latter’s nomination in ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 69, (08/09/1900), 4.

<sup>39</sup> See reports from Raul [R. Mella] in *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Carta de Paris,’ 72, (29/09/1900), 2; 74 (13/10/1900), 2; ‘Nuestros Congresos,’ 76, (27/10/1900), 1; 77, (03/11/1900), 1; and in *La Protesta*, (Sabadell), ‘Brutalidad socialista-republicana,’ 59, (29/09/1900), 1; ‘Noticias Varias,’ 60, (05/10/1900), 4. E. Goldman, *Living My Life*, Vol. I, (New York, NY, 1970), 401; Bantman, ‘Internationalism,’ 967. See also T. Abelló Güell, *Les relacions internacionals de l’anarquisme català (1881-1914)*, (Barcelona, 1987), 115-120.

<sup>40</sup> See for example ‘Noticias varias,’ *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 1, (08/06/1902), 4.

<sup>41</sup> Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 117.

<sup>42</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 321-322.

<sup>43</sup> On the expansion of the socialist press at this time see S. Castillo, ‘La labor editorial del PSOE en el siglo XIX,’ *Estudios de Historia Social*, 8-9, (1979), 188-195.

workers.<sup>44</sup> In 1900 a mock-paper *La Revista Pálida* ('The Pale Journal') was launched – apparently under the orders of Iglesias – the sole purpose of which was insulting Urales.<sup>45</sup> In turn, Urales kept up a constant stream of criticism towards the socialists, frequently dedicating a quarter of the *Suplemento* to refuting articles in *El Socialista*. At times the dispute extended beyond the pages of the press, as in 1901, when the *Suplemento* accused the president of the socialist Centro Obrero in Madrid (and editor of *La Revista Pálida*) of stealing 4,000 pesetas from workers' funds, and was taken to court for libel.<sup>46</sup> This did not deter Urales, who constantly mocked the PSOE's commitment to the 'electoral farce' and their 'false' interpretation of socialism (as opposed to the 'correct,' anarchist interpretation of the term), which led them to accept a hierarchical party structure and discipline.

Like the anarchist movement, the socialist PSOE and UGT were rapidly expanding over the turn of the century.<sup>47</sup> On the ground there was often little difference between these two movements. Their members came from similar working backgrounds, as shown by the distribution of trades in the UGT and the anarchist-orientated FSORE in 1900-1903 [see Table 2.1]. This spread of trades broadly corresponds to the thesis of van der Linden and Thorpe, which claims that early twentieth-century syndicalism was most noticeable in casual work and in trades going through a process of deskilling and labour intensification during the second industrial revolution.<sup>48</sup> However, the similarities between FSORE and UGT membership suggest that occupation did not determine whether a worker joined an anarchist or socialist organisation, at least in Spain. Rather than a fixed ideological identity, it is likely that members of both movements often moved freely between the two identities of 'anarchist' and 'socialist'. The efforts of anarchist and socialist publications to maintain a distance between their affiliates also suggests that the two movements were close enough to cause alarm to their respective elites. *El Socialista* and the *Suplemento* stressed the rigid boundaries between anarchism and socialism, creating an image of a zero-sum game in the competition for membership. The most vitriolic attacks in the *Suplemento* against 'political socialists' often came from areas where the socialists had more support, such as Vizcaya, Oviedo and Madrid. In contrast, complaints against 'politicians' from anarchist strongholds in Andalucía and Cataluña were more often targeted against

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<sup>44</sup> For example see comments on 1901 repression in 'Auxiliarles de la burguesía: I,' *El Socialista*, (Madrid), 831, (07/02/1902), 2-3.

<sup>45</sup> *La Revista Pálida*, (Madrid), 1, (1900), 1-4; 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 57, (16/06/1900), 3. See also, Urales, *Mi vida*, II, 242.

<sup>46</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 'Dichos y hechos,' 112, (06/07/1901), 4; 'Los socialistas contra Soledad Gustavo,' 115, (27/07/1901), 2; 116, (03/08/1901), 2; T. Mañe, 'Carta Abierta,' 117, (10/08/1901), 2.

<sup>47</sup> Castillo, *Un sindicalismo consciente*, 157-158.

<sup>48</sup> M. van der Linden and W. Thorpe, 'The rise and fall of revolutionary syndicalism,' M. van der Linden and W. Thorpe (eds.), *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, (Aldershot, 1990), 7-11. See also Velasco Mesa, 'Revolutionary rhetoric,' 237, 241-244.

Table 2.1: Societies Adhered to FSORE and UGT Congresses, 1900-1903 by Trade

FSORE		UGT			
Trade	No. Societies	%	Trade	No.Societies	%
Construction and Decoration	91	18.13	Construction and Decoration	157	25
Workers' Centres, General Trades & Mixed Societies	82	16.34	Tailoring and Clothing	88	14.01
Woodwork and Furniture	61	12.15	Metalwork, Mechanics and Engineering	68	10.83
Textiles	39	7.77	Woodwork and Furniture	55	8.76
Tailoring	39	7.77	Printing and Graphics	49	7.8
Agriculture	37	7.37	Textiles	33	5.25
Metalwork, Mechanics and Engineering	35	6.97	Workers' Centres, General Trades & Mixed Societies	32	5.1
Artisans	25	4.98	Food and Drink Production	31	4.94
Cork and Paper Manufacturers	19	3.78	Transport	23	3.66
Masons and Quarrymen	11	2.19	Agriculture	19	3.03
Dockers, Longshoremen and Colliers	11	2.19	Masons and Quarrymen	16	2.55
Miners	10	1.99	Lighting and Heating	12	1.91
Food and Drink Production	10	1.99	Miners	11	1.75
Brick and Ceramic Works	9	1.79	Sailors and Dock Workers	11	1.75
Printing and Graphics	7	1.39	Brick and Ceramic Works	7	1.11
Hairdressers and Barbers	5	1	Plumbers, Tinsmiths and Glaziers	6	0.96
Transport	4	0.8	Hairdressers and Barbers	4	0.64
Sales and Shop Assistants	4	0.8	Ropemaking	3	0.48
Cooks and Waiters	2	0.4	Cleaners	2	0.32
Womens' Sections	1	0.2	Cooks and Waiters	1	0.16
Total	502		Total	628	

Sources: FSORE: 'Movimiento Social: Interior: Madrid,' *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 75, (20/10/1900), 2 [I Congress]; 'Movimiento Social: Interior: Madrid,' *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca*, 127, (19/10/1901), 3 and *La Federación Regional Española...Segundo Congreso*, 21-34 [II Congress]; 'Los Congresos Obreros: La Federación Regional,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 210, (21/05/1903), 1 [III Congress].

UGT: data Sep.1900, Feb. 1902 and Jan. 1903 in S. Castillo, *Historia de la UGT*, Vol. I, *Un sindicalismo consciente, 1873-1914*, (Madrid, 2008), 160.

republicans.<sup>49</sup>

As the figurehead of the anarchist movement, the *Suplemento* felt obliged to educate its readers on the meaning of anarchism. Aside from refraining from electoral politics and the hierarchical unionism of the UGT, this meant a commitment to the cultural, educational programme championed by its parent journal and publishing house, the 'Biblioteca de la Revista Blanca'. The Biblioteca produced a vast range of pamphlets and books, including original works from figures such as Mella and Lorenzo, and reissues of popular publications such as Kropotkin's *La Conquista del Pan*.<sup>50</sup> One of the main jobs of the *Suplemento* was to advertise new publications, and maintain the distribution networks of the publishing house, as well as calling for contributions to the yearly *Almanaque de la Revista Blanca*.<sup>51</sup> A good example of the bottom-up nature of anarchist print culture came in October 1900, when the *Suplemento* called upon its readers for assistance. The Biblioteca wanted to reprint Errico Malatesta's *Entre campesinos*, but did not possess any of the previous editions of the pamphlet.<sup>52</sup> Within a fortnight a copy had been sent in and the new edition, translated by José Prat, went on sale through the paper's offices.<sup>53</sup> In keeping with *La Revista Blanca* policy, the pamphlet was offered at half price to groups that distributed it freely in their local area.<sup>54</sup> The *Suplemento*'s influence soon surpassed that of its parent publication. By 1901 it was distributing 10,000 copies across Spain and by 1902 its print run was almost double that of *La Revista Blanca*.<sup>55</sup> Shortly afterwards, the *Suplemento* changed its name to *Tierra y Libertad* in order to make it an 'independent platform' from the *Revista*. Nevertheless, the editorial board, contributors and content of both publications remained broadly the same.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> See, for example, the attacks on the republican populist Moreno Mendoza: 'Movimiento social: Jerez,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 77, (03/11/1900), 3. See also attacks on Moreno in *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): M. Bega, 'Desde Arcos,' 108, (14/11/1901), 3 and 'A los compañeros...', 109, (21/11/1901), 1-2. On Mendoza see F. Síglor Silvera, 'Reforma social y actitudes revolucionarias en la sierra de Cádiz: Ubrique, 1900-1936,' J. Álvarez Junco, et al., *El movimiento obrero en la historia de Cádiz*, (Cádiz, 1988), 209-212; A. Morales Benítez, *Prensa, masonería y republicanismo: Manuel Moreno Mendoza (1862-1936) y la masonería jerezana*, (Jerez de la Frontera, 2008). See also R. Reig, *Obrers i ciutadans: Blasquisme i moviment obrer: València, 1898-1906*, (Valencia, 1982).

<sup>50</sup> For example see list of publications on sale in *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 69, (08/09/1900), 4 and notice of a new 'economic' edition of *La Conquista del Pan* advertised in 'Dichos y hechos,' 77, (03/11/1900), 4.

<sup>51</sup> See *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): call for contributions for the *Almanaque* in 'Dichos y hechos,' 74, (13/10/1900), 4; notice about editorial decisions for the *Almanaque* in 'Dichos y hechos,' 77, (03/11/1900), 4 and the list of selected contributions in 'Almanaque de "La Revista Blanca",' 84, (22/12/1900), 1.

<sup>52</sup> 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, 74, (13/10/1900), 4; Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 237-238.

<sup>53</sup> 'Bibliografía,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 76, (27/10/1900), 1.

<sup>54</sup> 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 57, (16/06/1900), 3.

<sup>55</sup> 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 116, (03/08/1901), 4. A figure of 15,000 copies by 1902 is cited in both Tavera, 'La prensa anarco-sindicalista,' 88 and by de la Dehesa in Urales, *La evolución*, 21.

<sup>56</sup> The extended editorial group of the *Suplemento* is given in 'Á nuestros amigos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 26, (11/11/1899), 4.

'Tierra y Libertad,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 138, (04/01/1902), 1; Madrid Santos, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 74.

Both *La Revista Blanca* and the *Suplemento/Tierra y Libertad* were crucial to the restructuring and definition of anarchism in Spain over the turn of the century, particularly in the sphere of education. They inspired numerous similar projects that sprung up in their wake. Outside Cataluña, few publications copied the long, journal-style of *La Revista Blanca*.<sup>57</sup> One exception was the short-lived *Libre Concurso* (Mahón, 1902, 3 issues), a monthly magazine of ‘sociology, science and pedagogy’ which published articles such as ‘Glory to Science!’, which claimed that it would soon be possible to feed the world’s population with synthetic, test-tube cultivated food.<sup>58</sup> Although the ‘business model’ of most anarchist papers was questionable, to say the least, this journal stands out as one of the most optimistic (or naïve) of the period. 20,000 copies of its first issue were printed and distributed for free, as the paper hoped that the value of its scientific, educational content would inspire sufficient voluntary donations from its readers. Unsurprisingly, this figure dropped to 10,000 and 8,000 in the following two issues, after which the publication closed.

Aside from *Libre Consurso*, anarchist publishers tended to not follow *La Revista Blanca*’s format, though they did make a noticeable effort to publish content which was in line with the journal’s overriding ‘mission’ to educate the Spanish people. This cultural programme was evident in the titles and subtitles given to the anarchist papers launched at this time: ‘fortnightly publication of sociology, science and the arts’ (*El Obrero*, Badajoz, 1899-1902); ‘literature, arts, science, sociology,’ (*La Protesta*, Valladolid-Sabadell-La Línea, 1899-1902); ‘in collaboration with the most renowned sociologists in the world,’ (*La Justicia Obrera*, Haro, 1900); *La Razón Obrera* (*Workers’ Reason*: Cádiz, 1901-1902); ‘workers’ sociological weekly: solidarity – science,’ (*Adelante*, Santander, 1902-1903); ‘sociological newspaper’ (*El Corsario*, Valencia, 1902); *El Faro del Progreso*, (*The Beacon of Progress*: Mazarrón, 1904-1905). Through all of these papers, anarchism was defined as a movement which valued education as a key revolutionary strategy. The example of *La Revista Blanca* and its *Suplemento* was taken up in local contexts across the whole of Spain [see Map 2.1], as anarchists sought to engage in the new cultural drive of the movement by engaging in print culture. Publishing levels soared after 1900 [refer to Chart 0.2], as producing a periodical became seen as the best means to spread education and thus the height of revolutionary activity.<sup>59</sup> No other practice was so clearly identified with the new direction of the movement, which had been largely set by the emergence of *La Revista Blanca* in 1898.

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<sup>57</sup> In contrast, a number of Catalan papers did follow this style, including *Natura*, (Barcelona, 1903-1905, 48 issues), a 16-page journal of ‘science, sociology, literature and art’ and *Buena Semilla*, (Barcelona, 1905-1906, 24 issues), an anarchist ‘review of society and arts,’ which also ran at 16 pages.

<sup>58</sup> ‘¡Gloria de la Ciencia!’ *Libre Concurso*, (Mahón), 1, (07/1902), 2. The original plan for the paper seems to have been to be printed in Barcelona by the Biblioteca ‘Orientación Sociológica,’ run by Sebastián Suñé, see *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 1, (08/06/1902), 4. When the paper re-launched in 1903 it was based in Barcelona, but again only managed to publish 3 issues.

<sup>59</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 24-25.

## Relatives and Enemies

The turn towards education brought with it a new vocabulary for anarchism in Spain. One of the most notable linguistic shifts in this period was the increasing use of the word ‘germinal,’ which was used as the title of three papers (Cádiz, 1903; La Coruña, 1904-1905; Tarrasa, 1905-1906) and numerous anarchist groups and institutions.<sup>60</sup> ‘Germinal’ was also a popular name for the children of anarchist parents, such as ‘Libertario Germinal’ and ‘Acracio Germinal,’ both of whom were registered in Algeciras (Cádiz) in 1900.<sup>61</sup> The use of this term reflects the shared rhetoric of anarchism and republicanism at the turn of the century, as both embraced the word as an evocation of nature and revolutionary cultural development.<sup>62</sup> Both anarchists and republicans also celebrated *Germinal*, by Emile Zola, as a literary masterpiece.<sup>63</sup> ‘Germinal’ was the name of a nationwide network of republican centres, groups and newspapers and a large library-bookshop based in Madrid, led by the intellectual and journalist Ernesto Bark, an Estonian political refugee who had worked for Spanish republican papers since the 1880s.<sup>64</sup> Bark’s aims for the ‘Germinal Association’ appeared similar to those of anarchist cultural educators: ‘to develop the revolutionary consciousness of the people,’ even ‘to join with the radical forces of the libertarians’. However, Bark saw the revolution as the establishment of a Republic, modelled on the French experience in 1789, and did not share the anarchist ambition of a future without government.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, Bark was respected by a number of anarchist commenters, including Soledad Gustavo, who was invited to give a lecture at the Madrid

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<sup>60</sup> For example, the ‘Germinal’ centre in La Coruña, and ‘Germinal’ groups in La Línea (a youth group run by Eladio García), Palafrugell, Palma del Río, Gijón, Jerez de la Frontera, Barcelona and Sallent; see ‘Movimiento social...Jerez de la Frontera,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 18, (16/09/1899), 4; ‘Lucha social,’ *El Obrero del Río-Tinto*, (Río-Tinto), 6, (30/06/1900), 2-3; ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 111, (05/11/1901), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 27, (12/12/1902), 4; and La Iglesia y García, *Caracteres del anarquismo*, 293-294, n.1.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Germinal’ as a pen-name: *La Protesta*, (Sabadell): Germinal, ‘Desde Reus,’ 56, (07/09/1900), 3 and ‘El enemigo,’ 59, (29/09/1900), 1; Germinal, ‘En lucha,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 2, (09/12/1905), 4. As a child’s name *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): ‘Ecos lineses,’ 95, (01/08/1901), 4 and ‘Noticias varias,’ 97, (29/08/1901), 4. The future editor of *Tierra y Libertad*, Francisco Sola, had wanted to name his child Germinal while living in Sevilla but the local magistrate was unsure if this was legal, see ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 101, (26/09/1901), 4 and ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 125, (05/10/1901), 2.

<sup>62</sup> J. Camba, ‘Germinal,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 18, (21/04/1904), 1; J.M. Blázquez, ‘¡Germinal!,’ *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 20, (29/04/1905), 1. On anarchism and nature, see Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 43-62 and Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 43-67. See also Velasco Mesa, ‘Revolutionary rhetoric,’ 247-248.

<sup>63</sup> *La Protesta*, 17, (24/11/1899), 1; L. Bonafoux, ‘Por sus obras los conoceréis,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 1, (11/11/1899), 4. On Zola’s popularity in the anarchist movement see Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 154, 283-286, 381-405 and the eulogy to him written by Gustavo in ‘Emilio Zola,’ *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 104, (15/10/1902), 226-228, which suggests that *Germinal* was widely known in the movement. On the novel’s distribution in Spain see J.L. Campal, ‘Ecos críticos en España de *Germinal*, de Zola,’ A. Giné and S. Hibbs, (eds.), *Traducción y cultura: La literatura en la prensa hispánica (1868-98)*, (Bern, 2010), 215-217.

<sup>64</sup> D.T. Soriano-Mollá, *Ernesto Bark: Un propagandista de la modernidad, 1858-1924*, (Alicante, 1998), 48-50; E. Medina Arjona, ‘El Grupo Germinal de 1901 y Zola: El carácter programático de una carta inédita,’ *Literatura epistolar*, 7, (2002), 169-181. See also formation of the politically mixed ‘Sociedad Germinal Obrera’ formed in Badajoz in ‘Movimiento Social: Badajoz,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 42, (03/03/1900), 3 and Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 154, n.806.

<sup>65</sup> E. Bark, ‘La Obra de Germinal,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 30, (01/02/1900), 2. On Bark’s political philosophy, see Soriano-Mollá, *Ernesto Bark*, 91-194.

‘Germinal’ association in 1899.<sup>66</sup> If the grassroots of Spanish anarchism had more in common with socialists, the elite of the movement clearly identified more with republicans such as Bark. In cities where republicanism had a strong presence, such as Gijón, anarchist and republican educational programmes were almost identical in their ambitions, terminology and practice.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, in the Islas Canarias, the anarchist periodical *Luz y Vida* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife) and the republican *Germinal* (Las Palmas) had a mutual respect and understanding, and saw it as their duty to help one another in their joint mission of bringing forth ‘the empire of Reason [*sic*]’.<sup>68</sup>

In some respects, anarchists saw themselves as the inheritors of the original Spanish republican tradition, particularly federalism, which had reached its peak under the brief presidency of Pi y Margall during the First Republic (1873-1874). The common history between federalism and anarchism was personified in figures such as Ricardo Mella – whose father had been a federalist and friend of Margall – and Fermín Salvochea, who had served as the federalist mayor of Cádiz during the First Republic.<sup>69</sup> Anarchists saw federalism as an early manifestation of their own ideas, particularly its critique of central state power; yet federalism had been too timid, calling for limits on this authority rather than its destruction. By the turn of the century anarchists felt they had left federalism in their wake.<sup>70</sup> When Margall died in 1901 the anarchist press was full of praise and respect for his ideas, which they claimed for their own movement rather than the fading Federalist Party.<sup>71</sup>

Despite the common ground between anarchism and republicanism, over the turn of the century these groups differed fundamentally on their reaction to the loss of Empire.<sup>72</sup> The loss of Cuba and the Philippines had provoked public unrest and calls for a ‘regeneration’ of Spain from political commentators – including most republican figures – over the turn of the century.<sup>73</sup> Yet anarchists were not party to this ‘regeneration’ discourse. They had not needed to wait for the ‘Disaster’ of 1898 to see that Spain was a moribund state, and had called for many of the changes encapsulated in the ‘regeneration’ debate – an upheaval of the political system, the abolition of Church’s role in society

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<sup>66</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘La sociedad futura,’ 6, (24/06/1899), 4 and S. Gustavo, ‘Minucias,’ 38, (03/02/1900), 2 and 41, (24/02/1900), 2.

<sup>67</sup> Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*, 35-43.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Agradecidos,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 5, (30/12/1905), 3.

<sup>69</sup> Mella’s first articles were published in his local Vigo republican paper; see Fernández Álvarez, *Ricardo Mella*, 65-71. See Mella’s defence of Margall in ‘Réplica merecida,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 13, (12/08/1899), 2-3. See also J.L. Guereña, ‘Fermín Salvochea: Del federalismo al anarquismo,’ J. Maurice (ed.), *Fermín Salvochea: Un anarquista entre la leyenda y la historia*, (Cádiz, 2009), 73-74.

<sup>70</sup> M. Loitia, ‘La crisis del federalismo,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 4, (25/01/1903), 3.

<sup>71</sup> F. Urales, ‘La muerte de un hombre,’ and A. Sánchez Pérez, ‘Francisco Pi y Margall,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 134, (07/12/1901), 1; notice in *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 84, (07/12/1901), 4; ‘Los republicanos,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 9, (01/03/1903), 3. See also Vallina, *Crónica de un revolucionario*, 51-52.

<sup>72</sup> J. Prat, ‘Un partido de “Orden”,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 17, (14/04/1904), 1 and 18, (21/04/1904), 1. Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 98-100; M. Suárez Cortina, ‘La quiebra del republicanismo histórico, 1898-1931,’ N. Townson, (ed.), *El Republicanismo en España (1830-1977)*, (Madrid, 1994), 140; Sanabria, *Republicanism*, 51; Freán Hernández, ‘El anarquismo español,’ 209-210.

<sup>73</sup> S. Balfour, ‘Riot, regeneration and reaction,’ 405-423 and ‘The impact of the war within Spain: Continuity or crisis?,’ A. Smith and E. Davila-Coz, (eds.), *The Crisis of 1898: Colonial Redistribution and Nationalist Mobilization*, (Basingstoke, 1999), 180-194.

and an overhaul of education – for decades. This new, ‘decadent,’ call for republican ‘regeneration’ was no remedy, since it would leave the ‘body’ of Spain ‘as gangrenous as it was before,’ enthralled to ‘the clergy, the barracks, the law, authority, capital, the bourgeoisie’.<sup>74</sup> Rather than a revitalised Spanish nation, anarchists wanted no nation at all, a ‘world *patria*’ without borders or war.<sup>75</sup> There was no need for the debates which were ongoing in Spain, no need for lengthy discussions about national character. The state did not require regeneration but ‘elimination’ through revolution, ‘beneath the folds of the libertarian flag’.<sup>76</sup>

‘Politics’ was another dividing line between republicans and anarchists. After 1898 many prominent figures within the anarchist movement were part of a campaign against repression in Barcelona led by the republican journalist Alejandro Lerroux.<sup>77</sup> Many members of the *Revista Blanca* publishing group – including Urales, Gustavo and Anselmo Lorenzo – continued to have close contacts with Lerroux in the following years, and appeared as regular contributors to his paper *Progreso*. Lerroux’s professed antipathy to electoral politics and ‘libertarian’ stylings had much in common with anarchist rhetoric, and tapped into the widespread distrust in electoral politics in Spain.<sup>78</sup> Yet Lerroux was far from universally popular amongst anarchists. Many anarchist individuals, groups and publications – particularly those based outside Madrid – had little association with Lerroux and were wary of his proximity to their comrades.

The ambiguity towards Lerroux came to a head in May 1901 when he successfully stood for a seat in the Cortes for a constituency in Barcelona.<sup>79</sup> By violating the most obvious principles of anarchism by becoming a ‘politician,’ Lerroux tainted his former associates with the stain of ‘politics’ and, more pointedly, was now offering an alternative to the anarchist movement in one of the few places it could claim to have mass support. A wave of indignation in the anarchist press followed, not least from Lerroux’s erstwhile colleagues. Mella kindly reminded the new deputy that ‘to say one is an anarchist and to mean it, one must clean oneself in the revolutionary Jordan [River] of all political filth’.<sup>80</sup> The *Suplemento* ran several bitter articles and open letters addressed to Lerroux in 1901, attacking the hypocrisy of his claim to be a ‘libertarian’ while standing for election, claiming he had ‘pretended to be an anarchist,’ unlike more honourable republicans such as Margall, who had the

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<sup>74</sup> M. Ferreira, ‘Regeneración,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 29, (02/12/1899), 2-3.

<sup>75</sup> La redacción de este Suplemento, ‘Nuestros propósitos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 1, (20/05/1899), 1.

<sup>76</sup> Zernandef, [Fernández], ‘Crónica,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 146, (29/10/1898), 1; J. Cordero, ‘Regeneración,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 33, (30/12/1899), 3.

<sup>77</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 60; Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 165-166.

<sup>78</sup> For example, in 1900 Gustavo and Lerroux campaigned together in Andalucía, calling for the release of the prisoners of the Jerez uprising in 1892, see ‘Mitins en Andalucía,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 68, (01/09/1900), 1 and 69, (08/09/1900), 1. J.C. Ullman, *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain*, (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 20-21; Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 162.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Vuelapluma,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 86, (31/05/1901), 2; Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 225-228.

<sup>80</sup> R. Mella, ‘¿Un partido más?,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 112, (06/07/1901), 2.

decency to remain true to their (erroneous) political convictions.<sup>81</sup> The paper also celebrated anarchist groups which publically rejected Lerroux, such as the Algeciras workers' centre, who refused to distribute *Progreso* because it was now affiliated to a politician. Its presence in the centre might cause 'discord,' unlike the 'apolitical' *Suplemento*.<sup>82</sup> Episodes such as this demonstrate how print was seen as a political marker in local contexts. Workers' groups and centres saw their subscription to periodicals as a means to identify with wider, national movements, and factions within them. Ideological differences and personal quarrels between publishers were thus played out at a grassroots level, where a choice of periodical signified allegiance to the individuals and values it represented.

Unlike many of the movement's elite, the editorial of *La Protesta* had never worked with Lerroux and distrusted his motivations in the late 1890s. Following his election in 1901 the paper opened its pages to 'public opinion' (i.e. anarchist opinion) on those anarchists who had worked with Lerroux. They were clearly inviting criticism of *La Revista Blanca*, whose contributors, such as Lorenzo and Apolo, wrote to *La Protesta* to condemn their former employer and protest their innocence.<sup>83</sup> Underlying this debate was a feeling of apprehension and embarrassment following Lerroux's election, yet he continued to pass through the movement's orbit, particularly in Barcelona, and he maintained close personal relationships with anarchist figures such as Francisco Ferrer. He also continued to attract opprobrium, not least from his former colleagues in *La Revista Blanca*, who considered him 'an obstacle to emancipation, culture and progress' and stopped publishing his works. As anarchists they could not 'defend the legal battle, nor the political battle, nor republican propaganda,' since 'he who does as much cannot be an anarchist'.<sup>84</sup>

These distinctions also played out in areas where anarchism and republicanism had previously been very close. As both groups expanded in the early twentieth century, individuals and papers switched allegiances from anarchism to republicanism and vice versa. For example in Mahón (Menorca), the periodical *El Porvenir del Obrero* began life as a part of the republican 'Germinal' association in 1899.<sup>85</sup> The paper was primarily concerned with attacking the Catholic Church in Menorca, which it accused of promoting ignorance on the island and for being 'guilty' of crimes 'against humanity'.<sup>86</sup> While it showed some signs of sympathy with anarchist ideas, the paper also published articles of a regenerationalist style, bemoaning the loss of the Cuba and the Philippines (sentiments which never appeared in the anarchist press), critiques of anarchist marriages, and praise

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<sup>81</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): Richard, 'Dares y tomares: Anarquista (?) candidato,' 102, 27/04/1901), 2; '...Carta abierta a Sr. Lerroux,' 103, (04/05/1901), 2; 'Para una alusión,' (Madrid), 130, (09/11/1901), 2; '... Maeztu y Lerroux,' 134, (07/12/1901), 2.

<sup>82</sup> 'Movimiento social: Algeciras,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 98, (30/03/1901), 3.

<sup>83</sup> *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): 'Noticias varias,' 86, (31/05/1901), 4; A. Lorenzo, 'Respuesta categórica,' 88, (22/06/01), 2-3; A. Apolo, 'Remitido,' 90, (11/07/01), 3-4.

<sup>84</sup>: 'Pregunta importante,' 211, *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), (28/05/1903), 1.

See also J. Prat, 'Palabras y armas al hombro,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 19, (28/04/1904), 2.

<sup>85</sup> Adverts for Bark's 'Biblioteca Germinal': *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): 27, (11/01/1900), 4; 45, (17/05/1900), 2.

<sup>86</sup> 'Libertad para el maestro,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 28, (18/01/1900), 12.

of the ‘Belgian model’ of organising the working class, which was shared by Spanish socialists and derided by anarchists.<sup>87</sup> From October 1900 onwards these articles gradually disappeared, while anarchist ideas became more prominent. The paper dropped its ‘Echo of the Germinal Association’ subtitle and aggressively attacked the well-established trinity of anarchist hatred: capitalism, clericalism and militarism.<sup>88</sup> The editor of *El Porvenir del Obrero*, Juan Mir i Mir, also began to correspond more regularly with other anarchist editors, and took issue with an article published in the *Suplemento* which claimed that the people of Mahón were ‘dead to the ideas of progress,’ citing the growth in the readership of anarchist papers in Mahón as evidence of a growing political awareness in the city.<sup>89</sup> The following year an article by Mir i Mir confirmed the paper’s realignment, stating that ‘as men of progress, [republicans] are our relatives; in regards to politics, they are our enemies’.<sup>90</sup>

*El Porvenir del Obrero* went on to be one of the longest-lasting anarchist papers of the period, publishing a total of 296 issues before it closed in 1907. As in its former, republican period, *El Porvenir del Obrero* strongly emphasised the revolutionary potential of education. This took various forms: the paper was vociferous in its criticism of religion (even by anarchist standards), it was an ardent supporter of secular schooling and ‘integral’ education, and it maintained a prominent campaign against social and cultural ‘plagues’ which inhibited the working class from self-emancipation.<sup>91</sup> These plagues were often intoxicants, including tobacco – which caused ‘apathy, indifference for important matters, cowardly fatalism...and laziness’– and alcohol, which was a waste of the worker’s money and the cause of physical defects (trembling of the hands, loss of appetite, dementia), moral defects (diminishing of intellect, loss of memory, violence, moral degradation), addiction, misery, crime, premature ageing, epilepsy, madness and death.<sup>92</sup> Thus, in *El Porvenir del*

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<sup>87</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): Regenerationalism and Empire: B. Labarga, ‘Regeneración,’ 39, (05/04/1900), 3-4 and P.S., ‘Motes injustos,’ 50, (25/10/1900), 1-2. For a scornful critique of a female anarchist, her marriage and children see, A. Ras, ‘Una anarquista,’ 44, (10/05/1900), 3; on praise for the Belgian co-operative system see J. Salas Antón, ‘Las sociedades de resistencia...,’ 43, (03/05/1900), 1. On Belgian influences on the Spanish socialism see de Luis Martín, *Cincuenta años*, 125-148 and J. L. Guereña, ‘European influences in Spanish popular education: The case of the socialist *Casa Del Pueblo* of Madrid and the Belgian model (1897–1929),’ *History of Education*, 35.1, (2006), 27-45.

<sup>88</sup> ‘A la brecha,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 48, (04/10/1900), 1.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 70, (15/09/1900), 4; M. [J. Mir i Mir], ‘Vamos a discutir,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, 51, (07/11/1900), 3-4. Even in 1901 the *Suplemento* did not fully endorse *El Porvenir del Obrero*, labelling it ‘more inclined to libertarian than authoritarian solutions,’ rather than a fully ‘anarchist’ publication, see ‘Nuestros periódicos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 118, (17/08/1901), 3.

<sup>90</sup> M. [J. Mir i Mir], ‘¿Con los republicanos?,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 86, (21/12/1901), 1-2.

<sup>91</sup> On the incompatibility of religion with science, culture and education see M. [Juan Mir i Mir], ‘El liberalismo es pecado,’ 55, (24/01/1901), 3-4; F. Garrido, ‘La tradición teocrática,’ 58, (14/03/1901), 3; ‘Un clérigo demócrata,’ 60, (20/04/1901), 3-4; A. Lorenzo, ‘La excomuniación de Tolstoi,’ 61, (04/05/1901), 3; M. Nordau, ‘La mentira religiosa,’ 66, (01/08/1901), 1; J. Martínez Ruíz, ‘La religión,’ 69, (24/08/1901), 1 ; Filófono, ‘El fanatismo y la ciencia,’ 74, (28/09/1901), 3. On religion’s role in contemporary power structures and domination see M., [J. Mir I Mir], ‘Un buen procedimiento,’ 69, (24/08/1901), 2; ‘Todos somos hermanos,’ 73, (21/09/1901), 2.

<sup>92</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): J. Ollenotto, ‘Contra el alcoholismo,’ 73, (21/09/1901), 3-4; Fondo-Ku, ‘El tabaco,’ 153, (17/06/1904), 3-4. See also quote in *El Cosmopolita*, (Valladolid), 5, (07/09/01), 3; conference given in Bilbao, ‘Movimiento Social: Bilbao,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 135, (14/12/1901), 3-

*Obrero* sobriety was tied closely to a code of moral behaviour, justified with a (largely spurious) ‘scientific’ rationale.<sup>93</sup> Greater education, assisted by the anarchist press, in matters of ‘hygiene’ and health would enable the otherwise ignorant worker to resist these temptations.<sup>94</sup>

*El Porvenir del Obrero* had a clear position on the role of ‘intellectuals’ in the revolution. In 1901, Mir stated that although ‘the emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class themselves,’ the workers would not take up their mission without guidance towards the reason evident in anarchism. He proposed a new slogan for the movement which was more acceptable to his argument: ‘*the workers will SURELY emancipate themselves the day – BUT NOT BEFORE – that their emancipation can be their own work*’.<sup>95</sup> This attitude summarises the change in direction of the anarchist movement in this period. Education was no longer something to be achieved after the revolution, but something needed to make the revolution happen. If the masses was denied access to modern ideas by the Church, if they were schooled badly, and if they were stifled by vice then the revolution would not happen. Thinkers and propagandists needed to fight on behalf of the worker, bringing culture to the masses through the pages of the anarchist press.

#### Performing Print

Anarchist papers employed a range of performative mediums as a means to articulate their ideas. Poetry was a popular way of articulating anarchist ideas, particularly in *El Proletario* (Cádiz), which published 19 poems in 22 issues, covering a range of issues including religion, repression, money, feminism and calls for rebellion.<sup>96</sup> Poems gave life to ‘dry,’ abstract ideas, presenting theory in a lyrical, accessible manner.<sup>97</sup> They were to act as ‘revolutionary art,’ created by and for workers as a means to challenge the bourgeois monopoly on ‘culture’.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, short stories were often employed to dramatise abstract concepts.<sup>99</sup> For example the story ‘La Providencia’, which appeared in *El Porvenir del Obrero* in 1901, used a traditional parable form to demonstrate that the world operated according to the laws of science, rather than the laws of God. The story tells of a mother on

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4; ‘Notas internacionales,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 133, (07/06/1902), 3 [on the children of alcoholics developing epilepsy]; C. Beltrán, ‘Luchemos,’ *El 4 de Febrero*, (Huelva), 1, (15/11/1902), 1-2, which attacks local taverns which ‘brutalise’ the workers of the area; Dr. J. Sáenz y Criado, ‘Contra el alcoholismo,’ *Adelante*, (Santander), 36, (28/12/1902), 3. See also Herrero López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 169-170. This critique was common to anarchist movements of other countries, and featured as one of the main talking points of the International Congress of Anarchists held in Amsterdam in 1907; see Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1067.

<sup>93</sup> See similar sentiments expressed in a public lecture by Dr Ramón y Cajal at the Zaragoza workers’ centre, ‘En honor de Cajal,’ *Via Libre*, (Zaragoza), 12, (16/12/1906), 1-2.

<sup>94</sup> Á. Girón, ‘Metáforas finiseculares del declive biológico: Degeneración y revolución en el anarquismo Español (1872-1914),’ *Asclepio*, 51.1, (1999), 247-273.

<sup>95</sup> M. [Juan Mir i Mir], ‘Intelectuales y obreros,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 85, (14/12/1901), 1. Emphasis in original.

<sup>96</sup> See G. Brey, ‘Ideología y acontecimiento,’ 43-57 for an analysis of this papers’ poetry; 46-47 categorises all 19 of these poems. See also and Aubert et al., *Anarquismo y poesía*, 77-78.

<sup>97</sup> Lida, ‘Literatura anarquista,’ 360.

<sup>98</sup> Glöckner, ‘La poesía,’ 1313-132.

<sup>99</sup> Litvak, (ed.), *El Cuento Anarquista*, 7-60.

top of a tall tower, who accidentally drops her child over the edge. At the same time, an unspecified object of the same size and weight also falls from the same tower. As in a religious parable the mother pleads to God to intercede to save the child's life, yet in this anarchist tale no divine intervention is forthcoming. The child and the other object hit the ground at the same time; the child dies, as does the mother (presumably with grief, although no reason is given), while the child's father has a nervous breakdown. The 'morals' to be taken from this story were that gravity is real, religious providence is superstition, and – the author concluded ironically – 'if one is in a high tower with a child in one's arms, one must hold them carefully'.<sup>100</sup>

Stories, poetry and songs would often form part of a variety show, which would conclude with a short play. Ernesto Álvarez was particularly keen to promote the theatre as an educational vehicle, and often helped to organise performances, such as the social-drama *El Pan del Pobre*, which raised money for an on-going *cigarreras* (cigar-makers') strike in La Línea (Cádiz). Performed to a full house, the play was 'not a theatrical function properly speaking, but a beautiful and enthusiastic act of solidarity,' accompanied by an 'anarchist choir' and a 'libertarian atmosphere'.<sup>101</sup> Theatre was often depicted in these terms, valued not for its artistic qualities but for its role in forging a purposeful sociability that would benefit the movement. Urales was another theatre enthusiast, and he wrote several plays over the turn of the century, including *Honor, alma y vida*, which was serialised in the *Suplemento* in 1899.<sup>102</sup> The play became a popular choice for many theatrical groups, including the company of Eustaquio Salada in Ríotinto (Huelva) – where the play was 'interpreted very well' and was received with 'enthusiastic applause' – a freethinkers' group in Oviedo, and the union centre in Sestao (Vizcaya), which put on regular performances to collect money for the *Suplemento*'s prisoner relief fund.<sup>103</sup> Five years after its publication the play was still being regularly performed by groups across the country.<sup>104</sup> Other papers published information about upcoming performances, administered collections taken following events, and often provided the print material for dramatic groups. They were assisted by propaganda groups set up specifically to distribute theatrical works,

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<sup>100</sup> 'La Providencia,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 81, (16/11/1901), 3-4 which is also cited in Litvak, *El Cuento Anarquista*, 63-64: Litvak cites it as 'anonymous' although in the paper the story is accredited to 'Multatuli', a pseudonym meaning 'I have suffered/borne much' which was used by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Dutch writer and satirist Eduard Douwes Dekker.

<sup>101</sup> '¡Hermoso, hermoso, hermoso!', *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 120, (08/02/1902), 4. Other comments on the theatre and its value to the cause can be found throughout *La Protesta*. See Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 239-274 for a detailed discussion of anarchist theatre.

<sup>102</sup> F. Urales, 'Honor, alma y vida: Drama en tres actos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 1, (20/05/1899)-22, (14/10/1899), all 3-4; Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 264.

<sup>103</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 'Movimiento social: Ríotinto,' 52, (12/05/1900), 4; 'Dichos y hechos,' 54, (25/05/1900), 3; 'Dichos y hechos,' 94, (02/03/1901), 4; V. García, 'Movimiento social...', 115, (27/07/1901), 3 and 118, (17/08/1901), 4; A. Gómez, 'Movimiento social: Sestao,' 120, (31/08/1901), 4; 123, (31/09/1901), 3 and 140, (18/01/1902), 4.. See also report of a performance of Urales' *Ley de herencia*, in Sevilla, where money was collected for prisoners in La Coruña, 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid, 120, (31/08/1901), 2.

<sup>104</sup> M. López, 'Desde Bilbao,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 30, (14/07/1904), 3.

such ‘Teatro Libre’ of Madrid, who formed in 1904 with the aim of selling copies of plays by Mirbeau, Ibsen and Gorki to raise funds for imprisoned comrades.<sup>105</sup>

Anarchist poetry and theatre was not ‘art for the sake of art,’ but rather ‘instruments of social revolution’.<sup>106</sup> Rather than being revolutionary or experimental in form, anarchist art used traditional literary, dramatic or aesthetic models, which made them accessible and recognisable to their audience.<sup>107</sup> Their novelty and value came in their content, which replaced traditional subjects with content which would ‘sing...to the future of humanity...to the belief in Progress’.<sup>108</sup> These performative mediums brought the educational message of anarchist print culture to life, in a way that was intended to be recognisable in form, and subversive in content.

### Schooling, Literacy and Power

The ‘culture’ and ‘education’ sought by anarchists was valued according to its harmony with anarchist ideology. The content of the press, whether it was science or art, portrayed a social ‘truth’ which would lead its audience to see the world ‘as it was’ and inspire ‘frank and bold ideas, of true liberty and justice, of noble feelings fraternity, peace and love’.<sup>109</sup> Anarchist education was thus far from ‘neutral’ or ‘objective,’ and was often used simply as a ‘pretext to denounce “authority”... to arouse aggression and hatred’.<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, the anarchist cultural programme did provide the Spanish working class with access to contemporary European thought, which they could not receive from any other source. The ambitions of contemporary scientists to discover the natural truth of the world was portrayed as synonymous with anarchist aims to transform society through learning. This new commitment to education and science required a new pantheon of heroes. As the names of the martyrs of the 1890s gradually disappeared, as discussed in the previous chapter, they were replaced with those of scientists, explorers and intellectuals, particularly those regarded as in conflict with the Catholic Church. Galileo was frequently referenced as a figure who had assisted in the ‘descent of religious arrogance,’ as was Giordano Bruno, Copernicus, Newton and Columbus.<sup>111</sup> These names were often intermingled with those of philosophers and sociologists, as in one article which suggested that Darwin, Schopenhauer, Marconi and Kropotkin belonged to a single cause of progress and revolution.<sup>112</sup> These new heroes and martyrs recreated the anarchist movement as the inheritor of a

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<sup>105</sup> ‘Catera de “El Rebelde”’, *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 23, (26/05/1904), 3.

<sup>106</sup> Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 41; Ramos-Gorostiza, ‘*La Nueva Utopía*,’ 15. See also anarchist critique of ‘modernist’ literatura in J. Carlos Mainer, ‘Notas sobre la lectura obrera en España (1890-1930),’ M. Tuñón de Lara, et al. (eds.), *Teoría y práctica del movimiento obrero en España (1900-1936)*, (Valencia, 1977), 197-206.

<sup>107</sup> Brey, ‘Ideología y acontecimiento,’ 57.

<sup>108</sup> C. Rahola, ‘De la poesía,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 23, (05/06/1903), 2.

<sup>109</sup> Felip Cortiella, *El Teatro y el Arte Dramático en Nuestro Tiempo*, (Barcelona, 1904), 10, cited in Litvak, *Musa Libertaria*, 274.

<sup>110</sup> Brey, ‘Ideología,’ citing poem ‘Soneto’ by A. Genis in *El Proletario*, 9, (01/08/1902), 7, emphasis in original.

<sup>111</sup> ‘Anatema Sic,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 9, (17/02/1906), 1-2.

<sup>112</sup> F. B. Basterra, ‘Revolución,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 1, (26/12/1903), 2-3.

scientific, educational lineage. Like their forebears in the natural sciences, anarchist theorists were the pioneers of a new, scientific understanding of society. Discoveries and events were celebrated as evidence of further advancements along the road of progress, for example, Camille Flammarion's investigations into solar eruptions and John Butler Burke's experiments with radium were reported with awe and respect for these 'distinguished men of science'.<sup>113</sup> Advance in the fields of public health, oceanography, social geography and biology were all discussed in the anarchist periodical press, in articles brimming with enthusiasm for all things 'scientific'.<sup>114</sup> There was a genuine belief amongst anarchists that if people knew about science, sociology and art they would better themselves and the society around them. They believed that anarchism was a natural truth, provable by scientific methods, an 'on-going commitment to the appropriation of new knowledge and its use in working class culture'.<sup>115</sup> This was an educational mission that was conceived of and created by those who considered themselves working-class; a bottom-up appreciation of culture and science which defined and expanded the scope of what anarchism meant.

The press could not fulfil these educational ambitions alone. As well as the broad, general efforts to 'raise the consciousness' of the Spanish people with print, the movement developed a theory of schooling which would give working class the skills they required to understand the anarchist message. The poor level of basic schooling in Spain was a particular concern to the movement. The country had one of the worst illiteracy rates in Europe: in 1887 over 70 per cent of the population could not read or write to a recognised standard of literacy, a figure which was even higher amongst women (81.2 per cent).<sup>116</sup> Although this had improved slightly by the turn of the century, illiteracy remained prevalent (1900: 63.8 per cent), particularly in rural areas and amongst the working class.<sup>117</sup> Despite the introduction of compulsory early-years schooling in 1857, schools were crippled by

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<sup>113</sup> 'Las llamas del sol,' *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 43, (01/06/1900), 4; 'El radium: Descubrimiento prodigioso,' *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 23, (08/07/1905), 1.

<sup>114</sup> Public health and disease: *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 3, (19/08/1899), 3 -6 (09/09/1899), 4; 8, (24/09/99), 2 - 11, (12/1/0/1899), 4 [on the outbreak of disease as a result of 'fabricated' foodstuffs in Madrid]; 22, (29/12/1899), 2 [on tuberculosis in Valladolid]; 26, (02/02/1900), 2 [on an influenza outbreak in Italy]; 40, (11/05/1900), 1-2 [Ricardo Mella on hospitals]; 68, (07/12/1900), 1-2 [on the social dimension of tuberculosis]; 73, (31/01/1901), 4 [in which gout and rheumatism are used as metaphors for the rich and poor]; 75, (01/03/1901), 1-2 [on the health issues of urban life]; 76, (08/03/1901), 2 [on the higher mortality rates of smallpox in Spain - 'the dungheap of Europe' - than in Germany]; 94, (La Línea de la Concepción), (08/08/01), 4 [on an outbreak of scabies in Cádiz]; 111, (05/12/1901), 1-2 [on lead poisoning and tuberculosis in Linares and Cartagena]; 124, (08/03/1902), 3 [on the health risk of trains]; *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 8, (12/11/1904), 2 [on clean water supplies]. Economics: *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 118, (23/01/02), 3 [on the etymology of the word 'economy']. Oceanography: *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 133, (07/06/1902), 4 [on the discoveries of the *Challenger* expedition]. Evolution: *El Cosmopolita*, (Valladolid), 2, (17/08/01), 1; *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 10, (10/12/1904), 4 [on Darwin and Lamarck]. Geography: *Germinal*, 17, (18/03/1905), 2 [survey of Russia] and 19, (15/04/1905), 2[survey of India].

<sup>115</sup> Cleminson, *Anarchism, Sex and Science*, 119.

<sup>116</sup> O'Connor, *Crime at El Escorial*, 27; Ortiz Jr., 'Redefining public education,' 76.

<sup>117</sup> M. Vilanova Ribas and X. Moreno Julia, *Atlas de la evolución del analfabetismo en España de 1887-1981*, (Madrid, Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencia, 1992), 68, 189-190. A. Tiana Ferrer, 'The workers' movement and popular education in contemporary Spain (1868-1939),' *Paedagogica Historica*, 32.3, (1996),651-652;

underfunding and remained inaccessible to many families.<sup>118</sup> Poverty ‘did not exactly encourage working class families to invest in...education,’ and many children were sent to work instead of school as a means of supplementing meagre household incomes.<sup>119</sup> Anarchists saw the issue of child labour as the point where the immoral influence of capitalism reached into the cultural sphere, dragging children away from education so that their parents could eat.<sup>120</sup> This subject was raised at the International Congress of Women (London, June-July 1899) by the Spanish-Cuban anarchist exile Tarrida del Marmól, who linked the ‘exploitation of the child’ directly to the lack of ‘civilisation’ in Spain.<sup>121</sup> Many papers pleaded with mothers to keep their children in education and praised those who taught their children to read on their own volition.<sup>122</sup> It was not parents but the government, in thrall to capital and religion, which was responsible for this situation. The only solution was a new society, based upon ‘the natural, sole and true law’ of anarchism.<sup>123</sup>

For anarchists, the solution to Spain’s educational problems could not be found in official education programmes. Public, state-led schooling was ‘a remedy worse than the disease,’ making workers and their children ‘less ignorant...but no less docile’.<sup>124</sup> When children were lucky enough to receive any form of education they were susceptible to the influence of the Catholic Church, which dominated the Spanish education system.<sup>125</sup> The Church’s practice of dividing education by sex was regarded as the root cause of female oppression. Girls’ schools taught gender-specific tasks such as needlework and housekeeping, and only gave rudimentary education in the ‘sciences’. Although boys had access to a wider range of education, their schooling remained unacceptable.<sup>126</sup> State education was not the modern, ‘sociological’ education anarchists advocated, but a means of reinforcing the hegemony of authority into boys of a young age.<sup>127</sup> While existing books on geography, grammar,

<sup>118</sup> Boyd, ‘The anarchists and education,’ 135-136.

<sup>119</sup> Tiana Ferrer, ‘The workers’ movement,’ 652-653. P. Muñoz López, *Sangre, amor e interés: La familia en la España de la Restauración*, (Madrid, 2001), 342-351.

<sup>120</sup> *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 1, (01/04/1902): F. Guerrero Moreno, ‘La suerte del proletario y su loca aspiración,’ 3 and M. Reyes, ‘Merece atención,’ 5.

<sup>121</sup>; S. Gustavo, ‘El trabajo de los niños,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 12, (05/08/1899), 1.

<sup>122</sup> ‘Los analfabetos,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 121, (15/02/1902), 4. See also *Germinal*, (La Coruña): W. Romero Quiñones, 9, (26/11/1904), 2; 16, (04/03/1905), 2.

<sup>123</sup> Adolfo Vasseur, ‘¿Verdad maestro?’, *Adelante*, (Santander), 16, (10/08/1902), 3.

<sup>124</sup> Boyd, ‘The anarchists and education,’ 127.

<sup>125</sup> S. Torner, ‘La peste religiosa,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 25, (01/12/1900), 2-3. Much of the language and metaphors used in the anarchist press suggest that many members of the movement had at least some religious education. For example see quotations from the Bible in *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): A. Lorenzo, ‘El dinero,’ 16, (02/09/1899), 2; use of the expression ‘may they live longer than Methuselah’ in response to news of the birth of children, ‘Dichos y hecho,’ 68, (01/09/1900), 2; reference to Tertullian in ‘Nuestras victorias,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 7, (15/02/1903), 1. See J. Delhom, ‘Esbozo de una tipología temática y funcional de los usos de la biblia en el anarquismo hispánico,’ J. Delhom and D. Attala, (eds.), *Cuando los anarquistas citaban la biblia: Entre mesianismo y propaganda*, (Madrid, 2014), 233-274.

<sup>126</sup> R.C. ‘Enseñanza laica y enseñanza religiosa,’ *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 2, (15/04/1902), 2.

T. Kössler, ‘Towards a new understanding of the child: Catholic mobilisation and modern pedagogy in Spain, 1900-1936,’ *Contemporary European History*, 18.1, (2009), 4-11.

<sup>127</sup> T. Kössler, ‘Human sciences and child reform in Spain, 1890-1936,’ K. Brückweh, D. Schumann, R.F. Wetzell and B. Ziemann, (eds), *Engineering Society: The Role of the Human and Social Sciences in Modern Societies, 1880-1980*, (Basingstoke, 2012), 180.

arithmetic, and geometry were necessarily ‘secular’ because of their scientific basis, subjects such as history were simply vehicles for nationalistic and religious propaganda.<sup>128</sup> Anarchist educators called for new history books to be written, which would ‘teach the life of the people rather than the lives of kings’ and ‘cleanse’ the study of the past from the ‘crimes which enclose it’.<sup>129</sup>

For anarchists, ‘free,’ ‘integral,’ ‘modern’ schooling was the only means by which the Spanish population could haul itself out of its miserable condition of ignorance.<sup>130</sup> These (largely interchangeable) terms implied an education which attuned to the individual wants and needs of every student.<sup>131</sup> Anarchist education would be experiential, non-religious, and gender-free; an education of both body and mind that broke down the spurious, bourgeois boundaries between intellectual and physical work.<sup>132</sup> Many of these educationalist ideas overlapped with liberal and republican projects, such as the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE), founded by Giner de los Ríos in 1876, which shared the ambition of anarchist educators to challenge the Church’s monopoly on education.<sup>133</sup> Yet these middle-class efforts to alter public education did not go nearly far enough for the anarchist movement. Calls for ‘bourgeois’ reforms and compulsory education were seen as an unnecessary imposition. These measures would only impoverish working-class families, who would be better served by higher wages.<sup>134</sup> Anarchists wanted advanced, radical education to be available to all of society, free from the influence of the state, capital and religion.<sup>135</sup> Their aim was not the creation of a privileged intellectual elite, who would steer society, but an enlightened working class who would lead the revolution for themselves, after which there would be ‘fewer universities and more useful and profitable instruction’.<sup>136</sup>

Schooling was also needed for adults who had been failed by the education system. Unlike contemporary middle-class educators, anarchists did not see literacy and education as a means to pacify the Spanish working class, but to radicalise them. Literacy was thus seen as synonymous with a revolutionary mentality, an attitude laid out clearly in an article published in the *Suplemento* in 1899:

How many [anarchists] do not know how to read? One in every hundred. On the other hand, for every hundred workers which form a part of the other parties, ninety do not

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<sup>128</sup> ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 81, (01/12/1900), 4.

<sup>129</sup> F.T., ‘La instrucción,’ *Tiempos Nuevos*, (Gijón), 1, (01/12/1905), 3. See also F. Tarrida, ‘La instrucción,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 78, (22/03/1901), 1; G. Hervé, ‘¡Así nos educan!,’ *La Acción*, (La Coruña), 2, (30/11/1908), 1-2.

<sup>130</sup> P. Gourmand, ‘Sociología: La educación integral,’ *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 34, (15/12/1901), 353-357.

<sup>131</sup> Cuevas Noa, *Anarquismo y educación*, 83.

<sup>132</sup> E. de la Masa, ‘De escuelas,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 8, (10/02/1906), 3. P. Avrich, *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States*, (Princeton, NJ, 1980), 3-19.

<sup>133</sup> One example of this overlap between republican and anarchist attitudes to education can be found in ‘La educación...,’ *La Solidaridad Ferroviaria*, (Madrid), 12, (15/12/1901), 2-6. On the foundation of the ILE see A. Jiménez-Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza y su ambiente*, Vol. I, *Los orígenes de la Institución*, (Madrid, 1996).

<sup>134</sup> F. Urales, ‘Crónica,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 25, (03/11/1899), 2.

<sup>135</sup> ‘Sobre enseñanza,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 5, (30/12/1905), 2.

<sup>136</sup> *La Solidaridad*, (Madrid), (15/10/1870), 3, cited in Boyd, ‘The anarchists and education,’ 129.

know how to write their name. Where is the worker most educated? In the capitals. Which region is most educated? Cataluña. Where are the workers most advanced in ideas? In Cataluña. Practice demonstrates to us that ignorance is the element which nourishes reaction and sustains the privileged.<sup>137</sup>

Some of those hostile to the movement also acknowledged the subversive power of education, for example the reactionary Catholic newspaper *El Correo*, which declared that ‘between a worker who does not know how to read, and one who reads...anarchist newspapers that attack...all the fundamental principles of the social order, we would always and in any case prefer the first’.<sup>138</sup>

Illiterate workers were cut off from the primary means by which anarchism was communicated. Although some of the problems posed by mass illiteracy were mitigated by oral reading culture, literacy continued to stratify the movement. Skills such as reading and writing were fundamental to the formation of the ideal – and untypical – *obrero ilustrado* [‘educated worker’], an autodidact who required nothing other than his or her own reason to see the truth of anarchist ideas.<sup>139</sup> For printing groups, such educated individuals played a crucial role in distributing material, yet because they were so rare, they became local elites, performing the roles of press correspondents, orators, union leaders and teachers in secular schools.<sup>140</sup> Disparities in reading ability thus created a hierarchy between educated militants, ordinary members of the movement, and the working class, which was not desired by anarchist publishers but recognised nonetheless.<sup>141</sup>

This connection between an ‘advanced,’ militant working class and their level of education was indicative of the general tone of the anarchist press over the turn of the century. Anarchist publishers saw it as their mission to spread culture and knowledge, raising the level of education across Spain, making every worker an *obrero ilustrado*. In the process, they reoriented the movement away from the controversial and damaging strategy of violence, replacing it with the broad, universally-accepted ambition to educate as a means to emancipate. In doing so publishers defined the movement’s aims as synonymous with the spread of the anarchist press, and in the process made those involved in print culture the de facto elite of anarchism in Spain.

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<sup>137</sup> ‘De todo y de todas partes,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 24, (25/10/1899), 2.

Similar sentiments expressed in ‘Cataluña,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 2, (11/01/1903), 1.

<sup>138</sup> Cited in Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 320.

<sup>139</sup> J. Navarro Navarro, ‘Los educadores del pueblo y la “Revolución Interior”: la cultura anarquista en España,’ J. Casanova (ed.), *Tierra y Libertad: Cien años de anarquismo en España*, (Barcelona, 2010), 203.

<sup>140</sup> Compare with idea of ‘imageers’ in Cumbers et al., ‘The entangled geographies,’ 196.

<sup>141</sup> J. Biscamps, ‘La gerarquía del saber,’ *El Cosmopolita*, (Valladolid), 7, (21/09/1901), 1. See also J. Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, (Chicago, IL, 1982), 28; Bantman, ‘Internationalism,’ 969-970; Navarro Navarro, ‘Los educadores del pueblo,’ 194. Concept of ‘informal elites’ from Cumbers et al., ‘The entangled geographies,’ 188-189; see also McFarlane, ‘Translocal assemblages,’ 566.

## Education as Emancipation: The Growth of Anarcho-Feminist Ideas and Practice

The anarchist belief in the emancipatory value of education was exemplified in its attitude to women. The anarchist promise of liberation was intended for all: men and women of all social classes were to be freed from the interconnected forces of authority which enslaved them.<sup>142</sup> To anarchists, men felt the effects of oppression most tangibly in the workplace, where the authority of capital was absolute, while women were more likely to be affected by the cultural violence emanating from the Catholic Church. Religion ensured that women remained in a state of ignorance; for women in Spain, ‘the doors to the university were closed as those of the convent were opened’.<sup>143</sup> Sections of the anarchist movement had recognised the need to organise women and combat sexism since the 1870s, yet little had been done in the early years of the FRE to put these ideas into practice. Tentative efforts to work for gender equality began a decade later, through the activism of women workers such as Teresa Claramunt, who in 1884 formed a female textile workers’ union affiliated to the FTRE.<sup>144</sup> Aside from these small developments, however, the movement’s continuing focus on (overwhelming male) labour organisation meant that broader questions of female emancipation remained neglected.<sup>145</sup> While there was no ‘theoretical void’ between anarchism and gender politics in the nineteenth century, there was a distinct lack of activity.<sup>146</sup>

As the movement turned towards education over the turn of the century, it made significant efforts to incorporate feminism into its ideology and practice.<sup>147</sup> This was not unproblematic: misogyny and deep-rooted gender stereotypes remained an element of anarchist discourse regarding women, while female emancipation remained largely secondary to the emancipation of the working class in general, despite the best intentions of many contributors to the anarchist press.<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, anarchism provided radical and subversive discussion of women’s liberation, and

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<sup>142</sup> T. Claramunt, ‘A la mujer,’ *Fraternidad*, II, 4, (23/12/1899), 3.

<sup>143</sup> S. Gustavo, ‘Acción feminista,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 126, (12/10/1901), 1. See also D. Martínez Barrio, ‘A la mujer,’ *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 5, (01/06/1902), 2-3. Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 286-287; Herrérin López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 172-173.

<sup>144</sup> G. Scanlon, *La polémica feminista en la España contemporánea (1868-1974)*, (Madrid, 1976), 102-103; Prado, *Escritoras anarcho-feministas*, 41-45. On the conflict between anarchist unionism and feminism in the years of the First International and the changing attitudes of the 1880s see Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 158-162.

<sup>145</sup> In issues 99-245 of *El Corsario*, (La Coruña) only 7 short articles or news pieces that explicitly concern women. In *La Idea Libre* there was slightly more attention: 12 articles and a page of quotes in issues 1-111, however also in this paper was also a number of remarks which gendered the movement as male, such as the statement that anarchists should ‘not feel sorry for ourselves like weak women’ in ‘Revista internacional,’ *La Idea Libre*, (Madrid), 26, (27/10/1894), 3.

<sup>146</sup> J. Hutton, ‘Camille Pissarro’s *Turpitudes Sociales* and late nineteenth century French anti-feminism,’ *History Workshop*, 24.1, (1987), 41.

<sup>147</sup> S. Gemie, ‘Anarchism and feminism: a historical survey,’ *Women’s History Review*, 5.3, (2006), 433-434. See also Prado, *Escritoras anarcho-feministas*, 38-41

<sup>148</sup> S. Gemie, ‘Counter-community: An aspect of anarchist political culture,’ *Journal of Contemporary History*, (1994), 363-364; Acklesberg, *Free Women of Spain*, 38.

established gender liberation as a central component of the new society it advocated. This made anarchism unique amongst other progressive movements in Spain, which were far more limited in their demands. Like most European socialist movements, the PSOE advocated equal rights for women in work, yet saw gender liberation as firmly secondary to establishing working-class emancipation through parliamentary means. Women formed a very small part of both the UGT and the PSOE, and large sections of the socialist movement strongly objected to female suffrage, as it was claimed that women lacked a true sense of class consciousness and were predisposed to vote for reactionary or conservative (i.e. Catholic) candidates. For the PSOE, women had to be educated to prepare them for the future; until then socialism must remain ‘anti-feminist in political questions’.<sup>149</sup>

Anarcho-feminism was also distinct from ‘domesticated’ middle-class feminism in Spain, which concentrated its demands on specific rights – predominantly the vote – while remaining largely unconcerned with the concerns or participation of working-class women.<sup>150</sup> Anarchist feminists were critical of this ‘bourgeois’ feminism for its neglect of the economic oppression of women, exemplified in articles such as ‘Victim of Capital’ by Claramunt, which derided liberals who praised the ‘beautiful sex,’ while allowing proletarian women to suffer and die at the hands of industrial production. She asked these ‘infamous hypocrites’ why they were so blind to the concerns of working women: ‘is it perhaps that the working woman does not belong to the same sex as the bourgeois woman?’<sup>151</sup> Anarchist feminists saw the right to vote as a pointless exercise that reinforced political authority. They sought to overturn the social constructs that oppressed women, rather than gain admittance to them.<sup>152</sup> Women needed ‘education’ in order to free themselves from their social subjugation, not only

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<sup>149</sup> Scanlon, *La polémica feminista*, 151-152; M. Nash, “‘Ideals of Redemption’: Socialism and women on the left in Spain,” H. Gruber and P. Graves, (eds.), *Women and Socialism / Socialism and Women: Europe Between the Two World Wars*, (Oxford, 1998), 348-352. For similar trends in other contemporary Marxist and socialist movements see W.Z. Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917-1936*, (Cambridge, 1993), 34-43; H. Gruber ‘French women in the crossfire of class, sex, maternity and citizenship,’ H. Gruber and P. Graves, (eds.), *Women and Socialism / Socialism and Women: Europe Between the Two World Wars*, (Oxford, 1998), 291-296; Offen, *European Feminism*, 164-170; Ruthchild, R.G., ‘Women’s suffrage and revolution in the Russian Empire, 1905-1917,’ *Globalizing Feminisms: 1789-1945*, (London, 2010), 268. The view that women would inevitably vote against the socialists was remarkably similar to liberal and trade union fears of female suffrage creating a ‘fresh phalanx of Tory voters’ in 19 century Britain, see D. Riley, *Am I That Name?: Feminism and the Category of ‘Women’ in History*, (Basingstoke, 1988), 87-93. A similar attitude was prevalent amongst republicans in Spain, see E. Sanabria, *Republicanism*, 130

<sup>150</sup> M. Nash, ‘Experiencia y aprendizaje: La formación histórica de los feminismos en España,’ *Historia Social*, 20, (1994), 158-160; Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 112-113.

<sup>151</sup> T. Claramunt, ‘Victima del capital,’ *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 1, (01/02/1902), 3. A comparison may be drawn with the critique of female black slaves towards their middle-class counterparts in the USA, see A. Brah, and A. Phoenix, “‘Ain’t I a woman?’: Revisiting intersectionality,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies*, 5.3, (2004), 76-78. See M.J. Boxer, ‘Rethinking the socialist construction and international career of the concept of “Bourgeois Feminism”,’ K. Offen, (ed.), *Globalizing Feminisms: 1789-1945*, (London, 2010), 286-291 for a broader discussion of the critique of ‘bourgeois’ feminism at this time.

<sup>152</sup> J.L. Montenegro, ‘Verdadera emancipación de la mujer,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 80, (24/11/1900), 2-3. See also Emma Goldman’s thoughts on the participation of women in electoral politics: B. Haaland, *Emma Goldman: Sexuality and the Impurity of the State*, (Montréal, 1993), 36-38.

in a practical sense (i.e. better schooling) but also as part of the broad cultural enlightenment that was needed across Spanish society.<sup>153</sup>

Gender equality and education were closely related concepts in the anarchist press. *La Revista Blanca* was an early and consistent supporter of gender liberation, and was one of the first anarchist publications to regularly use the term ‘feminism’.<sup>154</sup> Other papers took up the subject enthusiastically. *Fraternidad* (Gijón) for example, maintained a regular column addressed to women, and many other papers, including *La Protesta*, *Adelante*, *Germinal* and *El Cosmopolita* discussed the role of women in the revolution far more frequently than their predecessors of the 1890s.<sup>155</sup> Through these papers, women’s liberation and anarchism began to be seen as complementary and reinforcing.<sup>156</sup> Neither could be realised without the other: anarchism without gender equality could not call itself truly emancipatory, while women could not be truly emancipated unless by anarchism.<sup>157</sup>

Anarchist papers were keen to stress that education, particularly in the sciences, would rid women of their predisposition towards ‘fanaticism,’ and pave the way for a shared women’s consciousness.<sup>158</sup> These views rested on the belief that women were more disposed towards religious belief than men; an issue which could be resolved by repeatedly informing women of the truth of science and reason. One contributor to the Santander paper *Adelante*, for example, dedicated a discussion of astronomical processes explicitly to women, hoping that he could demonstrate ‘as concretely as possible’ that creation was a process of Nature [*sic.*] and not the work of God, who was merely ‘the personification...of ignorant fantasy’.<sup>159</sup> This patronising tone was common to many periodicals. In a 4-part series named ‘The Fanaticism of the Woman’ published in *La Protesta*, women were portrayed as ‘the weakest part of society,’ and in need of direction away from ‘all worries and with knowledge of what was just and what was unjust’.<sup>160</sup> Women were at times depicted as ‘weak,’ ‘beautiful,’ ‘strong’ and ‘slaves to maternal love’.<sup>161</sup> Gendered language was often negatively employed in anarchist discourse, as when *El Porvenir del Obrero* claimed that smoking

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<sup>153</sup> ‘La mujer muñeca,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid): 6 (09/16/1899) and 7, (16/09/1899), 2; S. Gustavo, ‘La amistad y el feminismo,’ *El Cosmopolita*, (Valladolid), 8, (29/09/01), 1-2; R. Chaughy, ‘La mujer esclava,’ *Adelante*, (Santander), 38, (11/01/1903), 2.

<sup>154</sup> A. Vilanova, ‘Movimiento feminista,’ *La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 1, (01/07/1898), 23-24; other early articles in *La Revista Blanca* dedicated to the subject include Terea Mañé [S. Gustavo], ‘La familia,’ 2, (15/07/1898), 37-38 and A. Villanova, ‘Un clavo saca otro clavo,’ 3, (30/07/1898), 88. A detailed study of the articles within *La Revista Blanca* can be found in Prado, *Escritoras anarcho-feministas*, 47-106, which covers the major themes of anarcho-feminism at the turn of the century. See also G. Espigado Tocino, ‘Las mujeres en el anarquismo Español (1869-1939),’ *Ayer*, 45.1, (2002), 66.

<sup>155</sup> García Maroto, *La mujer*, 233-239.

<sup>156</sup> S. Gustavo, ‘La mujer en la lucha económica: I,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 140, (18/01/1902), 1.

<sup>157</sup> A. Lorenzo, ‘Las mujeres en la revolución,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 93, (31/07/1901), 1.

<sup>158</sup> Compare with attitudes discussed in Riley, *Am I That Name?*, 10.

<sup>159</sup> V. Blanco: ‘...A la mujer,’ *Adelante*, (Santander), 3, (11/05/1902), 1.

<sup>160</sup> P.C., ‘El fanatismo de la mujer,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid): 8, (24/09/1899), 3-4; 9, (29/09/1899), 2; 11, (12/10/1899), 1-2.

<sup>161</sup> For example see Una mujer, ‘A una mujer,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 99, (06/04/1901), 4.

tobacco weakened the worker as it caused 'effeminacy'.<sup>162</sup> Female anarchists were just as keen to employ gender stereotypes in their discussions of women. Claramunt in particular was fond of rounding on apathetic *compañeras*, who were concerned only with 'comfort, vanity and gossip'.<sup>163</sup>

Despite this problematic rhetoric, anarchist discussions of women did not claim that it was 'natural' that women should be dominated by men. Ignorance was not a product of nature, and women possessed the same qualities of reason as men, as proven by science: 'the most exact anatomy has not been able to observe cerebral differences between man and woman' – wrote an anarchist group in Jerez – therefore women had to be 'prepared for science and art' as much as their male counterparts.<sup>164</sup> Women were 'victims of tradition' and their domination was a social construct.<sup>165</sup> Men enslaved women from birth; they domesticated and routinized them, denied them access to education and created 'ridiculous and false' laws to uphold oppression.<sup>166</sup> Just as it was unnatural for men to oppress men – for the bourgeoisie to oppress the working-class, and for the state to oppress its subjects – it was unnatural for men to oppress women. If a natural, anarchist, order were established, this oppression would end; once 'ignorance' and 'false education' had been removed, so too would differences of sex.<sup>167</sup> The 'ignorance' of women, which maintained their subjugation, was thus seen a feature of society which anarchism wanted to change, rather than a justification of patriarchal dominance.

Although society had created these problems, it was the task of individual women to emancipate themselves.<sup>168</sup> Women were frequently addressed directly in a manner designed to cajole them into self-emancipation, as in one article by the anarchist educator Gabriela Alcalde: 'if we have witnessed an intellectual backwardness it is perpetuated by our ignorance; if we have seen reaction it nourished itself from our lack of the love of liberty...we will educate ourselves'.<sup>169</sup> Antonia Yzurieta, writing in 1899, stressed that women could not wait for liberation to come from men, since republicans, socialists, Catholics and 'why not say it? some so-called anarchists' were seeped in patriarchal tradition. Women 'must associate...study, convene at workers' meetings and conferences,' working for their own emancipation as the first step towards the liberation of their sex.<sup>170</sup> Nature had given women all the tools they needed, all the 'distinctive signs of being rational'; they had to throw

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<sup>162</sup> Fondu-Ko, 'El tobacco,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 153, (17/06/1904), 3-4.

<sup>163</sup> T. Claramunt, 'De la mujer,' *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 3, (08/03/1902), 2-3.

<sup>164</sup> Grupo 'Trabajadores rebeldes,' '¿Cuál es nuestra misión?,' *Juventud*, (Valencia), 6, (08/02/1903), 3.

<sup>165</sup> E. Monteverde, 'Ayer y hoy: Para mis amigas,' *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 15, (08/12/1906), 4.

<sup>166</sup> T. Claramunt, 'De la mujer,' *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 3, (08/03/1902), 2-3.

<sup>167</sup> S. Gustavo, 'La amistad y el feminismo,' *El Cosmopolita*, (Valladolid), 8, (28/09/1901), 1.

<sup>168</sup> This attitude was manifest a decade later when the CNT agreed that more had to be done to organise women, but that this task should be left to women themselves, see 'Confederación Nacional de Trabajo: Primer congreso obrero,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 2.

<sup>169</sup> G. Alcalde, 'A las compañeras,' *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 110, (28/11/1901), 1.

<sup>170</sup> A. Yzurieta, 'A las mujeres,' *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 1, (11/11/1899), 2-3.

themselves into the ‘social battles, in the turbulent life of the revolutionaries’ with ‘love, lots of love; liberty, lots of liberty; education, lots of education’.<sup>171</sup>

### Sex, Love and the Family

Sex was not a common theme in the anarchist press at the turn of the century. When it was discussed, it was often medicalised, as in the movement’s relationship with neo-Malthusian theories of population, sexual behaviour, and public health. These ideas were introduced into Spain in the early twentieth century through the national section of the League of Human Regeneration, led by the anarchist Luis Bulffi in Barcelona. This group saw access to contraception as a remedy for poverty, giving the working poor a choice which was denied to them by their ignorance and the religious qualms of the state. Although Bulffi’s publication *Salud y Fuerza* (Barcelona, 1904-1914; 61 issues) claimed to have fostered numerous neo-Malthusian groups across Spain, the impact of such ideas are difficult to gauge. *Salud y Fuerza*’s audience was primarily in Cataluña and even there it was small: in 1914 the paper had fewer than 60 subscribers in Barcelona, and only 9 in Madrid.<sup>172</sup> More generally, neo-Malthusian ideas were almost entirely absent from the 4-page periodical press outside Cataluña, and were opposed by prominent figures such as Urales and Leopoldo Bonafulla (pseud. Juan Bautista Esteve), a prolific pamphleteer and editor of *El Productor* (Barcelona).<sup>173</sup>

Sex was more commonly discussed in terms of the oppressive sexual practices of men, in which women were portrayed as passive victims. For example, prostitution and human trafficking were common themes in the La Coruña paper *Germinal*. In December 1904, the paper printed sordid details of a local bourgeois club named ‘The Caliphate’, which was accused of tricking working-class girls into joining a prostitution racket. The cause of this ‘vice’ was ‘the injustice of the present society, which in its decrepitude wants to pervert and abuse the blossom of flowers barely in the spring of life’. *Germinal* claimed that ‘the smallest influence of modern sociology’ would rid society of such *higueras* (figs) who wanted to violate fourteen-year-old girls.<sup>174</sup> This critique had resonances with

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<sup>171</sup> G. Alcalde, ‘A las compañeras,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 110, (28/11/1901), 1.

<sup>172</sup>, see Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 133-134 and *Anarquismo y sexualidad*, 62-64.

<sup>173</sup> One example of support for Malthusian ideas in non-Catalan press: Orsini, ‘La ley de Malthus,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 17, (22/01/1907), 2. On anarchist opposition to Neo-Malthusianism see L. Bonafulla, *Generación libre: Los errores del neo-malthusianismo*, (Barcelona, 1905); ‘El malthusianismo,’ *Juventud*, 9, (01/03/1903), 4 and Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 137-139. The debate over the validity of Neo-Malthusianism continued over the following decade, see for example: Espartaco, ‘Neo-malthusianismo,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 310, (06/06/1912), 3; Zoais, ‘El superneomalthusianismo,’ *El látigo*, (Baracaldo), 10, (01/02/1913), 1-2; *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid): Uase, ‘Tribuna libre: En pro del neo-malthusianismo,’ 4, (13/06/1913), 2 and Augustín Jato, ‘Tribuna libre: Malthusianismo y neomalthusianismo,’ 9, (18/06/1913), 2.

<sup>174</sup> *Germinal*, (La Coruña): ‘¡Degenerados!’, 10, (10/12/1904), 1 and ‘El Kalifato,’ 11, (24/12/1904), 1-2.

See also *El Proletario*, (Cádiz): R. Suárez, ‘Crítica social: La prostitución,’ 10, (15/08/1902), 3 and G. Fernández, ‘...Prostitución,’ 16, (16/11/1902), 2-3; J. Mir i Mir, ‘Amor libre...,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 92, (15/02/1902), 1-2. Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 292-294. R. Cleminson, “‘Science and sympathy’” or “‘Sexual subversion on a human basis’”? Anarchists in Spain and the World League for Sexual Reform’, *History of Sexuality*, 12.1, (2003), 117-118 for later anarchist perspectives on prostitution.

broader, mainstream feminist campaigns against prostitution, yet to anarchists the solution to this issue lay not in a ‘desexualisation’ of men and women – as was advocated by contemporary ‘abolitionists’ of ‘white slavery’ – since existing morality was as oppressive as prostitution. Instead, anarchists proposed to end prostitution through a broadening of cultural and sexual freedom.<sup>175</sup>

Marriage and the family are often identified as the key targets of the anarcho-feminist critique of society.<sup>176</sup> These ‘institutions’ were regarded as a manifestation of property (since women became a man’s chattel upon marriage) and authority (as the family structure necessarily involved hierarchies of power).<sup>177</sup> Occasionally such attacks drew on ‘science’ to prove the ‘unhygienic nature’ of conjugal life. For example, one article published in *Germinal* stated that although men and women should continue to have sex, they must learn to ‘sleep alone’ at night to ensure that both parties received sufficient rest.<sup>178</sup> Marriage was contrasted with the concept of ‘free love’, a scientific and socially acceptable alternative to matrimony, which allowed women and men to select their partners freely.<sup>179</sup> Free love was understood as a ‘contractual act’ – ‘an exchange of services agreed upon freely and voluntarily by two autonomous and equal beings in love’ – and was not to be confused with either ‘lust,’ promiscuity, or polyamory, all of which remained disagreeable to anarchist commentators.<sup>180</sup> Such moral positions on sexual conduct were often articulated through a scientific discourse, which depicted acceptable behaviour as ‘healthy,’ in contrast to ‘deviant,’ perverse practices, which only existed because ‘hygienic’ sexual behaviour was confined by Catholic tradition. For one contributor to *La Protesta*, for example, ‘free love’ would rid society of all sexual vice, allowing the free expression of ‘physiological necessity’ to do away with ‘this onanistic and paedophilic, lesbian and sodomitic society’.<sup>181</sup> ‘Free love’ would thus reinforce accepted social norms, with no suggestion that

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<sup>175</sup> E. Castelar, ‘La esclavitud,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 73, (21/09/1901), 3. On abolitionism in Spain see J.L. Guereña, *La prostitución en la España contemporánea*, (Madrid, 2003), 339-397. On international abolitionist efforts see Offen, *European Feminisms*, 154-156 and A. Summers, ‘Liberty, equality, morality: The attempt to sustain an international campaign against the double sexual standard,’ K. Offen, (ed.), *Globalizing Feminisms: 1789-1945*, (London, 2010), 26-35.

<sup>176</sup> On the broader debates on these issues within contemporary feminism see A.T. Allen, ‘Feminism, social science, and the meanings of modernity: The debate on the origin of the family in Europe and the United States, 1860-1914,’ K. Offen, (ed.), *Globalizing Feminisms: 1789-1945*, (London, 2010), 237-256, 388-395.

<sup>177</sup> A. Vasseur, ‘La mujer...,’ *Adelante*, (Santander), 6, (01/06/1902), 2; C. Malato, ‘Riqueza y miseria,’ *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 1, (08/06/1902), 3. On marriage as a ‘mercantile’ act see Scanlon, *La polémica feminista*, 126-137; Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 289-290. On the many ways women were discriminated against by marriage law in Spain see Muñoz López, *Sangre, amor e interés*, 208-214.

<sup>178</sup> See M. Martínez, ‘Orientaciones: El comunismo conyugal o el matrimonio exogámico,’ *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 21, (10/06/1905), 1, which uses both of these attacks.

<sup>179</sup> *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II: A. Yzurieta, ‘Del amor,’ 7, (03/02/1900) 3 and A. García, ‘Recuerdos,’ 25, (01/12/1900), 2; ‘‘Amor Libre,’’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 52, (12/05/1900), 1-2; F. Urales, ‘Atavismos contra la vida,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 16, (24/12/1906), 3. See also collection of writings on free love by anarchist thinkers: O. Baigorria (ed.), *Amor (El) libre*.

<sup>180</sup> R. Millan, ‘Amor libre,’ *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 7, (01/07/1902), 2-3; Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 297.

<sup>181</sup> M. Ferreira, ‘La mujer libre,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 31, (02/03/1900), 1-2. On anarchist discussions of masturbation see Cleminson, *Anarquismo y sexualidad*, 129-150.

men and women would engage in anything other than heterosexual monogamy.<sup>182</sup> One can see this clearly in the frontispiece of the anarcho-feminist paper *La Humanidad Libre*, which depicts a well-dressed, heterosexual, nuclear family: a tall, affectionate father, a dainty mother tilting to receive his kiss and a young, studious girl, foregrounded by an open book entitled ‘Amor Libre’ [Plate 2.1].

Although marriage was opposed in anarchist theory as ‘a contract of flesh legalised by the judge and sanctified by the priest,’ acts of civil marriage were widely celebrated in the anarchist press, and never criticised for conforming to a patriarchal legal culture that oppressed women.<sup>183</sup> Instead, they were presented in terms of a victory over religion and obstructionist local civic authorities.<sup>184</sup> One report to the anarchist press in 1900 went so far as to suggest that changes to British civil law had made marriage ‘equal...to the recognition of free love,’ simply because it had made matrimony and divorce more accessible to women.<sup>185</sup> Federico Urales was very proud of his civil marriage to Soledad Gustavo; indeed, they had met after Urales had actively searched for someone who would be prepared to marry him in a civil ceremony.<sup>186</sup> Urales was comfortable with the idea of marriage, and claimed that ‘free love...can only implement itself in a society which, *beforehand*, guarantees the right of life, of liberty and of pleasure to all creatures’.<sup>187</sup> Like Gustavo, Teresa Claramunt did not refrain from marriage. In 1884 she and Antonio Gurri Vergés celebrated a civil marriage and went on to have children, including Proletaria Libre (who died shortly after birth) and Acracia. Although this marriage broke down in the following years, Claramunt is then reported to have married the anarchist José López Montenegro in 1901, or in other accounts, to have had a relationship with Leopoldo Bonafulla, her colleague in *El Productor*.<sup>188</sup> Rather than dissuade women from marriage, anarchist feminism sought to refigure it as an act conducted between two equal partners, stripping it of any religious or legal implications of oppression, without giving up on the practice altogether.<sup>189</sup> This was how anarchists ‘loved freely’ at the turn of the century: free from the Church, but not from marriage as a

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<sup>182</sup> Gemie, ‘Anarchism and feminism,’ 431-432. A more expansive depiction of free love is given in K. Austin, ‘La cuestión de los sexos,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 5, (23/01/1904), 1-2. On later discussions of homosexuality within the movement see Acklesburg, *Free Women of Spain*, 49-50. On the broader discussions of male homosexuality in Spain see R. Cleminson and F. Vázquez García, ‘*Los Invisibles*’: *A History of Male Homosexuality in Spain, 1850-1939*, (Cardiff, 2007), 265-276.

<sup>183</sup> See standalone quote in *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 21, (23/06/1910), 4.

<sup>184</sup> For example see ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 97, (29/08/1901), 4; ‘Noticias,’ *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 14, (04/02/1905), 4.

<sup>185</sup> ‘El matrimonio en Inglaterra,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 71, (22/09/1900), 4.

<sup>186</sup> Urales, *Mi vida*, I, 54-58.

<sup>187</sup> F. Urales, ‘En la sociedad anarquista: III: El amor libre,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), II, 1, (02/09/1904), 2. Emphasis added.

<sup>188</sup> M.A. Pradas Baena, *Teresa Claramunt: La virgen roja barcelonesa: Biografía y escritos*, (Barcelona, 2006), 32-33. Montenegro was at that time a secular teacher and had previously been a commander in the Spanish army that had rebelled in Cartagena in 1873, see Urales, *Mi vida*, II, 68.

<sup>189</sup> ‘Solidaridad de los sexos,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 112, (12/12/1901), 1-2. See also Herrerín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 172.

societal or legal practice.<sup>190</sup> Radically different forms of behaviour, such as those posed by the concept of ‘free love’ (if not its practice) would have to wait until after revolution.<sup>191</sup>

Marriage could also be used to empower women to act as part of the broader struggle against the state. In theory, ‘free love’ and independence from marriage were the only means by which women could gain economic emancipation, since women would no longer have ‘to think who would work for her and provide for her table’.<sup>192</sup> Yet in the context of Restoration Spain, anarchists could not deny that marriage offered women protection and economic security.<sup>193</sup> Few people lived alone in Spain, and single adult women were often exposed to exclusion, derision and poverty. Rather than advising women to risk these dangers, anarchist commentators suggested ways in which marriage could benefit the wider movement. For example, after the violent suppression of a demonstration in La Línea in 1902, Constancio Romeo called for a campaign to dissuade working-class women from marrying members of the Civil Guard, emasculating these ‘enemies of the people’ through ‘enforced celibacy’.<sup>194</sup>

As with marriage, the traditional family unit was celebrated in the anarchist press. One of the few photographs published in the *Suplemento* depicted Tarrida del Marmól with his child. Accompanying the picture was a piece which explained that although anarchist families were maintained ‘without theological impositions,’ this did not mean that anarchists were ‘enemies of the family’ nor was it true that they ‘do not love their children,’ as was claimed by critics of the movement.<sup>195</sup> As with civil marriages, the civil registration of children was framed as a victory over religion, often accompanied by sarcastic comments such as ‘blessed are those that spurn baptism,’ praising parents who had saved their children from the ‘brutal soaking’.<sup>196</sup> Such registrations were often accompanied by a communal event, where revolutionary hymns were sung and anarchist readings were given, often by other children from the locality.<sup>197</sup> A similar, although more sombre, tone was used for civil funerals – many of which were also for children – which were similarly portrayed as public manifestations against religion.<sup>198</sup> Cultural practices such as civil weddings and

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<sup>190</sup> On Restoration civil marriage law see Muñoz López, *Sangre, amor e interés*, 65-67.

<sup>191</sup> A similar attitude was evident in early Bolshevik attitudes to ‘Free Love,’ see Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution*, 1-13.

<sup>192</sup> F. Urales, ‘En la sociedad anarquista: III: El amor libre,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), II, 1, (02/09/1904), 2.

<sup>193</sup> See I.C. Soriano Jiménez, ‘Hermoso Playa Saló y Carmen Paredes Sans: El anarquismo silencioso, 1889-1982,’ Ph.D. Thesis, (Universidad de Salamanca, 2002), 618 on the need for female anarchist teachers to marry in order to practice.

<sup>194</sup> C. Romeo, ‘¿Hasta cuándo?’, *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 22, (07/11/1902), 2; ‘Nuestra adhesión,’ *El 4 de Febrero*, (Huelva), 1, (15/11/1902), 2-3. See also agreement in III FSORE Congress to ‘boycott’ the children and wives of Civil Guardsmen, reported in ‘Los congresos obreros,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 210, (21/05/1903), 1.

<sup>195</sup> Published in *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 108, (08/06/1901), 3.

<sup>196</sup> *Germinal*, (La Coruña): ‘Noticias,’ 8, (12/11/1904), 4; 9, (26/11/1904), 4; 13, (21/01/1905), 4; 25, (26/08/1905), 4.

<sup>197</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Dichos y hechos,’ 66, (18/08/1900), 3 and ‘Movimiento social: Jerez,’ 129, (02/11/1901), 3.

<sup>198</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 4, (23/12/1899), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): 97, (29/08/1901), 4 and 119, (01/02/1902), 4; numerous funerals for children in ‘Notas sueltas,’ *El*

naming ceremonies helped to affirm what familial practice meant as an anarchist.<sup>199</sup> Anarchists were willing to marry and have children, as long as their ceremonies were free from any connection to the established Church. That they were similar to traditional, religious practices was not troubling to anarchist commentators, indeed, the *Suplemento* was fully aware of these similarities, and briefly published all reports of births, deaths and marriages in a column ironically titled ‘Anarchic Jesuitism’.<sup>200</sup> As with the movement’s relationship with the arts, ceremonial practices were not intended to be revolutionary in form, but in content, subverting Catholic customs by replacing their religious content with ‘Reason [*sic*]’.<sup>201</sup>

Parents demonstrated their commitment to the movement by giving their children appropriately revolutionary names. The bestowal of an anarchist name brought the child into the ‘social world’ of the movement, giving them an identity within a specific, alternative sub-culture.<sup>202</sup> Broad, conceptual names such as ‘Germinal,’ ‘Aurora’ or ‘Acracia’ were popular choices for the children of anarchists, as were the names of figures respected in the movement, such as ‘Parsons Lingg y Spies,’ (the surnames of three of the Chicago martyrs), ‘Kropotkin,’ ‘Darwin’ (particularly unfortunate choices in a language which does not use the letter ‘K’ or ‘W’), ‘Archimedes,’ ‘Galileo,’ ‘Spartacus’ or in one case ‘Proudhon y Washington’.<sup>203</sup> One particularly popular name for children was ‘Palmiro/a,’ a reference to the ancient Middle-Eastern city Palmyra, known in classical history as a free city and the location of a prolonged rebellion against the Roman Empire, led (appropriately) by a female leader, Queen Zenobia.<sup>204</sup> The city was the subject of one of the most popular history texts in the movement, Comte de Volney’s *Las ruinas de Palmyra*, which portrayed the crumbling city as a metaphor for the revolutionary process of time. Anselmo Lorenzo cited *Las ruinas de Palmyra* as one of the main

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*Rebelde*, (Madrid), 7, (06/02/1904), 4. On infant funerals in general see Muñoz López, *Sangre, amor e interés*, 266-269.

<sup>199</sup> See remarks on the growth in civil practices in Villafranca (Córdoba), ‘Notas sueltas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 13, (18/03/1904), 4.

<sup>200</sup> ‘Jesuitismo anárquico,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 110, (22/06/1901), 2.

<sup>201</sup> See Muñoz López, *Sangre, amor e interés*, 251-255. This attitude has resonances with positions discussed in the essay ‘Evangelical Atheism: Secular Christianity,’ in J. Gray, *Gray’s Anatomy: Selected Writings*, (London, 2010), 292-303.

<sup>202</sup> R.D. Alford, *Naming and Identity: A Cross-Cultural Study of Personal Naming Practices*, (New Haven, CT, 1988), 30-34 and S. Lieberman, *A Matter of Taste: How Names, Fashion and Culture Change* (New Haven, CT, 2000), 138-141.

<sup>203</sup> Parsons Lingg y Spies named in Barcelona, child of Joaquín Salvador and Juana Cortés, *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 64, (10/11/1900), 4. This name was denied by a registrar, so the parents decided to call the child Palmiro y Libertario, see *La Protesta*, (Valladolid): ‘Miserias,’ 64, (10/11/1900), 4 and ‘Noticias varias,’ 65, (17/11/1900), 4. Kropotkin named in Sevilla, ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 54, (25/05/1900), 3. Attempt to call child Darwin by Enrique Taboada denied by registrar and ‘Archimedes,’ named in Madrid, both ‘Notas sueltas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 20, (05/05/1904), 4. Galileo in Valladolid, ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 87, (09/06/1901), 4. Spartacus was the name of Ernesto Álvarez’s child, see F., ‘Recuerdos y esperanzas,’ *La Protesta*, (Madrid), 2, (11/08/1901), 1. Proudhon, Lingg y Washington’ in ‘Movimiento social: La Bisbal,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 51, (05/05/1900), 3.

<sup>204</sup> A small selection of ‘Palmiro/as’ in *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): Palmiro Libertad (Córdoba), ‘Movimiento social: Córdoba,’ 46, (31/03/1900), 3; Palmiro Liberto (Sestao), ‘Dichos y hechos,’ 54, (25/05/1900), 3; Palmira (Sevilla), ‘Dichos y hechos,’ 62, (21/07/1900), 2; Acracia y Palmira, (Madrid), ‘Dichos y hechos,’ 104, (27/04/1901), 4.

causes of his ‘conversion’ to anarchism.<sup>205</sup> Yet parents who read the anarchist press did not need to have a deep understanding of de Volney’s book to be familiar with the name Palmiro/a. They simply had to read the anarchist press, where they would see examples of children being given the name on a weekly basis. In these reports, the press encouraged others to give their children similar names, reinforcing the ideas contained in the metaphor of Palmyra by cementing it as custom.<sup>206</sup> The upsurge of names such as these was a generational development which took place over the turn of the century. The parents of the ‘Germinals,’ ‘Acracio/as’ and ‘Palmiro/as’ almost always had traditional Spanish names, as was the case with Vicente García (one of the most ubiquitous names in northern Spain), who named his daughter ‘Fraternidad,’ despite protests from a local civil registrar.<sup>207</sup> Such responses from officials to anarchist parents were common, and were seen as proof of the influence of religion into the lives of children and the functioning of the state.

The practice of raising children in a familial context was never questioned. What mattered was that children were part of an anarchist family, which would ensure that they grew up as ‘defender[s] of the redeeming ideas of anarchists,’ maintaining anarchist ideas and culture through future generations.<sup>208</sup> Women were seen as particularly responsible for their children’s education, and asked to intervene in the ‘imagination’ of young boys to lead them away from undesirable choices, such as joining the military.<sup>209</sup> One female correspondent to the *Suplemento* saw the ‘production’ and education of ‘the free man of the future’ as the most important ‘mission’ of revolutionary women, who should accept a gendered role as a means to demonstrate their value to the movement.<sup>210</sup>

## Women in Print Culture

The upsurge of feminism in the anarchist press was exemplified by the Valencian anarcho-feminist paper *La Humanidad Libre*. This paper was launched in 1902 with the explicit purpose of publishing a ‘defence of the woman,’ a term which resonated with the broader debates on the role of women in

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<sup>205</sup> L. Monguió, ‘Una biblioteca obrera madrileña en 1912-1913,’ *Bulletin Hispanique*, 77.1-2, (1975), 161-162; Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 282. The book was also published as a cut-out pamphlet in *La Organización*, (Gijón), see Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 366-367. On de Volney’s book see P. Hughes, ‘Ruins of time: Estranging history and ethnology in the Enlightenment and after,’ D. O. Hughes and T.R. Trautmann, (eds.), *Time: Histories and Ethnographies*, (Ann Arbor, MI, 1995), 273; J. Hell, ‘Imperial ruin gazers, or why did Scipio weep?,’ J. Hell and Schönle, (eds.), *Ruins of Modernity*, (Durham, NC, 2010), 172-173

<sup>206</sup> Mintz, *Casas Viejas*, 14, n.1.

<sup>207</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Dichos y hechos,’ 92, (16/02/1901), 4; V. García, ‘...Bilbao y su radio,’ 98, (30/03/1901), 3. The child was eventually named Fraternidad and travelled with her father to Dowlais (Wales) later in 1901, where, after only ten days in the town she died of diphtheria, see ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 131, (16/11/1901), 2 and V. García, ‘Desde Inglaterra’ [*sic*], *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 111, (05/12/1901), 2. Death record printed in C. Llewellyn and H. Watkins, *Los Desconocidos al Extranjero: Strangers in a Foreign Land’: The Spanish Immigration to Dowlais*, (Merthyr Tydfil, 2000), n.p.

<sup>208</sup> ‘Actos civiles,’ *Adelante*, (Santander), 6, (01/06/1902), 4, comments about Uranía Acida, child of Antonio Izurriera (contributor to *La Humanidad Libre*) and Guillermo Fernández in Gijón.

<sup>209</sup> Urbain Gohier, ‘A las mujeres,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 53, (19/05/1900), 4.

<sup>210</sup> M. Mallié de Aguilera, ‘La misión de la mujer,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 57, (16/06/1900), 4.

Spanish society.<sup>211</sup> Funds for the paper were raised through a raffle of books by (male) authors including Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, Emile Zola and Sebastián Faure.<sup>212</sup> The paper was adorned with an elaborate half-page frontispiece, depicting naked children skipping between flowers and leaves, books titled *Germinal*, *Work*, *Future Society*, *The Conquest of Bread*, *Justice* and *Resurrection*, with a sun blazing the word 'Truth' over the whole scene [Plate 2.1].<sup>213</sup> This image invoked many of themes within anarchist culture and education: nature, learning, youth and love, bound together by the ultimate goal of women's liberation.

*La Humanidad Libre* aimed to unify radical female writers from across Spain and abroad. Amongst the more prominent names involved in the paper were Teresa Claramunt and Soledad Gustavo, whose articles appeared alongside contributions from less well-known women across Spain, such as Luciana Rico, a correspondent from Badajoz who saw the paper as 'one of the means to recuperate the woman' and called for a 'new education...directed to the good of all'.<sup>214</sup> Foreign anarchist feminists such as Louise Michel and Emma Goldman were also cited as supporters of the paper, as was the Italian socialist campaigner Ana Mozzoni. None of these international *compañeras* made direct contributions to *La Humanidad Libre*; indeed, their 'support' for the paper may have been assumed, rather than explicitly given. By using these names the editors of *La Humanidad Libre* cast their paper as part of a pan-European network of radical feminists, which did not subscribe to the aims or tactics of mainstream international feminist organisations.<sup>215</sup> The paper inspired anarchist feminist action across Spain, such as the 'Humanidad Libre' women's youth group in Lebrija (Sevilla), which aimed to 'study the ideal' and 'spread propaganda'.<sup>216</sup> Yet, despite the enthusiasm from its readers, the paper was 'paralysed' by financial problems and closed after just three issues. The group returned three months later with *El Corsario* (Valencia, 1902, 27 issues), although after discussion with 'various friends' the publishing group had decided to tone down the feminism of their previous publication, resuming their defence of the 'trampled, exploited and ridiculed *without any distinction of sex*'.<sup>217</sup> Nevertheless, female emancipation remained one of the key elements of *El Corsario*, evident in articles such as 'Entidades' by María Losada, which called for an end to the

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<sup>211</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 'Movimiento social: Valencia,' 131, (16/11/1901), 3; 'A las compañeras,' 137, (28/12/1901), 2. On the cultural manifestations of 'the woman question' through the previous century see T.A. Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain*, (Berkeley, CA, 2006), 17-39.

<sup>212</sup> 'Cosas y casos,' *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 1, (01/02/1902), 3.

<sup>213</sup> Frontispiece also appears in Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 611.

<sup>214</sup> L Rico, 'Crónica social,' *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 1, (01/02/1902), 4. The other female writers given credit on the paper's front page were Angelina Vidal, María Lozada, Concha Sala, Gabriela Alcalde, Antonia Izurieta and María Caro. The paper also cited those male comrades who wish to help in their 'regenerative work': López Montenegro, Kropotkin, Urales, Lorenzo, Bonafulla, Malatesta, and Tarrida del Marmol.

<sup>215</sup> K. Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History*, (Redwood City, CA, 2000), 150-160, 213-214. Compare also with S.S. Holton, "'To educate women into rebellion: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the creation of a transatlantic network of radical suffragists,' K. Offen, (ed.), *Globalizing Feminisms: 1789-1945*, (London, 2010), 36-50.

<sup>216</sup> 'Cosa y casos,' *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 3, (08/03/1902), 4.

<sup>217</sup> 'Explicación a los compañeros,' *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 1, (08/06/1902), 1. Emphasis added.

Plate 2.1: Frontispiece and masthead of *La Humanidad Libre* (Valencia), 3, (08/03/1902)



**Periódico feminista quincenal**

<b>Año I</b>	<b>ADMINISTRACIÓN:</b> Calle de Lepanto, 16, 4.º, 1.ª	Valencia 8 de Marzo de 1902	<b>PRECIOS</b> 30 ejemplares . . . . . 1 peseta Número suelto . . . . . 5 recuadros	<b>Núm. 3</b>
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social barriers which prevented women and men from uniting in common cause against the oppression of authority.<sup>218</sup>

The inferior position of women in Spain had a direct impact on their role within anarchist print culture. Although the vast majority of editors and publishers within the movement were male, women did occasionally hold positions in editorial groups, such as those of *El Productor* (Claramunt) and *La Revista Blanca* (Gustavo). This could invite difficulties. In 1902 Gustavo was named as the editor of the newly-launched *Tierra y Libertad*, but could not accept the role, since the Press Law required that an editor had to be ‘in full possession of civil and political rights,’ which, under the 1889 Civil Code, women were not.<sup>219</sup> Thus, while a woman could legally own a paper, the named editor had to be a man. In the case of *Tierra y Libertad*, this became Gustavo’s husband Urales, who was also obliged to stand in for Gustavo when she was sued for libel, as – much to Gustavo’s indignation – the court did not recognise a woman’s capacity to defend herself in court.<sup>220</sup>

Such problems were rare, or at least not particularly visible, simply because very few women within the movement were fully engaged in the workings of the press. Women generally appeared as contributors to anarchist papers, rather than as editors or owners. This reflected the broader disparity within the movement, where men held almost all prominent positions on both a local and national level. For example, Gustavo was considered an unsuitable delegate during nominations for the 1900 Paris Congress. The commission stressed that this judgement was made not because she was a woman – stating that ‘it would please us in the extreme [if] the feminine sex was to have representation’ – but because she could not speak a foreign language.<sup>221</sup> This lack of education would leave her in a passive, ‘secondary’ role, unlike her male counterparts Mella and Prat, who between them could speak English, French and Italian. Lacking sufficient ‘education’ could thus be a barrier to advancement and equality within the anarchist movement, as in wider society.

### Working for the Cause

Women were advised by anarchists to think beyond ‘women’s issues’ and engage in the struggle against the oppression of capitalism and the state, which affected all of the working class.<sup>222</sup> While gendered language appeared throughout the anarchist press, it was in discussions of labour that it was articulated most clearly. Women were called on to associate and form a ‘muscular power’ they

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<sup>218</sup> M. Losada, ‘Entidades,’ *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 1, (08/06/1902), 2.

<sup>219</sup> Soria, ‘La ley española,’ 25.

<sup>220</sup> Urales, *Mi vida*, II, 152-153. ‘Los socialistas contra Soledad Gustavo,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, 115, (27/07/1901), 2 and 116, (03/08/1901), 2. Gustavo claimed that the request for Urales to stand for her came from the socialist plaintiff, Augustin de Andrés Riva, (see T. Mañe, ‘Carta abierta,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 117, (10/08/1901), 2), which he denied, saying that it was the judge who had made the ruling, see A. de Andrés Riva, ‘Remitido,’ *El Socialista*, (Madrid), 804, (02/08/1901), 4.

<sup>221</sup> ‘Congreso antiparlamentario y conferencia libertaria,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 24, (12/01/1900), 2-3.

<sup>222</sup> ‘A lo que Venimos’ and S. Gustavo, ‘A la juventud,’ both *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 1, (01/02/1902), 1-2.

otherwise lacked, ‘imitating’ their husbands, ‘the strong men who fight and fight’ against their economic exploitation. When united, women would no longer be ‘weak nor sterile’ but a potent, collective and necessary addition to the anarchist cause.<sup>223</sup> Such statements – which were often made by women themselves – reveal an underlying assumption that women could only participate in the struggle against capitalism if they took on male qualities and were prepared to engage in aggressive, masculine conflict.

Reports of women’s meetings and societies appeared much less frequently in the press than did those of men. When they did appear, they were celebrated as evidence of growing enthusiasm for anarchism amongst women, as in the reports of ‘La Unión’, a working-women’s union of 416 members based in Elche (Alicante) which promoted activity that would liberate ‘every human’.<sup>224</sup> Female support for anarchism was used as a symbol of the growing strength and health of the movement, and its ability to connect with the Spanish working class beyond its traditional base in male labour organisations.<sup>225</sup> At feminist meetings women took the floor, denouncing repression, calling for solidarity and declaring a ‘war to the death’ with capitalism. One such meeting was held in La Línea in July 1901, with several women speakers, including Ana Villalobo, the colleague and wife of José Sanchez Rosa (also a prominent anarchist writer and occasional boot-maker), both of whom worked at the Centre for Social Studies in Los Barrios (20km from La Línea).<sup>226</sup> Their twelve year-old daughter Francisca (‘Paca’), also spoke in La Línea, reading ‘a work eulogising the anarchist ideal’ for which she would give ‘her blood’.<sup>227</sup> In meetings such as these, women began to play an increased role in discussions of economic and labour matters. The publications of anarchist worker societies, such as the railworkers’ publication *La Solidaridad Ferroviaria* (Madrid), called upon its affiliates to educate their wives and allow them to take part in union meetings, which would prepare them for the ‘decisive battle’.<sup>228</sup> Working-women’s societies began to proliferate, forming pacts of solidarity with their local male counterparts. One such group, ‘La Igualdad’ of Cádiz, held regular meetings in the premises of the local stokers’ union, where they demanded association and education,

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<sup>223</sup> ‘Las cigarreras,’ *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 21, (10/06/1905), 2 and A. Camprubi, ‘¡Asociémonos...,’ *La Defensa del Obrero*, (Gijón), 160, (20/11/1901), 1.

<sup>224</sup> ‘Movimiento social: Elche,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 123, (21/09/1901), 3. See also announcement of feminist society in Cieza (Murcia), which claimed 230 affiliates, ‘Movimiento social,’ *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 19, (15/04/1905), 4.

<sup>225</sup> S. Gustavo, ‘Acción feminista,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 126, (12/10/1901), 1.

<sup>226</sup> *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): ‘Eco linesses,’ 93, (31/07/1901), 2 and ‘Mitin feminista...,’ 94, (08/08/1901), 1-2. Two days later the same group of speakers attempted to hold a similar meeting in San Roque (around 8km north of La Línea); however this was broken up after a number of speakers insulted the Civil Guard, see *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 117, (10/08/1901), 3; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 339, n.169.

<sup>227</sup> Paca had a reputation as a child-orator and frequently spoke at meetings in favour of political prisoners, see Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 50 and 336-337, n.144. Two days later the same group of speakers attempted to hold a similar meeting in San Roque (around 8km north of La Línea); however this was broken up after a number of speakers insulted the Civil Guard, see ‘Movimiento social: Los Barrios,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 117, (10/08/1901), 3; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 339, n.169.

<sup>228</sup> ‘¿Que es la mujer ...?,’ *La Solidaridad Ferroviaria*, (Madrid), 11, (15/11/1901), 7.

uniting these two strands of anarchist action in the form of the emancipated worker and mother.<sup>229</sup> Tentative steps towards national recognition of female labour were also made at the III Congress of the FSORE in 1903, which saw its first female representative, Dolores Gómez, representing women workers in the Santander canning industry.<sup>230</sup>

Anarchist feminism thus did not rest on the assumed 'difference' of women, who should be kept far away from the world of labour.<sup>231</sup> Rather, women workers were invited to take part in the struggle with their male counterparts, so long as they accepted the masculine terrain on which it was fought. This would ensure that female labour was recognised as part of the collective struggle against capital. Together with men, they would form a united 'movement of progressive advance for the proletariat and femininity'.<sup>232</sup> Women's active participation in the class struggle was also evident outside organised labour. In Spain, as elsewhere, women took a particularly prominent role in strikes, protests and demonstrations.<sup>233</sup> The movement embraced this activity as revolutionary, anarchist action, relating it to previous examples of radical female agitation such as the mythical *pétroleuses* of the Paris Commune.<sup>234</sup> *Compañeras* such as Elisa Aragón, who was imprisoned following a violent protest in 1902 'for the crime of being secretary of a feminist association,' were used as examples of female solidarity with the wider anarchist cause.<sup>235</sup>

Feminism was a key component of the anarchist ambition to emancipate the Spanish working class through education. The press played a particularly important role in the development of these ideas, both through dedicated publications such as *La Humanidad Libre*, and more broadly, in articles and

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<sup>229</sup> *La Razón Obrera*, (Cádiz): 'Asociación femenina,' 12, (07/12/1902), 2-3 and 17, (11/01/1902), 2; 'La academia femenina,' 21, (08/02/1902), 3.

<sup>230</sup> 'Los congreso obreros,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 210, (21/05/1903), 1; 'Tercer congreso de la Federación Regional Española de Trabajadores,' *El Productor*, (Barcelona), III, 26, (23/05/1903), 2; 'Federación Regional de Trabajadores,' *El Liberal*, (Madrid), 8617, (16/05/1903), 2. At the previous Congress the workers' society of the Islas Canarias had asked to be represented by Soledad Gustavo, however the Federation rejected this request as Gustavo was not a member of any society, see *La Federación Regional Española...Segundo Congreso*, 27.

<sup>231</sup> Contrast with misogynistic attitudes discussed in Gemie, 'Anarchism and feminism,' 427-428.

<sup>232</sup> M. Bocanegra, 'Ecos feministas,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 2, (02/01/1904), 3; 'A la juventud burguesa,' *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 2, (09/12/1905), 1. A similar discussion can be found in the fringes of the British women's and labour movements, including in the thinking of Sylvia Pankhurst and Keir Hardie, who rejected any idea that class struggle and female emancipation belonged to 'separate spheres' of activity, see M. Davis, *Sylvia Pankhurst: A Life in Radical Politics*, (London, 1999), 5-19, 26-27.

<sup>233</sup> See account of protest of 300 women against high bread prices, 'Desde Valladolid,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 12, (11/03/1904), 3. T. Kaplan, 'Female consciousness and collective action: The case of Barcelona, 1910-1918,' *Signs*, 7.3, (1982), 545-566 and 'Redressing the balance: Gendered acts of justice around the mining community of Río Tinto in 1913,' V.L. Enders and P.B. Radcliff, (eds.), *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, (Albany, NY, 1999), 283-299; P. Radcliff, 'Elite women workers and collective action: the cigarette makers of Gijón, 1890-1930,' *Journal of Social History*, 27.1, (1993), 85-108 and 'Women's politics: Consumer riots in twentieth-century Spain,' V.L. Enders and P.B. Radcliff, (eds.), *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, (Albany, NY, 1999), 301-323; Balfour, 'Riot, regeneration,' 409-410; C. Gil Andrés, 'Mujeres en la calle: Trabajo, condición social y protesta de la mujer: La Rioja, 1885-1910,' S. Castillo, (ed.), *El trabajo a través de la historia: Actas del II Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Social, Córdoba, Abril de 1995*, (Madrid, 1996), 373-381.

<sup>234</sup> Offen, *European Feminisms*, 144-148.

<sup>235</sup> 'Bandidos y cobardes,' *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 22, (07/11/1902), 1.

reports of practices which appeared in almost every paper of the movement. Female writers and activists were important in this endeavour (in particular Gustavo and Claramunt) but so too were less prominent anarchists, both women and men, who shared their thoughts and accounts of their activities with comrades across Spain. The idea of women's equality thus became a larger part of anarchist ideology and practice; it increasingly shaped the meaning of anarchism and added a new dimension to how life as an anarchist in Spain was understood. This understanding of the multifaceted ways in which women were oppressed in society, and the search for solutions beyond the right to vote, was rare and laudable, particularly in the context of early twentieth-century Europe.

Nevertheless, anarchist feminism had its limits. For all the theoretical arguments for gender equality within the anarchist press, anarchists could not fully shed the misogynistic culture in which they operated. Many of the discussions and practices associated with anarcho-feminism remained couched in traditional assumptions about the 'qualities' of women and their role in society. This underlying tension was never fully resolved. Twenty years later, female members of the movement still complained in the anarchist press that '*compañeros* [comrades], however radical they may be in cafés, unions and even affinity groups...seemed to drop their costumes as lovers of female liberation at the doors of their homes...they behave with their *compañeras* just like common "husbands"'.<sup>236</sup> The growth of anarcho-feminism in Spain can thus be seen as a development of a genuinely emancipatory sentiment, but in practice it offered only 'a *relatively* less sexist milieu...than the framework provided by the political norms of the dominant political culture'.<sup>237</sup>

### 'Andando se prueba el movimiento': Education in Practice

Education was not a static concept in anarchist thought. It was not simply a policy or the attainment of a specific set of skills, such as reading and writing. Education was a process, through which self-enlightenment and emancipation from ignorance would emerge. In order to set this process in motion, however, the working class needed guidance towards the reason inherent in anarchism, and contexts where such processes could flourish. Putting education into practice began with a 'propaganda group', formed of individuals who came together to think, discuss and act towards their commonly-shared ideas. Between 1899 and 1906 hundreds of these groups formed in Spain. One report produced for the Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas in Madrid counted over 120 anarchist groups in Spain in 1905.<sup>238</sup> By adding reports in the anarchist press, I would suggest the figure was at least three times

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<sup>236</sup> M. Ackelsburg, *Free Women of Spain*, 115-120, at 115.

<sup>237</sup> Gemie, 'Anarchism and feminism,' 433-434. Emphasis added.

<sup>238</sup> La Iglesia y García, *Caracteres del anarquismo*, 293-294, n.1. Some problems are evident when using La Iglesia as a definitive source: as well as missing numerous groups identified in the anarchist press in this period (which is perhaps unsurprising given their ephemerality) it includes groups that were socialist in orientation

larger and evident in every region of the country. These groups were immersed in print culture. Some were created specifically to assist publishing groups, such as ‘Vida del Periódico’ in Aznalcóllar (Sevilla), which formed to distribute *Tierra y Libertad* (Madrid) across south-west Andalucía.<sup>239</sup> These groups would receive papers and pamphlets, distribute them either physically or orally in public meetings, and send information back to one or more anarchist publishing group.<sup>240</sup> Propaganda groups formed the cultural ‘vanguard’ of the movement, hoping to spread anarchism within existing workers’ groups and instigate cultural projects.<sup>241</sup> A frequent request of newly-formed groups was for ‘one copy of all our newspapers and pamphlets’ so that propaganda could be distributed freely in their local area.<sup>242</sup> These requests also came in from Spanish-speaking migrants based across Europe, the Americas, and North Africa, revealing a desire from emigrants to keep in contact with the movement in Spain.<sup>243</sup> Requests for periodicals were also sent by anarchist workers’ societies and unions, many of which had roles for ‘propaganda commissions’ and ‘librarians’. Anarchist labour activists saw themselves as educators, and regarded the anarchist press as an invaluable step in the cultural enlightenment of their colleagues. For example, when a boot-makers’ society in Granada formed in 1902, one of its first communiques advised its members to ‘read valiant newspapers such as *Tierra y Libertad*, *El Corsario*, *Adelante* and others’.<sup>244</sup> In promoting the anarchist press, these workers’ groups fused the cultural struggle with the economic; aiming to inspire their members towards an all-encompassing revolutionary outlook. The press was also a means to achieve greater unity of action. Groups of all kinds used the press to publish notices ‘to all the anarchist press,’ which detailed their aims and addresses for correspondence, reflecting a desire to establish themselves within the movements’ networks of communication and exchange.<sup>245</sup> Groups and newspapers were dependent on one another: just as groups needed newspapers to assist them in spreading ideas, newspapers needed willing individuals to receive, distribute, and pay for their materials, particularly in areas where anarchism had a limited presence.

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(such as ‘La Aurora Social’ in Oviedo, which published the socialist newspaper of the same name). The same list appears in part (uncredited) in Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 173.

<sup>239</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 87, n.237. See also group formed in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, in ‘Notas sueltas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 24, (02/06/1904), 3.

<sup>240</sup> For example see the group ‘Agrupación de propaganda socialista libertaria,’ formed in Sevilla in 1899, notice in ‘Movimiento social: Sevilla,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 16, (02/09/1899), 4 and the youth group ‘Juventud de Puerto Real’ formed in 1901, ‘Carerta de “La Razón”’, *La Razón Obrera*, (Cádiz), 5, (19/10/1901), 4.

<sup>241</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 66-67, 85-87.

<sup>242</sup> For example see ‘Noticias Varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 111, (05/12/1901), 4; ‘Notas sueltas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 8, (13/01/1904), 3.

<sup>243</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Movimiento social: Orán,’ 82, (08/12/1900), 3; ‘Movimiento social: Tánger,’ 94, (02/03/1901), 3.

<sup>244</sup> ‘Al gremio de zapateros...,’ *Adelante*, (Santander), 16, (10/08/1902), 2-3. See also the notice sent by the miners society of Gallarta (Vizcaya) in ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 123, (01/03/1902), 4.

<sup>245</sup> Statement addressed ‘to all the lovers of propaganda’ in *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 11, (05/03/1904), 3, from the group ‘Retoño Anarquista’ based in La Línea de la Concepción.

It is often difficult to establish detailed information about these groups, beyond the fact that they existed. They were acutely ephemeral: groups were continuously formed, dissolved or split and reformed under a new name. Their shared purpose – to educate and spread propaganda – did not lend itself to, or require, formalised processes or statutes which members had to follow. Propaganda groups only became a fixed presence in the press when they began taking the message of anarchism outside their locality either in person or through print.

### The New Geography of Spanish Anarchism

Anarchists could not rely on a party or national union to lead the way in expanding the movement into new areas. This task had to be undertaken by anarchists themselves.<sup>246</sup> One way of expanding the reach of the movement was to take the message of anarchism to new localities in person, in the manner of a travelling missionary or proselytiser. By far the most famous example of this was Giuseppe Fanelli, who travelled from Italy to Barcelona and Madrid in 1868 in what is generally – and questionably – credited as the ‘introduction’ of anarchism into Spain.<sup>247</sup> Such proselytisers continued to play an important role in the expansion of anarchism through the late nineteenth century. These excursions became more formalised around the turn of the century, when speakers would often band together, giving a travelling series of lectures throughout a region, known as a ‘propaganda tour’. One such tour was undertaken by the anarchist publishers Teresa Claramunt and Leopoldo Bonafulla through Andalucía in the late summer of 1902, financed by raffles managed by the *Suplemento* and later *Tierra y Libertad*.<sup>248</sup> Claramunt and Bonafulla passed through numerous towns in the provinces of Cádiz, Sevilla, Huelva, Málaga and Granada, joining local activists in meetings of thousands of people.<sup>249</sup> The speakers were stalked by the authorities wherever they went, meetings

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<sup>246</sup> On the role of individuals in international translocalism see J.L. Montenegro, ‘Despedida,’ *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 2, (21/06/1902), 2, in which Montenegro states that he will ‘take anarchism with him’ to Paraguay.

<sup>247</sup> The most misjudged versions of this story can be found in Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*, 453-454 and Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 301-302. Fanelli’s importance was popularised in English by Brenan in *The Spanish Labyrinth*, 225-229. Brenan cites Lorenzo’s *El proletariado militante*, 38-44, as the basis for this account. Esenwein gives his own, better, version of the story in *Anarchist Ideology*, 14-17. The implausibility of this story, given that Fanelli spoke no Spanish and apparently ‘captivated his audiences through “expressive mimicry”’ (citing Lorenzo) is highlighted by P. Heywood, ‘The labour movement in Spain before 1914,’ in D. Geary, (ed.), *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe Before 1914*, (Oxford, 1989), 233.

<sup>248</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Excursión de propaganda,’ 97, (23/03/1901), 1; 98, (30/03/1901), 4; ‘Rifa internacional,’ 99, (06/04/1901), 2; ‘La excursión de propaganda,’ 114, (20/06/1901), 4; ‘Movimiento social: Gijón,’ 115, (27/07/1901), 3. Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 62, 341-341, n.199.

<sup>249</sup> The original plan for the tour was to visit Algeciras (6-7 September), La Línea de la Concepción (7-8); Los Barrios (9-10); Algeciras (11-12); Cádiz (13-14); San Fernando (15-16); Chicalana (17); Puerto Real (18-19); Jerez de la Frontera (20-21); Lebrija (22-23); Bornos (24-25); Grazalema (26-27); Montejaque (28-29); Marchena (30-31); Morón (1-2 October); Paradas (3-4); Sevilla (5-6); Carmona (7-8); Aznalcollar (9-10); Huelva (11-12); Manzanares (13-14); Arriate (15-16); Málaga (17-18); Granada (25). See S. Corrales and J. Castro, ‘Movimiento social: Jerez,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 173, (06/09/1902), 3. An extensive account of one such meeting in Cádiz is given in ‘El mitin de propaganda,’ *El Proletario: Suplemento al número 14*, (Cádiz, 1901), 2-3.

were broken up and cancelled, and Claramunt was arrested in Montejaque, Puerto Real and Sevilla.<sup>250</sup> Despite these difficulties the tour was seen as a great success by local anarchist press correspondents, some of whom were so inspired that they immediately began organising follow-up events and future tours.<sup>251</sup> A more extensive tour was organised by *Tierra y Libertad* in 1904, which included many of the most celebrated anarchists of the period and visited every region of Spain.<sup>252</sup> Distributing print was one of the most important functions of travelling individuals and tours.<sup>253</sup> ‘Able and enthusiastic propagandists’ such as Claramunt and Bonafulla could ‘plant the seed’ of anarchism in ‘fertile terrain,’ but the longer process of ‘germination’ required cultural markers such as printed materials, which gave anarchist ideas a presence after a propaganda tour had passed on.<sup>254</sup> After the speeches were over and the rallies had dispersed, periodicals and pamphlets ensured that new adherents had a material reference to anarchist ideas and a means to communicate with the wider movement.<sup>255</sup>

An example of this process comes from the Asturian port of Gijón, which became an area of significant anarchist support over the turn of the century.<sup>256</sup> The spread of anarchist ideas in the city has been attributed to the arrival of a Catalan metalworker, Ignacio Martín, in 1892. Martín is credited with single-handedly splitting the workers of Gijón into anarchist and socialist factions through his relentless proselytising in factories, taverns and workers’ centres.<sup>257</sup> Yet this ‘arrival’ of anarchist ideology was not enough to establish a lasting anarchist presence in Gijón. Anarchist activity remained ‘vague and sporadic,’ repressed during the 1890s and challenged by the growing strength of the socialist movement.<sup>258</sup> This situation improved after 1898, when the city saw a remarkable growth in socialist, anarchist and unaligned workers’ associations, which went hand-in-hand with renewed efforts to spread political literature.<sup>259</sup> Federico Urales, for example, visited the city in 1898 in order to encourage sales of his publications. Three years later the *Suplemento* boasted of its expanding

<sup>250</sup> *El Proletario*, (Cádiz): ‘Mitin en San Fernando,’ 13, (01/10/1902), 7; ‘Noticias,’ 13, (01/10/1902), 8; ‘Ultima Hora,’ 14, (15/10/1902), 8. González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 88-93.

<sup>251</sup> Gutiérrez Molina, *Diego R. Barbosa*, 24-26.

<sup>252</sup> ‘La excursión de propaganda,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 376, (14/04/1904), 1; ‘La excursión de propaganda,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 17, (14/04/1904), 1-2. See reports from the tour in both papers through the following months.

<sup>253</sup> ‘A sangre y fuego,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 13, (19/05/1906), 2 on the arrival of an ‘individual distributing libertarian pamphlets,’ in a town ‘very close to Tenerife’.

<sup>254</sup> ‘El Despetar,’ ‘Desde Sevilla,’ *El 4 de Febrero*, (Huelva), 1, (15/11/1902), 4. Santullano, ‘Prensa obrera en Asturias,’ 527.

<sup>255</sup> Herrerín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 168.

<sup>256</sup> On Gijón’s urbanisation and industrialisation in the late nineteenth century see Barrio Alonso, ‘Cultura del trabajo,’ 30-31, 50-51. Another example of the ‘spread’ of anarchism to new areas is given in Mintz, *The Anarchists*, 14-31. Anarchist papers were being sent to Casas Viejas since at least 1904, see ‘Correspondencia,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 8, (13/02/1904), 4.

<sup>257</sup> Santullano, ‘Prensa obrera en Asturias,’ 528.

<sup>258</sup> ‘Nuestra actitud,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 1, (11/11/1899), 1; Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias* 14, 20-22.

<sup>259</sup> Guereña, *Sociabilidad, cultura y educación*, 77-113.

readership in the city, and stated that more requests for anarchist pamphlets came from Asturias than any other province in Spain.<sup>260</sup>

Around the same time as Urales' visit, the first Asturian anarchist newspaper, *La Fraternidad*, was launched in Gijón, becoming the fortnightly *Fraternidad* in 1899.<sup>261</sup> This paper was one of the first to emerge in Spain following the repression of the mid-1890s. It soon gained prominence in the national movement, publishing contributions from both national figures (such as Lorenzo, Claramunt, Urales and Prat) and local anarchists, such as José Valdez, the president of the Gijón stone masons' guild, and the boot-maker Rogelio Fernández Fueyo ('Rogelín el Zapatero'), who used his workshop in Gijón as an anarchist school.<sup>262</sup> A succession of anarchist papers followed: *La Defensa del Obrero* (1901), *La Organización*, (1902), *El Perseguido*, (c.1903) and *Tiempos Nuevos*, (1905-1906). These initiatives cemented an anarchist presence in Gijón, from where it expanded into other areas in Asturias, such as the metallurgical centre of La Felguera.<sup>263</sup>

Similar processes were taking place across Spain over the turn of the century. Groups were formed, often launching new periodicals which marked their area out as new 'nodes' within the expanding geography of Spanish anarchism [see Map 2.1, compare with Map 1.1]. The upsurge in print was a key element of the movement's geographic expansion. Periodicals projected the local and regional concerns of anarchists into the national discourse of the movement. They also put new affiliates into contact with one another, creating a network in which groups and individuals shared experiences and joined in the collaborative construction of anarchist ideology and practice.<sup>264</sup> Yet one area remained absent from this upsurge in publishing activity. Repression lingered in Cataluña, making it difficult for groups to join the upsurge in anarchist publishing evident in the rest of Spain.<sup>265</sup> Aside from *La Protesta*'s brief stay in Sabadell (June-September 1900) and two workers' society papers, no anarchist newspaper appeared in Cataluña until *El Productor* was launched by Claramunt and Bonafulla in 1901.<sup>266</sup> After this point, however, Barcelona soon became the epicentre of anarchist

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<sup>260</sup> P. del Ruch, 'Los apóstoles...', *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 97, (23/03/1901), 2. Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 22-23.

<sup>261</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La Prensa Anarquista,' II.1, 424 & 435. Madrid Santos points out a discrepancy in the claim by Litvak (*Musa libertaria*, 214) that the first Asturian title was *Alma Negra* (and includes this title in the bibliography of papers consulted), which was in fact the pseudonym of the editor of *La Fraternidad* (Isidro Diez de la Torre).

<sup>262</sup> Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 214.

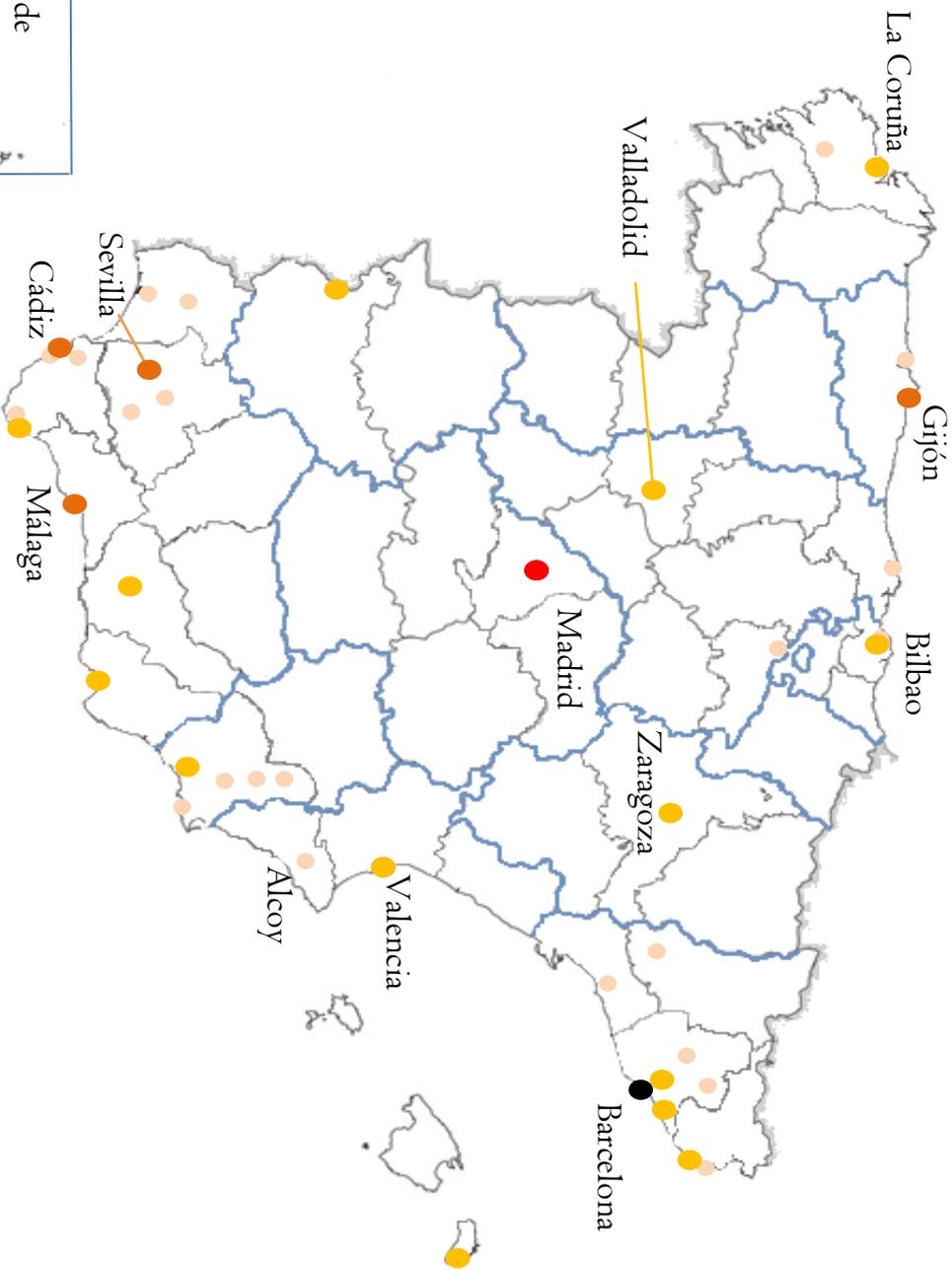
<sup>263</sup> Constitution of anarchist group in La Felguera, 'Noticias,' *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 25, (01/12/1900), 4.

<sup>264</sup> Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, 85-86.

<sup>265</sup> Romero Maura, *La rosa de fuego*, 204.

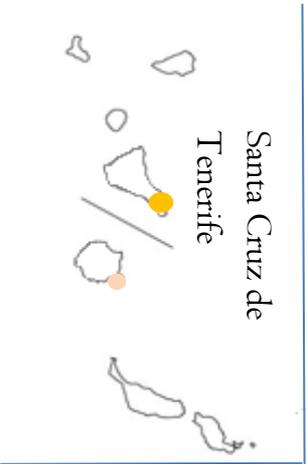
<sup>266</sup> 'Movimiento social: Barcelona,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, 111, (29/06/1901), 3. *El Productor*, (Gracia) was the product of the efforts of '13 groups of libertarians'. This group were behind numerous titles published in the city, including the three epochs of *El Productor* (1901-1902, 32 issues), (1902-1904, 90 issues), (1905-1906, 48 issues); *Buena Semilla*, (1905-1906, 24 issues) and *El Productor Literario*, (1906-1907, 42 issues) and numerous pamphlets and books.

Map 2.1: Areas of Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1899-1906



KEY  
 No. Titles  
 20-25  
 20-25  
 15-20  
 10-15  
 5-10  
 < 5

Provincial Boundary  
 Regional Boundary



Compiled from F. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1, 339-642 and author's own research  
 Modification of Blank Map of the Provinces of Spain (2005) by Kokoo, licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Adaptions to original permitted, but not endorsed by original author. Original map available at:  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces\\_of\\_Spain\\_%28Blank\\_map%29.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces_of_Spain_%28Blank_map%29.png) [accessed 03/12/2012]

publishing, and the movement in general.<sup>267</sup>

### Centres for Social Studies

As well as taking the message of the movement into new areas, anarchist propaganda groups aimed to cement their presence in local contexts. Many hoped to secure premises, or ‘locales of resistance,’ in which they could discuss, plan and conduct their activities, such as centres, libraries and meeting halls.<sup>268</sup> Various forms of associational bodies had developed in Spain through the nineteenth century: *casinos*, used predominantly for leisure; *ateneos*, institutions set up to provide popular education; *cooperativas*, where the members of the co-operative movement conducted their activities and *mutuas de socorros mutuos* (mutual assistance societies), which provided members with credit, basic medical provision and assistance following industrial accidents.<sup>269</sup> By the second half of the nineteenth century these local spaces were gradually being used for political purposes. Informal meeting places had been utilised by the anarchist movement since the 1870s, and had provided a bedrock for the movement during the early years of the Restoration.<sup>270</sup> In the 1880s the movement in Cataluña had established more formal spaces, yet these early initiatives ended in 1893 with the advent of anarchist terrorism and the repression which followed. The return and expansion of these efforts after 1899 formed a key component of the revitalisation of anarchism across the whole of Spain.

Outside Cataluña, anarchist spaces were often disputed, ephemeral and ramshackle affairs. They were often based within unused premises – such as a spare room in a tavern – or in communal centres also used by rival political groups.<sup>271</sup> To anarchists, locales were a form of *ateneo*, providing leisure space, education, exchange, and economic assistance, all operating according to rational, communal principles. These locales were, however, different to conventional *ateneos*, which were adjudged to promote the ‘bourgeoisification’ of the working class.<sup>272</sup> This was evident in the anarchist

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<sup>267</sup> Other notable papers from Cataluña in this period include *Salud y Fuerza*, (1904-1914, 61 issues); *La Huelga General*, (1901-1903, 21 issues), founded by Francisco Ferrer; *Natura* (1903-1905, 48 issues), edited by Anselmo Lorenzo and José Prat. See Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 150-152. For Bulffi and his publications see Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 109-158.

<sup>268</sup> For example in Sevilla, see González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 41. Goyens, ‘Social space,’ 439. Compare with anarchist experience in the US, in B.C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago’s Anarchists, 1870-1900*, (New Brunswick, NJ, 1988), 240-241: ‘without its club life...the ideology of that movement is unintelligent’.

<sup>269</sup> Ralle, ‘La sociabilidad obrera,’ 166-167; Gabriel, ‘Sociabilidad obrera,’ 147-148. An extensive bibliography of the historiography of sociability in Spain, by region, is provided in Motilla Salas, ‘Bases bibliográficas,’ 339-358.

<sup>270</sup> Herrerrín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 168-170.

<sup>271</sup> ‘Movimiento social: Gijón,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 5, (17/06/1899), 3; see also the early ‘mixed’ nature of the Oviedo workers’ centre, *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II: A. García, ‘Para comenzar,’ 6, (20/01/1900), 3 and V. Huergo and A. García Suárez, ‘Una carta,’ 12, (21/04/1900) 3-4. See also Guereña, ‘European influences,’ 29 and Herrerrín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 170.

<sup>272</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): A. Lorenzo, ‘Todavía la cooperación!’, 4, (10/06/1899), 2; J. Bisbal, ‘Imposibilidad moral y material de establecer talleres colectivos en la sociedad presente,’ 82, (08/12/1900), 2. On popular libraries see A. Viñao Frago, ‘A la cultura por la lectura: Las bibliotecas populares

critique of the literature offered by ‘traditional’ spaces of sociability, which were full of ‘rank’ popular fiction and the works of liberal theorists, rather than ‘the recent works of French positivists or English sociologists, or the eternal scientific and philosophic reflections of Germans’.<sup>273</sup> Rather than *ateneos*, anarchists called their spaces ‘Centres for Social Studies,’ reflecting the movement’s post-1899 emphasis on education. This term also set them apart from the socialist ‘centros obreros’ and ‘casas del pueblo’, which were also proliferating at this time.<sup>274</sup>

Centres and locales formed the backbone of anarchist cultural infrastructure in a locality, providing ‘platforms of reunion and meeting, exchanges of experiences, education and instruction’.<sup>275</sup> They were used for communal practices and celebrations, such as naming ceremonies, civil marriages, and wakes.<sup>276</sup> They could also provide something of a refuge, where trusted comrades could form a parallel community, in which anarchism could be practised ‘as if they actually lived in a world they would wish to live in’.<sup>277</sup> At times, locales were also places where illegal activity could be planned and carried out, as well as a place where an anarchist community could reconstitute itself following periods of repression.<sup>278</sup> Anarchist centres proliferated across Spain over the turn of the century, both in areas of traditional anarchist support, such as the provinces of Sevilla and Cádiz, and in areas that had previously been largely absent from the movement, such as Córdoba, Santander, Baracaldo, Badajoz, Cartagena, Huelva, Tenerife, Elche, and Marbella. Together these locales formed the physical markers of a new, post-1899 geography of Spanish anarchism.<sup>279</sup> While the movement still drew the bulk of its support from Cataluña and south-west Andalucía, these scattered, often isolated, spaces became centres of gravity for anarchist practice in almost every province in Spain. Many maintained lasting pockets of anarchist support well into the twentieth century.<sup>280</sup>

Centres were not regarded as places that separated the movement from the outside world. Anarchism was intended to look outwards, creating an ‘alternative geography’ between and beyond

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(1869-1885),’ J.L. Guereña and A. Tiana Ferrer, (eds.), *Clases populares, cultura, educación: Siglos XIX-XX*, (Madrid, 1989), 301-335.

<sup>273</sup> ‘Charivari,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 7, (15/02/1903), 4.

<sup>274</sup> Guereña, ‘Las casas del pueblo y la educación obrera a principios del siglo XX,’ *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 51.2, (1991), 655-657.

<sup>275</sup> Navarro Navarro, *Ateneos y grupos*, 13.

<sup>276</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Movimiento social: Jerez,’ 129, (02/11/1901), 31; ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 135, (14/12/1901), 2; ‘En San Fernando: Electra, Alianza, Salud,’ *La Razón Obrera*, (Cádiz), 11, (30/11/1901), 2;

<sup>277</sup> Goyens, ‘Social space,’ 451.

<sup>278</sup> For example see role of ‘Germinal’ centre in La Coruña: ‘Crónica social,’ *La Humanidad Libre*, (Valencia), 1, (01/02/1902), 4; Group ‘Luz y progreso’ [Linares], ‘La enseñanza racionalista: A los padres,’ *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 16, (04/03/1905), 2. Capelán, *Da violencia*, 36-37; 115-118; 121-122.

<sup>279</sup> In Sevilla, 10 centres were formed between 1903 and 1905, see González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 88. On the spread of anarchism in Tenerife, demonstrated by the two educational centres in the city see ‘¡Signos de los tiempos!’, *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 9, (17/02/1906), 4.

<sup>280</sup> For example, anarchist centres in Huelva, Algeciras and Córdoba confirmed their continuing adherence to the movement and by sending representatives to the early CNT congresses, see *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 83: ‘Congreso obrero nacional,’ 39, (04/11/1910), 1 and ‘Confederación Nacional de Trabajo...,’ (08/09/1911), 1 and 84, (15/09/1911), 1.

their centres.<sup>281</sup> For example, the Manzanares (Ciudad Real) workers' centre –formed in October 1899 to provide 'education...without any form of political colour' – kept in constant contact with anarchist periodicals. Once established, this centre wanted to form lasting bonds with other centres in Ciudad Real, and help in the spread of anarchist locales.<sup>282</sup> Similar calls for nation-wide networks of locales were common in the anarchist press.<sup>283</sup> Anarchist spaces were to be used and celebrated because they provided the potential for something more: an anarchism that looked outwards, which was encouraged and assisted by the anarchist press. Once created, a locale formed a hub through which the anarchist press would be distributed.<sup>284</sup> Press articles were often recited during conferences, as at the opening of the new Bilbao Centre for Social Studies in 1904, where an article on the value of education published in *La Revista Blanca* was read aloud, alongside a collection of poems and a short play.<sup>285</sup>

The presence of printed material inscribed spaces with an anarchist significance and meaning, transforming a room into a library.<sup>286</sup> Groups often sent in requests to newspapers for back issues, so that their library had a complete collection on offer to those visiting.<sup>287</sup> Special issues printed to mark certain dates were particularly valuable to such collections, a fact noticed in *La Protesta*, which in 1899 printed 300 extra copies of its commemorative 11 November edition 'on good quality paper'.<sup>288</sup> Libraries were not solely places to visit; they also acted as distribution centres, as in the 'Biblioteca de pedagogía' in Bilbao, which aimed to supply schools across Spain with anarchist 'sociological' literature.<sup>289</sup> Libraries identified centres as sites of learning, and were often the first step towards creating the most cherished anarchist space of all: the school.

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<sup>281</sup> Goyens, 'Social space,' 448. This is one of the features of the Spanish anarchist movement which distinguished it from its European and North American contemporaries. Support for the movement in Spain was vastly greater than, for example, the German anarchist presence in New York, or the anarchist exile communities in London. See T. Goyens., *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914*, (Urbana, IL, 2007) and C. Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation, 1880-1914*, (Liverpool, 2013).

<sup>282</sup> 'Movimiento social: Manzanares,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 21, (07/10/1899), 4; 32, (23/12/1899), 4; 33, (30/12/1899), 4; 49, (21/04/1900), 4; 52, (12/05/1900), 3; 60, (07/06/1900), 3; 78, (10/11/1900), 2; 79, (17/11/1900), 3; 110, (22/06/1901), 3.

<sup>283</sup> 'Movimiento social: Cádiz,' and 'Movimiento Social: Jerez,' both *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 98, (30/03/1901), 2; '...Centro de Estudios Sociales de Bilbao,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 19, (28/04/1904), 4.

<sup>284</sup> The 'Germinal' centre and its library was a large distributor of pamphlets across Spain and to other countries such as Cuba. See for example the distribution of the pamphlet *Opiniones de los maestros...* in 'Correspondencia administrativa,' *Germinal*, (La Coruña), 13, (21/01/1905), 4 and 14, (04/02/1905), 4.

<sup>285</sup> López, 'En Bilbao,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 14, (24/03/1904), 4. Article read was S. Gustavo, 'De la enseñanza,' *La Revista Blanca*, 136, (15/02/1904), 481-485.

<sup>286</sup> Goyens, 'Social space,' 451-452; Herrerín López, 'Anarchist sociability,' 164; Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 9,13. For a comparison with these small-scale libraries and that of the UGT-affiliated Society of Cabinetmakers and Associated Trades based in Madrid, see Monguió, 'Una biblioteca obrera,' 154-173.

<sup>287</sup> 'Dichos y hechos,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 79, (17/11/1900), 4; 'Noticias varias,' *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 81, (12/04/1901), 4; I. Ibarra, 'Grupo "Sociología",' *La Protesta*, (Madrid), 2, (11/08/1901), 3.

<sup>288</sup> 'Importante,' *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 17, (24/11/1899), 3-4.

<sup>289</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 'Dichos y hechos,' 57, (16/06/1900), 3; 'Movimiento social: Zaragoza,' 62, (21/06/1900), 3; 'Movimiento social: Cádiz,' 84, (22/12/1900), 2.

## Modern Schools

Prior to 1899, the ‘integral’ education and advanced pedagogy called for by anarchist educational theory was an ambitious and largely unachievable goal.<sup>290</sup> Educators wishing to implement such innovative methods usually found employment in secular or ‘free-thinking’ schools, often run by republicans, where they could ‘combine the cause of popular education with their need to earn a living’.<sup>291</sup> These schools suffered during the 1890s. Although not ‘anarchist’ in name, many – including the school where Urales worked in Reus (Tarragona) – were seen as centres of sedition and forced to close.<sup>292</sup> After 1899, however, anarchist educators again started to put their ideas into practice and began founding their own schools. The term ‘school’ encompassed a wide range of establishments, from rooms within a centre (here named ‘local schools’), which offered occasional, rudimentary classes in basic skills, to large, well-established institutions which aimed realise the ideas of integral education.

By far the most prestigious and celebrated school founded in this period was Francisco Ferrer’s Escuela Moderna, which opened in Barcelona on 8 September 1901.<sup>293</sup> The Escuela was ‘neither the first nor the most distinguished’ of its kind in Spain, nor was Ferrer ‘a theorist, [or] a conceiver of new ideas’.<sup>294</sup> Yet his school quickly became a symbol of the ‘modern’ schooling called for by anarchists across the country. By 1905, 126 students of both sexes were enrolled in the Escuela, receiving an education which imparted ‘the positive value of education, progress and social equality, and the negative value of the government, property, religion, the army...and bull-fighting’ by a mixture of freethinkers, masons, radical republicans and anarchists.<sup>295</sup> The school was an elite institution. Despite Ferrer’s desire for ‘co-education of the social classes’ none of the school’s intake were the children of the working class, who could not afford the monthly fees of 15 pesetas.<sup>296</sup> The exclusive nature of the school drew criticism from other radical educators, as did its curriculum, which was seen as a means to indoctrinate students with anarchist ideology. For educators outside the movement, the Escuela was ‘little more than a well-financed and organised version of the “nurseries of revolutionaries” established by anarchists in the 1870s and 1880s. Ferrer’s ‘innovative’ methods promoted a ‘perversion’ of rational education:’ ‘maths problems, for example, illustrated principles of economic distribution...a field trip in 1904 to a chemical factory in Badalona was followed by a

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<sup>290</sup> A. Tiana Ferrer, ‘La idea enseñanza integral en el movimiento obrero internacionalista español, 1868-1881,’ *Historia de la Educación*, 2, (1983), 113-121; Herrerín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 164.

<sup>291</sup> Boyd, ‘The anarchists and education,’ 138-141.

<sup>292</sup> Urales, *Mi vida*, I, 54-56, 104.

<sup>293</sup> J. Avilés Farré, *Francisco Ferrer y Guardia: Pedagogo, anarquista y mártir*, (Madrid, 2006), 17-99. For Ferrer’s account of the school’s inauguration see F. Ferrer, *The Origins and Ideas of the Modern School*, trans. J. McCabe, (New York, NY, 1913), 25-32.

<sup>294</sup> Avrich, *The Modern School Movement*, 19; Lida, ‘Educación anarquista,’ 41.

There are many notices of similar schools opening in Spain in the anarchist press prior to 1901, for example, ‘Movimiento social: Sestao,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 52, (12/05/1900), 4.

<sup>295</sup> Boyd, ‘The anarchists and education,’ 149.

<sup>296</sup> Ferrer, *Origins and Ideas*, 44-46; Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 97; Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, 81.

lecture on the evils of capitalism'.<sup>297</sup> Other progressive educators, such as those of the ILE, 'remained aloof' from the Escuela and shunned Ferrer, seeing him as 'an agitator who was exploiting the cause of education'.<sup>298</sup> The Escuela was also seen as a 'betrayal' of free education by some within the anarchist movement, who saw it as no better than the indoctrination which took place in religious schools. Advocates of free education, such as Ricardo Mella, saw Ferrer as an ideologue, who had abandoned 'neutrality' in education in order to teach anarchist 'doctrine' and 'dogma'.<sup>299</sup> For Mella, children should not be forced to follow the principles of anarchism, but rather should be given a 'free, scientific education,' through which they would be given the power to reason for themselves, 'and if [they believe], as we believe, the fundamental truth of anarchism, they will become anarchists...through free choice, through their own conviction, not because we have moulded them'.<sup>300</sup> This dispute reveals, once again, the problematic question of leadership within the anarchist movement. While Ferrer undoubtedly used his school to spread anarchist ideas to his students, it is difficult to see how Mella expected 'neutral' education to avoid this issue, given that what he understood as 'free thinking' aligned closely to his conception of anarchism. As with the Jerez uprising in 1892 and the disputes which emerged in later years over organisation, putting education into practice raised concerns about leadership which were never fully resolved, revealing a tension between the ideal of 'free' education and 'manipulative' indoctrination.

Despite these problems, the Escuela Moderna was a substantial achievement and stands as the high-point of the movement's educational programme. Ferrer's school was an inspiration for many within the movement, prompting the formation of groups such as the 'Trabajo y Voluntad' educational group in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, which aimed to 'adopt the same [methods and procedures] as the Escuela Moderna of Barcelona'.<sup>301</sup> Numerous other modern schools opened in the wake of the Escuela, predominantly in Cataluña. By Pere Solà's data, 44 secular and rational schools opened in Spain in the following decade, 24 of which were in the province of Barcelona and a further six in the provinces of Tarragon and Gerona (both Cataluña), some of which were direct branches of the original Escuela.<sup>302</sup> The strength of the Modern School movement in Cataluña was demonstrated on Good Friday (April 12) 1906, when Ferrer led a procession of 1,700 children to the Tibiada Park on the outskirts of Barcelona, where they held a picnic and 'secular commemorative exercises'.<sup>303</sup>

Ferrer's reputation as a pioneer of radical education was not cemented by the success of the Escuela, but by its collapse, and his later martyrdom. In 1906, Mateo Morral, an employee at the

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<sup>297</sup> Boyd, 'The anarchists and education,' 150-151.

<sup>298</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 100.

<sup>299</sup> Mellas views were expressed years later in the series 'El problema de la enseñanza,' in *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), for example see 5, (16/12/1910), 1. See also Tiana Ferrer, 'The workers' movement,' 682.

<sup>300</sup> 'El problema de la enseñanza: Ratificación,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 11, (27/01/1911), 1.

<sup>301</sup> 'Trabajo y voluntad,' *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 7, (27/01/1906), 3

<sup>302</sup> P. Solà i Gussinyer, *Las escuelas racionalistas en Cataluña, 1909-1939*, (Barcelona, 1976), 203-204, 208-209.

<sup>303</sup> Boyd, 'The anarchists and education,' 155.

Escuela Moderna, attempted to assassinate King Alfonso XIII.<sup>304</sup> Ferrer was accused of conspiring with Morral and was arrested. Although Ferrer was eventually absolved, his school was permanently closed.<sup>305</sup> Three years later, Ferrer was executed after being found guilty of the (unconvincing) charge of having orchestrated the Barcelona Tragic Week. He was immediately made a martyr by freethinking circles across Europe and the Americas, which elevated his work in the previous decade to almost mythical status.<sup>306</sup> He has since been the main – and often only – subject of study for historians of anarchist education in turn-of-the-century Spain.<sup>307</sup> Yet when the school opened in 1901 Ferrer was far from well-known within the movement. *El Porvenir del Obrero* was one of the few papers to give the school significant attention, after Mir i Mir took a tour of the premises, which left him feeling ‘stronger, with a more optimistic concept of the future’.<sup>308</sup> In contrast, only two references to the Escuela were published in the *Suplemento* in 1901, and neither Ferrer nor his school were mentioned in *El Obrero* (Badajoz), *La Defensa del Obrero* (Gijón), *La Solidaridad Ferroviaria* (Madrid) or *La Razón Obrera* (Cádiz).<sup>309</sup> The Escuela received slightly more attention in the second paper of the movement, *La Protesta*, which was particularly interested in the school’s monthly journal *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*.<sup>310</sup> *La Protesta* was keen to advertise the arrival of each new issue of the *Boletín*, each one ‘better than the last, if that is possible’ and highly recommended ‘to all lovers of true education’.<sup>311</sup> *La Protesta* was also keen to stress the value of the textbooks and pamphlets produced by Ferrer’s printing house, the ‘forty...compact, red-covered volumes ranging from primers of arithmetic and grammar to popular introductions to the natural and social sciences and serious

<sup>304</sup> Sanabria, *Republicanism*, 102-106; Masjuan, *Mateo Morral*, 177-234

<sup>305</sup> ‘Por la justicia,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 16, (24/12/1906), 4. Avilés, *Francisco Ferrer*, 167-193; D. Laqua, ‘Freethinkers, anarchists and Francisco Ferrer: The making of a transnational solidarity campaign,’ *European Review of History*, 21.4, (2014), 475.

<sup>306</sup> P. Solà i Gussinyer, ‘Los grupos del magisterio racionalista en Argentina y Uruguay hacia 1910 y sus actitudes ante la enseñanza laica oficial,’ *Historia de la Educación*, 1, (1982), 234-237; K.R. Shaffer, ‘Freedom teaching: Anarchism and education in early republican Cuba, 1898-1925,’ *The Americas*, 60.2, (2003), 161-165; M. Thomas, ‘“No-one telling us what to do”: Anarchist schools in Britain, 1890-1916,’ *Historical Research*, 77.197, (2004), 417-419.

<sup>307</sup> Lida, ‘Educación anarquista,’ 41-42; ‘Solà i Gussinyer, ‘...Ferrer Guardia,’ 49-75.

Recent studies (many timed to coincide with the centenary of Ferrer’s death) include smeneN. Muro Dominguez, *La enseñanza en la escuela moderna de Francisco Ferrer y Guardia. Barcelona (1901-1906)*, (Burgos, 2009); A. Pala, D. Marin and V. Molina, *Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia: escrits polítics i pedagògics: Entre la política i la pedagogia*, (Barcelona, 2010).

<sup>308</sup> J. Mir y Mir, ‘Crónica: Nuevas impresiones: La Escuela Moderna,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 71, (06/09/1901), 1.

<sup>309</sup> *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): ‘Dichos y hechos,’ 119, (24/08/1901); ‘Movimiento social: Barcelona,’ 134, (07/12/1901), 3.

<sup>310</sup> Avrich, *The Modern School Movement*, 24; Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 163-164.

<sup>311</sup> *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): ‘Bibliografía,’ 109, (21/11/1901), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ 114, (26/12/1901), 4; see also ‘Dichos y Hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 135, (14/12/1901), 2; notice of new edition of *Boletín* in *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 14, (23/06/1906), 1. On the publications of the Escuela see Avrich, *The Modern School Movement*, 22-23; Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 162-164; Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 12-13; Litvak, *Musa libertaria*, 278-279 On an early publication of the school, written by Jacquinet see Avilés Farré, *Francisco Ferrer*, 114-116. See prior notice on the need for secular textbooks in ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 81, (01/12/1900), 4.

treatise on geography, sociology and anthropology'.<sup>312</sup> Most of these works were French translations, including the anti-war reading primer *Patriotism and Colonisation*, which contained hundreds of anti-militarist quotes from European thinkers such as Voltaire and prominent anarchist writers such as Elise Reclus.<sup>313</sup> The most well-known publication of the school was *The Adventures of Nono* by Jean Grave (trans. Anselmo Lorenzo), in which a small child embarked upon a series of 'laboriously allegorical experiences' through the fantasy world of 'Autonomy' – where animals talk and the people are free, happy and good – and the miserable land of 'Agriocracy,' ruled over by a despotic King, capitalism, the military and the police.<sup>314</sup> When the book appeared in early 1902 it was well received by the anarchist press. *Tierra y Libertad*, for example, said that it was a 'beauty'.<sup>315</sup> The book was very popular in the Escuela itself, and went through at least six editions over the following ten years.<sup>316</sup> The Escuela maintained a presence in the movement through these publications, which carried Ferrer's ideas to areas outside Barcelona where few had access to the type of advanced schooling he offered.<sup>317</sup> In subsequent years, many publishing groups followed the example of the Escuela and began to supply schools and centres with textbooks. The 'Archivo Social' in Tenerife, for example, offered a range of books at a discount price for anarchist centres, including the complete works of Victor Hugo, histories of France and ancient Greece, biology textbooks, and a biography of Garibaldi.<sup>318</sup>

Outside Cataluña, followers of Ferrer began to open Modern Schools only after the original Barcelona Escuela was closed. In 1907 a new Escuela Moderna opened in Valencia, in a modest building (c.150m<sup>2</sup>), consisting of a single large classroom and a small adjacent library.<sup>319</sup> The school was run by Samuel Torner, a *mallorquín* educator who had previously worked with Ferrer in Barcelona.<sup>320</sup> Like the Barcelona Escuela, it offered co-education and rejected examinations. Although its curriculum had much in common with other schools – offering languages, mathematics, geography, history and the sciences – it also provided courses in manual work, agricultural labour and

<sup>312</sup> E. Álvarez, 'Un libro,' *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 105, (24/10/1901), 1-2. W. Archer, *The Life, Trial and Death of Francisco Ferrer*, (London, 1911), 39.

<sup>313</sup> *Patriotismo y colonización: Cual es la patria del pobre?: Tercer libro de lectura*, preface by E. Reclus, (Barcelona, 1904).

<sup>314</sup> A summary of the story is given in Archer, *Francisco Ferrer*, 39-49.

<sup>315</sup> F 'Dichos y hechos,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 141, (25/01/1902), 3.

<sup>316</sup> F. Ferrer, preface to J. Grave, *Las aventuras de Nono: Segundo libro de lectura*, trans. A. Lorenzo, (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Barcelona, 1908), 2; Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 192.

<sup>317</sup> *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife): 'Trabajo y voluntad,' 7, (27/01/1906), 3; 'Libro importante,' 13, (19/05/1906), 4; 'Bibliografías,' 14, (23/06/1906), 3; 'Publicaciones de la Escuela Moderna,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 28, (30/06/1904), 4.

<sup>318</sup> *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife): 'Archivo social,' 10, (17/03/1906), 4 and 'Nuestra biblioteca,' 14, (23/06/1906), 4. See also request for 'books and catalogues of free education' sent by a group in Granada wishing to create a school 'to educate their children free of prejudices,' *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 97, (29/08/1901), 4.

<sup>319</sup> Lázaro Lorente, *Escuela Moderna de Valencia*, 106-113, see 100 for a plan of the school.

<sup>320</sup> 'Movimiento social: Barcelona,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 128, (26/10/1901), 4.

Tiana Ferrer, 'The workers' movement,' 681; Lázaro Lorente, *Escuela Moderna de Valencia*, 123-137, 313-314 and *Las escuelas racionalistas*, 13-14, 32-33.

physical education, which were not common school subjects, even amongst other radical educational institutions.<sup>321</sup> Toner made efforts to make his school more inclusive than the Barcelona Escuela, and, like Ricardo Mella, he believed that the Ferrer had been overly dogmatic in his educational approach and sought a more ‘neutral’ method of schooling.<sup>322</sup> Although teaching was suspended on a number of occasions, the Valencia Escuela continued as the most tangible example of the programme advocated by Ferrer until its closure in 1926.

A year after the school opened Torner’s periodical *Humanidad Nueva* released a special issue dedicated to the Modern Schools, honouring the Barcelona Escuela and Ferrer for having ‘inaugurated a new education, whose expansion could not be halted’.<sup>323</sup> This issue contained reports on over 20 ‘modern’ and ‘rational’ schools which had been founded across Spain, including letters from school directors and photographs of students. Although the majority were based in Cataluña, above all in Barcelona, a handful of schools were founded in other areas, such as Zaragoza, Algeciras and Cullera (Valencia). Like Toner, many of those who ran these schools were self-declared anarchists, including Federico Forcada, who ran schools in Irún (Gipuzkoa) and Valladolid, and José Sánchez Rosa, who founded the ‘Agrupación Escolar de Enseñanza Racionalista’ in Aznalcollár (Sevilla) in 1905.<sup>324</sup> Many of these small schools were affected by legislation passed by the Ministry of Public Education in January 1907, which sought to regulate and inspect primary education.<sup>325</sup> Sánchez Rosa’s school, for example, was deemed unfit for purpose and was closed, although he continued to provide lessons in the homes of local workers.<sup>326</sup> The movement also continued to produce educational literature in the style of Ferrer’s publishing house. From 1909 onwards Sánchez Rosa began to produce his own educational pamphlets on subjects such as arithmetic and grammar, which became ‘almost obligatory for any workers’ centre of libertarian tendencies’.<sup>327</sup> Similarly, other educators began to produce educational periodicals in the manner of the *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*, most notably Toner’s *Humanidad Nueva* and *Escuela Moderna* (Valencia, 1910-1911, 71 issues), and Forcada’s *La Enseñanza Moderna*, (Irún, 1908-1909, 9 issues), *La Enseñanza Moderna* (Valladolid, 1910, 3 issues) and *Escuela Libre*, (Valladolid, 1911, 3 issues).<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>321</sup> Lázaro Lorente, *Escuela Moderna de Valencia*, 197-208.

<sup>322</sup> Tiana Ferrer, ‘The workers’ movement,’ 681-682.

<sup>323</sup> S. Torner, ‘Vida,’ and P. Javal, ‘Escuela Moderna de Valencia,’ *Extraordinario de Humanidad Nueva*, (Valencia, 1907), 2 and 5.

<sup>324</sup> A. Hernández Franco, ‘Federico Forcada y la escuela moderna: educación, política y laicismo en el Irún de principios de siglo XX,’ *Boletín de estudios del Bidasoa*, 25, (2007), 9-70; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 64; Estebaranz, *Anarquismo vasco*, 50.

<sup>325</sup> A. Viñao Frago, *Escuela para todos: educación y modernidad en la España del siglo XX*, (Madrid, 2004), 23-24.

<sup>326</sup> Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 63-64.

<sup>327</sup> Sánchez Rosa was keen to stress how valuable the textbooks and journal of Ferrer’s school had been in his work, see J. Sánchez Rosa, ‘Compañeros de “Humanidad Nueva”’: Salud,’ *Extraordinario de Humanidad Nueva*, 6.

<sup>328</sup> Both *La Enseñanza Moderna* and *Escuela Libre* were published in Valladolid after Forcada moved to the city in 1910. The latter was the organ of the local Ateneo Obrero Sindicalista, proclaiming itself ‘rationalists in

## Local Schools

The relative success of the Escuela Moderna of Barcelona was not typical. Many of the elements which made the Escuela possible – international links, available space, and assistance of experienced, radical educators – were not available to other educational centres. Outside Cataluña, most anarchist ‘schools’ were little more than rooms, with ‘no equipment or trained personnel’.<sup>329</sup> These rooms were frequently used for other purposes. In Ronda (Málaga), the local anarchist educational centre was shared with the local bakers and quarrymen, while in Cádiz a school for the children of local workers was based in the meeting room of the city’s metalworkers’ society.<sup>330</sup> Other anarchist ‘schools’ and ‘centres’ were spaces within larger educational establishments, such as the ‘Centre for Social Studies’ founded within the La Coruña secular school in 1901-1902, and the ‘Mundo Libre’ centre in Langreo (Asturias) – where ‘all the children of the pueblo can learn what is good and what is sane’ – which was based within the larger republican *ateneo*.<sup>331</sup>

The movement’s periodicals were crucial in establishing support for new educational spaces. One project for a school in Cádiz attracted support from almost all the leading anarchists in Spain following a campaign published in the city’s anarchist papers *El Proletario* and *Germinal*.<sup>332</sup> These papers also published messages of support from figures from across Europe, including former Commune Louise Michel (then in London), the sociologist Augustin Hamón (Neuilly-Sur-Seine) and historian Dr Konrad Haebler (Dresden). Again, this emphasises the importance of print to the functioning of the movement. Without *El Proletario* and *Germinal*, the Cádiz school project would have been isolated from potential support in Spain and abroad. Yet the city’s anarchist press ensured that the ambitions of local activists were plugged into a network of like-minded individuals, who shared an appreciation of education as a revolutionary tactic and wanted to see it put into practice wherever possible.

Figures involved in publishing frequently helped to set up and run schools, employing their skills in written propaganda to assist with educational activity. Both publishers and teachers had to have a good level of literacy, and the ability to comprehend and communicate complex ideas to uneducated audiences. Teachers and publishers were also important figures in local contexts, and performed multiple roles within anarchist communities. For example, the commission for the La Coruña educational centre was led by Enrique Taboada, the secretary of the local sailors’ union, who

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pedagogy and stanch syndicalists in workers’ questions,’ see Editorial, ‘A los Obreros,’ *Escuela Libre*, (Valladolid), 1, (15/02/1911), 1. See also Solà i Gussinyer, *Las escuelas racionalistas*, 53-54.

<sup>329</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 98; Boyd, ‘The anarchists and education,’ 154.

<sup>330</sup> *El Proletario*, (Cádiz): ‘Noticias,’ 8, (15/06/1902), 8; ‘Movimiento obrero: Ronda,’ 12, (15/09/1902), 8; ‘Lo sociedad de hierro y demás metales,’ and ‘Noticias,’ 2, (15/04/1902), 7-8; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 52.

<sup>331</sup> E.T. [Enrique Taboada], ‘Desde La Coruña,’ *La Razón Obrera*, (Cádiz), 13, (14/12/1901), 1-2; L. Barrio Montoto, ‘Desde Langreo: Abusos en una empresa,’ *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 2, (08/12/1905), 3.

<sup>332</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 20, (16/01/1903), 8; ‘Escuela laica de Cádiz,’ *Germinal*, (Cádiz), 1, (24/03/1903), 7-8.

also worked on the editorial of the city's 'Biblioteca El Sol' and was a co-founder of both the 'Biblioteca La Internacional' (1911-1914) and the 'Biblioteca Aurora'.<sup>333</sup> Urales, a former teacher himself, left *Tierra y Libertad* in the hands of two secular teachers, Francisco Sola and Abelardo Saavedra.<sup>334</sup> Both men later moved to Cuba, where they became important figures in the island's anarchist educational movement.<sup>335</sup> The Basque correspondent Vicente García also ran a free school in Sestao (Vizcaya) in 1900, which was based in the local republican *ateneo* before moving to a more suitable and 'hygienic' building.<sup>336</sup> Despite having no background in education, García made do with his 'will to teach' and subscription to educational journals. Formal training was unnecessary, or even a burden to educators like García, as the anarchist conception of education was much broader and less tangible than that of the formal education system. Rather than expertise, such educators depended on conviction, true belief, and a steady supply of anarchist print.<sup>337</sup> The connection between publishers and teachers continued in the following years. For example, Eleuterio Quintanilla – a key figure in the Asturian CNT until the Civil War – taught languages and ran the library of the Gijón *ateneo* from 1904 onwards, before publishing a string of papers in the city, including *Tribuna Libre* (1909), *Acción Libertaria* (1910-1911; 1915-1916) and *El Libertario* (1912-1913).<sup>338</sup>

Reports of these schools in the press often contained only small snippets of information, making it difficult to reconstruct a thorough account of local anarchist schooling.<sup>339</sup> Reports on schools usually discussed one-off events, as when 200 students in Algeciras were visited by the pardoned prisoners of the 1892 Jerez uprising. The students reportedly met these 'martyrs' with cries of '*¡viva la acracia!*' and entertained their guests with speeches against religion, and were rewarded with sweets from their teachers for this demonstration of their 'good education'.<sup>340</sup> While such teaching methods were regarded by critics of the movement as indoctrination, for local anarchist educators it was liberation, as it provided children with the foundations for a 'scientific,' critical mentality. Without more detailed sources it is hard to evaluate the quality of education provided in

<sup>333</sup> 'Movimiento social: La Coruña,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 133, (30/11/1901), 3; 'Notas sueltas,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 3, (09/01/1904), 3. Taboada was arrested in 1905 because of his anarchist activities in the city and was assaulted in prison, see 'Ecos proletarios: La Coruña,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), [New Series], 5, (13/01/1905), 4. Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 29, 33 n.42, 348, 389.

<sup>334</sup> J.L. Guzmán García, *Perfiles en el olvido del anarquismo en Canarias: Francisco González Sola (1870-1934)*, (Madrid/Tenerife, 2009), 21-24.

<sup>335</sup> Shaffer, 'Freedom teaching,' 5-6; Guzmán García, *Francisco González Sola*, 24-32.

<sup>336</sup> 'Movimiento social: Sestao,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 52, (12/05/1900), 4 and 67, (25/08/1900), 3. Estebaranz, *Anarquismo vasco*, 37.

<sup>337</sup> V. García, 'Juan Benejam,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 326, (26/10/1912), 2. In this respect García was closer to earlier anarchist educators than those of the 'Modern Schools,' see Lida, 'Eduación anarquista,' 41.

<sup>338</sup> R. Álvarez, *Eleuterio Quintanilla: (Vida y obra del maestro): Contribución a la historia del sindicalismo revolucionario en Asturias*, (México City, 1973), 19-21.

<sup>339</sup> For example *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 'Dares y tomares,' [school in Elche], , 85, (29/12/1900), 2 and 'Movimiento social: Granada,' 88, (19/01/1901), 3.

<sup>340</sup> J. Sánchez Rosa, 'Los condenados en Jerez,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 95, (09/03/1901), 2. Notice of the inauguration of the school, 'Noticias,' *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 4, (23/12/1899), 4.

these local contexts. The blanket condemnation of anarchist schools as ‘centres of sedition’ by their critics overlooks the real benefits that this education could have on the lives of working class children, particularly in areas where access to any form of schooling was limited.<sup>341</sup> On the other hand, reports in the anarchist press also exaggerated the impact of these schools on the ‘moral’ (education as a political strategy, designed to pass on anarchist ideology) and ‘material’ (education as the teaching of practical skills, such as literacy) development of their students. If the reports in the press claiming that hundreds of children attended these schools are to be believed, the movement may have expected illiteracy rates to plummet and anarchist ideology to be hegemonic in localities all over the country within a generation. This did not occur.<sup>342</sup> It likely that far fewer students attended these schools than was reported, and those that did attend received an education which was never as straightforward as either enlightenment or indoctrination.

One of the better-documented schools was based in the Centre for Social Studies in La Línea de la Concepción (Cádiz), a large town of around 40,000 on the Spanish border with Gibraltar.<sup>343</sup> At the turn of the century a series of initiatives in La Línea caught the attention of Ernesto Álvarez, who was at that time was living in Valladolid. Álvarez was particularly interested in the local workers’ centre, (founded in 1898), which was dominated by anarchist workers’ societies and 70 members of a local ‘feminist section’.<sup>344</sup> Álvarez’s *La Protesta* praised the work of the centre in improving the moral condition of the La Línea workers, particularly in reducing alcohol consumption and petty crime.<sup>345</sup> In 1901 the centre opened a school within its premises, which was inaugurated by poetry readings and the unveiling of portraits of Fermín Salvochea and Emile Zola, alongside a large banner bearing the frontispiece of the *Suplemento* [Plate 2.2]. Lectures were given by local comrades on subjects such as God, State and Capital, and the history of the ‘supposed’ Mano Negra (which was greeted with cries of ‘¡Viva la Anarquía!’). Within hours it was impossible to enter the building, where a large crowd had gathered, including ‘numerous representatives of the feminine sex’.<sup>346</sup>

<sup>341</sup> Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, 83-84.

<sup>342</sup> Illiteracy in Spain did decrease in the following decades, although in 1920 it remained high by European standards (52.3 per cent), particularly (above 60 per cent) in the south, see Vilanova Ribas and Moreno Julia, *Atlas de la evolución del analfabetismo*, 189-190; Ortiz Jr., ‘Redefining public education,’ 76.

<sup>343</sup> D. Muñoz Martínez, and A.J. Sáez Rodríguez, ‘Apuntes para un Estudio socio-económico de La Línea de la Concepción a comienzos del Siglo XX,’ *Almoraima*, 13, (1995), 409.

<sup>344</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 72, (19/01/1901), 4 and 74, (09/02/1901), 4. See also *El País*, (Madrid), (21/10/1902), 3 for a brief history of the centre. Anarchist affiliates in the workers’ centre: 347 carpenters, 450 construction workers, 200 painters, 210 iron and metal workers, 80 quarrymen and stonemasons, 80 cork-makers, 120 boot-makers, 120 tobacco-workers and 423 from ‘varied industries’ (usually casual and farm labourers), see ‘Circulo de estudios sociales,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 84, (17/05/1901), 2. Various reports put the total figure workers’ affiliated to the centre between 4,000 and 8,000, see *El Imparcial*, (Madrid), (09/10/1902), 3 (>8,000); *El Heraldo de Madrid*, (Madrid), (10/10/1902), 2 (4,000). See also Grocott, Stockey and Grady, ‘Anarchism in the UK,’ 8.

<sup>345</sup> E. Álvarez, *La Protesta*, 115, (02/01/1902), 2-3.

<sup>346</sup> *La Protesta*, (Valladolid): ‘Velada importante,’ 75, (01/03/1901), 2; ‘Noticias varias,’ 78, (22/03/1901), 4; ‘Desde La Línea,’ 79, (29/03/1901), 2. The opening of this school had been opposed by a number of local teachers, who were worried about the ‘doctrines’ that would be taught there and the competition it would provoke, see Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa* 59.

Plate 2.2: Masthead of *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 111, (29/06/1901)

Madrid 29 de Junio de 1901. Precio: 5 centimos. Administración: Cristóbal Bordin, 1 Cantos Beata Magdalena, Madrid.

**REVISTA BLANCA**  
SUPLEMENTO NUMERO III

**¡YA VIENE!**

Por todas partes se advierte del burgués el desahucio, y su gran relajamiento al ver cercana la muerte.

En tanto que el desvalido, el pobre desheredado, el triste paria explotado, el infeliz y oprimido,

ha molteno. Otro remedio no quedaba: cogi un paño, puso en él cenizas, y dolo que lo día, hasta volver á la punta la limpidez que un día tuvo, un día antes de quedarme casi tonto de tanto oír lecciones y barbaridades. Pro meto no volver á pecar, es decir, prometo no hacer caso jamás de baladronadas, ni pagar con silencio un tanto estúpido, por lo que á nuestros ideales astas, campañas que sacaron del presidio á varios compañeros nuestros, y que si nos desentramos un poco nos hubieran resultado más caras que costó á los españoles la soberbia de Felipe II, cuando aquello de

rentos perturbadores, que intentaban poner en praxta plantas terroríficas dando las señas del domicilio de la sociedad. A las pocas horas el local era invadido por una nube de policías, que lo registraron todo y tomaron nota de los nombres de la junta.

Pocos son los hechos, radicales de Barcelona. La ambición maliza de Trespole, Salt y Puente, traerán á Barcelona días duros. Es preciso que se organice un grupo de hombres honrados para eliminar á estos miserables: lo exige la tranquilidad de muchas familias y hasta la vida de algunos de nuestros compañeros.

Repos científicos de la Anarquía.

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In May 1901 Álvarez accepted a position as a teacher in the school, which provided his accommodation and paid him 25 pesetas a month from the membership fees of local societies.<sup>347</sup> He brought his periodical with him as he relocated 400 miles south, re-establishing *La Protesta* in the La Línea workers' centre. By the end of the year the school was holding classes in reading and writing for around 180 children – more than the Escuela Moderna ever taught at one time – and was expanding into adult education in grammar, science and arithmetic. Álvarez also ran French night classes, in which the method of teaching and classroom rules were decided by the students. Another teacher, Gabriela Alcalde, ran night classes for *compañeras* in embroidery and needlework.<sup>348</sup> Such classes were designed to provide women and girls with skills which would give them economic independence, helping them to find work outside domestic service.<sup>349</sup> They also provided an alternative to similar projects run by the Church, ensuring that their students developed a 'sane and altruistic morality, full of love towards all of humanity,' in contrast to Catholic women's schools 'where they dull the senses and make the woman a slave and not the true comrade of the man'.<sup>350</sup> By 1902 the school was reportedly offering an education to 400 children and 22 adults from La Línea and the surrounding *campo*.<sup>351</sup>

Álvarez fell ill in the spring of 1902 and was forced to retire. His colleagues in *La Protesta* took over editorial responsibility and set up a collection to cover his medical expenses.<sup>352</sup> His absence from the paper came at a time of intense financial difficulty for the paper, which was forced to suspend publication in June that year.<sup>353</sup> Álvarez died on 5 October and was buried in La Línea in a 'modest pine coffin,' accompanied by at least 5,000 people.<sup>354</sup> Reports of this event appeared in every anarchist paper in print, which praised Álvarez's tireless efforts, his humble nature and his commitment to spreading the anarchist message.<sup>355</sup> The La Línea school closed days later. Over the

<sup>347</sup> E. Álvarez, 'Remitido,' *La Protesta*, 93, (31/07/1901), 4. Álvarez's salary and the money he received from the centre to help him move was reported to *El Socialista* by an irate local socialist correspondent, who called Álvarez an 'enemy of the workers,' see *El Socialista*, (Madrid), 802, (19/07/1901), 3-4.

<sup>348</sup> 'Noticias varias,' 'Academia de noche,' and 'Academia de francés,' all *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 110, (28/11/01), 4.; G. Alcalde, 'A las compañeras,' *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 110, (28/11/1901), 1.

<sup>349</sup> In 1887 around 20 per cent of the Spanish female workforce were in domestic service, see I. Dubert, 'Modernity without modernisation: The evolution of domestic service in North-West Spain, 1752–1900,' *Gender & History*, 18, (2006), 200.

<sup>350</sup> Comments made at opening of secular women's school, 'Movimiento social: Algeciras,' *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 129, (02/11/1901), 4. F. G. R. de Castro, 'Las escuelas católicas privadas y la educación popular,' J.L. Guereña, and A. Tiana Ferrer, (eds.), *Clases populares, cultura, educación: Siglos XIX-XX*, (Madrid, 1989), 233-239; J.M. Hernández Díaz, 'Social Catholicism and education in Spain, 1891-1936,' B.J. Hake, T. Steele and A. Tiana Ferrer, (eds.), *Masters, Missionaries and Militants*, (Leeds, 1996), 81-92.

<sup>351</sup> *La Época*, (Madrid), (15/10/1902); *El País*, (Madrid), (21/10/1902), 3.

<sup>352</sup> *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): 'A los compañeros,' 125, (29/03/1902), 1; 'Lista de suscripción a... un compañero enfermo,' 127, (12/04/1902), 4. The initial collection in La Línea raised 37.30 pesetas.

<sup>353</sup> 'A los compañeros,' *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 133, (07/06/1902), .3.

<sup>354</sup> Report comes from Álvarez's former employers, the liberal daily *El Globo*, (Madrid), (07/10/1902), 3.

<sup>355</sup> See 'Ernesto Álvarez,' in *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 18, (11/10/1902), 1; *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 14, (15/10/1902), 7 and *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 117, (25/10/1902), 4. The longest and most informed eulogy for Álvarez came from his old colleague Anselmo Lorenzo, who stated that Álvarez's work and tireless

summer of 1902 anarchists and workers' groups in Sevilla had agitated for city-wide general strikes across Andalucía, demanding that the provincial governor re-open centres which had been closed since 1901. A strike in Sevilla on 9 October was an abject failure, although workers in towns such as Algeciras took to the streets in solidarity.<sup>356</sup> In La Línea – which had never experienced a mass public demonstration – workers' societies petitioned the local mayor for the right to demonstrate in solidarity with the Sevilla strike. This was denied, and the centre was closed on 8 October. The following day thousands of men, women and children assembled around Calle Pedreras to protest. As the local Civil Guard attempted to disperse the crowds they were met with a hail of stones (and possibly some revolver shots). Their response was to fire on the crowd, which left five dead and the same number seriously injured. The protesters then split up and began attacking public buildings. In response, a state of war was declared in the town and the authorities began indiscriminately arresting workers.<sup>357</sup> The centre and the school remained closed, and a number of those arrested spent lengthy spells in prison.<sup>358</sup> Yet this did not stop the commitment to educational practice in La Línea. In 1903 a new centre was opened in the town, named 'El Porvenir', which began running twice-weekly conferences and lectures on subjects such as 'Democracy and Anarchism,' which were regarded as 'true acts of sociological propaganda'.<sup>359</sup>

The problems faced by the La Línea school were common to all anarchist educational projects. Many struggled to open at all, as they required legal approval which was often denied by local public officials.<sup>360</sup> Almost all of these figures owed their position to patronage and clientelism. These networks of local power – named *caciquismo* (from the word *cacique* meaning local political 'boss') – were characterised by opaque dealings and a predisposition to corruption. *Caciquismo* was loathed by all sections of progressive Spanish society, including the anarchists, who felt their legal rights of association were stifled by personal enmity towards the movement from local employers and the

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activity, manifest in his 'extraordinary newspapers' would continue as an inspiration to the movement, see *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 179, (18/10/1902), 2.

<sup>356</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 91-92.

<sup>357</sup> Little academic work has been conducted on this incident. See R.S. Cabeza-Earle, *La Línea de mis recuerdos* (La Línea, 1975), 131-134 and the collection of national newspaper reports compiled by L.J. Traverso Vázquez into *El suceso de las Pedreras a través de la prensa*, (2012), published online:

<http://lalineanblancoynegro.blogspot.co.uk/2012/08/el-suceso-de-las-pedreras-traves-de-la.html> [accessed

26/10/2013]. A highly disputable account of these events can be found in A. Cruz de los Santos, *Un siglo de historia de La Línea de la Concepción, 1870-1970*, (La Línea de la Concepción, 1970), published online:

<http://antoniocruzdelossantos.blogspot.com.es/2013/03/los-sucesos-de-la-linea-09-de-octubre.html> [accessed

26/10/2013], which, amongst other things, includes a report that wrongly suggests that Álvarez was killed during the protest without comment. He also makes no effort to disguise the fact that his evidence is largely conjecture. See also Grocott, Stockey and Grady, 'Anarchism in the UK,' 17.

<sup>358</sup> *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): A. Sarría Santander, 'Los presos de La Línea...', 5, (23/01/1904), 2; '...Los presos de La Línea,' 7, (06/02/1904), 2 and 9 (20/02/1904), 2.

<sup>359</sup> *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): 'La lucha obrera: La Línea,' 9, (20/02/1904), 3; 10, (27/02/1904), 4; 17, (14/04/1904), 4; 27 (23/06/1904), 4. 'Cartera de "El Rebelde,"' 13, (18/03/1904), 3.

<sup>360</sup> See problems experienced by two secular schools in Sevilla, in González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 90-91.

church.<sup>361</sup> Conflicts with local authorities regarding locales and schools were publicised in the anarchist press to rouse indignation and spur further activity.<sup>362</sup> In 1901, for example, a group in the small pueblo of Jimena de la Frontera (Cádiz) attempted to found a centre to provide education to children of the surrounding *campo*. Their efforts were stifled through weeks of petty obstruction by the local mayor, who claimed to have lost the statues for the centre and could therefore not approve them.<sup>363</sup> The centre was eventually opened and named ‘La Razón,’ which contained a small school, yet was closed shortly afterwards by the mayor because the building was deemed to be ‘unhygienic’ – the most common reason given by local authorities for such decisions – and because the school’s ‘maestro,’ Manuel Canas Guerrero, denied the existence of God in one of his lessons.<sup>364</sup> Once established, centres became a subject of enquiry and interference. In Morón de la Frontera (Sevilla), an anarchist agricultural workers’ centre was closed after a strike in the town, as it was seen – probably with good reason – as a source of worker agitation.<sup>365</sup> In another incident, a centre based in Zaragoza was visited by a representative of the local governor and two ‘secret policemen’, who demanded access to the membership lists of the societies based there, including the anarchist workers’ federation ‘La Autonomía’. In accordance with their legal rights, the centre’s administrative secretary refused, leading to a spat with the governor and the threat of closure.<sup>366</sup>

Centres and schools also faced internal problems, above all, a crippling lack of funds. All one needed to found a school in Spain was ““money, money, money”” – as Ferrer was informed by a professor at the University of Barcelona – which was the one thing anarchist schools lacked above all else.<sup>367</sup> Unlike the Escuela Moderna, most anarchist educational spaces did not have external funding. Their fees were also much smaller – for example, one school in Linares (Jaén) charged 5 céntimos a day – which was paid for either by parents, through subscriptions managed by local papers, or through membership fees of workers’ associations.<sup>368</sup> They ran on a shoestring budget, and made frequent

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<sup>361</sup> Examples of anarchist critique of *caciquismo*: *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): M. Bravo, ‘Nueva salvajada,’ 15, (31/03/1905), 3; J. Córdoba, ‘La lucha obrera: Montemayor,’ 16, (07/04/1904), 4; A. Huerta, ‘La lucha obrera: Guillena,’ 29, (07/07/1904), 3. On *caciquismo* see Valera Ortega, *Los amigos políticos* and J. Moreno Luzón, ‘Political clientelism, elites and caciquismo in Restoration Spain,’ *European History Quarterly*, 37.3, (2007), 417-441.

<sup>362</sup> *El Proletario*, (Cádiz): La Comisión, ‘Grazalema...’ 2, (15/04/1902), 5-6; La comisión, ‘El 1º de Mayo...’ 4, (15/05/1902), 4-5.

<sup>363</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción): 106, (31/10/1901), 4 and 113, (19/12/1901), 4.

<sup>364</sup> *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 4, (16/01/1904), 4; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 52. See similar incident in Villafranca (Córdoba), ‘La lucha obrera...,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 28, (30/06/1904), 4.

<sup>365</sup> *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), ‘Huelga general en Morón,’ 132 (21/05/02), 4 and ‘Noticias varias,’ 133, (07/06/02), 4.

<sup>366</sup> F. Jimeno, ‘Desde Zaragoza,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 122, (22/02/1902), 2. In Río-Tinto the local authorities reportedly offered 50 pesetas to anyone who gave in a list of the local anarchist workers’ society. One ‘Judas’ of the area took them up on this offer, see ‘Gacetilla...,’ *El Obrero del Río-Tinto*, (Río-Tinto), 3, (09/06/1900), 3 and 10, (28/07/1900), 3.

<sup>367</sup> Cited in Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 97.

<sup>368</sup> ‘Manifestó...,’ *El Obrero*, (Badajoz), 86, (27/01/1903), 4; ‘La lucha obrera...,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): 4, (16/01/1904), 4; 11, (05/03/1904), 4.

requests to the anarchist press for support.<sup>369</sup> Some centres, as in Manzanares, ran at a small profit and established a reserve fund for future expenses. Unfortunately, such funds were often stolen or quickly exhausted in the event of strikes or legal proceedings.<sup>370</sup> Many schools also lacked books to carry out lessons and sent requests through the anarchist press for spare materials.<sup>371</sup> Publishing groups linked donors to schools, maintaining a supply of unused textbooks, folders, picture cards, atlases, reading primers, pamphlets, periodicals, and journals, as well as clothes for students from poor families.<sup>372</sup> Periodicals also helped to match up teachers with schools, carrying adverts for vacancies and available staff, such as the qualified teacher who worked for *El Corsario* (Valencia), who had been forced to leave his job in mainstream education following an ‘underhand war’ waged against his ‘free ideas’ by ‘filthy politicians’.<sup>373</sup>

Schools and centres also suffered from internal disputes. In Puerto Real, for example, the Society of Social Studies broke apart following an argument between ‘libertarians’ and a local ‘charlatan’.<sup>374</sup> Arguments about the proper use of centres could also flare up between anarchists and rival groups who shared the premises, as in the early days of the Gijón workers’ centre, which eventually led to the creation of separate socialist and anarchist locales.<sup>375</sup> Disputes over newspapers in mixed centres were common, as in Logroño, where the president of the supposed ‘apolitical’ workers’ centre banned the reading of the anarchist *Tierra y Libertad* and *El Rebelde*, and suggested that members should read the socialist *El Obrero* and *La Lucha de Clases* instead.<sup>376</sup> As when workers’ groups ended their subscription with Lerroux’s *Progreso* in 1901, the conflict between ideologies within the Logroño centre was articulated in arguments over print, which was the prime means by which the groups defined themselves and their relationship with the national socialist, anarchist and republican movements.

Problems could also develop between anarchist groups within centres and schools. In Sevilla, for example, the Centro Instructivo Obrero Hispalense was the site of constant arguments between those who advocated educational methods and a group of anti-intellectual ‘intransigents’ who demanded immediate revolutionary action.<sup>377</sup> Although education was presented as a unifying

<sup>369</sup> Precarious situation of Sevilla school: ‘Notas sueltas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 28, (30/06/1904), 4.

<sup>370</sup> ‘Movimiento social: Interior: Manzanares,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 123, (21/09/1901), 3.

<sup>371</sup> ‘Dichos y hecho,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 129, (02/11/1901), 4; ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 119, (01/02/1902), 4.

<sup>372</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 110, (28/11/1901), 4.

<sup>373</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *El Corsario*, (Valencia), 26, (05/12/1902), 3. See also ‘Dichos y hechos,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 81, (01/12/1900), 4 and 83, (15/12/1900), 4 and ‘A los profesores de 1º enseñanza,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 211, (28/05/1903), 3.

<sup>374</sup> ‘Cartera de “La Razón”,’ *La Razón Obrera*, (Cádiz), 12, (07/12/1901), 4 and 13, (14/12/1901), 4.

<sup>375</sup> ‘Movimiento obrero: Gijón,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 5, (17/06/1899), 3; 47, (07/04/1900), 3; see also dispute within Santa Cruz de Tenerife centre, ‘Mas criterio,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 13, (19/05/1906), 1.

<sup>376</sup> ‘La lucha obrera: Logroño,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 8, (13/02/1904), 4. See also threat of closure of centre because of presence of anarchist press, T. García Caro, ‘La lucha Obrera: Fuentes de Andalucía,’ *El Rebelde*, 12, (11/03/1904), 4.

<sup>377</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 94-100.

ambition within the anarchist movement, tensions over its proper application surfaced when groups attempted to put their ideas into practice. Like anarchism, education was a loose, multifaceted concept, without a set doctrine or strategy for implementation. Papers, groups and individuals all had their own ideas about how education should be valued and understood. Disagreements could not be settled by reference to a universally-accepted figure or text; at best they were accommodated, with reference to the plural, heterodox programme advocated by the anarchist press.

Schools could also suffer from a lack of engagement with their local community. In Cádiz, for example, one sociology lecture was so badly attended that local militant Manuel de los Reyes used the local anarchist periodical *El Proletario* to publically denounce the ‘cowards’ and ‘traitors’ who had failed to show up. De los Reyes was incredulous, asking his apathetic colleagues ‘why do you not frequent the society where they are able and want to educate you, and not the taverns that are nothing more than centres of corruption?...why do you not school yourselves?’<sup>378</sup> Similarly, the directors of a school based within the Aznalcóllar (Sevilla) workers’ centre were incensed when no ‘mothers’ enrolled their children for lessons in early 1904. In an angry letter to *El Rebelde*, the directors warned the local community that they would be ‘culpable when your children become murderers of their comrades’.<sup>379</sup> Even in those areas where the movement was strong, and the ideas of anarchist educators were broadly accepted, workers continued to enjoy the ‘vices’ attacked in the anarchist press, and remained largely indifferent to campaigns against alcohol, smoking, fiestas and bull-fighting.<sup>380</sup> This lack of commitment to the cause revealed the fragilities of a movement based on individual conviction. As support for the movement ebbed and flowed, only the most dedicated, educated militants could be relied upon to maintain the message of the movement in local contexts.

Taken as a whole, efforts to realise educational ambitions increased significantly in the early years of the twentieth century.<sup>381</sup> Yet this was not a linear story of success. Centres and schools opened, closed and reappeared with regularity.<sup>382</sup> Waves of repression forced the closure of many anarchist spaces, often on the pretext that they were ‘unhygienic,’ ‘seditious’ and ‘blasphemous’.<sup>383</sup> Many of the conditions which affected anarchist spaces were specific to local contexts, such as the activity of the local movement, the availability of funds and the attitude of local authorities. Educational practice therefore had multiple rhythms and trends, with no one clear chronology which encompassed the entire movement. For example, Andalucía – particularly the Cádiz region – saw a dramatic spike in educational efforts from 1900 onwards. Writing in *La Línea* in 1901, Ernesto

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<sup>378</sup> M. de los Reyes, ‘A los retraídos,’ *El Proletario*, (Cádiz), 18, (16/12/1902), 7-8. See also Torre, ‘Movimiento Social: Bilbao,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 134, (07/12/1901), 3-4.

<sup>379</sup> ‘La lucha obrera: Aznalcóllar,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 10, (27/02/1904), 4. See also por attendance at lectura in La Coruña centre: J.S., ‘En La Coruña,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 12, (11/03/1904), 2.

<sup>380</sup> Ralle, ‘La sociabilidad obrera,’ 161.

<sup>381</sup> Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, 83-85.

<sup>382</sup> See letter of imprisoned teacher: F. Cardenal, ‘Carta abierta,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 2, (02/01/1904), 2.

<sup>383</sup> See reports of closures across Andalucía in ‘Leña al fuego,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 28, (30/06/1904), 3. The ‘La lucha obrera,’ section of this paper was full of reports of closures across Spain through 1904.

Álvarez saw this upsurge of educational practice as a source of optimism and pride that he had not encountered since the early 1890s. Upon hearing of the opening of a school in Puerto Real he declared ‘*andando se prueba el movimiento*’ [‘actions speak louder than words’], seeing the newfound energy and activity in the field of education as emblematic of a ‘resurrection’ of anarchism in Spain.<sup>384</sup> Yet by 1903 most of these efforts had been curtailed, as anarchism in Andalucía once again attracted hostility from local and regional authorities. In contrast, in La Coruña, the ‘Germinal’ centre was established somewhat later than those in Cádiz province, yet managed to maintain a more stable existence than locales in other areas, providing the anarchists of the city with a base of operations well into the twentieth century.

Both Modern Schools and smaller scale educational centres continued to emerge over the following years. These initiatives were later endorsed by the CNT at every national congress, affirming the movement’s continuing commitment to the initiatives which took shape over the turn of the century. During the Second Republic, particularly in the early stages of the Civil War, schools continued to represent the pinnacle of anarchist education in practice.<sup>385</sup> These developments were built on the cultural infrastructure established over the turn of the century, both by the theorists and pedagogues of the Escuela Moderna and the local militants who wanted to teach their children and comrades how to read.<sup>386</sup>

### Organisation and Collapse

Organisation and education were complementary strategies for the anarchist movement. In an anarchist understanding, the Spanish working class required education in order to recognise the malicious influence of capitalism. ‘Ignorance’ of these matters was regarded as the main reason for the passivity of the majority of the Spanish people. Workers could be deceived by their employers, or misguided by the incorrect analysis provided by rival progressive movements, especially the socialists of the PSOE and UGT.<sup>387</sup> What was required was a ‘true,’ ‘reasoned’ interpretation of labour organisation, which corresponded to the broader principles of anarchism. After 1899 workers’ organisations expanded dramatically across Spain. Anarchists saw this as a source of immense potential, which could be directed towards mass revolutionary activity, prompting a return to the debates surrounding collective action which had largely been abandoned during the 1890s.<sup>388</sup> Articles

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<sup>384</sup> ‘Noticias varias,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 106, (31/10/1901), 4.

<sup>385</sup> ‘Congreso Regional...,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 23, (03/11/1900), 3; A. Tiana Ferrer *Educación libertaria y revolución social (España, 1936-1939)*, (Madrid, 1987) and ‘The workers’ movement,’ 674-675.

<sup>386</sup> Navarro Navarro, *Ateneos y grupos*, 12-13.

<sup>387</sup> S. Gustavo, ‘Enseñar al ignorante,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 122, (14/09/1901), 1.

<sup>388</sup> A. Durante, ‘Entre el mito y realidad: Barcelona, 1902,’ *Ayer*, 4, (1991), 151-153.

concerning ‘organisation’ and ‘association’ mushroomed in the anarchist press after 1899.<sup>389</sup> Anarchist unions formed in a number of areas, employing the discourse of the anarchist press to articulate labour struggles. Yet workers’ societies alone were not enough. A growing number of anarchist activists sought a national federation of workers’ groups, which could articulate ‘collective needs, collective ideas [and] collective ends’.<sup>390</sup>

Following two failed attempts to fashion a national federation in the winter of 1899-1900, a third project, entitled the Federación Regional de Sociedades de Resistencia de la Región España (FSORE) was inaugurated in Madrid in October 1900.<sup>391</sup> Like its predecessors, the FRE and FTRE, the FSORE was a federal organisation, built up by local and regional ‘societies of resistance to capital’ (unions).<sup>392</sup> Although it was initially a politically ‘mixed’ organisation, and contained many republican societies and figures – including Lerroux and the Badajoz ‘Germinal’ centre – the organisation was soon dominated by anarchist workers’ groups.<sup>393</sup> Between 1900 and 1903 the FSORE briefly stood as a source of pride for the anarchist movement – a 70,000 strong union of workers, which operated on anarchist organisational principles and was imbued with anarchist revolutionary rhetoric.<sup>394</sup> This was more than double the size of the UGT at this time (Sep.1901:31,558 affiliates), a fact not lost on anarchists such as Sidón Sequano – a correspondent to *La Protesta* – who saw the growing gap between the two organisations as a ‘symptom of death’ for the ‘political socialists’.<sup>395</sup> Like its predecessors, much of the organisation’s membership was

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<sup>389</sup> For example see *El Obrero del Río Tinto*, (Río Tinto), 1-13 (26/05/1900-18/08/1900), the paper of the ‘Los Manumitidos,’ the Río Tinto mineworkers’ union. One exception to this trend can be found in an editorial of *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca* which declared that anarchists were ‘enemies of all organisation,’: ‘Un Punete de Plata,’ *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 20, (30/09/1899), 4. These comments met with a strong reaction from a number of leading anarchist writers, see C.M.R. [Ricardo Mella?], ‘Afirmación inexacta,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 10, (06/10/189), 2; J. Prat and R. Mella, ‘Dos Cartas,’ *La Protesta*, (Valladolid), 12, (19/10/1899), 2; J. Prat, ‘Insistiendo,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 16, (01/07/1900), 1.

<sup>390</sup> R. Paez, ‘El ideal de la organización,’ *Fraternidad*, (Gijón), II, 17, (14/07/1900), 1.

<sup>391</sup> On the failed ‘International Workers’ Alliance,’ under the direction of Vicente García see ‘Movimiento social: Haro,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 33, (30/12/1899), 3-4; 39, (10/02/1900), 3. Plans for a workers’ congress in Manlleu (Barcelona) in ‘Movimiento social: Manlleu,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 39, (10/02/1900), 4 and ‘Lucha social: Manlleu,’ *El Obrero del Río-Tinto*, (Río-Tinto), 8, (14/07/1900), 2-3. See also Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 57. The Federation is known by a number of other names and acronyms, including the simply the ‘Federation Regional,’ for example, *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 128, (26/10/1901), 2 and the FRSRRE, in Castillo, *Un sindicalismo consciente*, 322-324.

<sup>392</sup> J. de Felipe Redondo, *Trabajadores, lenguaje y experiencia en la formación del movimiento obrero Español*, (Santander, 2012), 122-124.

<sup>393</sup> López Estudillo, ‘El anarquismo español decimonónico,’ 95, n.32.

<sup>394</sup> The exact size of the Federation at its peak in late 1901 is contested. The figure most frequently used (for example is 73,000, in Herrérín López, *Anarquía, dinamita* from Urales in *Mi vida*, II, 72; Maetzu claimed it was 75,000 in *El Imparcial*, (Madrid), 12,450, (06/12/1901), 3, which is also cited by Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 64. Information on FSORE: I Congress: ‘Movimiento social...Madrid,’ *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 75, (20/10/1900), 2; II Congress: ‘Movimiento social...Madrid,’ *Suplemento a La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 127, (19/10/1901), 3 and *La Federación Regional Española: Manifestó, estatutos, delegaciones, adhesiones y acuerdos: Segundo Congreso*, (Madrid, 1901), 21-34; III Congress: ‘Los congresos obreros: La Federación Regional,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 210, (21/05/1903), 1.

<sup>395</sup> S. Sequano, ‘Buen síntoma,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 114, (26/12/1901), 2.

concentrated in Cataluña, yet support outside this region was far from 'meagre'.<sup>396</sup> Around 60 per cent of the societies of the FSORE were based elsewhere in Spain, albeit in a more diffuse manner, across provinces such as Cádiz (9 per cent), Málaga (5.5 per cent), Valencia (5 per cent), Murcia (5 per cent), Asturias (4.5 per cent) and Madrid (3 per cent). Yet despite the optimism generated by the creation of the FSORE, the organisation failed to inscribe itself in the daily life of its members and was unable to instigate, coordinate, or support strikes and protests. A failed general strike in Barcelona in early 1902 was particularly damaging to the organisation, as it resulted in the repression of organised labour across the whole of Spain.<sup>397</sup> Many of the FSORE's key activists were imprisoned and its newly-adopted tactic of the general strike had proved to be an utter failure.<sup>398</sup> By 1903 support for the FSORE had drained from most anarchist periodicals. Groups and individuals who had previously called for a national organisation began to rethink their position, and now asserted that anarchism was incompatible with union structures.<sup>399</sup> In 1903 Urales' *Tierra y Libertad* dropped its support for the FSORE, and adopted an anti-organisational position, which asserted that any attempt to unify the anarchists of Spain was hypocritical.<sup>400</sup> By 1904 support for the Federation had waned dramatically and it was reduced to a shell of an organisation. Its formal dissolution in 1907 went largely unnoticed by the anarchist press.<sup>401</sup>

### The Return of Violence

It was not only the FSORE which suffered during this period. In the summer of 1903 a wave of strikes broke out in the agricultural towns of Cádiz province, followed by the arrest of labour leaders and a media blackout.<sup>402</sup> In response, a general strike was called in the town of Alcalá del Valle on 1 August, which led to violent confrontations with the Civil Guard. A 15-year-old boy was killed, and several wounded in these clashes, and the local archives were burned down. The response from the local authorities surpassed anything seen since the repression of the 1890s. Over 100 *alcalareños* were arrested and sent to prison in Ronda (Málaga), where many were tortured – including the infliction of genital mutilation, which was claimed to have caused the death of two prisoners – in an effort to discover who had planned the strike. Leaders of workers' societies across Andalucía were arrested, workers' centres and newspapers were closed, and leading anarchist figures fled the

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<sup>396</sup> Counter to claim made in Garner, 'The politics of mistrust,' 34-35.

<sup>397</sup> Durante, 'Barcelona 1902,' 161-168; A. Smith, 'Anarchism, the general strike and the Barcelona labour movement, 1899-1914,' *European History Quarterly*, 27.1, (1997), 5-40.

<sup>398</sup> Madrid, 'La Prensa Anarquista,' I: 1, 169.

<sup>399</sup> Earlier reservations include A. Izurieta's, 'Movimiento social...', *El Cosmopolita* (Valladolid), 8, (28/09/1901), 3, and the initial reaction of several anarchist workers' societies in Sevilla that the FSORE would be a 'waste of time,' see González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 70-71.

<sup>400</sup> 'Por la unión...', *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 200, (12/03/1903), 2.

<sup>401</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 127-128.

<sup>402</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 202.

province. The movement in Cádiz was forced underground, and did not recover its strength for almost a decade.<sup>403</sup>

The repression in Alcalá brought the discourses of state violence and martyrdom back into a prominent position in the anarchist press.<sup>404</sup> The condemned were immediately embedded into a discourse of martyrs and inquisition almost identical to that which had existed in the 1890s.<sup>405</sup> Individual violence also returned at this time. The first act of anarchist ‘propaganda by the deed’ since 1897 took place in April 1904, when Prime Minister Antonio Maura was (non-fatally) stabbed by the 19-year-old Joaquín Miguel Artal during a royal visit to Barcelona. Artal stayed at the scene and cried ‘Viva la Anarquía!’ and remained unrepentant throughout his trial.<sup>406</sup> In a letter sent to the anarchist press, Artal explained that he had been motivated by the ‘cries of pain from the tortured of Alcalá del Valle’ that resonated in his ears.<sup>407</sup> Resentment of Maura ran deep throughout the movement. Like Canóvas in the 1890s, he was seen as directly responsible for repression and was cast as the personification of the inquisitorial nature of the Spanish state. In an open letter to the anarchist press, one group in La Línea stated that if Artal had succeeded, Maura’s death would have represented ‘a triumph towards human emancipation’.<sup>408</sup> Yet Artal was not martyred, nor did his act of violence leave a lasting mark upon the movement. Unlike the prisoners of Alcalá and former terrorists such as Pallás, Artal did not receive any special collections or particular attention in the anarchist press. No pamphlets were written in his name and no campaign was launched for his release. He remained in prison in Ceuta, where he died in 1909. He was subsequently eulogised as a ‘victim’ in the anarchist press, which had largely ignored him for the previous five years.<sup>409</sup>

Artal’s attack came at a time when discourses of violence were returning to the anarchist press. As the failures of the FSORE revealed the weakness of anarchist efforts to organise the working class, there was a brief flourishing of individualist-anarchist papers, which sought to promote the writings of

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<sup>403</sup> Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 203; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 60; Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 209

<sup>404</sup> See ‘Consejo de guerra,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 366, (04/02/1904), 2 for a report on the military tribunal conducted in January 1904. Mulero’s torture is documented in a letter sent (08/10/1903) by Andrés Muñoz Villarón (who later died in prison) from Ronda prison in ‘La inquisición Española,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, 292, (12/10/1903), 2. An official report into the treatment of the Alcalá prisoners was undertaken a year later; it concluded that the accusations of torture, included the extreme case of Mulero, had no basis, see Avilés Farré, *Francisco Ferrer*, 140-141. See also the picture of the wounds caused to Juan Vázquez Gavilán and the letter from Salvador Mullero in ‘Las torturas de Alcalá del Valle,’ *El Rebelde*, 35, (18/08/1904), 1-2.

<sup>405</sup> See *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid) and *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), from October 1903 onwards – both of which discussed the Alcalá prisoners in almost every issue.

<sup>406</sup> Artal’s was one of several attacks on Maura during this trip, see Herrerín López, *Anarquía, dinamita*, 215.

<sup>407</sup> J. Miquel [sic] Artal, ‘A los anarquistas,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 32, (28/07/1904), 1.

<sup>408</sup> J. Torralvo, ‘El atentado á Maura,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 20, (05/05/1904), 4. The publication of this letter led to a denouncement against Antonio Apolo, editor of *El Rebelde*, who was briefly imprisoned shortly afterwards, see *El Rebelde* (Madrid): A. Apolo, ‘Cronica: Aigue el temporal,’ 27, (23/06/1904), 1 and ‘Joaquín Miguel Artal,’ 18, (21/04/1904), 2.

<sup>409</sup> D. Barroso, ‘Ya murió!,’ *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 5, (16/12/1909), 2; ‘Artal,’ *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 3, (12/12/1909), 2.

Friedrich Nietzsche within the movement.<sup>410</sup> Nietzsche had always previously been treated with caution by anarchists. His philosophy was ‘good at destruction’ but lacked ‘a sense of human solidarity,’ and was fundamentally at odds with the anarchist conception of the future society.<sup>411</sup> For his own part, Nietzsche had claimed to loathe anarchism, which he saw as an extreme version of Judeo-Christian ‘slave-mentality’ and ‘poisoned at the root by the pestiferous weed of *ressentiment* and the spiteful politics of the weak and pitiful’.<sup>412</sup> Nevertheless, from 1903 onwards a string of anarchist papers in Spain tried to rehabilitate Nietzsche’s works.

The first of these papers, *Juventud* (Valencia, 1903), regarded Nietzsche as ‘the most brilliant thinker of the last quarter of a century’.<sup>413</sup> Despite his lack of understanding of ‘Love’ [*sic*], Nietzsche had recognised that the revolution was not ‘solely a simple economic question,’ but also one of individual perfection, which was incompatible with contemporary Christian society.<sup>414</sup> This led *Juventud* to valorise ‘great art’ and the appraisal of science as the first step towards a new society, framing education and self-enlightenment as a revolutionary act.<sup>415</sup> The caution of *Juventud* towards labour activism was shared by *Luz y Vida* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1905-1907), which labelled all organisations which ‘did not respond to the free and spontaneous will’ as anti-anarchist.<sup>416</sup> This paper spoke highly of Nietzsche and published several extracts from his works.<sup>417</sup> Unlike *Juventud*, however, this paper saw education as a waste of time, stating that ‘neither philosophy, nor art, nor science, are enough...to liberate ourselves from...the black physiological inheritance’ of Christianity.<sup>418</sup> Instead the paper called for revolutionary ‘action,’ ‘energy’ and ‘will,’ and was one of the very few papers of the period to explicitly valorise terrorism.<sup>419</sup> Likewise, the most ardently Nietzschean paper of the period, the short-lived *Anticristo* (La Línea de la Concepción, 1906), was critical of the movement’s ‘superficial and dogmatic’ veneration of ‘sociology,’ and saw nothing of value in the ‘idiotic class struggle’.<sup>420</sup> Instead, the paper saw Nietzsche’s thought as a means of rejuvenating the ‘old anarchism,’ which had become as ‘mystified’ as Christianity, enthralled to

<sup>410</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 161-162.

<sup>411</sup> F. Urales, ‘Nietzsche,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, 68, (01/09/1900), 1.

<sup>412</sup> S. Newman, ‘Anarchism and the politics of resentment,’ J. Moore, *I am Not a Man: I am Dynamite!: Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition*, (New York, 2004), 107.

<sup>413</sup> P. Gener, ‘Prólogo,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 23, (05/06/1903), 3.

<sup>414</sup> *Juventud*, (Valencia): ‘Tarea educativa,’ 1, (04/01/1903), 1; Uno de la Minoría, ‘Diálogo,’ 23, (05/06/1903), 2-3.

<sup>415</sup> La Redacción, ‘Al pueblo: a los jóvenes,’ and ‘Salutación,’ *Juventud*, (Valencia), 1, (04/01/1903), 1.

<sup>416</sup> ‘¡Signos de los tiempos!’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 9, (17/02/1906), 4.

<sup>417</sup> *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife): ‘Del nuevo ídolo,’ 15, (08/12/1906), 3 [extract from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*]; notice advertising collected works of Nietzsche in 17, (22/01/1907), 3. The paper’s constant attacks on the local Church led to its excommunication by the Archbishop of Tenerife, see ‘Anatema Sic,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 9, (17/02/1906), 1-2.

<sup>418</sup> *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife): ‘Por la revolución,’ 5, (30/12/1905), 1; quote from F.S. Merlino, 17, (22/01/1907), 1.

<sup>419</sup> Stepinak, ‘El terrorista,’ *Luz y Vida*, (Santa Cruz de Tenerife), 17, (22/01/1907), 4.

<sup>420</sup> A. Herrero, ‘Barriendo escombros,’ *Anticristo*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 1, (31/03/1906), 3-4.

passive subjection, exemplified by its obsession with education.<sup>421</sup> *Anticristo* was one of the most tonally distinct periodicals published at this time. Its bombastic, misogynistic language and aggressive grandstanding was entirely at odds with the majority of anarchist papers. The sense of superiority emanating from the paper was, however, slightly undercut by a letter written by its editors to *El Productor*, which apologised for the large number spelling mistakes in its first issue.<sup>422</sup> These papers represented only a small minority of the anarchist movement. Nevertheless, their appearance from 1903 onwards was indicative of a growing discomfort with the ‘orthodox’ anarchist position which had developed since 1899. The failure of the FSORE and the gradualism implicit in the tactic of ‘education’ prompted dissenting voices, which called for a return to immediate revolutionary action.

### Division and Fragility

Instead of the formal structures of a labour organisation, the anarchist movement relied upon the loose, decentred system of print. As has been shown, print was essential in binding the movement together around the strategy of education during the movement’s recovery and expansion. This had created elites, whose position in the movement was based upon their standing in print culture, both in local contexts – correspondents to the press and the educated *obreros conscientes* – and on a national level, where the leading figures of the movement coalesced around important publications. One of these national figures was Antonio Apolo, a typographer worked at the Imprenta de Antonio Marzo, which published both *La Revista Blanca* and its *Suplemento*. Apolo also wrote for *El Progreso*, until he fell out spectacularly with its editor Lerroux. In 1901 Apolo published a pamphlet which portrayed Lerroux as an ostentatious liar and a drunk, who had used the campaign for the release of the Montjuich prisoners simply to advance his own position and make money.<sup>423</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Apolo and a colleague, Julio Camba, joined the editorial of Urales’ *Tierra y Libertad*.<sup>424</sup> Like the *Suplemento*, *Tierra y Libertad* acted as the unofficial ‘central’ publication of the movement. It instigated the major campaigns of the time and managed the huge subscription funds which had been on-going since 1899.<sup>425</sup> Confident that it had enough support from the movement, *Tierra y Libertad* was transformed into a daily in August 1903.<sup>426</sup> This move brought with it an

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<sup>421</sup> S. Rodríguez, ‘Puntualizando,’ *Anticristo*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 2, (19/05/1906), 1. For more on *Anticristo* see F.J. Fernández Andújar, ‘Anarquismo nietzscheano y el periódico *Anticristo*,’ (forthcoming in *International Journal of Iberian Studies*).

<sup>422</sup> La Redacción, ‘“Anticristo”: Periódico quincenal anarquista,’ *El Productor*, (Barcelona), IV, 48, (19/04/1906), 4.

<sup>423</sup> A. Apolo, *La explotación de Montjuich: Farsantes sin careta: Apuntes biográficos para conocer a Lerroux*, (Madrid, 1901). Apolo also claimed that by forcing him into poverty, Lerroux was partly responsible for the ill health of his partner and the death of his child; see also Álvarez Junco, *El emperador*, 213, n.121.

<sup>424</sup> ‘Tierra y Libertad,’ *Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 138, (04/01/1902), 1.

<sup>425</sup> Late in 1902 the paper began to dedicate entire pages to lists of names and donations, including the whole front page of issue 182, (08/11/1902), 1.

<sup>426</sup> ‘Tierra y Libertad, diario,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Madrid), 218, (16/06/1903), 1. Four years earlier the same publication had suggested that it expand to a twice weekly publication, although this was never carried out, see

unsustainable strain on the paper's finances, and after just four months the paper returned to a weekly publication, and disappeared altogether the following August.<sup>427</sup> By this point Apolo and Camba had left the paper and launched *El Rebelde* in December 1903. They asked former contributors and correspondents of *Tierra y Libertad* to align themselves to their new publication with the hope of becoming the 'platform of all anarchists'.<sup>428</sup> *El Rebelde* was constantly denounced, and its editors spent stretches in prison following the publication of inflammatory articles.<sup>429</sup> Its editors were bullish in their response to their constant harassment by the police, wearing their denunciations – 35 of which were made against in paper its first 50 issues – and prison sentences as a badge of honour.<sup>430</sup> Despite these severe pressures, the paper survived much longer than most of its contemporaries, and managed to establish a solid print-run of around 8,000 copies by mid-1904.<sup>431</sup>

Like *Tierra y Libertad*, *El Rebelde* positioned itself as a campaigning publication, filling every issue with reports of arrests, trials, protests against repression and letters from imprisoned comrades. The paper reflected the state of the movement in 1904, which had been battered by repeated waves of arrests, failed strikes and the closure of centres.<sup>432</sup> *El Rebelde* also voiced a growing dissent against the hegemonic status of 'education' within Spanish anarchism. Contributors – including Apolo and Camba – wrote scathing articles against the 'platonic passivity' which had developed within the movement, which had led to endless theorising about how to '*intellectualise ourselves*' at the expense of the 'principal object' of revolution.<sup>433</sup> Education was seen as useless in the face of repression, leaving it exposed as a 'decadent' and toothless tactic to adopt while 'the prisons continually devour comrades'.<sup>434</sup> In February 1904 Camba declared that 'we have had too much culture, too much education...while our brain evolved in an ascendant sense our muscles were losing their all-powerful strength'.<sup>435</sup>

The failure of *Tierra y Libertad* provoked bitter recriminations within the paper's former publishing group. Urales used *Tierra y Libertad* to publically attack *El Rebelde* and its editors, who he

*Suplemento a la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid): 'Aviso,' 19, (23/09/1899), 1; 'El "Suplemento" bisemanal,' 23, (21/10/1899), 1; 'Á nuestros amigos,' 26, (11/11/1899), 4; 'Á nuestros amigos,' 31, (16/12/1899), 4.

<sup>427</sup> It briefly returned as *Suplemento Semanal a la Revista Blanca*, which published only seven issues. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 146-147.

<sup>428</sup> *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): La Redacción, '¡Guerra!,' and "'El Rebelde",' 1, (26/12/1903), 1; 'De administración,' 1, (26/12/1903), 4.

<sup>429</sup> For example see *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): 'El gobierno contra "El Rebelde",' 21, (12/05/1904), 2; J. Camba, 'Momentos de prueba,' 24, (02/06/1904), 1; "'El Rebelde" en la cárcel,' 25, (10/06/1904), 2; A. Apolo, 'Crónica: Sigue el temporal,' 27, (23/06/1904), 1.

<sup>430</sup> 'Nuestras denuncias: La treinta y cinco,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 50, (01/12/1904), 3.

<sup>431</sup> 'Aviso importante,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 28, (30/06/1904), 1.

<sup>432</sup> The paper printed a running total of the location of every anarchist prisoner in Spain throughout 1904, see column 'Pádron de ignominia de la burguesia española,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 5, (23/01/1904), 1 – 51, (08/12/1904), 2.

<sup>433</sup> *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): J. Navarro, 'La filosofía del garrote,' 10, (27/02/1904), 2. Emphasis in original. See also A. Apolo, 'Días de prueba,' 12, (11/03/1904), 2.

<sup>434</sup> *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): F. Castro, 'La decadencia anarquista,' 19, (28/04/1904), 3; I. Claría, '¡Menos palabras!,' 30, (14/07/1904), 1.

<sup>435</sup> J. Camba, 'Seamos bárbaros,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 11, (05/03/1904), 1. Critical response to this article: M. Lores, 'Seamos rebeldes, no bárbaros,' *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 14, (21/03/1904), 2-3.

blamed for the failure of his project for a daily anarchist publication. He claimed that Apolo and Camba had turned up to work late, smoked all day, did as little work as possible and spent their evenings ‘having coffee with the *intellectuals*’.<sup>436</sup> He also labelled Apolo a ‘cancer within Spanish anarchism’.<sup>437</sup> As these arguments intensified, an increasing proportion of the movement turned against the Urales group and attacked them through periodicals and pamphlets, such as *Por la muerte de los ídolos*.<sup>438</sup> Urales and Gustavo soon stepped back from anarchist print culture. *La Revista Blanca* folded in 1905, while *Tierra y Libertad* was re-launched under a new editorial group, without Urales.<sup>439</sup> A year and half later, this group was arrested as part of a wave of repression against anarchist publishers, which began in early 1906 and intensified after Morall’s attack on Alfonso XIII. As anarchist publishing in the capital became increasingly unsustainable, *Tierra y Libertad* relocated to Barcelona, where it became one of the most successful and prominent publications in the history of the movement.<sup>440</sup> By this time *El Rebelde* had also folded, following months of financial problems caused by non-paying correspondents. Apolo, who had once believed himself and his paper to be ‘all powerful,’ now saw himself as a failure, a ‘César, who crossed the Rubicon...brought to a standstill before a dungheap’.<sup>441</sup> Apolo had little further input into anarchist print culture, or the movement in general.<sup>442</sup> The departure of *Tierra y Libertad* and the collapse of *El Rebelde* marked the end of Madrid’s brief status as the centre of anarchist publishing in Spain.

When divisions were accommodated, as in 1899-1903, an informal system of publishers and local correspondents helped the movement to expand in size and scope, pushing back at the geographical and ideological boundaries of anarchism. Yet when the elites of this system fell out, the movement had no means to mediate or resolve issues, and the fragility of its structure was left exposed. Publishers turned on one another, publically undermining their erstwhile comrades and provoking rifts between rival groups of readers. The last time that these issues had emerged was during the late 1880s and early 1890s, when anarcho-collectivists and communists used their papers to attack one another, contributing to the collapse of the FTRE and the fragmentation of the movement into rival camps. The divisions of 1903 onwards had a similar result. As in the 1890s, the movement

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<sup>436</sup> Urales, *Mi vida*, II, 238-239. Emphasis in original

<sup>437</sup> *El Rebelde*, (Madrid): ‘Notas sueltas,’ 2, (02/01/1904), 4; La Redacción, ‘Por la anarquía,’ 29, (07/06/1904), 1; F. Urales, ‘...El cáncer en el anarquismo Español,’ *Suplemento Semanal de la Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 7, (13/10/1904), 1-3.

<sup>438</sup> No copy of the pamphlet has survived, see Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 293. One of the signatories of the pamphlet had their subscription to *La Revista Blanca* publically cancelled by Urales, see ‘Correspondencia administrativa: Barcelona,’ *Suplemento Semanal a La Revista Blanca*, (Madrid), 6, (06/10/1904), 16.

<sup>439</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 146-149. This new editorial group were known as the ‘4 May Group,’ a reference to the Haymarket Riot which occurred on 04/05/1886. In 1906 both moved to Cuba, where they continued their work in ‘spreading the anarchist idea’ before their deportation, see Guzman Garcia, *Francisco González Sola*, 24-32 and A. Sánchez Cobos, ‘La reorganización del trabajo libre: Los anarquistas españoles y la difusión del ideal libertario en Cuba,’ *Millars*, 33, (2010), 247-257.

<sup>440</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 149 and *Solidaridad Obrera*, 76-84.

<sup>441</sup> El Grupo, ‘Nuestra situación...,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 53, (12/01/1905), 1.

<sup>442</sup> Íñiguez, *Esbozo de una enciclopedia*, 46-47.

fragmented, and many supporters were left exasperated by internal bickering. Looking back on this period, a former correspondent from Cartagena labelled these disputes as evidence of the ‘ruin’ of Spanish anarchism, which sparked an exodus from the anarchist movement towards the socialists and republicans in the movement’s strongholds of Sevilla, Cádiz, Gijón and Barcelona.<sup>443</sup>

After the dramatic recovery of anarchism over the turn of the century, the movement started to overreach itself, inviting external repression and internal disputes. By 1903 these pressures had eroded many of the movement’s foundations. Education had been a uniting strategy, but there was still a long way to go before it could be seen as a success. A sense of stagnation hung over the movement. Correspondents wrote of the ‘apathy’ of local workers, who were little more than ‘animated corpses,’ while their centres had been left as ‘necropolises’.<sup>444</sup> The decline of the movement was accompanied by a contraction in anarchist publishing. After years of relative tolerance, the press was targeted for repression and editors imprisoned for breaches of the law of publications.<sup>445</sup> This added to a reversal of the dramatic growth of anarchist publishing seen in previous years, so much so that by 1907 the number of anarchist periodicals in Spain was around half that of 1905 [refer to Chart 0.2]. It appeared that only the dedicated remained in the movement, as the surge in anarchist support after 1899 drained away, replaced by ‘apathy’ and indifference from the Spanish working class. One letter sent to *El Rebelde* in 1904 summed up the problems with the movement at this time. Its author claimed the movement had failed because the Spanish working class remained ‘politically castrated’ and unable to understand the ideas of anarchism. Despite all the advances of the previous years, the workers still required ‘free Education [*sic.*]...to assure the liberty of the man of tomorrow and of today; permanent propaganda action and action in all of the populaces of Spain by the meeting, the newspaper, the pamphlet, the book [and] the conference’. Only then could the ‘weak cries and partial protests’ of anarchism transform into a revolutionary force.<sup>446</sup>

Despite the despondent tone of this letter, anarchism in Spain had come a long way since the late 1890s. Its educational practices had proliferated across Spain, increasing the scope of the movement beyond any previous point in its history. While the FSOE was a failure, the cultural framework which underpinned the expansion of the movement from 1899-1906 was a lasting and important success. The ideas of anarchism had developed and spread into new areas, largely as a result of the efforts of figures connected to the print culture. Centres and schools had formed, grounding anarchist practice in hundreds of localities across the country. Many of these practices faltered in the face of repression, but the movement was never in danger of complete collapse as it had

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<sup>443</sup> M. Ferreira, ‘No adelantamos,’ *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 8, (07/01/1910), 1. Observations on decline in local contexts: Kaplan, *The Anarchists*, 203; Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 57-60; González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 108-116; Smith, ‘Anarchism, the general strike,’ 13, 24.

<sup>444</sup> ‘En La Coruña,’ *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 30, (14/07/1904), 2-3.

<sup>445</sup> List of editors arrested in ‘¡Viva la democracia!’, *La Huelga General*, (Madrid), 5, (09/03/1906), 1.

<sup>446</sup> Grupo La Productora, ‘A los sociedades obreras...’, *El Rebelde*, (Madrid), 31, (24/07/1904), 2-3 and 33, (04/08/1904), 3.

been a decade earlier. This was because anarchists resumed activity in 1907, drawing upon their experiences over the turn of the century, re-founding centres and schools, and forming new publishing groups and periodicals. All of this activity drew upon the networks and ideas that had been established from 1899 onwards. If we want to understand how anarchism became a mass movement in Spain in the twentieth century we must look to these years, in which the movement looked to 'educate', expand and develop. Print culture was at the heart of this process, carrying the ideas and providing a structure for anarchism in Spain.

In future years the CNT would come to absorb and formalise many of the roles performed by the anarchist press at this time. This task was far from easy; many anarchist individuals and groups were unwilling to leave behind the plural, dispersed, and grassroots structure of the press which had shaped the movement during its recovery. It took years of conflict, compromise and negotiation, mediated through the anarchist press, for the movement to accept this change.



# Our Love of Organisation

## Chapter 3: Anarchism, Syndicalism and the Creation of the CNT: 1907-1915

While anarchists in Spain recognised the value of ‘decentred propaganda and agitation,’ they were also aware of its limitations.<sup>1</sup> The ‘loose groups, informal networks and fluctuating associations’ sustained by publishing groups and correspondents had been central to the recovery of anarchism in Spain, yet this structure had been unable to articulate anarchism as a genuine mass movement.<sup>2</sup> To achieve this end, the movement needed to establish a more stable structure, like those which had formed in 1870 (FRE), 1881 (FTRE) and 1900 (FSORE), when the movement had attracted significant support from the Spanish working class. Yet these earlier anarchist organisations had been unsuccessful and short-lived. Organisation always involved compromises, which were unacceptable to some sections of the movement.<sup>3</sup> National organisations also invited repression, due to their aggressive attitudes to labour struggles. Together these factors had caused the disintegration of the FRE, the FTRE and the FSORE, all of which had followed a familiar pattern of enthusiasm-paralysis-collapse.<sup>4</sup> This chapter discusses the efforts of anarchists in Spain to break free from this cycle, through the implementation of syndicalism as a new form of organisational strategy, symbolised by the creation of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) in 1910, and its consolidation in 1915.

Print culture, which had been central to the movement since 1890, continued to serve as the movement’s primary means of communication in this period. Yet by helping to create and sustain an alternative, more formal, structure within the movement, the anarchist press sowed the seeds of a decline in its own heterogeneity and significance. As the CNT and its organ, *Solidaridad Obrera*, became the central institutions of the movement, they supplanted the heterodox system maintained by the anarchist press, promoting different identities and different forms of engagement. Individuals and papers which had been pre-eminent in anarchist print culture for decades were side-lined by a new

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<sup>1</sup> Comparison made with analysis of contemporary social movements in Cumbers et al., ‘The entangled geographies,’ 190.

<sup>2</sup> Bantman, ‘Internationalism,’ 969. See also Ealham, “‘From the summit to the abyss”,’ 142-147.

<sup>3</sup> An example of anarchist aversion to centralisation can be found in ‘Centralismo avasallador,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 26, (07/07/1911), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1103. For analysis of this cycle in later periods see E. Romanos, ‘Factionalism in transition: A comparison of ruptures in the Spanish anarchist movement,’ *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 24.3, (2011), 355-380.

generation of activists and writers, who employed alternative discourses and promoted new structures in which to operate.

In order to create a national organisation, anarchists had to confront a paradox at the heart of their ideology. On the one hand, anarchism aspired to an individualist future, free from organisational structures and hierarchies; on the other, it required supporters to act in a collective manner, most commonly through trade unions. Managing these two positions meant striking a balance between individual autonomy and collective action. Although at times the movement was capable of accommodating this ‘cognitive dissonance,’ perennial questions remained unresolved: How could the working class bring about the revolution without giving over power to leaders or political parties, and therefore compromising their individual liberty? How could the relationship between the individual and collective be negotiated in a way that satisfied desires for both autonomy and mass action?<sup>5</sup> In the words of Constance Bantman:

The problem of organisation lay at the core of anarchist ideology itself: how libertarian should one be with respect to political organisation? The rejection of traditional political hierarchies and the tyranny of party discipline was one of the basic tenants of anarchism – but clearly it left a broad margin for interpretation.<sup>6</sup>

For some sections of anarchist thought, any form of organisation was illegitimate. This ‘individualist’ form of anarchism was rare in nineteenth- and turn-of-the- century Spain, although it was discussed in the intellectual journals of the movement such as *La Revista Blanca* and *Natura* (Barcelona, 1903-1905) and found support in more ephemeral periodicals such as *Juventud* and *Anticristo*.<sup>7</sup> A more common position was that of anarcho-communism, which encouraged the organisation of small groups of dedicated militants, but regarded all formal organisations – including trade unions – as reformist and anti-revolutionary.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, anarcho- collectivism regarded worker associations as the building blocks of a mass revolutionary movement.<sup>9</sup> To anarcho-collectivists, national organisations were legitimate, as long as they were made up from autonomous local and regional federations, which could go against the wishes of a national central committee.<sup>10</sup> An anarchist organisation would also have to be revolutionary: it must be aggressive towards employers and the

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<sup>5</sup> Levy, ‘Social histories of anarchism,’ 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> C. Bantman, ‘Internationalism without an international? Cross-Channel anarchist networks, 1880-1914,’ *Revue Belge de Philologie & d’Histoire*, 84.4, (2006), 966.

<sup>7</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 204. On later expressions of this form of anarchism in Spain see Ealham, ‘“From the summit to the abyss”,’ 147-155 and X. Diez, *El anarquismo individualista en España (1923-1938)*, (Barcelona, 2007).

<sup>8</sup> Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology*, 111-112. Nineteenth century anarcho-communism was more hostile to unionism than its later manifestations, see Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 17.

<sup>9</sup> Velasco Mesa, ‘Revolutionary rhetoric,’ 246.

<sup>10</sup> A similar model was proposed by some collectivists for the organisation of the post-revolutionary anarchist society, see Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 326-333.

state, free from religious involvement, and independent from governmental and party politics. Collectivist ideas had dominated the FRE and FTRE. The FSORE, formed in 1900, had seen itself as an inheritor of these organisations, yet this organisation had been largely symbolic, and had been unable to instigate, coordinate or support the actions of its members. In 1907 the FSORE was disbanded, representing an end to the tradition of collectivism within Spanish anarchism.

Yet at the same time, a new theory of organisation took hold within the movement. French theories of syndicalism gradually filtered into the anarchist movement, first in Cataluña, and then through the rest of Spain. This development culminated in the creation of the CNT, which eventually became the largest and most long-lasting articulation of anarchist ideology in world history. The CNT had a more ‘realistic’ approach to organisation, and benefitted from the ideological coherence of ‘modern’ syndicalism, compared to collectivism’s antiquated tactics of *societarismo* [fraternalism].<sup>11</sup> Yet between 1907 and 1915, the CNT was elusive and illusory, often more of an idea than a stable, functioning organisation. Likewise, the adoption of syndicalism within the movement was far from straightforward. Many anarchists saw no difference between this form of organisation and those which the movement had always supported, while others were hostile to any attempts to codify and centralise anarchist practice. The creation of the CNT was thus less a story of ideological development – from anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism, to anarcho-syndicalism – than one of a waxing and waning of support for syndicalism, and of external pressures and internal conflict. What made the CNT different from its predecessors was its ability to withstand these pressures during its early years, putting it in a position that enabled it to expand massively during the exceptional circumstances of the First World War.

### Syndicalism, Solidaridad Obrera, and La Semana Trágica: 1907-1909

Anarchism and syndicalism were distinct, but potentially complementary theories. Syndicalism signified revolutionary trade unionism, combined with a commitment to collective, direct action that made workers the instrument of change.<sup>12</sup> Like nineteenth-century anarcho-collectivists, syndicalists regarded trade unions as the ‘crucial vehicle of struggle’ and ‘the only means to achieve short-term gains within the current system and their long-term objective of the overthrow of capitalism’.<sup>13</sup> To some of its early supporters, syndicalist theory was a ‘synthesis of Bakunin and Marx,’ which was neither compromised by political participation – like parliamentary socialism – nor overly idealistic,

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<sup>11</sup> Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, 554-555. On fraternalism see A. Elorza, ‘Los orígenes del asociacionismo obrero en España,’ *Revista de Trabajo*, 37, (1972), 125-345 and de Felipe Redondo, *Trabajadores, lenguaje*, 109-135.

<sup>12</sup> van der Linden, ‘Second thoughts,’ 182-196 and L. Mates, ‘The limits and potential of syndicalist influence in the Durham coalfield before the Great War,’ *Labor History*, 54.1, (2013), 42.

<sup>13</sup> van der Linden and Thorpe, ‘Revolutionary syndicalism,’ 1-2.

like anarchism.<sup>14</sup> The development of syndicalism owed a great deal to ideas and practices from countries such as Britain, the USA and Australia, yet it was in France that it found its most ardent supporters and prominent thinkers.<sup>15</sup> Syndicalism began to gain support within the international anarchist movement in the early twentieth century, inspired by the growing success of the French Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), which adopted revolutionary syndicalism at its IX Congress in 1906.<sup>16</sup> The 1907 International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam was dominated by questions about the relationship between anarchism and syndicalism, articulated in a dispute between Errico Malatesta, who warned of the dangers of uniting with ‘reformist’ trade unions, and the supporters of syndicalism, such as Amédée Dunois and Pierre Monatte, who championed syndicalism as a ‘new world’ of opportunity.<sup>17</sup> The Congress eventually adopted a motion supporting anarchist activity within syndicates, as a means to develop their ‘revolutionary spirit,’ although it stressed that syndical activity alone was not a ‘substitute for revolution’.<sup>18</sup> Although the Spanish movement did not participate in this Congress, similar debates would be articulated within Spanish anarchism over the coming years.

Syndicalist ideas had been gradually filtering into Spain from France since the turn of the century. Early support for syndicalism came primarily from Cataluña, where advocates of syndicalism had translated a steady stream of pamphlets by French syndicalists such as Emile Pouget from 1904 onwards.<sup>19</sup> At the same time they began to use the word *sindicato* – imported from the French *syndicat* – for their unions, replacing the Spanish term *sociedad de resistencia*.<sup>20</sup> In 1907, 57 workers’ societies in Barcelona came together to constitute the Federación Local Solidaridad Obrera de Barcelona (known as Solidaridad Obrera, hereafter SO).<sup>21</sup> This organisation sought to coordinate socialist, radical republican and anarchist groups in the city, providing a united organisation that represented the entire workers’ movement. SO portrayed itself as independent of all political positions – including anarchism – defining itself as a purely ‘syndical’ organisation which would fight solely

<sup>14</sup> D. Berry, *A History of the French Anarchist Movement, 1917-1945*, (London, 2002), 18.

<sup>15</sup> Bantman, ‘Internationalism,’ 974-975.

<sup>16</sup> B. Mitchell, ‘French syndicalism: An experiment in practical anarchism,’ M. van der Linden, and W. Thorpe, (eds.), *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, (Aldershot, 1990), 33-34; Berry, *French Anarchist Movement*, 18; W. Thorpe, ‘Uneasy family: Revolutionary syndicalism in Europe from the *Charte d’Amiens* to World War I,’ C. Bantman and D. Berry, (eds.), *New Perspectives on Anarchism, Labour and Syndicalism: The Individual, the National and the Transnational*, (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2010), 16-23.

<sup>17</sup> Malatesta’s comments were applauded by *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), see Gabriel, ‘Sindicalismo y huelga,’ 39.

<sup>18</sup> *The International Anarchist Congress*, 8-9, 15-21-22. On the congress see Bantman, ‘Internationalism,’ 968-969; Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1066-1067; Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 30-31; Altena, ‘Analysing revolutionary syndicalism,’ 185-187.

<sup>19</sup> P. Gabriel, ‘Sindicalismo y huelga: sindicalismo revolucionario francés e italiano: Su introducción en España,’ *Ayer*, 4, (1991), 33-36. On Pouget see Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 294 and C. Bantman, ‘The militant go-between: Emile Pouget’s transnational propaganda (1880-1914),’ *Labour History Review*, 74.3, (2009), 274-287.

<sup>20</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 17, \* and Romero Maura, *La rosa de fuego*, 463-464.

<sup>21</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 26-28. A list of 56 societies affiliated to SO is published in ‘Sociedades adheridas...,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), 2, (26/10/1907), 2. See also extensive catalogue of societies in SO and the CRT in Zambrana, *El movimiento obrero catalán*.

for the economic interests of its affiliates.<sup>22</sup> In 1908 SO expanded into a regional federation, encompassing all of Cataluña and claiming the support of 20-25,000 workers. Its expansion was aided by its organ, *Solidaridad Obrera*, which was launched in October 1907. In its early years this paper sustained a print run of approximately 3,000 issues, and was run almost entirely by anarchists.<sup>23</sup> SO's commitment to non-partisan syndicalism was challenged from the outset. Both socialists and radical republicans in Barcelona tried to use SO to forward their own electoral objectives, and opposed the organisation when they failed to control it. In contrast, the 'massive' number of anarchists in SO wanted to ensure that the organisation fulfilled the revolutionary goals it advocated, steering it away from parliamentary politics and towards confrontational industrial action.<sup>24</sup> They portrayed SO as both the inheritor of the anarchist organisational tradition and a 'modern' organisation, suitable for the realities of the twentieth century.

Until 1910, syndicalist theory remained relatively marginal to the anarchist movement in most of Spain.<sup>25</sup> Outside Cataluña, the collapse of the FSORE had left the movement deeply fragmented over questions of strategy, while few groups even acknowledged the existence of either SO or syndicalist theory.<sup>26</sup> In 1907-08, papers such as *Humanidad Libre* (Jumilla) and *Humanidad* (Toledo) were largely concerned with attacking the Church and praising the emancipatory power of education, in a manner similar to the anarchist press of 1899-1906.<sup>27</sup> When these papers did discuss organisation, they simply lamented its absence.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, *La Voz del Obrero del Mar* (Cádiz) was explicitly directed towards worker organisation.<sup>29</sup> The paper was launched to support the reformation of the Cádiz union of stokers, sailors and port workers, which had disbanded in 1906. It aimed to keep anarchist unionism alive in the city, reminding local workers of the dangers of socialist organisations – particularly the UGT-affiliated 'Comité de los Obreros del Mar de España' – and attacking the members of the local company union.<sup>30</sup> The latter (known as *amarillos* – 'yellows') were seen as class traitors, who had renounced 'their rights of liberty and social emancipation' by siding with their employers in order to line their own pockets, and were commonly identified as *esquiroles* (strike-

<sup>22</sup> 'Afirmándonos,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), 2, (26/10/1907), 2.

<sup>23</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 31-32. The paper was also reportedly funded by Francisco Ferrer, although this claim was never verified, see Madrid Santos, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 86-88.

<sup>24</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 112-116; Bar, *La CNT*, 30.

<sup>25</sup> Gabriel, 'Sindicalismo y huelga,' 34-37.

<sup>26</sup> Comments on the decline of the anarchist movement in the middle of the decade M. Ferreira, 'No adelantemos,' *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 8, (07/01/1910), 1. See also González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 124.

<sup>27</sup> Helley, 'El Furor Clerical,' *Humanidad Libre*, (Jumilla), 1, (27/01/1907), 2-3; *Humanidad*, (Toledo), 20, (01/10/1908): A. López Rodrigo, 'Para los Compañeros,' 2; J. Besterio, 'El Sitio de Bilbao,' 2.

<sup>28</sup> Juliano, 'Crónica,' *Humanidad Libre*, (Jumilla), 1, (27/01/1907), 2; Editorial 'Consecuencias Graves,' *Humanidad* (Toledo), 20, (01/10/1908), 1. On Catholic workers' organisations see J.J. Castillo, *El sindicalismo amarillo en España*, (Madrid, 1977).

<sup>29</sup> Aubert, et al., *Anarquismo y poesía*, 71-73.

<sup>30</sup> J. Jarana, *Trabajadores del mar: ¡Alterta!*, (Cádiz, 1907), 1-2; J. [Jarana], *La Voz del Obrero del Mar*, (Cádiz), II: 'Desde Barcelona,' 4, (30/11/1907), 4; 'La sociedad "Especial",' 15, (04/11/1908), 4. See also Castillo, *Un sindicalismo consciente*, 185-86.

breakers).<sup>31</sup> Both *amarillos* and *esquiroles* were used as scapegoats in papers such as *La Voz del Obrero del Mar* when strikes and organisational initiatives failed to ignite revolutionary action.<sup>32</sup> The paper's sole concern was with the workers in the Cádiz area. It made no reference to SO, *Solidaridad Obrera*, or syndicalism. *La Voz del Obrero del Mar* closed in 1908, marking the end of anarchist publishing in Cádiz – formerly one of the centres of the anarchist print network – for twelve years.<sup>33</sup> In the shifting geography of anarchist publishing in Spain, Cádiz had moved from a focal point of the Andalusian movement in the late nineteenth century, to a relative backwater by 1908, its significance having passed to larger cities such as Sevilla and Gijón. In part this was due to the death of important figures in the region's local anarchist publishing network, such as Ernesto Álvarez and Fermín Salvochea who died in 1902 and 1907 respectively. Others moved away from the region, for example José Sánchez Rosa, who moved from Los Barrios (Cádiz) to Aznalcóllar (Sevilla), via Tangiers, in 1903.<sup>34</sup> Yet anarchist publishing did not operate solely on the backs of prominent figures. The areas where anarchist papers took root were those where they were supported – and written – by members of the local workforce, who used their access to publishing to connect to the movement on a local, national and international level. As the relationship between workers' groups and anarchist publishing waned in Cádiz, so too did the city's connection to the wider movement.<sup>35</sup>

#### Early Syndicalist Support

The scattered, diverse papers of 1907-1908 give little impression of a growing move towards syndicalism outside Cataluña.<sup>36</sup> A shift began towards the end of 1908, most notably in the north-west of the country. The first issue of *La Acción* (La Coruña, 1908, 3 issues) advocated organisation within the movement, stating that although most anarchists could 'never accept the impositions of a centralising power such as the socialists accept' they could agree 'to sustain...collective tension and supportive links' as long as they were 'sufficiently autonomous'.<sup>37</sup> Correspondents to the paper claimed that 'true' anarchists had maintained a tradition of organisation that stretched back to the

<sup>31</sup> *La Voz del Obrero del Mar*, (Cádiz), II: R.J. Ruiz Ballesteros, 'Los Amarillos,' 14, (30/09/1908), 3; Trinquente, 'Camino del Presidio,' 15, (04/11/1908), 2; Editorial note, 17, (31/12/1908), 3.

<sup>32</sup> See public naming and denouncement of *esquiroles* in J. Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], 'La acción sindicalista... Gijón,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 9, (05/02/1910), 3.

<sup>33</sup> The next anarchist papers published in the city were *Bandera Libre* (c.1919-1921, c. 7 issues) and *Rebelión*, (c.15/11/1919-21/02/1920, 13 issues), see Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 221, n.1223.

<sup>34</sup> See special issue dedicated to Salvochea's life, death and funeral, *La Voz del Obrero del Mar*, (Cádiz), II, 2, (03/10/1907), 1-4; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 60.

<sup>35</sup> Anarchism in Cádiz province did gain strength towards the end of the following decade, as demonstrated in 1917 when the region made up a substantial part of the FNOA, see Bar, *La CNT*, 337, n.80.

<sup>36</sup> See also *Liberación* (Madrid), an individualist-anarchist paper, similar in tone to the Nietzschean-inspired publications of previous years, and filled with violent, misogynistic rhetoric and bombast, see Editorial, 'A Quien Lea,' 1; P. Camposano, 'La Caravana,' 3; F. Monteagade, 'Liberación de la mujer,' 3. Although it was far less confrontational, *Verdad* (Sevilla) also played down the potential of worker organisation and instead advised to its readers 'to pick up the book,' see Un Grupo, 'Al pueblo,' 6, (31/07/1908), 4.

<sup>37</sup> Un ácrata, 'Socialistas inexactos,' *La Acción*, (La Coruña), 1, (11/11/1908), 2.

FRE.<sup>38</sup> Although this publication was small and short lived – 1,000-1,500 copies of each issue were printed, yet very few were sold – *La Acción* represented a renewed sense of optimism in the idea of a national anarchist workers' organisation.<sup>39</sup> It was also one of the first papers outside Cataluña to be in contact with *Solidaridad Obrera*.<sup>40</sup> Although SO itself was still confined to Cataluña, its paper was reaching out to anarchists across Spain the movement's print networks. Another paper to forge bonds with *Solidaridad Obrera* was *Tribuna Libre*, launched in Gijón in early 1909. The arrival of this publication went hand-in-hand with the reorganisation of the Gijón's workforce. Groups such as the city's *ebanistas* (cabinetmakers) had already made contact with *Solidaridad Obrera* in 1908, in a letter which affirmed their belief in syndicalism as the basis of an organised, revolutionary force.<sup>41</sup> A new generation of anarchist thinkers and activists in Gijón saw great potential in these developments, in particular Eleuterio Quintanilla and Pedro Sierra Álvarez, both of whom were heavily influenced by Ricardo Mella, who lived in Asturias from 1901 to 1909.<sup>42</sup> Quintanilla and Sierra Álvarez were the driving force behind *Tribuna Libre*, writing much of its content and supporting it financially.<sup>43</sup> They aimed to promote syndicalism and SO within the anarchist movement, declaring that it was no longer good enough for anarchists to retreat into intellectualism or appeal to reason alone; what was needed was a new tactic, one that was aligned to workers' needs and addressed their struggle for 'bread'.<sup>44</sup> The paper was optimistic about the situation in Gijón, where local anarchist societies had formed a Local Federation, named – in reference to their source of inspiration – *Solidaridad Obrera*.<sup>45</sup> The paper also saw encouraging signs in Vigo, where several workers' societies had established an 'apolitical' alternative to the local UGT-affiliated Federation.<sup>46</sup>

Syndicalism was portrayed in *Tribuna Libre* as the most 'modern' anarchist organisational theory, epitomised by its innovative tactics of boycott and sabotage.<sup>47</sup> Both tactics were depicted as

<sup>38</sup> 'Un manifiesto,' *La Acción*, (La Coruña), 3, (15/12/1908), 2.

<sup>39</sup> See 'Balance', in *La Acción*, (La Coruña), 2-3, (30/11/1908-15/12/1908), 4. The paper made 10.85 pts. and 8.40 pts. from sales of issues 1 and 2 respectively (in La Coruña); this would suggest sales of between 215-315 and 160-250, depending on whether packets of 30 (1 peseta) or individual papers (5 céntimos) were bought.

<sup>40</sup> *La Acción*, (La Coruña): 'Aquí estamos,' 1, (11/11/1908), 4; 'De la quincena,' 3, (15/12/1908), 4.

<sup>41</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 60-63.

<sup>42</sup> Fernández Álvarez, *Ricardo Mella*, 79. Sierra Álvarez edited two collections of Mella's works, *Ideario*, pro. J. Prat, (Gijón, 1926) and *Ensayos y conferencias*, pro. E. Quintanilla, (Gijón, 1934). See also Barrio Alonso, 'Cultura del trabajo,' 48-49.

<sup>43</sup> *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón): E. Quintanilla: 'El 1º de mayo veinte años después,' 2, (30/04/1909), 1; 'La situación,' 5-6, 8, (05-19/06/1909; 17/07/1909), 2, 2-3, 3; 'Al vuelo,' 7, (03/07/1909), 3; P. Sierra Álvarez: 'Por qué no somos políticos,' 2, (30/04/1909), 1; '¿Determinismo o fatalismo?,' 4, (22/05/1909), 1 See also 'Donativos recibidos a favor de este periódico,' 1-8, (10/04/1909-17/07/1909), 4.

<sup>44</sup> Editorial, 'La lucha de clases,' *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 3, (08/05/1909), 1.

<sup>45</sup> By August the Federation was composed of 'La Prevenida' (Carpenters and Cabinetmakers); 'El Progreso,' (Masons and Bricklayers); 'La Unión Obrera,' (Mechanical Sawers); 'La Espátula,' (Moulders and Modellers); 'La Aurora' (Bakers); 'El Despertar' (Carvers); 'La Sindical' (General Trades); Boilermakers and assistants; Stable lads and coach drivers; 'El Reflejo' (Painters); 'La Mecánica,' (Fitters); Iron Machinists and Forgers; 'La Estrella del Arte,' (Coach-makers); 'El Imán,' (Locksmiths): see 'Movimiento en Gijón,' *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 5, 6, 9, (05/06/1909, 10/06/1909, 08/1909), 4. See also Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 63-64.

<sup>46</sup> Raul [R. Mella], 'Por la verdad,' *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 7, (03/07/1909), 2.

<sup>47</sup> *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón): 'Tribuna Libre,' 1, (10/04/1909), 2; 'Sección bibliográfica,' 3, (08/05/1909), 4; A. Guerra, 'Los funcionarios públicos,' 5, (05/06/1909), 3. Sabotage had been adopted by the CGT as an official

youthful, in contrast to ‘old’ and ‘antiquated’ agitation such as partial strikes. This attitude was demonstrated in the dialogue ‘Opiniones acerca del sabotaje,’ in which a youth and an old worker debated the validity of sabotage (to the old worker ‘the weapon of cowards’) and the strike (to the youth ‘the struggle of empty stomachs’).<sup>48</sup> Yet despite its enthusiasm for syndicalism, *Tribuna Libre* did not see organisation as an end in itself. Anarchism remained the ultimate goal; worker organisation could help, but would not single-handedly accomplish it.<sup>49</sup> Nor did it discuss syndicalist theory at length, and instead dedicated most of its content to critiquing the poor state of workers’ education, attacking socialist organisational methods and praising the unifying quality of strike action.<sup>50</sup> The activity it called for – greater unionisation, ‘educating’ union members about the value of direct action, and building greater cohesion between unions – was largely the same as that had been employed by anarchist organisers since the FRE.<sup>51</sup>

Elsewhere, the rhetoric of syndicalism was making inroads into anarchist publications, such as the one-off *¡Despertad!* (Madrid, 1909, 1 issue), which regarded syndicalism as an excellent method for bringing about ‘the pure ideal of anarchy’.<sup>52</sup> In Málaga, the local workers’ paper *Nueva Aurora* (1909, 2 issues) declared itself as a platform for ‘syndicalist ideas’. In all of these papers, ‘syndicalism’ signified little more than ‘newness’. It was used to indicate support for worker organisation and ‘modern’ revolutionary activity, without engaging with the details of syndicalist theory. A comparable process had occurred a decade earlier, when the phrase ‘general strike’ had entered the vocabulary of the anarchist press, with little reflection on what a general strike was.<sup>53</sup> In a similar manner, the early advocates of syndicalism often simply inserted the word into articles where formerly word ‘anarchism’ would have been used.<sup>54</sup> Thus while the term syndicalism appeared more frequently in the movement’s press prior to 1910, it was not used in a manner which advocated different aims or practices of previous models of organisation.<sup>55</sup>

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tactic of syndicalism in 1897. Its main advocate was Pouget, who claimed that the tactic was a development of British union militancy; see Bantman, ‘Emilé Pouget,’ 282. A. Lorenzo, *Hacia la emancipación: Táctica de avance obrero en la lucha por el ideal*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Mahón, 1914), 109-111 states that the phrase ‘boycott’ derived from Charles Boycott, an English land agent in Ireland who was ostracised through a campaign led by the Irish Land League. An alternative story was given in J. Roiz, ‘Aspectos del sindicalismo: X,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 16, (17/05/1913), 2, which dates the tactic to seventh-century Scotland.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Bob’, trans. L. Bonafulla, ‘Opiniones acerca del sabotaje,’ *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 3, (08/03/1909), 2-3.

<sup>49</sup> *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón): J. Arias, ‘¿Hasta cuándo?’, 2, (30/04/1909), 3; ‘Cuestiones Sindicales: Peligro?’, 3, (08/05/1909), 2.

<sup>50</sup> *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón): El Corresponsal, ‘Crónicas de Cataluña,’ 1-2; ‘La Lucha de Clases,’ 3, (08/05/1909), 1.

<sup>51</sup> Editorial note, *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 7, (0/07/1909), 4.

<sup>52</sup> C. Malato, ‘El 1<sup>o</sup> de mayo y la revolución social,’ *¡Despertad!*, (Madrid), 1, (c.05/1909), 1-2.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Huelga general de los herreros del Dique,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 113, (19/12/1901), 2. A critique of the loose use term ‘general strike’ can be found in ‘Cuestiones de táctica,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 12, (03/02/1911), 2. See also Grocott, Stockey and Grady, ‘Anarchism in the UK,’ 7.

<sup>54</sup> Editorial, ‘Nueva Aurora,’ *Nueva Aurora*, (Málaga), 1, (16/06/1909), 1.

<sup>55</sup> A comparable assessment of changes to the anarchist ‘vocabulary’ during the Franco dictatorship can be found in Romanos, ‘Spanish anarchists,’ 563.

As in 1870, 1881, and 1900, enthusiasm for organisation within the movement led to plans for a national federation of anarchist unions. By 1909, the Catalan SO was receiving requests to enter the Federation from societies all over Spain, including the metal workers of La Felguera (Asturias) and newly founded workers' federations in La Coruña, Zaragoza and Granada.<sup>56</sup> At its 1909 Congress SO voted in favour of national expansion by 26 votes to four.<sup>57</sup> Outside Cataluña, the momentum for this project was driven by ideas and initiatives published in the anarchist press, which met the call for a syndicalist federation with enthusiasm. *Tribuna Libre* was particularly supportive, stating that the idea would be aid 'the development and the combined action of the Spanish syndicalist movement'.<sup>58</sup>

### The Tragic Week

The enthusiasm for a national federation was punctured shortly afterwards. In July 1909 conscripted reservists were called up following an increase in fighting in Spanish-controlled Morocco. This move was deeply unpopular in Cataluña, where it sparked a series of public anti-war protests.<sup>59</sup> This was a critical juncture for SO. While its support was growing across Spain, the organisation was in danger of collapse in Cataluña, challenged by both the strength of the Radical Republican Party and its inability to overcome employer intransigence in the textile area of the Ter Valley.<sup>60</sup> When its leadership refused to sanction a general strike in Barcelona, a committee of SO officials, anarchists and socialists took matters into their own hands, and set about organising a city-wide work stoppage on Monday 26 July.<sup>61</sup> Industrial action rapidly developed into a generalised eruption of popular unrest, which later became known as La Semana Trágica (The Tragic Week).<sup>62</sup> In Barcelona, barricades were erected in working-class districts and businesses were closed. The city was divided, with a popular insurgency of anarchists, socialists, radical republicans, labour leaders, 'freethinkers' and educators on one side, and the army and Civil Guard on the other. Clashes between these two blocs became increasingly violent, while the middle classes and ruling elites of the city withdrew to their homes. After paralysing the city's economy and clashing with the forces of order, protesters turned against the Catholic Church.<sup>63</sup> Between a third and a half of Barcelona's churches and convents were burned by protestors, in the most spectacular eruption of anticlericalism in Spain in almost a century. By the end of the week 104 civilians (both protesters and onlookers) had been killed,

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<sup>56</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 63.

<sup>57</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo* 350-351.

<sup>58</sup> Editorial, 'Decisión importante,' *Tribuna Libre*, (Gijón), 6, (19/06/1909), 4.

<sup>59</sup> Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 175.

<sup>60</sup> On the crisis in the textile trade see Maura, *La Rosa de Fuego*, 465-466.

<sup>61</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 142-163; J. Álvarez Junco, 'Maneras de hacer historia: los antecedentes de la Semana Trágica,' *Zona Abierta*, 31, (1984), 43-92.

<sup>62</sup> There are numerous studies of this event. Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 167-282 provides perhaps the most comprehensive account of the day-by-day developments; see also Maura, *La Rosa del Fuego*, 509-542; Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 382-392; Dalmau, *Siete días de furia*, 97-105.

<sup>63</sup> Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 176-180.

alongside two civil guards, five members of the military, one municipal policeman, one security guard and three members of the clergy.<sup>64</sup>

The Tragic Week was not a revolution, nor was it a principally anarchist affair. Neither SO nor the city's anarchists instigated or directed this 'headless movement' of popular rebellion.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, as repression began it was clear that blame would be shouldered by many within these circles. SO and *Solidaridad Obrera* were closed under martial law and high-profile members of the Catalan anarchist and labour movements fled the city. A number of those who stayed were accused (and acquitted) of directing the rebellion, alongside senior figures in the Radical party. In total over 2,000 people were arrested in Barcelona, of which five were executed, 59 given life sentences and 178 exiled from the city.<sup>66</sup>

'Rational', 'anti-religious', 'anarchist' education was deemed the key factor in the disturbances. Over 100 schools and educational centres were closed in Cataluña, as were many similar establishments outside the province.<sup>67</sup> Key individuals in alternative education were singled out for repression, most notably Francisco Ferrer, who was cast as the figurehead of revolutionary ideas in Spain. He was arrested on 31 August and charged with being the decisive influence behind the insurrection.<sup>68</sup> Few contemporaries genuinely believed these charges, and the prosecution barely attempted to prove them. Instead, Ferrer was attacked for being the source of seditious ideas, namely, his role in anarchist education and print, which the state regarded as equally dangerous to 'social order' as outbursts of revolutionary activity. He was an obvious scapegoat for the rebellion: a recognisable figure to anarchists and the general public, whose punishment would demonstrate the state's commitment to crushing radical ideas. In reality, Ferrer was an idiosyncratic figure, often more remote from developments within the anarchist movement (particularly after 1906) than his posthumous standing would suggest. He had supported the anticlerical violence of the Tragic Week, but did not take part in it, nor could he have possibly orchestrated it alone. Nevertheless, Ferrer's guilt for the 'crime' in spreading revolutionary ideas was evident. He was declared 'the author and chief of the rebellion' and was shot by firing squad in Montjuich Castle on 13 October.<sup>69</sup>

All public communications to Barcelona were either severed or censored during the Tragic Week, and afterwards martial law was in place across the country until 27 September, curtailing all

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<sup>64</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 285-287; Maura, *La Rosa de Fuego*, 516; Dalmau, *Siete días de furia*, 107-111.

<sup>65</sup> Marín Silvestre, *La Semana Trágica*, 261-264.

<sup>66</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 283-284, 292; Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 181.

<sup>67</sup> For example the Free School in Mahón run by Mir i Mir, (former editor of *El Porvenir del Obrero*) was closed, see 'Asuntos Varios,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 342, (13/02/1913), 4.

<sup>68</sup> A detailed narrative of Ferrer's interrogation and trial can be found in Avilés Farré, *Francisco Ferrer*, 221-232; see also F. Bergasa, *¿Quién mató Ferrer i Guardia?*, (Madrid, 2009). See also the near-contemporary account in Archer, *Francisco Ferrer*, 171-253, and his translation of the official report on 257-324.

<sup>69</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 298-304; Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 181-182; Avilés Farré, *Francisco Ferrer*, 232-243.

anarchist publishing in Spain.<sup>70</sup> This made it impossible for the movement to publish commentary on the events as they unfolded.<sup>71</sup> This situation improved in November, marked by the arrival of a number of new anarchist periodicals, *Al Paso* (Sevilla), *El Libertario* (Madrid) and *El Rebelde* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria). Between them, these papers established the Tragic Week and its repercussions as part of the collective memory of the movement. Depictions of the event varied: it was portrayed as a 'strike', a 'brief revolutionary moment' and a reaction against 'bourgeois clericalism' by different authors.<sup>72</sup> Socialists and republicans were attacked for not assisting the 'revolutionary movement,' consigning it to failure and repression.<sup>73</sup> Anger intensified following the Republican-Socialist electoral pact in November 1909, which confirmed to anarchists the image of non-revolutionary, bourgeois-appeasing socialists and cynical republicans after working class votes.<sup>74</sup>

Few papers examined the events of the Tragic Week in depth and all refused to discuss anarchist participation in the events, in a manner similar to *El Corsario*'s reaction to terrorism in the 1890s. Instead, they focused on the repression in Barcelona and the execution of Ferrer.<sup>75</sup> Contributors to *Al Paso* saw Ferrer as part of a lineage of radical thinkers who had suffered at the hands of the Catholic Church, such as Jan Hus, Giordano Bruno, Galileo Galilei and Michael Servetus, casting him as the victim of a violent state, beholden to the interests of capitalists and the Church.<sup>76</sup> Ferrer's treatment was also compared to that of Christ.<sup>77</sup> One particularly vivid evocation of Ferrer's death was a story published in *Al Paso*, in which the author-protagonist awoke to a downpour of blood, after which Ferrer's name was spelled out in the sky by a series of moons.<sup>78</sup> Ferrer's celebrity was a boost to sales, shown by the thousands of extra requests sent in for *Al Paso*'s proposed

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<sup>70</sup> The disruption of communications was due to the Strike Committee's desire avoid news reaching Barcelona that rebellions had not taken place elsewhere. See Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 195. Official censorship of national papers was in place from Tuesday 27 July, see 'Nota oficial: Publicación del Bando,' *El País*, (Madrid), 8016, (27/07/1909), 1. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1,186. *Al Paso*'s editors were also imprisoned following the Tragic Week, see Manolo, 'Paella,' *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 1, (04/11/1909), 4; González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 126.

<sup>71</sup> This was in part due to the Strike Committee's wish to isolate Barcelona, to avoid news reaching the city that rebellions had not taken place elsewhere and to disrupt official communications, see Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 195. Official censorship of national papers was in place from Tuesday 27 July, see 'Nota oficial: Publicación del Bando,' *El País*, (Madrid), 8016, (27/07/1909), 1.

<sup>72</sup> *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II: 'Campaña pro-presos...', 7, (31/12/1909), 1; A. Lorenzo, 'Una Carta,' 9, (14/01/1910), 1; A. Logo, 'Sobre un Fracaso,' *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 2, (27/11/1909), 1.

<sup>73</sup> Editorial, 'A socialistas y republicanos: Reto a controversia,' *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 4, (22/12/1909), 1. On 22 July the national socialist leadership agreed to declare general strike across Spain on 2 August in support of the Barcelona strike, Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 376. After the event anarchist commentators claimed that the 'effeminate' socialists knew this would never take place, see A. Logo, 'Sobre un fracaso,' *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 2, (27/11/1909), 1.

<sup>74</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 404-406. 2 Later examples in *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): 'Suceso político,' 7, (30/12/1910), 1 and 'Razonemos, sí,' 8, (06/01/1910), 1.

<sup>75</sup> The one extended piece of contemporary anarchist writing on the Tragic Week was L. Bonafulla, *La revolución de Julio: Barcelona 1909*, (Barcelona, 1910).

<sup>76</sup> La Redacción, '1553 y 1909,' *Al Paso*, II, 1, (04/11/1909), 1.

<sup>77</sup> M. Santaella Vásquez, 'El dominio Jesuítico,' *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 1, (04/11/1909), 2-3; D. Espinosa, 'Rebelión,' *Rebelión*, (Sevilla), 1, (25/02/1910), 1. The latter article also includes Benjamin Franklin, Girolamo Savonarola and Christopher Columbus. See also Gabriel, 'Performing persecution,' 34-62.

<sup>78</sup> C. Silvio Ros, 'A la muerte de Ferrer...', *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 5, (16/12/1909), 3.

8-page special issue on the ‘unforgettable’ educator, which included his portrait and texts by Kropotkin, Malato, Malatesta and Lorenzo.<sup>79</sup> Ferrer’s martyrdom was portrayed in a similar to that of the Chicago martyrs, and the innocent victims of repression in Jerez and Montjuich. Because of his innocence, Ferrer was a true martyr, marked by his commitment to the anarchist cause and the baselessness of the charges which had condemned him. Indeed, it seemed that Ferrer’s martyrdom touched the movement in a manner that even the victims of Montjuich had not, as he was embedded into the movement’s collective memory in a far more lasting manner than these earlier martyrs. His works were regularly republished, and pamphlets and books on his martyrdom continued to be produced by the movement into the 1930s, when those of the 1890s had been largely forgotten.<sup>80</sup> Papers of an educationalist style, such as Samuel Toner’s *Escuela Moderna*, were keen to maintain the memory of Ferrer, particularly in issues published on the anniversary of his death [see Plate 3.1].<sup>81</sup> References to Ferrer also emerged in acts of naming.<sup>82</sup> Several anarchist groups adopted Ferrer’s name directly – such as the ‘Ferrer’ group of Estepona (Málaga) and Alcoy (Alicante) – or made reference to the date of his execution, as with the ‘13 October’ groups in Málaga and Ferrol.<sup>83</sup> This latter group went on to publish *Cultura Libertaria*, (Ferrol, 1912-1913, 12 issues), a paper which declared the rational education promoted by Ferrer to be ‘the true religion’.<sup>84</sup>

Like the repression of the 1890s, Ferrer’s execution sparked a campaign of international protests against the Spanish state.<sup>85</sup> His name and date of execution were taken up by anarchist groups abroad, such as the ‘13 October’ group of Havana and the ‘Ferrer’ group of Las Caseadas (Panamá), who launched their periodical *El Único* (Cólón, 1911-1912, 14 issues) on the second anniversary of Ferrer’s execution.<sup>86</sup> Another ‘Ferrer’ group was formed by Spanish migrants in Abercraive (Wales).<sup>87</sup> In the Netherlands, postcards of Ferrer’s portrait and children’s books about his life could be bought from anarchist publishers, and plays based on his life and execution became a popular feature of socialist clubs from Mexico to Beirut.<sup>88</sup> Beyond anarchist circles, Ferrer’s status as the world’s most

<sup>79</sup> ‘Cósicas,’ *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II: 5, (16/12/1909), 4 and 7, (31/12/1909), 4.

<sup>80</sup> Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 87, 106, 156, 169-171, 174-175, 177, 203, 233, 277, 292, 297.

<sup>81</sup> See *La Enseñanza Moderna*, (Valladolid), II, 3, (10/10/1910), 1-12; *Escuela Moderna*, (Valencia), 25, (13/10/1910), 1-8.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Donativos para este periódico,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 3, (02/12/1910), 4.

<sup>83</sup> ‘Noticias,’ *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 2, (27/11/1909), 2; ‘Mesa revuelta: Nuevos grupos,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): 2, (25/11/1910), 4 and 6, (23/12/1910), 4.

<sup>84</sup> J. Navarro González, ‘La verdadera religión...,’ *Cultura Libertaria*, (Ferrol), 8, (03/12/1912), 1.

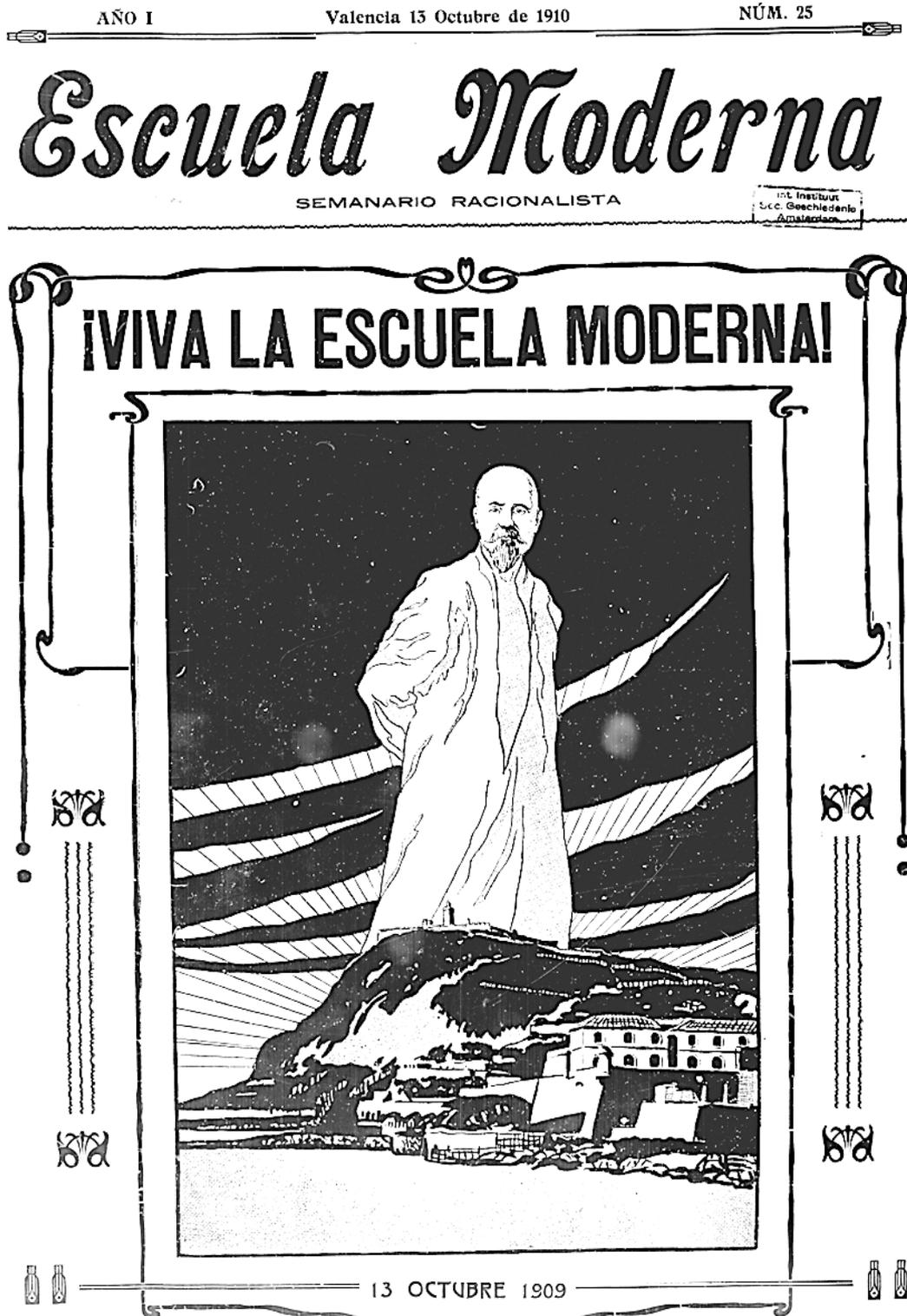
<sup>85</sup> Laqua, ‘Francisco Ferrer,’ 467-484.

<sup>86</sup> ‘Abriendo brecha,’ *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 115, (30/10/1913), 2; Mesa revuelta: Nuevos grupos,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 3, (02/12/1910), 4; ‘Federación anarquista del Panamá,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 28, (06/09/1911), 4 and 29, (13/09/1911), 4. *Acción Libertaria* praised the federation for its prompt payment of dues, see ‘Despedida,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), 33, (17/11/1911), 1. In 1912 a representative on the Panamá federation visited Spain, see ‘Asuntos Varios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 319, (07/09/1912), 4.

<sup>87</sup> ‘El proletariado ante la guerra...,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 91, (13/05/1915), 1.

<sup>88</sup> Ribera, ‘Memoria libertaria,’ 116-118; Khuri-Makdidi, *The Eastern Mediterranean*, 21; C. de Spiegeleer, ‘“The blood of martyrs is the seed of progress”: The role of martyrdom in socialist death culture in Belgium and the Netherlands, 1880–1940,’ *Mortality*, 19.2, (2014), 194-195.

Plate 3.1: Image depicting a giant-like Francisco Ferrer above Montjuich Castle on 1st anniversary of execution, printed on front-page of *Escuela Moderna*, (Valencia), 25, (13/10/1910)



prominent radical educator was assured by his execution, as demonstrated by the Modern School projects that emerged in almost every continent from 1909 onwards.<sup>89</sup> This was particularly pronounced in the USA, where a long-lasting Modern School movement emerged immediately after Ferrer's execution, supported by the 'Francisco Ferrer Association,' which included the novelists Jack London and Upton Sinclair amongst its members.<sup>90</sup>

However, the construction of 'Ferrer the martyr' did not meet with uniform approval from Spanish anarchists.<sup>91</sup> A large sector of anarchist opinion criticised the obsession with Ferrer as 'idolatry'.<sup>92</sup> To Mella, this was pure 'fetishism', a 'christianisation' of Ferrer that was the work of 'pseudo-revolutionaries' who 'could not be anarchists'.<sup>93</sup> Rather than join in the collective mourning on 13 October, a number of papers developed a counter-anniversary on this date, reminding their readers that 'every day another victim falls...every day the hungry masses are murdered en masse...all days are 13 October'.<sup>94</sup> Anarchists attacked parliamentary socialists and middle class educators who 'mourned Ferrer as a freethinker and neglected his anarchism'.<sup>95</sup> They were also critical of the international campaigns aroused by Ferrer's execution. When Belgian radicals began an international subscription to fund a statue to Ferrer they were lambasted in *El Libertario*, which suggested that the money would be better spent on rational schools.<sup>96</sup> There was a feeling that the ideas for which Ferrer lived and died were being overlooked in the construction of his martyrdom, while his memory was appropriated for political gain.<sup>97</sup> Thus it appears that some sections of the movement had become deeply uncomfortable with the notion of martyrdom. Rather than return to the language and practices of the 1890s, they sought to downplay and ultimately eradicate this seemingly 'religious' behaviour and concentrate instead on organising the movement in preparation for future struggles.

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<sup>89</sup> Avrich, *The Modern School Movement*, 33; Avilés Farré, *Francisco Ferrer*, 276; 'Llamamiento de la Asociación de Francisco Ferrer, *Escuela Moderna*, (Valencia), 20, (10/09/1910), 2.

<sup>90</sup> 'Llamamiento de la Asociación de Francisco Ferrer,' *Escuela Libre*, (Valencia), 20, (10/09/1910), 2.

<sup>91</sup> Laqua, 'Francisco Ferrer,' 7.

<sup>92</sup> See later critiques of idolatry regarding Ferrer, for example N. Desmenjez, [J. Menéndez], 'Prejuicios,' and P. García, 'Para los idólatras,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 10, (12/10/1912), 1.

<sup>93</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): 'Reflexiones,' *Acción Libertaria*, 8, (06/01/1911), 1 and R. Mella, '¡Basta de idolatrías!', 9, (13/11/1911), 1.

<sup>94</sup> 'Ante de aniversario,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 10, (12/10/1912), 1.

<sup>95</sup> de Spiegeleer, "The blood of martyrs," 199.

<sup>96</sup> *El Libertario*, (Madrid): Pérez, 'Comentando,' 2, (27/11/1909), 2; Picoitea, 'Idólatras,' 3, (12/12/1909), 1. In contrast, *Escuela Moderna*, (Valencia), supported the project and gave a detailed appraisal of the proposals in 'El monumento á Ferrer,' *Escuela Moderna*, (Valencia), 40, (04/02/1911), 3-4. A statue to Ferrer was erected in Brussels in 1914 but was pulled down by the invading German army, see G. H. Meaker, 'A civil war of words: The ideological impact of the First World War on Spain, 1914-18,' H.A. Schmitt, *Neutral Europe Between War and Revolution: 1917-1923*, (Charlottesville, VA, 1988), 4.

<sup>97</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): Comité de Agitación Revolucionario de Burdeos, 'Campana humanitaria...', 4, (25/12/1909), 2; 'Ante un aniversario,' 27, (15/10/1910), 1. 'Aplausos y latigazos,' *El látigo*, (Baracaldo), 6, (16/11/1912), 4; J.S. Duque, 'La acción social...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 9, (13/01/1911), 4.

Anarchist papers, such as *Al Paso* and *El Libertario*, attempted to use the repression of the Tragic Week as a means to rouse united revolutionary activity.<sup>98</sup> Early in 1910 both papers published aims for a ‘federation of Spanish anarchist groups and individuals’, calling anarchists across Spain to form into groups, which would work in their localities to spread anarchist propaganda. *El Libertario* would act as a coordinator for these efforts, federating these groups together, while keeping their details out of public record to avoid repression.<sup>99</sup> Their organisation would be much looser than trade unions, and based upon shared values rather than shared labour. Although these plans came to nothing, they were resurrected a few years later with more promising results. Meanwhile, syndicalist papers were hesitant to invoke the memory of the Tragic Week, and decided that rather than ‘naming streets after [Ferrer],’ the most fitting tribute would be to continue his work for revolutionary syndicalism, which was overlooked by non-anarchists and anarchists alike.<sup>100</sup> If his death was to be remembered, it should not be in order to make Ferrer a saint (he was, after all, ‘no more than putrefied material’), but as a cause to unite workers and a stimulus to organisation, in a manner akin to the mobilisation of French anarchist opinion in the wake of the Dreyfus affair.<sup>101</sup> This position is understandable, given that the Tragic Week was a disaster for SO, resulting in the closure of its paper and an end to the organisations’ ambitions for national expansion. For syndicalists, the best course of action was to move on from this event as quickly as possible.

#### Confederación General – Confederación Nacional – Huelga General: 1910-1911

In November 1909 a new *Solidaridad Obrera* was launched in Gijón. With the Barcelona paper still suppressed, this new publication briefly became the principal source of syndicalist ideas in Spain. This was not a direct handover from one paper to the other – as in 1893 when *El Productor* passed over its accounts to *El Corsario* – but a spontaneous, local response to the void created by repression.<sup>102</sup> The paper was produced by largely the same group of publishers as *Tribuna Libre*, including Quintanilla (often using the pseudonym ‘Juan Buenafé’) and Sierra Álvarez.<sup>103</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) operated as the mouthpiece of the Gijón workers’ federation, which claimed the

<sup>98</sup> For an example of this pattern in the context of post-Civil War Spain see Romanos, ‘Spanish anarchists,’ 554-555.

<sup>99</sup> Grupo de *El Libertario*, ‘Para nosotros,’ *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 5, (10/01/1910), 1; V. Gothia, ‘A los compañeros,’ *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 9, (14/01/1910), 3 and *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 6, (20/02/1910), 1. Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1070-1071.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Ante un aniversario,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 27, (15/10/1910), 1.

<sup>101</sup> J. Sánchez Rosa, ‘¡Hay que luchar!,’ *Al Paso*, II, 1, (04/11/1909), 4; *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): F.F.H. ‘Francisco Ferrer Guardia,’ 322, (28/09/1912), 1 and ‘¡Viva la Escuela Moderna!’, 323, (05/10/1912), 1. T. Conner, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Rise of the French Public Intellectual*, (Jefferson, NC, 2014), 118-119.

<sup>102</sup> Madrid Santos, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 89-91.

<sup>103</sup> Several articles in *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón) were lifted directly from *Tribuna Libre* (Gijón), for example: ‘De los métodos de lucha...,’ 6, (15/01/1910), 1-2 and A. Lorenzo, ‘Para los maestros,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 8, (29/01/1910), 1. On Quintanilla’s pseudonym see Álvarez, *Eleuterio Quintanilla*, 26.

support of 1,350 workers, around 15 per cent of the city's workforce.<sup>104</sup> This federation was regarded as a model of local syndicalism, providing a blend of 'moral and material' activity it saw as the means to 'economic and social emancipation'.<sup>105</sup> All constituent societies were bound by 'solidarity' and the payment of dues, yet they were free to declare their own strikes and to act on their own accord on matters of trade. The federation was open to all occupations and to both sexes, but they would not admit societies affiliated to the socialist or republican movements, or those that had any connection to the Church. Its central committee was made up of members of all societies, operated on a one-delegate-one-vote system, and was renewed every six months.<sup>106</sup> The city's socialist unions, based in the Calle Anselmo Cifuentes, claimed a similar number of affiliates to the syndicalist federation. These two organisations attacked one another using well-established insults and caricatures. Gijón's socialists portrayed the syndicalist federation as disorganised, hysterical and extreme, while *Solidaridad Obrera* attacked local socialists as authoritarian and 'political'.<sup>107</sup> The moderation of the socialists was seen as futile, a product of the centralised structure of the UGT and its affiliation to the PSOE. The syndicalist federation aimed to avoid these pitfalls, combining flexibility with bottom-up unity, which was regarded as the opposite of the socialists' hierarchical union structure.

Both *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) and the federation were based in the workers' centre on Calle de Casimiro Velasco, and shared many members of staff. They had a mutually reinforcing relationship. The paper was filled with news and correspondences from local workers, which invigorated its discussions and demonstrated syndicalist theory in practice. It also informed workers of the federation's activities and administered its campaigns. The paper also instigated a project for a local workers' centre, which was portrayed as a panacea for all the local workers' needs, in a similar manner to the anarchist centres founded in the previous decade. It would provide a stable location in which to conduct publishing and syndical activity, house a rational school and a popular library, and would offer its rooms out for night classes, arts, theatre, courses and conferences. Although the centre was not completed until 1928, *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) helped to spark enthusiasm for the idea, planning fund-raising activities (raffles, theatre shows, literary performances) and emphasising the 'emancipatory' quality of the work ahead.<sup>108</sup> All of these roles ensured that the paper helped to create an atmosphere in which collective action made sense.<sup>109</sup>

Outside Cataluña, *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) articulated the clearest, most well-defined argument for syndicalism prior to the creation of the CNT. Its serialisation of José Prat's *La burguesía*

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<sup>104</sup> Juan Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], 'La acción sindicalista...Gijón...', *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 3, (11/12/1909), 3. Using figures of 10,000 workers in Gijón, see Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 67; M. Llordén Miñambres, *Desarrollo económico y urbano de Gijón en los siglos XIX y XX*, (Oviedo, 1994), 59.

<sup>105</sup> See Bar, *La CNT*, 332.

<sup>106</sup> *Reglamento de la Federación Gijonesa de Sociedades de Resistencia Titulada 'Solidaridad Obrera'*, 1-4, published in *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 13, (02/04/1910), 3-4

<sup>107</sup> Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*, 173-175.

<sup>108</sup> Juan Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], '... La Casa del Pueblo,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): 30, (26/11/1910), 3-4 and 32, (24/12/1910), 3. Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*, 177.

<sup>109</sup> Velasco Mesa, 'Revolutionary rhetoric,' 238-240.

y *el proletariado* gave its readers a fortnightly discussion of syndicalist ideas and proposals: the difference between revolutionary syndicalism and ‘impotent’ reformist unionism; the lineage of syndicalism from the International; syndicalism’s apolitical stance; its weapons of general strike, boycotts and sabotage; and the need for increased syndicalist propaganda.<sup>110</sup> In contrast to many of his anarchist contemporaries, Prat was openly influenced by Marxism. Marx was often resented by Spanish anarchists, who saw his arguments with Mikhail Bakunin as the cause of the collapse of the International and the root of parliamentary socialism.<sup>111</sup> Marx’s emphasis on capitalism as the prime source of oppression was also seen as limited.<sup>112</sup> Prat, however, employed Marx’s focus on class and capitalist economics as a means to advocate syndicalism, which he saw as an inevitable response to contemporary economic relations. In Prat’s words, syndicalism was ‘not a theory but a deed...an immediate consequence of the system of salaries’.<sup>113</sup> This shift towards Marxian analysis was evident throughout the paper, to the extent that some articles discussed ‘authority’ not as the tripartite ‘trilogy’ of anarchist analyses (the State, Church and Capital) but the result of the system of production alone.<sup>114</sup>

Unlike many of its predecessors, *Solidaridad Obrera* portrayed syndicalism as distinct from anarchism. In addition to Prat, the paper published the works of a range of French syndicalist thinkers and activists, particularly Victor Griffuelhes, former secretary general of the CGT (1901-1909) and author of the Amiens Charter.<sup>115</sup> Griffuelhes’ views on syndicalism were similar to Prat’s, affirming the value of direct, worker-led action such as sabotage and strikes; syndicalism’s basis in the working class and economic relations, and the need for syndicalists to avoid electoral politics. Yet Griffuelhes was uneasy about the relationship between syndicalism and anarchism. While anarchist ideas were influential in the CGT, the organisation refrained from calling itself ‘anarchist,’ stressing that anarchist ideas were only useful as a means to syndicalist ends.<sup>116</sup> As such, the organisation is best described as one of ‘syndicated anarchists’ rather than anarcho-syndicalists.<sup>117</sup> The influence of French revolutionary syndicalism upon Spanish movement was mixed.<sup>118</sup> While papers such as

<sup>110</sup> J. Prat, *La burguesía y el proletariado: Conferencia leída en el centro Juventud Republicana de Lérida el 16 de enero de 1909*, (Barcelona, 1909), 1-29, serialised in *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 1-22, (13/11/1909-06/08/1910).

<sup>111</sup> For example see Un explotado, ‘Socialismo autoritario...,’ *La Protesta*, (La Línea de la Concepción), 119, (01/02/1902), 3-4.

<sup>112</sup> Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, 37.

<sup>113</sup> J. Prat, ‘El sindicalismo: I...,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 3, (11/12/1909), 1.

<sup>114</sup> J. Arias, ‘La nueva táctica,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 3, (11/12/1909), 1. Some articles appeared as summaries of Marx’s works, although not all were attributed, for example ‘Trabajo y progreso,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 9, (05/02/1910), 1, presents a near-identical argument and uses similar syntax and diction to the chapter ‘The Industrial Reserve Army’ in *Das Kapital*, Vol. I.

<sup>115</sup> B. Vandervort, *Victor Griffuelhes and French Syndicalism, 1895-1922*, (Baton Rouge, LA, 1996).

<sup>116</sup> Mitchell, ‘French syndicalism,’ 25-26, 32-33.

<sup>117</sup> Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 28-29. Examples of articles by V. Griffuelhes in *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): ‘Lo que es el sindicalismo,’ 16, (14/05/1910), 2; ‘...El gobierno,’ 17, (28/05/1910), 1; ‘La acción directa,’ 18, (11/06/1910), 1-2; ‘Medios de lucha directa,’ 19, (25/06/1910), 1-2; ‘La huelga,’ 20, (09/06/1910), 2; ‘... El sabotaje,’ 32, (24/12/1910), 2.

<sup>118</sup> Gabriel, ‘Sindicalismo y huelga,’ 44-45.

*Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) saw the CGT as the prime example of syndicalism in action, its contributors were much more openly supportive of anarchism, and recognised the strong influence of anarchist principles upon the Spanish working class.<sup>119</sup> Thus the paper stressed that the principles of the CGT should be applauded, yet also adapted to the Spanish context, which meant presenting syndicalism as the best means to an anarchist end.<sup>120</sup> For *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón), ‘if the complete emancipation of the working class can only be achieved in anarchism, and syndicalism searches for the complete emancipation of the working class, syndicalism has to be anarchist’.<sup>121</sup> This was the basis of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, which saw the organisational principles of syndicalism as the best means to secure revolutionary objectives of anarchism.

Anarcho-syndicalism did not solve the inherent problems of anarchist organisation, but it did appear to provide a more satisfactory way of accommodating desires for individual autonomy and collective action than previous models, which papers such as *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) cast as old fashioned and limited.<sup>122</sup> Prominent anarchist contributors in the paper, such as Mella and Quintanilla, also labelled previous anarchist practice as too ‘speculative’ and ‘illogical,’ prone to inactivity and ‘puritanical’ in its attitude to new ideas.<sup>123</sup> Several articles referenced the Gijón general strike of 1901, which had been given scant support by the FSOE and had ended in abject failure. This episode hung heavy on those seeking to remobilise the *gijonés* workforce, who called upon the readers of *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) to put this past failure behind them and have faith that the coherency of syndicalism would bring victory, where older forms of organisation – praiseworthy but chaotic – had suffered noble defeat.<sup>124</sup> Syndicalism would be a means to break the cycle of repression and defeat; a means to ‘materialise’ anarchism and make it effective.<sup>125</sup>

SO and *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) resumed activity in early 1910. The Tragic Week and its repercussions had fortified SO’s resolve for national expansion, and the organisation soon made plans for a congress which would found a confederation of syndicates across the whole of Spain. The original name for the proposed federation was the Confederación General de Trabajo, chosen in direct imitation of the French confederation.<sup>126</sup> The only objection to these developments came from SO’s socialist minority, who saw the idea as a challenge to the UGT. Rather than a national syndicalist

<sup>119</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): J. Rodríguez Romero, ‘¿Una CG de Trabajo en España?’, 19, (25/06/1910), 2; A. Progreso, ‘¿Por qué no se ingresa en la UG de T?’, 24, (03/09/1910), 2.

<sup>120</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Tribuna Libre...’, 11, (05/03/1910), 2; J. Prat, ‘El sindicalismo...’, 22, (06/08/1910), 1-2. See also Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 38.

<sup>121</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 304, 332.

<sup>122</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘...Sindicalismo y cooperación,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 11, 905/03/1910), 2.

<sup>123</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): J. Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], ‘La acción sindicalista...Argentina...’, 4, (25/11/1909), 3-4; R. Mella, ‘Hacia el porvenir...’, 12, (19/03/1910), 1-2 and ‘...Sindicalismo y anarquismo,’ 14, (16/04/1910), 2.

<sup>124</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Ante el peligro,’ 3, (11/12/1909), 1; L. Muñiz, ‘De la observación diaria,’ 4, (25/12/1909), 2; Juan Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], ‘La acción sindicalista...’, 20, (09/06/1909), 4.

<sup>125</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 331.

<sup>126</sup> Juan Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], ‘...II Congreso nacional de la Confederación del Trabajo Catalana,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 11, (05/01/1910), 3.

organisation, they sought to integrate SO within the UGT.<sup>127</sup> Elsewhere in Spain, reception to the idea of a national federation was mixed. Of the handful of papers in print at this time, the most detailed discussion of SO's proposals came from *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón). The idea was discussed in a regular section named 'A General Confederation of Labour in Spain?', which demonstrated an openness common to anarchist print culture, allowing for different and competing perspectives within a single newspaper. The strongest critic of the proposed organisation was José Sánchez Duque, a Galician anarchist who had formerly been involved in the editorial of *Tiempos Nuevos*, (Gijón; 1905-1906; 2 issues).<sup>128</sup> In 1910 Duque was living in Paris, where he had witnessed the problems of the CGT first hand. Syndicalism – he stated – as 'plagiarised' from France, was not an end in itself. Only 'conservative anarchists' could support the codification and centralisation of the 'organic' idea of worker solidarity, which would 'castrate' independence while promoting 'mandarins and governors'.<sup>129</sup> Duque was challenged by a number of contributors to the paper, including another émigré to Paris, José Rodríguez Romero, who regarded syndicalism as a means to address the 'lack of cohesion and necessary environment in the rest of the peninsula (i.e. not Cataluña)'. Rodríguez Romero was tired of the ideological wrangling of self-styled revolutionaries such as Duque, asserting that 'deeds have to follow words...enough of the theories and let us get on with practice'.<sup>130</sup> The paper tried to strike a balance between these two opinions. As 'those who call themselves anarchists and accept syndicalism as a means of positive action,' they supported the idea of a national syndicalist federation, but were opposed to the idea of imitating the CGT, seeking instead a more anarchist-influenced, federalised structure, which would ensure harmony between the principles of autonomy and organisation.<sup>131</sup>

Other anarchist papers acknowledged that if a national organisation were to be formed, it would have to be based on syndicalist tactics.<sup>132</sup> Papers such as *Al Paso* made noticeable shifts towards syndicalism, making a point of its 'new orientation' by briefly relabelling itself as an 'anarchist-syndicalist' periodical.<sup>133</sup> The paper proposed the publication of an anarcho-syndicalist paper in every province of Spain, ensuring that propaganda reached every corner of the country without recourse to over-centralisation in Barcelona. However, such turns to the 'new' ideas of syndicalism could be fleeting. Within a month *Al Paso* abandoned its advocacy of syndicalism, changing its name back to

<sup>127</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 153-155; *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 195-198.

<sup>128</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 155, n.813; Álvarez, *Eleuterio Quintanilla*, 23.

<sup>129</sup> J.S. Duque, '¿Una Confederación General de Trabajo en España?,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, 14, (16/04/1910), 2 and 30, (26/11/1910), 2.

<sup>130</sup> J. Rodríguez Romero, 'Tribuna Libre: ¿Una C.G. de Trabajo en España?,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 19, (25/06/1910), 2. Dalmau, *Siete días de furia*, 131.

<sup>131</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, '... ¿Una C.G. de Trabajo en España?...,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 19, (25/06/1910), 2-3. See Thorpe, 'Uneasy family,' 23-42, for other differences between other syndicalist movements and the French CGT.

<sup>132</sup> C. Caraballo, 'Resurgimiento,' *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 6, (20/02/1910), 2.

<sup>133</sup> *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 1, (04/11/1909): A. Échate, 'Poder de los sindicatos,' 1, (04/11/1909), 1; J. González, 'Donde está el secreto de la revolución,' 3.

‘anarchist periodical’ and requesting only ‘purely sociological and anarchist works’.<sup>134</sup> The cause of this turnaround was not made clear; however it is indicative of the constant fluctuations of support for syndicalism at this time.

### The 1910 Congress

The creation of the CNT not a ‘determined *moment*’ but a ‘constitutive *process*,’ which began at the first national congress of SO, held in the Palacio de Bellas Artes in Barcelona from 30 October to 1 November 1910.<sup>135</sup> Although this Congress did not fully constitute the CNT –which took place a year later – it was an important step towards this point, extending the regional SO into the national Confederación General de Trabajo. Anarchists across Spain learnt about the Congress from an 8-page special edition of *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) and three issues of *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón). The *gijonés* paper based its coverage on the reports of Pedro Sierra Álvarez, who was present as the delegate of workers’ societies in Gijón and La Felguera.<sup>136</sup> According to these reports, of the 170 societies represented or adhered to the Congress, 76 (~45 per cent) were from outside Cataluña, located in 19 different provinces across Spain [Table 3.1].<sup>137</sup> Every locality represented in Barcelona had a local correspondent for both *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) and its *gijonés* counterpart, reflecting continuing significance of print networks within the structure of the movement.

Sierra Álvarez was keen to stress the national support for the Congress in his reports. Yet he was exaggerating when he reported to *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) that ‘the rest of Spain’ was represented.<sup>138</sup> During the Congress, efforts were made to include non-Catalan delegates as fairly as possible: they made up three of the six commission presidents, seven of the 25 named commission secretaries and 22 of the 61 discussion group members. The group delegated to write up the provisional statutes of the Federation was the most geographically mixed of all, containing one representative each from Gijón, Zaragoza, Vigo, Cervera del Río Alhama (Logroño), Sevilla and Tarrasa, in addition to the secretary of SO, José Negre.<sup>139</sup> Yet non-Catalan societies were far less likely to be directly represented at the Congress, as many societies could not afford to send a

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<sup>134</sup> *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II: J. González, ‘El centralismo,’ 5, (16/12/1909), 2-3; ‘Cósicas,’ 7, (31/12/1909), 4. González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 126-130.

<sup>135</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 545, emphasis in original.

<sup>136</sup> ‘Congreso obrero nacional,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 39, (04/11/1910), 1-8; P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Congreso nacional...’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 29-31, (12/11/1910-10/12/1910), 1-2. Although Sierra Álvarez was a popular choice within the workers’ societies of Gijón, many would also have liked Quintanilla to attend, yet ‘diverse reasons’ prevented him from doing so. See *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): ‘Por nuestras sociedades,’ 26, (30/09/1910), 4 and Juan Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], ‘La acción sindicalista...,’ 27, (15/10/1910), 3.

<sup>137</sup> The number of societies used is an amalgamation of those listed in ‘Congreso obrero nacional,’ *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona), II, 39, (04/11/1910), 1-8; Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 463-469; Bar, *La CNT*, 156; including the corrections made by Cuadrat and adherences made during the Congress.

<sup>138</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Congreso nacional...,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 29, (12/11/1910), 1.

See also map in M. Tuñón de Lara, *El movimiento obrero en la historia de España*, (Barcelona, 1977), 536.

<sup>139</sup> ‘Congreso obrero nacional,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 39, (04/11/1910), 6.

Table 3.1 Societies and Delegates at the 1910 Congress

	Represented Societies	No. Delegates	Unrepresented Societies
<b>Spain</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Cataluña</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>10</b>
Barcelona	82	103	9
Lérida			1
Tarragona	2	2	
<b>Non-Cataluña</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Andalucía</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>
Almería			1
Cádiz	2	2	1
Córdoba	1	1	1
Granada	2	2	
Huelva			1
Málaga	1	2	4
Sevilla	1	1	6
<b>Aragón</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
Zaragoza	6	3	1
<b>Asturias</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Castilla la Vieja</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	
Logroño	1	1	
<b>Galicia</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>
A Coruña			
Pontevedra	1	1	3
<b>Islas Baleares</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>León</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>Murcia</b>			<b>1</b>
<b>Provincias Vascongadas</b>			<b>1</b>
Vizcaya			1
<b>Valencia</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>
Alicante	2	2	1
Valencia			7

Individual Adherences: Anselmo Lorenzo; Vicente García; Fransisco Abayá

Source: *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 39, (04/11/1910), 7-8; Bar, *La CNT*, 156; Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 463-469

delegate.<sup>140</sup> Instead, they nominated an individual, often through a letter sent *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona). Most of these substitute delegates were from Barcelona, and there is little in the reports of the Congress to suggest they mentioned either the society or locality that they represented.<sup>141</sup> In contrast, delegates sent directly from non-Catalan societies – Sierra Álvarez (Asturias), Gil (La Cervera del Río Alhama), Ordinas (Palma de Mallorca), Plaza (Vigo), Mora and Zuferrí (both Zaragoza) – spoke of issues particular to their locality, as a means to demonstrate the shared nature of the struggles of the Spanish proletariat.<sup>142</sup> Many non-Catalan societies also shared delegates. Sierra Álvarez, for example, represented 17 societies from two different localities in Asturias. Over half of the non-Catalan societies had no representation at all and had simply ‘adhered’ to the Congress, without having any input in its decisions. In contrast, around 90 per cent of Catalan societies sent a delegate, 24 of which sent two, and two sent four delegates each. Since each delegate only had a single vote regardless of how many societies they represented, non-Catalan societies had less direct influence in the Congress than their Catalan counterparts. This lack of representation from outside Cataluña was a problem for the organisers of the Congress. Direct representation had been an ideal within anarchist organisation since the FRE, as a means to avoid organisational hierarchy.<sup>143</sup> The difference between the number of non-Catalan societies claimed to support the Congress (76) and the number of non-Catalan delegates (12) exposes the limits of this ideal in practice. Another qualification of the Congress’ ‘national’ character lies in its geographic spread. Of the 37 societies that were represented, a large concentration was from Asturias (17), a smaller cluster from Zaragoza (6), while the remainder were scattered groups across the rest of the country. Areas such as Madrid, which had a strong history of anarchist publishing, were entirely absent from this Congress, while Andalusian societies were far less prominent than they had been in both the FTRE and the FSORE. Thus the ‘national’ character of the Congress was more of an ambition than a reality, reflecting the patchy, unequal spread of syndicalist ideas amongst many traditional areas of anarchist support.

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<sup>140</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 470.

<sup>141</sup> Negre [representing societies in La Línea (Cádiz) and Loja (Granada)]; Juan Esteve, [representing a workers’ centre in Bujalance (Córdoba)]; Antonio Salud, who a year later was the president of a Barcelona painters’ society [representing the Algeciras (Cádiz) workers’ centre]; Rafael Avila [representing the La Coruña sawyers’ society], who administered *Solidaridad Obrera*; and Joaquín Bueso, a typographer based in Barcelona who worked for *Solidaridad Obrera* until October 1911 [representing Sevilla’s Arte de Imprimir society]. Of the remaining 12 delegates, eight were definitely based in the locality of the societies they represented: Pedro Sierra Álvarez (Gijón); Rogelio Cantó and Rafael Bernabeu (both Alcoy); Juan Ordinas (also known as Joan Urdivas; Palma de Mallorca); Juan Gil (La Cervera del Río Alhama, Logroño); Joaquín Zuferrí and Jorge Mora (both Zaragoza); and Luis Plaza (Vigo).

<sup>142</sup> ‘Congreso Obrero Nacional,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 39, (04/11/1910), 6-7. One exception: Esteve formed part of a discussion group dedicated to the question of rural organisation, due to his role as representative of Bujalance, an Andalusian agro-town.

<sup>143</sup> For example see A. Lorenzo, ‘Al congreso...,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 1. An example of what anarchists considered bad congressional practice can be found in V. García, ‘Sobre los ferroviarios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 315, (10/08/1912), 4.

Of the 15 themes on the table for discussion, the most controversial was the extension of SO into a national organisation. The socialist delegates Juan Durán and Jacinto Puig saw no reason for a new organisation, and instead called for a union between the UGT and SO. Puig warned that any new national organisation would be tarred as ‘*amarillo*’, a statement which offended many of those in attendance.<sup>144</sup> Yet the majority of delegates were in favour of the creation of a national organisation, separate from the UGT. At the same time, the Congress professed a desire for ‘unity’, claiming that its ultimate desire was to combine all of the Spanish working class into a single organisation together with the UGT.<sup>145</sup> Yet this unity was predicated on the UGT abandoning its connection to the PSOE and its ‘politics’. Unity of the working class thus implied the subordination of the UGT and the ‘capture’ of its affiliates by the syndicalist confederation, rather than any attempt at reconciliation between parliamentary and revolutionary tactics.<sup>146</sup> The only non-Catalan delegate to speak on this matter was Sierra Álvarez, who argued in favour of SO expansion. He pointed out that in areas outside Cataluña where the socialists were strong – such as Gijón – syndicalists were already free to join the UGT, but had formed a syndicalist federation instead. Using figures of the socialist writer Juan José Morato, Álvarez also claimed that only 43,000 of the 400,000 unionised workers in Spain were part of the UGT, as proof that the vast majority of workers did not agree with the socialist union’s tactics.<sup>147</sup> The Congress approved national expansion by 83 to 13 votes. This moment is frequently portrayed as a turning point in the history of Spanish anarchism; a point where SO affirmed its national ambitions and, as a result, alienated the remaining socialists within the organisation.<sup>148</sup> However, outside Cataluña, the question of socialist participation within the organisation was never countenanced, as syndicalism had always been associated with the anarchist movement. Thus the more pressing concern outside Cataluña was whether anarchists, rather than socialists, would accept this organisation.

The Congress did not adopt anarchism as its guiding ideology. Anarchism was not discussed during the Congress, except at one point when Negre asserted that SO was ‘neutral’ and by no means an ‘exclusively anarchist’ organisation.<sup>149</sup> Several discussions did, however, suggest the ascendancy of anarchist attitudes; for example, the discussion on ‘should syndicalism be a means or an end of workers’ emancipation?’, which was answered by: ‘syndicalism...should not be interpreted as an ideal but as a means of struggle...with the aim of assuring...the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie’. Although this statement did not mention anarchism, it was a clear endorsement of the

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<sup>144</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 475.

<sup>145</sup> A. Bar, ‘The CNT: The glory and tragedy of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism,’ M. van der Linden and W. Thorpe, (eds.), *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, (Aldershot, 1990), 121-122.

<sup>146</sup> This matter was discussed in more depth in the 1911 Congress, see Bar, *La CNT*, 283-284.

<sup>147</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Congreso nacional...’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 29, (12/11/1910), 1-2. The figures used by Álvarez for UGT membership were slightly higher than the official number at the most recent UGT Congress (June 1910), which was 40,984, see Tuñón de Lara, *El movimiento Obrero*, 485 and Castillo, *Un sindicalismo consciente*, 158.

<sup>148</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 483-486.

<sup>149</sup> ‘Congreso obrero nacional,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 39, (04/11/1910), 3.

aims of the many anarchists present at the Congress. Despite one objection this motion was approved.<sup>150</sup> In this regard, the 1910 Congress was similar in tone to the creation of the FSORE, which had also refrained from explicitly proclaiming ‘anarchism’ while asserting broadly anarchist principles and tactics. Where the new confederation differed was in its more practical elements. The Congress was clear that affiliated societies had to pay dues and provide the new Central Committee with information regarding their members, profession and location. Both of these administrative features were lacking from the FSORE. The Congress also advocated the general strike, yet rather than simply asserting it was a good idea, like the FSORE, the new confederation attempted to define a workable strategy for its implementation. Local ‘general strikes’ were easily put down, as witnessed earlier in the decade; what was needed was coordination, preparation and agreement at a national level, in order to avoid ‘warlike adventures’ in which ‘the proletariat only loses blood and wins nothing’.<sup>151</sup>

SO also recognised that best means to maintain a regular connection to supporters of syndicalism outside Cataluña was through its periodical. From the outset *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) provided the federation with a platform, which helped to create a climate in which syndicalism meant something to its affiliates. This was something the FSORE never achieved.<sup>152</sup> The value of *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) was recognised in the Congress, where plans were made to expand the paper and set up a working group to ‘study the most practical means’ of producing a daily version. A scheme to extend propaganda was also proposed, which called for the creation of groups charged with promoting syndicalism in public meetings and conferences across Spain, as well as editing newspapers, publishing pamphlets and distributing free *hojas* to ‘the workshop, the field and the mine’.<sup>153</sup>

These plans could not be implemented straight away, as the new confederation had little presence outside its Catalan base. The success of the confederation thus rested on its ability to turn the proposals made at the 1910 Congress into a reality, solidifying the scattered support it received outside Cataluña into a coherent organisation. In order to do this, it had to engage with anarchist groups across Spain and demonstrate to them that syndicalism was the best means to achieve their goals, providing a cultural base of support for the organisation which was lacking in 1910.<sup>154</sup> This process of adding ‘meat to the bones’ of the confederation began in earnest in January 1910, at the same time that the organisation changed its name to the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (CNT).<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Congreso nacional...’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 30, (26/11/1910), 1-2. Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 35-36.

<sup>151</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Congreso nacional...’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 30, (26/11/1910), 2.

<sup>152</sup> The FSORE did manage to publish its own *Boletín* three years after its creation, but by this point enthusiasm for the Federation had waned substantially. The *Boletín* never came close to the scope or significance of *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona). Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 169-171.

<sup>153</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Congreso nacional...’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 30, (26/11/1910), 1.

<sup>154</sup> This was also true in Cataluña, see Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 200-201.

<sup>155</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 490; Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 36.

## Building a National Presence

The CNT's expansion required the support of the anarchist press. Yet, the anarchist movement outside Cataluña were not universally committed to syndicalism or the new confederation. For example, the newly-founded *Anarquía* (Zaragoza, 1911-c.1912) had doubts about the effectiveness of syndicalism as the best means to advance the revolution. The paper advised its readers to ensure that syndicates had the 'eminently revolutionary' input of anarchism, and did not become subject to the reformist influences of 'professional charlatans'.<sup>156</sup> This paper was edited by Joaquín Zuferrí, who was a delegate of the Zaragoza workers' federation at the 1910 Congress, but had since turned his back on the organisation.<sup>157</sup> Equally sceptical was *El látigo*, (Madrid, 1911), the last periodical edited by Federico Urales and Soledad Gustavo prior to the 1920s.<sup>158</sup> This was an unusual publication. Alongside crude satire and gibes levelled at politicians such as Lerroux and Iglesias, the paper ran a column named 'political brushstrokes,' which consisted of short fictitious dialogues between various political groups – including anarchists – as a means to ridicule them.<sup>159</sup> In *El látigo*, syndicalism was presented as simply a new trend within the anarchist movement, which would soon be abandoned.<sup>160</sup> This was quite a departure from Urales, who had been at the forefront of the movements' organisational efforts a decade earlier. After his disputes with Antonio Apolo in 1904-1905 Urales had been ostracised – labelled an 'ex-anarchist' by some within the movement – to the point that he no longer seemed to identify as an anarchist, nor did many anarchists identify with him.<sup>161</sup> Unlike his previous publications, *El látigo* struggled to attract a readership and closed after just four issues.<sup>162</sup> Urales did not edit another publication until 1923, when he began the second epoch of *La Revista Blanca* in Barcelona.<sup>163</sup>

In Gijón, prospects for syndicalist support were more encouraging. United working-class action appeared to be growing in 1910, after the local anarchists, republicans and socialists joined in

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<sup>156</sup> Gasero, 'Revolucionario,' *Anarquía*, (Zaragoza), 1, (09/03/1911), 3.

<sup>157</sup> A.B., 'La acción social... Zaragoza,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 14, (17/03/1911), 3-4.

<sup>158</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 149, n.773 and II.1, 536-537.

<sup>159</sup> For example see *El látigo*, (Madrid): 'Latigazos,' 1, (18/02/1911), 13-14; F.U., [Federico Urales], 'Cartas a Pablo Iglesias,' 2, (25/02/1911), 8-9; Kotoku [F. Urales], 'La farsa de la semana,' 3, (04/03/1911), 2-3. The latter pseudonym is a reference to Dr. Kotoku Shusui, a Japanese anarchist executed for treason in January 1911.

<sup>160</sup> 'Brochazos políticos,' *El látigo*, (Madrid): 3, (04/03/1911), 4 and 4, (11/03/1911), 5.

<sup>161</sup> Rumours that Urales was standing as a deputy for the Cortes circulated in the anarchist press in 1910, see 'El caso de Urales,' *El Libertario*, (Madrid), 5, (10/01/1910), 3-4 and Caridad Alcón, 'Paella,' *Al Paso*, (Sevilla), II, 6, (24/12/1909), 1-2. Both of these articles make reference to Urales' formerly high standing in the movement and his subsequent fall from grace.

<sup>162</sup> See notices in *El látigo*, (Madrid), 4, (11/03/1911), 4 and 11.

<sup>163</sup> Urales did attempt to publish a new paper in 1913, but the project failed, see S. Gustavo and F. Urales, "'El Hombre Libre,'" *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 360, (19/06/1913), 4. Madrid, 'La Prensa Anarquista,' II, 2, 977.

solidarity strikes against employer intransigence and the widespread use of lock-outs.<sup>164</sup> They also received support from dockers in Aviles (Asturias), Bilbao, Ferrol, and La Coruña, where boycotts were launched against ships diverted from Gijón. This local and translocal solidarity was praised by *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) as a ‘beautiful movement’, which cut through ‘politics’ as the true articulation of the Spanish working class.<sup>165</sup> After months of unrest and hardship in Gijón, figures in the employers’ association became the target of violent attacks. On 24 June the President of the employers’ circle was shot and wounded by the anarchist Marcelino Suárez, and a month later Celestino Lantero (spokesman of the association) was stabbed and died two days later.<sup>166</sup> These incidents were used as reason to suppress syndicalist and anarchist groups. The homes of Quintanilla and Sierra Álvarez were searched and both were held in custody, while the editor of *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón), Emilio Rendueles, was arrested and charged as an accomplice in Lantero’s murder.<sup>167</sup> Marcelino Suárez, the only one of those charged to admit any guilt, became a regular correspondent in *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón), providing a fortnightly column criticising the appalling state of Gijón’s Modelo prison.<sup>168</sup>

The fallout from this episode revealed that *Solidaridad Obrera* understood ‘unity’ in a similar manner to the delegates of the 1910 Congress. Rather than compromise, it inferred a united acceptance of syndicalist tactics and a disavowal of ‘politics,’ excluding socialist groups unless they renounced their affiliation to the UGT. The city’s socialists were thus criticised as having abandoned the strike and their belief in moderation, which was regarded as useless in the face of employer intransigence. Subsequent efforts by socialists to consolidate support in Asturias were attacked in the paper as divisive, for example in the reports from correspondent José Riestra Rodríguez (pseud. José María Martínez) in Sama de Langreo, where proposals were underway to integrate the local miners’ union into the UGT.<sup>169</sup> By the end of 1910 *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) was in trouble. Rendueles was

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<sup>164</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): ‘¡Alerta, trabajadores!’, 5, (08/01/1910), 1; ‘En pleno conflicto,’ 14, (16/04/1910), 1. Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 69-75; Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*, 174-175, 262-266.

<sup>165</sup> ‘El “Lock-Out” de Gijón en otros puertos,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 15, (30/04/1910), 1-2.

<sup>166</sup> Juan Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], ‘La Acción Sindicalista: Movimiento Obrero Internacional: Gijón: Huelgas,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 6, (15/01/1909), 3.

<sup>167</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): Letter from Rendueles, ‘Campaña justiciera,’ 25, (16/09/1910), 1; M. Suarez, ‘La salvajada policiaca,’ 25, (16/09/1910), 2; Álvarez, *Eleuterio Quintanilla*, 56-65.

<sup>168</sup> M. Suarez, *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): ‘En la cárcel modelo: Siguen los abusos,’ 27, (15/10/1910), 2; ‘La inquisición...,’ 29, (12/11/1910), 2; ‘Pin...pan...pun,’ 30, (26/11/1910), 2-3; ‘Venganzas cobardes,’ 31, (10/12/1910), 2; ‘Siguen las venganzas,’ 32, (24/12/1910), 1. See also Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 98-100.

<sup>169</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón): J. Riestra Rodríguez, [J. María Martínez], ‘Embaucadores é impondedores,’ 32, (24/12/1910), 2-3; see also reports on socialist courting of Gijón mechanical sawers’ union: P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘¡Alerta aserradores!’, 26, (30/09/1910), 2; Juan Buenafé, [E. Quintanilla], ‘La acción sindicalista... los aserradores mecánicos,’ 27, (15/10/1910), 3.

still in prison and the paper was running at a massive deficit, which it blamed on non-paying correspondents. Shortly afterwards the paper was forced to close.<sup>170</sup>

At the same time a new *gijónes* anarchist publication emerged: *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón, 1910-1911, 27 issues). Although it shared a number of contributors, *Acción Libertaria* was not a direct replacement for *Solidaridad Obrera*. It was published by the city's anarchist 'Germinal' group, which included Quintanilla and Sierra Álvarez, as well as support of notable figures in the wider movement.<sup>171</sup> *Acción Libertaria* sustained a print run of approximately 2,300.<sup>172</sup> Although this figure was small, the paper became the most important anarchist periodical outside Cataluña in 1910-11, comparable only to *Tierra y Libertad* (Barcelona) in its standing within the movement, as demonstrated by the number of high-profile contributors to the paper and its extensive correspondence network.<sup>173</sup> The paper saw hope in the CNT, but it did not pretend that anything substantial had yet been achieved. Strikes in Gijón, Bilbao, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Tarrasa, Sabadell, Ferrol and Huelva were cited by contributors as proof of growing proletarian activity across Spain, yet the paper's editors did not credit this to syndicalism: 'the wave of strikes does not answer to instigations of socialist or anarchist militants...the present proletarian generation defines itself above all in moments of excitation and crisis, by a certain rebellious radicalism which does not completely fit into any doctrinal model'.<sup>174</sup> This impression is backed by data from the government's Institute of Social Reforms, which observed that explicitly 'syndicalist' activity remained limited in Spain in 1909-1911, despite an increase in union membership and strike activity.<sup>175</sup> In Sevilla, for example, there was a general upsurge in worker organisation in 1910-1911, yet many of these associations were 'defensive' and concentrated on questions such as wages. 'True syndicates,' which used offensive tactics and declared a desire to destroy capitalism, were rare.<sup>176</sup>

For *Acción Libertaria*, syndicalism had to establish itself in local contexts before it could harness this 'rebelliousness'.<sup>177</sup> It had to innovate and adapt to the new climate, not simply replace old words with new ones. It had to abandon its faith in 'old' strikes and plan coordinated revolutionary strike action, and accept the new tactic of sabotage as the only means to combat employer intransigence.<sup>178</sup> Some correspondents expressed doubts about this development, criticising the current obsession with economic theory at the expense of the 'moral and philosophical' elements of

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<sup>170</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera: 2º suplemento al número 32*, (Gijón, 1911), 1-2 and *Solidaridad Obrera: 3er suplemento al número 32*, (Gijón, 1911), 1-2; 'Mesa revuelta: Periódico suspendido,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 9, (13/01/1911), 4.

<sup>171</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón): 'Una circular...', 21, (23/06/1910), 2; 'Noticias Varias,' 25, (16/09/1910), 4.

<sup>172</sup> 'Mesa revuelta...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 27, (17/06/1911), 4.

<sup>173</sup> 'Sobre una petición de la palabra,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 61, (03/12/1911), 2.

<sup>174</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): 'Las Huelgas,' 4, (09/12/1910), 1; A. Lorenzo, 'Los precursores...', 4, (09/12/1910), 1

<sup>175</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 232-233.

<sup>176</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 139-140.

<sup>177</sup> G.H.M., 'La acción social... Málaga,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 9, (13/01/1911), 3.

<sup>178</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): 'Cuestiones de táctica,' 12, (03/02/1911), 2; E. Pouget, 'Nuevos métodos de lucha...', 10, (20/01/1911), 2.

anarchist ideology.<sup>179</sup> Those who advocated cultural emancipation felt threatened by the current obsession with organisation, and reminded the editors of *Acción Libertaria* that the revolution meant more than a new system of production.<sup>180</sup> It also required the creation of a 'new morality' and intellectual action, for which print was essential.<sup>181</sup> Yet *Acción Libertaria* was not prepared to abandon syndicalism because some of its contributors were uneasy with the idea, and it stressed that changes had to be made from within the anarchist movement. Mella was particularly forthright in this stance, frequently criticising the lack of 'deeds' from the anarchist movement and its 'exhausted' ideology.<sup>182</sup> Despite all of the doubts expressed in the paper, it remained hopeful that the expansion of syndicalism was both desirable and possible. 'Syndicalism is still weak' – wrote Anselmo Lorenzo in *Acción Libertaria* in February 1911 – 'note well the expression...it is *still* weak...stronger than yesterday, it will be stronger tomorrow...bourgeois privilege is still strong...it was stronger yesterday, it will be weaker tomorrow'.<sup>183</sup>

*Acción Libertaria* gives a good sense of the state of the anarchist movement at the time of the CNT's creation. The paper reflected enthusiasm for syndicalism, yet it also reflected a desire for anarchism to have a more central role in syndicalist theory and practice. Tellingly, the paper scarcely mentioned the CNT, mainly because there was nothing to report. The federation remained little more than a symbolic gesture to national organisation, which had not yet become a reality to many anarchists or the wider labour movement. The first secretary of the CNT, José Negre, was aware of these shortcomings. In his summary of the confederation's inaugural year, he admitted that 'our works have not been as brilliant as our...ambition,' yet he absolved the organisation of any responsibility for its inactivity, instead blaming the poor education of the Spanish worker, bourgeois repression, and a lack of money. Although their tactics were very different, Negre's attitude was similar to that of the supporters of terrorism who were frustrated that violence failed to produce a revolutionary response from the working class, and the anarchist educators who were exasperated by the lack of enthusiasm for their projects. All shared a desire to find a latent support for radicalism waiting to be unleashed by the correct tactics, and were left disappointed when it was not forthcoming.

Nevertheless, Negre saw reasons for optimism, particularly in the growing strength of *Solidaridad Obrera*, which had increased its distribution from 4,500 to 7,000 copies in under a year.<sup>184</sup> Support for the CNT appeared to be especially strong in areas that had sent delegates to the 1910 Congress.<sup>185</sup> In Vigo, for example, a local syndicalist federation was formed and briefly

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<sup>179</sup> Grupo 'Libre Examen,' 'Mesa Revuelta...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 13, (c.03/1911), 4.

<sup>180</sup> 'Táctica libertaria,' *Acción Libertaria*, 14, (17/03/1911), 1-2.

<sup>181</sup> Dick [R. Mella?], 'Reflexiones,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 29, (13/09/1911), 1.

<sup>182</sup> R. Mella, 'Sociologismo agotado,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 11, (27/01/1911), 1.

<sup>183</sup> A. Lorenzo, 'La fuerza proletaria,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 12, (03/02/1911), 1.

<sup>184</sup> '... Primer congreso obrero' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 2. The largest anarchist paper of the time, *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), claimed a distribution of around 11,000. V. García, 'Tierra y Libertad Diario,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 68, (07/06/1911), 3-4.

<sup>185</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 231-232, 235.

published its own newspaper, and sought to expand into a regional federation.<sup>186</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera* de Galicia was constituted in March 1911, consisting of 16 societies from La Coruña, five from Vigo and a few agricultural societies, in total representing around 3,800 workers.<sup>187</sup> A similar process was underway in Zaragoza, marked by the publication of the local workers' federation *La Aurora Social*.<sup>188</sup> In the Islas Baleares, José Ordinas, representative of the Palma bricklayers' society at the 1910 Congress, credited the marked increase in worker activity in Mallorca to the 'inspiration' given by the CNT.<sup>189</sup> Likewise, a month after the creation of the CNT supporters of syndicalism in Sevilla began working towards a federation of societies across Andalucía. An 'anarchist and syndicalist' propaganda campaign through Andalucía was proposed to rally support for this idea.<sup>190</sup> As with similar tours in the early 1900s, print played a crucial role in these events. José Sánchez Rosa, one of the key figures in the Andalusian anarchist publishing, led one of these tours, speaking at meetings where he advocated the organisation of workers into 'modern syndicates'.<sup>191</sup> One correspondent to *Acción Libertaria* claimed that thousands of people attended one of Sánchez Rosa's conferences in Huelva, in which anarchist print had been widely distributed. Although these were encouraging signs for activists in Andalucía, support for both local federations and a regional confederation remained limited.<sup>192</sup> New syndicalist groups also invited repression. A syndicalist federation formed in Huelva shortly after Sánchez Rosa's visit, reportedly with the support of 4,000 affiliates, and called for a city-wide strike.<sup>193</sup> In response, the local authorities arrested the entire federal committee, who appealed for help from the movement in a letter sent to *Acción Libertaria*.<sup>194</sup>

Support for syndicalism also came from groups in areas that had not sent delegates to the 1910 Congress, such as Valladolid, where the local anarchist periodical *Escuela Libre* saw itself as a publication for the 'rationalist-syndicalist worker'.<sup>195</sup> In March 1911 the paper announced the creation of a local 'Ateneo Obrero Sindicalista', run by Federico Forcada, the editor of paper and director of the local rationalist school.<sup>196</sup> The centre's organisers aimed to 'spread scientific-economic culture' and combat all 'political, religious and social sophisms,' through the construction of a library of

<sup>186</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 9, (13/01/1911): 'La acción social... Vigo,' 3 and 'Publicaciones recibidas...', 4.

<sup>187</sup> Freán Hernández, *El movimiento libertario*, 14-16.

<sup>188</sup> Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 181.

<sup>189</sup> 'Primer congreso obrero' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 4.

<sup>190</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): A.M., 'La acción social...Sevilla,' 4, (09/12/1910), 4. González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 136.

<sup>191</sup> M.S., 'La acción social...Sevilla,' 6, (23/12/1910), 3. See also Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 67.

<sup>192</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 140-141.

<sup>193</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): A.I.T., 'La acción social... Huelva...', 3, (02/12/1910), 3; F.U.U. [F. Urano Urés], 'La acción social... Calañas,' 6, (30/12/1910), 4.

<sup>194</sup> 'Lo de Huelva,' *Escuela Libre*, (Valladolid), 3, (15/03/1911), 4; 'Mesa Revuelta: Una Buena noticia,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 19, (21/04/1911) 4.

<sup>195</sup> *Escuela Libre*, (Valladolid): 'La pedagogía social,' 1, (15/02/1911), 1; 'La cinematografía...', 2, (01/03/1911), 2-3.

<sup>196</sup> F. Forcada, 'La enseñanza moderna,' *Escuela Libre*, (Valencia), 16, (13/08/1910), 2; X., 'La acción social... Valladolid...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 3, (02/12/1910), 3-4. On the workers' movement in Valladolid in this period see G. Pérez Sánchez, *Ser trabajador: Vida y respuesta obrera (Valladolid, 1875-1931)*, (Valladolid, 1996), 365-368.

‘syndicalist propaganda’.<sup>197</sup> They also asserted their affiliation to the CNT, although the centre did not appear in any of the confederation’s records.

Judging by these reports in the anarchist press, by the summer of 1911 syndicalism had clearly made a mark on the movement. The CNT had inspired anarchist groups across Spain to begin the task of organising locally and regionally. Yet the organisation remained elusive, and had not fully established itself beyond its base in Cataluña. It also retained a stance of ‘pure syndicalism’ and had not officially embraced anarchism in either its rhetoric or declared aims. If the anarchist movement outside Cataluña was to make the most of the opportunity presented to it by the creation of the CNT, it had to consolidate anarchist ideas within the organisation’s structure and outlook.

### The 1911 Congress and Repression

The I Congress of the CNT was held in Barcelona from 8-10 September 1911. From the outset the CNT’s support was ‘elastic’; it waxed and waned constantly, particularly during periods of industrial unrest. Membership figures reproduced in the press were often estimates and exaggerations, and often fluctuated dramatically. It is therefore difficult to make definite points on the CNT’s size and spread.<sup>198</sup> In the most generous reading of the figures published in *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona), there were around 30,000 members of the CNT in September 1911, around half of whom were from Cataluña [see Table 3.2]. Of the remainder, roughly 7,500 were from Andalucía, 2,500 from Zaragoza, 1,700 from Gijón and La Felguera (Asturias), 1,200 from Valencia region, 920 from Mallorca, 610 from Río Alhama (Logroño), 555 from Galicia, 210 from Bilbao and Baracaldo (Vizcaya) and 100 from Santander. Around half of the societies present at the 1911 Congress were from outside Cataluña, the bulk of which were from Andalucía (~48), followed by Galicia (~19), Valencia (~13), Aragón (~11), Asturias (~11), Castilla la Vieja (~3), Mallorca (~2) and Vizcaya (~2). This would show an increase of around 40 per cent in non-Catalan involvement in the CNT from the previous year, while affiliation from Catalan societies had increased by less than 15 per cent. Yet only a third of non-Catalan societies had representation at the Congress. Affiliated societies in Sevilla – one of the areas where anarchists had most readily accepted syndicalist tactics – contributed little to the proceedings, and those in Asturias were unable to send a representative.<sup>199</sup> As in the previous year, many representatives of non-Catalan societies were stand-ins from Barcelona, most of whom were members of the CNT Central Committee.<sup>200</sup> Following two years of poor representation from outside

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<sup>197</sup> ‘Ateneo obrero sindicalista...’, *Escuela Libre*, (Valladolid), 2, (01/03/1911), 2.

<sup>198</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 230-233.

<sup>199</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 141, n.89; Á. Barrio Alonso, ‘El anarquismo asturiano entre el sindicalismo y la política, 1890-1920,’ *Ayer*, 45.1, (2002), 164. Delegates from Gijón were unable to attend because of the on-going repression in the city. A short-lived publication – *¡Justicia!* (1911, c.2 issues) – was launched in Gijón in the summer of 1911, which aimed forge local solidarity against the on-going repression.

<sup>200</sup> José Negre (representing societies in Puerto Real, Baracaldo and Vigo), Tomás Herreros (representing the general trades’ society of Bilbao) and Manuel Permañer (representing the 15 societies of the La Coruña workers’ federation). For the CNT committee members, see Bar, *La CNT*, 233.

Table 3.2: Location of Societies and Delegates of CNT in September 1911

	Represented Societies	No. Delegates	Unrepresented Societies	No. Affiliates (where known)
<b>Spain</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>29470</b>
<b>Cataluña</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>14233</b>
Barcelona	74	98	28	13830
Gerona	5	4		305
Lérida			1	98
<b>Non-Cataluña</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>15507</b>
<b>Andalucía</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>7654</b>
Cádiz	1	1	7	1129
Córdoba	1	1	2	720
Huelva	1	1	6	2260
Málaga	2	3	5	1950
Sevilla	2	2	21	1595
<b>Aragón</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2461</b>
Zaragoza	2	3	9	2461
<b>Asturias</b>			<b>11</b>	<b>1705</b>
<b>Castilla la Vieja</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>710</b>
Logroño			1	610
Santander			1	100
<b>Galicia</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>555</b>
La Coruña	15	1	2	293
Pontevedra	1	1	1	262
<b>Islas Baleares</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>920</b>
<b>Provincias Vascongadas</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>		<b>210</b>
Vizcaya	2	2		210
<b>Valencia</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1292</b>
Alicante	2	2	4	492
Valencia	6	6	1	800

Source: *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), 83, II, (08/09/1911), 1 and 84, II, (15/09/1911), 1 and Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 625-629.

Cataluña, delegates approved a motion which stated that subsequent travel costs would be covered by the CNT's central fund. They also voted to hold the next Congress in Zaragoza, hoping that this would be more accessible to delegates from the rest of Spain.<sup>201</sup>

The overriding theme of the 1911 Congress was the CNT's organisational structure. Its leadership advocated a highly decentred system, in which local federations and regional confederations would retain most decision-making powers. This local autonomy would ensure that the CNT remained focused on the immediate, local concerns of workers. Activists had to 'live the life of the different pueblos'; otherwise the CNT would cease to have meaning in the lives of its members. These local and regional bodies were to be joined by parallel national unions of trade, creating a dual system of representation which would ensure autonomy within localities and solidarity across them. The national committee would guide these federal bodies, but lacked full executive control. The only national action the committee could take was the decision to call for a general strike, which would only be approved if the entire organisation was ready. Although it was reminiscent of previous anarchist organisations, Negre presented this model as a pragmatic means of ensuring the CNT did not disintegrate as readily as its predecessors.<sup>202</sup> Another reoccurring theme of the Congress was membership fees. Some representatives called for high, fixed quotas, representing a desire to codify existing anarchist voluntary donation funds, which had previously been administered by periodicals. Many resisted this centralisation of practice, invoking the movement's deep distrust of union bureaucracy and fee-paying.<sup>203</sup> Some fees may have been necessary – just as paying for a newspaper was necessary – however anarchists stressed that systematised due-paying created union elites and an inactive membership, as demonstrated by the socialist unions of the UGT.<sup>204</sup> Only a week before the Congress an article by Anselmo Lorenzo in *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) stressed this point, criticising unionists who 'believe paying dues justifies...apathy and inertia'.<sup>205</sup> Following much discussion, the Congress approved of only relatively small dues. A fund for prisoners, particularly for those imprisoned whilst undertaking work for the CNT, was to be raised by a four céntimo quota from each affiliate, while the confederation itself was to be funded through a monthly fee of 1 céntimo per affiliate. Further dues for regional confederations were to be agreed at a regional level.<sup>206</sup> Anarchist fears of bureaucratisation was also reflected in the Congress' rejection of *syndicalismo a basé multiple* – the practice of paying society officials, maintaining large strike funds and negotiating with employers, as practiced by socialist unions.<sup>207</sup> This was hierarchical and therefore bad practice, since

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<sup>201</sup> '...Primer congreso obrero,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 2-3.

<sup>202</sup> '...Primer congreso obrero,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 1-3.

<sup>203</sup> See letter by Lorenzo to Congress, in '...Primer congreso obrero,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 1.

<sup>204</sup> N. Desmenjez, [J. Menéndez], 'Reflexiones,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 12, (03/02/1911), 1.

<sup>205</sup> A. Lorenzo, 'Los sindicatos...', *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), 83, II, (08/09/1911), 3.

<sup>206</sup> This proposal was put to a vote, in which 59 voted in favour, seven against, and eight abstained, see '...Primer congreso obrero,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 1-2.

<sup>207</sup> Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 108.

it deviated from the model of a future classless society. 72 delegates voted in favour of a motion censuring *a basé multiple*, and only four against.<sup>208</sup>

The role of print was second only to the structure of the CNT in the proceedings of the Congress. Everyone present agreed that a daily syndicalist newspaper was necessary in order to sustain the confederation and attract new members. This was a ‘true evolutionary and revolutionary’ endeavour, which would combat the daily slander against the working class in the bourgeois press.<sup>209</sup> Yet the group charged with addressing this matter was pessimistic about the prospects of this publication, unless its finances could be assured in advance. It was suggested that syndicates across Spain should follow the example of SO (now known as the Confederación Regional de Trabajo de Cataluña, CRT), and collect dues for the paper. Eventually the Congress agreed on a high monthly quota of 10 céntimos per affiliate for the daily paper, to last for a period of six months. In order to sustain it in the long term, Salvador Seguí proposed that 9,000 shares in the paper should be created and sold at a value of 1 peseta each. As with the payment of dues, these moves sought to codify previously sporadic behaviour, indicating a growing shift towards a more structured, centralised movement.<sup>210</sup> The expansion of print was one of the few areas in which the central CNT took primacy over local activity. Plans for new regional syndicalist periodicals were rejected, as the proposed extension of *Solidaridad Obrera* would, it was claimed, provide sufficient coverage across the whole of Spain. Instead of launching local papers, Manuel Permañer of the CNT Central Committee suggested that activists should build support for the forthcoming central, national syndicalist daily.<sup>211</sup> Although it would take five years before the daily *Solidaridad Obrera* was fully established, this discussion represented the desire within the early CNT for a more formal structure, with Barcelona established as the official – rather than tacit – centre of anarchist activity in Spain. The fact that this was manifest during debates over the role of the press, rather than those concerning organisational structure, reveals the continuing importance of print to the movement. In 1911, local and regional federations were largely abstract ambitions outside Cataluña, while print was seen as the current, tangible mechanism for expansion and consolidation, and thus had to be regulated in a way designed to benefit the embryonic CNT.

The plans for a daily paper, and every other decision made at the 1911 Congress, would have to wait to be put into effect, as the CNT was immediately repressed. The 1911 Congress had been

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<sup>208</sup> ‘...Primer congreso obrero,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 3. The question of *syndicalismo á basé multiple* was also raised at the 1910 Congress. After a prolonged debate the question was deferred to the 1911 Congress, see P. Sierra Álvarez, ‘Congreso nacional ...,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 30, (26/11/1910), 1.

<sup>209</sup> ‘...Primer congreso obrero,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 2.

<sup>210</sup> Vicente García suggested a similar idea in June 1911 to *Tierra y Libertad* (Barcelona), which was also considering expansion into a daily print-run see V. García, ‘*Tierra y Libertad* Diario,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 68, (07/06/1911), 3-4 and Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 188, n.1018. Although it never achieved this goal, hopes of turning *Tierra y Libertad* into an anarchist daily remained a prominent feature in the paper for its subsequent eight years of publication, see Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 60, 64-65, 69, 72, 78, 80, 91, 198-203.

<sup>211</sup> ‘...Primer congreso obrero,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 2.

held during a period of intense popular unrest in Spain.<sup>212</sup> A call-up for troops to fight in Morocco provoked protest meetings through the summer of 1911, which were supported by republicans, socialists and the CNT. At the same time, strikes began in Bilbao (24 August), Málaga (28 August) and the Asturian coalmining area of Mieres (5 September).<sup>213</sup> When the CNT Congress began on 8 September, all of these strikes were escalating. Thousands joined anti-war protests in Madrid; in Asturias around 20,000 miners came out on strike, completely halting work in the industry; in Vizcaya clashes took place between strikers and the civil guard, resulting in the closure of all workers' centres and the deployment of troops.<sup>214</sup> As the Asturian and Málaga strikes ended, city-wide strikes in solidarity with the Basque strikers took place in Zaragoza, La Coruña, Ferrol, Vigo, Sevilla, Gijón and Oviedo. In Valencia clashes between striking workers and the Civil Guard caused a number of deaths, which were followed by the burning of church property. In a bid to regain control of the situation, Prime Minister José Canalejas suspended constitutional guarantees (19 September) and enacted press censorship (21 September). Within days the strike wave had petered out and the threat of a genuine, national general strike was averted.

This moment was arguably a more serious threat to the political order than the Tragic Week. It was certainly more widespread, and primarily took the form of industrial action provoked by class solidarity, which (aside from in Valencia) was not dissipated through anticlerical violence.<sup>215</sup> Like the Tragic Week, however, the strikes were not directed by any political group, and were subdued relatively quickly by repression. The key figures in the republican-socialist alliance were not prepared to declare themselves in favour of political revolution.<sup>216</sup> As republican leaders did little, the socialists were paralysed by their 'sclerotic' leadership, which sought to moderate the strikes, despite the fact that a large section of UGT membership was keen for escalation.<sup>217</sup> As was often the case, the socialist movement was caught between two positions: a desire from its leadership to retain respectability in line with electoral ambitions, and the desires of its membership to act decisively. In the end neither were satisfied. Their indecision meant that direct, spontaneous action was the route chosen by thousands of workers across Spain, whether they identified as anarchists or not.<sup>218</sup>

In contrast, the CNT clearly wanted to see revolutionary action, but lacked the means to do so. Official messages of support were sent to the strikes of Bilbao and Málaga during the Congress, although there was no explicit discussion of using these incidents to provoke a national general strike.<sup>219</sup> Nevertheless, the CNT was accused of planning the unrest and trying to utilise it for

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<sup>212</sup> A day-by-day account of the events from August-September 1911 can be found in Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 538-577.

<sup>213</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 114-115.

<sup>214</sup> J. Ortega, 'La huelga de 1911...', *El látigo*, (Baracaldo), 23, (20/09/1913), 2-3.

<sup>215</sup> Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 322.

<sup>216</sup> '...Primer congreso obrero,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 3; for further critiques of the alliance see J. Arias, 'El fracaso de la conjunción,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 32, (03/11/1911), 1-2.

<sup>217</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 562.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 577.

<sup>219</sup> 'Luchas Obreras,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), II, 84, (15/09/1911), 4.

revolutionary purposes. The basis of this accusation came from the testimony of two brothers, Miguel and José Sánchez González (the latter also known as both Miguel Villalobos Moreno and Constant Leroy) who claimed that a number of delegates and other prominent anarchists, socialists, and republicans held a secret meeting after the Congress, with the aim of exploiting the unrest to provoke a revolutionary general strike.<sup>220</sup> These testimonies were almost certainly fabricated at the instigation of the authorities in Barcelona, as a pretext to repress the CNT.<sup>221</sup> Yet the meeting probably did take place, and the CNT did attempt to send agitators to various cities, although their role in coordinating strikes is difficult to judge. In Sevilla, for example, a general strike was called following a meeting of socialist and anarchist groups in the city, yet the decision was taken with limited direct connection to the national CNT.<sup>222</sup> In the opinion of *Acción Libertaria*, the CNT's direction had been 'vague and ignored,' as each strike had been a grassroots, sporadic, local affair.<sup>223</sup> Anarchists were certainly heavily involved in the strikes of 1911, and the CNT probably tried to use this moment for revolutionary ends, but it had not caused the strikes nor was it capable of directing them. Promoting national, coordinated action was one of the principal reasons for forming the CNT, yet at this early stage the organisation was in no position to make this a reality.<sup>224</sup>

Nevertheless, the CNT was singled out for repression. The organisation was made illegal days after the 1911 Congress, its leading activists were imprisoned, and *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) was suspended.<sup>225</sup> As during the repression of the 1890s, the paper's subscription lists were seized and used to track down important militants across the country.<sup>226</sup> These episodes reveal the dangers of operating through print culture. In times of repression, periodicals became incriminating objects, while the information held at publishing houses were seen by the Spanish authorities as gateways into the workings of the movement. In the following days hundreds of workers and activists were imprisoned across Spain and by the end of September the situation looked bleak for the anarchist movement and the CNT. One weekly round-up of 'social action' from the anarchist press was replaced with a sarcastic announcement that 'nothing has happened here, nothing is happening nor will it happen...we live in the best of all possible worlds. RIP'.<sup>227</sup>

In addition to the closure of *Solidaridad Obrera*, most Catalan anarchist papers suspended publication. *Tierra y Libertad*, for example, felt it was 'impossible' to produce any issues between 13

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<sup>220</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 306-307.

<sup>221</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 552-556; 567-571. For a later attack on Villalobos Moreno on his role in the repression of 1911 see Adanada, [V. García], 'Notas internacionales,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): 356, (22/05/1913), 4 and 357, (29/05/1913), 3.

<sup>222</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad* 156-158.

<sup>223</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II: 'A nuestros compañeros,' 28, (06/09/1911), 1 and 'Nuestra opinión,' 31, (06/10/1911), 1. See also R. Mella, 'Contestando a "El País...",' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 11, (19/10/1911), 1-2.

<sup>224</sup> Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 203-206.

<sup>225</sup> El Grupo Editor, 'A todos los compañeros,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 81, (11/11/1911), 1. On the bleak situation in Barcelona nine months later see P. Bases, 'Desde Barcelona...,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 305, (01/06/1912), 3.

<sup>226</sup> P. Sierra Álvarez, 'Puñado de verdades...,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 31, (06/10/1911), 3.

<sup>227</sup> V.D., 'La acción social...,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 30, (27/09/1911), 3.

September and 1 November.<sup>228</sup> Outside Cataluña, several anarchist publications were closed, including *Escuela Moderna* of Valencia, whose editor Samuel Torner was also imprisoned.<sup>229</sup> The Modern School run by Torner was also closed.<sup>230</sup> The only available contemporary anarchist coverage of the 1911 Congress came from *Acción Libertaria*, which had moved to Vigo in the summer of 1911.<sup>231</sup> The paper was now edited solely by Ricardo Mella, who had returned to his hometown in 1910 to take up work constructing the city's electric tram system.<sup>232</sup> Throughout 1911, Mella and *Acción Libertaria* hardened their stance towards syndicalism and the CNT.<sup>233</sup> Signs of an increasing wariness towards syndicalism were evident following the paper's relocation to Vigo, as in the article 'Union or Culture?', which suggested that worker organisation without anarchism was prone to appropriation by reactionaries and tyrants.<sup>234</sup> Mella's reservations about syndicalism crystallised into a critique of the CNT three weeks after the 1911 Congress. The criticism was broad: the Congress was too long, and its discussions 'offered little for analysis,' while its concentration on matters such as piece work and a minimum wage were a sign that the confederation was veering towards reformism. Finally, the organisation was attacked for having excessively regulated its structure and dues, which would undoubtedly produce a 'quiet and stationary' organisation. 'There is no point' – the article concluded – 'in creating new organisations that are easily confused with old ones,' suggesting that for all the talk of the CNT's novelty, it was no more than a rehashing of the failed experiments of the past.<sup>235</sup>

Mella attracted criticism for this stance.<sup>236</sup> His views appeared increasingly estranged from the most anarchist opinion – which he derided as 'dogmatism' – and he became embroiled in public back-and-forth arguments with contributors to *Tierra y Libertad*, who saw his 'aristocratic' position as elitist and exclusionary.<sup>237</sup> One subscriber to *Acción Libertaria* from Villanueva y Geltrú cancelled his order for the paper, labelling it a 'dung heap'.<sup>238</sup> Yet the dispute did not last long, as *Acción Libertaria* published only six issues in Vigo before it closed November 1911 after its finances had been ruined by non-paying correspondents. Unlike his stance on union dues, Mella clearly regarded regular payment towards a newspaper as necessary. As his paper collapsed, Mella took a swipe at the movement, claiming that it had become divorced from the people and resorted to rabble-rousing and

<sup>228</sup> 'A todos los compañeros,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 81, (11/11/1911), 1.

<sup>229</sup> 'Los detenidos,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 29, (27/09/1911), 2.

<sup>230</sup> Cuadrat, *Socialismo y anarquismo*, 573; Lázaro, *La Escuela Moderna de Valencia*, 298-304.

<sup>231</sup> Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 88-89, n.10; Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 191.

<sup>232</sup> Fernández Álvarez, *Ricardo Mella*, 82.

<sup>233</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón): L. Fabbri, 'El Sindicalismo...', 21, (05/05/1911), 2; J. Arias, 'Acción sindicalista: II', 25, (30/06/1911), 2.

<sup>234</sup> Eladio Díez, 'Unión o cultura?,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 29, (13/09/1911), 2.

<sup>235</sup> '...Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 30, (27/09/1911), 1-2.

<sup>236</sup> 'Cuestiones de enseñanza,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 21, (05/05/1911), 1-2 and 22, (12/05/1911), 1.

<sup>237</sup> C., '¿Aristócratas?...No; ácratas,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 43, (28/12/1910), 3.

<sup>238</sup> A. Soler, letter was printed in 'Mesa revuleta...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 26, (07/07/1911), 4. The paper claimed that Soler's letter had provoked indignation from across Spain in 'Incidente terminado,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 28, (06/09/1911), 2. On Soler see Íñiguez, *Esbozo de una enciclopedia*, 578.

insults.<sup>239</sup> Like Urales before him, Mella had been one of the key figures in anarchist print culture, but his position was now under threat. In the following years, Mella's pre-eminence in the movement faded, as a new generation of thinkers took greater prominence in the movement.

#### Maintaining Organisational Ideas, 1911-1914

After years of promoting local agitation and countless debates in periodicals and congresses, syndicalists in Spain had managed to create a national organisation, which attracted a sizeable part of the anarchist movement to its cause. All of this was undone within days of the I Congress of the CNT. In the years following the general strike there was a sharp increase in organised labour in Spain. The UGT was the main beneficiary of these developments, while the CNT, in contrast, remained outlawed until 1914.<sup>240</sup> During the 1911 Congress Negre had asserted that the CNT's decentred structure would help it weather repression, yet the suspension of the organisation in 1911 came far too early in its development for this belief to be put to the test.<sup>241</sup> The CNT had barely established itself beyond its Catalan base, and the few local syndicalist federations outside Cataluña were 'smashed' in the aftermath of the September strikes.<sup>242</sup> As in 1907 and 1909, the reconstruction of the organisation centred on Barcelona. By January 1913 most of the militants imprisoned in 1911 had been released, and began reconstructing the CNT's presence in Cataluña. *Solidaridad Obrera* resumed publication in May 1913 as the 'Organ of the Regional Federation of Labour of Cataluña', declaring itself the standard-bearer of all syndicates and syndicalists in Spain.<sup>243</sup> Despite these developments, organisational connections between the Catalan Federation and groups in the rest of Spain remained informal and scarce until 1915.<sup>244</sup>

Outside Cataluña, opinions on how best to organise the movement were far from uniform. Some groups advocated a return to the drive towards national organisation that had been curtailed by repression, while others proposed alternative models and interpretations of organisation, more akin to the decentred activism championed by Mella in the recently-closed *Acción Libertaria*. Antonio Bar has defined these years as ones of ideological development, when anarchism and syndicalism were finally consolidated into the single theory of anarcho-syndicalism.<sup>245</sup> While this may have been true within the CNT's central leadership in Barcelona, there is little evidence of a coherent development of

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<sup>239</sup> 'Despedida,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Vigo), II, 33, (17/11/1911), 1.

<sup>240</sup> See figures in Castillo, *Un sindicalismo consciente*, 158-161. See also Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 217-218

<sup>241</sup> J.S. Duque, 'Por la confederación,' *Cultura Libertaria*, (El Ferrol), 12, (01/02/1913), 3.

<sup>242</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 357.

<sup>243</sup> 'Asuntos Varios,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 325, (19/10/1912), 4; 'Solidaridad Obrera,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 32, (22/03/1913), 1; 'Resurgimiento,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 1, (01/05/1913), 1.

<sup>244</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 308-314.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid*, 321.

a ‘concrete political conception’ of anarcho-syndicalism in the movement’s press.<sup>246</sup> Rather, 1911 to 1914 saw a non-linear, haphazard accommodation of syndicalism within pre-existing anarchist thought and practice. Although syndicalist ideas were maintained by some anarchist papers, a sustained critique of syndicalism also developed at this time, which regarded the movement’s emphasis on economic and working affairs as damaging to other aspects of anarchist ideology and practice.<sup>247</sup> Several key contributors to the anarchist press suggested modifying syndicalism, or in some cases rejecting worker organisation altogether, as a means to redress this balance.

Periodicals proliferated in the years after 1911, reaching a size and scope that had not been seen in almost a decade [refer to Chart 0.2]. Many of these papers were published by groups already well-established in anarchist print culture. For example, *El Porvenir del Obrero* (Mahón) reappeared in April 1912, exactly five years after the paper had closed following the arrest after its editor, Juan Mir i Mir.<sup>248</sup> This second epoch of *El Porvenir del Obrero* was one the longest of any periodical in the years prior to 1915, publishing 117 issues in two spells between April 1912 and October 1915.<sup>249</sup> Its reappearance was greeted with enthusiasm by a number of high profile figures in the movement, including Anselmo Lorenzo, who saw the paper’s arrival as an opportunity to unite the movement after the failures of the previous September.<sup>250</sup> The second epoch of the paper was largely the same as the first, carrying a similar emphasis on intellectual and scientific discussion, the dangers of vice and calls for action in the sphere of education.<sup>251</sup> Mir i Mir’s attention to cultural matters was respected by many of his contemporaries, including the editors of *Humanidad* – the periodical of the Valencia Free School, which had reopened in January 1912 – who praised the ‘cultured’ perspective of *El Porvenir del Obrero* and its ‘serene and elevated labour, with which they instruct the rebellions and ennoble the yearnings for vindication’.<sup>252</sup> The paper’s standing in the movement was affirmed when Teresa

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<sup>246</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 304. On the developments in Barcelona see Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 206-218.

<sup>247</sup> Del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones*, 171.

<sup>248</sup> J. Portella Coll, ‘Juan Mir i Mir: Obra anarquista 1898-1915,’ *Revista de Menorca*, 27, (1988), 238-240.

<sup>249</sup> Numbers 297-384 published April 1912 – December, after which point Mir fell ill. Numbers 385-413 published between March and October 1915. See ‘Lo sentimos,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 30, (12/12/1913), 3; ‘A nuestros amigos,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 385, (11/03/1915), 1.

<sup>250</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): A. Lorenzo, ‘A “El Porvenir del Obrero”’, 297, (06/04/1912), 1. See also Geo, ‘Una Carta,’ 298, (13/04/1912), 1; ‘Los amigos ausentes,’ 307, (15/07/1912), 4.

<sup>251</sup> ‘Somos los mismos,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 297, (06/04/1912), 1. Examples include: *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): Scientific discoveries and discussion: Dr Vera, ‘Oceanografía,’ 301, (04/05/1912), 3; ‘La Atlántida,’ 303, (18/05/1912), 3 [on discussion of ‘proof’ of the existence of Atlantis]; ‘Historia geológica...,’ 320, (14/09/1912), 3; ‘Los grandes inventos,’ 382, (27/11/1913), 3-4. On the need for improvements in education: Un Campesino, ‘A todos los obreros,’ 318, (31/08/1912), 3; Simplicio, ‘Descuido imperdonable,’ 331, (28/11/1912), 1; I. Gattí de Gamond, ‘Por los niños,’ 382, (27/11/1913), 2. Dangers of alcohol and alcoholism: ‘Las modas bárbaras,’ 306, (08/06/1912), 2; Diego Rodríguez Barbosa, ‘El templo de Baco,’ 358, (05/06/1913), 2; ‘Un error funesto,’ 376, (09/10/1913), 2. For similar attacks on alcohol see ‘El alcohol y los niños,’ *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 116, (12/10/1913), 3-4 C. Medes, ‘Aterrador,’ *El Trabajo*, (Logroño), 2, (01/06/1914), 3.

<sup>252</sup> ‘Papel impreso,’ *Humanidad*, (Valencia), 6, (30/08/1912), 144; ‘Asuntos Varios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 319, (07/09/1912), 4.

Claramunt, the most prominent female anarchist in Spain, moved to Mahón and joined the editorial staff in 1913.<sup>253</sup>

The paper was also celebrated for its wider contributions to anarchist print culture. The group behind *El Porvenir del Obrero* launched a publishing house in 1913 named the ‘Biblioteca de Divulgación,’ with the aim of adding books and pamphlets to its print output.<sup>254</sup> Its first book was *Dinamita Cerebral*, a collection of stories by well-known anarchists and writers respected by the movement, including Emile Zola, Octavio Mirbeau, Maxsim Gorky and Anselmo Lorenzo.<sup>255</sup> Hundreds of copies of this book were sent to almost every province in Spain, and abroad to Marseille, Panamá, Lisbon, Havana, Boston, Río de Janeiro and Abercraive (South Wales).<sup>256</sup> It became a classic of Spanish anarchist literature, and was reprinted several times, including a 1974 edition published in Buenos Aires.<sup>257</sup> The second publication of the ‘Biblioteca de Divulgación’ was also a success.<sup>258</sup> *Hacia la emancipación* was one of the last substantial works written by Anselmo Lorenzo before his death in 1914.<sup>259</sup> The pamphlet outlined Lorenzo’s lifelong commitment to syndicalism, a tactic he portrayed as ‘nothing new’ but the tactic of choice for anarchists since 1870, ‘when the word *syndicalism* did not exist’.<sup>260</sup> Even the novelty of the boycott and sabotage was questioned by Lorenzo, who claimed that they had begun in ancient Egypt.<sup>261</sup> By 1913, many of Lorenzo’s generation of activists had passed away, such as Ernesto Álvarez in 1902 and Fermín Salvochea in 1907. Few of the next generation of activists and writers prominent in the 1880s and 1890s had maintained their position in the movement. Urales and Gustavo were largely absent from the anarchist press, and Mella’s position as the movement’s leading theorist was in decline. Yet respect for Lorenzo remained unequivocal. As one of the last veterans of the FRE still publishing original works, he was seen as the human embodiment of the link between the movement’s past and the present day. In

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<sup>253</sup> ‘Asuntos Varios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 360, (19/06/1913), 4; 372, (11/09/1913), 4; 373, (18/09/1913), 4. Articles by or about T. Claramunt in *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): ‘La Sociedad de zapateros,’ 376, (09/10/1913), 1; ‘El Peor Enemigo,’ 374, (25/09/1913), 2; ‘¡Aun dura la guerra!,’ 377, (16/10/1913), 2; ‘¿Cuándo será la lucha definitiva?,’ 381, (13/11/1913), 2-3. Portella Coll, ‘Juan Mir i Mir,’ 240.

<sup>254</sup> ‘Biblioteca de Divulgación,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 343, (20/02/1913), 1; ‘Biblioteca de Divulgación,’ *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 29, (01/03/1913), 3-4. During the paper’s first epoch a ‘Biblioteca de El Porvenir del Obrero’ was also set up, which continued to sell pamphlets after 1912, see ‘Biblioteca de El Porvenir del Obrero,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 297, (06/04/1912), 4 and Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 384.

<sup>255</sup> ‘...Dinamita Cerebral,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 12, (08/03/1913), 4.

<sup>256</sup> See ‘Correspondencia,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, 345, (06/03/1913) – 384, (04/12/1913), all page 4.

<sup>257</sup> In 1982 the collection was refashioned by Lily Litvak into *El cuento anarquista*. See Litvak, ‘Estudio Preliminar,’ *El cuento anarquista*, 7-8.

<sup>258</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): ‘...Un libro de Anselmo Lorezno,’ 357, (29/05/1913), 1; El Grupo Editor, ‘Biblioteca de Divulgación,’ 367, (07/08/1913), 1. For distribution see ‘Correspondencia,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, 359, (12/06/1913) – 384, (04/12/1913), all page 4.

<sup>259</sup> Announcement of publication: ‘...Biblioteca de Divulgación,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 13, (15/08/1913), 4; ‘Biblioteca de Divulgación,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 22, (30/08/1913), 3-4.

<sup>260</sup> Lorenzo, *Hacia la emancipación*, 7-9.

<sup>261</sup> Lorenzo, *Hacia la emancipación*, 120.

*Hacia la emancipación*, Lorenzo was thus endorsing syndicalism, tying it to the sacred origins of the International and the historical narrative of anarchism in Spain.

Yet while syndicalism had a history, its future was uncertain. *El Porvenir del Obrero* saw action in the national and local level as necessary, lest the CNT fall into the same spiral of decline as former anarchist organisations. *El Porvenir del Obrero* frequently cajoled the workers of Menorca (predominantly bootmakers, and construction and agricultural workers) to form workplace unions and larger federations. It stressed that immediate, material concerns were secondary to building unity that would allow for a broader, class-based emancipatory movement.<sup>262</sup> This attitude was articulated most clearly during a national railworkers' strike which erupted in September 1912.<sup>263</sup> Despite failing to deliver any short-term gains, the strike was seen as a step forward by *El Porvenir del Obrero*, because it had fostered 'a rebellious and experimental will of the workers' and spread 'terror' in the ranks of the bourgeoisie.<sup>264</sup> This perspective was shared by a number of other papers, which regarded the strike as an 'educational' episode for the railworkers and the proletariat in general.<sup>265</sup> In stressing the moral quality of this strike, *El Porvenir del Obrero* was advancing a traditional anarchist position, which saw industrial action as only the first step to a revolutionary situation. In contrast, syndicalists usually only advocated strikes as a means to advance material gains, as seen during the Congresses of the CNT. *El Porvenir del Obrero* did not see the distinction between anarchist and syndicalism as a problem. Vicente García – one of the paper's most frequent contributors – was clear that 'syndicalism is not anarchism' since it only concerned workers and working affairs, while anarchism fought 'not for the emancipation of the working class but of society as a whole'.<sup>266</sup> Nevertheless, García regarded syndicalism as the only viable means of bringing forth the social revolution since a purely or 'almost' anarchist revolution would be immediately crushed. The new society that would emerge following a syndicalist revolution 'would not be the Anarchy that our mind conceives,' but it would be 'sufficiently just' for anarchists to accept it.

*El Porvenir del Obrero* looked for signs of organisational activity and syndicalist practice wherever it could. It was in touch with local groups and *ateneos* which promoted syndicalism, in areas

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<sup>262</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): 'Los carpinteros,' 304, (25/05/1912), 2-3; 'Ecos y comentarios,' 297 (06/04/1912), 4; C. Moraga, 'A los obreros menorquines,' 325, (19/10/1912), 3; C. Moraga, 'A los obreros y obreras de Menorca,' 330, (23/11/1912), 4; 'A los marineros y fogoneros,' 345, (06/03/1913), 1.

<sup>263</sup> Tuñón de Lara, *El movimiento obrero*, 514; Castillo, *Un sindicalismo consciente*, 162.

<sup>264</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): 'La huelga de ferroviarios,' 322, (28/09/1912), 1; '...La traición del Gobierno,' 325, (19/10/1912), 2-3; J. Cualquiera, 'La traición del Gobierno,' 326, (26/10/1912), 1.

<sup>265</sup> 'Ante el pleito ferroviario...', *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 9, (05/10/1912), 1-2. A more scathing analysis of the 'fiasco' of the strike can be found in the same paper, 'Del conflicto ferroviario...', *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 11, (19/10/1912), 2-3. See also M. Sainz, 'Merecido,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 14, (09/11/1912), 2-3; 'La huelga de los ferroviarios: Ejemplo que imitar,' *El látigo*, (Baracaldo), 3, (05/10/1912); *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 77, (11/10/1912): 'La coacción autoritaria: Sobre la huelga de ferroviarios,' 1; 'Ferroviarias,' 3 and 'La verdad en marcha,' 3-4.

<sup>266</sup> V. García, 'Poder del sindicalismo,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 368, (14/08/1913), 2. On García's history in anarchist education see V. García, 'Juan Benejam,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 326, (25/10/1912), 2.

such as Madrid, Valladolid, Sama de Langreo (Asturias), Eibar (Gipúzcoa) and Vigo.<sup>267</sup> These groups aimed to keep syndicalist ideas alive at a local level – mainly through printing pamphlets, such as *Sindicalismo revolucionario*, produced by the Ateneo Sindicalista of Madrid – despite the absence of national organisation.<sup>268</sup> The Madrid *ateneo* also organised a ‘monster meeting’ in December 1912 to protest about the continuing repression in Spain, which was attended by delegates from Vizcaya, Asturias, Andalucía, Galicia and Castilla.<sup>269</sup> Closer to home, the paper was excited by the creation of the Regional Federation of the Workers’ Societies of the Islas Baleares in Palma de Mallorca, which aimed to secure the ‘economic and social emancipation’ of the workers through the practice of solidarity and education.<sup>270</sup> In late 1913 the paper declared itself optimistic with these recent developments: ‘in every area new periodicals appear, modest, but very well orientated; congresses are celebrated; excursions are prepared and every one of us feels with new spirits, with stronger will, with activity better directed’.<sup>271</sup>

Nevertheless, these developments were piecemeal compared with the initial creation and spread of the CNT. *El Porvenir del Obrero* could not disguise its exasperation with the local *mahonés* workers. 18 months after its reappearance, the paper declared its disbelief that only the bootmakers and bricklayers had formed unions in Mahón, and even within these societies only a fraction of the trade was represented. Despite the paper’s best efforts, the majority of the working population remained ‘completely neglected and abandoned, without association, nor spirit of class’. ‘This,’ declared the paper, ‘is not the path to emancipation’.<sup>272</sup> Despite the re-emergence of the Catalan CRT in early 1913, the national scope of CNT remained a distant ambition, which the paper blamed on the passivity and ‘drowsiness’ of workers outside Cataluña.<sup>273</sup> The fragmentation of the movement was

<sup>267</sup> ‘Asuntos Varios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): 328, (09/11/1912), 4; 329, (16/11/1912), 4; 358, (05/06/1913), 4; 368, (14/08/1913), 4; 374, (25/09/1913), 4. See also: ‘La vida social: Crónicas internacionales: España: Eibar,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 20, (03/10/1913), 3.

<sup>268</sup> ‘Asuntos Varios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 340, (30/01/1912), 4; ‘Asuntos varios,’ *Liberación*, (Elche), 11, (30/11/1912), 4. The Ateneo Sindicalista of Madrid also published a manifesto following the 1912 rail strike, see La Junta Administrativa..., ‘Movimiento ... Madrid,’ *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 10, (12/10/1912), 4.

<sup>269</sup> *El Libertario*, (Gijón): El Ateneo Sindicalista de Madrid, ‘Notas y comunicaciones...’, 16, (23/11/1912), 4; ‘Por los presos...’, 17, (30/11/1912), 3; E. Quintanilla, ‘...La amnistía y el mitin de Madrid,’ and El Ateneo Sindicalista de Madrid, ‘Notas y comunicaciones...’, 19, (14/12/1912), 4; ‘...Ante el mitin de Madrid,’ 21, (28/12/1912), 3. ‘A todos las sociedades...’, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 333, (12/12/1912), 3; *Cultura Libertaria*, (El Ferrol): ‘Sobre el mitin monstruo...’, 8, (03/12/1912), 3; ‘Por los presos,’ 9, (15/12/1912), 2; *El látigo*, (Baracaldo): ‘...Mitin monstruo,’ 6, (16/11/1912), 4; ‘Aplausos y latigazos...’, 7, (30/11/1912), 4; ‘Aplausos y latigazos...’, 8, (14/12/1912), 4; ‘¡Por la amnistía...!’, 10, (01/02/1913), 1. Subscription raised for Aquilino Gómez to attend meeting detailed in *El látigo*, (Baracaldo), 9, (28/12/1912), 4 and ‘Correspondencia administrativa,’ *El látigo*, (Baracaldo), 10, (01/02/1913), 4. Reports on meeting: Quasimodo, ‘...El mitin nacional de Madrid,’ *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 22, (11/01/1913), 3; ‘Campaña humanitaria...’, *Cultura Libertaria*, (El Ferrol), 11, (16/01/1913), 2. Requests for the pamphlet produced by the Madrid group came from over 30 localities across Spain, however, after several months its publication was pulled, see ‘Notas y comunicaciones...’, *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 3, (06/06/1913), 4 and 14, (22/08/1913), 4.

<sup>270</sup> ‘Asuntos Varios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 364, (17/07/1913), 4 and 366, (31/07/1913), 4; ‘La vida social...Palma de Mallorca,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 8, (11/07/1913), 4.

<sup>271</sup> Espartaco, ‘De casa en casa,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 378, (23/10/1913), 1.

<sup>272</sup> ‘Los zapateros,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 384, (04/12/1913), 1.

<sup>273</sup> ‘Asuntos Varios,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 348, (27/03/1913), 1 and 349, (03/04/1913), 4.

highlighted during the first International Syndicalist Congress, held in Holborn Town Hall (London) from 27 September to 2 October 1913.<sup>274</sup> Although a small number of groups from Spain were represented at the Congress – including the CRT, the *mahonés* bootmakers and several groups from Alayor (also Menorca) – no delegate felt confident in representing the country as a whole.<sup>275</sup> The congress ‘was not a great success and much time was wasted on personal recriminations and factional infighting,’ and made little impression on the anarchist press outside Cataluña.<sup>276</sup>

In August 1913 García attempted to put a positive spin on this situation, claiming that the CNT was ‘not an entity which requires a legalised regulation’ to exist.<sup>277</sup> But he could not deny that syndicalist groups were struggling. The Galician syndicalist federation was repressed, prompting a wave of disaffection amongst the workers of Vigo, where many groups turned towards the socialist party and the UGT.<sup>278</sup> Previous gains in the province were reversed, and the movement became restricted to La Coruña and El Ferrol.<sup>279</sup> In Sevilla, mass demonstrations and strikes broke out in March 1912, as local anarchist and syndicalists attempted to repeat the united front witnessed during the general strike of the previous September. This movement lacked the support of local socialists and was put down relatively quickly. In the summer of the same year activists changed tactic, and set up a syndicalist *ateneo* with the aim of ‘extending culture’ and rebuilding a radical workers’ movement in the city, yet this also collapsed after another attempt to launch a general strike in November. By the end of 1913 the movement in Sevilla had fractured along doctrinal lines, with more ‘orthodox’ anarchist groups criticising the turn to syndicalism as a ‘materialist deviation’. The city’s syndicalists had failed to mobilise local workers from their ‘lethargy’ and their plans to form an Andalucían Syndicalist Federation received support from just two other localities, Chiclana (a town of approximately 11,500 on the Bay of Cádiz) and Churrigana (a district of Málaga).<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> On the build up to the Congress, its stated aims and organisational notes see *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): ‘La antigua Internacional’ and G. Bowman, ‘Congreso sindicalista internacional,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 342, (13/02/1913), 1; Adanada, [V.García], ‘Notas internacionales,’ 349, (03/04/1913), 2; Espartaco, ‘El Congreso de Londres,’ 371, (04/09/1913), 1.

<sup>275</sup> Groups represented at Congress from Spain: ‘Sociedad de Obreros Zapateros’ (bootmakers, Mahón), ‘Unión y Solidaridad,’ (female section of various trades, Alayor) ‘La Primera Semilla,’ (fieldworkers, Alayor), ‘La Buena Semilla’ (bootmakers, Alayor) – all represented by José Rodrigo Romero; Ateneo Sindicalista (Barcelona) – represented by Pedro Vallina; workers of La Coruña – represented by José Suárez Duque; workers of Barcelona and Villanueva y Geltrú – represented by José Negre. See ‘El Congreso de Londres,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, 373, (18/09/1913), 1 and 379, (30/10/1913), 2. Bar, *La CNT*, 311-313. For Duque’s reports on the Congress see *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña): 115, (30/10/1913); J.S. Duque and W. Tcherkesoff, ‘Desde Londres: Congreso sindicalista internacional,’ 1-2 and ‘Después del congreso,’ 2-3; ‘Extracto...’ 116, (12/10/1913), 3; J.S. Duque ‘Deber que se impone,’ 118, (02/12/1913), 2.

<sup>276</sup> Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 39-44, at 43.

<sup>277</sup> V. García, ‘Lo de Cataluña,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, 370, (28/08/1913), 4.

<sup>278</sup> X., ‘Movimiento social...El Norte y Noroeste,’ *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 19, (14/12/1912), 3. On the on-going tensión between the socialist and syndicalist groups in the city see L., ‘La vida social...Vigo,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 15, (29/08/1913), 3-4.

<sup>279</sup> Freán Hernández, *El movimiento libertario*, 15-16. Reports on public debate between socialist Tomás Álvarez Angulo and prominent local anarchist Constancio Romero in La Coruña in *El Corresponsal*, ‘La vida social...Coruña,’ *Acción Libertaria*, 16, (05/09/1913), 4 and 17, (12/09/1913), 4.

<sup>280</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 160-166; Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 72-73.

Similar problems faced anarchist and syndicalist groups in Asturias.<sup>281</sup> Syndicalist workers' groups slowly began to re-emerge in Gijón in early 1912, based once again in the Calle Velasco Workers' Centre.<sup>282</sup> This was also the site of a popular library set up by the local 'Grupo Sindicalista,' with the help of donations of books from local militants.<sup>283</sup> This period was 'extraordinarily difficult' for the erstwhile supporters of the CNT.<sup>284</sup> Yet, unlike their contemporaries in Sevilla, the anarchists and syndicalists of Gijón were able to launch and sustain a periodical – *El Libertario*, which ran between August 1912 and April 1913.<sup>285</sup> As with *El Porvenir del Obrero*, this paper had a history in anarchist print culture; it was basically a refashioning of *Acción Libertaria* by largely the same editorial staff, including Eleuterio Quintanilla and Pedro Sierra Álvarez.<sup>286</sup> *El Libertario* marked the ascendancy of Quintanilla – now in his late twenties and working more independently from his mentor Ricardo Mella – to a position of pre-eminence within the anarchist movement.<sup>287</sup> His confidence in the possibility of a full synthesis of anarchism and syndicalism placed him at the forefront of the intellectual developments of this period.<sup>288</sup> Rather than a new term for the age-old class struggle, Quintanilla saw syndicalism as a direct product of the changes in technology and production in the early twentieth century. Anarchism had to adapt to these developments, and must accept the fact that the era of the International was over. Likewise, for Quintanilla, the socialist parties and centralised, national mobilisation of the Second International were soon to pass. A new stage in the evolution of socialism would be defined by mass, revolutionary, apolitical syndicalism, committed to direct action and an anarchistic future.<sup>289</sup> Other contributors to the paper concurred. One regular correspondent, Noé Desmenjez, [J. Menéndez] used his column to both celebrate the past exploits of anarchists – their 'red heroism', 'axiomatic' conviction and 'beautiful, yet innocent discourses' – and consign them to a failed past of 'fantastical exaggerations'.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 117-121.

<sup>282</sup> J. Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], 'Movimiento ... Gijón, *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 1, (10/08/1912), 4 and 9, (05/10/1912), 4; 'Aplausos y latigazos...', *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 7, (30/11/1912), 4.

<sup>283</sup> The library began with 300 books, see J. Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], 'Movimiento ... Gijón, *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 7, (21/09/1912), 3.

<sup>284</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 127.

<sup>285</sup> A handful of short-lived titles were launched in Sevilla in this period, no copies of which have survived: *El Hombre Libre*, (c. 03/1911); *Regeneración Obrera*, (Ecija, c.30/11/1912-c/01/12/1913) and *La Voz del Trabajo*, (c.02/1913).

<sup>286</sup> 'Avisos y noticias...', *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 1, (10/08/1912), 4; 'Bibliografía,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 316, (17/08/1912), 4.

<sup>287</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 120-121.

<sup>288</sup> *El Libertario*, (Gijón): '... Nuestra interpretación de Anarquía,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 14, (09/11/1912), 1-2; 'Táctica libertaria,' 15, (16/11/1912), 1.

<sup>289</sup> *El Libertario*, (Gijón): E. Quintanilla, '...Un error de principios y de método,' 1, (10/08/1912), 2 and 2, (17/08/1912), 3; Juan Buenafé [E. Quintanilla], 'Movimiento social... Gijón,' 2, (17/08/1912), 4; E. Quintanilla, 'Rumbos nuevos,' 28, (22/02/1913), 2-3. See also J. Roiz, 'Aspectos del sindicalismo: XIII,' *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 19, (12/06/1913), 2 and 'Las enseñanzas de la realidad...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 19, (26/09/1913), 1. Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 121-122.

<sup>290</sup> N. Desmenjez, [J. Menéndez], 'Tribuna libre...', *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 23, (18/01/1913), 1. This article was fiercely criticised in E. Albertini, '¿Exageraciones fantásticas?,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 343, (20/02/1913), 2.

Quintanilla's argument was drawn from his experience in Spain, where – unlike the relative successes of socialist parties in countries such as France and Germany – the PSOE remained on the margins of governmental politics, despite the election of Pablo Iglesias to the Cortes in 1910.<sup>291</sup> The socialist movement had, however, built up substantial support in Asturias, primarily in Oviedo and the coalmining areas of the region, where a powerful, highly-centralised socialist Miners' Federation (SOMA) was established in 1910.<sup>292</sup> *El Libertario* committed a great deal of space to criticising their regional rivals, particularly within the metalworking industry which was central to the economies of Gijón and La Felguera.<sup>293</sup> One favourite tactic of the paper was to ridicule the Oviedo-based socialist paper *La Aurora Social* [*The Social Dawn*], referring to it as *La Basura Social* [*The Social Rubbish*].<sup>294</sup> This argument continued over the following years through *Solidaridad*, the new publication of the *gijónés* syndicalist federation, which was presided over by Quintanilla.<sup>295</sup>

'Organisation, sí; But Free Organisation'<sup>296</sup>

*El Libertario* closed in April 1913, after the paper was denounced for articles criticising the Church and local police.<sup>297</sup> A month later the paper reappeared in Madrid as *Acción Libertaria*.<sup>298</sup> This hand-over was similar to that of *El Productor – El Corsario* in 1893, representing a sense of unity amongst publishers to maintain periodicals in the face of repression. The paper soon established itself as the

<sup>291</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 122. See also J.P. [José Prat], 'Nuevas orientaciones...', *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 17, (30/11/1912), 2.

<sup>292</sup> On the UGT influence in the coalmining areas of Asturias see Schubert, *The Road to Revolution*, 108-114, and A. Saborit, *Asturias y sus hombres*, (Toulouse, 1964), 155-158.

<sup>293</sup> *El Libertario*, (Gijón): 'Dos palabras a los amigos,' 4, (31/08/1912), 3; Riestra, 'Movimiento social...La Felguera,' 4, (31/08/1912), 4; 5, (07/09/1912), 4; 6, (14/09/1912), 4; 7, (21/09/1912), 2; 9, (05/10/1912), 4; 20, (21/12/1912), 4; 'Otra nueva villanía de los socialistas asturianos,' 20, (21/12/1912), 3; 'Pequeñeces: Solidaridad...socialista,' 27, (15/02/1913), 2; 'Estamos conformes,' 31, (15/03/1912), 2. J.R., 'La vida social: ... La Felguera,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 2, (30/05/1913), 4; Rubi-era, 'De la Felguera: Profecía incumplida,' *Solidaridad*, (Gijón), 3, (16/05/1914), 4. Critiques of SOMA: Montesinos, 'La vida social... Oviedo,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 19, (26/09/1913), 3 and 20, (03/10/1913), 3. See also Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 123-128; Schubert, *The Road to Revolution*, 115.

<sup>294</sup> *El Libertario*, (Gijón): 'Pequeñeces,' 1, (10/08/1913), 2; G.M., 'Movimiento social...Oviedo,' 33, (29/03/1913), 3; 'Pequeñeces,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 34, (05/04/1913), 2. See also José Fernández Rodríguez, 'No socialeros avilesinos, ¡No!,' *El Látego*, (Baracaldo), 20, (26/07/1913), 3.

<sup>295</sup> 'A ratos perdidos...', *Solidaridad*, (Gijón), 3, (16/05/1914), 3. Details of the societies and balance of the Gijón federation can be found in '...Federación de Sociedades de Resistencia,' *Solidaridad*, (Gijón), 7, (18/06/1914), 4. Saborit, *Asturias y sus hombres*, 37; Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 130-135.

<sup>296</sup> Quote from A. Lorenzo, 'Hacia la lucha final,' *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 77, (11/10/1912), 3.

<sup>297</sup> Examples of articles denounced in *El Libertario*, (Gijón): S.Alonso, 'Eco de las cárceles...', 1, (10/08/1912), 3 [see 'Nuestra denuncia,' 6, (14/09/1912), 1 and note in 7, (21/09/1912), 2]; J. Acebal, 'La infalibilidad de Jehová,' 12, (26/10/1912), 3 [see notes in 14, (09/11/1912), 2; 16, (23/11/1912), 1 and 18, (07/12/1912), 1]; M. Suárez, 'Ecos de las cárceles...', 26, (08/02/1913), 3; Sin Dios, 'Movimiento social...Panamá,' 28, (22/02/1913), 3-4 [see note in 31, (15/03/1913), 1]; 'Un atropello,' 30, (08/03/1913), 4, [see note in 32, (22/03/1913), 1]; E. Quintanilla, 'El caso Queraltó,' 34, (05/04/1913), 3 [see note in *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 3, (06/06/1913), 1]. *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): "El Libertario", 353, (01/05/1913), 3 and 'Asuntos Varios,' 354, (07/05/1913), 4. Support from the beleaguered paper came from across Spain and abroad, see 'Nuestro agradecimiento,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 1, (23/05/1913), 2.

<sup>298</sup> 'Asuntos Varios,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 358, (05/06/1913), 4; 'Nuestro periódicos,' *El Látego*, (Baracaldo), 18, (14/06/1913), 4; 'Explicación necesaria' and 'En la brecha,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 1, (23/05/1913), 1.

main anarchist paper published outside Cataluña, with a stable print-run of 5-6,000, and established correspondents in almost every province in Spain.<sup>299</sup>

*Acción Libertaria* (Madrid) was largely the same as its *gigonés* predecessor – it had almost identical layout, the same sections and subsections, the same campaigns and many of the same contributors. Mella and Prat remained prominent voices in the paper, Desmenjez kept his regular column and Marcelino Suárez continued to report from Gijón prison. Yet unlike *El Libertario*, and in particular Quintanilla, *Acción Libertaria* had mixed opinions on the value of syndicalism. Like *El Porvenir del Obrero*, the paper saw strike activity as having transcendental qualities that were not confined to immediate victories or defeats. Rather, each strike was a ‘milestone planted in the long path which leads to the integral emancipation of humanity’.<sup>300</sup> The paper affirmed that worker organisation ‘was not anarchism,’ but a potential precursor to its victory. Nevertheless, the paper was hesitant to use the phrase syndicalism, which it saw as a ‘superfluous,’ as it added nothing to the tactics which had been advocated by the anarchist movement since the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>301</sup> The paper clearly thought that anarchists had to engage with syndicalism, yet it also maintained that they should not abandon other strategies in pursuit of homogeneity in the revolutionary movement. This ambivalence was demonstrated in its publication of Errico Malatesta’s critique ‘Sobre sindicalismo,’ which expressed fears that an over-concentration on economic goals would dilute the broader revolutionary principles of anarchism. Syndicalism had no inherent virtue, and the economic struggle it espoused could not solve the ‘social question’ alone. Thus Malatesta advised against ‘syndicalist syndicates’ and regulated federations, favouring the formation of ‘anarchist syndicates’ which would take advantage of the ‘fertile terrain’ provided by workers’ organisations.<sup>302</sup>

While the CNT was repressed, some anarchists appeared to take up Malatesta’s advice to organise educational groups aimed at directing the movement. As in the early 1900s, many of these groups were linked to periodicals, and saw the distribution of print as central to their activity. For example, within a month of *Acción Libertaria*’s appearance a new anarchist group named ‘Los Iguales’ formed in Madrid, sharing the same offices as the paper.<sup>303</sup> The group took it upon themselves to ‘completely organise the sale of the [anarchist] press in Madrid,’ and suggested that they work as a distribution hub for pamphlets and *hojas* across the whole of Spain.<sup>304</sup> Unfortunately

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<sup>299</sup> ‘Entre nosotros,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 20, (03/10/1913), 4 and 31, (19/12/1913), 4.

<sup>300</sup> ‘La huelga de Barcelona,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 12, (08/08/1913), 1. On the socialist ‘betrayal’ of the strike see ‘Reincidentes,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 21, (30/08/1913), 1-2.

<sup>301</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid): ‘La huelga de Cataluña,’ 13, (15/08/1913), 1; ‘Consideraciones...,’ 14, (22/08/1913), 1.

<sup>302</sup> E. Malatesta, ‘Sobre sindicalismo...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, 21, (10/10/1913), 2 and 22, (17/10/1913), 2. See also Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 32-33 and Levy, ‘Errico Malatesta,’ 68-71. See also the pamphlet A. Labriola, *Los límites del sindicalismo revolucionario: Conferencia dada en Roma el 28 de mayo de 1910*, trans. J Prat, (Barcelona, 1912), which presents a similar argument.

<sup>303</sup> ‘...“Los Iguales”,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 31, (19/12/1913), 4.

<sup>304</sup> ‘...“Los Iguales”,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 8, (11/07/1913), 4; 31, (19/12/1913), 4; ‘El Grupo “Los Iguales”,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 172, (30/07/1913), 1; El Grupo Los Iguales,’ ‘Una iniciativa...,’ *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 120, (n.d., c.12/1913), 4;

for ‘Los Iguales,’ they soon attracted the attention of the Madrid police, who pressurised local kiosks to cancel their subscriptions to anarchist papers.<sup>305</sup> The day before the municipal elections of November 1913 the group plastered anti-voting *hojas* on trees, lampposts and tram stops in Madrid. Shortly afterwards most of the group were arrested.<sup>306</sup> Tens of thousands of copies of the same *hojas* were sent across Spain to areas such as Barcelona, Gijón, San Sebastián, Sevilla, Córdoba, Elda (Alicante), Algeciras (Cádiz), Játiva (Valencia), Valladolid, Málaga and Río Tinto (Huelva), where – according to reports sent to *Acción Libertaria* – they made a great impression and contributed to the high rate of voting abstentions.<sup>307</sup> Two years later the group briefly launched a journal-style publication – *Los Refractarios* (Madrid; 1915) – which declared itself ‘not completely adhered to the syndical movement’ and regarded anarchism as a ‘scientific-educational method applied to social questions’.<sup>308</sup> This paper folded after just a single issue and the group split over internal differences.<sup>309</sup>

*Acción Libertaria* and groups such as ‘Los Iguales’ rarely rejected syndicalism outright, but they were cautious of organisational concerns eclipsing the broader message of anarchism. As a means of halting this trend, plans for more coordinated activity between anarchist groups were proposed towards the end of 1913. *Acción Libertaria* claimed this idea would provide cohesion to the movement while maintaining the specific ‘characteristics, social and economic conditions’ of each region of the country.<sup>310</sup> Unlike the CNT, this anarchist project would not be bound to workplace activity, but focused on the broader, and vaguer, goal of spreading anarchist propaganda. The results of this project were varied. Anarchist federations were formed in Valencia (September 1913), Andalucía (September 1913), Extremadura (September 1913), Cataluña (December 1913) and the two Castillas and León (July 1915), yet few of these organisations achieved anything.<sup>311</sup>

The first, and only relatively stable federation was the Federación de Grupos Libertarios de la Región Vasca, formed in December 1912 at a meeting between anarchist groups from the Basque towns of Baracaldo, Bilbao, San Sebastián, Eibar, Tolosa and Vitoria.<sup>312</sup> These groups were small cells – no more than 16 persons – to ensure that all members knew one another, thereby reducing the likelihood of infiltration by the police.<sup>313</sup> The Basque Federation was quick to declare itself free from written regulations, committees and dues. Its cohesion was based on a ‘free pact’ between groups and

<sup>305</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid): Grupo “Los Iguales”, ‘Hazañas policíacas,’ 9, (18/07/1913), 1; 19, (26/09/1913), 2; ‘La vida social... Madrid...,’ 21, (10/10/1913), 3; ‘...“Los Iguales”,’ 19, (26/09/1913), 4; 21, (10/10/1913), 4; 22, (17/10/1913), 4.

<sup>306</sup> ‘Una buena labor y un atropello,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 26, (14/11/1913), 1.

<sup>307</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid): ‘...“Los Iguales”,’ 26, (14/11/1913), 4; 28, (28/11/1913), 1; 30, (12/12/1913), 4; J.O., ‘La vida social ... San Sebastián,’ 27, (21/11/1913), 3.

<sup>308</sup> *Los Refractarios*, (Madrid), 1, (01/09/1915): ‘Creed y multiplicaos,’ 1, (01/09/1915), 1; E.G. Gilimón, ‘... ¿Pueden unirse los obreros?...’ 12-13.

<sup>309</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 198.

<sup>310</sup> ‘Adelante...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 17, (12/09/1913), 1.

<sup>311</sup> Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1073-1103.

<sup>312</sup> ‘Federación de grupos libertarios de la Región vascongada,’ *El Látego*, (Baracaldo), 8, (14/12/1912), 1.

<sup>313</sup> ‘Ni reglamento ni local social,’ *El Látego*, (Baracaldo), 9, (28/12/1912), 1.

a shared desire to spread anarchist propaganda.<sup>314</sup> Unlike other anarchist federations, the group managed to maintain a periodical – *El Látigo* (Baracaldo) – which became the federation’s official organ in February 1913.<sup>315</sup> *El Látigo* devoted a great deal of space to organisational concerns. The paper’s editor, Aquilino Gómez, wrote regular pieces on working conditions in the Basque region, which appeared alongside poetry dedicated to the ‘magic word’ of ‘Union’ and a reprinting of José López Montenegro’s 1902 study *El Paro General (The General Strike)*.<sup>316</sup> Yet the paper did not wholeheartedly endorse syndicalism. A long running series by the paper’s Santander correspondent, ‘Aspects of Syndicalism,’ was cautious of ‘syndicalist syndicalism’, which was confined solely to ‘economic terrain’. This would ‘excessively materialise the question’ and side-line action against the Church and State. Similarly, over-regulation of workers’ groups and reliance on strike funds would ‘make automatons’ and reproduce the structure of bourgeois society. What was needed was ‘fewer rules...less authority...less effort to capitalise quotas and more to foment education and culture between associates, creating libraries, opening schools and organising conferences stimulating art’.<sup>317</sup> Such statements reveal that the educational programme of the previous decade was still seen as a central component of anarchist strategy, particularly for those who had reservations about the shift in emphasis towards syndicalism. Other correspondents were also keen to stress the need for ‘combative associations’ that were ‘genuinely worker-led, but independent of the syndicates of trade’ in order to maintain anarchist propaganda.<sup>318</sup>

In February 1913 *El Látigo* opened a subscription for a propaganda tour across the north of Spain.<sup>319</sup> Its purpose was to ‘germinate’ existing anarchist sympathies in the Basque region, Santander and Logroño, where speakers would refute the image of anarchism as a violent and destructive ideology, which had persisted since the terrorism of the 1890s.<sup>320</sup> The main figures in the tour were all engaged in anarchist print culture: Aquilino Gómez, editor of *El Látigo*, Emilio Carral, a Santander-based activist, writer and former editor of *Adelante*, and José Sánchez Rosa, who had recently launched the ‘Biblioteca del Obrero’ in Sevilla with his wife Ana Villalobos, which became one of the

<sup>314</sup> *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo): ‘Federación de grupos libertarios de la Región vascongada,’ 8, (14/12/1912), 1; ‘Nuestra Federación de Grupos,’ 11, (21/02/1913), 1.

<sup>315</sup> Velasco Núñez, *El hilo negro vasco*, 70-77.

<sup>316</sup> *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo): A. Gómez: ‘La explotación en Vizcaya...,’ 1, (07/09/1912), 3-4; 2, (21/09/1912), 3-4; 3, (05/10/1912), 2-3; 9, (28/12/1912), 2. Anon., ‘La unión,’ 9, (28/12/1912), 2; JLM [José López Montenegro]: ‘El paro general,’ 15, (26/04/1913), 3; 17, (31/05/1913), 2; 18, (14/06/1913), 2; 19, (12/06/1913), 2; 20, (26/07/1913), 2; ‘El paro general y los aprendices,’ 22, (30/08/1913), 3.

<sup>317</sup> J. Roiz: ‘Aspectos del sindicalismo...,’ 8, (14/12/1912), 1; 14, (12/04/1912), 3; 15, (26/04/1912), 3.

<sup>318</sup> El grupo sindicalista de Oviedo, ‘Aplausos y latigazos...,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 7, (30/11/1912), 4.

<sup>319</sup> *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo): ‘Correspondencia administrativa,’ 10, (01/02/1913), 4. Subscription detailed in 10-22, (01/02/1913 – 30/08/1913), all 4. Money was also raised for the tour by a raffle conducted by anarchists in Santander, offering portraits of Fermín Salvochea and Francisco Ferrer as a prize, see ‘La excursión de propaganda,’ 22, (30/08/1912), 4; ‘Interesante,’ 24, (06/12/1913), 4.

<sup>320</sup> ‘La excursión de propaganda,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo): 22, (30/08/1912), 4; 23, (20/09/1912), 1. *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid): G. Díez, ‘La vida social... Vitoria...,’ 26, (14/11/1913), 3-4 and S. Cenzano, ‘La vida social...Logroño...,’ 27, (21/11/1913), 3.

most important sites of anarchist print culture until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936.<sup>321</sup> The tour began in October 1913, after Sánchez Rosa had arrived from Madrid, where he had been speaking at a conference organised by the ‘Los Iguales’ group.<sup>322</sup> Beginning in Santander, the tour passed through towns in Cantabria, Vizcaya, Gipuzcoa, Vitoria and Logroño.<sup>323</sup> Printed materials formed a central aspect of the tour. In each locality a ‘vast number’ of *hojas*, pamphlets and periodicals were distributed, providing a base of anarchist literature in each locality.<sup>324</sup> In areas such as San Sebastián, new kiosks were established to ensure the continual supply of anarchist papers.<sup>325</sup> In Fuenmayor, Aquilino Gómez affirmed his paper’s stance towards syndicalism to a packed crowd of workers. A correspondent to *Acción Libertaria* reported that Gómez saw syndicalism as ‘the only fraternal tactic able to struggle...against the assault of capitalism...“but it has to be recognised – [Gómez] said – that syndicalism does not meet the aspirations of integral and definitive emancipation...nor can it hold itself as a concrete end capable of elevating consciences to the glories of the ideal”’.<sup>326</sup> Local authorities attempted to prevent such meetings from taking place and speakers had to contend with interruptions and objections from members of the socialist movement.<sup>327</sup> Nevertheless *El Látigo* was buoyant as the tour grew to a close, claiming to have inspired action and free organisation across the north of the country.

*El Látigo* closed soon afterwards, unable to maintain its print run of around 2,000 issues while its correspondents failed to pay for their subscriptions.<sup>328</sup> Yet the federation continued and soon called for a second propaganda tour and the renewal of efforts towards a national confederation of anarchist groups. At the request of the *gigonés* anarchist group ‘Divulgación,’ the Basque Federation united with those of Galicia, Asturias and Cantabria to form the Federación Anarquista de la Región Cantábrica, at a meeting in Eibar in August 1914. Other than sending a delegate to the Ferrol Peace Congress of 1915 (Constancio Romero from La Coruña), this new federation achieved nothing of note

<sup>321</sup> J.M. Macarro, ‘Liberación utopía en la mentalidad anarquista: Los folletos de Sánchez Rosa,’ J. Álvarez Junco, et al., *El movimiento obrero en la historia de Cádiz*, (Cádiz, 1988), 287-296.

<sup>322</sup> ‘La excursión de propaganda,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 23, (20/09/1912), 1; ‘La vida social...Una conferencia de Sánchez Rosa,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 21, (10/10/1913), 3.

<sup>323</sup> Z., ‘La vida social...Bilbao...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 13, (15/08/1913), 4. On his way home from the tour Sánchez Rosa also stopped off in Valladolid, see Un socio del Ateneo, ‘La vida social...Valladolid...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 28, (28/11/1913), 3; A. Arranz, ‘Vida sindicalista...Valladolid...,’ *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 118, (02/12/1913), 3-4.

<sup>324</sup> El corresponsal, ‘La vida social... Santander...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 21, (10/10/1913), 4; Á. Herrerín López, ‘Anarchist sociability,’ 168.

<sup>325</sup> J.O., ‘La vida social... San Sebastián,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 22, (17/10/1913), 3.

<sup>326</sup> S. Cenzano, ‘La vida social... Logroño...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 27, (21/11/1913), 3.

<sup>327</sup> G. Diez, ‘La vida social... Vitoria...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 26, (14/11/1913), 3-4; *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV: J. Sánchez Rosa, ‘Movimiento anarquista...,’ 184, (22/10/1913), 3-4; ‘Movimiento anarquista...,’ 185, (29/10/1913), 4; M. Fernández, ‘La excursión de propaganda...,’ 86, (05/11/1913), 4; ‘Movimiento anarquista...,’ 186, (05/11/1913), 4. See also Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 74. Attacks on Basque socialists formed a part of almost every issue of *El Látigo*. Hopes that the workers’ of the area were turning against the PSOE-UGT were expressed in ‘El socialismo...,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 17, (31/05/1913), 1 and 18 (14/06/1913), 1.

<sup>328</sup> *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo): ‘Falta involuntaria,’ 10, (01/02/1913), 4; ‘“El Látigo”’, 22, (30/08/1913), 4; ‘...A los compañeros,’ 25, (16/01/1914), 1-2. See balances printed in ‘Administración...’ 8, (14/12/1912), 3-4 and 25, (16/01/1914), 4 to demonstrate the financial problems of the paper.

and disbanded in September 1915.<sup>329</sup> Few of the other anarchist federations achieved even the same limited levels of success as the Basque Federation. The highpoint of activity was late 1913, when federations were declared in Valencia, Andalucía and Extremadura.<sup>330</sup> The Valencian Federation was able to carry out a propaganda tour in the summer of 1914. Again, Sánchez Rosa was the main attraction, this time accompanied by his daughter Paca, who ‘painted the misery and labour which weighs upon the working woman with eloquent strokes’ during her speeches.<sup>331</sup> The Andalucían Federation had less success with their proposed tour, and failed to expand beyond Sevilla and its surrounding towns.<sup>332</sup> Despite the traditional support for anarchism in these areas, both federations were locked in a ‘permanent state of crisis’ and collapsed in 1915, and made only sporadic attempts to reform in the following years.<sup>333</sup>

Although equally unsuccessful, the Extremadura Federation was notable for its relationship with anarchist print culture. It was based in the small town of Azuaga (Badajoz, population in 1910: 14,192), which had reportedly received around 40,000 copies of *Tierra y Libertad*, almost 65,000 pamphlets and 350 books between 1910 and 1913.<sup>334</sup> Articles and letters from Azuaga appeared regularly in the anarchist press in this period, mainly from the correspondent Luis Zoais [Luis García Muñoz], who was also a contributor to *El Látigo*.<sup>335</sup> In September 1913 three anarchist groups in the town agreed to form a regional federation, and one month later launched *Luz* (co-edited by Zoais) as the group’s periodical – a feat not managed by their Valencian and Andalucían counterparts. Although no copies of *Luz* have survived, it was reportedly printed on ‘good paper’ and was the ‘size of *El Porvenir del Obrero*’.<sup>336</sup> These qualities did not save it from folding almost as soon as it appeared.<sup>337</sup> Likewise, the Extremaduran Federation was short-lived. It briefly claimed the support of from 34 groups across the region, before disappearing in January 1915.<sup>338</sup> As in the early 1900s, anarchist propaganda groups formed and dispersed with regularity after the suppression of the CNT. The idea of federating anarchist propaganda groups was relatively novel, and indicative of a broader trend

<sup>329</sup> Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1077-1080.

<sup>330</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid): ‘Noticias...’, 9, (18/07/1913), 4; Hermóneges de Sabiote, ‘Una proposición oportuna,’ 14, (22/08/1913), 3. See also call for national federation from Ronda-based anarchist group ‘Acra,’ in ‘A los anarquistas,’ *Cultura Libertaria*, (El Ferrol), 11, (16/01/1913), 4.

<sup>331</sup> Gerogerio Marzal, ‘Excursión de propaganda por la región valenciana,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 225, (05/08/1914), 3.

<sup>332</sup> Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1089-1097.

<sup>333</sup> ‘...Federación anarquista Valenciana,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 240, (23/12/1914), 4. González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 236-240.

<sup>334</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 198.

<sup>335</sup> L. Zoais, [L. García Muñoz], *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo): ‘... Para “Raul”’, 20, (26/07/1913), 1-2 and ‘...Para el compañero Chueca,’ *El Látigo*, (Baracaldo), 19, (12/07/1913), 1-2. See also L. Zoais, ‘Dolor,’ *Cultura Libertaria*, (El Ferrol), 12, (01/02/1913), 1 and ‘Enseñanza, instrucción y educación,’ *Los Refractarios*, (Madrid), 1, (01/09/1915), 5. Zoais later moved to Valladolid, where he edited *Ideal*, (Valladolid, c.05/1916). See Soriano and Madrid Santos, *Antología documental*, 368-369 for a list of Zoais’ pamphlets.

<sup>336</sup> *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid): ‘...Nuevo periódico anarquista,’ 16, (05/09/1913), 4; ‘La vida social...Azuaga,’ 22, (17/10/1913), 3.

<sup>337</sup> ‘Lo sentimos,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 30, (12/12/1913), 3.

<sup>338</sup> Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1097-1100.

towards organisation across the movement. Yet the ‘structure’ of these federations was no firmer than that of the groups which constituted them, thus they were prone to disintegration. Although these federations largely came to nothing, the idea of a ‘purely’ anarchist federation across Spain did resurface at various points in the following years, and was ultimately accomplished with the creation of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) in 1927.<sup>339</sup>

#### A Plural, Indifferent Press

Between 1911 and 1915 periodicals appeared in the towns of Logroño (La Rioja), Huesca, Salamanca, Elche, Elda (both Alicante), Villena (Valencia), Llano del Beal (Murcia), Ecija (Sevilla), Castro del Rio (Córdoba), Nerva (Huelva) and Linares (Jaén) for the first time in the history of the movement. In Alcoy, Murcia and Cartagena, periodicals appeared for the first time since 1907 and in Ferrol for the first time since 1884. These papers were indicative of a geographic spread of the movement, similar to that of the turn of the century [see Map 3.1]. As in this earlier expansion, printed materials played a crucial role in this process.<sup>340</sup> Some of these areas had almost no prior connection to the movement. For example, Béjar, (Salamanca) became the site of an active propaganda group, which proposed a propaganda tour across the provinces of Salamanca, Zamora, León, Burgos, Palencia and Avila, all of which had previously been completely ignored by the anarchist movement. This group was headed by José María Blázquez de Pedro – a well-known figure in the print culture of the movement, – who had moved to the town in 1906 and acted as the town’s contact for anarchist periodicals.<sup>341</sup>

Most of these new papers were broadly supportive of syndicalism. Both *Liberación* (Elche) and *Villena Obrera* (Villena) promoted syndicalism as a means for increased worker organisation across Alicante.<sup>342</sup> *El Trabajo* performed a similar role in Logroño.<sup>343</sup> Although none of these papers made reference to the CNT, some discussed the idea of a synthesis of anarchism and syndicalism.<sup>344</sup> *Acción Directa* (Cartagena) was keen to stress the harmony of anarchism and worker organisation, stressing that the ‘economic equality’ advanced by syndicalism would bring forth the ‘moral’ emancipation advocated by anarchist philosophy.<sup>345</sup> A similar message appeared throughout *Acción Ferroviaria*, which was launched in 1913 as the organ of the rail-workers’ syndicates of Huelva. This paper

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<sup>339</sup> F. Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 186-187. On the FAI see S. Christie, *We the Anarchists! A Study of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), 1927-1937*, (Hastings, 2000).

<sup>340</sup> For example, see propaganda group in La Carolina (Jaén) J. Sanz Cobos, ‘La vida social... La Carolina...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 16, (05/09/1913), 4.

<sup>341</sup> ‘Notas y comunicaciones: Grupo “Los Autónomos”,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 20, (03/10/1913), 4; Blázquez de Pedro sent in requests for both *Dinamita Cerebral* and *Hacia la Emancipación* from *El Porvenir del Obrero*, see ‘Correspondencia,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 346, (13/03/1913), 4 and 382, (20/11/1913), 4. Short pieces by Blázquez de Pedro were a common feature of *Cultura Libertaria*, (El Ferrol), see ‘Pensares,’ in 8, (03/12/1912), 3; 9, (15/12/1912), 4. Íñiguez, *Esbozo de una enciclopedia*, 578.

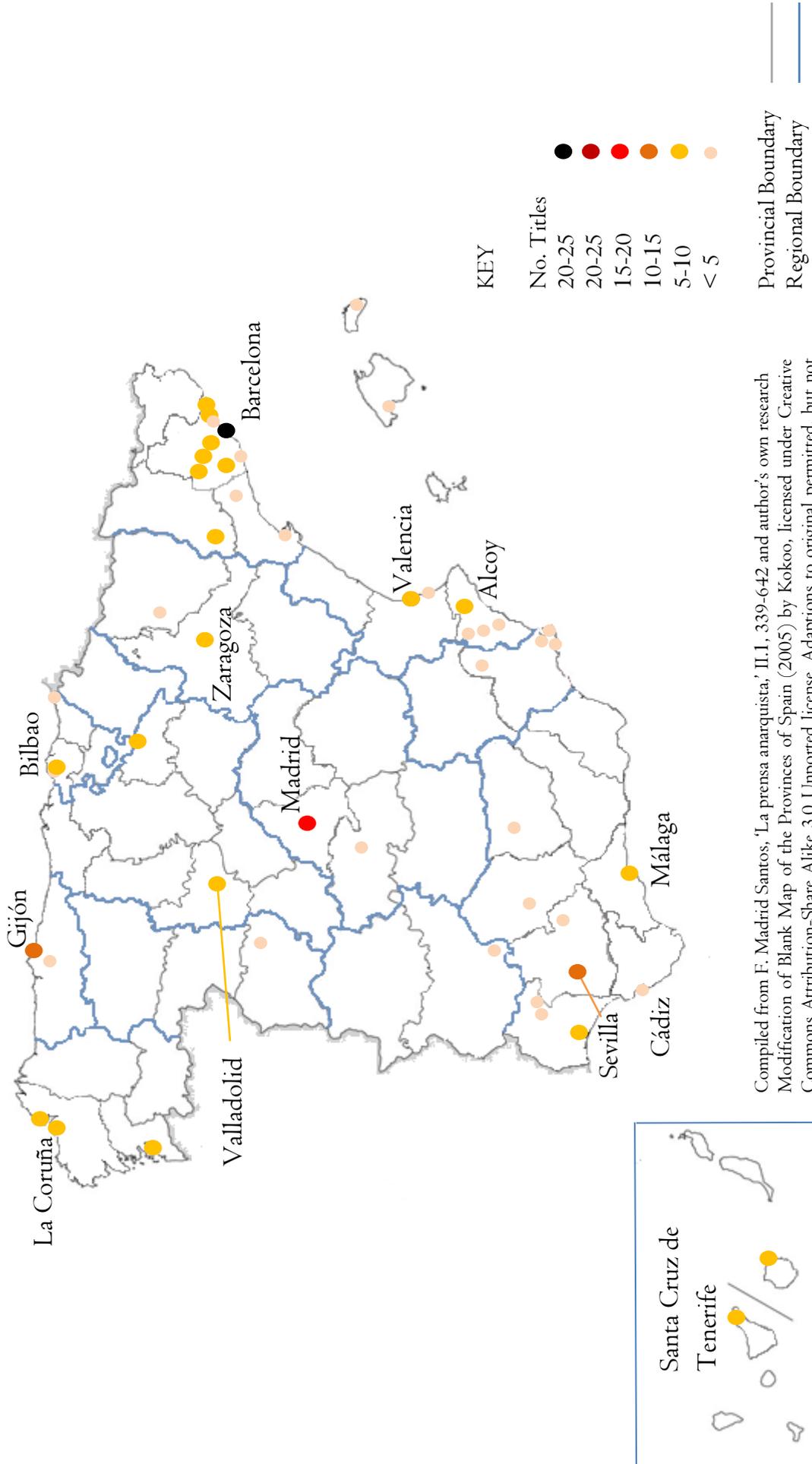
<sup>342</sup> ‘Noticias...,’ *Villena Obrera*, (Villena), 12, (05/01/1913), 4.

<sup>343</sup> ‘La Federación en marcha,’ *El Trabajo*, (Logroño), 2, (01/06/1914), 1-2.

<sup>344</sup> For example see the distinction made by *Liberación* paper between ‘anarchist’ and ‘syndicalist’ papers while advising readers subscribe to both, ‘Asuntos varios...,’ *Liberación*, (Elche), 6, (01/09/1912), 4.

<sup>345</sup> Uno, ‘Los periódicos obreros,’ *Acción Directa*, (Cartagena), 2, (28/02/1914), 3.

Map 3.1: Areas of Anarchist Publishing in Spain, 1907-1915



Compiled from F. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1, 339-642 and author's own research  
 Modification of Blank Map of the Provinces of Spain (2005) by Kokoo, licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license. Adaptions to original permitted, but not endorsed by original author. Original map available at:  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces\\_of\\_Spain\\_%28Blank\\_map%29.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Provinces_of_Spain_%28Blank_map%29.png)  
 [accessed 03/12/2012]

praised the transformative potential of syndicalism as the ‘best and most beautiful’ tactic for assuring the interests of the working class.<sup>346</sup> Support for syndicalism also came from anarchist papers independent of workers’ groups, such as *Cultura Libertaria* (Ferrol). The ‘13 October’ group behind this publication were primarily supporters of anarchist educational programmes, regarding ‘ignorance’ as the main obstacle between the current society and anarchism.<sup>347</sup> But they were also keen to promote local workers’ matters, and in February 1913 the paper published a passionate call for a reorganisation of the CNT. This article was written by a former critic of the CNT, José Suárez Duque, whose change of heart highlights the inconsistency of opinion within the movement at this time.<sup>348</sup>

Through these papers, anarchist publishers and correspondents maintained the ideas of syndicalism following the repression of the CNT. However, there is sparse evidence in the press outside Cataluña that these years were spent solidifying a ‘formalised’ ideology of anarcho-syndicalism. Indeed, the term ‘anarcho-syndicalism’ did not appear at all in *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona), or any anarchist periodicals of this period.<sup>349</sup> Syndicalism was generally regarded in a positive light, although a number of anarchist papers were keen to stress that it was not the sole element of the struggle against authority. For some papers, such as *Acción Libertaria* (Madrid), syndicalism remained simply a tactic, distinct from the ultimate goal of anarchism, which required protection from overly zealous advocates of a ‘purely’ syndicalist doctrine. For others, such as *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), organisation was both the tactic and the goal. As with earlier syndicalist papers, this paper was clearly influenced by anarchism but rarely employed the term. On the ground, it appears that most members of the movement identified with both terms, often without seeing a distinction between anarchism and syndicalism, or demonstrating much interest in combining these theories.<sup>350</sup> Rather than demonstrating a need for a unitary theory of anarcho-syndicalism, this indifference suggests that many within the movement were perfectly capable of supporting both ideas simultaneously, since to them they meant largely the same thing.

The movement’s press was also largely indifferent to two other developments in these years. The first was a brief resurrection of anarchist violence, marked by the assassination of Prime Minister José Canalejas by Manuel Pardiñas in November 1912, and the attempted assassination of Alfonso XIII by Rafael Sancho Alegre in April 1913. Both Pardiñas and Sancho Alegre were self-declared anarchists, yet the anarchist press was keen to distance them from the movement. One commentator pointed out that Pardiñas was also a painter, and from Aragon, yet that did not mean that all

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<sup>346</sup> R. Lamonedá, ‘El sindicato transformador’ and ‘Sindicalismo,’ both *Acción Ferroviaria*, (Huelva), 4, (05/07/1913), 1.

<sup>347</sup> J. Navarro González, ‘De educación anarquista,’ *Cultura Libertaria*, (Ferrol), 10, (02/01/1913), 1; Acracio, ‘Anarquía,’ *Cultura Libertaria*, (Ferrol), 9, (15/12/1912), 4.

<sup>348</sup> J.S. Duque, ‘Por la confederación,’ *Cultura Libertaria*, (El Ferrol), 12, (01/02/1913), 3. Duque went on to become an important figure in the Galician CNT, see Íñiguez, *Esbozo de una enciclopedia*, 585.

<sup>349</sup> See also Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 38.

<sup>350</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 240-241.

Aragonese painters were terrorists.<sup>351</sup> Pardiñas shot himself as soon as he killed Canalejas, and was soon forgotten to the anarchist press. The death sentence handed to Sancho Alegre did briefly rouse indignation in a few papers, but he too was forgotten after his punishment was reduced to life imprisonment.<sup>352</sup> These attacks did not prompt any special legislation against the anarchist movement or its press, as in the 1890s. The reaction of both the movement and the state suggests that neither saw a direct link between individual terrorists and the wider anarchist movement.<sup>353</sup>

The second omission from the press is perhaps more surprising. In April 1913, a new anarchist organisation was founded in Córdoba, named the Federación Nacional de Obreros Agricultores (National Federation of Agricultural Workers: FNOA). The FNOA aimed to organise the massive rural labour force of Spain into a revolutionary body, adapting the industrial theory of syndicalism to a rural economy largely based on surplus, seasonal labour. Although it was not particularly successful, Antonio Bar has stressed the importance of this organisation, seeing it as a testing ground for the new synthesis of anarchism and syndicalism, giving anarcho-syndicalism a 'formal' character which would later be adopted by the CNT. While this may have been true within the internal discussions of the FNOA, neither the organisation nor its ideas appeared to have influenced the wider movement prior to 1916. Judging by contemporary accounts, the FNOA was initially rather small, attracting only 9,000 members in 1913.<sup>354</sup> Likewise, its periodical, *La Voz del Campesino*, struggled to attract a readership outside Cataluña, and ran at a considerable loss.<sup>355</sup> Although a number of papers outside Cataluña stressed the need for greater organisation of *campesinos*, few appeared to be aware of the FNOA's existence.<sup>356</sup> When the organisation was mentioned in the press, there was little to suggest that its fusion of anarchism and syndicalism was considered significant, or a model to follow.<sup>357</sup>

While the movement remained broadly supportive of syndicalist ideas, Negre's belief that the CNT would weather repression better than its predecessors was misplaced. A few papers and individuals, such as Quintanilla, had spent these years developing a theory of syndicalism as a new and necessary element of the class struggle. Many others saw the apparent disappearance of the CNT

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<sup>351</sup> Adanda [V. García], 'Notas internacionales,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 333, (12/12/1912), 3. See also M. Bajatierra, 'Autores morales,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 16, (23/11/1912), 2-3.

<sup>352</sup> Dr Alen, 'El caso de Sancho Alegre,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series] 9, (18/06/1913), 1-2. Sancho Alegre was released upon the declaration of the Second Republic in 1931; see Íñiguez, *Esbozo de una enciclopedia*, 554.

<sup>353</sup> See for example, R. Mella, 'El ideal anarquista...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 16, (05/09/1913), 1-2, which states that terrorism is 'never a principle of men which think and reason' (i.e. anarchists), published the month after Sancho Alegre's attack on the King.

<sup>354</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 316-338.

<sup>355</sup> See 'Balance del periódico...', *La Voz del Campesino*, (Sans), 14, (30/05/1914), 4. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' I.1, 184-185.

<sup>356</sup> See earlier calls for agricultural federation: 'Los campesinos,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 309, (29/06/1912), 4; 'Desde la Habana...', *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 77, (11/10/1912), 4; 'Aplausos y latigazos,' *El látigo*, (Baracaldo), 4, (19/10/1912), 4; 'Asociación de obreros campesinos de Jerez de la Frontera,' *Cultura Libertaria*, (Ferrol), 9, (15/12/1912), 2-3. Report of a small-scale agricultural union: '...Reunión de agricultores,' *La Voz del Obrero*, (La Coruña), 115, (30/10/1913), 3.

<sup>357</sup> See small reports on founding of FNOA in 'Asuntos varios,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 357, (29/05/1913), 4 and '...Federación de Agricultores,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 28, (28/11/1913), 4.

as an opportunity to challenge syndicalist models of organisation, attempting to redirect the movement towards more ‘purely’ anarchist activities. What was clear from all of these papers was that the CNT had disappeared outside Cataluña, and no tangible efforts had been made to re-establish the organisation in local or regional contexts. The prospects for the organisation looked bleak, until the outbreak of the First World War offered the movement an unexpected opportunity to reorganise.

### Reformation: 1914-1915

Two decisions made in Ferrol (La Coruña) in the spring of 1915 laid the foundations for a reformation of the anarchist movement in Spain. The first was an agreement to revive the CNT; the second approved the publication of a daily version of *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) as the movement’s official mouthpiece. Together, these decisions were crucial to the dramatic expansion of the CNT which took place in the following years. Membership of the confederation rocketed from 30,000 in 1915 to almost 800,000 in 1919, making the CNT the largest anarchist organisation in world history. The organisation only surpassed such numbers twenty years later at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.<sup>358</sup> These developments were only possible because of the unprecedented economic and social upheaval brought about by the First World War. Although Spain remained neutral, the war was a transformative event for the entire country. Industries which supplied both belligerent blocs boomed from 1914 onwards, sparking a huge shift towards urbanisation and industrial employment. Many other areas experienced economic crisis, as markets for goods such as oil and cork collapsed. Across Spain, basic living standards were eroded as dramatic spike in inflation saw the price of food and housing soar far beyond wage increases.<sup>359</sup> This turmoil gave the CNT a context in which it could expand into a mass movement. Yet this would not have been possible had the war not also provoked a crisis within the anarchist movement, which forced it to meet in Ferrol and agree upon direction and a strategy, forming a sense of common purpose which had been absent since the collapse of the CNT in 1911.

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<sup>358</sup> The real explosion in membership of the CNT came between 1918-1919, when membership rose by almost 90 per cent. Bar, *La CNT*, 338-339; 490-492.

<sup>359</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 179-181, 193-201. F.J. Romero Salvadó, *Spain, 1914-1918: Between War and Revolution*, (London, 1999), 31, 44-45.

## A War of Print

The threat of a war between European powers was discussed with increasing regularity in the anarchist press from 1911 onwards.<sup>360</sup> Diplomatic efforts to prevent a European war were regarded as useless by anarchist commentators across Europe, who saw internationalism as the only means to prevent such a conflagration.<sup>361</sup> They called upon the working class to launch general strikes across the continent upon the declaration of war, a reaction which would simultaneously guarantee peace and provoke a wider revolution.<sup>362</sup> When war broke out in August 1914 it was clear that hopes for an international working-class response were ill-founded. Not only did social democratic parties in belligerent nations back their respective war efforts – as was predicted by anarchist commentators – so too did the French syndicalists of the CGT, despite the organisation's professed anti-militarism.<sup>363</sup> In contrast, the syndicalist organisations of belligerent Germany and Italy, and neutral USA, Sweden and the Netherlands – all of them much smaller than the CGT – committed to an anti-war stance in the early stages of the war.<sup>364</sup> Likewise, in Ireland, the 'syndicalist-inspired' Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) stood against the war, which helped the union to recover from its near-collapse in 1913.<sup>365</sup> Despite this range of syndicalist opposition to the First World War, nothing could diminish the 'shock, disillusionment and anger' provoked by the CGT's decision, both in France and among the confederation's international supporters.<sup>366</sup>

Many of Europe's leading anarchists also came out in support of the Entente war effort. In August 1914, Petr Kropotkin publically backed Belgian and French efforts to liberate themselves

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<sup>360</sup> G. de Maupassant, 'Críticas ajenas: Contra la guerra,' *El Libertario*, (Gijón), 14, (09/11/1912); Espartaco, 'La guerra europea,' *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 336, (02/01/1913), 4; C. Richet, 'Los horrores de las guerras,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Madrid), 5, (20/06/1913), 2-3.

<sup>361</sup> Criticism of the inauguration of the Hague Peace Palace: *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): Adanada, [V. García], 'Notas internacionales: Holanda,' 372, (11/09/1913), 3; F. Fructidor, 'La suprema ironía,' 375, (02/10/1913), 1.

<sup>362</sup> An example of the idea for an international general strike in Italy can be found in W. Thorpe, 'The European syndicalists and war, 1914-1918,' *Contemporary European History*, 10.1, (2001), 12. This idea also found expression in dystopian literature of the time; see J. London, *The Iron Heel*, (New York, NY, 2006: reprint of New York, NY, 1908), 104-105.

<sup>363</sup> *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV: N. Guallarte, 'Los socialistas...', 244, (20/01/1915), 2; D. Nor, '...El fracaso de La Internacional,' 254, 14/04/1915), 2-3. R. Darlington, 'Revolutionary syndicalist opposition to the First World War: A comparative reassessment,' *Revue belge de philology d'histoire*, 84.4, (2006), 983-984, 900-993.

<sup>364</sup> W. Thorpe, 'El Ferrol, Rio de Janeiro, Zimmerwald and beyond: Syndicalist internationalism, 1914-1918,' *Revue belge de philology d'histoire*, 84.4, (2006), 1007-1009. On the German FVdG see W. Thorpe, 'Keeping the Faith: The German Syndicalists in the First World War,' *Central European History*, 33.2, (2000), 195-216; on the Italian (USI) see C.L. Bertrand, 'Italian revolutionary syndicalism and the crisis of intervention: August-December 1914,' *Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire*, 10.3, (1975), 349-367; on the US IWW see M. Dubofsky, 'The rise and fall of revolutionary syndicalism in the United States,' M. van der Linden and W. Thorpe, (eds.), *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, (Aldershot, 1990), 203-220 and Darlington, 'Revolutionary syndicalist opposition,' 997-1000; on Dutch syndicalists see M. van der Linden, 'The many faces of Dutch revolutionary trade unionism,' M. van der Linden and W. Thorpe, (eds.), *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, (Aldershot, 1990), 49-50.

<sup>365</sup> Darlington, 'Revolutionary syndicalist opposition,' 987-990.

<sup>366</sup> Berry, *French Anarchist Movement*, 21-22.

from the ‘Germanic invasion’.<sup>367</sup> Kropotkin portrayed the conflict in terms of aggressors (Germany) and victims (France and Belgium), using the rhetoric employed by anarchists who supported colonial independence movements, as was evident in *El Corsario*’s support for the Cuban insurgency in the 1890s. Kropotkin was joined by fifteen leading names in European anarchism in a public declaration known as the ‘Manifiesto of the Sixteen,’ which stated that the only acceptable solution to the war was an Entente victory.<sup>368</sup> Many anarchists in Europe and the Americas were ‘distressed’ by Kropotkin’s stance. In March 1915 the London-based ‘Anarchist International,’ which included Emma Goldman, Errico Malatesta and the Spanish exiles Vicente García and Pedro Vallina, published a counter to Kropotkin’s numerous pro-Entente articles.<sup>369</sup> They declared that the outbreak of war had been inevitable, and instead of Entente victory they called for peace, to be brought about by an international anarchist revolution against all ‘exploiters’.<sup>370</sup>

Similar divisions emerged within the Spanish anarchist movement during the early years of the war.<sup>371</sup> The majority of the movement favoured a complete denunciation of the war, a position articulated by the two main periodicals of the movement: *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona), representing the Catalan Regional Federation of Labour (CRT) and most syndicalists in the country, and *Tierra y Libertad* (Barcelona), by far the largest anarchist periodical in print. Both saw the war as an abject example of the ‘love of the nation’ triumphing over the ‘love of Humanity’.<sup>372</sup> To these papers, there was no distinction between the belligerents. Germany, France, Britain and Russia all oppressed their own people and those of other nations. Only an immediate declaration of peace would bring a halt to the bloodshed.<sup>373</sup> These papers were supported by the FNOA and its organ *La Voz del Campesino* (Valls) which declared that no ‘true revolutionary’ could support the Entente.<sup>374</sup> This view was shared by papers and groups outside Cataluña, for example the syndicalist periodical *Acción Directa* (Cartagena), which ran a piece by Vicente García which attacked the ‘warlike madness’ of Kropotkin and Malato.<sup>375</sup> Numerous regional anarchist groups of Spain also came out against the war. ‘Juventud en Marcha’ – an anarchist group based in La Coruña – made declarations through *Tierra y*

<sup>367</sup> Letter from Kropotkin to Gustav Steffan, published as ‘La carta de Kropotkine,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 385, (11/03/1915), 1-2.

<sup>368</sup> A full text is available as *The Manifiesto of the Sixteen*, (2011): published online <http://libertarian-labyrinth.blogspot.co.uk/2011/05/manifiesto-of-sixteen-1916.html> [accessed 20/04/2013].

<sup>369</sup> Goldman, *Living My Life*, II, 565. See also E. Malatesta, ‘Anarquistas que olvidan sus principios,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 241, (30/12/1914), 1.

<sup>370</sup> ‘Contra la guerra...,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 388, (01/04/1915), 1.

<sup>371</sup> The argument provoked by the war belies the claim by Wayne Thorpe and Ralph Darlington that the Spanish movement offered a ‘clear and... consistent response’ to the conflict Thorpe, ‘The European syndicalists, 10; Darlington, ‘Revolutionary syndicalist opposition,’ 985.

<sup>372</sup> ‘*Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III: P. Geli, ‘La opinión ante la guerra,’ 72, (08/10/1914), 1-2; J. Negre, ‘A la libertad por la guerra,’ 75, (05/11/1914), 1; *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV: F. Cubas, ‘Los anarquistas frente a la guerra,’ 233, (14/10/1914), 1; E.C. Carbó, ‘Los anarquistas y la guerra,’ 242, (06/01/1915), 1.

<sup>373</sup> *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV: S. Faure, ‘Hacia la paz...,’ 244, (20/01/1915), 1-2; E.C. Carbó ‘Lágrimas y sangre,’ 245, (27/01/1915), 1-2; A. Pestaña, ‘La guerra,’ 247, (10/02/1915), 2.

<sup>374</sup> L. Zoais, [L. García Muñoz], ‘Sinceramente,’ *La Voz del Campesino*, (Valls), 27, (15/12/1914), 1; E. C. Carbó, ‘Contra la guerra,’ *Reivindicación*, (Barcelona), 11, (27/08/1915), 1.

<sup>375</sup> V. García, ‘De la locura dominante,’ *Acción Directa*, (Cartagena), 41, (04/12/1914), 1-2.

*Libertad* against the pro-Entente stance of Kropotkin, and called for their contemporaries in Spain to do likewise.<sup>376</sup> Groups from Cartagena, Vitoria and the Anarchist Federations of Cataluña and Extremadura affirmed that the war was not as a result of German aggression but a ‘product of capitalism’.<sup>377</sup> Anti-war statements also came in from Spanish anarchist groups abroad, such as the ‘Ni dogmas ni sistemas’ group in Dowlais (Wales), which attacked the British image of Belgium as a ‘heroine’ by reminding readers of the colonial horrors in the Congo.<sup>378</sup> Anti-war meetings were also held by anarchist groups, most notably in Mataró (Barcelona) in October 1914.<sup>379</sup> This majority opinion, led by the Barcelona periodicals, corresponded to the well-established anarchist critique of war. It united individuals, groups and publications, providing a common cause which had not been evident within the movement since the repression of the CNT in 1911. The neutral status of Spain ensured these anarchists and syndicalists did not have to face the immediate threat of invasion and war, as did the CGT in France. In this ‘relatively favourable context’ of neutrality, anti-militarism could be maintained without facing the threat of conscription or prosecution, as their contemporaries in belligerent nations did.<sup>380</sup>

Despite the strength of the anti-war position, a minority within the movement accepted the stance of the CGT and Kropotkin and came out in support of the Entente. Although much smaller in number, this group was not ‘isolated’ from the movement.<sup>381</sup> The pro-Entente position centred around the three most prominent non-Catalan publications in print: the recently reformed *Acción Libertaria* (Gijón), edited by Quintanilla and Sierra Álvarez; *El Porvenir del Obrero* (Mahón); and *Cultura y Acción* (Zaragoza), the organ of the Centre of Social Studies of Zaragoza, edited by José Chueca, a long-term contributor to a number of anarchist papers and advocate of neo-Malthusian ideas.<sup>382</sup> Also among this minority were several individuals who had been crucial to the intellectual development of the movement since 1890, including Ricardo Mella and Federico Urales, as well as key figures in regional anarchist circles, such as Aquilino Gómez. They regarded an Entente victory as both morally correct and necessary, claiming that all revolutionaries had a vested interest in seeing a German defeat, as the alternative was a nightmarish, militaristic Prussian Empire, which would crush the

<sup>376</sup> M. Paradela, ‘Movimiento anarquista...’, *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 239, (16/12/1914), 4.

<sup>377</sup> *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV: ‘Movimiento anarquista... Cartagena,’ 243, (13/01/1915), 4; ‘Movimiento anarquista... “Juventud en marcha”,’ 244, (20/01/1915), 3-4; ‘Movimiento anarquista... la región catalana,’ 244, (20/01/1915), 4. See also formation of ‘Pro-Peace’ anarchist group in Zaragoza, ‘Movimiento anarquista: Nuevos grupos,’ 248, (24/02/1915), 4. Zambrana, *El anarquismo organizado*, 1099.

<sup>378</sup> Ni dogmas ni sistemas, ‘A los grupos anarquistas de lengua española,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 250, (10/03/1915), 3.

<sup>379</sup> *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV: ‘Movimiento anarquista... la región cántabra,’ 241, (30/12/1914), 4; Brovin, ‘Mitín en Mataró,’ 251, (17/03/1915), 3-4. J. Zambrana, *La Asamblea de Sociedades Obreras – Mataró – 18/10/1914: Una repuesta unitaria del movimiento obrero ante la crisis de trabajo en los inicios de la I Guerra mundial*, (2010), published online: <http://cedall.org/Documentacio/IHL/LA%20ASAMBLEA%20DE%20MATARO%20DEL%2018.pdf> [accessed 12/03/2012], 1-17.

<sup>380</sup> Berry, *French Anarchist Movement*, 21-22; Darlington, ‘Revolutionary syndicalist opposition,’ 985.

<sup>381</sup> Thorpe, ‘The European syndicalists,’ 10; Darlington, ‘Revolutionary syndicalist opposition,’ 986.

<sup>382</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 148-151; Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 181, 190; Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 141-157.

radical dreams of anarchists forever.<sup>383</sup> Urales explained his position by declaring himself a Francophile and a pragmatist. He judged the French as having ‘better culture, better civilisation, better moral progress, better liberty, better justice’ than their adversaries, and saw them as being ‘closer’ to anarchist ideas than the Germans were. His conviction was so strong that he put his support for the Entente above anarchism: ‘if my doctrine compels me to condemn as equal those that, in the midst of barbarous war, remember that they are the most perfect animal in Nature [i.e. the Entente], to those that, in equal condition of barbarous war, do not distinguish [i.e. the German army]...I curse my doctrine’.<sup>384</sup> For *Acción Libertaria*, the war provided the opportunity for a long-overdue reflection on anarchism and syndicalism. It was a sign that the world had changed, creating a context which required studious analysis rather than adherence to axiomatic principles. The paper stated that belief in the internationalism of the working class had proved futile, and should be abandoned as a guiding principle for the movement. They foresaw a new world order emerging in the event of an Entente victory, in which new avenues could be explored where past models had failed.<sup>385</sup> Although the majority of the movement supported the anti-war opinion advocated by *Solidaridad Obrera* and *Tierra y Libertad*, dissidents could be found in almost every area of anarchist support. Letters were sent to the pro-Entente press from across Spain, affirming to the editors of these papers that they were not alone in their opinions.<sup>386</sup>

These conflicting interpretations of the war rapidly escalated into a bitter and public war of words.<sup>387</sup> At stake was what it meant to be an anarchist and the future of the movement. The neutralist majority insisted that those who supported the Entente – both internationally and in Spain – could no longer be considered anarchists, as they had ‘excommunicated’ themselves through their public affirmations of support for militarism.<sup>388</sup> They derided Kropotkin and his supporters, frequently labelled them as hypocrites, as in one letter from Vicente García to the pro-Entente *El Porvenir del Obrero*:

this ill-fated war has transformed everything and even those spirits which we believed most serene, reflexive, the intelligences which we judged most solid, have lost their balance and lurch towards the impulse of the warlike hurricane; they are its toy, they

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<sup>383</sup> Lucifero, ‘Contra la guerra,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 389, (08/04/1915), 1.

<sup>384</sup> F. Urales, ‘Sobre el Congreso Internacional,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 390, (15/04/1915), 2.

<sup>385</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 148-162.

<sup>386</sup> See for example: J. Gallego Crespo (writing from Sevilla), ‘Los anarquistas y la guerra...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series] 30, (13/08/1915), 2-3. Also discussed in González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 234 and Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 78. Support for *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): ‘Otras opiniones,’ 401, (15/06/1915), 1; A.P. Nuñez, ‘Carta Abierta,’ 404, (12/08/1915), 2-3; ‘Carta Abierta,’ 407, (02/09/1915), 2.

<sup>387</sup> On the various positions in Spanish society at the outbreak of the war see Meaker, ‘A civil war of words,’ 1-65 and Romero Salvadó, *Spain, 1914-1918*, 5-22. On the socialist position see J.L. Martín Ramos, *Historia de la UGT*, Vol.II, *Entre la revolución y el reformismo: 1914-1931*, (Madrid, 2008), 1-5.

<sup>388</sup> J.M. Blázquez de Pedro, ‘Ellos solos se excomulgan,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 254, (14/04/1915), 1.

cannot dominate it and they are going to stumble and slip. They make *a priori* affirmations, they ignore that which they have always preached: they say white today, black yesterday; they print the biggest contradictions to sustain the errors that have filled their brains. This is not serious, nor logical, nor reasonable, nor *anarchic*.<sup>389</sup>

The charge of hypocrisy was hard to deny. Prior to 1914, papers such as *El Porvenir del Obrero* had advocated revolution in the face of war.<sup>390</sup> Likewise, Mella had routinely advocated internationalism and labelled war as ‘a moment of madness’.<sup>391</sup> These pro-Entente anarchists defended themselves by stating that the First World War was an unforeseeable conflict, which had brought into question all previous positions – even those as steadfastly held as antimilitarism and internationalism. They did not see themselves as hypocrites but realists, while their opponents were guilty of intransigence in the face of reality.<sup>392</sup> Supporters of the Entente were equally prepared to criticise the anarchist credentials of their adversaries.<sup>393</sup> Because they regarded the Entente as the morally superior, yet weaker, of the belligerents, they saw neutrality as implicit support for Germany.<sup>394</sup> In the summer of 1915 Urales went one step further, and claimed that the ‘neutralists’ of *Solidaridad Obrera* had received money from German agents to produce anti-Entente propaganda, prompting an angry exchange with the editors of *Tierra y Libertad*.<sup>395</sup> Although strongly denied, the charge of accepting German money stuck to the CNT and *Solidaridad Obrera* throughout the war.<sup>396</sup>

Participants in the debate did not refrain from personal insults. The pro-Entente José Chueca labelled those who were ‘attacked by Anglophobia’ as idiots, blind to the fact that in ‘England’ [*sic* – Britain] there was ‘no warlike atmosphere’ as was rife in Germany.<sup>397</sup> On both sides, correspondents’ letters which questioned editorial positions were censored and reproached as ‘anti-anarchist’.<sup>398</sup> When debates were published they revealed the divisions that were tearing apart old friendships within the

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<sup>389</sup> V. García, ‘Seriedad y lógica,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 394, (13/05/1915), 3. Emphasis added. See also J.M. Blazquez de Pedro, ‘Orígenes del guerrerismo...,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 257, (12/05/1915), 3.

<sup>390</sup> J. Cualquiera, ‘Socialismo y patriotismo,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 321, (21/09/1912), 1.

<sup>391</sup> *El Libertario*, (Gijón): R. Mella, ‘Literaturas bélicas,’ 1, (10/08/1912), 1; Raúl [R. Mella], ‘...El socialismo y la paz,’ 19, (14/12/1912), 1.

<sup>392</sup> El Grupo Editor, ‘Presentación,’ *Renovación*, (Gijón), 1 (05/1916), 1-2.

<sup>393</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): Editorial response to V. García, ‘Mirando al ideal,’ 391, (22/04/1915), 3; see also García’s offended response in ‘Cuestión terminada,’ 395, (20/05/1915), 2.

<sup>394</sup> J. Gallego Crespo, ‘Los anarquistas y la guerra...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 30, (13/08/1915), 2-3.

<sup>395</sup> F. Urales, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): ‘El oro alemán en España,’ 397, (17/06/1915), 3, ‘Lección de anarquismo,’ 400, (08/07/1915), 1; ‘Por Federico Urales,’ 400, (08/07/1915), 1; ‘Los moscardones anarquistas,’ 401, (15/07/1915), 1; ‘Finalidad de esta campaña,’ 403, (05/08/1915), 1. ‘A Federico Urales,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 264, (30/06/1915), 3. *Acción Libertaria* did not believe Urales’ accusations, and said that he had ‘left the field of anarchism’, see ‘Para alusiones,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 28, (30/07/1915), 3.

<sup>396</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 343; P. Aubert, ‘La propagande étrangère en Espagne dans le premier tiers du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle,’ *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 31.3, (1995), 135.

<sup>397</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): J. Chueca, ‘Inglaterra y Alemania,’ 395, (20/05/1915), 1; Clarísimo, ‘Flechazos,’ 403, (05/08/1915), 3-4.

<sup>398</sup> ‘Maremagnum,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 243, (13/01/1915), 4.

movement. *El Porvenir del Obrero* was one paper which invited and publicised a plurality of opinions on the war, without abandoning its pro-Entente editorial stance.<sup>399</sup> As a long-term collaborator in the paper, Vicente García felt it important to express why his old friend, Juan Mir i Mir, was in the wrong.<sup>400</sup> Yet this respectful tone soon disappeared. García labelled Mir ‘mad’ if he thought the war would mark a new era for revolutionaries, while Mir i Mir mocked García’s claim to superior knowledge of the belligerent nations, labelling him a ‘señorito tourist’ (García had lived in exile in France and Britain for almost a decade), whose insights could be challenged by ‘intelligent and studious’ examination of the war.<sup>401</sup>

Not since the terrorism of the 1890s had such acrimony been provoked by divergences over the interpretation of anarchism. With no obvious solution, ambitions to reform the CNT appeared to be a distant dream. Attitudes towards syndicalism did not define the ‘neutralist’ and ‘pro-Entente’ camps; indeed the war created some unlikely alliances across older divisions. For example, Urales had previously attracted strong criticism from *El Porvenir del Obrero*, for his individualist, anti-organisational attitudes.<sup>402</sup> Yet when the paper resumed publication in 1915 (following a year-long break enforced by Mir’s ill health) it gave a platform to Urales because he shared their pro-Entente stance. Amongst the ‘neutralists’ were staunch syndicalists such as Negre, and groups which defined themselves as ‘purely’ anarchist, free from syndicalist ideas. Perspectives on the international dimensions of the debate also cut across previous doctrinal lines. In denouncing both sides in the war, the Catalan syndicalists of the CRT stood against their French counterparts, and alongside anti-syndicalist anarchists such as Malatesta.<sup>403</sup>

The division was in part generational. Mella, Urales and Mir i Mir had grown out of a tradition of nineteenth-century federalist republicanism, which maintained a respect for the French revolutionary tradition.<sup>404</sup> These figures had been involved in the movement for much longer than many of those behind the creation of the CNT – such as Negre and Angel Pestaña – and their quarrel with these figures was in part unwillingness to be eclipsed by this new generation.<sup>405</sup> They were also hostile to the idea of a unified ‘line’ within the anarchist movement, as was now being promoted by ‘neutralist’ majority.<sup>406</sup> Yet generational difference does not explain all of the conflicting positions

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<sup>399</sup> A. Lozano, ‘¡Esto no puede seguir así...!’, and editorial response to letter, *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 402, (05/08/1915), 2-3.

<sup>400</sup> V. García, ‘De la locura dominante,’ *Acción Directa*, (Cartagena), 41, (04/12/1914), 1-2.

<sup>401</sup> V. García, ‘Seriedad y lógica,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 394, (13/05/1915), 3; editorial response to V. García, ‘Dentro del Ideal,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 392 (29/04/1915), 4.

<sup>402</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): F. Urales, ‘Anarquía comunista...,’ 376, (09/10/1913), 2; J. Cualquiera, ‘¿Qué es el individualismo?’, 377, (16/10/1913), 3; F. Urales, ‘La anarquía excomulgada...,’ 380, (05/11/1913), 3-4.

<sup>403</sup> E. Malatesta, ‘Anarquismo y sindicalismo,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 22, (12/05/1911), 2-3.

<sup>404</sup> Fernández Álvarez, *Ricardo Mella*, 65-66; de la Dehesa in Urales, *La evolución*, 28-29; Portella Coll, ‘Mir i Mir, 118-123.

<sup>405</sup> A. Pestaña, ‘Dos palabras,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 254, (14/04/1915), 3. Bar, ‘The glory and tragedy,’ 123.

<sup>406</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 100-105.

taken during the war. Quintanilla and Sierra Álvarez, for example, were equally symbolic of a new generation within the movement as were their counterparts in the CNT. Although they were influenced by Mella, they had begun to develop their own distinctive outlook on the anarchist movement and its future. Likewise, on the ‘neutralist’ side of the debate were figures who had been involved in the movement for a long time, such as Vicente García and José Sánchez Rosa. Given the mixture of opinions and individuals on both sides of the debate, the solution to the impasse did not seem to lie in a clarification of attitudes towards worker organisation, or in a jettisoning of an older generation of thinkers and periodicals. Yet both these developments occurred as a consequence of efforts to unite the movement’s stance on the war.

### The Ferrol Peace Congress, 1915

In early 1915 plans were made for an international peace congress in Spain. Inspired by Sebastián Faure – a French anti-war anarchist and critic of the CGT – a syndicalist group in Ferrol announced their ambition to hold a meeting of socialists, syndicalists, anarchists and workers’ organisations at their local *ateneo*.<sup>407</sup> The Congress was seen as an opportunity to put aside grievances and work towards a strategy to end the war as quickly as possible. Both sides of the debate in Spain showed enthusiasm for this idea. Representatives from 34 federations, groups and newspapers made their way to Ferrol for the opening of the Congress on 29 April, and a further 133 groups adhered without sending or nominating a representative [see Table 3.3].<sup>408</sup> Amongst those supporting a neutral position were Angel Pestaña (representing the CRT), the Catalan and Cantabrian Anarchist Federations, dozens of workers’ groups, independent anarchist groups and Tomás Herreros, editor of *Tierra y Libertad*. The pro-Entente position was represented by Pedro Sierra Álvarez of *Acción Libertaria*, Quintanilla, and Aquilino Gómez, the latter speaking for three anarchist groups from the Basque region. *El Porvenir del Obrero* had intended to send Urales as their representative, but he did not travel after being erroneously informed that the Congress had been cancelled.<sup>409</sup>

Shortly before the Congress, the Spanish government blocked international representation from belligerent nations and attempted to ban the meeting altogether.<sup>410</sup> The only international delegates able to attend came from Portugal and Brazil, although further adherences came from France,

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<sup>407</sup> La comisión organizadora, ‘Hacia la paz,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 249, (03/03/1915), 1.

<sup>408</sup> Information on Congress compiled from reports in ‘El proletariado ante la guerra – Congreso Internacional del Ferrol,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 91, (13/05/1915), 1-2; ‘Congreso Internacional de la Paz en el Ferrol,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 257, (12/05/1915), 1-2 and ‘Congreso Internacional de la Paz,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 17 (14/05/1915), 1. See also Garner, ‘The politics of mistrust,’ 47-50; Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 76-78 and Thorpe, ‘Syndicalist internationalism,’ 1010-1013.

<sup>409</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): ‘El Congreso del Ferrol,’ 390, (15/04/1915), 1; F. Urales, ‘Del Congreso por la Paz,’ 394, (13/05/1915), 1.

<sup>410</sup> Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 77.

### 3.3: Groups and Delegates at the Ferrol Peace Congress

	Represented	Representatives	Affiliated
<b>Spain</b>	<b>34</b>		<b>131</b>
National Organisations	2	M. Bajatierra; C. Romero	4
Andalucía	4	J. S. Rosa; M. Andreu; A. Pestaña; F. Miranda; E.C. Carbó*; A. Loredó*	52
Aragón	1	M. Andreu; A. Pestaña; F. Miranda; E.C. Carbó*; A. Loredó*	2
Asturias	2	P. S. Álvarez	4
Castilla la Nueva	4	A. Lozano; M. Pascual; J. Iñiguez; J. L. Bouza*	10
Castilla la Vieja	2	M. Manzano	3
Cataluña	5	M. Andreu; A. Pestaña; F. Miranda; E.C. Carbó*; A. Loredó*; J. Sánchez; T. Herreros; F. Vilaplana; I. Gari	12
Extremadura			2
Galicia	6	C. Romero; J. Nó; N. Trabaleda; M. Suárez; A. Porto	20
Islas Baleares		F. Urales**	1
Murcia	4	G. Pagán; G. Ros; M. Jiménez; M. Ferreira	4
Provincias Vascongadas	3	A. Gómez	6
Valencia	1	M. Andreu; A. Pestaña; F. Miranda; E.C. Carbó*; A. Loredó*	11
<b>International</b>	<b>9</b>		<b>13</b>
International Associations			1
France	1	E. Quintanilla	1
Italy			1
Portugal	7	C. Romero; E. Quintanilla; M. Campos; J. Nogueira; M. Nogueira; E.C. Cardoso***; S.C. Lucena***; M.J. de Souza***; A.A. Pereira***	3
UK			4
Argentina			2
Brazil	1	A. F. Vieytes	1

\* Carbó. Loredó and Bouza arrested on 30/04/1915

\*\* Federico Urales scheduled to represent *El Porvenir del Obrero* but did not travel

\*\*\* Portuguese delegates arrested and deported on night of 29/04/1915

Sources: *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 91, (13/04/1915), 1-2; *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 257, (12/05/1915), 1-2 and 'Congreso Internacional de la Paz,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), 17 (14/05/1915), 1. See also Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 76-78.

Argentina, the Italian Unione Sindicale, and four anarchist groups based in South Wales.<sup>411</sup> Following the opening day of the Congress the Portuguese delegates were arrested and deported, making the remaining session an exclusively Spanish affair. Very little of substance was agreed in matters related to the war. A general strike across all nations was mooted as a means to end the conflict, as was the foundation of a new International, free from parliamentary socialists and based on exactly the same principles of the First International. No practical means to achieve these goals were agreed and the Congress ended on 30 April after three delegates were arrested.<sup>412</sup>

On a domestic level, the Congress did nothing to settle the debate within Spanish anarchism, which continued for the remainder of 1915. The pro-Entente delegate Gómez returned from Ferrol embittered, and wrote to *El Porvenir del Obrero* to state that his opinions on the war had not changed: ‘true pacifists’ wanted a quick end to the conflict, and the best way to ensure that was to support Britain and France.<sup>413</sup> *Acción Libertaria* affirmed that the proposals to end the war by calling general strikes was not the product of a ‘serene examination with reality’ and had ‘little in harmony with circumstances’.<sup>414</sup> In contrast, the neutralist position took heart from the Congress, which had ‘saved anarchist from ridicule’ brought upon it by ‘traitors’.<sup>415</sup> In May 1915 *Tierra y Libertad* published a letter sent to Urales by the pro-Entente Charles Malato, in which Malato stated that the Congress was useless. The paper’s scathing commentary labelled Malato a ‘neo-nationalist’ and maintained that Ferrol had been an act of ‘revolutionary importance’.<sup>416</sup> The debate continued to hinder new initiatives within the movement, as in Sevilla where plans to launch a new anarchist periodical collapsed because of disagreements between neutralist and pro-Entente’ groups.<sup>417</sup>

## Consolidation

The only positive result of the Congress was that it had brought together the leading anarchists and syndicalists in Spain for the first time since the CNT Congress of 1911. This was crucial for the reorganisation of the movement. In a session separate from the main Congress, Ángel Pestaña of the CRT proposed the reorganisation of the CNT and the transformation of *Solidaridad Obrera* into a daily publication. Both received unanimous support. Immediately after the Congress a commission was formed in Barcelona with the task of making the national organisation a reality, aiming to ‘purify organisation, perfect it, give it orientation, unite the scattered...and generalise and unify

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<sup>411</sup> Quintanilla spoke for the French Syndicalist Youth, and was referred to as ‘Aurelio Quintanilha’ in the accounts of *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Tierra y Libertad* and *Acción Libertaria*. The reason for this is unclear.

<sup>412</sup> Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 78.

<sup>413</sup> A. Gómez, ‘Guerra a la guerra,’ *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón), 400, (08/07/1915), 2-3.

<sup>414</sup> ‘Sobre un congreso...,’ *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 18, (21/05/1915), 1.

<sup>415</sup> M. Andreu, ‘Desviaciones lamentables...,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 93, ((03/06/1915), 1-2.

<sup>416</sup> C. Malato and editorial comments, ‘Una carta interesante,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 258, (19/05/1915), 1-2.

<sup>417</sup> González Fernández, *Utopía y realidad*, 242-243.

propaganda'.<sup>418</sup> Support for these ideas extended across the whole country. In Sevilla, Congress delegate José Sánchez Rosa encouraged the local movement to action during a debate with a local socialist, advocating syndicalist tactics as the best means towards an anarchist future. Sánchez Rosa planned to follow this event with a speaking tour through Andalucía, with the aim of convincing the *campesinos* of the region to join the CNT. The tour was cut short after all of the speakers were arrested during its first event in Úbeda (Jaén).<sup>419</sup>

The plan for a reformed CNT was initially supported by both anti-war and pro-Entente sections of the movement. *Acción Libertaria* regarded the CNT as essential, stating that although the paper was 'above all an anarchist periodical' it was 'ready to contribute with its modest force to this labour of worker reorganisation under a frank, revolutionary inspiration'.<sup>420</sup> Mella, who had been critical of the CNT in 1911, now saw its reconstitution as necessary to further the principles of anarchism.<sup>421</sup> Yet despite their enthusiasm, supporters of the Entente were accused of fostering anti-organisational sentiments and were ostracised from the movement. Papers such as *Tierra y Libertad* conflated support for the CNT with an anti-war stance, suggestive of a 'party line' on the subject. This was anathema to papers such as *Acción Libertaria*, who saw it as their duty to defend their principles in the face of a perceived homogenisation of the movement.<sup>422</sup> They accused the Barcelona papers of advising readers to cancel their subscriptions to pro-Entente papers, which would force them to close.<sup>423</sup> This accusation may have been true. All of the pro-Entente papers had folded by early 1916, and although the group behind *Acción Libertaria* returned to print culture with the journal *Renovación* a few months later, by August 1916 this too had closed after only four editions.<sup>424</sup> Federico Urales was once again left without a platform in the anarchist press. He only returned to a position of prominence within the movement a decade later, when he embarked on a series of public arguments with the CNT through the second epoch of *La Revista Blanca*.<sup>425</sup> Ricardo Mella, embittered by the apparent victory of dogmatism within Spanish anarchism, played no further role in the movement until his death in 1925.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> 'Confederación Nacional de Trabajo,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 93, (03/06/1915), 1.

<sup>419</sup> Gutiérrez Molina, *José Sánchez Rosa*, 78-80.

<sup>420</sup> 'Sobre un congreso...', *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 18, (21/05/1915), 1.

<sup>421</sup> Barrio Alonso, *Anarquismo en Asturias*, 156.

<sup>422</sup> Editorial response to 'Juventud en marcha' and 'Ni dios ni amo,' 'No nos plegamos,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 29, (06/08/1915), 3.

<sup>423</sup> 'Por decoro,' *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón), [New series], 31, (20/08/1915), 1.

<sup>424</sup> *El Porvenir del Obrero*, (Mahón): last issue 413, (14/10/1915); *Cultura y Acción* (Zaragoza), last issue c.11/1915 [cf. Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1], 557; *Acción Libertaria*, (Gijón) [New series], last issue: 47, (14/01/1916); *Renovación* (Gijón): last issue 4, (08/1916).

<sup>425</sup> *La Revista Blanca*'s second epoch began in 1923, at roughly the same time as the CNT was made illegal by the government of General Primo de Rivera. The journal's conflict with the CNT ran whilst the organisation was operating on a clandestine basis between 1926 and 1928; see F. Urales, *El sindicalismo español: Su desorientación*, (Madrid, 1923) and T. Abelló Güell and E. Olive, 'El conflicto entre la CNT y la familia Urales-Montseny en 1928: La lucha por el mantenimiento del anarquismo puro,' *Estudios de Historia Social*, 32-33, (1985), 317-332

<sup>426</sup> Fernández Álvarez, *Ricardo Mella*, 62.

Not all of the pro-Entente supporters left the movement at this time. Quintanilla, for example, remained one of the most respected anarchist thinkers in Spain and a prominent figure in the local and national CNT.<sup>427</sup> He continued to develop his interpretation of syndicalism as a new tactic for revolutionaries, more suited to the contemporary world than social democracy and the older methods of the First International.<sup>428</sup> Nevertheless, the crisis provoked by the outbreak of the First World War had clearly favoured the neutral majority of the movement.<sup>429</sup> It was this section which led the reformation of the CNT in Barcelona, and ensured that the organisation would maintain a united opposition to the war in the coming years. This stance helped the organisation attract mass support from the Spanish working class, which was growing increasingly hostile to food shortages blamed on wartime conditions.<sup>430</sup> The CNT returned as a fragile organisation in 1915, which was heavily dependent upon its Catalan base.<sup>431</sup> In May 1916 the CNT organised a conference in Valencia – its first outside Cataluña – which was designed to raise awareness of the organisation to unaffiliated groups.<sup>432</sup> The 1919 CNT Congress – the first since 1911 – drew almost half of its affiliates from outside Cataluña. This Congress was viewed as a victory for the anarchists within the organisation, who assured that their ideology was the defining goal of the CNT.<sup>433</sup> Yet fluctuations in support for syndicalism continued outside Cataluña. In most of Spain, the reconstruction of the CNT did not take place until after the 1919 Congress, when regional federations were created in Andalucía, Levante (Valencia and Murcia), the North (Provincias Vascongadas, Cantabria and Asturias) and Galicia.<sup>434</sup>

A key part of the consolidation of the CNT was the expansion of *Solidaridad Obrera* into a daily publication. The proposals to expand *Solidaridad Obrera* during the 1911 Congress had come to nothing, as the paper had been immediately suspended. When the paper returned in 1913 it returned to its plans for expansion, and held conferences in favour of the idea through 1914.<sup>435</sup> The paper opened a voluntary subscription, sold propaganda postcards and organised a raffle of anarchist literature to

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<sup>427</sup> Álvarez, *Eleuterio Quintanilla*, 186-189.

<sup>428</sup> E. Quintanilla, 'Cuestiones sindicales...', *Renovación*, (Gijón), 2, (06/1916), 9-12.

<sup>429</sup> See legacy of First World War in anarchist periodicals of the 1930s in Freán Hernández, 'Imperialismo, fascismo y revolución'.

<sup>430</sup> Romero Salvadó, *Spain, 1914-1918*, 22-31; Garner, 'The politics of mistrust,' 51-57; Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction*, 225-258.

<sup>431</sup> For example see Minervo, 'Crónica social internacional...', *Renovación*, (Gijón), 2, (06/1916), 31.

<sup>432</sup> On the Valencia conference see J. Zambrana, *La CNT y la Asamblea de Valencia (Mayo 1916): Un estudio sobre la CNT y el proceso aglutinado de un bloque sindical y social contra la crisis de subsistencias y la represión del movimiento obrero español*, (2014), published online: <http://www.cedall.org/Documentacio/IHL/LA%20CNT%20Y%20LA%20ASAMBLEA%20DE%20VALENCIA.pdf> [accessed 08/06/2014].

<sup>433</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 479-555 (data from 492).

<sup>434</sup> P. Gabriel, 'Propagandistas confederales entre el sindicato y el anarquismo: La construcción Barcelonesa de la CNT en Cataluña, Aragón, País Valenciano y Baleares,' *Ayer*, 45.1, (2002), 105-145; Freán Hernández, *El movimiento libertario*, 18.

<sup>435</sup> '... "Solidaridad Obrera" diario,' *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 30, (11/12/1913), 1. *Tierra y Libertad* doubted that this idea would be a success, due to the 'indifference' of the Spanish working class, see "'Solidaridad Obrera" diario,' *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 196, (14/01/1914), 2.

raise money for the project.<sup>436</sup> One of their most ardent supporters of this idea was the veteran militant Anselmo Lorenzo.<sup>437</sup> In the last pamphlet published before his death in November 1914, Lorenzo stressed that the ‘conquest’ of a workers’ daily was the most important task currently facing the movement.<sup>438</sup> Not only were anarchist and syndicalist publications dwarfed by their ‘bourgeois’ counterparts, they were now struggling to match the output of *El Socialista*, which had been converted into a daily in April 1913.<sup>439</sup>

News of the unanimous approval in Ferrol for Pestaña’s proposal for a daily *Solidaridad Obrera* prompted an acceleration of activity within the paper. Within a few months it had raised 9,000 pesetas from donations across Spain, and in August 1915 the paper opened up sales for shares in the new daily to its readers.<sup>440</sup> The first daily edition of the paper appeared in March 1916.<sup>441</sup> This massive increase in output severely tested the precarious financial situation of the paper, which relied on membership fees from CNT syndicates in order to stay in print.<sup>442</sup> It also began to run adverts for the first time in its history to cover its additional costs. The new daily paper was also one of the first anarchist publications to pay its workers, yet this move attracted controversy, as the Barcelona printers’ union accused its editors of holding back wages and called for a boycott of the paper.<sup>443</sup> Despite these difficulties *Solidaridad Obrera* published around 800 daily editions until 1919. Given the average print run of an anarchist paper from 1890 to 1915 was between 20 and 30 issues, this marked a significant development within anarchist print culture.

The establishment of the daily *Solidaridad Obrera* caused a decrease in the spread and heterogeneity of the anarchist press. The output of the daily publication dwarfed that of other papers, containing as much information in a week as most other papers managed in months. *Solidaridad Obrera* became seen as the best means to participate in the movement, making the plural, fragmented print culture of the movement practically redundant. Anarchist groups refrained from launching new periodicals or in some cases even abolished existing ones, as was the case of the FNOA publication *La Voz del Campesino*, which was closed in order ‘to give more force and life to the daily *Solidaridad Obrera*’.<sup>444</sup> Between 1916 and 1917 the number of anarchist periodicals in print almost halved, from 32 to 18, the fewest number of titles in print since 1900 [see Chart 0.2]. This moment marks a change in the relationship between the anarchist movement and its press. Although it never lost its

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<sup>436</sup> *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III: J. Rovira, ‘Conferencia “Solidaridad Obrera”...’, 34, (08/01/1914), 2; ‘Pro “Solidaridad Obrera” diario...’, 75, (05/11/1914), 4; ‘Postales de propaganda...’, 93, (03/06/1915), 4.

<sup>437</sup> A. Lorenzo, ‘Solidaridad Obrera: Diario sindicalista,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 33, (01/01/1914), 2 and 34, (08/01/1914), 1.

<sup>438</sup> A. Lorenzo, *El trabajador libre: Impulso a la creación del diario obrero sindicalista*, (Barcelona, 1914), 2.

<sup>439</sup> ‘Nuestro primer día,’ *El Socialista*, (Madrid), 1408, (101/04/1913), 1.

<sup>440</sup> ‘Solidaridad Obrera: Diario sindicalista,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Barcelona), III, 99, (12/08/1915), 4.

<sup>441</sup> No copies of *Solidaridad Obrera* exist between number 99, (08/08/1915) and number 211, (25/05/1916). See ‘“Solidaridad Obrera”, diario,’ *Tierra y Libertad*, (Barcelona), IV, 293, (01/03/1916), 1 for notice of publication.

<sup>442</sup> Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 202.

<sup>443</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 343-346; Madrid Santos, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 103-104.

<sup>444</sup> Bar, *La CNT*, 337; Madrid Santos, ‘La prensa anarquista,’ I.1, 184

heterogeneity, its regional differences or its prolific, ephemeral, and diverse print culture, the movement did become increasingly identified with the CNT and its paper. Thus *Solidaridad Obrera*, the syndicalist daily, marked the ascendancy of a more organised and coherent movement, and a waning in importance of the anarchist press network.

Through the anarchist press, the tactics of syndicalism had been developed and debated for almost a decade. These developments can be traced to several key moments: the creation of ‘Solidaridad Obrera’ and its paper in 1907, the CNT Congresses of 1910 and 1911, and the Ferrol Peace Congress in 1915. All were markers for the spread and consolidation of syndicalism within the anarchist movement. By 1916 syndicalism had been accepted by the majority of the anarchists in Spain, and was seen as central to the movement’s self-definition and its articulation as a mass organisation. Yet this process was far from linear. Support for syndicalism had waxed and waned, while the term had meant different things to different papers and groups. Events such as the Tragic Week and the First World War affected the development of syndicalism in ways which had little to do with the merits of one ideological position over another. Nevertheless, the one constant throughout this process was the central role played by the anarchist press. The press was the prime means by which groups across Spain could engage with organisational developments in Cataluña, and interact with one another. At the same time, the networks of anarchist print culture established in previous decades assisted in the creation of a national organisation, as well as a forum for dissent against the idea.

In 1910, *Solidaridad Obrera* (Gijón) declared that ‘we will be victorious if we maintain our love of organisation’.<sup>445</sup> In many ways the paper was correct. The anarchist movement in Spain in 1916 was different to that of 1890, 1899 and 1907. It had a national organisation which would soon attract a mass following. It had established the first stable, daily anarchist paper in the history of the movement. It had also lost many of the figures which had dominated the movement over the turn of the century, replacing them with a new generation of activists, thinkers and publications. These ‘victories’ were overseen by the anarchist press, which had shaped and sustained the movement through this crucial period in its history.

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<sup>445</sup> Paraphrase from ‘Juzgando la situación,’ *Solidaridad Obrera*, (Gijón), 16, (14/05/1910), 1. Full quote: ‘We will be victorious at any time if we maintain our consciousness and our love of organisation’.



# Conclusion

The formation of a mass anarchist organisation in Spain looked unlikely in 1890, when the movement was in disarray, and even more so in 1896, when anarchism faced severe repression. Anarchism not only survived through this period, it expanded at a scale and speed which was unprecedented in its history, largely in the absence of a national organisation or a recognised leadership. Instead, it relied upon the fragile, contested, informal structures created by publishing groups and distributors. The plural, heterodox world of local anarchist publishing never disappeared from the movement, but it was superseded, and never again had the significance it had held in the years between 1890 and 1915. After this point, anarchists in Spain were not only part of a movement, but also an organisation; rather than a fragmented press, they had a paper. The consolidation of these two institutions also cemented Barcelona's position as the focal point of the movement. Whereas in 1890-1915 the city had been the tacit centre of anarchism in Spain, it was now its undisputed headquarters. Despite numerous disputes, difficulties and suppression, the CNT and *Solidaridad Obrera* remained the prime markers of anarchist identity in Spain until the Civil War of 1936-1939.

In 1915 Spain was the only country in the world where anarchism had a mass following and a national organisation of substantial support, which it would maintain until 1939. For some scholars, it is only after the consolidation of the CNT that anarchism in Spain becomes worthy of serious discussion, as before this point it was just like any other anarchist movement – violent, irrational, fragmented and difficult to examine.<sup>1</sup> Yet the prevalence of anarchism in Spain had much older and much deeper roots than the statutes and programmes of the CNT. The cultural foundations of anarchism in Spain preceded the CNT, and were crucial in shaping the organisations' development as a decentred, flexible, porous and popular organisation. Print played a crucial role in this development. It gave the movement its words, its ideas, its martyrs, heroes and villains, its news, and its campaigns. It also gave anarchism a structure. The networks of producers, distributors and readers of print sustained the movement, providing a framework in which the grassroots could communicate and collaborate with one another. Although this system broke down on numerous occasions, it was remarkably durable. It also succeeded – where anarchist movements in other countries failed – in making anarchism compatible with mass support, ingraining the movement's ideas and practices within the cultural fabric of communities across Spain. This reservoir of support was maintained during future periods of repression, most notably between 1923 and 1931, allowing the movement to spring back to life during the Second Republic. Even decades of fierce repression under the rule of

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<sup>1</sup> Casanova, 'Terror and violence', 80.

Francisco Franco did not fully quell the movement, which reappeared after the dictator's death in 1975, although with only a fraction of the support it had achieved in the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

From 1890 to 1915, the anarchist movement in Spain had experimented with three strategies for bringing forth the revolution. At first, some turned to violence, seeking to spark an immediate, revolutionary reaction from the working class. Their interpretation of anarchist theory led them to see the state as the source of violent oppression, which could only be overcome by an equally violent response. Others rejected this strategy as morally unacceptable, and correctly predicted the immense damage that it would do to the movement. These differences accentuated existing divisions, exposing the fragility of the plural, fissiparous nature of anarchism, and hastened its collapse in the 1890s. As the movement reformed after the 'disaster' of 1898, it turned away from violence, and adopted a gradualist strategy of education. Cultural practices flourished, expanding and implementing anarchist theory in areas which had hitherto been neglected. Yet, once again, differences emerged about the correct application of theory, and by 1904 a string of setbacks provoked serious divisions over strategy. Finally, the movement turned towards syndicalism, seen by many as a new means of organising the working class while remaining true to anarchist principles of individual autonomy. Despite external pressures and internal disputes over the validity of this strategy, syndicalism was eventually accommodated, becoming the tactic of choice for the majority of anarchists in Spain. The resulting movement was far from uniform. Anarchism remained a nebulous, malleable ideology, and the movement continued to hold many seemingly contradictory ambitions and identities. Rather than a linear story of increasing homogenisation, anarchism in Spain from 1890 to 1915 was marked by repeated cycles of greater or lesser accommodation between the many elements of anarchist theory and practice.

Although the specific development of anarchism in Spain was unique, it bears comparison with many other movements in history. Anarchism is not the only ideology to have advocated decentralised, local action above hierarchy and bureaucracy. It was by no means the only movement to advocate violence, education, or organisation as political strategies. The success of anarchism in Spain may appear out of time in the context of the early twentieth century, appearing alongside the growth of social democracy, communism and fascism, all of which looked towards the state, to some degree, as the means of bringing political and social change. Yet if we look at the way in which anarchism was constructed, we can find numerous similarities with these contemporary movements, as well as with those of previous and subsequent eras. The notion that a movement can form through collaborative media is now common amongst scholars of contemporary social and political

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<sup>2</sup> A summary of this period is given in Á. Herrero López, *La CNT durante el franquismo: Clandestinidad y exilio (1939-1975)*, (Madrid, 2004), 405-422.

movements, such as those which emerged during the Arab Spring of 2010-2011.<sup>3</sup> The ‘horizontalist connectivity’ of these movements is sometimes presented as a new phenomenon, produced by globalisation and facilitated by new forms of social media.<sup>4</sup> This thesis has demonstrated that a similar process was evident in the formation of the anarchist movement in Spain, through much older – yet equally ‘social’ – forms of media, namely books, pamphlets, broadsides and, above all, periodicals. Attention to media helps to explain how these processes take place, the meaning of discourse and ideology, and the ways in which the construction and transmission of ideas affect their realisation in practice.

Focusing on media also highlights the ways in which bottom-up movements operate across boundaries within and between nations. In Spain, the anarchist press provided a forum in which local struggles were used to articulate universal truths. It also made translocal action possible, creating and managing networks of exchange, which gave a practical significance to ideas such as solidarity, unity, and organisation. Outside Cataluña, this system was often the only means by which disparate groups of anarchists could participate in the movement. It also created informal hierarchies and elites, based on levels of access to print culture. The press reveals the ebbs, flows and shifting geographies of anarchist support. The presence of anarchist publishing in an area marked it out within the movement, giving local activists an opportunity to share their thoughts and experiences across the whole of the country. Press correspondents ensured that areas of support remained in contact with one another, sustaining a two-way flow of information between the producers and readers of print. Anarchist support was strengthened and maintained by these bonds, and weakened when they broke down.

The formation of the anarchist movement in Spain was an on-going, dynamic process.<sup>5</sup> Assumptions about what anarchism was, based on behaviour, or a fastidious reading on anarchist theory, do little to explain what the movement meant to its grassroots support. This thesis has sought to avoid presumptions about what anarchism was, or question why it was so prevalent in Spain. Instead, it has sought to understand how anarchism developed in Spain, in the words of those who belonged to the movement.

Anarchist periodicals represent the site where the movement came together, where ideology developed and where the boundaries of good anarchist practice were established. They give us a sense of what anarchism meant, and how this meaning developed over time. In many cases this has produced a confused, nebulous depiction of anarchism, which is appropriate for an ideology which professed to loath dogma and regulation. For a researcher, anarchism can seem a bewildering

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<sup>3</sup> P.M. Ouragh and A. Alexander, ‘The Egyptian experience: Sense and nonsense of the internet revolution,’ *International Journal of Communication*, 5, (2011), 1344-1358; G. Lotan, E. Graeff, M. Ananny, D. Gaffney, I. Pearce and D. Boyd, ‘The revolutions were tweeted: Information flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions,’ *International Journal of Communication*, 5, (2011), 1375-1405; P. Gerbaudo, *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*, (London, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> H. Haque Khondker, ‘The role of the new media in the Arab Spring,’ *Globalizations*, 8.5, (2011), 675-679.

<sup>5</sup> Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, 255.

collection of thoughts, experiences, emotions, traditions and practices; just as it would to a contemporary reader of the anarchist press. The task has been to reflect this plurality, and explain how it coalesced and operated as a movement.

This thesis has focused on print as a means to explore the anarchist experience from 1890-1915. It has engaged with ideology, discourse and practice, in regards to their construction and transmission in the periodical press. It has shown the convergences and contradictions within the movement, the successes, missteps and contingencies which shaped the development of anarchism in Spain. Above all, it has shown that being an anarchist from 1890-1915 meant engaging with print. Print reflected the experience of the anarchist movement in Spain and, in doing so, fundamentally shaped its formation.

# Appendix

## Anarchist Titles Published in Spain, 1890-1915

Title [Epoch]	Dates	Total Issues	Surviving In Archives 1890-1915
<b>Cataluña</b>			
<u>Barcelona</u>			
Badalona			
<i>La Colmena Obrera</i>	c.08/1915 - 12/1919	106	2
<i>El Vidrio</i>	c.09/1915 - 09/1920	81	1
Barcelona			
<i>La Tramontana</i>	02/1881- 06/1896	717	271
<i>El Productor</i>	02/1887 - 02/1893	369	191
<i>La Revolución Social</i>	09/1889 - 01/1890	7	1
<i>La Revoluçao Social</i>	07/1890	1	0
<i>Boletín de la Sociedad de Impresores</i>	09/1890 -04/1984	10	9
<i>La Revancha</i>	c.1890 - c.1893	2	0
<i>Boletín de los Obreros Albañiles</i>	c.03/1891	1	0
<i>El Paladín Sombrero</i>	03/1892 - c.10/1892	12	4
<i>La Conquista del Pan</i>	07/1893 - 09/1893	5	5
<i>El Porvenir Social</i>	07/1894 - 05/1896	23	23
<i>Ciencia Social</i>	10/1895 - 06/1896	9	9
<i>Ariete Anarquista</i>	03/1896	2	2
<i>Teatro Social</i>	05/1896	1	1
<i>El Productor [II]</i>	07/1901 - 02/1902	32	19
<i>Boletín de la Escuela Moderna</i>	10/1901 - 07/1907	47	47
<i>La Huelga General</i>	11/1901 - 06/1903	21	21
<i>La Igualdad</i>	c.02/1902 - c.04/1903	15	0
<i>El Productor [III]</i>	11/1902 - 08/1904	90	81
<i>El Pintor</i>	c.12/1902 - 02/1904	13	1
<i>Libre Concurso</i>	03/1903 - 04/1903	3	2
<i>El Libertario</i>	07/1903 - c.08/1903	2	1
<i>El Porvenir Social</i>	09/1903	3	3
<i>Natura</i>	10/1903 - 09/1905	48	48
<i>La Tramontana</i>	c.10/1903 - 11/1903	4	3
<i>Espartaco</i>	11/1904	3	3
<i>Salud y Fuerza</i>	11/1904 - 1914	61	60
<i>El Mismo</i>	c.12/1904 - 01/1905	7	4
<i>El Nuevo Espartaco</i>	c.02/1905 - 03/1905	4	1
<i>Progres</i>	03/1905 - 11/1905	15	15
<i>Avenir</i>	03/1905 - 11/1905	5	5
<i>El Productor [IV]</i>	04/1905 - 04/1906	48	36
<i>Buena Semilla</i>	07/1905- 07/1906	24	24
<i>El Nuevo Malthusiano</i>	c.08/1905 - 01/1906	5	5
<i>La Anarquía</i>	c.12/1905	1	0
<i>El Productor Literario</i>	02/1906 - 01/1907	45	29
<i>Anarquía</i>	05/1906 - 10/1906	10	9
<i>Tierra y Libertad [II]</i>	11/1906 - 07/1908	58	58
<i>Paginas Libres</i>	04/1907 - 01/1908	14	14
<i>Tramontana</i>	08/1907 - 12/1907	18	18
<i>El Rebelde</i>	10/1907 - 07/1908	35	24
<i>Solidaridad Obrera</i>	10/1907 - 06/1909	60	43
<i>Boletín de la Escuela Moderna [II]</i>	05/1908 - 07/1909	15	15
<i>Tierra Libre</i>	08/1908 - 12/1908	7	7
<i>Tierra y Libertad [III]</i>	08/1908 - 07/1909	36	36

<i>Acracia</i>	09/1908 - 03/1909	7	7
<i>Solidaridad Obrera</i> [II]	02/1910 - 09/1911	84	49
<i>Tierra y Libertad</i> [IV]	02/1910 - 01/1919	415	364
<i>La Unión Ferroviaria</i>	c.01/1912 - 12/1916	119	72
<i>El Sindicalista</i>	10/1912 - 11/1912	4	2
<i>Tramontana</i>	02/1913	1	1
<i>Solidaridad Obrera</i> [III-IV]	05/1913 - 01/1919	1007	75
<i>El Obrero Fideero</i>	10/1913	1	0
<i>En Titella</i>	12/1913 - 08/1914	37	37
<i>La Voz Fabril</i>	c.01/1914	1	0
<i>Acción</i>	06/1914 - 12/1914	16	6
<i>La Batalla Sindicalista</i>	c.01/1915 - 03/1915	10	1
<i>La Verdad</i>	c.09/1915 - c.01/1920	c.1	0
<b>Gracia</b>			
<i>El Revolucionario</i>	09/1891 - 10/1891	2	2
<i>El Porvenir Anarquista</i>	11/1891 - 12/1891	2	2
<i>La Nueva Idea</i>	02/ 1895 -05/1895	4	4
<b>Igualada</b>			
<i>El Obrero Moderno</i>	05/1909 -03/ 1918	81	54
<i>La Iconoclasta</i>	05/1909	1	1
<i>El Eco del Esclavo</i>	c.08/1915	1	0
<b>Manlleu</b>			
<i>Revista Fabril</i>	04/1900 - 07/1900	14	9
<b>Mataró</b>			
<i>Nueva Vida</i>	02/1906 - 03/1906	4	3
<i>Nuevo Oriente</i>	06/1906 - 01/1907	11	5
<i>Boletín del Ateneo Obrero de Mataró</i>	c.04/1908	1	0
<i>Boletín del Ateneo Obrero de Mataró</i>	10/1911 - 04/1913	14	12
<i>Acción Fabril</i>	04/1915 - 07/1916	65	29
<b>Sabadell</b>			
<i>Los Desheredados</i>	04/1890 - 07/1890	8	8
<i>Ravachol</i>	10/1892 - 11/1892	2	2
<i>El Eco de Ravachol</i>	c.01/1893	3	1
<i>El Trabajo</i>	c.12/1898 - 06/1913	288	158
<i>La Cuña</i>	c.12/1898 - 02/1913	138	30
<i>La Protesta</i>	06/1900 - 10/1900	15	15
<i>Cultura</i>	01/1908 - 06/1908	6	1
<i>La Picota</i>	06/1911 - 09/1911	15	12
<i>Regeneración</i>	c.10/1914	1	0
<i>Reivindicación</i>	c.06/1915 - 10/1915	16	2
<b>San Martín de Provensals</b>			
<i>El Eco de Toneleros</i>	c.05/1887- c.02/1891	35	4
<i>El Eco de Obreros Curtidores</i>	c.02/1893	1	0
<i>La Unión Obrera</i>	12/1895 - 01/1896	2	2
<b>Sans</b>			
<i>La Voz del Campesino</i>	11/1913 - 07/1914	17	3
<b>Tarrasa</b>			
<i>Germinal</i>	02/1905 - 03/1906	25	24
	09/1907 - 06/1909	46	46

<i>La Voz del Pueblo</i>	02/1910 - 01/1914	171	171
<i>La Voz del Pueblo</i> [II]	10/1912 - 02/1913	10	9
<i>Germinal</i> [II]			
Vilasar de Dalt			
<i>Renovación</i>	03/1911 - 04/1911	2	2
<i>Auba Social</i>	c.01/1914	1	0
Villafranca del Panadés			
<i>La Voz del Obrero</i>	10/ 1908 - 03/1909	10	7
<i>La Voz del Proletario</i>	c.05/1909 - c.10/1909	2	0
Villanueva y Geltrú			
<i>La Voz del Obrero</i>	c.01/1891 - 03/1891	10	1
<i>El Sindicalista</i>	c.04/1912 - 06/1914	54	12
<u>Gerona</u>			
Palamós			
<i>La Labor Corchera</i>	c.02/1892 - 03/1892	5	2
<i>La Redención Obrera</i>	c.01/1900 - 06/1900	19	4
San Feliu de Guixols			
<i>El Proletario</i>	02/1890 - 11/1890	10	10
<i>El Trabajador</i>	c.11/1900	1	0
<i>El Proletario</i>	12/ 1905 - 08/1906	17	9
<u>Lérida</u>			
Lérida			
<i>Verdad</i>	c.01/1906	1	0
<i>Verdad</i>	c.12/1914 - 01/1915	2	1
<i>El Obrero Leridano</i>	c.06/1915 - 05/1917	46	1
<u>Tarragona</u>			
Amposta			
<i>Regeneración</i>	c.09/1915	1	0
Reus			
<i>La Revancha</i>	09/1893 - 10/1893	3	3
<i>La Alarma</i>	08/1901 - 11/1901	7	7
Valls			
<i>La Voz del Campesino</i>	07/1914 - 04/ 1916	38	15
<b>Andalucía</b>			
<u>Almería</u>			
Almería			
<i>Unión Ferroviaria</i>	c.06/1904 - 04/1905	14	0
<i>Vía Libre</i>	c.08/1906	1	0
<u>Cádiz</u>			
Algeciras			
<i>El Oprimido</i>	09/1893 - 10/1893	2	2
<i>Aurora</i>	c.03/1905 - 04/1905	4	0
Cádiz			
<i>El Socialismo</i>	02/1886 - 08/1891	76	6
<i>El Trabajo</i>	12/1899 - 07/1900	8	8
<i>La Razón Obrera</i>	09/1901 - 02/1902	21	18

<i>El Proletario</i>	04/1902 - 02/1903	21	21
<i>Germinal</i>	03/1903	1	1
<i>La Voz del Obrero del Mar</i>	05/1904 - 06/1906	26	25
<i>La Tribuna Obrera</i>	08/1905 - 11/1905	8	8
<i>La Voz del Obrero del Mar</i> [II]	09/1907 - 12/1908	17	11
Jerez de la Frontera			
<i>La Voz del Campesino</i>	c.03/1903 - Apr 1903	2	0
La Línea de la Concepción			
<i>La Protesta</i>	05/1901 - 06/1902	50	46
<i>La Despertar del Terruño</i>	c.05/1903 - 08/1903	2	0
<i>El Precursor</i>	c.05/ 1904- c.07/1904	2	0
<i>Anticristo</i>	03/1906 - 05/1906	2	2
San Fernando			
<i>La Voz del Esclavo</i>	c.01/1906	1	0
<u>Córdoba</u>			
Córdoba			
<i>Alas</i>	c.02/1915- c.07/1915	6	0
<u>Granada</u>			
Granada			
<i>El Obrero de Granada</i>	c.12/1901	1	0
<i>El Rebelde</i>	03/1903	1	0
<u>Huelva</u>			
Calañas			
<i>El Obrero</i>	c.12/1913	1	0
Huelva			
<i>El 4 de Febrero</i>	11/1902 - 12/1902	6	6
<i>La Voz del Minero</i>	c.12/1910 - c.01/1911	2	0
<i>Acción Ferroviaria</i>	c.06/1913 - 08/1913	6	5
Nerva			
<i>Ideal</i>	c.05/1915	1	0
Río Tinto			
<i>El Obrero del Río Tinto</i>	05/1900 - 07/1900	13	13
<u>Jaén</u>			
Linares			
<i>El Rebelde</i>	c.06/1915	1	0
<u>Málaga</u>			
Málaga			
<i>La Justicia</i>	c.10/1901	1	0
<i>Faro de Andalucía</i>	c.05/1902 - c.12/1902	2	0
<i>Faro de Andalucía</i> [II]	c.05/1903 - c.06/1903	2	0
<i>Aurora</i>	c.10/1904	1	0
<i>La Aurora del Siglo</i>	c.12/1905	1	0
<i>Progreso y Cultura</i>	c.07/1908	1	0
<i>Nueva Aurora</i>	06/1909	2	2

<u>Sevilla</u>			
Carmona			
<i>Redención</i>	c.04/1903 - c.06/1903	2	0
Écija			
<i>Regeneración Obrera</i>	c.11/1912 -c.02/1913	2	0
Morón			
<i>La Voz del Terruño</i>	c.04/1903 - c.09/1903	2	0
Sevilla			
<i>La Alarma</i>	11/1889 - 08/1890	25	23
<i>La Tribuna Libre</i>	12/1891 - 01/1892	3	3
<i>Justicia</i>	c.08/1902 -c.05/1903	2	0
<i>Los Tiempos Nuevos</i>	c.12/1902 -c.02/1903	4	0
<i>Trabajo</i>	c.04/1904- c.05/1904	2	0
<i>Verdad</i>	c.08/1904	1	0
<i>Humanidad</i>	c.09/1904 -c.11/1904	2	0
<i>Verdad</i>	c.05/1908 - 07/1908	6	1
<i>Al Paso</i>	c.06/1909 -07/1909	3	1
<i>Al Paso [II]</i>	11/1909 - 01/1910	9	8
<i>Rebelión</i>	02/1910	1	1
<i>Anarquía</i>	c.06/1910	1	0
<i>Solidaridad Corchera</i>	c.08/1910	1	0
<i>El Hombre Libre</i>	c.03/1911	1	0
<i>La Voz del Trabajo</i>	c.02/1913	1	0
<b>Aragon</b>			
<u>Huesca</u>			
Huesca			
<i>La Luz Roja</i>	c.09/1913	1	0
<u>Zaragoza</u>			
Zaragoza			
<i>El Rebelde</i>	09/1893 - 11/1893	4	3
<i>El Eco del Rebelde</i>	05/1895 - 07/1895	4	4
<i>El Invencible</i>	08/1895	1	1
<i>El Comunista</i>	11/1895 - 12/1895	3	3
<i>Aurora Social</i>	c.05/1905	1	0
<i>Vía Libre</i>	c.06/ 1906 - 12/1906	12	1
<i>La Aurora Social</i>	c.01/1910 - c.01/1911	2	0
<i>Anarquía</i>	03/1911 - 06/ 1912	2	1
<i>Cultura y Acción</i>	c.08/1913 -c.11/1915	2	0
<b>Asturias</b>			
Avilés			
<i>1º de Mayo</i>	c.05/1905	1	0
Gijón			
<i>Fraternidad</i>	c.01/1898	1	0
<i>Fraternidad [II]</i>	11/1899 - 12/1900	25	18
<i>La Defensa del Obrero</i>	c.05/ 1901 - 12/1901	172	8
<i>La Organización</i>	01/ 1902	7	1
<i>Fraternidad [III]</i>	c.03/1902- c.05/1902	2	0
<i>El Perseguido</i>	c.04/1903 - c.05/1903	2	0
<i>Tiempos Nuevos</i>	12/1905	2	2
<i>Tribuna Libre</i>	04/1909 - 08/1909	9	9
<i>Solidaridad Obrera</i>	11/1909 - 12/1910	32	30
<i>Acción Libertaria</i>	11/1910 - 07/1911	27	27

<i>¡Justicia!</i>	07/1911	2	1
<i>El Libertario</i>	08/1912 - 04/1913	35	34
<i>Solidaridad</i>	c.04/1914 - 07/1914	7	2
<i>Acción Libertaria</i> [New Series]	01/1915 - 01/1916	47	38
<i>La Cuña</i>	c.02/1915 - c.12/1917	22	12
<i>El Vidrio</i>	c.06/1915	1	0
Oviedo			
<i>Luz y Vida</i>	01/1910	2	2
<b>Castilla la Nueva</b>			
<u>Madrid</u>			
Madrid			
<i>La Anarquía</i>	08/1890 - 06/1893	144	144
<i>La Idea Libre</i>	04/1894 - 06/1899	172	157
<i>La Revista Blanca</i>	07/1898 - 06/1905	168	168
<i>Suplemento a la Revista Blanca</i>	05/1899 - 01/1902	140	140
<i>La Voz del Cantero</i>	c.11/1899 - 01/1928	461	32
<i>La Solidaridad Ferroviaria</i>	c.01/1901 - 04/1904	39	13
<i>La Protesta</i>	08/1901	2	2
<i>Tierra y Libertad</i>	01/1902 - 08/1904	255	255
<i>El Rebelde</i>	12/1903 - 01/1905	53	52
<i>Supl. Semanal a la Revista Blanca</i>	09/ 1904 - 11/ 1904	13	13
<i>Tierra y Libertad</i> [II]	09/1904 - Nov 1904	13	13
<i>Tierra y Libertad</i> [New Series]	12/1904 - 08/1906	65	64
<i>La Huelga General</i>	c.02/1906 - 03/1906	5	1
<i>El Innovador</i>	c.04/1907	1	0
<i>Rebelión</i>	05/1907	2	1
<i>Liberación</i>	01/1908 - c.02/1908	3	1
<i>¡Despertad!</i>	05/1909	1	1
<i>El Libertario</i>	11/1909 - 02/1910	6	6
<i>El látigo</i>	02/1911 - 03/1911	4	4
<i>Acción Libertaria</i>	05/1913 - 12/1913	31	31
<i>Acción Anarquista</i>	c.10/1914	1	0
<i>Los Refractarios</i>	09/1915	1	1
<i>Rebeldías</i>	c.11/1915 - 01/1916	3	1
<u>Toledo</u>			
Toledo			
<i>Humanidad</i>	c.12/1907 - 10/1908	20	1
<b>Castilla la Vieja</b>			
<u>Logroño</u>			
Haro			
<i>La Justicia Obrera</i>	03/1900	1	1
Logroño			
<i>El Trabajo</i>	c.04/1908	1	0
<i>El Trabajo</i>	c.05/1914 - 06/1914	2	1
<u>Santander</u>			
Santander			
<i>Adelante</i>	05/1902-03/1903	42	42
<u>Valladolid</u>			
Valladolid			
<i>La Protesta</i>	08/1899 - 06/1900;	68	68

<i>El Cosmopolita</i>	10/1900 - 04/1901		
<i>Tierra Libre</i>	08/1901 - 10/1901	10	10
<i>El Nivel</i>	c.07/1904 - 03/1905	5	0
<i>La Enseñanza Moderna</i>	c.07/1905 - 01/1906	8	0
<i>Escuela Libre</i>	c.09/1910 - 10/1910	3	1
	02/1911 - 03/1911	3	3
<b>Extremadura</b>			
<u>Badajoz</u>			
Azuaga			
<i>Luz</i>	c.10/1913 - c.04/1914	2	0
Badajoz			
<i>El Obrero</i>	c.06/1899 - 01/1902	86	10
<i>El Obrero</i>	c.11/1905 - c.03/1906	19	0
<b>Galicia</b>			
<u>A Coruña</u>			
La Coruña			
<i>El Corsario</i>	c.05/1890 - 09/1896	246	148
<i>El Productor</i>	09/1896 - 10/1896	5	5
<i>La Emancipación</i>	c.05/1900 - 04/1903	2	0
<i>Boletín de la FSORE</i>	c.01/1903 - 01/1906	7	2
<i>Germinal</i>	c.08/1904 - 08/1905	25	18
<i>La Acción</i>	11/1908 - 12/1908	3	3
<i>La Verdad</i>	c.01/1909	1	0
<i>La Voz del Obrero</i>	c.05/1910 - 08/1917	250	15
El Ferrol			
<i>Luz Al Obrero</i>	c.05/1912	1	0
<i>Cultura Libertaria</i>	c.08/1912 - 02/1913	12	5
<i>La Batalla Sindicalista</i>	c.09/1913 - c.01/1915	2	0
<i>Cultura Libertaria</i>	c.04/1915	1	0
Santiago de Compostela			
<i>El Compostelano</i>	c.01/1892	1	0
<i>El Sol</i>	c.05/1900	1	0
<u>Pontevedra</u>			
Vigo			
<i>El Despertar</i>	c.08/1910	1	0
<i>Solidaridad Obrera</i>	c.12/1910	1	0
<i>Acción Libertaria</i> [II]	09/1911 - 11/1911	6	6
<b>Islas Baleares</b>			
Mahón			
<i>El Porvenir del Obrero</i>	09/1898 - 03/1907	296	296
<i>Libre Concurso</i>	07/1902 - 09/1902	3	3
<i>El Porvenir del Obrero</i>	04/1912 - 10/1915	117	76
<b>Islas Canarias</b>			
Las Palmas			
<i>El Rebelde</i>	c.11/1902 - c.04/1903	2	0
<i>El Rebelde</i>	c.12/1909 - c.01/1910	2	0
<i>Unión Obrera</i>	c.10/1915	1	0
Santa Cruz de Tenerife			
<i>El Obrero</i>	c.09/1900 - 08/1903	136	4
<i>Luz y Vida</i>	c.12/1905 - 01/1907	17	13
<i>El Obrero</i>	c.03/1906	1	0

<i>En Marcha</i>	06/1909 - 07/ 1909	6	4
<i>El Obrero</i>	c.07/1914	1	0
<i>Luz al Pueblo</i>	c.12/1915	1	0
<b>León</b>			
<u>Salamanca</u>			
Salamanca			
<i>El Obrero</i>	c.06/1915	1	0
<b>Murcia</b>			
Cartagena			
<i>La Fraternidad Obrera</i>	c.06/1901 - c.03/1902	2	0
<i>Acción Directa</i>	02/1914 - 12/1914	41	11
Cieza			
<i>La Luz del Obrero</i>	c.11/1904 - c.05/1906	82	0
Jumilla			
<i>Humanidad Libre</i>	c.08/1905 - c.11/1905	9	0
<i>Humanidad Libre [II]</i>	01/1907	1	1
Llano del Beal			
<i>El Despertar del Obrero</i>	c.12/1914 - 07/1918	177	0
Mazarrón			
<i>El Faro del Progreso</i>	c.09/1904 - c.03/1905	15	0
<i>Horizontes Nuevos</i>	c.10/1905	1	0
Murcia			
<i>El Obrero Moderno</i>	c.06/1901 - c.12/1903	2	0
La Unión			
<i>El 1º de Mayo</i>	c.06/1891	1	0
<i>El Despertar del Obrero</i>	c.10/1913 - 03/1914	23	2
<b>Provincias Vascongadas</b>			
<u>Guipúzcoa</u>			
Irún			
<i>La Enseñanza Moderna</i>	08/1908 - 03/1909	9	7
San Sebastián			
<i>El Combate</i>	c.10/1890	1	0
<u>Vizcaya</u>			
Baracaldo			
<i>El látigo</i>	09/1912 - 01/1914	25	24
Bilbao			
<i>El Combate</i>	11/1891 - 12/1891	3	3
<i>El 1º de Mayo</i>	c.05/1904	1	0
<i>Nuevo Espartaco</i>	c.07/1905 - 08/1905	2	0
<i>La Voz de la Anarquía</i>	c.12/1914	1	0
<i>La Lucha</i>	c.10/1915	1	0
Sestao			
<i>El Ideal del Esclavo</i>	c.03/1903 - 09/1903	2	0

<b>Valencia</b>			
<u>Alicante</u>			
Alcoy			
<i>El Jornalero</i>	09/1889 - 02/1890	23	5
<i>El Condenado</i>	c.04/1890 - c.01/1891	2	0
<i>El Defensor del Obrero</i>	c.11/1891	1	0
<i>El Clamor del Oprimido</i>	c.12/1891	1	0
<i>Humanidad</i>	01/1906	1	1
<i>El Selfactinero</i>	09/1912 - 12/1912	7	7
<i>Acción Solidaria</i>	04/1913	1	0
Elda			
<i>La Guerra Social</i>	c.12/1915	1	0
Elche			
<i>Liberación</i>	05/1912 - 11/1912	11	11
Villena			
<i>Villena Obrera</i>	10/1912 - 05/1913	29	11
<u>Valencia</u>			
Sueca			
<i>El Germinal</i>	c.04/1910	1	0
Valencia			
<i>La Víctima del Trabajo</i>	12/1889 - 01/1891	11	9
<i>La Cuestión Social</i>	04/1892 - 06/1892	4	4
<i>La Controversia</i>	06/1893 - 10/1893	5	5
<i>Humanidad Libre</i>	02/1902 - 03/1902	3	2
<i>El Corsario</i>	06/1902 - 12/1902	27	13
<i>Juventud</i>	01/1903 - 07/1903	26	14
<i>Vida</i>	c.01/1904 - 02/1904	2	0
<i>Humanidad Nueva</i>	c.02/1907 - 04/1909	27	5
<i>El Obrero Ilustrado</i>	c.09/1908 - 11/1908	2	0
<i>Escuela Moderna</i>	05/1910 - 09/1911	71	25
<i>Humanidad</i>	06/1912 - 09/1912	7	3

Compiled from Madrid Santos, 'La prensa anarquista,' II.1, 339-642 and II.2, 645-853 and author's own research. Some omissions to Madrid Santos' catalogue have been made, where papers are considered unlikely to have existed or were not connected to the movement.<sup>1</sup> Where information on dates of publication and issue numbers are missing, estimates have been given.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Omissions in period 1890-1915: *El Eco de Ravachol* (Barcelona, 1890); *La Tramontana*, (Barcelona, 1896), II; *Bandera Roja* (La Coruña, 1897-1898); *Alma Negra* (Gijón, 1898); *Luz y Vida*, (Oviedo, 1900); *El Indicador Anarquista*, (no location, 1900); *El Obrero Valenciano*, (Valencia, 1901); *El Corsario*, (La Coruña, 1903-1908); *Juventud Libertaria*, (Zaragoza, 1903-1908); *La Acción* (La Coruña, Feb. 1908).

<sup>2</sup> For titles with only a start date, one issue has been allocated; for titles with a start and end date, two issues have been allocated.

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C.24: Proceso contra anarquistas

Cajas 4-8bis

Ejecución de los anarquistas

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