Anarchism in Everyday Life:

Libertarian Prefigurative Politics in Spain and Argentina,

1890-1930

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

Since the Arab Spring and the Occupy Movement of the early 2010s, scholars have increasingly utilised the term ‘prefigurative politics’ to describe the practices of contemporary social movements which seek to ‘prefigure’ (in the here and now) the world they wish to establish. This process is often referred to as ‘building the new society within the shell of the old’, and many associate it with the anarchist movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, since the term first emerged in the 1960s, labour historians have largely overlooked prefiguration as a category of historical analysis. Accordingly, this thesis applies the theoretical framework of prefigurative politics to a historical study of anarchism in Spain and Argentina. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these countries possessed the two largest anarchist movements in the world. In Spain, the National Confederation of Labour – an organisation with markedly anarchist leanings – boasted nearly 800,000 members in 1919, and anarchists went on to play a pivotal role in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. In Latin America, anarchism laid the deepest roots in Argentina, aided by the Italian and Spanish migrants who arrived during the nineteenth century. By 1920, the FORA V – the explicitly anarchist iteration of the Argentinian Regional Workers’ Federation – claimed a membership of 180,000. These movements were deeply interconnected, with the continual exchange of resources, ideas and people across the Atlantic creating a transnational network of activists and producing a ‘cross-fertilisation’ of anarchist theory and praxis. This thesis shows how, between 1890 and 1930, anarchists in Spain and Argentina prefigured a libertarian society through their everyday cultural practices. Specifically, it explores the spatial, temporal, familial, transnational and trans-local dimensions of anarchist prefigurative politics, as well as the relationship between prefiguration and what anthropologist James C. Scott describes as ‘informal’ resistance.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Professor David Graeber, who passed away in September 2020. I never had the opportunity to meet Professor Graeber but, as both an academic and an activist, he had a profound influence on my life. He will be sorely missed.

Abbreviations

AMA – Arxiu Municipal d'Alcoi/ Municipal Archive of Alcoy

AGN – Archivo General de la Nación/General Archive of the Nation (Buenos Aires)

AGPSF – Archivo General de la Provincia de Santa Fe/General Archive of the Province of Santa Fe

AMHL– Arxiu Municipal de l'Hospitalet de Llobregat/Municipal Archive of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat

AMFSS – Arxiu de la Mèmoria-Fundació Salvador Seguí/Memory Archive-Salvador Seguí Foundation

CNT – Confederación Nacional del Trabajo/National Confederation of Labour

CORA – Confederación Obrera Regional Argentina/Argentinian Regional Workers' Confederation

FAI – Federación Anarquista Ibérica/Iberian Anarchist Federation

FOA – Federación Obrera Argentina/Argentinian Workers' Federation

FOM – Federación Obrera Marítima/Maritime Workers' Federation

FORA – Federación Obrera Regional Argentina/Argentinian Regional Workers' Federation

FORA V – Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (del Quinto Congreso)/Argentinian Regional Workers' Federation (of the Fifth Congress)

FORA IX – Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (sindicalista)/Federación Obrera Regional Argentina (syndicalist)

FTRE – Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española/Federation of Workers of the Spanish Region

IISG – Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis/International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam)

AIT/IWA – Asociación Internacional de Trabajadores/International Workers' Association

IWMA – International Workingmen's Association ('First International')

PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español/Spanish Socialist Workers' Party

UGT – Unión General de Trabajadores/General Workers' Union

Notes

This thesis draws primarily on source material in Spanish and Catalan. Where possible, I have translated individual titles and the names of organisations into English, as well as providing my own English translations of quotations from primary and secondary sources in Spanish and Catalan. Similarly, where possible, I have translated place-names into English, unless the original spelling is particularly well-known in the Anglophone world (such as 'Río de la Plata'). Other words in the original Spanish appear in italics, such as *compañero*/*compañera*, *conventillo*, *peso* and *peseta*. The thesis uses the Spanish terms *alcoyano*, *rosarino*, *hospitalense* and *boquense* to refer to the inhabitants of the four localities examined here: Alcoy, Rosario, L'Hospitalet de Llobregat and La Boca.

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960s, scholars have utilised the concept of ‘prefigurative politics’ to explore political activism in a wide range of contexts, such as student, feminist and anti-racist movements.[1] In contemporary scholarship, it often denotes a process of implementing political change through everyday practices, or ‘building the new society within the shell of the old’.[2] Writing in *Radical America* in 1978, Carl Boggs – widely regarded as the concept’s originator – defines prefigurative politics as ‘the embodiment, within the ongoing political practice of a movement, of those forms of social relations, decision-making, culture, and human experience that are the ultimate goal’.[3] According to Boggs, prefigurative movements attempt to avoid ‘reproducing hierarchical authority relations under a new ideological regime’ and, instead, they create ‘structures that anticipate the future liberated society.’[4] Boggs contrasts prefigurative left-wing movements with the ‘instrumentalism’ of Marxist-Leninists and social democrats who, in his view, prioritise political ends over political means, by seeking to enact change through the state apparatus.[5] In another article, published in 1977, Boggs further clarifies the distinction between the ‘instrumental’ and the ‘prefigurative’: the

[1] Flora Cornish, Jan Haaken, Liora Moskovitz and Sharon Jackson, ‘Rethinking Prefigurative Politics: Introduction to the Special Thematic Section’, *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 4.1 (2016), 114-127 (p. 115) and Carlie D. Trott, ‘Constructing Alternatives: Envisioning a Critical Psychology of Prefigurative Politics’, *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 4.1 (2016), 266-285 (p. 268).

[2] For example, Carlie Trott describes prefigurative politics as ‘direct action aimed at creating change in the “here and now”’, whilst Marianne Maeckelbergh refers to prefiguration as ‘the creation of alternatives in the here and now’. Similarly, Dan Swain highlights how advocates of prefigurative political activism regularly cite the Industrial Workers of the World’s slogan: ‘we build the new society in the shell of the old’. See Trott, p. 266, Marianne Maeckelbergh, ‘Doing is Believing: Prefiguration as Strategic Practice in the Alter-Globalization Movement’, *Social Movement Studies*, 10.1 (2011), 1-20 (p. 3) and Dan Swain, ‘Not Not but Not Yet: Present and Future in Prefigurative Politics’, *Political Studies*, 67.1 (2016), 47-62 (pp. 47-48).

[3] Carl Boggs, ‘Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers’ Control’, *Radical America*, 11.6-12.1 (1977 and 1978), 99-122 (p. 100) and Trott, p. 268. Various scholars – including political scientist Luke Yates, and geographers Jane Dyson and Craig Jeffrey – suggest that Boggs was the first to use the term ‘prefigurative politics’. See Luke Yates, ‘Rethinking Prefiguration: Alternatives, Micropolitics and Goals in Social Movements’, *Social Movement Studies*, 14.1 (2015), 1-21 (p. 1) and Craig Jeffrey and Jane Dyson, ‘Geographies of Future: Prefigurative Politics’, *Progress in Human Geography (OnlineFirst)*, 27 May 2020, <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132520926569>> [accessed 28 January 2021], 1-18 (p. 4).

[4] Boggs, p. 103.

[5] Ibid., pp. 100-102 and 106.

former 'includes above all the struggle to conquer and maintain political power', whilst the latter 'expresses the ultimate ends of the revolutionary process itself…'[6]

Over the last decade, researchers have drawn consistently on this concept in studies of contemporary anti-capitalist movements.[7] For example, Marianne Maeckelbergh argues that activists in the alter-globalisation movement – which gained notoriety after disrupting the World Trade Organisation summit in Seattle, in 1999 – adopted 'prefiguration as the most strategic means for bringing about the social change they desire[d]', whilst Mathijs van de Sande describes the occupation of Cairo's main square during the 2011 Egyptian revolution 'as a prefigurative practice', intended to 'create…new social and political mechanisms'.[8] Moreover, in his account of the Occupy Movement that emerged in the same year, anthropologist David Graeber – a notable proponent of prefigurative activism – suggests that the resulting occupations, strikes and assemblies 'introduce[ed] the skills, habits, and experience that would make an entirely new conception of politics come to life'.[9]

In recent years, scholarship on prefigurative politics has become increasingly interdisciplinary.[10] For example, researchers working in translation studies have argued that the concept can shed light on 'semiotic processes of resistance and dissent' whilst, in turn, it has even begun to feature in the work of psychologists.[11] Nevertheless, despite the growing relevance of the concept to anthropology and the social sciences, it remains largely absent from the work of historians. In his 1978 article, Boggs notes that the 'prefigurative tradition'

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[6] Carl Boggs, 'Revolutionary Process, Political Strategy, and the Dilemma of Power', *Theory and Society*, 4.3 (1977), 359-393 (p. 359).
[7] Swain, p. 48.
[8] Maeckelbergh, pp. 1-2 and Mathijs van de Sande, 'The Prefigurative Politics of Tahrir Square: an Alternative Perspective on the 2011 Revolutions', *Res Publica*, 19 (2013), 223-239 (pp. 233-234).
[9] Swain, p. 48 and David Graeber, *The Democracy Project: a History, a Crisis, a Movement* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), p. xviii.
[10] Jan Buts, 'Political Concepts and Prefiguration: a Corpus-Assisted Enquiry into *Democracy*, *Politics* and *Community*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2019), p. 6.
[11] Ibid., p. 6 and Trott, p. 273. Whilst Trott argues that psychologists have 'yet to fully engage in the study of prefigurative politics', she identifies at least seven psychological studies that include the term and, notably, her article forms part of a special issue on the concept in the *Journal of Social and Political Psychology.* See Trott, p. 272.

dates back to the anarchists and syndicalists of the nineteenth century, and he draws attention to the development of prefigurative workers' councils in countries such as Germany, Russia and Italy in the aftermath of the First World War.[12] In contrast, subsequent studies have seldom provided more than a cursory overview of this history.[13] Prefiguration 'acquired greater prominence' with the appearance of Winifred Breines'1982 monograph *Community and Organization of the New Left* but, as the title suggests, her research centres primarily on the experience of activists in the 1960s.[14] Of course, some studies in this field do discuss earlier periods: for instance, in an article in 2018, Paul Raekstad claims that 'the original formulations of prefigurative politics' manifested themselves in the International Working Men's Association (the IWMA, or 'First International') of the nineteenth century.[15] Equally, writing in 2019, Rafal Soborski also indicates that 'prefigurative practices' first appeared at this time, but he argues that their origins lie in 'utopian socialist communes'.[16] However, such studies usually refer to the history of prefigurative activism only in passing, concentrating mainly on anti-capitalist struggles in the current political landscape.[17] Put

[12] Boggs, 'Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers' Control', pp. 100 and 105.
[13] As Rafal Soborski notes, 'prefiguration has a long history and it is unfortunate that many of its practitioners today, convinced of [their] own uniqueness, are disinclined to acknowledge its past and learn from it'. See Rafal Soborski, 'Prefigurative Politics in Anti-Neoliberal Activism: a Critique', *Perspectives on Global Development*, 18 (2019), 79-92 (p. 83).
[14] Swain, p. 48. As Breines indicates in the introduction to this study, the term 'New Left' refers to 'the largely student and racially white social movement that emerged in the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s…' Breines argues that 'participatory democracy' played a key role in this movement's prefigurative politics, which she defines as 'creat[ing] and sustain[ing] within the live practice of the movement, relationships and political forms that [prefigure] and [embody] the desired society'. See Winifred Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968* (London and New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), pp. 8.
[15] Paul Raekstad, 'Revolutionary Practice and Prefigurative Politics: a Clarification and Defense', *Constellations*, 25 (2018), 359-372 (pp. 361-362).
[16] Soborski, p. 82. Soborski also notes that prefigurative politics 'is clearly identifiable' in the discourse of 'classical anarchist thinkers', such as Emma Goldman. See Soborski, p. 82.
[17] Whilst they discuss the history of prefiguration, both Raekstad and Soborski are primarily concerned with contemporary movements. In Raekstad's article, he explicitly states that his examination of prefigurative politics is intended to highlight 'how certain components of Marx's thought' can inform 'the theory and practice of radical democratic movements today'. Soborski's study – as the title suggests – is a critique of prefigurative practices in anti-neoliberal movements such as Occupy which, in his view, 'served to evade difficult questions of goal and strategy…' In like manner, in their 2021 article, Dyson and Jeffrey refer to the origins of prefigurative politics among the anarchists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but, again, their study focuses mainly on prefigurative movements from the mid-1990s onwards. See Raekstad, p. 359, Soborski, pp. 83 and 89-90 and Dyson and Jeffery, pp. 1 and 3.

simply, scholars of contemporary social movements have often overlooked the history of prefiguration. By extension, historians have neglected to build on Boggs' initial findings and produce further studies that focus exclusively on the formative period he describes.[18]

With that in mind, this thesis constitutes a radical departure from the existing scholarship, examining anarchist prefigurative politics in Spain and Argentina, in the period 1890-1930. Specifically, it explores prefigurative practices in relation to space, time, the family and 'informal' resistance; a concept which anthropologist James C. Scott uses to describe everyday resistant acts that fall short of outright insurrection.[19] At the same time, the thesis considers the transnational and trans-local dimensions of anarchist prefigurative practices in the two countries under study. Accordingly, the following chapters inform social movement studies, labour history, and transnational history, simultaneously.[20] Most

[18] It is important to note that there have been conceptual histories of prefiguration, which highlight the development of the concept over time. For example, Jan Buts' 2019 doctoral thesis examines prefigurative discourse in a variety of historical contexts, from the Christian Church of the fifth century, to contemporary scholarship on social movements. In a 2018 article, Uri Gordon traces prefigurative rhetoric back even further, referring to 'Christian exegesis since Paul the Apostle'. Nevertheless, neither study provides an in-depth analysis of prefigurative practices, concentrating mainly on the term's theoretical implications. See Buts, pp. 9 and 15-16 and Uri Gordon, 'Prefigurative Politics between Ethical Practice and Absent Promise', *Political Studies*, 66.2 (2018), 521-537 (p. 524).

[19] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 29.

[20] Whilst researchers in a variety of fields have long examined 'issues of social conflict or citizens' participation in political life', in recent years, social movement studies has become a field in its own right, with the appearance of 'specialized journals' including *Social Movement Studies*, *Mobilization* and *Interface*. Scholars working in this field examine phenomena such as 'individuals critical of the status quo', 'public challenges to powerholders', 'organizational forms intent on encouraging rank and file participation', and 'actions…facilitating experimentation with alternative lifestyles'. In turn, labour history first emerged as a branch of social history in the 1960s, focusing primarily on the history of working-class life. Traditionally, labour historians placed a particular emphasis on trade unions but, since 'the heyday of labour history in the 1960s and 1970s', the field has 'diversified' significantly, as scholars have come to recognise that the labour movement does not constitute the 'be-all and end-all' of working-class history. Furthermore, transnational history differs from comparative history in that, whilst the latter explores similarities and differences between two separate units of analysis, the former centres on the mutual influences and connections between such units. See Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, 'Introduction: the Field of Social Movement Studies', in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, ed. by Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-30 (pp. 1-3), Donald M. MacRaild and Avram Taylor, *Social Theory and Social History* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 23, Katrina Navickas, 'What Happened to Class? New Histories of Labour and Collective Action in Britain', *Social History*, 36.2 (2011), 192-204 (p. 192) and Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Comparison and Beyond: Traditions, Scope, and Perspectives of Comparative History', in *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, ed. by Jürgen Kocka and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), p. 20.

importantly, they utilise the theoretical framework of prefiguration to interrogate traditional understandings of revolution. Rather than a 'totalising event', facilitating a definitive transfer of political power, this concept encourages the historian to conceive of revolution as a process, permeating key aspects of everyday life.[21]

From its inception, the concept of prefiguration has given rise to a variety of different – and, at times, conflicting – interpretations.[22] In the context of political activism, commentators often interpret it in one of two ways: either as a form of protest in which 'means reflect the ends' or, in a more general sense, as the construction of alternative institutions and practices that 'prefigure an ideal society'.[23] In this thesis, the analysis draws primarily on the second interpretation, illustrating how, through their everyday practices, anarchists laid the groundwork for a future libertarian socio-cultural and political order. Nevertheless, this interpretation poses certain theoretical and methodological difficulties. Raekstad argues that prefiguration implies at least a degree of intentionality on the part of activists, and he stipulates that, for their practices to qualify as prefigurative, they must 'consciously and deliberately…aim for the future society'.[24] Despite this, when exploring the role of prefigurative practices in 'building alternatives', one cannot always identify a clear distinction between political and non-political actions.[25] As Carlie Trott maintains, 'prefigurative spaces' are 'rife with complex individual- and group-level, conscious and non-

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[21] Saul Newman, 'Postanarchism and Space: Revolutionary Fantasies and Autonomous Zones', *Planning Theory*, 10.4 (2011), 344-365 (pp. 348 and 351-352). Newman highlights how scholars have often associated revolutions with the seizure of a 'centralized place of power'. In contrast, Newman suggests that they encompass 'a multiplicity of insurrectional and autonomous spaces'. See Newman, pp. 348 and 352-353.
[22] Yates, p. 19.
[23] Trott, pp. 268-269 and Yates, pp. 2 and 4.
[24] Raekstad, p. 361.
[25] Yates, p. 5. In addition to Raekstad, scholars such as Carlie Trott, Uri Gordon, Craig Jeffrey and Jane Dyson also appear to regard intentionality as integral to prefigurative politics. For example, Trott argues that 'prefiguration is distinctive in its fundamentally political approach, characterised by an explicit (though flexible) collective vision'. In like manner, when discussing prefiguration, Uri Gordon refers to 'a commitment to define and realise anarchist social relations within the activities and collective structures of the revolutionary movement itself', whilst Craig Jeffrey and Jane Dyson stress that the phenomenon 'requires that people self-consciously understand their action as prefigurative'. See Trott, p. 270, Uri Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory* (Ann Arbor and London: Pluto Press, 2008), p. 35 and Dyson and Jeffrey, p. 4.

conscious goals and challenges'.[26] Accordingly, to establish – as far as possible – the intention behind individual actions, this thesis combines an analysis of anarchist practices with a close examination of anarchist discourse.[27] In other words, it explores the relationship between libertarian praxis and theory in Spain and Argentina, situating militants' everyday practices within the broader revolutionary project of societal transformation that anarchist publications espoused.[28]

Anarchism in Spain and Argentina

Since the 1970s, scholars have associated prefigurative politics with anarchist movements.[29] Nevertheless, the term 'anarchism' has many different connotations, and its precise meaning often depends on the context in which it is used.[30] According to British anarchist Donald Rooum, anarchism is the belief that 'a society without coercive institutions is feasible, within the repertoire of natural, imperfect human behaviour.'[31] As a result, anarchists reject both the state and the capitalist system, opposing any form of social relationship maintained by force.[32] From the late nineteenth century, 'classical anarchism' assumed a variety of forms – including anarcho-communism, anarcho-collectivism, anarcho-individualism and anarcho-syndicalism – which each express 'different attitudes toward the

[26] Trott, p. 274.
[27] The difficulties of establishing the intention of historical actors is discussed in more detail below, in Chapter Four. The following chapters return to the issue of intentionality in prefigurative politics, and reflect continually on the relationship between libertarian praxis and theory.
[28] According to Maeckelbergh, this relationship is central to prefigurative politics, which 'enacts an interplay between theory and practice…'. See Maeckelbergh, p. 3.
[29] Boggs notes that anarcho-communism resists 'suppressing prefigurative goals for instrumental needs' and that, as a result, it 'is closer to everyday life'. Similarly, Ruth Kinna refers to prefiguration as a 'core concept' in anarchist theory today. See Boggs, 'Revolutionary Process', p. 382 and Ruth Kinna, 'Utopianism and Prefiguration', in *Political Uses of Utopia: New Marxist, Anarchist, and Radical Democratic Perspectives*, ed. by S. D. Chrostowska and James D. Ingram (New York: Colombia University Press, 2016), pp. 198-218 (p. 198).
[30] For example, journalists often use the term 'anarchy' erroneously, as a synonym for 'disorder'. See Donald Rooum, 'Anarchism, an Introduction', in *What is Anarchism? An Introduction*, ed. by Donald Rooum and Freedom Press (London: Freedom Press, 1995), pp. 1-28 (p. 3).
[31] Ibid., p. 2.
[32] Ibid., p. 8.

economy and organization'.[33] For example, anarcho-syndicalists believe that workers can advance their interests most effectively in the economic – rather than the political – sphere and, for this reason, they regard the trade union as the epicentre of the workers' struggle.[34] However, as Carl Levy indicates, these sub-categories are simply 'variations on the central theme' of anarchism, as they all aim to abolish the state, establish 'voluntary consensus', and significantly increase individual autonomy.[35] In this thesis, the term 'anarchism' denotes a range of interrelated tendencies in Spain and Argentina: though it refers principally to anarcho-syndicalism, it also encompasses anarcho-communism, anarcho-naturism and anarcho-feminism.[36] Furthermore, to reflect fully the influence of the anarchist movement in the communities discussed below, the thesis employs the term 'anarchist' in a broad and inclusive sense, to describe not only the most committed militants, but also rank-and-file members of anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organisations, as well as those who, though officially unaligned, sympathised with the anarchist cause.[37]

During the period under study, Spain and Argentina possessed by far the largest anarchist movements in Europe and South America, respectively. However, as illustrated below, historians have still not adequately explored the extent to which Spanish and Argentinian anarchists reflected their ideological beliefs in their daily lives and, in this way, prefigured a libertarian society. As a result, this thesis utilises the theoretical framework of prefiguration to transform our understanding of anarchist activism in these countries.

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[33] Carl Levy, 'Social Histories of Anarchism', *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 4.2 (2010), 1-44 (p. 4). Here, Levy distinguishes 'classical anarchism' from the 'postmaterialist, ecological, or postmodern anarchism' that emerged after the Second World War. See Levy, p. 5.

[34] Rudolf Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1989), pp. 86-87 and 89.

[35] Levy, pp. 4-5.

[36] Ruth Kinna stresses that anarchists themselves often resist categorisations or rigid definitions, instead portraying anarchism 'as permeable and fluid'. In this thesis, the terms 'anarchist' and 'libertarian' (in the sense of 'libertarian socialism' or 'libertarian communism') are synonymous. See Ruth Kinna, *The Government of No One: the Theory and Practice of Anarchism* (Milton Keynes: Pelican Books, 2019), p. 12.

[37] As Levy notes, 'one did not have to be a signed-up member of an anarchist group to be affected by its influence'. See Levy, p. 12.

Anarchism began to gain popularity in Spain and Argentina in the years of the First International (1864-1876), as supporters of the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin – a stern critic of fellow Internationalist Karl Marx – became increasingly prevalent within the Spanish and Argentinian branches of the organisation.[38] Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, many libertarian groups and publications emerged in both countries and, by the turn of the twentieth century, anarchists had become increasingly active in trade unions.[39]After its establishment in 1910, the Spanish National Confederation of Labour (CNT), a broad federation of unions with markedly anarchist leanings, grew to encompass nearly 800,000 members by 1919.[40] Between the First World War and the end of the Spanish Civil War

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[38] Jason Garner, *Goals and Means: Anarchism, Syndicalism, and Internationalism in the Origins of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (Chico and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2016), pp. 4, 20 and 33-34, Kinna, *The Government of No One*, pp. 13-18 and Iaacov Oved, *El Anarquismo y el Movimiento Obrero en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Imago Mundi, 2013), pp. 25-27. The ideological differences between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin led to the latter's expulsion from the First International in 1872, which is often regarded 'as the point at which the movement divided into two separate wings, one Marxist and the other anarchist'. Nevertheless, Ruth Kinna suggests that this 'split' became much more apparent with hindsight. The First International was 'formally disbanded' in 1876. See Kinna, *The Government of No One*, pp. 13-18 and Daisy E. Devreese, 'The International Working Men's Association (1864-1876) and Workers' Education: an Historical Approach', *Paedagogica Historica*, 35.1 (1999), 15-21 (p. 15).

[39] In Argentina, these decades gave rise to many libertarian organisations, including the 'anarchist communist' and 'social studies' groups that appeared in La Boca around 1886; a group known as 'The Disinherited', established in Buenos Aires, in 1890; and The Wanderer group, also founded in the Argentinian capital that year. At the same time, activists launched publications such as *El Obrero y la Anarquía*, in 1880; *La Questione Sociale*, in 1885; *El Perseguido*, in 1890; and *La Protesta Humana*, in 1897. Similar developments occurred in Spain, where anarchists founded publications such as *El Productor* and *La Huelga General* (both in 1888), as well as *La Revista Blanca*, in 1898. In like manner, organisations including the Neither King, Nor Homeland group, the Rebels group, and the Affiliates group began to materialise from the late 1880s. Crucially, in both Spain and Argentina, these years featured extensive anarchist interventions in the labour movement. For example, in 1887, several anarchist bakers in the Argentinian capital formed a trade union – assisted by the Italian militant Errico Malatesta – whilst, in 1881, activists created the Workers Federation of the Spanish Region (FTRE), a successor to the Spanish branch of the First International (the FRE). At the turn of the twentieth century, debates between those for and against anarchists' involvement in trade unions became increasingly aggravated within the Argentinian movement. Nevertheless, the latter remained in the minority and, following its establishment in 1901, anarchists came to occupy a key role within the Argentinian Workers Federation (the FOA, a precursor to the FORA, discussed above). During the same period, prominent anarchists in Spain – including Anselmo Lorenzo, José Prat and Ricardo Mella – began to embrace syndicalism and, as a result, anarchists helped to establish Workers Solidarity (the forerunner of the CNT, highlighted above), in 1907. See Gonzalo Zaragoza, *Anarquismo Argentino (1876-1902)* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1996), pp. 82, 91-92 and 136, Oved, pp. 42, 45, 49-51, 75, 163, 176-177, 188, 192 and 387, Angel Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State, 1898-1923* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), pp. 115 and 117, Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: the Heroic Years, 1868-1936* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1978), pp. 116 and 117, and Jason Garner, pp. 35, 59-60 and 62.

[40] Antonio Bar, *La CNT en los Años Rojos (del Sindicalismo Revolucionario al Anarcosindicalismo, 1910-1926)* (Madrid: Akal Editor, 1981), p. 490.

(1936-1939), the anarchist movement in Spain experienced a period of remarkable growth whilst, almost everywhere else, such movements faced decline.[41] In Argentina, activists succeeded in constructing a federation of trade unions highly reminiscent of the CNT.[42] In 1905, at its fifth congress, the Argentinian Regional Workers Federation (FORA) declared anarcho-communism to be its ultimate goal.[43] Subsequently, at the FORA's ninth congress in 1915, the membership reversed this decision and, as a result, a minority of the Federation's affiliates decided to break away, forming their own version of the FORA which maintained the explicit commitment to anarchism.[44] The split in the FORA membership gave rise to two separate Federations: the 'anarchist' FORA V and the 'syndicalist' FORA IX.[45] Whilst the latter organisation dominated Argentina's labour movement for the following six years, its anarchist counterpart enjoyed considerable support by the end of the decade: at the FORA V's extraordinary congress in 1920, the Federation claimed some 180,000 members.[46]

Nevertheless, in both Spain and Argentina, the influence of anarchism extended far beyond the confines of trade unions. For the Spanish anarchist movement, education and culture served as 'indispensable instruments of [an] emancipatory project' and, accordingly, activists not only produced a wide range of publications, but also established schools, created libraries, hosted theatrical and musical performances, held conferences, and even went on

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[41] Antonio López Estudillo, 'El Anarquismo Decimonónico', *Ayer*, 45 (2002), 73-104 (p. 78).
[42] Zaragoza, p. 15.
[43] Martín Alberto Acri and María del Carmen Cácerez, *La Educación Libertaria en la Argentina y en México (1861-1945)* (Buenos Aires: Libros de Anarres, 2011), p. 120.
[44] Diego Abad de Santillán, *La FORA: Ideología y Trayectoria del Movimiento Obrero Revolucionario en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Libros de Anarres, 2005), pp. 244-245.
[45] Ronaldo Munck, *Argentina: from Anarchism to Peronism: Workers, Unions and Politics, 1855-1985* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1987), p. 68.
[46] Ibid., pp. 68, 86 and 88. After 1920, membership of both FORAs declined. In 1920, approximately 700,000 workers were affiliated to the FORA IX but, by 1921, this figure had fallen to 46,562. Similarly, by 1929, the FORA V's members numbered just 40,000. Furthermore, the composition of Argentina's labour movement became more complex after 1922. In that year, the FORA V became known officially as the 'FORA C' (or 'Communist FORA'), whilst 102 unions affiliated to the FORA IX and fourteen unions affiliated to the FORA V broke away from their respective federations to form the Argentinian Syndicalist Union (USA), with the support of a further sixty independent unions. See ibid., pp. 88 and 101.

hiking trips.[47] Equally, in Argentina, anarchism formed a distinct 'social and cultural universe', in opposition to bourgeois socio-cultural norms.[48] There, as in Spain, anarchists constructed their own educational institutions, as well as promoting literature, art and sexual freedom.[49] Whilst it incorporates trade union activism into its analysis, this thesis focuses on anarchists' everyday cultural practices, and the ways in which, collectively, they prefigured a libertarian society.

Crucially, from their inception, the Spanish and Argentinian anarchist movements were inextricably linked. Following the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, in 1874, many Spanish Internationalists sought refuge in Argentina, bolstering the ranks of Bakunin supporters in Buenos Aires.[50] In the 1890s, a subsequent wave of government repression induced many key figures from the Spanish movement to follow suit, including Anselmo Lorenzo, José Prat, Teresa Claramunt and Antonio Pellicer Paraire.[51] Whilst the prospect of employment frequently encouraged Spanish anarchists to migrate to Argentina, the presence of likeminded activists in the country provided a further incentive.[52] In turn, anarchists often travelled (or, in many cases, returned) to Spain from South America. For example, Juana Rouco Buela arrived in the Argentinian Republic in 1900 – when she was ten years old – and later played an important role in promoting anarcho-feminism in her adopted homeland.[53] Following her deportation to Spain in 1908, she made contact with prominent Spanish activists such as Lorenzo and Claramunt, as well as Federica Montseny.[54] Like

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[47] Francisco Javier Navarro Navarro, *A la Revolución por la Cultura: Prácticas Culturales y Sociabilidad Libertarias en el País Valenciano, 1931-1939* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2004), pp. 18 and 377-378.
[48] Zaragoza, pp. 462-463.
[49] Ibid., p. 463.
[50] Oved, p. 26.
[51] James A. Baer, *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina* (Chicago, Springfield and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), p. 35. Baer notes that, during this decade, the proportion of migrants entering Argentina from Spain rose from eight per cent to almost twenty per cent. See Baer, p. 41.
[52] Ibid., p. 41.
[53] Martha Ackelsberg, 'It Takes More than a Village!: Transnational Travels of Spanish Anarchism in Argentina and Cuba', *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 29.3 (2016), 205-223 (pp. 213-214) and Baer, p. 110.
[54] Ackelsberg, pp. 213-214 and Baer, p. 3.

Rouco Buela, Diego Abad de Santillán also relocated to Argentina in 1900, when he was still a child.[55] As a young man, he became a notable contributor to the Argentinian anarchist press and, after he moved to Berlin in 1922, he served as a correspondent for the Buenos Aires-based anarchist newspaper *La Protesta*.[56] By the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Abad de Santillán had returned to the country of his birth and, during the ensuing conflict, he had a considerable impact on the political orientation of the CNT.[57]

Due to their shared and interrelated histories, the cultural practices of anarchists in Spain and Argentina should not be examined in isolation: the analysis must consider the extensive social, cultural, linguistic and economic connections that tied these two movements together. As discussed in more detail below, scholarship on anarchist culture has largely overlooked these connections whilst, in turn, transnational anarchist studies have focused mainly on processes of migration.[58] In contrast, this thesis includes case studies from both Spain and Argentina, illustrating how libertarian prefigurative politics – and, more generally, anarchist culture – were inherently transnational and trans-local.

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[55] Baer, p. 84. Diego Abad de Santillán was the adopted name of Sinesio Baudilio García Fernández. See ibid., p. 84.

[56] Ibid., pp. 1, 86-87, 92 and 94.

[57] Ibid., pp. 140-141. In 1936, Abad de Santillán served as Minister for the Economy in the Catalan government. See Ackelsberg, p. 213.

[58] As the titles suggest, cultural histories of Spanish and Argentinian anarchism tend to focus on a specific country or region. For example, see Lily Litvak's *Musa Libertaria: Arte, Literatura y Vida Cultural del Anarquismo Español*; Dora Barrancos' *Anarquismo, Educación y Costumbres en la Argentina de Principios de Siglo*; Francisco Javier Navarro Navarro's *A la Revolución por la Cultura: Prácticas Culturales y Sociabilidad Libertarias en el País Valenciano, 1931-1939*; or Richard Cleminson's *Anarquismo y Sexualidad (España, 1900-1939)*. At the same time, the only monograph dedicated exclusively to the connections between Spanish and Argentinian anarchism is James A. Baer's *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina* and, whilst he shows how the histories of these movements overlap with a broader history of trans-national migration, he 'underemphasizes other dimensions of social and cultural context'. In contrast, Morrie Brodie's 2020 book *Transatlantic Anarchism during the Spanish Civil War and Revolution, 1936-1936* does explore anarchist culture, including 'anarchists' attitudes towards women, masculinity and youth', but his study centres primarily on the connections between the Spanish, Irish, American and British anarchist movements. See Julia Rodríguez, 'JAMES A. BAER. *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina*', *The American Historical Review*, 121.2 (2016), 539-540 (p. 540) and Morrie Brodie, *Transatlantic Anarchism during the Spanish Civil War and Revolution, 1936-1936* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 2 and 12.

Everyday Life and Anarchist Cultural Practices

Writing in 1967, Raoul Vaneigem – a key figure in the Situationist International– emphasised that, rather than limiting itself to the workplace, capitalist exploitation permeates human existence.[59] For this reason, he criticised those 'who talk about revolution and class struggle without referring explicitly to everyday life'.[60] Despite this, scholars continue to present everyday life and activism as mutually exclusive entities, associating the former with 'the mundane, the routine and the hidden', whilst regarding the latter as 'public, explicit, explosive…'[61] In contrast, this thesis utilises the concept of prefigurative politics to illustrate the relationship between activism and everyday life, demonstrating that, for the anarchists of Spain and Argentina, 'revolution and class struggle' – like capitalism – pervaded their lived experience.

From the 1960s, historians increasingly recognised the need to produce historical studies that captured the experience of 'concrete human beings'.[62] In part, this development signified a reaction against the prevailing tendency of contemporary historians to focus primarily on abstract structures and historical processes.[63] Most importantly, the movement

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[59] Raoul Vaneigem, *The Revolution of Everyday Life*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Rebel Press, 2001), pp. 25-26 and Pierre Taminiaux, 'Raoul Vaneigem et la Poésie de Mai 68', *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 23.5 (2019), 644-652 (p. 644). Established in 1957, the Situationist International published a journal – *Internationale Situationniste* – until the organisation's disbandment, in 1972. The International's founding members included 'avant-garde groups' such as the Lettrists, who 'sought to challenge dominant artistic forms of production'. At its inception, the International was primarily an artistic movement but, from 1962 onwards, it became increasingly political, criticising the capitalist system, and advocating – among other things – 'horizontal power relations, the equalisation of power, a lack of centralised leadership and organic forms of participation…'. Vaneigem's book constitutes one of 'the two major works of Situationist theory', alongside Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*, also published in 1967. See Adam Barnard, 'The Legacy of the Situationist International: the Production of Situations of Creative Resistance', *Capital & Class*, 28.3 (2004), 103-124 (pp. 104, 110 and 115), John Lepper, 'The Situationist International: Forty Years On', *Socialism and Democracy*, 26.1 (2012), 156-164 (p. 157) and John Kitchens, 'Situated Pedagogy and the Situationist International: Countering a Pedagogy of Placelessness', *Educational Studies*, 45.3 (2009), 240-261 (p. 241).

[60] Vaneigem, p. 26.

[61] Sarah Pink, *Situating Everyday Life: Practices and Places* (London, New Delhi, Singapore and Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2012), p. 4. Specifically, Pink stresses that, in many cases, these two phenomena are 'intertwined', since 'activism can be an everyday practice'. See ibid., p. 144.

[62] George G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: from Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), pp. 60-61.

[63] Ibid., p. 61.

towards integrating the experience of historical actors into historical research gave rise to histories of everyday life.[64] For example, the first volume of Fernand Braudel's *Civilisation Matérielle, Économie et Capitalisme*, published in 1967, traces the rise of capitalism by exploring the material aspects of human existence, such as the food people ate, or the tools they used.[65] Unlike earlier historians of the *Annales* school – who concerned themselves with ideas and mentalities – Braudel centres exclusively on 'material culture'.[66] In later years, Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni criticised this approach, suggesting that, alongside the material conditions of everyday life, historians also need to consider the ways in which people experience these conditions.[67] In like manner, this thesis emphasises both the experiential and material aspects of daily life, illustrating the ways in which, through their everyday practices, anarchists reflected and experienced their worldview.

Scholars frequently regard practices as important units of analysis for understanding people's day-to-day existence.[68] As anthropologist Sarah Pink indicates, 'practice' not only refers to what people do: in theoretical terms, practices constitute analytical categories, or 'sets of human actions that can be associated with each other in some way...'[69] In the 1970s and 1980s, social theorists Pierre Bourdieu and Michel de Certeau made especially significant contributions to debates concerning the relationship between everyday practices, resistance, and socio-cultural change.[70] Bourdieu suggests that everyday practices are rooted in 'habitus', the process whereby individuals internalise socio-cultural norms.[71] Specifically, he argues that people exercise only a small degree of agency within pre-established

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[64] Iggers, p. 61.
[65] George G. Iggers and Q. Edward Wang, *A Global History of Modern Historiography* (Edinburgh: Pearson Educated Limited, 2008), p. 260.
[66] Iggers and Wang, pp. 259-260.
[67] Iggers, p. 101.
[68] Pink, p. 15.
[69] Ibid., pp. 15-16. As Pink notes, these 'sets of human actions' together 'form a category for sociological analysis', such as 'practices of washing up, doing the laundry, gardening…and social media activism'. See ibid., p. 16.
[70] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[71] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

boundaries.[72] Furthermore, Bourdieu stresses that dominant socio-cultural systems perpetuate themselves, and that their very existence serves to reproduce continually their associated power dynamics.[73] The perpetuation of these dynamics reinforces the perception that such hierarchies are natural and legitimate.[74] Consequently, Bourdieu views practices as 'reproductive' actions.[75]

In contrast to Bourdieu, de Certeau argues that, rather than replicating socio-cultural norms, everyday practices involve a process of production.[76] For example, he draws attention to the inventiveness of everyday practices (such as the personalised way in which one chooses to dress), whereby the individual constructs something new.[77] Therefore, for de Certeau, everyday practices can be subversive activities: though they might conform generally to dominant socio-cultural norms, people have the ability to distort actively the system under which they live.[78] In his 1984 monograph *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau analyses everyday practices such as writing and reading, suggesting that the latter is just as constructive as the former: for instance, through her unique interpretation of a text, a reader constructs something that the writer did not envisage.[79]

Despite their differences, the theories of Bourdieu and de Certeau present everyday practices as integral to societal power dynamics; allowing for conformity to – and reinforcement of – societal norms, whilst also facilitating resistance to these norms. Crucially, both theories recognise that the perpetuation of socio-cultural norms entails the

[72] Pink, pp. 17-18.
[73] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Structures, Habitus, Power: Basis for a Theory of Symbolic Power', in *Culture/Power/History: a Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. by Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 155-199 (pp. 159-160).
[74] Ibid., pp. 159-160.
[75] Michael Sheringham, *Everyday Life: Theories and Practices from Surrealism to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 215.
[76] Ibid., p. 213.
[77] Ibid., pp. 218-219.
[78] Ibid., p. 222.
[79] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1988), p. 169.

establishment of shared schemata. In linguistics, the concept of schemata has proved particularly influential, as scholars have come to realise that, in many contexts, the comprehension of discourse depends partly on shared assumptions about the world.[80] This concept provides a useful theoretical framework to examine the everyday practices of anarchists: they were a means of challenging such shared assumptions. As philosopher Nathan Jun emphasises, anarchism rejects essentialist notions of human existence, instead stressing the 'socially constructed' and subjective nature of the world in which we live.[81] For this reason, Jun argues that anarchism is a *postmodern* political philosophy.[82] Put simply, anarchists recognise the schematic nature of everyday life, and challenge actively what they see as arbitrarily established societal norms.

Combining the theoretical insights of Bourdieu and de Certeau, this thesis employs the term 'cultural practices' to refer to sets of everyday actions which emerged within a specific historical and geographical context: the cultural *milieu* of Spanish and Argentinian anarchism, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The cultural practices explored here encompass a wide range of phenomena: from everyday gender politics to parenting; from vegetarianism to nudism; and from non-marital sexual relations to libertarian pedagogy; all of which formed part of the anarchists' cultural project. Taking de Certeau's concept of the inventiveness of individual practices as a point of departure, the thesis argues that, though they often appear mundane, these anarchist cultural practices constructed new forms of everyday life, in opposition to the socio-cultural schemata that both capitalism and Catholicism prescribed. In this sense, the following chapters break new ground in the relevant historiography which, as indicated below, has failed to consider fully the relationship between anarchism and everyday life in Spain and Argentina.

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[80] Guy Cook, *Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 68-72.
[81] Nathan Jun, *Anarchism and Political Modernity* (London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012), p. 143.
[82] Ibid., p. xvi.

The Origins of Historical Scholarship on Spanish and Argentinian Anarchism

In Spain and Argentina, anarchists were among the first to write histories of their respective movements. In 1911, Eduardo García Gilimón published a personal account of the local movement in Buenos Aires, whilst Diego Abad de Santillán's 'classic' histories of the Argentinian anarchist movement and the FORA appeared in 1930 and 1933.[83] Similarly, in 1928, Manuel Buenacasa – a former general secretary of the CNT – published a history of the Spanish labour movement and, in 1953, José Peirats – then a key member of the CNT in exile – completed his three-volume chronicle of the Confederation's activities during the Spanish Civil War.[84] These studies have provided important insights into the development of anarchism in both countries. For example, Peirats' *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution* remains 'an obligatory point of reference for all students of the civil war', whilst the work of Abad de Santillán serves as an 'invaluable' source of documentary and bibliographic evidence.[85] Despite this, later scholars have also highlighted the partiality of 'activist historians', and identified a tendency towards hagiography in some of their accounts. For instance, Juan Suriano describes anarchist memoirs as frequently 'self-congratulatory, replete with heroic deeds, and unflattering toward opponents'.[86] In turn, Susanna Tavera maintains that, at times, this 'anarchist historiography' has engaged in 'exercises of mythification'.[87] Of course, it is important to recognise that this 'militant history' is not necessarily any less objective than the work of 'professional' researchers, who regularly fail to acknowledge their

[83] Laura Fernández Cordero, 'Historiografía del Anarquismo en Argentina: Notas para Debatir una Nueva Lectura', *A Contracorriente*, 11.3 (2014), 41-67 (p. 42) and Oved, p. 5.
[84] Carlos Díaz, 'Presentación', in Manuel Buenacasa, *El Movimiento Obrero Español, 1886-1926* (Madrid: Ediciones Júcar, 1977), pp. 9-12 (pp. 10-11), Garner, p. 74 and Susanna Tavera, 'La Historia del Anarquismo Español: una Encrucijada Interpretativa Nueva', *Ayer*, 45 (2002), 13-37 (pp. 15-17).
[85] Chris Ealham, *Living Anarchism: José Peirats and the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement* (Edinburgh and Oakland: AK Press, 2015), p. 192 and Lucas Domínguez Rubio, 'Los Acervos Documentales del Anarquismo Argentino', *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 27.1 (2017), 45-64 (p. 46).
[86] Juan Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia: Anarchist Culture and Politics in Buenos Aires, 1890-1910*, trans. by Chuck Morse (Edinburgh and Oakland: AK Press, 2010), p. 7.
[87] Tavera, p. 19.

own 'ideological baggage and positionality'.[88] Nevertheless, though broadly sympathetic to the cause of the historical actors under study, this thesis does not constitute either a 'militant history' or an 'anarchist apology': it engages critically with Spanish and Argentinian anarchism, illustrating the contradictions – as well as the successes – of these movements.[89]

Prior to the publication of Osvaldo Bayer's biography of Severino di Giovanni, in 1970, and Iaacov Oved's study of anarchism and the Argentinian labour movement, in 1978, 'activist historians' produced most of the literature on the Argentinian movement.[90] However, in Spain, professional researchers directed their attention to the history of anarchism much earlier. In their studies of the Andalusian peasantry – published in 1919 and 1929, respectively – criminologist Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós and historian Juan Díaz del Moral both explore the origins of anarchism in the region.[91] Notably, they draw on a crude primordialism to explain the rise of the anarchist movement in Spain, suggesting that their compatriots possessed a natural predisposition to libertarian beliefs. For instance, Bernaldo de Quirós claims that 'the psychology of the Andalusian man is more inclined to individualist anarchism than to socialism', whilst Díaz del Moral argues that anarchist

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[88] Ealham, p. 3.
[89] As anarchist Barry Pateman points out, the historian 'should be the irritatingly sober person at the party warning you not to get too pissed on the historical correctness of your ideas.' See Barry Pateman, 'Anarchist History: Confessions of an Awkward Pupil', *Bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library*, 84 (2015), 1-3 (p. 2).
[90] Fernández Cordero, p. 42 and Zaragoza, p. 16. Laura Fernández Cordero uses the term 'militantes historiadores' to describe these authors. Severino Di Giovanni was an Italian anarchist, who migrated to Argentina in 1923. Subsequently, in Buenos Aires, he helped to bomb several Italian government buildings, and 'became notorious for his cold-blooded, vicious attacks'. See Fernández Cordero, p. 42 and Baer, p. 113.
[91] Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós, 'El Espartaquismo Agrario Andaluz', *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho de México*, 63-64 (1966), 649-683 (pp. 649 and 656-658) and Jacques Maurice, 'Juan Díaz del Moral (1870-1948): Historia Social y Reforma Agraria', *Historia Agraria*, 50 (2010), 43-63 (p.43) and Juan Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las Agitaciones Campesinas Andaluzas – Córdoba (Antecedentes para una Reforma Agraria)* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1973), pp. 124-142. By the time Bernaldo de Quirós and Díaz del Moral published their respective studies, scholars had already undertaken a considerable amount of criminological research into Spanish anarchism. In his 1894 study *Gli Anarchici*, the Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso associated anarchism with 'crime and madness', suggesting that anarchists were 'born criminals and mentally ill'. After its translation into Spanish, Lombroso's book had a significant impact in Spain, where – in the context of a rise in anarchist terrorism – conservative commentators such as Cristóbal Botella and Manuel Gil Maestre drew on his ideas to attack the anarchist movement. See Ricardo Campos and Rafael Huertas, 'Lombroso but not Lombrosians? Criminal Anthropology in Spain', in *The Cesare Lombroso Handbook*, ed. by Paul Knepper and P. J. Ystehede (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 309-323 (pp. 317-318).

ideology 'conquer[ed] the…individualist, inorganic, culturally backward countries…'[92] This interpretation evokes an essentialist understanding of Spanish society, ascribing a fixed set of characteristics and psychological tendencies to those in a specific ethnic or socio-cultural category.

Nevertheless, Díaz del Moral's work proved highly influential; especially his conflation of anarchism and religion.[93] In his 1943 study *The Spanish Labyrinth*, Gerald Brenan echoes this line of argument, drawing parallels between Spanish anarchism and the utopianism of early Judeo-Christian traditions.[94] Specifically, he suggests that anarchists – particularly in rural areas – exhibited a 'naïve millenarianism': in their view, revolution was preordained and inevitable.[95] Put simply, Brenan portrays anarchism as a religious movement whose followers, though not guided by a deity, placed their faith in a predetermined, meta-historical process. Whilst he was not the first scholar to advance the so-called 'millenarian interpretation', Brenan had a significant impact on Anglophone historiography.[96] In his 1959 monograph *Primitive Rebels*, Eric Hobsbawm supports Brenan's earlier conclusions, and presents the anarchist movement in Andalusia as simplistic, unable to adapt to modern life due to its primitive approach and forms of organisation.[97] Crucially, Hobsbawm's book examines what he describes as the '*pre-political* people' of modern times: the ordinary men and women who, having not yet developed an articulate and coherent critique of the unjust society in which they lived, expressed their grievances through 'blind and groping' social movements.[98]

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[92] Bernaldo de Quirós, p. 656 and Díaz del Moral, p. 95.
[93] Jerome R. Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 5.
[94] Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth: an Account of the Social and Political Background of the Spanish Civil War*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 283 and 304.
[95] Ibid., pp. 254 and 305-306.
[96] Raquel Piles, 'Gerald Brenan's Concept of Anarchism as the "Most Hispanic Thing South of the Pyrenees"', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research*, 12.1 (2006), 23-50 (p. 28).
[97] Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester: The University Press, 1971), pp. 74 and 92.
[98] Hobsbawm, p. 2.

In contrast to contemporary Spanish commentators such as Bernaldo de Quirós and Díaz del Moral, this thesis rejects the argument that anarchism was unique to the countries under study or rooted in a specific national identity. Similarly, unlike the proponents of the millenarian interpretation, it contests the depiction of anarchists as 'backward' or 'primitive'. Instead, the following chapters present anarchism as a forward-looking movement – resulting from a desire to create something new – which challenged essentialist assumptions about class, gender, the family, and the body. Inverting Hobsbawm's view of anarchists as 'pre-political', the thesis argues that libertarian activists in Spain and Argentina were, in a sense, 'post-political'; transcending the exclusively 'political' sphere by enacting radical change in everyday life.

In the 1970s, traditional interpretations of Spanish anarchism – including the 'millenarian thesis' – began to draw criticism from 'revisionist' historians such as Temma Kaplan. In her seminal study *Anarchists of Andalusia*, published in 1977, Kaplan concludes that the anarchist movement resulted from the miserable living and labour conditions of the Andalusian working classes.[99] In her view, historians such as Hobsbawm provide an overly 'mechanistic' interpretation of the anarchist movement in Spain: far from being the product of a culture steeped in religiosity, it arose due to the actions of rational human beings, responding to the material conditions in which they lived.[100] However, if Hobsbawm's notion of 'primitive' social movements reflects Marx's teleological view of history – implying that anarchism served as a precursor to subsequent (and allegedly more sophisticated) forms of political activism – Kaplan's emphasis on the material economic conditions of Andalusian workers leads to an equally unsatisfactory, deterministic explanation for the rise of the

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[99] Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 11.
[100] Martha Grace Duncan, 'Spanish Anarchism Refracted: Theme and Image in the Millenarian and Revisionist Literature', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 23.3 (1988), 323-346 (p. 334).

anarchist movement.[101] In other words, both Hobsbawm and Kaplan reduce anarchism to a product of abstract structures and, as a result, they not only simplify the trajectory of the anarchist movement, but also overlook the diverse qualitative experiences of individual anarchists. With that in mind, this thesis departs from both the millenarian and revisionist literatures. By focusing on everyday prefigurative politics in several different locations, it stresses the heterogeneity of the anarchist movements under study; highlights the diversity of personal experiences which they engendered; and illustrates the cultural – as well as the socio-economic – impact of anarchism in Spain and Argentina.[102]

Postmodernism, Cultural History and the Relationship between Anarchist Theory and Practice

Discussing the emergence of the 'New Cultural History' in the 1970s and 1980s, Lynn Hunt identifies early symptoms of the so-called 'cultural turn' in the work of E. P. Thompson who, in the 1960s, incorporated culture into his analysis of English working-class life.[103] Subsequently, the rise of postmodernism – and, especially, the work of social theorists

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[101] Richard J. Evans notes that, in *Primitive Rebels*, Hobsbawm situates 'archaic forms of social movement' into 'a teleology that culminated in the only real and potentially successful attempt to solve the "social question"…the Marxist and…Communist labour "social movement"'. See Richard J. Evans, 'Eric John Ernest Hobsbawm 1917-2012', in *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy, XIV,* ed. by Ron Johnston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 207-260 (p. 237).

[102] Whilst this thesis departs from the purely structuralist approaches to labour history discussed above, historians still need to take structures into consideration, as they often reveal 'patterns' that link workers' experiences together. With that in mind, Emilia Viotti da Costa advocates a dual approach, which incorporates both structure and experience into the analysis. Accordingly, this thesis situates anarchists' lived experiences within the economic, social, political, and demographic contexts of the locales and periods under study. See Emilia Viotti da Costa, 'Experience versus Structures: New Tendencies in the History of Labor and the Working Class in Latin America – What Do We Gain? What Do We Lose?', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 36 (1989), 3-24 (pp. 15-16).

[103] Lynn Hunt, 'Introduction: History, Culture and Text', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley, London and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 4. Scholars often associate Thompson with the rise of the 'New Social History', which departed from earlier historical research by placing less emphasis on structures as determinants of historical change, incorporating the 'mental frameworks' and psychology of historical actors into its analysis. In *The Making of the English Working Class*, published in 1963, Thompson not only stresses the role of economic processes in the formation of class: crucially, he also highlights the importance of culture. As George Steinmetz notes, in the social sciences and humanities, the 'cultural turn…involv[ed] a more general assertion of the constitutive role of culture'. See MacRaild and Taylor, pp. 23-24 and 30, Iggers, pp. 87-88 and George Steinmetz, 'Introduction: Culture and the State', in

such as Michel Foucault – increasingly led historians to dismiss the rigid empiricism and deterministic interpretations that earlier historical research had supposedly entailed.[104] For example, Foucault stresses the importance of discourse to the construction of one's perceived reality.[105] In a lecture in 1976, he referred to the 'insurrection of knowledges', describing how certain discourses had been 'superimposed' on our collective understanding of the world.[106] He criticised social historians in particular since, in his view, they made sweeping assumptions about their objects of analysis.[107]According to Foucault, '"natural" intellectual objects' do not exist, since 'the very topics of the human sciences…are the product of historically contingent discursive formations'.[108] Such insights highlight the subjective nature of knowledge, emphasising the need to avoid generalisations and, by extension, to consider the plurality of experiences and perceptions that continue to shape our understanding of history. The recognition of subjectivity – and the constructed nature of socio-cultural categories and norms – is fundamental to this thesis, which demonstrates how anarchists, through their prefigurative practices, created alternative systems of power that questioned and delegitimised the prevailing socio-cultural order.

As well as their increasing awareness of subjectivity, Peter Burke notes the pervasive influence of anthropology among cultural historians, who have drawn extensively on anthropological studies of 'meaning'.[109] In this respect, Clifford Geertz has proved particularly influential. In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, published in 1973, he describes the

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State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn, ed. by George Steinmetz (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 1-50 (p. 2).

[104] Dick Geary, 'Labour History, the "Linguistic Turn" and Postmodernism', *Contemporary European History*, 9.3 (2000), 445-462 (p.447).

[105] Ibid., p. 447.

[106] Michel Foucault, 'Two Lectures', in *Culture/Power/History: a Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. by Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 200-221 (pp. 204-205).

[107] Hunt, p. 7.

[108] Ibid., pp. 7 and 10.

[109] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2004), p. 29 and Hunt, p. 12.

'deciphering of meaning' as the main purpose of cultural anthropological research and, accordingly, historians such as Robert Darnton have also emphasised the centrality of meaning to cultural history.[110] Geertz maintains that one can 'read' cultures: by reading cultural 'texts', ethnographers can reveal the 'meanings behind socially established patterns of behaviour.'[111] Drawing on Geertz's approach, this thesis 'reads the text' of libertarian behaviours, deciphering the meaning behind anarchists' everyday practices and, in this way, furthering our understanding of how activists in Spain and Argentina manifested their ideological beliefs in daily life.

The 'cultural turn' marked an important juncture in the historiography on anarchism in both countries. For example, whilst histories of the Spanish movement had traditionally focused on libertarian institutions and influential figures, this started to change in the 1970s.[112] In a pioneering study, published in 1976, José Álvarez Junco situates Spanish anarchism within the intellectual framework of the Enlightenment, examining libertarian conceptions of nature, progress and freedom.[113] In a similar manner, writing in 1981, Lily Litvak highlights the role of art and literature within Spanish anarchist circles, referring to cultural practices as forms of 'protest'.[114] Moreover, in a study published in 1990, Dora Barrancos explores anarchist education in Argentina, illustrating its importance to the 'great

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[110] Hunt, p. 12.
[111] MacRaild and Taylor, p. 132.
[112] Richard Cleminson, *Anarquismo y Sexualidad (España, 1900-1939)* (Cadiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2008), pp. 19-21. Antonio Bar's 1981 study of the CNT – in which he analyses the various agreements and disputes within the organisation between its inception and the mid-1920s – encapsulates this 'institutional' approach to the anarchist movement in Spain. Bar's work focuses predominantly on questions of strategy and tactics, such as the different revolutionary approaches of the CNT's syndicalist and anarchist wings, and the proceedings at its official gatherings. For instance, he includes an extensive analysis of the key agreements reached at the Catalan Regional Confederation of Labour's Congress in Sants (Barcelona), in June 1918. Crucially, Bar does not discuss either the experience of concrete human beings or anarchist culture, focusing primarily on the development of the CNT as an institution. See Bar, pp. 367-408.
[113] Cleminson, p.19. For instance, Álvarez Junco highlights the relationship between the materialist philosophy of key Enlightenment figures such as Denis Diderot and the rationalism of nineteenth century anarchism. See José Álvarez Junco, *La Ideología Política del Anarquismo Español (1868-1910)*, 2nd ed. (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1991), p. 45.
[114] Lily Litvak, *Musa Libertaria: Arte, Literatura y Vida Cultural del Anarquismo Español (1880-1913)* (Barcelona: Antoni Bosch, 1981), p. xv. Navarro Navarro stresses the importance of both Álvarez Junco and Litvak to the 'cultural turn' in the historiography on Spanish anarchism. See Navarro Navarro, pp. 25 and 30.

regenerative task' of the wider movement; whilst Gonzalo Zaragoza's 1996 monograph on Argentinian anarchism provides further indications of this paradigm shift towards culture within the field, and a 'broader [anarchist] cultural and political universe'. [115] In his book, Zaragoza includes a chapter on 'cultural manifestations and ideology', in which he discusses literature, theatre and poetry, as well as libertarian pedagogy.[116]

Nevertheless, instead of deciphering the meaning behind everyday anarchist practices, historians have consistently placed a greater emphasis on libertarian discourse: specifically, the political, social and cultural debates within anarchist publications. For example, in an article in 1986, Maxine Molyneux provides a detailed examination of the anarcho-feminist newspaper *La Voz de la Mujer*, which appeared from 1896 to 1897.[117] In particular, she illustrates how, by drawing attention to 'the specificity of women's oppression', and combining 'feminist ideas with a revolutionary and working-class orientation', this paper departed from much of the contemporary libertarian press in Argentina.[118] In an article in 2014, Laura Catena and Velia Sabrina Luparello adopt a similar approach, analysing the discourse in another anarcho-feminist journal, *Nuestra Tribuna*, published in Necochea between 1922 and 1925.[119] Equally, Francisco Javier Navarro Navarro makes extensive use of anarchist magazines in his 1997 study of Spanish anarchist culture, discussing the debates regarding neo-Malthusianism, eugenics and sexuality in publications such as *Generación*

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[115] Dora Barrancos, *Anarquismo, Educación y Costumbres en la Argentina de Principios de Siglo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Contrapunto, 1990), p. 12 and Fernández Cordero, p. 43. Fernández Cordero notes that, in this field, Argentinian historians' shift towards culture in the 1990s followed the example of scholars of Spanish anarchism, such as Álvarez Junco. Despite this, she also stresses that Zaragoza's work shares commonalities with Iaacov Oved's earlier study (mentioned above), which focuses primarily on the relationship between anarchism and the labour movement. See Fernández Cordero, p. 43.
[116] Zaragoza, p. 407.
[117] Maxine Molyneux, 'No God, No Boss, No Husband: Anarchist Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Argentina', *Latin American Perspectives*, 48.13.1 (1986), 119-145 (pp. 119 and 130).
[118] Molyneux, pp. 119 and 126.
[119] Laura Catena and Velia Sabrina Luparello, 'Anarquismo y la Emancipación de la Mujer: el Movimiento Anarquista en Argentina y *Nuestra Tribuna* (1922-1925)', *Historia 2.0*, 4.8 (2014), 114-126 (p. 117).

Consciente and *Estudios*.[120] Furthermore, in his 2008 monograph, Richard Cleminson identifies a distinctively libertarian 'sexual discourse' in Spain.[121] For instance, he shows how the neo-Malthusian arguments prevalent in the Barcelona-based magazine *Salud y Fuerza* 'prepared the discursive terrain' for eugenicist thought among anarchists.[122] Moreover, he examines the writings of anarchist intellectuals such as Félix Martí Ibáñez, which frequently addressed sexuality (including sexual development and sexual health).[123]

Analysing the discourse in libertarian publications provides important insights into the development and diversity of anarchist culture. However, as Cleminson points out, focusing exclusively on anarchist discourse does not necessarily reveal the extent to which activists implemented libertarian values in everyday life.[124] For example, since the 1970s, historians of anarchism have increasingly explored the theme of gender and, crucially, this research has often revealed a considerable disparity between anarchist theory and praxis. Writing in 1971, Kaplan claimed that despite the egalitarian rhetoric of Spanish anarchists, they 'did not develop a programme to prevent [the exploitation of women] in revolutionary society'.[125] Similarly, in her 1991 study *Free Women of Spain*, Martha Ackelsberg suggests that 'many anarchists treated the issue of women's subordination as, at best, secondary to the emancipation of workers'.[126] Scholars of the Argentinian movement have highlighted similar contradictions: Molyneux shows how conservative social attitudes shaped the opinions of anarchist women in Argentina, especially on issues such as motherhood and childcare.[127] In

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[120] Francisco Javier Navarro Navarro, *«El Paraíso de la Razón» La Revista Estudios (1928-1937) y el Mundo Cultural Anarquista* (Corona: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1997), pp. 93 and 131.
[121] Cleminson, p. 13.
[122] Ibid., pp. 53-54
[123] Ibid., pp. 145-146.
[124] Ibid., p. 52. At the same time, Cleminson also stresses that contributing to libertarian discourse (for example, writing newspaper articles) constitutes a practice, too. See ibid., p. 52.
[125] Temma Kaplan, 'Spanish Anarchism and Women's Liberation', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 6.2 (1971), 101-110 (p. 102).
[126] Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Edinburgh and Oakland: AK Press, 2005), p. 38.
[127] Molyneux, p. 133.

her 2017 monograph, Laura Fernández Cordero reiterates this point, stressing that, on occasion, female anarchists adopted more reactionary attitudes towards gender roles than their male counterparts.[128] In other words, to gain a thorough understanding of the impact of anarchist ideology on everyday life, historians must not limit their analysis to libertarian discourse: they must consider the inconsistencies – as well as the continuities – between anarchist theory and practice.

Accordingly, since the turn of the twenty-first century, scholars have begun to concentrate more of their attention on the ways in which anarchists reflected their values and beliefs through symbols and rituals. For example, in his 2004 study of anarchist cultural practices in Valencia, Navarro Navarro examines libertarian *veladas*, where activists performed musical- and theatre-pieces, read poetry, and celebrated the anniversaries of significant events in the movement's history.[129] In like manner, in a 2012 study, Manuel Morales Muñoz discusses anarchist aesthetics in Catalonia in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, analysing the symbols that workers' associations adopted; libertarian songs; and, again, key events in the anarchist calendar.[130] In turn, Juan Suriano addresses similar phenomena in his study of anarchist cultural practices in Buenos Aires, published in 2001. For instance, he explores the role of cultural centres, and the importance of these establishments to the construction of a 'common identity' among militants.[131] Nevertheless, until now, historians have failed to incorporate prefiguration into their analyses of anarchist cultural practices, or to consider fully the extent to which, by engaging in such practices, activists reflected the society they aimed to establish. Utilising the theoretical framework of

[128] Laura Fernández Cordero, *Amor y Anarquismo: Experiencias Pioneras que Pensaron y Ejercieron la Libertad Sexual* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2017), p. 19.
[129] Navarro Navarro, *A la Revolución por la Cultura*, p. 265.
[130] Manuel Morales Muñoz, 'Rituales, Símbolos y Valores en el Anarquismo Español, 1870-1910', in *Cultura y Política del Anarquismo en España e Iberoamérica*, ed. by Clara E. Lida and Pablo Yankelevich (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2012), pp. 27-62 (pp. 28, 31-32 and 33).
[131] Juan Suriano, 'Las Prácticas Culturales del Anarquismo Argentino', in *Cultura y Política del Anarquismo en España e Iberoamérica*, ed. by Clara E. Lida and Pablo Yankelevich (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2012), pp. 145-174 (pp. 149-150).

prefigurative politics, this thesis takes the approach of Navarro Navarro, Morales Muñoz and Suriano a step further, reconceptualising the relationship between anarchist theory and praxis in the movements under study. In other words, it shows how anarchists manifested their ideological beliefs – and prefigured a libertarian society – through their everyday spatial, temporal and familial practices, and acts of 'informal' resistance. In turn, it illustrates how these prefigurative practices often reflected the transnational and trans-local nature of anarchism in Spain and Argentina.

Transnationalism, Trans-localism and Anarchist Studies

Transnational history first emerged in the 1990s, as historians increasingly recognised the need to avoid studying nation-states in isolation from the rest of the world.[132] At the same time, scholars began to direct more attention to historical actors and movements that do not fall into clearly defined national categories, such as religions, or certain ethnic groups.[133] Lucien van der Walt and Steven J. Hirsch suggest that, historically, transnationalism has permeated anarchist and syndicalist movements, which often comprise extensive networks of activists, doctrinal tendencies, and funds that flow across national borders.[134] Similarly, Constance Bantman and Bert Altena argue that, given anarchists' hostility to the state, and the diaspora of libertarian militants, a transnational approach is particularly appropriate to historical studies of anarchism.[135] As noted above, throughout their history, the two anarchist movements under study here remained closely interwoven and, consequently, this thesis

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[132] Akira Ireye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 11-12.
[133] Ibid., pp. 12-13.
[134] Lucien van der Walt and Steven J. Hirsch, 'Rethinking Anarchism and Syndicalism: the Colonial and Postcolonial Experience, 1870-1940', in *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. xxxi-2 (p. li).
[135] Constance Bantman and Bert Altena, 'Introduction: Problematizing Scales of Analysis in Network-Based Social Movements', in *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies*, ed. by Constance Bantman and Bert Altena (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 3-24 (p. 7).

makes a significant contribution to transnational history. It not only provides case studies from both countries, but also demonstrates how, in everyday life, activists experienced and drew on the connections that tied Spanish and Argentinian anarchism together.[136]

In recent years, transnational history has gained considerable ground in the field of anarchist studies. For example, in an article in 2007, Davide Turcato highlights the 'two-way cooperative process' between Italian anarchists in North America and their home country.[137] Specifically, he includes case studies of influential militants such as Errico Malatesta from which, he argues, the historian can draw conclusions about the wider movement.[138] Turcato adopts a biographical approach because, as he points out, this movement relied largely on personal networks, rather than formal institutions: by focusing on the experiences of individual historical actors, the historian can reveal the broader network of activists with whom they came into contact.[139] James A. Baer employs a similar methodology in his 2015 book *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina,* in which he also traces the exchange of activists across the Atlantic. Once again, using individuals as case studies, Baer discusses prominent anarchists such as Abad de Santillán.[140] Like Turcato, he suggests that concentrating on the lives of individuals not only furthers our understanding of their respective movements, but of the connections between such movements, too.[141]

Exceptional figures do not necessarily provide representative case studies, but their experiences can reveal the ways in which ideas and practices – as well as people – travelled across national borders. For example, in a study published in 2016, Martha Ackelsberg shows

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[136] As Danny Evans and James Yeoman point out, a transnational approach is not necessarily compatible with historical scholarship that emphasises the 'uniqueness' of Spanish anarchism. In part, this thesis draws on transnational history to further highlight the weaknesses of the argument – discussed above – that anarchism was rooted in a specific national context. See Danny Evans and James Michael Yeoman, 'Introduction: New Approaches to Spanish Anarchism', *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 29.3 (2016), 199-204 (p. 200).
[137] Davide Turcato, 'Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915', *International Review of Social History*, 52.3 (2007), 407-444 (p. 425)
[138] Ibid., p. 415.
[139] Ibid., p. 411.
[140] Baer, pp. 84-86.
[141] Ibid., p. 1.

how cross-border interactions between like-minded activists shaped the ideology of libertarian militants. In particular, she explores the lives of Spanish anarchists such as Rouco Buela and Abad de Santillán to highlight the 'cross-fertilisation' of the anarchist movements of Europe and the Americas.[142] According to Ackelsberg, these individuals 'spent critically important years as activists in Argentina and brought ideas and strategies back with them across the Atlantic.'[143] Whilst she acknowledges the significant impact of 'locally based organizing' in Argentina and Cuba, she concludes that transnational links – especially with Spain – played a key role in facilitating the propagation of anarchist theory and practices in these countries.[144]

Despite the recent proliferation of transnational studies in this field, there is a pressing need for further research into the relationship between Spanish and Argentinian anarchism. As indicated above, studies of anarchist culture in Spain and Argentina typically confine their analyses to one country and, as a result, scholars have not fully considered the transnational nature of anarchist cultural practices. Baer's book constitutes the only monograph dedicated exclusively to the connections between these two movements and, though it successfully situates their respective 'political and demographic histories' within the broader history of trans-Atlantic migration, his study 'underemphasizes other dimensions of social and cultural context'.[145] For instance, he includes merely a brief discussion of anarchist women and, similarly, he fails to interrogate 'notions of gender roles…in either nation'.[146] In contrast, though it incorporates them into the analysis, this thesis does not focus primarily on processes of migration, or the lives of prominent activist migrants. Whilst these individuals clearly played an important part in the construction and proliferation of libertarian movements, it is

[142] Ackelsberg, 'It Takes more than a Village!', pp. 213-214.
[143] Ibid., pp. 219-220.
[144] Ibid., p. 219.
[145] Rodríguez, p. 540.
[146] Ibid., p. 540 and Andrew H. Lee, 'BAER, JAMES A. Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina', *International Review of Social History*, 61.1 (2016), 165-168 (p. 166).

also necessary to examine the ways in which non-migrants experienced transnational connections. Accordingly, the following chapters illustrate the extent to which the anarchist cultural project – and prefigurative politics – not only drew on a continual exchange of people, but also an exchange of ideas, practices and resources between Spain and Argentina.

Nevertheless, whilst transnational history has aimed to avoid limiting historical scholarship to the national context, examining connections between countries inadvertently reinforces the primacy of the nation-state as a unit of analysis.[147] As a result, since the mid-1990s, scholars have increasingly utilised the concept of trans-locality to explore connections at a level beyond that of the nation-state.[148] This has allowed researchers to investigate the relationship between people, organisations and places within a less rigid methodological framework: by adopting localised scales of analysis, trans-local studies challenge essentialist conceptions of territory.[149] In turn, some historians of anarchism have started to adopt a trans-local approach in their research. For example, discussing German-speaking anarchists in the United States between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Tom Goyens stresses that 'the international anarchist movement consciously transcended and defied national boundaries'.[150] Accordingly, it 'became a practitioner of translocality', with anarchists in New York constituting 'only one cluster wired to a larger network'.[151] Similarly, James Yeoman employs the concept in his 2016 study of Spanish anarchist migrants in Dowlais (a

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[147] Clemens Greiner and Patrick Sakdapolrak, 'Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives', *Geography Compass*, 7.5 (2013), 373-384, (p. 374).
[148] Ibid., p. 374.
[149] Ibid., pp. 375 and 378. As geographer Katherine Brickell and sociologist Ayona Datta point out, trans-local studies emerged out of a 'grounded transnationalism', as scholars increasingly realised that transnational networks are often created at the local level. See Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta, 'Introduction: Translocal Geographies', in *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, ed. by Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta (Burlington and Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 3-22 (p. 9).
[150] Tom Goyens, 'Social Space and the Practice of Anarchist History', *Rethinking History*, 13.4 (2009), 439-457 (pp. 443 and 448). In like manner, James Yeoman describes trans-locality as especially applicable 'to bottom-up movements such as anarchism', which frequently regarded 'the local arena [as] a site of action for international goals'. See James Yeoman, 'Salud y Anarquía desde Dowlais: the Translocal Experience of Spanish Anarchists in South Wales, 1900-15', *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 29.3 (2016), 273-289 (p. 275).
[151] Goyens, p. 448.

small town in South Wales), demonstrating how libertarian publications allowed local activists to '[engage] in a network of material and ideological exchange across international boundaries'.[152] In Yeoman's view, 'while the state should not be ignored, its defined political and geographical borders can be problematized…'[153] With that in mind, this thesis draws on both transnational and trans-local studies, not only examining the connections between Spanish and Argentinian anarchism, but also between specific urban hubs. Moreover, rather than concentrating on one locality, it reveals a multi-directional flow of prefigurative practices within a network of anarchist locales, on both sides of the Atlantic.[154]

Case Studies, Themes and Periodisation

The following chapters explore libertarian prefigurative politics in four urban localities where, during the period under study, anarchism found particularly fertile ground.[155] Specifically, these include: the city of Alcoy, situated in south-east Spain; the city

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[152] Yeoman, p. 284. Notably, Yeoman concludes that, for many Spanish anarchists in Dowlais, maintaining connections with the wider movement in Spain 'came at the expense of interactions with the local community'. See ibid., p. 284.
[153] Ibid., p. 274.
[154] Whilst trans-local studies of anarchism have only begun to emerge in the last decade, scholars have long focused their attention on the local context. In the 1970s, historians such as Carlo Ginzburg pioneered the field of microhistory, and Ginzburg later helped to publish a series of microhistorical studies in Italy. Subsequently, historians of anarchism have drawn on this methodology. For example, in a 2004 study, José C. Moya uses a microhistory of Buenos Aires to illustrate the ways in which anarchism became an integral part of Jewish identity in Argentina. He shows how Jewish migrants were proportionately more likely to be drawn to the radical left-libertarian movement and how, in some ways, the stereotype that this propensity gave rise to was beneficial to the Jewish communities of the city, as they became 'the object of emulation, not rejection' among the (largely immigrant) working class. Despite this, this methodology again raises the question of whether the material is truly representative of the wider context. By exploring the connections between one locality and another, a trans-local study can take a more diverse range of experiences into consideration, thereby ensuring that the historian does not draw broad conclusions about a movement from a singular perspective. See Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things that I Know about It', *Critical Inquiry*, 20.1 (1993), 10-35 (p. 10) and José C. Moya, 'The Positive Side of Stereotypes: Jewish Anarchists in Early Twentieth Century Buenos Aires', *Jewish History*, 18.1 (2004), 19-48 (p. 40).
[155] This thesis examines libertarian prefigurative activism primarily in urban settings because, as Carl Levy notes, since the nineteenth century, 'the city and the urban commune have been central to the anarchist imagination and anarchist socio-political action'. Accordingly, Levy stresses that the urban context 'remains a vital optic' for understanding both the theory and practice of anarchism. Nevertheless, as Levy himself points out, this does not mean that studies of rural anarchism are unimportant and, in like manner, the concluding chapter argues that rural – as well as urban – libertarian movements should form the basis for further historical studies of anarchist prefigurative politics. See Carl Levy, 'Anarchists and the City: Governance, Revolution and the Imagination', in *Historical Geographies of Anarchism: Early Critical Geographers and Present-Day*

of Rosario, in Argentina's Santa Fe province; Barcelona's neighbouring city of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat; and La Boca, part of the docklands of Buenos Aires. Arranged thematically, these microhistories each examine prefigurative politics from a different perspective. For example, they provide important contributions to the existing scholarship on anarchists' relationship to space and the family, respectively. Furthermore, they pioneer new areas of study in the field by also incorporating the themes of time and 'informal' resistance. In other words, this thesis identifies libertarian prefigurative practices in distinct (but interrelated) spheres of everyday life. It shows how anarchists appropriated and transformed urban space; how they contested and transcended the borders of the nuclear family; how they formulated their own conception of time; and how they utilised habitual disobedience, humour and satire to challenge the authority of both the state and the Catholic Church. At the same time, each case study draws attention to the transnational and trans-local dimensions of libertarian prefigurative politics, revealing the social, cultural, political and economic connections that, in everyday life, tied these anarchist locales together.

As noted above, anarchism started to gain popularity in Spain and Argentina in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and increased its influence considerably with the establishment of anarcho-syndicalist organisations such as the CNT and the FORA, in the 1900s. Accordingly, the period covered here begins in the 1890s, which not only saw economic turmoil and the disappearance of the last vestiges of Spain's empire, but also significant developments in anarchist circles on both sides of the Atlantic.[156] In turn, the

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Scientific Challenges, ed. by Federico Ferretti, Gerónimo Barrera de la Torre, Anthony Ince and Francisco Toro (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 7-23 (pp. 7-8 and 21).

[156] As Suriano points out, in Argentina, 'the social effects of the modernization process began to make themselves felt' in the 1890s whilst, at the same time, 'libertarian propaganda began to produce tangible results', as activists formed organisations and publications that 'defin[ed] the strategies…pursue[d] a decade later'. The year 1890 itself marked the beginning of an economic depression, and also featured the country's first May Day protest, in which many anarchists participated. In Spain, anarchists adopted a similar approach, launching recurring general strikes on the 1st of May between 1890 and 1893. Notably, these years also saw the rise of anarchist terrorism in Spain – which, among other things, resulted in the assassination of the Spanish Prime Minister, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, in 1897 – as well as the loss of Spain's last colonial possessions,

analysis ends in the early 1930s, with the decline of anarchism in Argentina.[157] Of course, in the Spanish case, the anarchist movement remained strong throughout this decade. Following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936, the militants of the CNT and the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) proved integral to the ensuing anti-fascist struggle and the social revolution that spread throughout the Republican zone, establishing defence committees, forming agricultural collectives, and assuming control of factories.[158] Nevertheless, this thesis utilises the theoretical framework of prefiguration to interrogate traditional understandings of revolution, and to challenge the dichotomy between activism and everyday life. For this reason, rather than explore a period of outright revolution – or a 'totalising event' – it concentrates on the years preceding the Civil War.[159] The concluding chapter returns to this point, summarising the key findings, and reflecting on the ways in which prefigurative politics not only transforms our understanding of anarchism in Spain and Argentina, but of activism itself.

following her defeat in the war against the United States, in 1898. See Zaragoza, p. 125, Oved, p. 60, Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 3 and Smith, pp. 108 and 148.

[157] In the aftermath of the military coup of September 1930 – in which General Félix Uriburu overthrew the government of Hipólito Yrigoyen – the Argentinian anarchist movement faced severe political repression, with many prominent activists 'arrested, deported, or forced to flee'. See Baer, pp. 118-119, 122 and 130.

[158] Danny Evans, *Revolution and the State: Anarchism in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 1 and 38

[159] Of course, though the case studies centre primarily on the period 1890-1930 they do, at times, incorporate source material from earlier and later periods, to provide necessary contextual information, and to further substantiate key points.

CHAPTER ONE

Making the 'Invisible' City Visible:

Anarchist Heterotopias in Alcoy

'The…Civil Governor of the province… has authorised

the August Assembly for which you requested permission…

but...not in the Calderón Theatre…as such acts

are not permitted in public locales.'[1]

The tendency of historians to ignore the relationship between anarchism and space partly explains why scholarship has often judged the anarchists' revolutionary project to have failed.[2] Nevertheless, as Tom Goyens points out, 'social movements make, transform, and are possible in space and places'.[3] Accordingly, he argues that 'oppositional groups such as anarchists are better understood when we examine their spatial practices'.[4] In other words, by neglecting the spaces and places that activists create within the locality in which they live, scholars overlook the full impact of radical movements on everyday life.[5] With that in mind, this chapter utilises Michel

[1] Letter from the Mayor of Alcoy to Francisco Terol Segura, the Vice-Secretary of the Textile and Manufacturing Union, 8 August 1930, 'Correspondencia Sindicato de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, Arxiu Municipal d'Alcoi (AMA), Alcoy.

[2] Goyens, pp. 454-455. Chris Ealham is a notable exception to this tendency, consistently incorporating space into his historical analysis of the anarchist movement in Spain. In an article in 2001, he stresses the need to consider 'spatial memories' in historical research since, in his view, they 'provide the historian with a window onto the responses of distinct social classes to transformations in the rhythms of city life'. Similarly, in his 2010 monograph *Anarchism and the City*, Ealham describes how, in the early-twentieth century, Barcelona's bourgeoisie 'delineated the permissible use of public space', opposing any challenges to 'the capitalist urban order'. In response, working-class neighbourhoods became 'spaces of contestation and hope, the starting point for resistance against the bourgeois city'. Nevertheless, whilst Ealham highlights the relationship between working-class activism and space, he does not analyse libertarian spatial practices through the lens of prefigurative politics. See Chris Ealham, 'Class and the City: Spatial Memories of Pleasure and Danger in Barcelona, 1914-23', *Oral History*, 29.1 (2001), 33-47 (pp. 33) and Chris Ealham, *Anarchism and the City: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Barcelona, 1898-1937* (Edinburgh and Oakland: AK Press, 2010), pp. 15 and 23.

[3] Goyens, p. 454.

[4] Ibid., p. 441.

[5] Ibid., p. 455. Scholarship has traditionally regarded 'space' as an objective unit of analysis, whilst 'place' is 'subjective and experiential'. In contrast, geographer Tim Cresswell suggests that 'space is a more abstract concept than place' but, at the same time, he notes that 'when humans invest meaning in a portion of space and

Foucault's concept of 'heterotopia' to explore how anarchists conceptualised, experienced and used space in the Spanish city of Alcoy. It illustrates how, by creating, appropriating and transforming urban spaces – as well as by using these spaces to engage in subversive practices – local activists constructed their own 'anarchist city'.[6] Though hitherto largely invisible to historians, this parallel 'city' prefigured the libertarian society that anarchists aimed to establish.

Foucault first introduced the concept of 'heterotopia' in the preface to his 1966 monograph *The Order of Things*, and later expanded on the idea in an essay titled 'Of Other Spaces', published in 1984.[7] In *The Order of Things*, Foucault refers to 'heteroclites': states of incongruity which juxtapose things that bear little or no relation to each other.[8] In the later piece, Foucault uses the term 'heterotopia' to describe 'a sort of place that lies outside all other places and yet is actually localizable'.[9] Unlike a utopia – an ephemeral 'place without a place', not situated in the material world – a heterotopia serves as a point of contact between the physical and the 'illusory'.[10] In this respect, the concept of heterotopia closely resembles Henri Lefebvre's notion of 'social space', which combines what one sees, feels, hears and smells, with what one imagines or envisions.[11] That is, 'social space' forms the intersection

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then become attached to it…naming it is one such way…it becomes a place'. This chapter employs both terms, but – due to the complex relationship between space and place – the distinction is not always clear-cut. Here, 'space' refers to an abstract entity, whilst 'place' refers to the physical sites that anarchists constructed which, in various ways, assumed cultural, historical and political significance. See Goyens, pp. 445-446 and Tim Cresswell, *Place: an Introduction*, 2nd edn, (Chichester, Malden and Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), pp. 15-16.

[6] Similarly, in his 2010 study of anarchism in Barcelona, Ealham refers to a 'rival, "other" city, which was violently opposed by the elites as a mortal danger to bourgeois Barcelona'. See Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 23.

[7] This essay drew on a lecture that Foucault had delivered in 1967. See Avi Shoshana, 'Space, Heterogeneity, and Everyday Life: Ultra-Orthodox Heterotopia in Israel', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 43.5 (2014), 527-555 (p. 531).

[8] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: an Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Taylor and Francis e-library, 2005), p. xix. Specifically, Foucault notes that 'in such a state, things are "laid", "placed", "arranged" in sites so very different from one another that it is impossible…to define a *common locus* beneath them all'. See ibid., p. xix.

[9] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory,* ed. by Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 330-336 (p. 332).

[10] Ibid., p. 335.

[11] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge and Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, pp. 11-12.

between 'physical space' and 'mental space'; bringing corporeal senses and the imagination together.[12]

In turn, Foucault's concept provides a useful theoretical framework to examine prefigurative politics. By using concrete, everyday practices to prefigure an ideal society, this form of political activism also involves an encounter between reality and utopia; between the 'physical' and the 'mental'.[13] In recent years, scholars have increasingly drawn on Foucault's heterotopia to conceptualise libertarian activism. For example, writing in 2018, Teresa Xavier Fernandes notes that 'postanarchist' activists 'inhabit…a Foucauldian heterotopia' whilst, in his 2019 doctoral thesis, Luca Lapolla refers to the anarchist communities in post-1968 Britain and Italy 'as a form of voluntary heterotopia'.[14] Nevertheless, scholars of anarchism have still not applied this concept to a historical study of the Spanish anarchist movement, or fully considered its implications in the context of prefiguration.[15] As a result, this chapter provides a highly original contribution to the emerging literature on anarchism and space,

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[12] Lefebvre, p. 27. As Cresswell points out, Lefebvre's work has led to misunderstandings regarding the distinction between the terms 'space' and place', since his concept of 'social space…in many ways, plays the same role as place'. See Cresswell, pp. 16-17.

[13] Scholars such as Cindy Milstein and Benjamin Franks regard prefiguration 'as a utopian politics'. Similarly, though Saul Newman does not refer explicitly to 'prefigurative politics' in his 2010 monograph *The Politics of Postanarchism*, he does describe 'a utopianism of the "here and now"'; a form of activism highly reminiscent of prefiguration, which centres 'less on what happens after the revolution, and more on a transformation of social relations within the present'. Accordingly, Ruth Kinna includes this quote from Newman in the chapter cited below. In addition, drawing on the work of Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch, Uri Gordon even proposes substituting the term 'politics of concrete utopia' for 'prefigurative politics', to better reflect the 'means-end unity' of anarchist practices. See Ruth Kinna, 'Utopianism and Prefiguration', in *Political Uses of Utopia: New Marxist, Anarchist, and Radical Democratic Perspectives*, ed. by S. D. Chrostowska and James D. Ingram (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), pp. 198-218 (pp. 203-205), Saul Newman, *The Politics of Postanarchism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 162 and Gordon, 'Prefigurative Politics between Ethical Practice and Absent Promise', pp. 521 and 533-534.

[14] Teresa Xavier Fernandes, 'The Postanarchist, an Activist in a "Heterotopia"; Building an Ideal Type' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Loughborough University, 2018), p. 274 and Luca Lapolla, 'Anarchist Heterotopias: Post-1968 Libertarian Communities in Britain and Italy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Birkbeck College, 2017), p. 15. 'Postanarchism' is a reformulation of classical anarchism, which draws on the insights of post-structuralism to provide a more nuanced critique of power, and to avoid generalisations about human nature and biology. See Saul Newman, 'Postanarchism: A Politics of Anti-Politics', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 16.3 (2011), 313-327 (pp. 318 and 323).

[15] In two of his works, Jeff Shantz implies that anarchist 'community centres' during the Spanish Civil War constituted heterotopias, but he does not go on to explore this idea further. See Jeff Shantz, *Living Anarchy: Theory and Practice in Anarchist Movements* (Bethesda, Dublin and Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2009), pp. 129-130 and Jeff Shantz, 'Spaces of Learning: The Anarchist Free Skool', in *Anarchist Pedagogies: Collective Actions, Theories, and Critical Reflections on Education*, ed. by Robert H. Haworth (Oakland: PM Press, 2012), pp. 124-144 (pp. 124-125).

utilising Foucault's heterotopia to examine sites in Alcoy where utopian anarchist ideas and the established societal order converged. These sites were both prefigurative and paradoxical: though their construction reflected an ideology that opposed state power and capitalism, they existed within the parameters of a state-run city, and often within private properties. At the same time, like the heterotopias that Foucault describes, they constituted sites of difference, premised on a desire to fundamentally change the prevailing socio-cultural and economic system.

Alcoy: a City Born of Spain's Industrial Revolution

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the city of Alcoy – located in Spain's south-eastern province of Alicante – underwent a rapid process of industrialisation and, by the mid-nineteenth century, it had become Spain's third most important textile-producing industrial centre.[16] Whilst, in 1728, Alcoy's textile mills produced 2,200 pieces of cloth, fewer than seventy years later, local textile production had increased six-fold: by 1795, the city's mills turned out 12,000 pieces of cloth annually.[17] Against the backdrop of industrialisation, the city's population swelled dramatically. Between 1724 and 1794, the number of Alcoy's inhabitants tripled, rising from 4,832 to 14,626.[18] The population continued to grow precipitously throughout the nineteenth century and, by the end of 1910, Alcoy was home to some 33,383 people.[19]

During the period under study, the militancy of the local labour movement distinguished Alcoy from many of the neighbouring towns. Francisco Moreno Sáez has

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[16] José Joaquín García Gómez and Antonio Escudero Gutiérrez, 'The Standard of Living of the Workers in a Spanish Industrial Town: Wages, Nutrition, Life Expectancy and Height in Alcoy (1870-1930)', *Social Indicators Research* (2017) <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-017-1776-0> [accessed 25 October 2018], p. 4.
[17] Rogelio Sánchez Llorens, *Alcoy, Tu Pueblo* (Valencia: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Alcoy, 1976), p. 1 of chapter 31 (no official page numbers).
[18] Pedro María Egea Bruno, 'La Clase Obrera de Alcoy a Finales del Siglo XIX', *Anales de Historia Contemporánea*, 3 (1984), 123-158 (p. 124).
[19] 'Censo de la Población de Diciembre de 1910', 002118, Fondo Histórico, 12 Población, 2 Censos, 1 Altas, AMA, p. 698.

shown how, in the last years of the nineteenth century, Alcoy had become the only locality in the province of Alicante where anarchists maintained a notable presence.[20] At that time, there was just a small number of isolated libertarian groups scattered throughout the city of Alicante and nearby towns such as Elda and Cocentaina but, in Alcoy, anarchists orchestrated a large-scale textile strike, in 1895.[21] They began to exercise more influence in the rest of the province following the establishment of Workers' Solidarity in Barcelona, in 1907, a federation of trade unions that drew on the ideas then popular in the French revolutionary syndicalist movement.[22] One of Alcoy's trade unions affiliated itself to Workers' Solidarity at the federation's first national congress, in 1908.[23]

In Alcoy, the local workers' movement emerged in the context of the city's industrialisation. For example, on the 2nd of March 1821, some 1,200 local workers gathered to destroy industrial machinery that had recently been installed on the outskirts of the locality.[24] Alcoy's first workers' organization – the Society of Wool-Weavers – appeared in 1869 and, in 1872, local activists established a branch of the First International.[25] By the end of that year, the Local Federation of Alcoy boasted more than 2,000 members, and at the third congress of the IWMA in Spain – held in Córdoba in January 1873 – Alcoy possessed the second-largest Local Federation in the country.[26]

Later that year, the city witnessed a workers' uprising that had repercussions across Europe: the so-called 'Petroleum Revolution'.[27] In July, a general strike escalated into what

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[20] Francisco Moreno Sáez, 'El Anarquismo en Alicante (1870-1930)', in *El Anarquismo en Alicante (1868-1945)*, ed. Francisco Moreno Sáez (Alicante: Instituto de Estudios Juan Gil-Albert,1986), pp. 27-46 (p. 32).
[21] Ibid., p. 32.
[22] Ibid., p. 32.
[23] Ibid., p. 32. Founded in August 1907, Workers' Solidarity ('Solidaridad Obrera') was the forerunner of the CNT (established at Workers' Solidarity's second congress, in 1910). See Bar, pp. 101, 104 and 150.
[24] Manuel Cerdà, *Els Moviments Socials al País Valencià* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1981), p. 43.
[25] Moreno Sáez, p. 28.
[26] Ibid., p. 28.
[27] José Joaquín García Gómez, '<<Urban Penalty>> en España: el Caso de Alcoy (1857-1930)', *Revista de Historial Industrial*, 63 (2016), 49-78 (p. 61) and Clara E. Lida, 'Hacia la Clandestinidad Anarquista. De la Comuna de París a Alcoy, 1871-1874', *Historia Social*, 46 (2003), 49-64 (p. 56).

some local Internationalists believed to be an all-out insurrection against the state: when Agustín Albors, then-Mayor of Alcoy (and a local factory owner) ordered government troops to fire on a crowd of between 6,000 and 8,000 protestors, the indignant multitude set about burning buildings and erecting barricades.[28] Albors himself perished in the ensuing violence.[29] Clara E. Lida argues that, along with the Paris Commune of 1871, the uprising in Alcoy formed a key landmark in the history of European socialism, as it not only drew public attention to the IWMA, but also became a memorable example of anarchist workers' action, for supporters and adversaries alike.[30]

A Tale of Two Cities:
Spatialising Bourgeois and Anarchist Culture

As sociologist Manuel Castells suggests, 'all cities [are] shaped by the outcome of social conflicts and contradictory projects', with the 'structurally dominant interests' often having the most significant impact on the built environment.[31] In Alcoy, local elites played a key role in the formation of the urban landscape and, in turn, they largely determined how the city's inhabitants experienced space in everyday life. Specifically, they asserted their control over public space through prohibitive measures, rigidly policing what one could and could not say or do outside the home.[32] For example, local conservative newspapers upheld Christian cultural values by continually drawing attention to the prevalence of blasphemous language on the city's streets. On the 20th of September 1916, the editors of the *Diario de*

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[28] Moreno Sáez, p. 29.
[29] Ibid., p. 29.
[30] Lida, p. 56.
[31] Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: a Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Caulfield East and London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p. 318.
[32] Lefebvre argues that, by placing too much emphasis on the role of prohibitions in the construction of 'social space', scholars overlook the importance of 'productive activity'. Specifically, he suggests that focusing exclusively on prohibitions leads to a purely negative conception of how society is created, rather than recognising the positive (or active) role that people play in its construction. Accordingly, this chapter also explores activists' 'productive activity' in the construction of anarchist heterotopias. See Lefebvre, p. 36.

Alcoy reported that 'respectable persons' had complained about the authorities' allegedly insufficient efforts to discourage blasphemy in public.[33] Ten days later, on the 30th of September, the editors again asserted that, in Alcoy, 'indecent language and blasphemy abound', and they urged the press to denounce religious profanity throughout the locality.[34] Notably, they stated that they had already gained the support of other local papers – including *La Lealtad* and *La Voz del Pueblo* – and they called on the *Heraldo de Alcoy* and *El Noticiero* to follow suit.'[35]

Despite their supposed leniency, the local authorities punished frequently those who transgressed established norms of religious decorum in public. On the 2nd of November 1916, four men were sentenced to ten days in prison and ordered to pay a fine of fifty *pesetas* for having refused to remove their hats before the city's annual Corpus Christi procession.[36] Similarly, on the 6th of July 1903, local resident Miguel Espinos sent a letter to the Municipal Judge of Alcoy in which he recounted how, on the 18th of June, he had witnessed fellow *alcoyano* Rafael Moltó refuse to remove his hat to acknowledge the passing of a Holy Procession.[37] At that point, Espinos had alerted a police officer, who promptly apprehended Moltó and noted his address.[38] Following this incident, on the 11th of July, Rafael Moltó was sentenced to a day in prison, and ordered to pay a fine of five *pesetas*.[39] Crucially, on the 20th

[33] 'Noticias', *Diario de Alcoy*, 20 September 1916, p. 2. Specifically, the editors reported that their visitors 'have noted to us that in [our summaries of] weekly fines, one does not see [as many fines as] should be imposed on blasphemers'. As a result, the editors asked: 'do the [police] not consider blasphemy to be punishable?'. See ibid., p. 2.
[34] 'Los Blasfemos', *Diario de Alcoy*, 30 September 1916, p. 1.
[35] Ibid., p. 1.
[36] 'Noticias', *Diario de Alcoy*, 3 November 1916, p. 2.
[37] Letter from Miguel Espinos to the Municipal Judge of Alcoy, 6 July 1903, 'Miguel Espinos Mora Denuncia a Rafael Moltó Pastor por Ofensa a los Sentimientos Religiosos al Negarse a Descubrirse al Paso del Santo Viático', 010915/016, Fondos Juzgados, 1 Juzgado Municipal de Alcoi, 2 De Faltas, AMA.
[38] Ibid.
[39] 'Juzgado Municipal de Alcoy – Ano 1903 – Expediente de Juicio de Faltas Instado por Miguel Espinos Mora contra Rafael Moltó Pastor sobre Ofensa á los Sentimientos Religiosos', 'Miguel Espinos Mora Denuncia a Rafael Moltó Pastor por Ofensa a los Sentimientos Religiosos al Negarse a Descubrirse al Paso del Santo Viático', 010915/016, Fondos Juzgados, 1 Juzgado Municipal de Alcoi, 2 De Faltas, AMA, p. 15.

of June, *El Movimiento* – a local Republican newspaper – published Rafael Moltó's own account of the events. He recalled that, as he returned home from work:

> I ran into the Holy Procession and, as I am not a believer…I did not remove my hat. This went down badly with one of the participants who…began to curse me and demanded that I remove my hat, against my will…then…he called out to a nearby policer officer…This is not the first…case of this nature…[40]

Here, Moltó reveals how even for non-Christians, public space fell under the jurisdiction of the Church, with pious locals enforcing codes of religious propriety routinely on the city's streets.[41]

When locals wished to express their opposition to the prevailing socio-cultural and economic order in public, they faced severe restrictions. Throughout the period under study, workers' organisations had to obtain permission from the authorities prior to holding public meetings, arranging demonstrations, or launching strike action.[42] Even when the authorities

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[40] Rafael Moltó, 'Carta', *El Movimiento-Semanario Republicano*, 20 June 1903, p. 4.

[41] Notably, the charge of 'blasphemy' features regularly in Alcoy's weekly prisoner censuses. For example, between the weeks of the 23rd of April and the 29th of December 1917, at least twenty-six men were held for 'blasphemy' at the Remand Prison of the Judicial Body of Alcoy. Between the 20th of April and the 26th of November 1918, at least seventeen men were held on this charge. Unfortunately, since many weekly records are missing, it is not possible to provide definitive figures. See 'Prisión Preventiva del Partido Judicial de Alcoy – Relación Nominal de Todos los Presos Existentes en esta Prisión Preventiva a mi Cargo, en el Acto de la Revista Semanal del Día y Mes de la Fecha' (all surviving documents dated between 23 April 1917 and 29 December 1917; and between 20 April 1918 and 16 November 1918), 'Censo Semanal de Presos: 1913-1922', 003725, Fondo Histórico, 4 Administración de Justicia, 3 Cárceles, 3 Censo de Presos, AMA.

[42] On the 30th of June 1887, the government introduced a law regulating the conduct of all associations with no explicit connection to Catholicism, including trade unions, guilds and political groups. The Associations Law – which remained in place until Miguel Primo de Rivera's military coup in September 1923, and the subsequent suspension of constitutional rights – required such organisations to notify the authorities at least twenty-four hours before holding meetings. An earlier law, the Public Meetings Law – approved on the 15th of June 1880 – already declared that organisations needed to acquire written permission from the authorities before hosting gatherings of more than twenty people in public spaces (that is, outside of their regular locales). Similar restrictions applied to strike action. For instance, on the 27th of April 1909, legislators approved the Strikes and Alliances Law. Whilst this law recognised the right of workers to declare strike action, it stipulated that they had to notify the authorities in advance. However, even before the introduction of the 1909 law, the authorities required prior notification of strike action. For instance, in 1901, a Royal Decree ordered railway workers to provide at least fifteen days' notice before striking. See Rafael Flaquer Montequi, 'Los Derecho de Asociación, Reunión y Manifestación', *Ayer*, 34 (1999), 154-175 (pp. 169-170 and 173), Carmen Lamarca Pérez and Javier Mira Benavent, 'III. Noción de Terrorismo y Clases: Evolución Legislativa y Político-Criminal', in *El Nuevo Panorama del Terrorismo en España: Perspectiva Penal, Penitenciaria y Social*, ed. by Carmen Juanatey Dorado and Cristina Fernández-Pacheco Estrada (San Vicente del Raspeig: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2013), pp. 39-100 (p. 81), Álvaro Soto Carmona, *El Trabajo Industrial en la España Contemporánea (1874-1936)* (Barcelona: Editorial Anthropos, 1989), p. 418 and David Luque Balbona, 'La Forma de las Huelgas en España, 1905-2010', *Política y Sociedad*, 50.1 (2013), 235-268 (p. 238).

allowed locals to gather and express their discontent in person, they placed strict limits on the use of public space. On the 16th of September 1910, Eugenio Gosálvez Pascual sent a letter to the Mayor of Alcoy requesting permission to hold a demonstration on the 2nd of October, to protest against legal privileges that the government had ceded to the Church.[43] On the 28th of September, the Civil Governor of Alicante granted permission for the demonstration to take place, but he stipulated that the representatives of Regeneration – a local workers' society – could not address the crowd from the balcony of the society's locale, supposedly because, given the small size of the square in which the locale was situated, such speeches would disrupt passers-by.[44] Nevertheless, the Civil Governor also warned that the crowd should not 'shout provocative things or use banners or standards with illegal slogans'.[45] Evidently, the Governor's real objection to the meeting was that it would facilitate the encroachment of oppositional discourse and practices into public space; the exclusive domain of the Church and local authorities. In a similar episode, on the 8th of August 1930, the Mayor denied the local Textile Industry Union permission to hold a general assembly in the city's Calderón Theatre, stating explicitly that 'such acts are not permitted in public locales'.[46] Instead, the Mayor ordered that the meeting occur in a private place: in this case, at the Union's own locale, on San Vicente Street.[47]

These incidents illustrate how the local authorities sought to prevent what they perceived as the contamination of public space, by confining subversives to private settings. In other words, they demarcated a clear boundary between the city's public spaces and

[43] Letter from Eugenio Gosálvez Pascual to the Mayor of Alcoy, 16 September 1910, 'Manifestación Pública en Protesta Disposiciones Político-Religiosas', 005201/003, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 5 Manifestaciones, Mítines, 1 Correspondencia e Instancias, AMA.
[44] Letter from the Civil Governor of Alicante to Eugenio Gosálvez and Eugenio Alós, 28 September 1910, 'Manifestación Pública en Protesta Disposiciones Político-Religiosas', 005201/003, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 5 Manifestaciones, Mítines, 1 Correspondencia e Instancias, AMA.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Letter from the Mayor of Alcoy to Francisco Terol Segura.
[47] Ibid.

oppositional sites.[48] To this end, the authorities carefully monitored the external boundaries of the city, at the same time as they restricted the internal movements of those who challenged the established order. On the 21st of November 1916, the Mayor of Alcoy forwarded a communiqué from the Civil Governor to the head of the local security forces, requesting information on 'the movement of anarchists and agitators in the province…'[49] Similarly, on the 11th of December 1930, Mariano Marín Buitrago – a judge of the Court of Alicante – wrote to the Mayor of Alcoy to request information regarding the existence of 'Communist, Anarchist or Syndicalist societies' in the locality, and to enquire whether any individuals had entered Alcoy 'to distribute clandestine printed propaganda of a revolutionary character…'[50] In *Lefebvrian* terms, the local authorities controlled not only the 'physical' public spaces of the city – monitoring the borders of the municipality to track the entrance and exit of those deemed to be politically dangerous – but also the city's 'mental' public spaces, preventing the incursion of subversive discourse (in the form of printed propaganda) into the city's public streets, squares and buildings.

In a similar manner, the architecture and topography of the city also reflected the dominance of the bourgeoisie over public space. From the early nineteenth century, Alcoy's industrialists began to indulge in 'conspicuous consumption', investing heavily in the construction of grandiose buildings – such as theatres, churches and luxurious apartments – and transforming the centre of Alcoy into a 'bourgeois neighbourhood.'[51] The ornate

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[48] Similarly, Ealham suggests that, in Barcelona, police officers became 'the regulators of social space', engaging in the '"modification" and "management" of working-class behaviour in the streets' and, as a result, 'structuring everyday life in the capitalist city'. See Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 32.
[49] Letter from the Mayor of Alcoy to the Lieutenant of the Security Corps, 21 November 1916, 'Varios sobre Vigilancia, Seguridad y Orden Público', 005436/009, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 3 Seguridad Pública, 5 Informes, AMA.
[50] Letter from Mariano Marín Buitrago to the Mayor of Alcoy, 11 December 1930, 'Oficio Solicitando Lista de Sociedades de Carácter Comunista, Anarquista o Sindicalista', 005362/011, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 2 Políticas, AMA.
[51] María Arnal, Carlos de Castro, Arturo Lahera-Sánchez, Juan Carlos Revilla and Francisco José Tovar, 'Two Spanish Cities at the Crossroads: Changing Identities in Elda and Alcoy', in *Changing Work and Community Identities in European Regions: Perspectives on the Past and Present*, ed. by Sylvie Contrepois, Steve Jefferys, and John Kirk (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), pp. 91-123 (pp. 105-106). In his seminal 1922 study

modernist buildings that still line San Nicolás Street and San Lorenzo Street (see Figure 1) provide 'a reflection of the economic power of Alcoy's bourgeoisie.'[52] With the symbolic power of these buildings, Alcoy's elite claimed the central district of the city for themselves. In this sense, exclusion became integral to the construction of public space in Alcoy: by implication, the *embourgeoisement* of the heart of the city excluded those who belonged to other classes and social groups. Chris Ealham points to a similar geographical marginalisation of the working-classes in Barcelona where, from the early years of the twentieth century, market forces led to 'a process of urban bifurcation' and, as a result, 'class divisions became inscribed in space'.[53]

In Alcoy, the physical isolation of proletarian neighbourhoods such as El Tosal – located on the eastern side of the Molinar River – further highlights the exclusion of poor residents from the city's bourgeois central district (see Figure 1).[54] On the 13th of February 1898, the *Heraldo de Alcoy* praised the authorities' plans to construct a viaduct over the Molinar River, which would connect El Tosal to the city centre, stating that 'our city needs new, affordable and safe dwellings for the working-classes, and this will be achieved as soon as the proposed beautiful viaduct is constructed…'[55] Nevertheless, when the authorities eradicated the physical obstacles that separated neighbourhoods such as El Tosal from the bourgeois district across the river, the social and economic obstacles remained. On the 28th of

The Theory of the Leisure Class, economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen defines 'conspicuous consumption' as a means of demonstrating one's wealth (and, by extension, one's power) through ostentatious – and visible – spending. See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: an Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1922), p. 75.

[52] Gabino Ponce Herrero, Juan Manuel Dávila Linares and Enrique Moltó Mantero, 'Los Paisajes Industriales de l'Alcoià', in *Paisajes y Geografías en Tierras Alicantinas: Guía para los Trabajos de Campo*, ed. by Rosario Navalón García, Gabino Ponce Herrero and Gregorio Canales Martínez (Alicante: XXII Congreso de Geógrafos Españoles Universidad de Alicante, 2011), pp. 11-74 (p. 33). The authors note that the local bourgeoisie's construction of Modernist buildings 'contrast[ed]…with the situation of the working classes, obliged to constantly resort to…extending [their] existing buildings by adding new floors…'. See ibid., p. 33.

[53] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 9.

[54] Neighbourhoods such as El Tosal and Caramanchel began to emerge on Alcoy's periphery at the turn of the twentieth century, due to a shortage of housing and rising land prices in the city's central district. See Ponce Herrero, Dávila Linares and Moltó Mantero, p. 33.

[55] 'Alcoy', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 13 February 1898, p. 1.

May 1921, the local anarchist newspaper *Redención* complained that the city's doctors never visited patients in El Tosal, Caramanchel or Algezares, supposedly because these neighbourhoods were too far away.[56] Ironically, though the authorities expected the viaduct to improve the accessibility of the city centre for Alcoy's least affluent residents, some individuals used the structure as a means of escaping from what remained, for many, a poverty-stricken life. On the 22nd of December 1913, Francisco Sempere Colomer fell to his death from the top of the viaduct.[57] According to the *Heraldo de Alcoy*, it was widely believed that Sempere Colomer's suicide resulted from his 'pressing and desperate economic situation'.[58] Several years earlier, on the 17th of January 1910, José Cortés Llopis – a sixty-four-year-old widower – had also tried to jump from the viaduct but, on that occasion, passers-by had been able to intervene.[59]

Despite the tight control that local elites exercised over Alcoy's urban landscape, those who opposed the prevailing socio-cultural and economic order contested bourgeois and Catholic domination of the city's public spaces. As Castells notes, though 'the structurally dominant interests' play a key role in forming the built environment, 'the trace of urban protest and alternative projects can also be recognized in the spatial forms and the meanings of cities'.[60] From the eighteenth century onwards, traditional festive celebrations in Alcoy perpetuated bourgeois class- and gender- values.[61] Specifically, the annual Moors and Christians festival became 'a platform of ostentation' for wealthy *alcoyanos* and, by the 1860s, it also fulfilled a 'patriotic-religious' function.[62] However, throughout the period

[56] 'Asuntos Locales', *Redención*, 28 May 1921, p. 4. Here, the editors refer to the neighbourhood of 'Caramanchel' as 'Carabanchel'. See ibid., p. 4.
[57] 'Crónica Local', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 24 December 1913, p. 2.
[58] Ibid., p. 2.
[59] 'Los Sucesos', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 17 January 1910, p. 1.
[60] Castells, p. 318.
[61] Verònica Gisbert i Gràcia, 'Feminidades y Masculinidades en la Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos de Alcoi', *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 7 (2011-2012), 92-119 (pp. 97 and 114).
[62] Marina Requena Mora, 'La Fiesta como Reproductora de Diferencias Sociales y Como Generadora de Identidad: el Caso de las Fiestas de <<Moros i Cristians>> de la Ciudad de Mera', *Prisma Social*, 19 (2017),

under study, both the local anarchist and republican movements opposed the festival regularly. On the 6th of May 1905, Juan Botella Asensi – director of the local *Fraternidad* newspaper and leader of Alcoy's republicans – informed the Mayor that, the following day, there would be a demonstration to protest 'the immoral organisation of the Moors and Christians festivals'.[63] Similarly, on the 19th of March 1921, the editors of *Redención* argued that such traditions encouraged 'vice and degeneration' among local workers.[64] A month later, on the 23rd of April, the editors referred explicitly to the Moors and Christians festival, defending their continual opposition to the event with the sarcastic remark that 'by not forgetting that Saint George killed the Moors so that the Christians could kill us with hunger, we will be so much better off!'[65]

In contrast to this overtly religious festival – which glorified the Catholic heritage of Spain and Alcoy, respectively – local anarchists utilised the city's public spaces to celebrate the history of the libertarian movement, commemorating international and national anarchist heroes. In November 1902, the Local Council of Workers' Federations invited all workers to attend a public act of remembrance for the Chicago Martyrs – the four anarchists who were executed in the United States on the 11th of November 1887, following a violent protest in May of the previous year – to be held in what was formerly the Cervantes Theatre.[66] In addition, on the 11th of May 1931, a general assembly of local unions wrote to the Mayor, requesting that 'three central streets or squares' be named after the prominent anarchist icons

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114-145 (pp. 120-121). Here, whilst Requena Mora focuses primarily on the city of Mera, she suggests that the Moors and Christians festival in this locality was modelled on that of Alcoy. See Requena Mora, p. 120.

[63] Letter from Juan Botella Asensi to the Mayor of Alcoy, 6 May 1905, 'Varios sobre Vigilancia, Seguridad y Orden Público', 005436, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 3 Seguridad Pública, 5 Informes, AMA and Moreno Sáez, p. 32.

[64] 'Asuntos Locales', *Redención*, 19 March 1921, p. 4.

[65] 'Asuntos Locales', *Redención*, 23 April 1921, p. 4.

[66] Melissa Dabakis, 'Martyrs and Monuments of Chicago: the Haymarket Affair', *Prospects*, 19 (1994), 99-133 (pp. 105-106) and letter from Andrés Terol Llacer to the Mayor of Alcoy, 14 November 1902, 'Convocatoria Junta Obreros y Homenajes a los Mártires de Chicago', 005555/002, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 5 Manifestaciones, Mítines, 1 Correspondencia e Instancias, AMA.

Francisco Ferrer, Salvador Seguí and Santiago García.[67] The local authorities clearly acceded to at least part of this request because, on the 15th of June 1932, the Local Federation noted that its headquarters were now based on Salvador Seguí Street (previously San Vicente Street).[68] Moreover, on the 8th of December 1937, the Committee of Alcoy's Anarchist Grouping wrote to the President of the Municipal Council to propose the creation of an avenue named in honour of the revered anarchist Buenaventura Durruti and, on the 30th of that month, the Municipal Council agreed.[69] With these commemorations, local anarchists reclaimed the city's public spaces, and infused the built environment with alternative meanings, which reflected the specific history and goals of local working-class activists.

In this respect, anarchists' re-appropriation of public spaces challenged the prevailing historical narrative of the city's past. For example, in the eyes of local elites, in 1873, the city had been the site of a tragedy: the Petroleum Revolution. As a result, they remembered those who had perished during this conflict in sombre religious ceremonies. On the 15th of July

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[67] Letter from a general assembly of local unions to the Mayor of Alcoy, 11 May 1931, 'Correspondencia de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA. Chapter Three discusses both libertarian commemorations and anarchists' opposition to state- and Church- sanctioned festivals in more detail.

[68] Letter from the Local Federation to 'all the committees and administrative boards', 15 June 1932, 'Correspondencia de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA.

[69] Nathaniel Andrews, 'Repression, Solidarity , and a Legacy of Violence: Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalism and the Years of "Pistolerismo", 1919-23', *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 32.3 (2019), 173-193 (p. 186), letter from the Committee of the Anarchist Grouping of Alcoy to the Presidente of the Municipal Council, 8 December 1937, 'Expediente Cambio Denominación Calle Laporta-Anselmo Lorenzo por Buenaventura Durruti', 003226/019, Fondo Histórico, 1 Gobierno, 2 Actas de Gobierno, 4 Comisiones y Juntas Especiales e Informativas, AMA and letter from Antonio Terol (Chief of Negotiations) to the Local Federation of Unions, 30 December 1937, 'Instruido con Motivo del Cambio de Nombre de la Calle de Anselmo Aracil al de Gran Vía de Buenaventura Durruti', 'Expediente Cambio Denominación Calle Laporta-Anselmo Lorenzo por Buenaventura Durruti', 003226/019, Fondo Histórico, 1 Gobierno, 2 Actas de Gobierno, 4 Comisiones y Juntas Especiales e Informativas, AMA. As Graham Kelsey indicates, Buenaventura Durruti – 'more than any other man or woman' – has become emblematic of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism. Born in León in 1896, he was a prominent member of various anarchist action groups in the years immediately preceding the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (including Los Justicieros and Los Solidarios). He participated in some of 'the most dramatic events of the [Spanish] civil war and social revolution' – including the creation of agrarian collectives in Aragon in the summer and autumn of 1936 – before his death in November 1936, during the defence of Madrid. See Graham Kelsey, 'El Mito de Buenaventura Durruti. El Papel de Durruti en la Guerra de Liberación y la Revolución en Aragón (Julio-Agosto 1936)', in *El Lenguaje de los Hechos: Ocho Ensayos en Torno a Buenaventura Durruti*, ed. by Antonio Morales Toro y Javier Ortega Pérez (Madrid: Fundación Salvador Seguí, 1996), pp. 69-98 (pp. 69-71) and Luis Antonio Palacio Pilacés and Kike García Francés, *La Bala y la Palabra: Francisco Ascaso (1901-1936): La Vida Accidental de un Anarquista* (Madrid: LaMalatesta Editorial, 2017), pp. 62, 64-65, 70-71 and 442).

1897, the Church of Santa María – located in Spain Square, where the protestors had gathered on the 10th of June 1873 – held a special service to pay homage to the 'victims of the tragic events…'[70] Conversely, local anarchists regarded Spain Square as the site of an inspiring proletarian uprising against an oppressive local ruling class, with the revolutionaries 'transformed into heroic martyrs'.[71] On the 28th of February 1914, the Anarchists and Internationalists of Alcoy distributed a poster fiercely critical of a recently-published political pamphlet titled *Vindication of Albors*, in which Juan Botella Asensi had depicted the Internationalists of 1873 as violent and manipulative, 'taking advantage of the good faith of many workers'.[72] On the 14th of April 1914, another local anarchist group, the Invincibles, distributed their own rebuttal of Botella Asensi's pamphlet, printing the testimony of Manuel Botella (Botella Asensi's father), a member of the First International who had witnessed the events of 1873 at first-hand.[73] According to Manuel Botella, the Mayor had circulated defamatory information about the striking workers, who later gathered peacefully in Spain Square (then San Agustín Square) to protest.[74]

The persistence with which local anarchists rejected Botella Asensi's narrative not only illustrates the importance that they attributed to the events, but also the unique psychological (and emotional) relationship that local anarchists had with the city's main square. Unlike the local elites, anarchists associated Spain Square and the surrounding buildings with the heroic resistance of their predecessors (well into the twentieth century, many local activists, like Manuel Botella, would have been able to remember the events for

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[70] 'Crónica Local', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 16 July 1897, p. 2 and Moreno Sáez, p. 29. Members of the city's Municipal Corporation were among the attendees, adding an air of prestige to the proceedings. See 'Crónica Local', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 16 July 1897, p. 2.
[71] Lida, p. 56.
[72] Flyer titled 'Al Pueblo Productor Alcoyano – Vindicatoria Obrera-Anarquista', 28 February 1914, 1 Cantonalismo 1873: Proclamas Alcoy y Valencia, Alcoy (Spain) Collection, 2, IISG and Juan Botella Asensi, *Vindicatoria de Albors* (Alcoy: Imprenta <<Fraternidad>>, no date), pp. 39-40.
[73] Flyer titled 'El 73 de Alcoy – Aclarando', 11 April 1914, 1 Cantonalismo 1873: Proclamas Alcoy y Valencia, Alcoy (Spain) Collection, 2, IISG.
[74] Ibid.

themselves). At least in the minds of some local anarchists, passing through Spain Square would have conjured distinctive images of liberation and class struggle. The site constituted an 'urban palimpsest': a text on which the local anarchist movement traced its own history; over the words of the dominant historical and cultural narratives.[75] Discussing the concept of heterotopia in 'Of Other Spaces', Foucault claims that one of the primary characteristics of heterotopic sites is their ability to 'juxtapose, in a single real place, different spaces and locations that are incompatible with each other.'[76] The public spaces mentioned above – with their distinctive connotations and competing narratives – embody the same sense of incongruity to which Foucault referred: both local elites and local anarchists laid claim to their cultural and historical significance.

Nevertheless, whilst it is important to examine the ways in which anarchists reclaimed public spaces – discursively and physically – it is also necessary to consider the private places that anarchists constructed within the urban landscape and, by extension, the impact that these had on the spatial order of the city. To this end, Figure 1 shows the key anarchist meeting-places in Alcoy between the 1870s and early 1930s.[77] Marking Alcoy's anarchist

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[75] In his 1995 study of the Los Angeles neighbourhood of El Pueblo, Edward Soja refers to it as an 'urban palimpsest…prepared from its origins to be written upon and erased over and over again in the evolution of public consciousness and civic imagination'. El Pueblo had been the centre of Los Angeles when it was part of Mexico, but in later years it had become an exhibition-space reminiscent of a theme park. See Edward W. Soja, 'Heterotopologies: A Remembrance of Other Spaces in the Citadel-LA', in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, ed. by Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), pp. 13-34 (pp. 27-28).

[76] Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', p. 334. Kevin Hetherington even argues that 'a strong surrealist theme' runs through the concept of heterotopia. See Kevin Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 43.

[77] Figure 1 is inspired by Tom Goyens' map of German anarchists' meeting-places in New York, between 1880 and 1914. See Goyens, p. 444. In Figure 1, the outline of Alcoy's streets and main buildings closely resembles a plan of the city from 1925, included in Remigio Vicedo Sanfelipe, *Guía de Alcoy* (Alcoy: Imp. <<El Serpis>>, 1925) [map at the end of the book]. These meeting-places were discovered by referring to the following sources: Moreno Sáez, p. 37, *Redención*, 26 February 1921, p. 1, *Redención*, 13 July 1922, p. 1, letter from the Federación Local to 'todos los comités y juntas administrativas', letter from Rafael Soler (Secretary of the Local Federation of Branch and Industry Unions) to the Committee of the Textile Industry Union, 11 June 1931, 'Correspondencia Sindicato de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA, letter from the Mayor of Alcoy to Francisco Terol Segura, letter from Andrés Terol Llacer to the Mayor of Alcoy, *Redención*, 26 September 1923, p. 1, *Generación Consciente*, 1 October 1923, p. 65, letter from Antonio Terol (Chief of Negotiations) to the Local Federation of Unions, 'Nuevo Grupo', *Redención*, 26 May 1922, p. 3, *Humanidad*, 7 January 1906, p. 1, 'Por la Educación Racional', *Redención*, 20 July 1922, p. 4, *Redención*, 5 April 1930, p. 1, 'Nuevo Grupo', *Redención*,

locales on a map highlights the multi-layered nature of space in the city, illustrating the dense network of libertarian places that emerged within the built environment. In this sense, it renders the largely 'invisible' city of anarchist activists 'visible'.[78]

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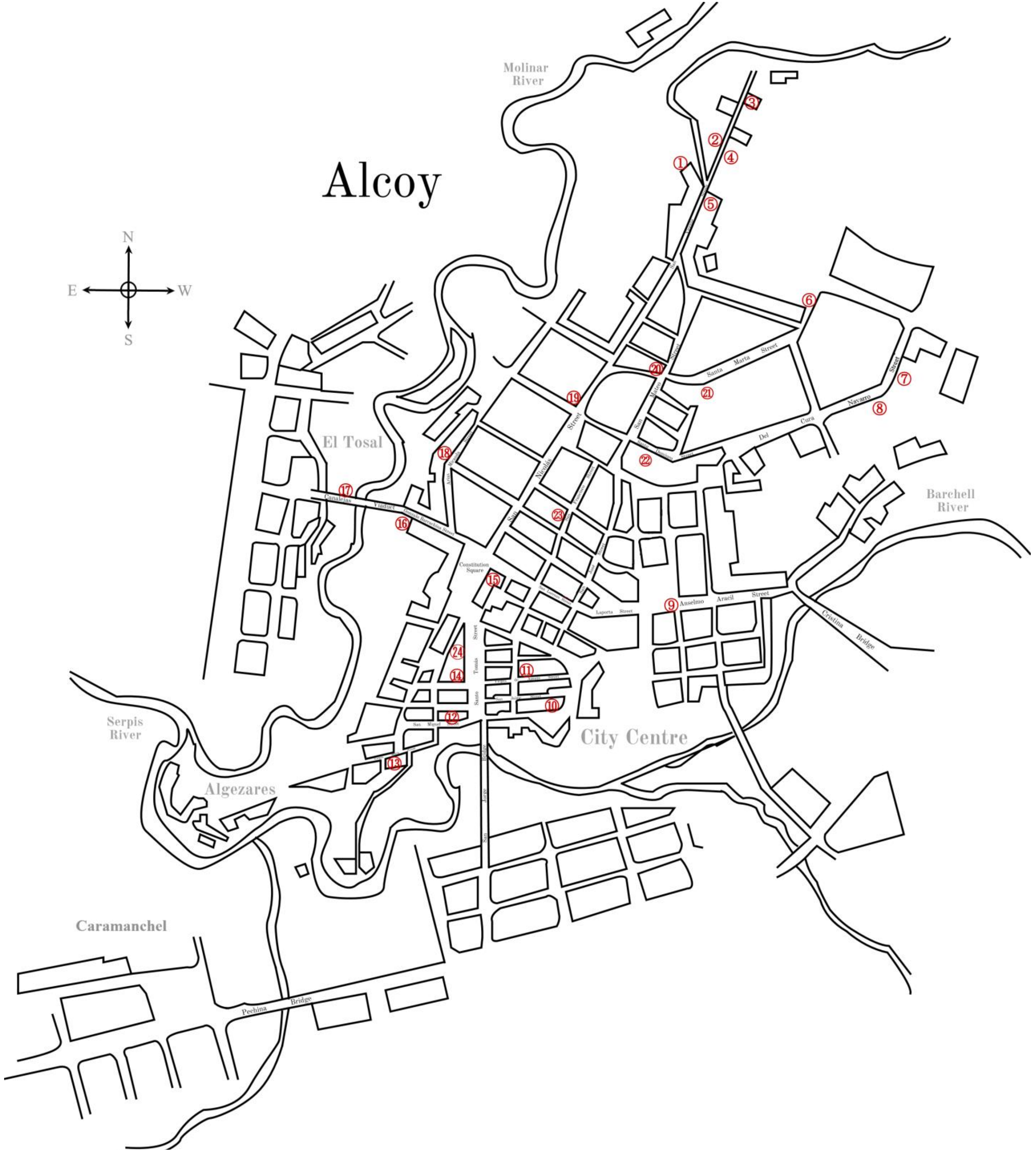
17 August 1922, p. 3, letter from the Secretary of the Libertarian and Syndicalist Youth to the 'Committee, Textile Art', 27 August 1931, 'Correspondencia Sindicato de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA, 'Función Pro-Presos', *Redención*, 24 March 1922, p. 3, Francisco García Aznar, 'Los Bomberos Alcoyanos, Siglos XIX y XX', *Alcoy: Revista de la Fiesta Moros y Cristianos* (1996), 117-119 (p. 119), letter from Rafael Soler to the Mayor of Alcoy, 12 March 1913, 'Publicación del Periódico Quinzenal "Acción Solidaria": 1913', 003227/044, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 5 Manifestaciones, Mítines, 1 Correspondencia e Instancias, AMA, 'Centro de Estudios Sociales de Alcoy', *Redención*, 16 August 1930, p. 1, *Generación Consciente*, 1 October 1924, p. 129, letter from the Naturist Cultural Society to the Committee of the Textile and Manufacturing Industry, 8 December 1932, 'Correspondencia de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA, letter from the Textile Federation (the name of the author is illegible) to the Mayor of Alcoy, 17 July 1919, 'Huelga de Cerilleras', 005558/028, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 4 Conflictos Laborales, 1 Huelgas, Despidos o Sanciones, AMA, *Redención*, 17 May 1930, p. 1, letter from Enrique Tort Nebot to the Mayor of Alcoy, 24 February 1913, 'Publicación Semanario "El Combate": 1913', *003227/023,* Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 5 Manifestaciones, Mítines, 1 Correspondencia e Instancias, AMA and 'Documentos', in *El Anarquismo en Alicante*, ed. by Francisco Morenz Sáez (Alicante: Instituto de Estudios "Juan Gil-Albert", 1986), pp. 123-163 (p. 133).

[78] As noted above, in his 2010 study of anarchism in the Catalan capital, Ealham refers to a 'rival, "other" city', which Barcelona's ruling classes 'violently opposed'. According to Ealham, this 'other' city was 'a direct creation of the capitalist city'. However, though he uses the phrase 'mapping the working-class city', he does not actually include a map in his study. See Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 23.

Figure 1



① Headquarters of the First International in Alcoy
② Headquarters of *Redención* from February 1921 until July 1922
③ Renamed 'Salvador Seguí Street' from 1932
④ Headquarters of the Local Federation of Branch and Industrial Unions
⑤ Locale of the Textile Industry Union
⑥ Cervantes Theatre
⑦ Headquarters of *Redención* from September 1923
⑧ Headquarters of *Generación Consciente* from October 1923
⑨ Renamed 'Buenaventura Durruti Way' from December 1937
⑩ Headquarters of the Iconoclasts group from May 1922
⑪ Headquarters of *Humanidad* from January 1906
⑫ Syndicalist Athenaeum from July 1922 (or earlier)
⑭ Headquarters of *Redención* from April 1930 (or earlier)
⑮ Calderón Theatre
⑯ Circo Theatre
⑰ Headquarters of *Acción Solidaria* from March 1913
⑱ Centre for Social Studies from August 1930
⑲ Headquarters of *Generación Consciente* from October 1924
⑳ Locale of the Naturist Cultural Society from December 1932 (or earlier)
㉑ Locale of the Textile Federation from July 1919 (or earlier)
㉒ Headquarters of *Redención* from May 1930
㉓ Headquarters of *Combate Social* from 1913
㉔ Headquarters of *El Comunista Libertario* from November 1920 (or earlier)

Notably, the map reveals that, throughout the period under study, the majority of Alcoy's anarchist and syndicalist locales were situated in the heart of the bourgeois central district, and not in the poorer neighbourhoods on the periphery of the city. Though anarchist locales remained, ideologically speaking, on the margins of society, geographically they were mostly located in the centre. Of course, the city centre did not constitute an exclusively 'bourgeois' district: many working-class *alcoyanos* lived there, too. For example, in 1905, the organiser of an anarchist meeting in a local nursery school noted that he lived on San Nicolás Street whilst, in 1902, Andrés Terol Llacer, a farmhand and organiser of a gathering to commemorate the deaths of the Chicago Martyrs, lived on Cueva Santa Street, close to Glorieta park.[79] Moreover, Francisco Pastor García, a CNT member, lived on San Mateo Street in the early 1930s.[80] Nevertheless, it is significant that the majority of Alcoy's

[79] Letter to the Mayor of Alcoy (the name of the author is illegible), 7 April 1905, 'Convocatoria de Mítin Libertario, 1905', 005555/041, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 5 Manifestaciones, Mítines, 1 Correspondencia e Instancias, AMA and letter from Andrés Terol Llacer to the Mayor of Alcoy.
[80] Letter from Francisco Pastor García to the Mechanical Weavers' Section, no date, 'Correspondencia Sindicato de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 1931-1933, 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA.

anarchist places occupied the same neighbourhood as bourgeois institutions such as the Industrial Circle, located on San Nicolás Street.[81] Alcoy's libertarian places often existed alongside (and even overlapped with) the bourgeois city: in their daily lives, anarchists met and organised within exactly the same built environment as their opponents.

Crucially, Figure 1 does not reveal merely the places – or 'physical' spaces – of Alcoy's anarchist movement. As Lefebvre maintains, ideology and space are deeply interwoven, and the former depends upon the latter for its survival.[82] For instance, Lefebvre suggests that Christianity would not survive without churches, as religion needs to take physical form in order to sustain itself.[83] In other words, ideology cannot survive in discourse alone, but must 'interfere' in 'social space'.[84] With this in mind, spatialising anarchist culture provides an indication of the strength of anarchist ideology in the city during the period under study. If, in the summer of 1922, one walked along Vírgen María Street, continued onto San Miguel Street, and crossed San Jorge Square onto San Jaime Street, one would have passed no fewer than three libertarian meeting-places within a matter of minutes: the headquarters of the Art and Culture group; the Syndicalist Athenaeum; and the locale of the Iconoclasts group.[85] The concentration of such a large quantity of anarchist locales within this small geographical area would have signified to passers-by that anarchism constituted a well-established force in the locality. In this way, maintaining a visible presence in the city centre provided another means of contesting the symbolic dominance of the local bourgeoisie over the city's public spaces.

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[81] Gabino Ponce Herrero, Juan Manuel Dávila Linares and Enrique Moltó Mantero, pp. 42 and 70.
[82] Lefebvre, p. 44.
[83] Ibid., p. 44.
[84] Ibid., p. 44.
[85] In August 1922, *Redención* noted that a new group, Art and Culture, had been formed and was based at 18 Virgen María Street. Similarly, in July 1921, *Redención* noted that copies of the Iconoclasts' newspaper could be collected from the Syndicalist Athenaeum at 37 San Miguel Street. *Redención* reported the founding of the Iconoclastas in May of that year, and stated that its address was 53 San Jaime Street. See 'Nuevo Grupo', *Redención*, 17 August 1922, p. 3, 'Por la Educación Racional', *Redención*, 20 July 1922, p. 4 and 'Nuevo Grupo', *Redención*, 26 May 1922, p. 3.

As noted above, on those occasions when activists held meetings outside their own locales, the setting hindered their ability to express themselves freely. On the 3rd of August 1930, the Catholic Workers' Circle granted the Textile Industry Union permission to hold a meeting in its locale, but it was careful to point out that any discussion of politics remained strictly prohibited.[86] Similarly, when the local Regeneration society held a demonstration on the 2nd of October 1910, the authorities forbade the society's speakers from addressing attendees in public, and placed strict limits on demonstrators' freedom of expression.[87] Accordingly, anarchist 'mental' spaces depended on the existence of 'physical' anarchist spaces, where activists could express themselves with impunity. Again, Foucault's concept provides a useful means of conceptualising how anarchist locales functioned in practice: they were sites on which utopian ideals and the real world met; where utopia could be discussed within a (relatively) unrestricted environment.

Though he is wary of viewing heterotopias as 'sites of resistance', Kevin Hetherington refers to them as 'spaces of alternate ordering'.[88] He suggests that they 'organize a bit of the social world in a way different to that which surrounds them', and that this is the source of their otherness.[89] In a similar way, libertarian places in Alcoy formed sites on which activists overturned the customary limits on discourse and, by implication, the social order. Despite this, Saul Newman stresses that anarchism 'is more than simply the anarchic disruption of space…[it] suggests an alternative construction of space'.[90] With that in mind, the creation of anarchist locales in the heart of Alcoy's bourgeois city centre did not just disrupt the spatial order of the district. By constructing anarchist places – and imbibing

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[86] Letter from the Catholic Workers' Circle to the Textile Industry Union, 3 August 1930, 'Correspondencia de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA.
[87] Letter from the Civil Governor of Alicante to Eugenio Gosálvez and Eugenio Alós.
[88] Hetherington, pp. viii and 9.
[89] Ibid., p. viii.
[90] Newman, 'Postanarchism and Space', p. 345.

public space with distinctively libertarian historical and cultural meanings – activists prefigured an 'anarchist' city, which existed alongside (and in opposition to) the 'bourgeois' city.

Significantly, anarchist places often served several purposes at once. *Generación Consciente* was a cultural magazine with extensive links to the anarchist movement, based in Alcoy from June 1923 until July 1925, when it relocated to Valencia.[91] When it published its first edition in June 1923, its offices were located on Nueva Street.[92] At that time, *Redención*'s offices (including its library and bookshop) were housed in the same building, where they had been since July 1922.[93] The E. Insa publishing house – which printed both *Redención* and *Generación Consciente* – occupied the same address.[94] On occasion, activists shared both their offices and facilities with comrades from sister organisations. On the 8th of September 1931, the committee of the local Libertarian Youth informed their counterparts at the Textile Industry Union that they could collect the keys to the Libertarian Youth's premises at a time of their choosing.[95] Prior to this letter, the Textile and Manufacturing Industry Union had requested that they be allowed to temporarily relocate their committee's offices to the Libertarian Youth's building, whilst repairs were carried out in the Union's locale.[96] There is even evidence to suggest that, at times, activists regarded the sharing of space and facilities as an imposition.[97] On the 8th of December 1932, the Naturist Cultural

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[91] From July 1925, *Generación Consciente* began to publish in Valencia. See *Generación Consciente*, July 1925, p. 97.
[92] *Generación Consciente*, June 1923, p. 1.
[93] *Redención*, 13 July 1922, p. 1, *Redención* 21 June 1923, p. 1, and 'Biblioteca Redención', *Redención*, 21 June 1923, p. 4.
[94] *Redención*, 21 June 1923, p. 1 and *Generación Consciente*, June 1923, p. 16.
[95] Letter from the Libertarian Youth Committee (Alcoy) to the Textile Industry Committee, 8 September 1931, 'Correspondencia de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA.
[96] Letter from the Textile and Manufacturing Industry Union to the Committee of the Libertarian Youth, no date, 'Correspondencia de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA.
[97] On the 1st of September 1912, *Liberación* – an anarchist newspaper based in the nearby town of Elche – informed its readers that Alcoy's Society of Mechanical Spinners had decided to relocate from the local workers' centre, since it no longer wished to occupy the same building as 'the political institutions that exist in said centre'. See 'Asuntos Varios', *Liberación*, 1 September 1912, p. 4.

Society wrote to the committee of the Textile and Manufacturing Industry Union, to ask if they could use the Union's copy machine to produce posters.[98] However, on the 28th of August 1933, the Union noted – in a letter to the committee of the Libertarian Youth – that it could not lend the copier to anyone unless it proved absolutely necessary.[99]

Whilst the Union's implicit exasperation suggests that it was accustomed to having to share its office equipment with other organisations – and that the regularity with which comrades required it to do so had become an inconvenience – such incidents reveal the communal nature of Alcoy's anarchist places and spaces. Activists from different organisations cooperated with each other regularly and, at times, they occupied the same offices. In this sense, different anarchist spaces often converged on the same site. In this case, the Libertarian Youth, the Union, and the naturists each created their own heterotopias, which were multi-layered; often intersecting with each other.

Anarchism, Gender and Space:
Disrupting the 'Separate Spheres' Model

Since the 1980s, scholars have emphasised repeatedly 'the close interrelation of gender, space, and identity'.[100] As geographer Doreen Massey notes, 'spaces and places are not only themselves gendered but, in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood'.[101] Crucially, feminist theorists have stressed

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[98] Letter from the Naturist Cultural Society to the Committee of the Textile and Manufacturing Industry.
[99] Letter from the Textile and Manufacturing Union to the Committee of the Libertarian Youth, 28 August 1933, 'Correspondencia de la Industria Textil y Fabril: 1930-1935', 005202, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 3 Políticas y Sindicales, 3 Sindicales, AMA.
[100] Amanda J. Flather, 'Space, Place, and Gender: the Sexual and Spatial Division of Labor in the Early Modern Household', *History and Theory*, 52 (2013), 344-360 (p. 345).
[101] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 179. Notably, feminist scholars have shown how both contemporary architecture and land-use 'reflect the patriarchal assumptions of an earlier era'. For example, in a 1984 study, Jos Boys drew attention to women's relative lack of mobility in urban environments where considerable distances separate workplaces from residential areas, given that, at the time of writing, women were not only far less likely to have access to private transport, but also carried out a greater proportion of 'caring' tasks in the home. See Linda McDowell, 'Space, Place and Gender Relations: Part I. Feminist Empiricism and the Geography of Social Relations', *Progress in Human*

consistently the existence of 'separate spheres' for men and women, with the latter confined historically to private settings, and excluded from 'public roles, power and citizenship'.[102] This 'separate spheres' model provides a useful means of conceptualising the relationship between gender and space in Alcoy. Throughout the period under study, traditional understandings of gender roles dictated the behaviour and responsibilities of local men and women, in both public and private spaces. For example, on the 29th of May 1896, the *Heraldo de Alcoy* printed an article titled 'The Ten Commandments of the Married Woman', prescribing the duties of the ideal housewife.[103] The paper urged women to 'not annoy' their husbands by asking them for money, and it stressed the need to provide male partners with a 'good meal', especially as a means of pacifying them if they acted in an unpleasant manner.[104] Here, the editors evoked a spatial order which restricted women to the domestic spaces of the home and, by implication, excluded them from labour spaces (such as factories, workshops and offices). Equally, on the 14th of November 1916, the *Diario de Alcoy* reiterated women's supposed predisposition to domestic duties (and the domestic 'sphere'), claiming that 'nature itself teaches us…that [women are better suited to studies and tasks] in

Geography, 17.2 (1993), 157-179 (p. 167) and Jos Boys, 'Women and Public Space', in *Making Space: Women and the Man-Made Environment* ed. by Matrix: Frances Bradshaw, Jos Boys, Jane Darke, Benedicte Foo, Sue Francis, Barbara McFarlane and Marion Roberts (London and Sydney: Pluto Press, 1984), pp. 37-54 (p. 40-41).

[102] Lawrence Klein, 'Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century: Some Questions about Evidence and Analytic Perspective', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 29.1 (1995), 97-109 (p. 97). Of course, a strict adherence to this 'separate spheres' model poses difficulties: for example, writing in 1993, Linda McDowell indicated that, to that point, 'there was a predominant emphasis on the "private" areas of women's lives', with scholars often 'taking the distinction for granted'. In like manner, Lawrence Klein argues that such 'binary opposition[s]' fail to 'adequately explain the complexities of discourse, let alone those of human experience in practice'. However, whilst acknowledging these weaknesses, the dichotomy between 'private' and 'public' spheres provides a useful theoretical framework with which to conceptualise the broad differences between men and women's everyday experiences of space in Alcoy. As Lynn A. Staeheli and Patricia M. Martin point out, one can 'enrich' the public-private model by not oversimplifying the separation; acknowledging 'that publicity and privacy are multi-faceted', and that 'it is possible to conceptualise public actions in private spaces and private acts in public spaces'. See McDowell, p. 170, Klein, p. 98 and Lynn A. Staeheli and Patricia M. Martin, 'Spaces for Feminism in Geography', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 571 (2000), 133-150 (pp. 144-145).

[103] 'Los Diez Mandamientos de la Mujer Casada', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 29 May 1896, p. 3.

[104] Ibid., p. 3.

which intelligence plays a lesser role than the heart [,] and which require more sensitivity and delicateness'.[105]

At the same time, conservative discourse advocated explicitly the exclusion of women from public spaces. For example, the *Heraldo de Alcoy* often lamented the prevalence of prostitution in the city but, rather than expressing concern for the welfare of the women involved, it usually directed its outrage at female sex workers' occupation of public space. On the 30th of April 1897, the editors reported that the Mayor had ordered law enforcement agents to eject from the locality 'a certain woman of repugnant appearance and values, who walks these streets committing acts at odds with public morality and decorum'.[106] In like manner, on the 18th of June, the paper complained that women 'continue to exhibit themselves publicly, at all hours of the day and night, scandalising honourable people'.[107] The editors went on to declare that 'we will not cease until we see [these women] shut away and isolated in their brothels, so that they do not taint honourable families with their contact…'[108] Again, on the 26th of November, the editors noted that the authorities had arrested six women 'for having exhibited themselves in public, before eleven o'clock at night, causing grave offence to honourable persons…'[109] Such pronouncements resemble the local authorities' aforementioned efforts to prevent the contamination of public space by confining subversive political discourse and practices to private locales. In this case, Alcoy's conservative press encouraged the confinement of female sex workers – and, by extension, the exhibition of female sexuality – to private settings, even condoning the violent removal of women from the public sphere if they transgressed established modes of sexual decorum.[110]

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[105] 'Feminismo', *Diario de Alcoy*, 14 November 1916, p. 1.
[106] 'Crónica Local', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 30 April 1897, p. 2.
[107] 'Crónica Local', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 18 June 1897, p. 2.
[108] Ibid., p. 2.
[109] 'Sucesos', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 26 November 1897, p. 1. On this occasion, the editors did express some sympathy for the women, expressing their desire that 'these poor creatures' be removed from 'centres of corruption'. See ibid., p. 1.
[110] Feminist scholars have repeatedly drawn attention to the exclusionary aspects of gendered space. For example, Gillian Rose shows how feminist geographers have often used 'the realm of production, the private,

As well as enforcing a strict domestic code for women, conservative discourse rigorously policed the behaviour of local men in public spaces, too. In late-nineteenth century Spain, political commentators not only expressed their concern at the perceived 'national decline' and 'moral decadence' of the Spanish Empire, but also at the supposed deterioration of established gender norms in Spanish society.[111] In particular, journalists preoccupied themselves with 'the porous frontier between men and women', and the concomitant 'erosion of models of masculinity'.[112] Accordingly, on the 26th of February 1898, the editors of the *Heraldo de Alcoy* reproduced a note from *La Correspondencia de Alicante*, which complained of the gradual 'feminisation' of Alcoy's male population.[113] In a strikingly vitriolic tone, the author lamented the fact that local men often dressed as women during the annual carnival, a phenomenon which 'has never seemed to us so repugnant, so disgusting.'[114] The note chastised men and women who indulged in cross-dressing, for acting 'as if they were not in accordance with their respective sex.'[115] In other words, the author designated public spaces as sites for the performance of traditional gender roles, including conformity to accepted norms of masculine behaviour and attire.

In a similar way, following his rise to power in September 1923, the military dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera portrayed the new regime 'as a "movement of men"', often conflating masculinity with patriotism.[116] During this period, Alcoy's brothels displayed

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the bodily and the emotional' in order to highlight 'the exclusions of [women] from masculinist space'. Similarly, Massey not only refers to the 'gendered messages' that spaces and places 'transmit', but also 'straightforward exclusion by violence'. See Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: the Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge and Maiden: Polity Press, 1993), pp. 143-144 and Massey, p. 179.

[111] Richard Cleminson, Pura Fernández and Francisco Vázquez García, 'The Social Significance of Homosexual Scandals in Spain in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 23.3 (2014), 358-382 (pp. 362-363 and 381).

[112] Ibid., p. 381.

[113] 'Alcoy-Rápida', *Heraldo de Alcoy*, 26 February 1898, p. 1.

[114] Ibid., p. 1.

[115] Ibid., p. 1.

[116] Nerea Aresti, 'A Fight for Real Men: Gender and Nation-Building during the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship (1923-1930)', *European History Quarterly*, 50.2 (2020), 248-165 (pp. 248 and 250). For example, Aresti suggests that the emergence of the Somatén militias 'created forums for the display of patriotic military masculinity'. See ibid., p. 248.

posters from the Municipal Health Inspectorate, reminding male visitors to take precautions so as not to contract sexually transmitted infections.[117] Notably, the Inspectorate employed markedly gendered language, urging those suffering from 'venereal sickness' to 'not cower like a child, but to fight it like a man'.[118] Echoing the nationalist rhetoric of the government, it encouraged the clientele to help to maintain public health, as 'our Nation needs healthy and strong men'.[119] Here, the local authorities not only replicated the regime's promotion of traditional models of manhood, but also reiterated that brothels constituted 'masculine' sites, dedicated exclusively to the gratification of men. In this sense, local elites divided the city's spaces along gendered lines, delineating 'masculine' and 'feminine' spaces, respectively.

Of course, whilst local conservative discourse stressed the separation between 'public' and 'domestic' spheres, working-class women often found employment in the city's factories and mills.[120] For example, between the 23rd and the 30th of November 1914, nearly 6,000 local textile workers went on strike, including 4,700 men and 1,148 women.[121] By the late 1920s, women formed an even larger proportion of the local textile workforce. Between the 4th and the 18th of April 1928, a general strike – encompassing the entirety of the local textile industry – involved some 15,000 workers, a third of whom were women.[122]

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[117] Poster from the Municipal Health Inspectorate, titled 'Profilaxis Antivenérea', no date, 'Profilaxis Antivenérea (Hoja Impresa): Década de 1920 (?)', 009657/004, Fondo Histórico, 8 Sanidad, 3 Documentación Referida a Epidemias y Contagios, 5 Medidas Preventivas, AMA. Whilst there is no date on the poster, the AMA's catalogue estimates that it was produced in the 1920s (as indicated above), and given the rhetoric explicitly conflating masculinity and patriotism, it is reasonable to assume that it was distributed during the Primo de Rivera years.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] In this respect, Alcoy's industrial workforce resembled that of Catalonia. As Carles Enrech notes, from its inception, the Catalan textile industry incorporated a large number of female workers. See Carles Enrech, 'Género y Sindicalismo en la Industria Textil (1836-1923)', in *Género y Políticas del Trabajo en la España Contemporánea, 1836-1936*, ed. by Cristina Borderías (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2007), pp. 127-162 Enrech, p. 128.
[121] 'Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Sección 3a – Estadística, Estadística de las Huelgas, Huelga de la fábrica de los Sres. Sanz y Carbonell y General del Ramo Textil', 10 Estadísticas de las Huelgas (Instituto de Reformas Sociales) y Interrogatorios Estadísticos de Huelgas (Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión). 1906-1930. 2 Telegramas, 1 Carpeta, Alcoy (Spain) Collection, 2, IISG.
[122] 'Dirección General del Trabajo, Sección de Reglamentación del Trabajo, Interrogatorio Estadístico de Huelgas, Año de 1928, Marzo y Abril', 10 Estadísticas de las Huelgas (Instituto de Reformas Sociales) y Interrogatorios Estadísticos de Huelgas (Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión). 1906-1930. 2 Telegramas, 1 Carpeta, Alcoy (Spain) Collection, 2, IISG.

Nevertheless, though local industrialists contracted female workers, employment practices still mirrored the essentialist view of gender espoused in Alcoy's conservative press. Discussing the Catalan textile industry, Carles Enrech refers to the distinction between 'masculine' and 'feminine' occupations and, in Alcoy, this distinction proved equally pervasive, well into the twentieth century.[123] In July 1907, the Local Board of Social Reforms circulated a questionnaire to all the factories in Alcoy, requesting information from employers regarding the wages and working-hours of their employees. The responses reveal that men typically engaged in more physical work (such as mechanical repairs and construction), whilst women tended to find employment in factories that produced lighter goods, such as matches or cigarette paper. On the 18th of July, José and Desiderio Boronat – owners of a workshop specialising in construction and metallurgy – indicated that they employed sixty male workers over the age of fourteen, but no women.[124] In contrast, Agustín Gisbert Vidal's match-works had 160 female workers on the books, and just ten male workers.[125] Several years later, on the 25th of October 1914, the local authorities compiled further statistics, which revealed that three paper factories had contracted 1,412 female workers, and only 266 men; whereas four local metallurgical plants employed some 432 male workers, but no women.[126] In spatial terms, match-works and cigarette-paper workshops constituted 'feminine' spaces, whilst metallurgical plants and construction workshops formed 'masculine' spaces.[127]

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[123] For example, Enrech shows how, in the nineteenth century, contemporaries viewed manual weaving as 'an eminently masculine profession', whilst (at least until the 1850s) they considered spinning to be a 'feminine profession.' See Enrech, p. 128.

[124] Questionnaire completed by José and Desiderio Boronat, 18 July 1907, 'Cuestionario Junta Local de Reformas Sociales: sobre Cantidad, Sexo y Edad Empleados y Jornada Laboral', 005575/005, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 1 Interrogatorios y encuestas, AMA.

[125] Questionnaire completed by Agustín Gisbert Vidal, 18 July 1907, 'Cuestionario Junta Local de Reformas Sociales: sobre Cantidad, Sexo y Edad Empleados y Jornada Laboral', 005575/005, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 1 Interrogatorios y encuestas, AMA.

[126] 'Estadística Obrera en 25 de Octubre de 1914', 'Estadística Obrera de Empleados y Parados por Sectores', 005557/018, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 6 Informes, AMA.

[127] Gender did not just determine the type of occupation that local workers could pursue, but also the remuneration that they received for their labour. On the 8th of October 1884, the local authorities appointed a

Given the gendered division of space in the locality, it is important to ascertain the extent to which local anarchist heterotopias proved accessible to women. Notably, at the start of the period under study, female workers remained largely absent from local libertarian spaces. At its annual congress in 1890, the Federation of Workers of the Spanish Region (FTRE) announced that women could 'exercise the same rights and meet the same responsibilities as men'.[128] In Alcoy, the founding statutes of the Local Workers' Federation – affiliated to the FTRE – stated that the organisation aimed to achieve the 'complete socio-economic emancipation' of all of the city's workers.[129] Despite this, as of the 1st of May 1890, the Local Federation's membership list featured 116 male affiliates, but no women.[130] At its inception, the Local Federation's meeting-places were, in practice, 'masculine' sites, dominated by male workers. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, women had started to play a much more active role in the local labour movement. On the 9th of April

commission to investigate the living and labour conditions of the city's working classes. On the 26th of October, the commission presented its report, in which it noted that the average daily wage for local working men varied between two and three *pesetas*; whereas working women and children (included in the same category) could expect between fifty cents and 1.25 *pesetas*. This disparity in wages continued throughout the period under study. For example, of those workers who participated in a strike at a local matchstick factory between the 10th and the 29th of January 1928, the men collected almost double the amount that the women received for the same work (the women earned four *pesetas* daily, and the men 7.5 *pesetas*). Such a substantial disparity in income ensured that men remained the primary breadwinners in local working-class families. Whilst this situation was not unique to Alcoy, it is necessary to point out that, during the period under study, Spain trailed far behind neighbouring European countries in terms of the legal rights that it afforded female workers. In 1900, the Spanish government introduced a law that prohibited women from working for at least three weeks after giving birth, but this measure did not include any financial entitlements. Even after the government extended this period to four weeks, in 1907, working mothers still received no remuneration for the time they spent at home recovering from childbirth. In contrast, in 1909, Norway introduced legislation that provided subsidies for working mothers, and the Netherlands implemented similar measures in 1913. See 'Contestaciones al Cuestionario sobre Mejoramiento y Bienestar Clase Obrera', 005553/013, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 1 Interrogatorios y Encuestas, AMA, pp. 1 and 4 (no official page numbers), 'Dirección General del Trabajo, Sección de Reglamentación del Trabajo, Interrogatorio Estadístico de Huelgas, Año de 1928, Enero', 10 Estadísticas de las Huelgas (Instituto de Reformas Sociales) y Interrogatorios Estadísticos de Huelgas (Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión). 1906-1930. 2 Telegramas, 1 Carpeta, Alcoy (Spain) Collection, 2, IISG, and Eulàlia Vega, 'Mujeres y Asociaciones Obreras Frente al Seguro Obligatorio de Maternidad durante la Segunda República', in *Género y Políticas del Trabajo en la España Contemporánea, 1836-1936*, ed. by Cristina Borderías (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2007), pp. 253-274 (pp. 253, 255, 257 and 258).

[128] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p. 72.

[129] 'Reglamento de la Federación Local de los Trabajadores de Alcoy', 11 August 1881, 'Federación Local de los Trabajadores de Alcoy: Reglamento y Lista de Socios', 005362/026, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 1 Gremios, 5 Asociaciones Industriales, AMA.

[130] List of members of the Local Workers' Federation of Alcoy, 1 May 1890, 'Federación Local de los Trabajadores de Alcoy: Reglamento y Lista de Socios', 005362/026, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 1 Gremios, 5 Asociaciones Industriales, AMA.

1911, the Mayor of Alcoy wrote to the President of the Institute of Social Reforms, informing him that eleven female workers at a local garment factory had recently declared a strike in response to poor-quality sewing materials, and their employers' refusal to increase their pay.[131] Similarly, in a memorandum sent on the 19th of July 1919, the Mayor informed the Civil Governor that women working in a local match-works had just launched industrial action.[132] According to the factory owner, P. P. de Gisbert y Vitoria, the workers belonged to the Machinists' and Match-stick Workers' Sections of the local Textile Federation, which appears to have been affiliated to the CNT.[133]

Nevertheless, despite successfully making their presence felt in Alcoy's trade unions, women's everyday experiences of labour spaces proved particularly challenging: though female militants associated the factory floor with the struggle of labour against capital, it also became a site where they contested the hostility (and perceived apathy) of their colleagues. For example, reports published in the local anarchist press suggest that, on occasion, working women stigmatised female activists who sought to transform the power dynamic in their workplaces. On the 5th of March 1921, *Redención* noted that four female employees at the Bachillet paper workshop faced regular insults from their co-workers, who referred to union members as 'scroungers'.[134] Moreover, on the 25th of June 1921, the paper reported that, at a local hat factory, a group of female workers subjected their unionised colleagues to abuse,

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[131] Letter from the Mayor of Alcoy to the President of the Institute of Social Reforms, 9 April 1911, 'Huelga Empleadas Telares de Fajas: Fábrica de Desiderio Laporta Vilaplana', 005553/017, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 4 Conflictos Laborales, 1 Huelgas, Despidos o Sanciones, AMA.

[132] Letter from the Mayor of Alcoy to the Civil Governor of Alicante, 19 July 1919, 'Huelga de Cerilleras', 005558/028, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 4 Conflictos Laborales, 1 Huelgas, Despidos o Sanciones, AMA.

[133] Letter from P. P. Gisbert y Vitoria to the Mayor of Alcoy, 18 July 1919, 'Huelga de Cerilleras', 005558/028, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 4 Conflictos Laborales, 1 Huelgas, Despidos o Sanciones, AMA. It is not possible to claim definitively that these women were CNT members, as the aforementioned letter does not provide further details about this Textile Federation. However, at the national congress of the CNT in 1919, the Valencian CNT included a 'S[indicato] Ú[nico] Arte Textil y Fabril' from Alcoy, which had 2,600 members. Similarly, Moreno Sáez affirms that, at this time, anarchists were particularly active in Alcoy's Textile Art Federation, at times even clashing with the organisation's national leadership, which had socialist leanings. See Alfons Cucó Giner, 'Contribución al Estudio del Anarco-Sindicalismo Valenciano', *Saitabi*, 22 (1972), 69-85 (p. 76) and Moreno Sáez, pp. 34-36.

[134] 'Asuntos Locales', *Redención*, 5 March 1921, p. 4.

'for simply propagating the dignification of the downtrodden class'.[135] In turn, anarchist women expressed frustration at what they considered to be a lack of interest in labour mobilisation among the women they worked with. Writing of her female colleagues in the local paper industry in *Redención*, on the 30th of April 1921, an anonymous rubber-worker complained that 'the ignorance of the majority of the workers does not allow them to see beyond their own selfishness.'[136] In a similar piece, printed in *Redención* on the 7th of May, Julia Ferrer lamented that 'the ignorance inculcated by twenty centuries of an absurd religion, has made woman into a dark being [,] averse to the progressive march of the social question'.[137] Accordingly, she urged female paper workers to defend their right to an eight-hour day, and to agitate for higher wages.[138] Such interventions highlight the difficulties that anarchist women encountered in their daily lives, as they negotiated the stigma that their ideological beliefs conveyed upon them, whilst attempting to propagate the core tenets of those same beliefs in the workplace.

At the same time, male union members imposed themselves assiduously on their female comrades in Alcoy's labour spaces, even making their presence felt in matters affecting female workers exclusively. For example, between the 21st and the 27th of March

[135] 'Asuntos Locales', *Redención*, 25 June 1921, p. 4.
[136] Una Engomadora, 'Al Ramo de Papel y a las Mujeres en Particular', *Redención*, 30 April 1921, p. 4.
[137] Julia Ferrer, 'A las Obreras Papeleras', *Redención*, 7 May 1921, p. 4.
[138] Ibid., p 4. The exasperated tone of these articles also reflects a broader tendency within contemporary libertarian discourse to patronise – and infantilise – women. Sharif Gemie illustrates how, in the late-nineteenth century, some anarchists (especially men) tended to view women 'as infants…rather than as equal adults.' Accordingly, on the 26th of February 1921, *Redención* published an article that referred to the 'immaculate infantile face' of women, and described the latter as 'goodness personified'. In another article, printed on the 4th of June 1921, the editors of *Redención* complained that the owners of the local Tramusol factory – which produced felt – were 'abusing…defenceless women' by refusing to pay their female workers overtime, and 'taking advantage of [their] ignorance'. Here, libertarian authors echoed the traditional interpretations of gender roles promoted in Alcoy's conservative newspapers, either elevating women to the status of angelic beings, or denying their agency as adult workers. Notably, writing in *Redención* on the 7th of May 1921, an anonymous restaurant worker reinforced the established division between 'masculine' and 'feminine' occupations, discussed above. Complaining of the working conditions of the city's waiters, he lamented that 'there are others who clean latrines, as if they were [female] domestic workers. And all this, without an inkling of rebellion or self-dignity'. See Sharif Gemie, 'Anarchism and Feminism: a Historical Survey', *Women's History Review*, 5.3 (1996), 417-444 (pp. 424-425), Núñez, 'La Mujer', *Redención*, 26 February 1921, p. 3, 'Asuntos Locales', *Redención*, 4 June 1921, p. 6 and Uno que Ve Alcoy, 'A los Compañeros Camareros', *Redención*, 7 May 1921, pp. 3-4.

1912, a strike occurred among female employees at the local José Soler and Sons factory.[139] All women, seven of these strikers formed a commission to negotiate with the employers.[140] Despite this, three male workers discussed the dispute with the Mayor of Alcoy, in meetings held on the 25th and the 26th of March.[141] Similarly, on the 1st of July 1912, the Mayor held a meeting with Luis Torrijos Burguet (a local employer) and representatives of various trade unions, including the Society of Bleachers and Dyers, to discuss a strike that women working at Torrijos Burguet's warehouse had launched on the 21st of May.[142] Those at the meeting agreed that the women would return to work the following day, but none of these women were present to express their views on the agreement.[143] On the 29th of June, the Society of Bleachers and Dyers had even named a commission of men to represent the women on strike.[144] In such cases, both employers and male activists marginalised female workers, excluding them from negotiating spaces.

Even if these disputes did not necessarily involve CNT militants, they still provide an insight into the pervasiveness of traditional models of masculinity and femininity within the local labour movement and, by extension, into the distinctive ways in which men and women experienced the city's 'physical' and 'mental' trade union spaces.[145] Notably, on the 27th of

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[139] Minutes from a meeting held in the Town Hall on the 25th and 26th of March 1912, 'Huelga de José Soler Hijos – 21 á 27 Marzo 1912', 'Huelga de Operarias de la Fábrica de Hilos de José Soler, hijos: 1912', 005553/006, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 4 Conflictos Laborales, 1 Huelgas, Despidos o Sanciones, AMA.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Agreement between employers and a workers' commission authorised by the Local Board of Social Reforms on 1 July 1912, 'Huelga de Luis Torrijos 1912', 'Huelga Clasificadoras de Trapo: Almacén de Luis Torrijos', 005553/018, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 4 Conflictos Laborales, 1 Huelgas, Despidos o Sanciones, AMA. In Spanish, this organisation was called the 'Sociedad de Borreros y Tintoreros'.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Letter from Clemente Montanes (President of the Society of Bleachers and Dyers) to the Mayor of Alcoy, 29 June 1912, 'Huelga de Luis Torrijos 1912', 'Huelga Clasificadoras de Trapo: Almacén de Luis Torrijos', 005553/018, Fondo Histórico, 14 Industrias, 4 Conflictos Laborales, 1 Huelgas, Despidos o Sanciones, AMA.
[145] It has not been possible to establish definitively which trade union (if any) the women involved in the strike at the José Soler and Sons Factory had affiliated themselves to. Nevertheless, on the 14th of June 1912, the Madrid-based newspaper *El Socialista* – the official organ of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) – reported on this conflict. Similarly, on the 12th of July 1912, *El Socialista* reported on the strike at Torrijos Burguet's factory, and noted the efforts of the aforementioned Society of Bleachers and Dyers to resolve the dispute. The fact that *El Socialista* drew attention to these strikes strongly suggests that the workers involved were members of the General Workers' Union (UGT), affiliated to the PSOE. See 'Reclamaciones y Huelgas', *El Socialista*, 14 June 1912, p. 4, 'Reclamaciones y Huelgas', *El Socialista*, 12 July 1912, p. 4 and Smith, p. 2.

January 1917, local textile worker Ramón Esplugues Albors wrote to the Mayor to inform him that the local Textile Federation – in which anarchists maintained a notable presence – had recently formed a new committee, which contained only male workers.[146] Moreover, at the CNT's national congresses of 1919 and 1931, all of the named delegates from Alcoy's affiliated unions were men. In 1919, Pedro Ortega served as the delegate for the locality's Construction Workers' Society, as well as for the Committee of the Local and County Federation (alongside Jesús Jordá).[147] At the 1931 congress, Cándido Morales was the delegate for Alcoy's Textile and Manufacturing Union, whilst Emilio Mira attended on behalf of the Food Workers' Union, the Society of Paper Workers, and workers from Various Industries, respectively.[148] In this sense, even in libertarian spaces, male trade unionists regularly spoke on behalf of their female counterparts. Though women had succeeded in carving out their own space within the unions, male activists continually contested and challenged this, with men's voices often carrying more weight in union locales and meeting-places.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that women's participation in strike action illustrates the gradual transformation of Alcoy's libertarian spaces. For example, picket lines embodied the incongruity of heterotopias to which Foucault refers.[149] They constituted sites on which workers were both free and unfree: free in the sense that they disrupted the authority of their employers, yet unfree as they remained dependent on those same employers for their survival. Crucially, with the increased involvement of local working women, picket lines became even more incongruous, forming 'masculine' and 'feminine' spaces,

[146] Letter from Ramón Esplugues Albors to the Mayor of Alcoy, 27 January 1917, 'Federación del Arte Textil: Individuos que Componen el Comité Federativo', 005361/050, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 1 Gremios, 5 Asociaciones Industriales, AMA. As noted above, anarchists played an important role within Alcoy's Textile Art Federation. See Moreno Sáez, pp. 34-36.
[147] Cucó Giner, p. 76.
[148] Ibid., p. 80.
[149] Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', p. 334.

simultaneously. In other words, the heterotopic sites of labour activism now functioned as sites of 'alternate ordering': by including female workers, they not only contested the power of capital over labour but, at least partially, the dominance of men over women.[150]

As well as union locales and picket lines, women shaped other libertarian spaces, too. During the period under study, educational and cultural spaces often proved inaccessible to the city's female inhabitants. For example, whilst the statutes of Alcoy's local Athenaeum – which held regular conferences on philosophy, science and the arts – did not explicitly prohibit women from joining, its membership records show that, of the 281 subscribed members in 1914, all were men.[151] In the same way, local conservative discourse repeatedly discouraged women from acquiring an education: in the aforementioned article on the 29th of May 1896, the editors of the *Heraldo de Alcoy* urged married women to 'let [your husband] believe… that he is more intelligent than you'.[152] Moreover, as noted above, on the 14th of November 1916, the *Diario de Alcoy* described women as predisposed towards occupations 'in which intelligence plays a lesser role than the heart'.[153] In contrast, Alcoy's anarchist press prompted women to study. For instance, writing in *Redención* on the 5th of March 1921, Consuelo Gisbert addressed female readers directly, stating that 'your moral education [is] steeped in atavism'.[154] As a result, Gisbert implored women to educate themselves so that, in turn, they could educate their children.[155] In a similar article, printed in *Generación Consciente* on the 1st of October 1923, Rosalina Gutiérrez reiterated this argument. Presenting women as 'the social soul of modern times, the moral and intellectual factor of human progress', she concluded: 'My Sister: study, rebel and redeem yourself'.[156]

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[150] Hetherington, p. viii.
[151] 'Ateneo Alcoyano: Libro de Conferencias', 011474/002, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 2 Culturales, 1 Ateneos, AMA and 'Ateneo Alcoyano – Señores Socios que lo Componen en el Año 1914', 'Ateneo Alcoyano: Libro de Socios', 011474/003, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 2 Culturales, 1 Ateneos, AMA.
[152] 'Los Diez Mandamientos de la Mujer Casada', p. 3.
[153] 'Feminismo', *Diario de Alcoy*, 14 November 1916, p. 1.
[154] Consuelo Gisbert, '¡Escúchame Mujer!', *Redención*, 5 March 1921, p. 1.
[155] Ibid., p. 1.
[156] Rosalina Gutiérrez, 'Mujer Hermana Mía: ¡Escúcha!', *Generación Consciente*, 1 October 1923, p. 72.

These interventions indicate that local anarchists recognised the need to include women (and girls) in educational and cultural spaces. Throughout the period under study, anarchists in Spain drew on the pedagogical theories and methods of the educator Francisco Ferrer who – among other things – advocated the co-education of male and female pupils.[157] In 1901, Ferrer established the first 'Modern School' in Barcelona and, just three years later, thirty-two Modern Schools already existed in the country.[158] The Modern School in nearby Valencia educated boys and girls together and, on the 14th of May 1910, the Valencia-based newspaper *Escuela Moderna* – which propagated the ideals of the Modern School movement – stated explicitly that 'separating children by sex…allows malice to enter their brains…[but] mixed learning unites the sexes and preserves them in the purest innocence'.[159]

With the available evidence, it is not possible to ascertain the exact number of male and female attendees at Alcoy's libertarian schools (discussed in more detail below).[160] However, aside from the attitudes expressed in Alcoy's anarchist press, there are indications that local activists created educational and cultural spaces that children and adults of both sexes could access.[161] From the turn of the twentieth century, naturism had grown steadily in popularity throughout Spain, and a myriad of naturist groups appeared, mainly in Catalonia and Valencia.[162] Activists founded Alcoy's Naturist Cultural Society in 1922 and, though not an exclusively anarchist organisation, many of its members were young workers, and either

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[157] Kirwin R. Shaffer, 'Freedom Teaching: Anarchism and Education in Early Republican Cuba, 1898-1925', *The Americas*, 60.2 (2003), 151-183 (p. 164).
[158] Shaffer, pp. 162 and 164.
[159] Juliano, 'Pensamientos', *Escuela Moderna*, 14 May 1910, p. 1. On the 13th of October 1910, *Escuela Moderna* printed a photograph of pupils at the Valencia Modern School, which depicts boys and girls studying alongside each other. See 'Aula Principal de la <<Escuela Moderna>> de Esta Ciudad', *Escuela Moderna*, 13 October 1910, p. 5.
[160] As Francisco Javier Navarro Navarro points out, Modern Schools tend not to appear in official government records, and the anarchist press contains most of the relevant information available to historians. See Francisco Javier Navarro Navarro, *Ateneos y Grupos Ácratas. Vida y Actividad Cultural de las Asociaciones Anarquistas Valencianas durante la Segunda República y la Guerra Civil* (Valencia: Dirección General del Llibre, Arxius i Biblioteques, 2002), p. 63.
[161] Chapter Two discusses co-education in anarchist schools in more detail, in the Ferrer-inspired institutions of Rosario.
[162] Richard Cleminson, 'Making Sense of the Body: Anarchism, Nudism and Subjective Experience', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81.6 (2004), 697-716 (p. 704).

anarchist militants or sympathisers.[163] Writing in *Redención* on the 2nd of July 1921, a member of Alcoy's Naturist Circle conflated anarchism and naturism directly: in the author's view, both ideologies remained 'synonymous with Love and Life; with Freedom and Fraternity'.[164] Crucially, in an interview in October 1994, Julio Martínez – an anarchist born in 1908, who joined Alcoy's Naturist Cultural Group at the age of eighteen – stated that, at the naturist gatherings he attended, 'there was no distinction between the girls and boys…the boys and girls were all together.'[165] Martínez's testimony suggests that female militants engaged habitually in cultural pursuits alongside their male counterparts, occupying the same libertarian cultural and educational spaces within the locality. Despite this, the scarcity of relevant source material makes it difficult to reveal the full extent of female participation in Alcoy's anarchist cultural spaces, and more evidence is needed to further our understanding of women's experiences of anarchist spaces more generally.[166]

Spaces of Learning and Dissent:
Anarchist Educational Sites as Heterotopias

In 1884, more than eighty per cent of Alcoy's adult working population could not read or write.[167] The aforementioned report on the condition of the city's working classes, commissioned in October 1884, indicates that, at that time, the local authorities ran two night-schools for adults, and some local workers' societies – such as the Catholic Workers' Circle – had established similar schools, which locals regularly attended.[168] Despite these

[163] Navarro Navarro, *A la Revolución por la Cultura*, p. 356.
[164] Un Socio del Círculo Naturista, '¡Qué se Entiende por Naturismo?', *Redención*, 2 July 1921, p. 2. It is not clear whether the Naturist Circle was the same organisation as the Naturist Cultural Society discussed above.
[165] Interview with Julio Martínez, 29th of October 1994, Disco 15, Cinta 158, pp. 2-3 and 5.
[166] Chapter Three examines the education of anarchist women in more detail, in the city of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat.
[167] Rafael Hernández Ferris, *La Sociedad Cooperativa <<El Trabajo>> (1880-1942)* (Alicante: Instituto de Estudios <<Juan Gil-Albert>>, 1988), p. 81.
[168] 'Contestaciones al Cuestionario sobre Mejoramiento y Bienestar Clase Obrera', p. 5 (no official page numbers).

initiatives, by 1900, only twenty-seven per cent of the city's population was literate.[169] In that year, the province of Alicante possessed one of the highest illiteracy rates in Spain: 77.1 per cent of the province's population could not read whilst, in the province of Barcelona, this figure was 53.05 per cent.[170] Furthermore, in 1920, the amount of government money spent on primary education in the province of Alicante remained significantly lower than the national average: the authorities spent just 2.97 *pesetas* per capita, whereas the average across Spain reached 3.82 *pesetas*.[171] These figures suggest that, throughout the period under study, Alcoy's public education system was, by national standards, particularly deficient.

For financial reasons, local educational institutions often proved inaccessible to working people. Writing in *Escuela Moderna* on the 13th of August 1910, José Bañón Sáez – a contributor from the neighbouring town of Elda – described how, in working-class families, 'economic hardships…oblige…parents…to remove [their children] from a bad school where they have hardly learned how to read…and place them…in factories and workshops'.[172] Bañón Sáez also pointed out that, due to the 'excessive fatigue' that industrial labour caused, and their caring responsibilities at home, workers had very little time to educate themselves during non-working hours.[173] Similarly, on the 16th of April 1921, an article in *Redención* not only railed against the interference of the Catholic clergy in public education, but also noted that, 'in most months', workers could not afford to pay tuition fees for their children.[174] Poverty limited access to other educational spaces, too. As noted above, the Alcoy

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[169] Sanchis Llorens, p. 3 of chapter 42 (no official page numbers).
[170] Manuel Tuñón de Lara, *El Movimiento Obrero en la Historia de España* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1972), p. 319.
[171] *Anuario Estadístico de España: Año VII. – 1920* (Madrid: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes – Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 1922), p. 361.
[172] José Bañón Sáez, 'Labor Educativa', *Escuela Moderna*, 13 August 1910, p. 3.
[173] Ibid., p. 3.
[174] Un Disconforme, 'La Escuela y los Maestros', *Redención*, 16 April 1921, p. 3. Throughout the period under study, anarchists continued to draw attention to working-class children's lack of access to public educational facilities. In May 1938, the anarcho-feminist publication *Mujeres Libres* stated that 'the tragedy of Spain has been, for centuries, the same: childhood without school, exploitation of the illiterate class…we must start again [,] with the free enrolment of all…' See 'Infancia sin Escuela', *Mujeres Libres*, May 1938, p. 33 (no official page numbers).

Athenaeum regularly held educational talks, describing itself as a society dedicated to 'encouraging and cultivating scientific and literary learning in its members'.[175] However, the Athenaeum's statutes, approved on the 25th of June 1912, stipulated that once the institution obtained more than 200 members, each affiliate would need to pay a membership fee of five *pesetas*.[176] Following this initial fee, all members (apart from 'honorary members') would pay a monthly subsidy of one *peseta*.[177] Considering that, in July 1920, the average daily wage for a male textile worker in Alcoy was 4.5 *pesetas* (and for a female textile worker only 1.75 *pesetas*) such fees remained prohibitively expensive for many adults in the locality.[178] The exclusion of working-class people from cultural spaces further highlights the exclusion of poorer residents from the 'bourgeois' city more generally, and how, as in Barcelona, class-based inequalities 'became inscribed in space'.[179]

Accordingly, throughout the period under study, anarchists in Spain emphasised the importance of education to the emancipation of the working classes.[180] Whilst Alcoy's libertarian publications printed articles specifically urging women to study, they frequently promoted the education of all their readers. On the 7th of January 1906, the editors of the Alcoy-based anarchist weekly *Humanidad* declared that 'human liberation will be the result of education', and they explained that, for this reason, 'we place such a value on pedagogy'.[181] Equally, on the 22nd of August 1922, *Redención* noted that 'education, [a] scarecrow to tyranny, sustains freedom, and drives us towards civilisation'.[182] In response to

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[175] 'Reglamento del Ateneo Alcoyano', 'Ateneo Alcoyano: Reglamento y Libro de Actas', 011474/001, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 2 Culturales, 1 Ateneos, AMA, p. 1 and 'Ateneo Alcoyano: Libro de Conferencias', 011474/002, Fondo Histórico, 6 Asociaciones, 2 Culturales, 1 Ateneos, AMA. For instance, on the 27th of February 1913, a local councillor gave a talk in the Athenaeum on the theme of the philosophy of art whilst, on the 2nd of May, a professor from the University of Valladolid presented a lecture on the Spanish Renaissance. See 'Ateneo Alcoyano: Libro de Conferencias'.
[176] 'Reglamento del Ateneo Alcoyano', p. 2.
[177] Ibid., p. 2.
[178] *Boletín del Instituto de Reformas Sociales*, July 1920, p. 160.
[179] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 9.
[180] Navarro Navarro, *A la Revolución por la Cultura*, p. 18.
[181] La Redacción, 'Nuestros Propósitos', *Humanidad*, 7 January 1906, p. 1.
[182] Untitled message, *Redención*, 22 August 1922, p. 3.

their exclusion from the public education system, by the turn of the twentieth century, local workers had already constructed many of their own cultural and educational spaces, dedicated exclusively to the education of activists and workers. For example, on the 2nd of March 1873, an assembly of Alcoy's Federal Commission – affiliated to the IWMA – approved the creation of a 'Revolutionary-Socialist School'.[183] Unfortunately, none of the surviving documentation provides any further information as to whether the Commission implemented this initiative.[184] However, the founding statutes of Alcoy's aforementioned Local Workers' Federation – ratified on the 11th of August 1881 – indicated that the Federation had established a school for its members.[185] Similarly, Article 12 of these statutes stipulated that a 'Propaganda Commission' be formed, and that members attend conferences on 'philosophy, science, arts and economics' so that 'the instruction of the [rest of the Federation's] affiliates can be perfected, making them more useful to the cause of the proletariat.'[186] Moreover, by 1884, the 'Labour' cooperative society – formed in 1880 and later affiliated to the FTRE – provided classes for local workers, too.[187]

As discussed above, throughout the period under study, anarchists drew inspiration from the pedagogy of Francisco Ferrer, whose 'child-centred' approach to teaching not only included the co-education of boys and girls, but also rejected the punishment and rewarding of pupils, whilst stressing the importance of children's autonomy in the classroom.[188] By the 1910s, Ferrer's ideas had gained considerable support among anarchists in Alcoy. On the 9th of September 1911, *Escuela Moderna* published a report by a correspondent who had

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[183] Asociación Cultural Alzina, 'La Enseñanza Racionalista en Alicante: los Antecedentes. La Formación del Mito Ferrer y el Debate de los Años Veinte', in *El Anarquismo en Alicante*, ed. by Francisco Morenz Sáez (Alicante: Instituto de Estudios "Juan Gil-Albert", 1986), pp. 73-89 (p. 74).
[184] Ibid., p. 74.
[185] 'Reglamento de la Federación Local de los trabajadores de Alcoy'.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Hernández Ferris, p. 13, Egea Bruno, p. 148 and 'Contestaciones al Cuestionario sobre Mejoramiento y Bienestar Clase Obrera', p. 5 (no official page numbers).
[188] Geoffrey Fidler, 'The Escuela Moderna Movement of Francisco Ferrer: "Por la Verdad y la Justicia"', History of Education Quarterly, 25.1/2 (1985), 103-132 (p. 109) and Shaffer, pp. 162-164.

recently visited the city to attend a meeting of the local Syndicalist Manufacturing Union.[189] This individual had met with local young people to discuss the possibility of establishing a Rationalist Youth organisation, and consulted members of the local Ferrer Group, which agreed to take measures towards creating a Modern School in Alcoy.[190] It is difficult to ascertain whether such initiatives came to fruition, as none of the later surviving editions of *Escuela Moderna* provide further information regarding this project. Nevertheless, the local anarchist press does reveal that, by the early 1920s, activists had founded at least one libertarian school in the locality: the Free College, on San Pedro Street.[191] On the 5th of October 1922, *Redención* published an open letter of support from the pupils of this institution to those of the 'Will' Rationalist School in Bujalance, Córdoba.[192] In addition, at this time, local anarchists engaged in a campaign to establish another school, regularly donating money to the libertarian Iconoclasts group. From July 1922, this group distributed copies of its newspaper at the local Syndicalist Athenaeum and, by mid-April 1923, *Redención*'s readers had donated some 366.5 *pesetas* towards the group's Rationalist School fund.[193]

There are further indications that, during this period, anarchist educators maintained a notable presence in the area. On the 4th of January 1923, *Redención* published an article by José Alberola – an influential anarchist teacher who later became a key figure in the FAI – which revealed that he was then teaching at a rationalist school in nearby Elda.[194] Similarly,

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[189] 'Movimiento Racionalista', *Escuela Moderna*, 9 September 1911, p. 4.
[190] Ibid., p. 4.
[191] 'Correspondencia Escolar-Carta Abierta', *Redención*, 5 October 1922, p. 1.
[192] Ibid., p. 1.
[193] 'Recaudación Pro-Escuela Racionalista', *Redención*, 12 October 1922, p. 4 and 'Recaudación Pro-Escuela Racionalista', *Redención*, 19 April 1923, p. 4.
[194] José Alberola, 'Reflexiones sobre Enseñanza Racionalista', *Redención*, 4 January 1923, p. 2, Asociación Cultural Alzina, p. 83 and Danny Evans, 'The Conscience of the Spanish Revolution: Anarchist Opposition to State Collaboration in 1937' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2016), p. 20. Though he does not refer to himself explicitly as an employee at the school in Elda, Alberola's article in *Redención* features a photograph of this institution, with a caption stating that he was a teacher there. See photograph titled 'Clase Diurna de la Escuela Racionalista de Elda (Alicante) – Profesor, José Alberola'.

the Alzina Cultural Association suggests that Antonia Maymón – a committed anarcho-feminist, and staunch defender of secular education – directed several rationalist schools in Alcoy during the 1920s.[195] The Association does not state from which sources it acquired this information, but given Maymón's propensity to move around frequently during these years, as well as the links that she forged with local workers' organisations, her presence in Alcoy is highly likely.[196]

By granting working-class *alcoyanos* access to sites which, outside the movement, routinely excluded the city's poorest inhabitants, libertarian educational spaces were inherently subversive. That is, they disrupted the prevailing socio-cultural order which, to a large extent, ensured that education remained a privilege, accessible primarily to Alcoy's local elites. In this respect, like union locales and meeting-places, anarchist educational sites constituted 'spaces of alternate ordering', which disrupted established socio-cultural norms. At the same time, these spaces were prefigurative; sites where, through their everyday practices, anarchists implemented the ideals of the wider movement. On the 16th of April 1921, an anonymous contributor to *Redención* emphasised the role of education in shaping children's future beliefs, complaining that Catholic propaganda in schools 'engenders prejudices in [children's] infant brains'.[197] Writing in *Redención* on the 11th of January 1923, David Díaz – who taught at a rationalist school in Puertollano – also referred to the ways in which the contemporary education system reflected (and reinforced) traditional values.[198] Specifically, he suggested that 'the majority of individuals are blind, misled from childhood by an education consisting in prejudices, in foolish discipline…'[199] In May 1936, Antonia

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[195] Coral Cuadrada Majó and Ginés Puente Pérez, 'A Debate: entre <<Feminismo>> Anarquista y El Feminismo Burgues', *Feminismo/s*, 28 (2016), 25-47 (pp. 29 and 39) and Asociación Cultural Alzina, p. 83.

[196] María Carmen Agulló Díaz and María Pilar Molina Beneyto, *Antonia Maymón: Anarquista, Maestra, Naturista* (Barcelona and Bilbao: Virus Editorial, 2014), p. 89.

[197] Un Disconforme, p. 3.

[198] David Díaz, 'Por la Enseñanza Racionalista', *Redención*, 11 January 1923, p. 2. Díaz's article includes a photograph of the 'grupo escolar' in Puertollano, noting that Díaz was the group's teacher. See photograph titled 'Grupo Escolar de Puertollano (Ciudad Real) – Profesor, David Díaz'.

[199] Díaz, p. 2.

Maymón made a similar argument in the Madrid-based anarcho-feminist publication *Mujeres Libres*. She described the 'moral disaster that [established teachings] cause in childhood', and claimed that 'it is immoral…to teach children that those who are bad…in childhood will know misery in their youth and destitution in old age, when so many scoundrels are lucky, and so many good people have misfortune'.[200] In other words, anarchists regarded educational sites as formative; spaces which, in many cases, produced conformist citizens and prefigured future inequalities.

By contrast, in their schools, libertarian pedagogues consciously tried to inculcate values of egalitarianism and compassion in their pupils and fellow teachers.[201] On the 7th of January 1906, the editors of *Humanidad* highlighted the need to 'rebel profoundly' against the notion that inequality formed a natural part of life, and to 'teach [workers] to be free'.[202] In an article printed in the same issue, Antonia Sala explored the phenomenon of stammering among children, and argued that teachers should prevent their pupils from bullying those with speech disorders, and be patient and understanding in class.[203] Unlike supposedly 'ignorant parents', who often considered stammering to be a sign of low intelligence, Sala stressed the 'professional and humanitarian duty' of teachers, who should show benevolence to their pupils, and try to prevent them from leading 'an unhappy life'.[204] Moreover, writing in *Redención* on the 4th of January 1923, José Alberola affirmed that teachers should avoid 'authoritarianism' in the classroom whilst, on the 11th of January, David Díaz suggested that rationalist education should instil 'human feeling' in children and, in turn, shape them into

[200] Antonia Maymón, 'Temas Pedagógicos', *Mujeres Libres*, May 1936, p. 6.
[201] In his article in *Redención* (mentioned above), Alberola was careful to point out that rationalist education should not involve the indoctrination of children with anarchist ideals. Specifically, he urged teachers not 'to transform the school into a platform from which, rather than creating level-headed and kind men [they create] future converts to their particular social creed'. See Alberola, p. 2. Chapters Two and Three discuss the tensions between education and indoctrination in libertarian schools in more detail.
[202] La Redacción, p. 1.
[203] Antonia Sala, 'El Balbuceo: su Curación en la Escuela', *Humanidad*, 7 January 1906, p. 2.
[204] Ibid., p. 2.

'sociable and eminently perfectible human being[s]'.[205] In this sense, anarchist schools constituted spaces of tolerance and cooperation, rather than coercion. As a result, when pupils attended classes at these institutions, they entered libertarian heterotopias; sites where anarchist utopianism manifested itself in a 'physical' space.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that schools were not the only educational places and spaces that anarchists created within Alcoy's urban landscape. In his interview in 1994, Julio Martínez recalled how, as a member of the local Naturist Cultural Society, he used to accompany his comrades on trips to the beaches of Denia and Gandía, as well as Alicante.[206] Notably, Martínez stated that the local Naturist Centre held regular literacy classes, and even contained a library which members frequented in the evenings.[207] In a similar way, the CNT's local 'Single Union' encouraged its members to make use of the library at its locale. For example, on the 14th of May 1921, *Redención* printed an announcement from the Union's committee, which stated that, given the 'urgent need for our education, we invite all our affiliates [,] and particularly young [members], to come to our library'.[208] The committee even noted that affiliates could take books home with them, and thereby facilitate the education of their friends and family members.[209] The Union repeated the invitation in *Redención*, on the 28th of May.[210] As indicated above, *Redención* itself ran a library from its headquarters on Nueva Street whilst, in its second issue – in July 1923 – *Generación Consciente* began to advertise a similar establishment, located at the same address. [211] Again, anarchist heterotopias were multi-layered, often fulfilling a variety of functions, simultaneously. In this case, educational spaces intersected with those of local trade unions

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[205] Alberola, p. 2 and Díaz, p. 2.
[206] Interview with Julio Martínez, 29 October 1994, Disco 15, Cinta 158, Fons Arxiu de la Mèmoria-Fundació Salvador Seguí de València (AMFSS), Valencia, pp. 2-3.
[207] Ibid., p. 18 and interview with Julio Martínez, 29 October 1994, Disco 15, Cinta 157, AMFSS, pp. 6-7.
[208] El Comité, 'El Sindicato Único a sus Afilados', *Redención*, 14 May 1921, p. 4.
[209] Ibid., p. 4.
[210] El Comité, 'El Sindicato Único a sus Afiliados', *Redención*, 28 May 1921, p. 4.
[211] 'Biblioteca Redención', *Redención*, 21 June 1923, p. 4 and 'Biblioteca de Generación Consciente', *Generación Consciente*, July 1923 (this is on the final page, which is not numbered).

and libertarian publications, helping to distribute knowledge both within and outside the movement.

Furthermore, whilst anarchists constructed explicitly libertarian educational places, they carved out a 'mental' educational space for themselves within the city's public institutions, too. An inventory of Alcoy's main public library, from 1927, indicates that it stocked issues of many local anarchist and socialist newspapers, such as *Alianza Obrera*, *El Selfactinero*, *La Fuerza* and *Redención*, among others.[212] Here, the diversity and quantity of left-wing publications suggests strongly that local activists routinely visited public libraries, which functioned as sites where workers could consolidate and maintain their connections to the wider movement. As a testament to the importance that local anarchists attributed to such spaces, the Textile and Manufacturing Industry Union wrote to the Mayor of Alcoy on the 11th of May 1931, demanding that he extend the Glorieta public library, and increase the size of its collections.[213] In a 2015 study, Marie L. Radford, Gary P. Radford and Jessica Lingel examine the relationship between space and experience by viewing libraries through the lens of Foucault's heterotopia.[214] They argue that the concept of heterotopia provides an effective theoretical framework to '[account] for the range of experiences and associations uniquely attached to the library'.[215] In other words, by employing Foucault's concept, they highlight how libraries are not just 'physical' spaces, but 'mental' spaces, which produce a plethora of experiences and emotions.[216] In a similar way, Alcoy's public libraries held specific psychological connotations for local anarchists. These sites facilitated both autodidacticism and the transmission of libertarian ideas, whilst also providing workers with a means of

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[212] 'Archivo no. 2 – Periódicos Oficiales y Locales – Varios Diccionarios y Enciclopedias – Nota: Hay Otro Índico para los Periódicos Locales', 'Índice Alfabético de Boletines Oficiales y Periódicos Locales', 001664/006, Fondo Histórico, 10 Cultura, 1 Archives, Bibliotecas y Museos, AMA.
[213] Letter from a general assembly of local unions to the Mayor of Alcoy.
[214] Gary P. Radford, Marie L. Radford and Jessica Lingel, 'The Library as Heterotopia: Michel Foucault and the Experience of Library Space', *Journal of Documentation,* 71.4 (2015), 733-751 (p. 735).
[215] Ibid., p. 735.
[216] Ibid., p. 746.

integrating themselves into a wider network of activists. That is, Alcoy's public libraries formed 'public-space heterotopias'. [217] Like historical sites such as Spain Square, they assumed a distinctive cultural significance for local anarchists, forming key landmarks within the alternative 'anarchist' city that they constructed. Put simply, using public educational sites to maintain and consolidate the anarchist movement constituted another way of reclaiming public spaces from local elites.

Anarchist Heterotopias in a Transnational and Trans-local Network

As the introductory chapter emphasised, libertarian prefigurative politics were inherently transnational and trans-local. For this reason, to provide a thorough examination of the relationship between anarchism and space, it is also necessary to explore the impact of transnational and trans-local connections on the formation of the anarchist heterotopias described above. As geographer Katherine Brickell maintains, 'while people can remain spatially local, their lives may also be shaped by various translocal [sic] cultural imaginaries.'[218] In *Lefebvrian* terms, the 'mental' spaces of other localities intersected with those of Alcoy and, to an extent, shaped anarchists' experiences of space in the city.

By the beginning of the period under study, migration had become a regular part of local life. The aforementioned 1884 report on the condition of Alcoy's working-classes suggests that emigration was common among local textile and agricultural workers, when employment proved scarce.[219] In the years 1878-1888, between 10,000 and 12,000 local textile workers left the city, the majority travelling to Valencia and Catalonia.[220]

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[217] Yael Allweil and Rachel Kallus, 'Public-Space Heterotopias: Heterotopias of Masculinity along the Tel Aviv Shoreline', in *Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Postcivil Society*, ed. by Michiel Dehaene and Lieven de Cauter (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 191-202 (p. 193).
[218] Katherine Brickell, 'Translocal Geographies of "Home" in Siem Reap, Cambodia', in *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*, ed. by Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta (Burlington and Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 23-38 (p. 26).
[219] 'Contestaciones al Cuestionario sobre Mejoramiento y Bienestar Clase Obrera', p. 13 (no official page numbers).
[220] Egea Bruno, pp. 146-147.

Nevertheless, in later years, many locals chose to migrate abroad. Figures compiled by the Geographical and Statistical Institute indicate that, between 1914 and 1920, some 33,219 people left Spain from the province of Alicante (an average of 4,746 per year).[221] Though the Institute does not provide specific figures for Alcoy, there is evidence to suggest that the provincial figures included a significant number of *alcoyanos*. On the 5th of July 1915, the Civil Governor of Alicante wrote to the Mayor of Alcoy, complaining that locals regularly sent applications for passports to the provincial government which did not include the required documentation.[222] In the same letter, the Civil Governor lamented the fact that unscrupulous intermediaries often took advantage of poorer applicants by offering to complete the necessary paperwork on their behalf, for an exorbitant fee.[223] In other words, the local working classes contributed a large proportion of the city's emigrants.

In the first few decades of the twentieth century, migration from Spain to Argentina increased precipitously. Between 1916 and 1920, an average of 22,058 passengers departed from Spanish ports to Argentina every year.[224] In 1928, this number rose to 41,204.[225] By the 1920s, Alcoy's residents had begun to join the flow of migrants travelling across the Atlantic. For example, the local authorities recorded the names of all single adults and households who left the country in 1926 and, out of 145 entries, fifteen noted that the person (or household) was bound for Argentina.[226] The majority of migrants from Alcoy between 1878 and 1888 had been men, and in most cases the migrants travelling to Argentina in 1926 were men, too

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[221] *Anuario Estadístico de España: Año VII. – 1920*, p. 36.
[222] Letter from the Civil Governor of Alicante to the Mayor of Alcoy, 5 July 1915, 'Documentos sobre Expediciones Pasaportes para Emigración', 005540, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 3 Seguridad Pública, 2 Certificaciones, AMA.
[223] Ibid.
[224] *Anuario Estadístico de España: Año VII. – 1920*, p. 37.
[225] *Anuario Estadístico de España: Año XV. – 1929* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión – Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico, Catastral y de Estadística, 1931), p. 45.
[226] List of locals who emigrated to Argentina in 1926, '1926', 'Documentos sobre Expediciones Pasaportes para Emigración', 005540, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 3 Seguridad Pública, 2 Certificaciones, AMA.

(only one unaccompanied woman appears in the records).[227] Similarly, the emigration list for 1928 includes 115 entries, thirteen of which state that the individuals' destination was Argentina.[228] In that year, all of the migrants were men, travelling alone.[229] As the majority of those migrating from Alcoy to Argentina were single men, it is reasonable to assume that, as had been the case between 1878 and 1888, many of the migrants were workers, seeking employment abroad. References that the Mayor and local employers wrote in support of passport applications show that migrants in the 1920s were often textile workers, too. For instance, on the 15th of November 1924, the Mayor wrote a reference for Enrique Botella Peidro, a twenty-seven-year-old weaver.[230] In addition, on the 24th of September 1925, José Gisbert – of the Gisbert Domínguez textile factory – wrote a reference on behalf of Rafael Carbonell Giner, who had worked in the factory for four years.[231]

Whilst many Spanish citizens migrated to Argentina, many Argentinians also relocated to Spain. Between 1912 and 1920, some 13,082 migrants of Argentinian nationality entered the country, at an average of 1,452 per year.[232] Compared to the number of *alcoyanos* migrating to Argentina, the rate of migration in the opposite direction proved much lower. Again, there are no specific figures for Alcoy but, in 1920, only 206 Argentinians migrated to the province of Alicante as a whole. [233] Of course, migration from Alcoy was not always unidirectional, as at least some of the migrants leaving for Argentina later returned to the locality. In this sense, migration between Alcoy and Argentina constituted a two-way

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[227] Egea Bruno, p. 147 and list of locals who emigrated to Argentina in 1926, 'Documentos sobre Expediciones Pasaportes para Emigración'.
[228] 'Pasaportes del Año 1928', 'Documentos sobre Expediciones Pasaportes para Emigración', 005540, Fondo Histórico, 11 Ejército y Orden Público, 3 Seguridad Pública, 2 Certificaciones, AMA.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Letter from the Mayor of Alcoy, 15 November 1924, 'Documentos sobre Expediciones Pasaportes para Emigración'.
[231] Letter from José Gisbert, 24 September 1925, 'Documentos sobre Expediciones Pasaportes para Emigración.'
[232] *Anuario Estadístico de España: Año VII. – 1920*, p. 34.
[233] Vicente Gozález Pérez, 'Notas sobre Demografía de la Provincia de Alicante', *Saitabi*, 22 (1972), 149-199 (p. 175).

process. According to the city's 1920 census, four local families comprised Spanish parents and Argentinian-born children. Josefa Moreno Guinot and her brother Antonio were born in Buenos Aires in 1910 and 1911 respectively, but both their parents came from Denia, a small port-city to the east of Alcoy.[234] Equally, Cecilia Pérez Chiquillo and her sister Josefa were both Argentinian citizens, but their father was from Alcoy, and their younger brother was born in the city that year.[235] These cases illustrate how, during the period under study, the process of migration facilitated the construction of substantial personal links between Alcoy and Argentina, as *alcoyanos* travelled to the New World, made acquaintances, formed intimate relationships, and had children. In spatial terms, migrants became the vessels through which the 'physical' and 'mental' spaces of Alcoy intersected with those of Argentina.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to ascertain how many of these migrants were anarchists or sympathisers of the movement but, given that many migrants were workers from the local textile industry – in which, as demonstrated above, anarchists exercised a considerable influence – it remains highly likely that a significant number of libertarian activists participated in this migratory process.[236] Migrants from Argentina (and returning *alcoyanos*) arrived with first-hand experience of Argentinian culture and, in this sense, the process of migration involved the insertion of new 'cultural imaginaries' into the public and private spaces of the city.[237] However, whilst migration played an important role in the development of cultural connections between Argentina and Alcoy, the flow of ideas and money across the Atlantic impacted the city's libertarian places and spaces directly. As noted above,

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[234] 'Censo de la Población de 31 de Diciembre de 1920', 002119, Fondo Histórico, 12 Población, 2 Censos, 1 Altas, AMA.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Notably, many *alcoyanos* sought exile in Argentina after the Spanish Civil War, including the anarchist Ramón Llopis, who lived in Avellaneda until his death, in 1961. See Àngel Beneito and Richard Cleminson, *Republicanos Españoles Prisioneros de Guerra en Inglaterra: las Memorias de José Ferri* (Alcoy: Ajuntament d'Alcoi, 2019), pp. 13, 26 and 55.
[237] Brickell, p. 26.

throughout the period under study, the local authorities sought assiduously to prevent the incursion of both political undesirables and subversive propaganda into the locality. In other words, the ideas that people brought with them became just as threatening to the established order as the people themselves. In her 2016 study of Spanish anarchists in Argentina and Cuba, Ackelsberg stresses the role that the circulation of anarchist publications played in the development of transnational connections between activists.[238] Through the press, ideas could transcend the geographical borders of urban anarchist centres, even entering libertarian spaces on the other side of the world.

By the 1920s, Argentinian activists contributed regularly to Alcoy's libertarian press. For example, articles by the Argentinian anarchist educator Julio Barcos – who ran the Modern School in Buenos Aires between 1908 and 1909 – often appeared in *Generación Consciente*.[239] On the 1st of April 1924, Barcos chastised his male comrades for failing to fight for the emancipation of women.[240] Furthermore, in the magazine's eleventh issue – published later that year, on the 1st of June – Barcos urged his readers to help rid female infidelity of the stigma and shame which society ascribed to it, since 'thousands of women conceal great burdens [and] cruel conflicts…'[241] Similarly, also writing in *Generación Consciente* on the 1st of April 1924, the aforementioned Juana Rouco Buela – who co-edited the anarcho-feminist newspaper *Nuestra Tribuna* in Buenos Aires between 1922 and 1925 – urged seamstresses to 'unite your protest as young exploited people to mine, and that of [many, many other] free and rebellious women'.[242] Again, on the 1st of August, the magazine printed an article in which Rouco Buela argued that, despite the introduction of female

[238] Ackelsberg, 'It Takes More Than a Village!', p. 219.
[239] Alexandra Pita González, 'De la Liga Racionalista a cómo Educa el Estado a tu Hijo: el Itinerario de Julio Barcos', *Revista Historia*, 65-66 (2012), 123-141 (p. 123).
[240] Julio R. Barcos, 'Una Moral para los Dos Sexos', *Generación Consciente*, 1 April 1924, p. 169.
[241] Julio R. Barcos, 'No Puede Haber Fidelidad Donde No Hay Libertad', *Generación Consciente*, 1 June 1924, p. 31.
[242] Ackelsberg, 'It Takes More Than a Village!', p. 216 and Juana Rouco Buela, 'La Costurerita', *Generación Consciente*, 1 April 1924, pp. 183-184.

suffrage in various countries throughout Europe and Latin America, the social status of women remained as low as it had been centuries earlier.[243] As a result, she declared that women would not achieve emancipation through the ballot box, but through 'claiming their personal freedom'.[244] Rouco Buela's appeal to women working in the textile industry would have found particular resonance in an industrial city such as Alcoy where, as illustrated above, a large proportion of the textile workforce was female. Notably, at least some women in Alcoy read Rouco Buela's Buenos Aires-based newspaper, even before her articles appeared in *Generación Consciente*. On the 10th of November 1923, *Nuestra Tribuna* published an article by Luisa Saika – a worker based in Alcoy – in which she highlighted the miserable conditions of female workers in the city, asking her readers 'what purpose does it serve [,] being imprisoned in a factory throughout our youth?'[245]

These articles reveal how libertarian publications facilitated the transfer of ideas between anarchist locales on both sides of the Atlantic and, by extension, they illustrate how libertarian journalistic spaces remained closely interrelated, jointly producing content for their respective readers. At the same time, in Alcoy, anarchist cultural places – such as bookshops – disseminated the works of Argentinian anarchist writers, further demonstrating the impact that transnational and trans-local connections had on local activists' everyday experiences of these sites. For example, in 1924, Julio Barcos' book, *The Sexual Freedom of Women*, was edited in Alcoy.[246] In this text, Barcos drew attention to the hypocrisy of male activists who claimed to fight for the oppressed, whilst failing to acknowledge the privileges they enjoyed, relative to women.[247] According to the Alzina Cultural Association, the

[243] Juana Rouco Buela, 'La Posición Actual de la Mujer – Dos Puntos de Vista Distintos', *Generación Consciente*, 1 August 1924, p. 69.
[244] Ibid., p. 69.
[245] Luisa Saika, 'El Trabajo es Honra', *Nuestra Tribuna*, 10 November 1923, p. 2.
[246] Asociación Cultural Alzina, p. 83.
[247] Nadia Ledesma Prietto, 'Apuntes sobre la Eugenesia y la Libertad Sexual en el Discurso de Dos Médicos Anarquistas', *Revista Nomadías*, 16 (2012), 75-97 (p. 83).

publication of Barcos' book in Alcoy played a key role in raising anarchists' consciousness about sexual freedom.[248] From November 1924, *Generación Consciente* sold copies of Barcos' work from its bookshop on San Nicolás Street and, as a testament to its popularity in the region, by 1934, the book entered its tenth edition in Valencia.[249] In a similar way, financial contributions and distribution agreements helped to maintain anarchist cultural spaces in Alcoy and Argentina, simultaneously. On the 15th of June 1923, *Nuestra Tribuna* encouraged its readers to purchase copies of *Generación Consciente*, which it described as 'worthy of being read by all lovers of intellectual progress'.[250] In turn, on the 1st of June 1924, *Generación Consciente* advertised a compilation of works from the Buenos Aires-based publication *Luz y Vida,* titled *Intellectual Life* (and sold copies at its bookshop, then located on Del Cura Navarro Street).[251] Similarly, on the 9th of August 1930, *Redención* received a donation from José Ferri, an anarchist in Buenos Aires and, in turn, on the 31st of May, the editors noted that they had received copies of two publications based in the Argentinian capital (*La Palestra* and *La Continental Obrera*), providing readers with the relevant subscription details.[252]

In addition to the anarchist press, the Modern School movement further encapsulates the transnational and trans-local nature of anarchist spaces in Alcoy, and the contribution that Argentinian activists made – through funding and the donation of resources – to their continued existence. For example, in May 1915, the *Boletín de la Liga "Educación Racionalista"* – a publication based in Buenos Aires which regularly printed articles by the Spanish anarchist Anselmo Lorenzo – urged readers to send 'books, magazines and

[248] Asociación Cultural Alzina, p. 83.
[249] 'Biblioteca Generación Consciente', *Generación Consciente*, November 1924, p. 160 and Asociación Cultural Alzina, p. 83.
[250] 'Publicaciones Recibidas – Generación Consciente', *Nuestra Tribuna*, 15 October 1923, p. 4.
[251] 'Bibliografía – Lo Sexual', *Generación Consciente*, 1 June 1924, pp. 23-24 and 'Biblioteca Generación Consciente', *Generación Consciente*, 1 June 1924 (the catalogue is located at the start of the issue, before the title page).
[252] 'Para que Viva <<Redención>>', *Redención*, 9 August 1930, p. 3 and 'Prensa Recibida', *Redención*, 31 May 1930, p. 4.

rationalist propaganda pamphlets' to a rationalist school that had recently been established in Cheste, a small town around sixty miles from Alcoy.[253] In Alcoy itself, activists received donations from Argentina in order to set up similar institutions: on the 8th of March 1923, *Redención* noted that an anarchist in Buenos Aires – referred to as 'the Hairy One' – had sent a donation to the Iconoclasts group's aforementioned Pro Rationalist School fund. [254] In this sense, urban anarchist heterotopias did not constitute isolated sites: they remained embedded – financially, culturally and psychologically – within a broad network of activist spaces, which transcended regional and national borders, forming a 'transnational political space'.[255]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined anarchists' distinctive relationship to (and experiences of) space in Alcoy, demonstrating that, through their spatial practices, they prefigured an alternative, libertarian society. Anarchists contested the hegemony of local elites over the urban landscape, constructing explicitly libertarian sites, where activists could engage in subversive political practices with (relative) impunity. By creating a visual representation of these sites (see Figure 1), the chapter has revealed the emergence of an 'anarchist'– and, until now, largely invisible – city, which existed alongside and parallel to the established 'bourgeois' city. Drawing primarily on Foucault's concept of heterotopia – as well as Lefebvre's notion of 'social space' – it has argued that these anarchist sites served as a point of contact between the physical and the 'illusory'; places where utopian ideas and the real world converged.[256]

[253] 'Una Buena Noticia', *Boletín de la Liga "Educación Racionalista"*, May 1915, p. 8 (see also Anselmo Lorenzo, 'Anselmo Lorenzo', *Boletín de la Liga "Educación Racionalista*", 25 January 1915, p. 1 and Anselmo Lorenzo, 'Las Escuelas Ferristas', *Boletín de la Liga "Educación Racionalista"*, May 1915, p. 3.
[254] 'Recaudación Pro Escuela Racionalista', *Redención*, 8 March 1923, p. 4.
[255] Ángel Alcalde notes that, since the turn of the twenty-first century, social scientists have begun to employ the term 'transnational political space', which he defines as 'a political sphere that is mainly constructed through communication processes.' See Ángel Alcalde, 'Spatializing Transnational History: European Spaces and Territories', *European Review of History*, 25.3-4 (2018), 553-567 (p. 555).
[256] Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', p. 335.

Since its inception, the concept of heterotopia has given rise to conflicting interpretations and criticisms.[257] In 'Of Other Spaces', Foucault stresses that heterotopias are sites of difference – 'places which are absolutely other' – but some have questioned how, exactly, one can determine a place's 'otherness'.[258] Geographer David Harvey – 'probably the sternest critic of [the] concept' – argues that Foucault's heterotopia is intrinsically flawed, since it 'presumes that connections to the dominant social order are or can be severed, attenuated or…totally inverted'.[259] In like manner, art critic Benjamin Genocchio suggests that heterotopias cannot be 'fundamentally different' if they are located within the established structure of society.[260] According to philosopher Peter Johnson, Harvey 'uses heterotopia as a catch-all illustration of Foucault's "anything goes" post-modernism'.[261] Specifically, in *Spaces of Hope*, Harvey points to the supposed banality of the concept, which 'presumes that whatever happens in…spaces of "Otherness" is of interest…'[262] Genocchio expresses a similar view, suggesting that many scholars have employed the concept as a 'theoretical *deus ex machina*'; a term with little substance.[263] Seen in this light, the concept provides no insight into the spaces and places that it describes, and it could be applied to almost any object of analysis.

In contrast, Johnson suggests that such criticisms have arisen partly due to problems with the English translations of Foucault's works.[264] For example, he argues that Foucault intended the difference (or 'otherness') of heterotopias to be interpreted in relative – rather

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[257] Peter Johnson, 'The Geographies of Heterotopia', *Geography Compass*, 7.11 (2013), 790-803 (p. 790).
[258] Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', p. 332 and Johnson, p. 793.
[259] Johnson, p. 795 and David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p. 184-185.
[260] Benjamin Genocchio, 'Discourse, Discontinuity, Difference: the Question of "Other" Spaces', in *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*, ed. by Sophie Watson and Katherine Gibson (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), pp. 35-46 (p. 38).
[261] Johnson, p. 794.
[262] Harvey, pp. 184-185.
[263] Genocchio, p. 36.
[264] Johnson, p. 794.

than absolute – terms.[265] In Johnson's words, the heterotopia is 'a relational conception that…does not imply a closed system or hidden structures that designate absolute difference'.[266] Nevertheless, regardless of whether Johnson is correct, it is not necessary to adhere rigidly to Foucault's original interpretation: the historian is free to reconfigure such concepts, as long as she does so in a coherent and consistent manner. Here, rather than examining places detached – or 'severed' – from reality, this chapter has explored heterotopias in the context of prefigurative politics, to highlight the ways in which anarchists implemented utopian ideals in the real world. In these heterotopias, Alcoy's anarchists constructed a microcosm of the future society they wished to inhabit. Traditionally, scholars have associated revolutions with a 'centralized space of power'; a singular site where revolutionaries wrest power from the ruling elite.[267] As noted above, Saul Newman proposes a revision of this traditional conception of revolution, suggesting that rather than a 'totalising event', it is more appropriate to conceive of revolution as 'a multiplicity of insurrectional and autonomous spaces'.[268] Drawing on that idea, this chapter has shown how anarchist locales in Alcoy also constituted 'autonomous spaces': in union meeting-places – inherently subversive sites, premised on a desire to negate the dominance of capital over labour – working-class activists disrupted social conventions by educating themselves; through their presence on picket lines, women challenged the gendered separation of 'masculine' and 'feminine' spaces; whilst, in anarchist schools, teachers rejected the discipline and religiosity of state-run educational institutions, instilling egalitarian and secular values in their pupils.

Crucially, it is important to note that, in relative terms, these *were* sites of 'otherness', distinct from the 'bourgeois' city: as indicated above, they often formed the only places where anarchists could express themselves with (relative) freedom. At the same time, the

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[265] Johnson, p. 794.
[266] Ibid., p. 794.
[267] Newman, 'Postanarchism and Space', p. 348.
[268] Ibid., pp. 352-353.

chapter has highlighted the impact that the construction of explicitly anarchist places had on the spatial order of the city more generally. Through their occupation of space, as well as their commemorations and competing historical narratives, anarchists reclaimed public spaces from local elites, imbibing them with meanings specific to the culture, history and goals of the movement.

However, as Paul Raekstad argues, if revolutionaries wish ‘to prefigure the future society [they aspire] to bring about’, they must ‘consciously and deliberately…aim for that future form of society as a goal and…use this aim to structure the way it organises the present’.[269] In other words, prefiguration implies a degree of intentionality on the part of activists. Of course, anarchists in Alcoy did not consciously aim to create *Foucauldian* heterotopias, but they often engaged in cultural practices with the conscious intention of constructing an alternative society, and reflecting the values of this society in their everyday actions. For example, as noted above, Alcoy’s Local Workers’ Federation encouraged its members to pursue an education for the explicit purpose of ‘making them[selves] more useful to the proletariat’; anarchist teachers created co-educational spaces to ‘unite[] the sexes and preserve[] them in the purest innocence’; whilst, in like manner, they sought to ‘teach [workers] to be free’.[270] The following chapters provide further examinations of anarchist educational practices and, equally, they return to the issue of intentionality.[271]

At the same time, this chapter has also drawn attention to the contradictions of anarchist heterotopias, and the disparity between the egalitarianism that anarchists espoused, and their behaviour in supposedly ‘oppositional’ spaces. Specifically, it has shown how, at times, anarchist discourse reinforced the traditional separation between the public and private

[269] Raekstad, p. 361.
[270] La Redacción, p. 1, ‘Reglamento de la Federación Local de los trabajadores de Alcoy’ and Juliano, p. 1.
[271] The concluding chapter provides a more detailed discussion of intentionality, and its relevance to prefigurative politics.

'spheres', and how conservative attitudes manifested themselves in anarchists' spatial practices. For example, in union locales and other meeting-places, male voices often carried most weight, with female workers marginalised, both in negotiating spaces and trade union congresses. However, whilst the available source material has revealed useful insights into the relationship between gender and space in Alcoy's anarchist movement, the scarcity of female testimonies from the locality and period under study poses difficulties for the historian. Though this scarcity is itself significant – as it implies that male activists dominated libertarian spaces – more evidence is needed to further our understanding of women's distinctive experiences of space, both within and outside the 'anarchist' city.

CHAPTER TWO

Beyond the Nuclear Family:

Anarchism and Family Life in Rosario

'I saw…the outline of the future human family…a family
that will transform humanity into a home without walls
and the world into a homeland without borders.'[1]

Though the family has long been an important theme in the historiography on anarchism, researchers have failed to consider the relationship between anarchist family life and prefigurative politics.[2] Accordingly, this chapter draws on the insights of both historical and social scientific research to show that, through their everyday cultural practices, anarchists rejected traditional notions of the family, constructing new versions of family and home life that prefigured the libertarian society they envisioned.

This analysis of anarchist family life is particularly innovative in its focus on anarchist conceptions of adulthood and childhood. Scholarship on anarchism remains mostly absent from the existing historiography on childhood and, more generally, researchers have often ignored the role of children in political and social movements.[3] Psychologists Sevasti-

[1] Joaquín Dicenta, 'En Familia', *La Antorcha*, 11 November 1921, p. 4.
[2] For decades, scholars of the Spanish and Argentinian anarchist movements have examined the relationship between anarchism and family life. For example, in his seminal 1976 study *La Ideología Política del Anarquismo Español (1868-1910)*, José Álvarez Junco discusses Spanish anarchist conceptions of the family whilst, in her 1990 monograph, Dora Barrancos analyses libertarian attitudes towards sexuality and romantic relationships. However, until now, historians have not explored the prefigurative dimensions of anarchists' familial practices. See Álvarez Junco, pp. 289-291 and Barrancos, pp. 241-264.
[3] Bruno Vanobbergen and Frank Simon, 'Introduction to the Themed Paedagogica Historica issue "Anarchism, Texts and Children"', *Paedagogica Historica*, 50.4 (2014), 411-413, (p. 411) and Sevasti-Melissa Nolas, Christos Varvantakis and Vinnarasan Aruldoss, '(Im)Possible Conversations? Activism, Childhood and Everyday Life', *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 4.1 (2016), 252-265 (p. 252). Morrie Brodie has recently paved the way for further research in this field. For example, in an article published in 2020, he explores anarchist conceptions of youth and childhood, highlighting 'the tension between anarchists' attempts to use education to foster a child's individuality' and the need to produce future activists. Focusing primarily on Britain in the 1930s, Brodie examines the intergenerational conflicts within the anarchist movement, and how 'many younger militants [were] unimpressed with the seeming apathy of their more senior comrades'. Equally, in his monograph – also from 2020 – Brodie reveals how, during the Spanish Civil War, many anarchists (in Spain, Britain and the USA) bolstered traditional views of femininity and childhood, utilising 'the perceived helplessness of women and children' in their propaganda efforts. Nevertheless, whilst Brodie's work is highly

Melissa Nolas, Christos Varvantakis and Vinnarasan Aruldoss have identified a general reluctance to view children as 'political' actors and, in contrast, they stress the relationship between childhood and 'the processual dimensions of everyday activist activities'.[4] Specifically, they suggest that analysing activist practices 'through the lens of children's everyday lives' provides valuable insights into the 'lived experiences, relationships and…emotional complexities' of those who engage in activism.[5] In a similar manner, this chapter examines the experiences of children raised in anarchist families, and the relationship between adulthood and childhood within the local anarchist community. It demonstrates that, by foregrounding the experiences of children, the historian obtains a greater understanding of the prefigurative aspects of anarchist cultural practices.

Scholars began to conceive of the family as a socially constructed (or 'invented') phenomenon in the nineteenth century. In his pioneering studies of working-class life, published in 1855 and 1872 respectively, Frédéric Le Play first introduced the idea that economic and social factors had shaped the development of family structures over time.[6] Similarly, drawing on the work of anthropologists Lewis H. Morgan and Johann Jakob Bachofen, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argued that the family was in a process of continual change.[7] The nineteenth century's 'evolutionary theories' of the family – which portrayed the history of the family as a series of progressions from one familial form to another – paved the way for historical research that focused specifically on the evolution of

innovative, much more research is needed in this field, especially in relation to the Argentinian anarchist movement and, above all, in relation to the prefigurative aspects of libertarian familial practices. See Morrie Brodie, 'An Infantile Disorder? Youth, Childhood, and the British Anarchist Movement during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 13.1 (2020), 80-102 (pp. 82-84, 91 and 95) and Brodie, *Transatlantic Anarchism*, pp. 139-143.

[4] Nolas, Varvantakis and Aruldoss, p. 253.

[5] Ibid., p. 262.

[6] Paul Puschmann and Arne Solli, 'Household and Family during Urbanisation and Industrialisation: Efforts to Shed New Light on an Old Debate', *The History of the Family*, 19.1 (2014), 1-12 (p. 2).

[7] Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Chippendale: Resistance Books, 2004), pp. 46-47.

the concept of childhood.[8] In his seminal 1960 monograph *Centuries of Childhood*, Philippe Ariès argued that 'the idea of childhood' was absent in the Middle Ages, when people did not view children and adults as distinct categories.[9] In other words, once children no longer required continual adult supervision, they had immediately been incorporated into medieval 'adult society'.[10] In the wake of Ariès' book, by the late 1970s, scholars agreed generally that the history of childhood was, like that of the family, one of change.[11] Subsequently, many have questioned the validity of Ariès' thesis, such as his assertion that childhood and adulthood have diverged from each other over time.[12] Despite this, the fundamental premise of Ariès' argument – that conceptions of childhood and adulthood evolve throughout history – remains important, and informs the analysis presented here. Recognising that the experiences of childhood, family life and home life vary between different social, cultural and historical contexts, this chapter demonstrates how anarchists challenged actively the prevailing socio-cultural norms of family and home life in an industrial capitalist society, simultaneously (and consciously) prefiguring anarchist alternatives.

Rosario: the 'Argentinian Barcelona'

Situated along the banks of the Paraná River, Rosario is a port-city in Argentina's north-eastern province of Santa Fe. Though the locality can trace its history back at least as

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[8] Peter Laslett, 'Introduction: The History of the Family', in *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group of the last Three Centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and Colonial North America, with further Materials from Western Europe*, ed. by Peter Laslett (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 1-89 (p. 4).
[9] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: a Social History of Family Life*, trans. by Robert Baldick (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 128.
[10] Ibid., p. 128.
[11] Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 4.
[12] As Cunningham notes, Edward Shorter disagrees with Ariès' view that the emergence of the 'modern family' was primarily a result of the transformation of childhood, instead pointing to the rise of industrial capitalism. Similarly, whereas Ariès argued that adulthood and childhood have become more distinct from one another, Lloyd De Mause suggests that the opposite is the case: adults and children have actually grown closer together. Furthermore, some historians have even disputed the notion that childhood and the family have changed significantly over time. In the 1980s, scholars such as Linda Pollock began to emphasise the continuity of the concept of childhood – and, by extension, of the family – throughout history. See Cunningham, pp. 9-12.

far as the eighteenth century, it only gained the official status of a city in 1852.[13] Over the course of the nineteenth century, Rosario and its surrounding hinterland experienced a period of continual economic growth, largely due to its expanding agricultural sector.[14] In 1858, the city recorded just 9,785 inhabitants whilst, by 1887, this figure had risen to almost 50,000.[15] By the publication of the city's first municipal census in 1902, the population had nearly doubled to 92,799.[16] From 1914, Rosario not only constituted the second-largest city in Argentina, but also the eighth-largest in Latin America.[17]

Despite Rosario's rapid economic development over the course of the nineteenth century, this development proved highly uneven. For example, though Rosario possessed the second-highest income per capita in Argentina during the 1880s and 1890s, spending on education was only the fifth-highest in the country.[18] As a result, until the opening of the Governor Freyre School in February 1905, the provincial authorities did not own a single school building in Rosario.[19] Similarly, in the report on Argentina's working-classes which the Catalan doctor Juan Bialet Massé presented to the Argentinian Minister of the Interior in 1904, he complained that, proportionally, the richest inhabitants of Rosario paid far less tax than the poor.[20] He also found that the richer *rosarinos* rarely worked more than 280 days per

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[13] María C. Pía Martín, 'La Ciudad "Más Descreída" Cambia de Rumbo. Católicos y Política en la Ciudad de Rosario de Santa Fe (1924-1943)', *Historia Regional*, 34 (2016), 74-89 (p. 76) and Ricardo Falcón, *La Barcelona Argentina: Migrantes, Obreros y Militantes en Rosario, 1870-1912* (Rosario: Laborde Editor, 2005), p. 21.
[14] Falcón, p. 20.
[15] Ibid., p. 23.
[16] *Primer Censo Municipal de Población con Datos sobre Edificación, Comercio e Industria de la Ciudad del Rosario de Santa Fe (República Argentina) Levantado el Día 19 de Octubre bajo la Administración del Señor Don Luis Lamas: Rosario de Santa Fe, 1902* (Buenos Aires: Litografía, Imprenta y Encuadernación de Guillermo Kraft, 1902), p. 268.
[17] Michael Johns, 'The Making of an Urban Elite: the Case of Rosario, Argentina, 1880-1920', *Journal of Urban History*, 20.2 (1994), 155-178 (p. 157).
[18] Ibid., p. 170.
[19] Juan Álvarez, *Historia de Rosario (1689-1939)* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta López, 1943), p. 542.
[20] Juan Bialet Massé, *Informe sobre el Estado de las Clases Obreras Argentinas*, 3 vols (La Plata: Ministerio de Trabajo de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, 2010), I, p. 290.

year, whilst their working-class counterparts needed to work between 290 and 300 days annually to feed their families.[21]

As in Alcoy, the anarchist movement features heavily in the history of Rosario. A section of the Bakers' Society – a trade union 'of clear anarchist orientation' – had already been established in the city by August 1889 and, in 1899, the Centre for Social Studies opened a Libertarian Elementary School.[22] In April 1890, the local authorities arrested Virginia Bolten – who edited the Rosario-based anarcho-feminist newspaper *La Voz de la Mujer* – for distributing anarchist propaganda outside the gates of the Argentinian Refinery, and when the workers at this establishment went on strike in 1901, they received support from Bolten and her group.[23] From 1896, the neighbourhood of La Refinería became the scene of various large-scale strikes that later spread to the whole city and, on occasion, to the rest of the country: following mass strike action in 1901, the prominent local socialist Adrián Patroni described the city as 'the Argentinian Barcelona'.[24] Furthermore, as in the other localities that this thesis examines, the membership of Rosario's anarchist circles illustrates the transnational and trans-local nature of the wider movement. For example, in the mid-1890s, subscribers to the Rosario-based anarchist newspaper *La Verdad* included many Spanish activists, with sobriquets such as 'the *malagueño*', 'an Andalusian carpenter', and 'a *manchego*'.[25]

[21] Bialet Massé, p. 290.
[22] Zaragoza, pp. 121-122 and 434-435.
[23] Donna J. Guy and Leandro Wolfson, 'Refinería Argentina, 1888-1930: Límites de la Tecnología Azucarera en una Economía Periférica', *Desarrollo Económico*, 28.111 (1988), 353-373, pp. 363-364 and Agustina Prieto, 'Capítulo 3: Los Trabajadores', in *La Historia de Rosario – Economía y Sociedad – Tomo 1*, ed. by Ricardo Falcón and Myriam Stanley (Rosario: Homo Sapiens Ediciones, 2001), pp. 111-156 (p. 132).
[24] Ricardo Falcón, 'Élites Urbanas, Rol del Estado y Cuestión Obrera (Rosario, 1900-1912)', *Estudios Sociales*, 3.1 (1992), 87-106 (p. 99) and Agustina Prieto, 'Rosario, 1904: Cuestión Social, Política y Multitudes Obreras', *Estudios Sociales*, 19.1 (2000), 105-119 (p. 106). As Ealham indicates, throughout the forty years leading up to the Spanish Civil War, Barcelona remained 'the capital of Europe's biggest and most enduring anarchist movement'. See Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. xvii.
[25] 'Grupo <<La Verdad>>' *La Verdad*, December 1895, p. 4.

The Anarchist Home and 'Extended' Anarchist Family

The first municipal census of Rosario indicates that, as of October 1902, 1,118 *conventillos* existed in the city, housing some 10,048 inhabitants.[26] From 1888, the Argentinian Office of Hygiene attributed the term *conventillo* to any building which formed the permanent abode of more than three or four families.[27] In the nation's capital, the *conventillo* became known as an improvised slum-dwelling, which always housed more people than it had been designed to accommodate.[28] As in Buenos Aires, Rosario's *conventillos* comprised overcrowded tenements, in which privacy proved almost non-existent. The third municipal census, published in 1910, recorded that, in working-class neighbourhoods, investigators had encountered regularly ten or more people living in the same room.[29] The local authorities also acknowledged the shortage of workers' accommodation, and the difficulties in obtaining funds to remedy the situation. In a report that he sent to the city's Deliberative Council in May 1901, Luis Lamas – the Municipal Mayor – complained that, despite having approved the construction of new housing for workers in November 1899, the local authorities had not raised the capital required to proceed with the project.[30]

With this in mind, individual family members living in *conventillos* evidently enjoyed a very limited amount of personal space, and it is possible that the family home included a mixture of relatives and non-relatives. Even if a household comprised only family members,

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[26] *Primer Censo Municipal de Población*, p. 302.
[27] Cecilia María Pascual, 'Espacios Ausentes. Conventillo, Rancho y Periferia: Emergentes Urbanos de la Segregación. Rosario, Argentina (1900-1935)', *HiSTOReLo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local*, 9.18 (2017), 232-271 (p. 241).
[28] Ibid., p. 240.
[29] *Tercer Censo Municipal del Rosario de Santa Fe Levantado el 26 de Abril de 1910 bajo la Dirección del Secretario de la Intendencia Dr. Juan Álvarez* (Rosario: Intendencia del Doctor Isidro Quiroga, 1910), p. 62.
[30] *Memoria Presentada al Honorable Concejo Deliberante por el Intendente Municipal Luis Lamas – del 15 de Febrero de 1898 al 15 de Febrero de 1901*, p. xxiv. In a 2017 study, Cecilia María Pascual shows how, around 1900, Rosario's *conventillos* were most densely concentrated in the north of the city. In other words, the majority had emerged in the city's northern 'industrial neighbourhoods', such as La Refinería. See María Pascual, p. 240 and Prieto, 'Capítulo 3: Los Trabajadores', p. 120.

the high density of people in the *conventillos* would have led to a great deal of contact between the different households living under the same roof. In her 1994 study of everyday life in the Soviet Union, Svetlana Boym describes the ‘communal apartment’ (and, by extension, the ‘Soviet cultural unconscious’) as having ‘flimsy partitions between public and private, between control and intoxication’.[31] In a similar way, for families living in the *conventillos*, private and public spheres merged, as individuals crowded together in housing that did not meet the demands of the city’s poorest inhabitants.

At the same time, such tenements often lacked the most rudimentary facilities. In a report sent to the Municipal Mayor on the 31st of December 1903, the Inspector General, V. L Palenque, described the *conventillo* as being ‘of other times and other peoples, without air and without light, without latrines, without any kind of comfort…’[32] At the time of writing, some 1,758 *conventillos* of four or more rooms existed throughout the municipality, and Palenque indicated that, of these, only 573 possessed drainage facilities; 460 did not have baths; and sixty-four were located in streets with no running water.[33] From the 1880s, the unsanitary conditions of the *conventillos* had become increasingly a source of concern for Rosario’s elites, who wished to prevent the diseases prevalent in the workers’ tenements from spreading to the rest of the city.[34] Nevertheless, the lack of sanitation facilities endured throughout the period under study. In a letter to the Mayor of Rosario on the 14th of February 1933, Inspector General Eduardo C. Marquardt reported that working-class neighbourhoods

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[31] Svetlana Boym, *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 123.
[32] *Memoria Presentada al Honorable Concejo Deliberante por el Intendente Municipal Luis Lamas – del 15 de Febrero de 1901 al 31 de Diciembre de 1903* (Rosario: Establecimiento <<La Capital>> Calle Libertad 769, 1904), p. 186.
[33] Ibid., p. 183.
[34] Falcón, ‘Élites Urbanas, Rol del Estado y Cuestión Obrera, p. 97.

required more sewage systems urgently, and that despite the authorities' promises, they had still not allocated adequate funds for their construction.[35]

As well as providing unhygienic and uncomfortable living conditions, the working-class family home also constituted a place of anxiety and coercion, where families lived in constant fear of their landlords. In his report in December 1903, Palenque highlighted the nefarious behaviour of the landlords and managers of the *conventillos*, noting that they regularly 'hide what is bad' during inspections.[36] Similarly, he emphasised that the tenants themselves often did the same, for fear of reprisals.[37] On these occasions, tenants saw themselves forced to acquiesce in their own subjugation: caught within a dynamic of 'structural violence', they lived constantly under the threat of physical force (namely, eviction from the family home).[38] Some tenants sent anonymous complaints to the Inspector's office or to local newspapers, denouncing their landlords' behaviour.[39] However, if they discovered that complaints had been made, landlords often resorted to defamation, accusing female tenants of practising illicit prostitution or of having too many people in their bedroom (allegations that, in Palenque's experience, 'almost always turn out to be false or the invented pretext to rid themselves of a tenant who does not pay their rent…').[40] Again, from the perspective of working-class families, the distinction between public and private spheres remained tenuous. The home formed a site of political and social conflict which provided no

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[35] *Memoria de la Labor Desarrollada en el Período Marzo-Diciembre de 1932, Elevada al H. Concejo Deliberante por el Intendente Municipal Don Esteban N. Morcillo* (Rosario: Municipalidad de Rosario, 1933), p. 525.
[36] *Memoria Presentada al Honorable Concejo Deliberante por el Intendente Municipal Luis Lamas – del 15 de Febrero de 1901 al 31 de Diciembre de 1903*, p. 190.
[37] Ibid., p. 190.
[38] Anthropologist David Graeber employs the term 'structural violence' to refer to situations in which the *threat* of physical violence (rather than *acts* of physical violence) serves to ensure an adherence to hierarchy. See David Graeber, 'Dead Zones of the Imagination: on Violence, Bureaucracy and Interpretive Labour. The 2006 Malinowksi Memorial Lecture', *Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 2.2 (2012), 105-128 (pp. 105-106).
[39] *Memoria Presentada al Honorable Concejo Deliberante por el Intendente Municipal Luis Lamas – del 15 de Febrero de 1901 al 31 de Diciembre de 1903*, p. 190.
[40] Ibid., p. 190.

relief from the continual struggle raging between the propertied and the propertyless; between landowners and tenants.

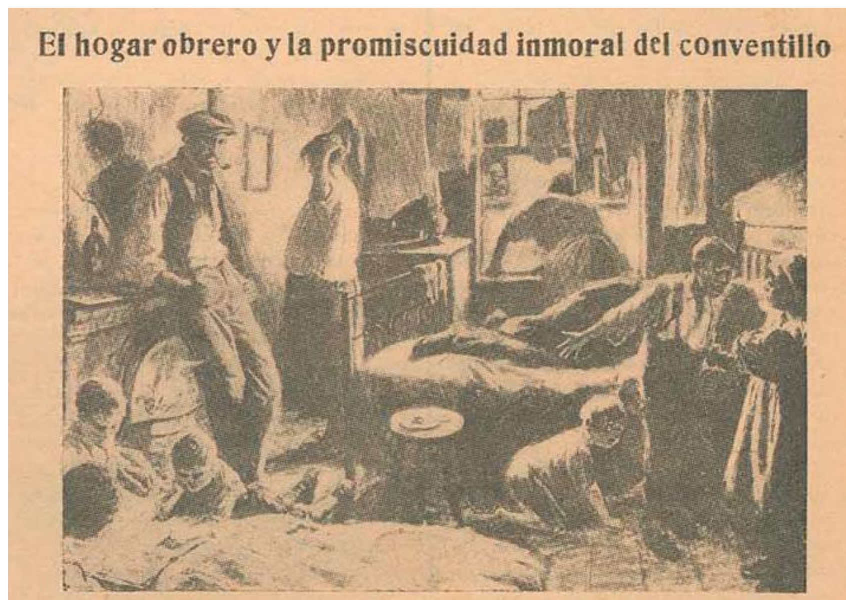
In a similar manner, the separation between the working-class family home and the sphere of labour proved far from clear-cut. In his 1904 report, Bialet Massé recalled how local women in poor neighbourhoods worked regularly from home, and that this served to proliferate the spread of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis.[41] In this sense, the home remained a site of production, and the productive activities in the domestic sphere had a direct impact on living conditions, leading to a situation in which family members ate, slept and socialised in an unsanitary environment. Furthermore, the buildings in which Rosario's working classes predominantly lived emerged around the city's northern industrial establishments, surrounding the Argentinian Refinery and the workshops of the Argentinian Central Railway.[42] For example, the second municipal census, published in 1908, explicitly conflated the success of the Argentinian Refinery – which had risen to 'occupy the first place among Rosario's industries', employing some 800 people by 1904 – with the growth of a 'populous and active neighbourhood'.[43] In other words, the existence of the *conventillos* was predicated on the work that many of their inhabitants carried out in their daily lives. The family home and the workplace remained, in the minds of many of the tenants, inextricably linked: the home formed the intersection between the domestic sphere and the sphere of labour.

Accordingly, the anarchist movement in Argentina often commented on the material conditions in which working-class families lived and, in turn, on the impact that these had on

[41] Bialet Massé, p. 300. For example, on one occasion, he had encountered an elderly cigarette-maker working in a *conventillo*, coughing due to the dust in the air. As a result of his investigations, he argued that the city's seamstresses should not be permitted to work at home unless they disinfected their working materials. See ibid., pp. 300-301.
[42] Prieto, 'Capítulo 3: Los Trabajadores', p. 120 and María Pascual, p. 57.
[43] Guy and Wolfson, (pp. 357, 365 and 367) and *Segundo Censo Municipal de la Ciudad del Rosario de Santa Fe (República Argentina) Levantado el 19 de Octubre de 1906 – Intendencia de Señor Nicasio Vila* (Rosario: Imprenta, Litografía y Encuadernación La Capital, Sarmiento 769, 1908), p. 313.

family life more generally. For example, on the 14th of August 1922, the weekly supplement of *La Protesta* – based in Buenos Aires – published an artist's sketch of a family living in a generic *conventillo*, with the following description: 'A room like this is where a family composed of a father, a mother – and, sometimes, a grandparent – and various children live and die, eat and sleep, play and work, quarrel and rest.'[44] It went on to describe how such a dwelling formed a breeding-ground for tuberculosis, and became the birthplace of society's future prisoners and prostitutes.[45] As Figure 2 shows below, the artist presents a melancholy scene, in which a forlorn father looks stoically on at a murky and dingy room filled with people (six children and three adults).

Figure 2



Here, the artist emphasises the conflation of public and private spheres with the image of the older woman in the background speaking to a neighbour through the window. Similarly, the man sleeping during the daytime on the only bed in the room illustrates the perpetual absence of privacy, as well as the limited personal space afforded to individual members of the

[44] 'El Hogar Obrero y la Promiscuidad Inmoral del Conventillo', *La Protesta – Suplemento Semanal*, 14 August 1922, p. 3. In English, the caption reads 'The working-class home and the immoral overcrowding of the *conventillo*.'
[45] Ibid., p. 3.

household. However, whilst drawing attention to the lack of hygiene and physical space, anarchists also underlined the impact that harsh living and working conditions had on the relationships between individual members of the family. On the 1st of July 1899, the local anarchist newspaper *La Nueva Humanidad* reproduced an article by the Buenos Aires-based anarchist 'Mediano', which stressed the dispassionate nature of the working-class family home under industrial capitalism. Specifically, the author emphasised the coldness that working men showed towards their wives and children after a long day at work, questioning how families could sustain love for each other if men proved too tired to show affection at home.[46] In other words, from the anarchist perspective, the prevailing economic system created an atmosphere of tension and despondence within the working-class family and home.[47]

At the same time, the traditional family structure formed a key part of the anarchists' critique of society, in both Spain and Argentina. Álvarez Junco illustrates how, in the Spanish case, anarchists viewed the family as a phenomenon based primarily on property and authority.[48] Nevertheless, despite their attacks on the 'bourgeois' family unit, they did not necessarily oppose the concept of the family in and of itself; instead, they opposed the prevailing iteration of the family which, in their view, reflected the values and aims of an elite strata of society.[49] In Argentina, anarchist discourse presented the family in a similar light: as a product of the specific society which had created it. For instance, on the 13th of December 1891, the Buenos Aires-based anarchist paper *El Perseguido* declared that 'the

[46] Mediano, 'El Hogar Doméstico y la Anarquía', *La Nueva Humanidad*, 1 July 1899, p. 23.
[47] Notably, there are even indications that, at times, male anarchist workers regarded the family home as something of a hindrance to their militant activities. Writing of Diego Abad de Santillán's work as *La Protesta*'s correspondent in Berlin, local anarchist Enrique Nido confessed, in a letter dated the 1st of January 1924, that he envied Santillán's 'situation as a bachelor'. See Letter from Enrique Nido to [Apolinario] Barrera, 1 January 1924, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 199, Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), Amsterdam, p. 3 and María Fernanda de la Rosa, 'La Figura de Diego Abad de Santillán como Nexo entre el Anarquismo Argentino, Europeo y Latinoamericano, 1920-1930', *Iberoamericana*, 12.48 (2012), 21-40 (p. 27).
[48] Álvarez Junco, pp. 289-291.
[49] Ibid., p. 294. For example, Spanish anarchists often venerated the working-class family as a bastion of 'purity' and 'love'. See ibid., p. 294.

constitution of the family reproduces the model of society, in turn exercising a great influence over social organisation'.[50] The editors went on to argue that 'it is impossible...to change the organisation of society without profoundly altering that of families'.[51]

As a result, anarchists in Rosario portrayed the family home itself as a site of libertarian activism, in which members of the household should alter their behaviour consciously to better reflect the ideals of the movement. On the 17th of October 1896, the local anarcho-communist Science and Progress group distributed a flyer which read: 'In [the anarchist's] home harmony must reign, not tyrannical imposition, peace not war, love not hate…'[52] Moreover, in August 1934, *La FORA* – the official organ of the Provincial Workers' Federation, based in Rosario – published an article which highlighted the impact that the home had on children's development, and urged mothers to 'transform the home and their person into educative elements of childhood…'[53] In other words, local anarchist discourse politicised the home, emphasising its transformative potential.

Accordingly, the family home provided the setting in which anarchists could subvert socio-cultural norms in their daily routines. For example, in Argentina, the consumption of beef had long been associated with 'manliness'; essential to the diet (and personality) of the *gaucho*, a figure who represented 'the epitome of free and brave Argentinian masculinity'.[54] In this sense, the consumption of meat proved a defining feature of national identity. However, as in Spain, by the early twentieth century, the naturist movement – which promoted vegetarianism – had become increasingly popular in Argentina and, in the early 1930s, the Rosario-based publication *Crítica Naturista* extolled the virtues of a vegetarian

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[50] 'La Mujer y la Familia', *El Perseguido*, 13 December 1891, p. 1.
[51] Ibid., p. 1.
[52] Flyer from the Science and Progress group, titled 'El Grupo de Propaganda Comunista-Anárquica "Ciencia y Progreso" al Pueblo', 17 October 1896, Max Nettlau Papers, 3389, IISG.
[53] J. L. Ginard, 'De las Escuelas y la Educación', *La FORA – Órgano de la Federación Provincial de Santa Fé*, August 1934, p. 2.
[54] Natalia Milanesio, 'Food Politics and Consumption in Peronist Argentina', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 90.1 (2010), 75-108 (p. 84).

diet.[55] For instance, in December 1932, it published a recommended weekly menu, including dishes such as spinach omelette, green salad, and bread with butter.[56] At this time, the naturist movement had a considerable following throughout the city: a naturist bookshop stood on Mitre Street, and locals had even opened a naturist nursery.[57] Significantly, there are indications that Rosario's anarchist and naturist movements were closely interconnected. *Crítica Naturista* described itself as a monthly publication of 'social criticism', suggesting that it engaged with class politics.[58] More importantly, in November 1932, an individual known as 'Germinal Quirós' occupied the presidency of Rosario's Naturist Social Club.[59] 'Germinal' remained a common name among anarchists (along with 'Aurora' and 'Libertad'), and it is therefore reasonable to assume that Quirós himself identified as an anarchist.[60] This, as well as the movement's popularity throughout the city, suggests strongly that at least some local anarchist households followed a vegetarian diet. Considering the importance of meat consumption to national identity, practicing vegetarianism constituted an inherently 'countercultural political act'.[61] Crucially, since most food would have been consumed in the home (at breakfast and supper), anarchists who followed a vegetarian diet brought the home to the forefront of everyday activism.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to reconstruct a more detailed picture of everyday life in the anarchist homes of this period, and the extent to which activists performed subversive

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[55] Cleminson, 'Making Sense of the Body', p. 704 and Eduard Masjuan, *La Ecología Humana en el Anarquismo Ibérico: Urbanismo <<Orgánico>>, o Ecológico, Neomalthusianismo y Naturismo Social* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2000), p. 458.
[56] 'Cocina Vegetariana', *Crítica Naturista*, December 1932, p. 4.
[57] 'Librería Ibérica', *Crítica Naturista*, December 1932, p. 6 and 'Recreos Infantiles', *Crítica Naturista*, December 1932, p. 7.
[58] At the start of the December 1932 issue, *Crítica Naturista* describes itself as a 'Monthly of Bioculture and Social Criticism'. Only three issues of *Crítica Naturista* survive, and so it is difficult to establish its ideological leanings with precision. See *Crítica Naturista*, December 1932, p. 1.
[59] 'Club Social Naturista', *Crítica Naturista*, December 1932, p. 1.
[60] Kirwin Shaffer, 'The Radical Muse: Women and Anarchism in Early-Twentieth-Century Cuba', *Cuban Studies*, 34 (2003), 130-153 (pp. 137-138).
[61] In their 2016 study of the relationship between activism and diet in the United States, Chelsea Chuck, Samantha A. Fernandes and Lauri L. Hyers argue that the consumption of food can serve as a 'countercultural political act'. See Chelsea Chuck, Samantha A. Fernandes and Lauri L. Hyers, 'Awakening to the Politics of Food: Politicized Diet as Social Identity', *Appetite*, 107 (2016), 425-436 (p. 425).

socio-cultural practices in the private sphere will hopefully form the basis of future avenues of research. Nevertheless, from the available evidence, it is clear that the anarchist home blurred the line between the nuclear family and the wider anarchist community. For example, on the 26th of December 1903, Ricardo Salcedo, a member of the Rosario-based anarchist Liberty and Love group, published his home address in *La Protesta*, asking comrades to call on him to collect materials related to the group's activities.[62] Here, it is striking that Salcedo felt comfortable publishing his personal details in a national publication – and that he invited fellow anarchists openly to discuss activist activities in his home – as this suggests that, within libertarian circles, little distinction existed between the private and public spheres. In this context, the lack of a clear boundary between the personal and the private reflects the experience of daily life in the city's overcrowded tenements where, as highlighted above, privacy proved almost non-existent. Nevertheless, it also suggests that, in practicality, the home served as an extension of the anarchist locale, the trade-union headquarters, or the athenaeum. Significantly, on the 11th of November 1921, the Buenos Aires-based anarchist newspaper *La Antorcha* published a literary piece by Joaquín Dicenta, in which he evoked the image of a new type of family which would one day 'transform humanity into a home without walls and the world into a homeland without borders'.[63] In this sense, Dicenta indicated that, for anarchists, the demolition of the borders that enclosed the family home would be key to the establishment of a libertarian society.

With this in mind, it is important to ascertain the extent to which local anarchist households transcended the borders of their respective homes in everyday life by interacting with each other and, more specifically, how, when and where they did so. From the start of the period under study, the local anarchist movement placed a particular emphasis on

[62] Ricardo Salcedo, 'Aviso', *La Protesta*, 26 December 1903, p. 4.
[63] Dicenta, p. 4.

sociability, encouraging families to socialise on a regular basis, and forge connections.[64] For example, on the 4th of September 1892, *El Perseguido* noted that anarchist groups in Rosario frequently held 'family gatherings in order to establish relations'.[65] Similarly, by the early 1920s, local anarchists often attended social events such as outdoor picnics.[66] On the 27th of December 1921, the local anarchist paper *Tribuna Libertaria* advertised a picnic due to take place on the 7th of January 1922.[67] Notably, the editors described this event as a 'family picnic', held in order to raise money for the paper's Pro Prisoners Committee. [68] To this end, the organisers had scheduled various games (including a raffle) and, stressing the familial character of the event, entry was free for children, and attendees could enjoy a moderately priced buffet.[69] On the 7th of January 1923, the Local Federation of Rosario hosted another 'family picnic', also in support of local activists in prison.[70] When *La Protesta* advertised the event on the 30th of December 1922, it presented the picnic as an opportunity 'to pass a day of expansion, of fraternity and of workers' solidarity…so that the relations between libertarian communist families are cultivated and made stronger.'[71]

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[64] Jean-Louis Guereña notes that the term 'sociability' refers to 'the aptitude of men [or people] to relate to each other in collectives, which are more or less stable, more or less numerous, and to the forms, spheres and manifestations of collective life that are constructed for this purpose'. According to political scientist David Morland, anarchist philosophy considers 'sociability' to be one of the two main facets of human nature (along with 'egoism'). As a result, the prominent anarchist thinker and naturalist Peter Kropotkin stressed the importance of sociability to human evolution, arguing – in Morland's words – that 'life in societies ensures survival'. See Jean-Louis Guereña, 'La Sociabilidad en la España Contemporánea', in *Sociabilidad – Fin de Siglo. Espacios Asociativos en Torno a 1898*, ed. by Isidro Sánchez Sánchez and Rafael Villena Espinosa (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad Castilla-La Mancha, 1999), pp. 15-72 (p. 16) and David Morland, *Demanding the Impossible? Human Nature and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Social Anarchism* (London and Washington: Cassell, 1997), pp. 2, 7, 126-128 and 135.

[65] 'Movimiento Social – Interior', *El Perseguido*, 4 September 1892, p. 3.

[66] These 'anarchist picnics' were reminiscent of similar events, elsewhere. In his 2001 study of anarchist culture in Buenos Aires, Suriano suggests that the squalid conditions of tenement-life provided workers with a strong incentive to socialise outside the home, whether that was in the courtyards of the tenements, on country walks or at outdoor picnics. Similarly, writing of German-American anarchists in New York in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Goyens shows how, during the summertime, anarchist picnics provided a means for families to gain some relief from the stifling heat of their tenement-buildings. See Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 92 and Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: the German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), p. 177.

[67] 'Gran Pic-Nic Familiar', *Tribuna Libertaria*, 27 December 1921, p. 4.

[68] Ibid., p. 4.

[69] Ibid., p. 4.

[70] 'La Protesta en Rosario', *La Protesta*, 30 December 1922, p. 2.

[71] Ibid., p. 2.

Such gatherings clearly played an important role in alleviating some of the key difficulties that the movement faced, raising much-needed funds to support prisoners and their families. However, the emphasis on forging connections – and the fact that these events were overtly family-oriented – underlines the role that they played in promoting sociability between anarchist families and, by extension, in cultivating a collective anarchist identity. Further highlighting the social purpose of these events, on the 19th of February 1922, *La Protesta* advertised the regular picnics that it held on Maciel Island in Buenos Aires by describing them as 'the most faithful exponent[s] of popular culture', which demonstrated 'the clear joy and spiritual communion of the whole'.[72] In other words, bringing like-minded individuals together in one place allowed anarchists to satisfy their own social (even 'spiritual') needs. At the same time, family gatherings offered anarchists – in Rosario and elsewhere – the opportunity to transcend the borders of the nuclear family, in effect merging nuclear family units into a broader, 'extended' anarchist family.[73]

Nevertheless, these family-oriented events fulfilled a prefigurative function, too. According to Goyens, anarchist picnics constructed 'an oppositional space' for activists, where 'their ideals could be practiced in the here and now'.[74] Similarly, writing of the nature trips popular among Spanish anarchists, anthropologist Mary Orgel argues that such outings were 'not intended to seduce people away from the problems of the day'.[75] Instead, they

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[72] 'Nuestras Fiestas', *La Protesta – Suplemento Semanal*, 19 February 1922, p. 7.
[73] The term 'family' has many different meanings, and it is used to refer to 'a range of different relationships, practices and emotions.' According to sociologists Graham Allan and Graham Crow, whilst 'kinship is rooted in marriage and biological connection…the ties which are honoured and the solidarities which develop are socially defined.' In other words, the terms 'family' and 'kinship' do not always exclusively refer to the relationships between blood relatives. That is, our perceived 'kinship' to others is not merely based on biological factors, but also the level of contact that we have with other people. In this sense, close contact can lead to a shared feeling of brotherhood, sisterhood or parenthood, even when there is no common genealogical heritage. Similarly, against the backdrop of Rosario's regular anarchist family gatherings, the term 'anarchist family' is equally applicable to the broader kinship network that connected the nuclear family to the wider anarchist movement. See Graham Allan and Graham Crow, *Families, Households and Society* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 1-2 and 5 and Ken Binmore, *Natural Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 111.
[74] Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, pp. 178-179.
[75] Mary Orgel, 'Excursionismo: an Anthropological and Anarchist Methodology for Exploring the Past', *Contemporary Justice Review*, 5.1 (2002), 35-45 (p. 38).

aimed to 'bring into awareness, through sharp relief, the illegitimacy of current social formations and the legitimacy of anarchist alternatives.'[76] Notably, following the aforementioned picnic in Rosario in January 1923, the Local Federation prepared a manifesto, which *La Protesta* published on the 13th of that month.[77] In this manifesto, the Federation stated that, on such occasions – as in all public displays in their daily lives – local anarchists needed to demonstrate that 'we are capable of looking after ourselves'.[78] Referring to the 'instinct of sociability', it declared that, at the picnic, 'our conception of mutual and free common existence should be evident'.[79] In this sense, these gatherings constructed a model of libertarian family and community life that could be implemented in the future society.

Gender in the Anarchist Family:
Activist Mothering and Social Reproduction

As in Alcoy, women played a significant role in Rosario's anarchist movement, establishing libertarian groups and institutions. For example, in 1900, local female activists including Virginia Bolten and Teresa Deloso founded the Proletarians group and, in 1922, a group of female teachers established a school in the headquarters of the Regional Federation of Port and Metallurgical Workers, on Catamarca Street (discussed in more detail below).[80] Notably, anarchist women became heavily involved in local trade-union activities. As highlighted above, Bolten's group lent its support to the workers of the Argentinian Refinery when they went on strike in 1901 and, on the 9th of August 1902, *La Protesta Humana* reported that some 800 people 'of both sexes' had attended the opening of the Local

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[76] Orgel, p. 38.
[77] 'La Protesta en Rosario', *La Protesta*, 13 January 1923, p. 2.
[78] Ibid., p. 2.
[79] Ibid., p. 2.
[80] Zaragoza, p. 441 and 'Educaciones – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', *Tribuna Libertaria*, 15 April 1922, p. 3.

Workers' Federation on Santa Fe Street.[81] Similarly, at the national congress of the FORA in 1905, Juana Rouco Buela represented the women who worked at the Refinery and, in her memoirs, she described this experience as her 'first step' within the anarchist movement.[82] Furthermore, in a letter to the Provincial Schools Inspector on the 25th of November 1901, the General Administrator of the Argentinian Refinery claimed that, during the recent strike action, groups of women had roamed the streets shouting 'long live anarchy!'[83] Though it does not necessarily reflect the degree of freedom they enjoyed within the family home, the fact that these anarchist women propagated their beliefs openly on the street does at least indicate that female activists felt comfortable declaring their libertarian ideology publicly within the local working-class community.

Nevertheless, during the period under study, the anarchist movement in Rosario consistently reinforced traditional gender-roles and conceptions of the family. For example, the activities that took place at the 'family picnic' on the 7th of January 1923 included a 'tug-of-war' between married couples and single comrades, and the organisers awarded prizes to the man and woman who 'conducted themselves with the greatest morality' whilst dancing.[84] According to the third municipal census of Rosario, in 1909, the number of weddings that occurred in the city and nearby Santa Fe was lower than in Buenos Aires (8.9 and 6.1 weddings took place for every 1,000 inhabitants in Rosario and Santa Fe respectively, compared to 9.1 in the nation's capital), suggesting that marriage proved less common in the province of Santa Fe than elsewhere.[85] However, the distinction between 'married' and 'single' individuals at the anarchist picnic in January 1923 indicates that marriage remained

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[81] Parsons, 'Desde Rosario', *La Protesta Humana*, 9 August 1902, p. 3.
[82] Juana Rouco Buela, *Historia de un Ideal Vivido por una Mujer* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Reconstruir, 1964), p. 15.
[83] Letter from the General Administrator of the Argentinian Refinery to the Provincial Schools Inspector, 25 November 1901, 'Gris Cupernino, Establece que su Esc. de Rosario no es Anarquista', 1 Ministro de Gobernación, 4 Sección Agricultura, Tomo 394, Expd. 0350, Extr. 0000, Sec. 0001, Archivo General de la Provincia de Santa Fe (AGPSF), Santa Fe, p. 3.
[84] 'La Protesta en Rosario', *La Protesta*, 30 December 1922, p. 2.
[85] *Tercer Censo Municipal del Rosario de Santa Fe*, p. 58.

prevalent among Rosario's anarchist couples, in spite of the fact that the Argentinian anarchist press of the time often argued in favour of so-called 'free love' (generally understood, in this context, to mean a heterosexual relationship without religious or juridical endorsement).[86] Local activists had established a Free Love group nearly thirty years earlier, in 1895, and in a speech he gave on the 17th of January 1897, Emilio Arana – a Spanish migrant who, from 1896 onwards, became a notable figure in Rosario's anarchist circles – argued that the 'free union' should replace the traditional 'legal marriage'. [87] In other words, on this issue, a significant disparity persisted between anarchist theory and practice.

Equally, the emphasis on 'morality' when dancing indicates that anarchist leaders sought to imbue libertarian family gatherings with elements of conservative social values. On the 13th of January 1923, *La Protesta* even complained that, in Rosario, 'it is not unusual for the picnics…to degenerate…into improper spectacles'.[88] Here, the newspaper's disappointment at the conduct of the attendees highlights the inconsistency between the views of the leadership and those of the rank-and-file members of the local movement. Evidently, the reality of everyday anarchist familial practices at the local level clashed with the ideals of some anarchist leaders, who attempted to impose a sense of decorum and tradition onto family events.

In addition, the provincial anarchist press reiterated the deferential role that it expected women to play within the anarchist movement (and, by implication, within the family). On the 17th of June 1927, *Liberación* (based in nearby Santa Fe) published an article by a young anarchist, in which she urged women to support men in their efforts to free the Italian-American activists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.[89] Specifically, the author

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[86] Fernández Cordero, *Amor y Anarquismo*, p. 21.
[87] 'Por la Propaganda', *La Nueva Humanidad*, 1 August 1895, p. 32, Emilio Arana, *La Mujer y la Familia: Conferencia Dada en el Rosario de Santa Fé, el Día 17 de Enero de 1897* (Rosario de Santa Fe: Grupo de Propaganda Comunista Anárquica "Ciencia y Progreso", 1897) p. 72 and Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 260.
[88] 'Nuestras Fiestas', *La Protesta*, 13 January 1923, p. 2.
[89] Una Joven Anarquista, '¡Oid, Compañeras!', *Liberación*, 17 June 1927, p. 2.

argued that 'with our tender words, we must help, encourage [the] men', again prescribing a supplementary function for female activists in relation to their male counterparts, and simultaneously emphasising the role of women as carers.[90] Foucault argues that, within families, 'fathers are individuated…in a way that no other family members are.'[91] In this sense, the family revolves around the father and, in turn, he constitutes the only figure who assumes the status of an individual. The other members of the family are collectively subsumed into the wider family unit and, accordingly, they are anonymised. In like manner, anarchist discourse that attributed a supportive and caring role to women achieved the same result, foregrounding the man in both the sphere of libertarian activism and family life.[92]

Despite this, a close examination of the lists of subscribers to Rosario's local anarchist press highlights the active role that anarchist women played in the construction of the anarchist family unit. They consciously sought out anarchist partners, and proudly raised 'anarchist' children. That is, they displayed a significant amount of autonomy – and exercised a considerable degree of agency – in the formation of libertarian family life and identity. For example, in January 1895, the local workers' newspaper *La Verdad* published a list of members of the Emancipation of Women and Truth anarchist groups.[93] One female member referred to herself as 'a young woman who wishes to find an anarchist boyfriend', and another affiliate even described herself as 'the mother of a little Ravachol', alluding to the anarchist François Claudius Koenigstein (known as 'Ravachol') whom the French authorities

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[90] Una Joven Anarquista, p. 2.
[91] Chloe Taylor, 'Foucault and Familial Power', *Hypatia*, 27.1 (2012), 201-218 (p. 204).
[92] In other words, anarchist discourse in Rosario mirrored that of Spain, where anarchist publications such as *La Revista Blanca* reflected 'nineteenth century notions of separate spheres for men and women', and the idea of 'gender complementarity'. See Richard Cleminson, 'The Construction of Masculinity in the Spanish Labour Movement: a Study of the *Revista Blanca* (1923-36)', *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 24.3 (2011), 201-217 (p. 208).
[93] 'Lista de Suscrición [sic]', *La Verdad*, January 1895, p. 4.

executed in 1892 for his involvement in a series of bombings in Paris.[94] The pseudonyms that these women assumed in the local press illustrate how, in the minds of female activists, the 'anarchist family' did not constitute an abstract concept: it formed a tangible part of everyday life. From their perspective, they were constructing an explicitly libertarian nuclear family unit, composed of an anarchist mother, an anarchist father, and (they hoped) anarchist children. In this respect, both motherhood and the act of seeking out a sexual partner assumed prefigurative political functions.

Whilst these examples reveal that local anarchist women played a key role in initiating the construction of the anarchist family, it is important to note that there are many more examples of local anarchist men seeking female anarchist partners. For instance, in May 1895, a subscriber to *La Verdad* referred to himself as 'a young man who wants to find an anarchist *compañera*'; similarly, in December of that year, a local male activist went by the name of 'a *compañero* who wants an anarchist *compañera*'; and on the 9th of January 1896, *La Libre Iniciativa* – another local anarchist newspaper – cited two male subscribers to the Rosario-based Rebellion Group, who referred to themselves as 'two *compañeros* who want two anarchist *compañeras*'.[95] However, though such examples might suggest that local anarchist men exercised a greater degree of agency in the construction of the family unit than their female counterparts, they also indicate that, in many cases, husbands did not determine their wives' ideological leanings. That is, women often entered marriage as anarchists, rather than developing their political consciousness afterwards, under the influence of their male partners. In this sense, the political opinions of anarchist women did not necessarily play a subordinate role within romantic relationships to those of their men. Underlining this point, in

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[94] 'Lista de Suscrición [sic]', *La Verdad*, January 1895, p. 4 and Richard Jensen, 'Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16.1 (2004), 116-153 (p. 135).

[95] 'Lista de Suscripción', *La Verdad*, May 1895, p. 4, 'Avisos', *La Verdad*, December 1895, p. 4 and 'Suscripción a Favor de la Libre Iniciativa', *La Libre Iniciativa*, 9 January 1896, p. 4.

December 1895, a local couple subscribing to *La Verdad* even referred to themselves as 'an anarchist *señora* and a butcher cut from the same cloth'.[96] Here, the woman's ideological affiliation precedes that of her male partner. In like manner, the pseudonyms that male activists adopted in the local anarchist press illustrate how the vision of an 'anarchist family' was not unique to women. In March 1896, a subscriber to the local Bakers' Group labelled himself 'a father who has seven children and all of them are anarchists'.[97] In this case, the father's evident pride at raising 'anarchist' children recalls the aforementioned 'mother of a little Ravachol': according to the local anarchist conception of the nuclear family, fatherhood and motherhood both served prefigurative political functions, actively contributing to the formation of a new generation of anarchist activists.

Analysing the subscription lists in the local anarchist press provides revealing insights into the process which formed anarchist families, at least at the start of the period under study. The above examples illustrate that the anarchist press became essential to libertarian sociability: it provided a forum in which activists could forge romantic connections with men and women who espoused a similar worldview. Unsurprisingly, if anarchists adopted pseudonyms that advertised their desire to form romantic connections with other activists, these concerned exclusively heterosexual relationships (in other words, activists only expressed an interest in meeting comrades of the opposite sex). This reflects a more general hostility towards homosexuality in Argentinian anarchist discourse, notably in publications such as *La Protesta*, *El Perseguido*, *Ideas* and even *La Voz de la Mujer*.[98] In this sense,

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[96] 'Avisos', *La Verdad*, December 1895, p. 4.
[97] 'Lista de Suscripción a Favor de <<La Verdad>>', *La Verdad*, March 1896, p. 4.
[98] Fernández Cordero, *Amor y Anarquismo*, pp. 127-134. Scholars such as Richard Cleminson and Enrique Álvarez have drawn attention to a similar hostility towards homosexuality within the Spanish anarchist movement. For example, discussing the discourse in *La Revista Blanca* – primarily between 1923 and 1936 – Cleminson shows how the publication reflected nineteenth-century conceptions of masculinity and, as a result, routinely denigrated homosexual men. Equally, in reference to the 1920s and 1930s, Álvarez highlights 'the animosity directed towards "inverts", "effeminates" and "homosexuals" in Spanish libertarian circles'. In Álvarez's view, such attitudes reproduced the 'traditional morality' of the Catholic Church, and were 'part and parcel of the ideological baggage of the working class'. See Cleminson, 'The Construction of Masculinity in the Spanish Labour Movement', pp. 201, 208 and 210-211 and Enrique Álvarez, 'Man Un/Made: Male Homosocial

anarchist families in Rosario maintained the heteronormative characteristics that the prevailing socio-cultural order (and wider anarchist movement) prescribed. At the same time, the fact that anarchists were explicitly seeking romantic connections with like-minded individuals emphasises the insularity of the anarchist family. That is, it implies that the process of forming an anarchist family was, by definition, exclusionary.

Nevertheless, despite the evident insularity of the extended anarchist family in Rosario, local anarchist women performed a key role in breaking down the barriers between the nuclear family unit and the wider anarchist community. Traditionally, scholarship has approached motherhood and activism as separate phenomena, rather than as concepts that, in practice, are often deeply interlinked.[99] Furthermore, scholars tend to regard family life and the wider community as clearly distinguishable.[100] However, on the 15th of April 1922, correspondents for the local anarchist newspaper *Tribuna Libertaria* reported that they had visited one of the city's '22nd of May' schools (discussed below), located on Catamarca Street.[101] A group of anarchist women had recently established the school, and they spoke to the journalists about their teaching methods and experiences within the institution. Notably, they described the children and teachers as 'a little family', and they referred to the absence of rigid discipline in the 'familial interactions' between staff and pupils.[102] Here, the relationship between the women and the children in their care blurred the boundary between family and community life: the women regarded the children as if they were their own, and treated them accordingly.[103]

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and Homosexual Desire in Anarchist Culture of the Spanish Civil War', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 18.1 (2012), 17-32 (p. 19).

[99] Nancy A. Naples, 'Activist Mothering: Cross-Generational Continuity in the Community Work of Women from Low-Income Urban Neighbourhoods', *Gender and Society*, 6.3 (1992), 441-463 (p. 446).

[100] Ibid., p. 446.

[101] 'Educacionales – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', p. 3.

[102] Ibid., p. 3.

[103] Nancy Naples employs the term 'activist mothering' to describe mothering practices that transcend the traditional roles attributed to motherhood (such as caring for children in the wider community with whom one has no biological connection). See Naples, p. 448.

In general, women played an important part in the city's anarchist educational initiatives, assuming a large proportion of the teaching responsibilities within the local movement. Barrancos notes that, by March 1922, the Pro Rationalist Schools Group of the Province of Santa Fe had already established four rationalist schools throughout Rosario.[104] These schools became known as the '"22nd of May" Rationalist Schools', to commemorate the date on which teachers throughout the province had declared a large-scale strike in 1921.[105] During this strike, a group of female teachers had risen to prominence as leaders within the provincial labour movement, such as Ángela Agüero, who continued to teach workers for many years, and remained close to the anarchist organisations.[106] The aforementioned school on Catamarca Street was the third '22nd of May' school to be established and, as highlighted above, a group of anarchist women founded the institution.[107] Though men occupied some of the leading roles in this new network of schools – Enrique Nido directed the first of these institutions, and another male activist, T. Rivas, was the secretary of the Auxiliary Committee of the '22nd of May' Schools – it appears that the teachers were predominantly women.[108] For example, on the 19th of May 1922, *Tribuna Universitaria* – the official organ of the University [Workers'] Federation of Rosario – reported that it had visited all of these schools, and it referred continually to the teachers as female.[109] Several months earlier, on the 30th of March, it had described the women as the initiators of the project, and noted that, having all participated in the teachers' strike, they had then sought out the support of the unions to finance the schools' construction.[110]

[104] Barrancos, p. 173.
[105] Ibid., pp. 173-174.
[106] Ibid., p. 174.
[107] Ibid., p. 178 and 'Educaciones – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', p. 3.
[108] Barrancos, pp. 175-176.
[109] 'Escuelas 22 de Mayo', *Tribuna Universitaria*, 19 May 1922, p. 2.
[110] '22 de Mayo', *Tribuna Universitaria*, 30 March 1922, p. 1.

The presence of so many female teachers within local anarchist educational circles at this time reflects the Argentinian anarchist movement's prevailing emphasis – which Laura Catena and Velia Sabrina Luparello have identified in *Nuestra Tribuna* – on the role of women as the educators of future generations; those who would fulfil 'the anarchist *duty* to educate children for freedom'.[111] Accordingly, in her memoirs, Rouco Buela recalls how, after relocating to Rosario in 1920, she began to assist the young daughter of a local anarchist activist with her singing practice, and later accompanied her on a singing tour of nearby towns.[112] In this sense, within the local anarchist community, women enjoyed a unique relationship with children. Not only were many of them mothers in the traditional sense: they also taught and cared for children within the extended anarchist family.[113]

In the 1980s, feminist scholars began to re-evaluate the Marxist concept of 'reproductive labour', which had previously been used to describe women's unpaid work in the home.[114] Instead, the term 'social reproduction' encompasses all work (paid or unpaid) which is essential to the continuation and reproduction of a way of life.[115] In other words,

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[111] Catena and Sabrina Luparello, pp. 114 and 122.
[112] Rouco Buela, *Historia de un Ideal*, pp. 62-63. This young singer was Libertad Lamarque who, from the late 1920s, featured prominently in Argentinian music, theatre and cinema, before migrating to Mexico, in 1945. See Alessander Kerber, 'A Ilusão Biográfica e a Busca de um Sentido Argentino ou Latino-Americano na Autobiografia de Libertad Lamarque', *Cuadernos del CILHA*, 20 (2014), 43-72 (p. 43).
[113] In other words, the local anarchist movement exhibited a maternalist understanding of womanhood, equating women with mothers and carers. The term 'maternalism' remains difficult to define precisely, and it has given rise to a variety of different interpretations. Despite this, Alma Idiart argues that, in part, the concept emphasises women's role as mothers, and their 'allegedly unique virtues', such as the 'capacity for nurturing, selflessness and unconditional love'. Notably, similar ideas permeated the anarchist movement in Spain. For example, Mary Nash shows how, during the Spanish Civil War, even those anarchist organisations which challenged the 'fundamental underpinnings' of motherhood continued to address women 'primarily as mothers'. Nevertheless, on this issue, libertarian attitudes varied considerably. For instance, whilst Federica Montseny stressed the importance of motherhood, fellow Spanish anarchist Lucía Sánchez Saornil opposed the way in which 'one considered woman exclusively as a mother, nullifying her individuality'. See Alma Idiart, 'The Origins and Transformations of the Infant-Maternity Health and Nutritional Programmes in Argentina', in *Maternalism Reconsidered: Motherhood, Welfare and Social Policy in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Marian van der Klein, Rebecca Jo Plant, Nichole Sanders and Lori R. Weintrob (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012), pp. 227-243 (pp. 227-228), Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Denver: Arden Press, 1995), p. 58 and Helena Andrés Granel, 'Mujeres Libres: Emancipación Femenina y Revolución Social', Germinal, 2 (2006), 43-57 (p. 56).
[114] Mignon Duffy, 'Doing the Dirty Work: Gender, Race and Reproductive Labour in Historical Perspective', *Gender and Society*, 21.3 (2007), 313-336 (pp. 315-316).
[115] Ibid., p. 316.

'social reproduction' can refer to work that 'involves subsistence, education and training', as well as to 'the reproduction and provisioning of caring needs'.[116] With this in mind, both the educational and caring roles that Rosario's anarchist women carried out in their everyday lives during the period under study constituted forms of socially reproductive labour, which not only sustained the movement, but also remained key to its proliferation. Whilst this reinforced women's traditional gender roles as mothers and carers, it also politicised motherhood, and placed women (rather than men) at the head of the extended anarchist family.

Anarchist Experiences of Childhood and Adulthood

Despite the criticisms of Ariès' thesis in *Centuries of Childhood*, his underlying assumption – the notion 'that over time and in different cultures, both ideas about childhood and the experience of being a child had changed' – remains highly relevant when examining a movement in which understandings of childhood and adult-child relations deviated significantly from socio-cultural norms.[117] Nevertheless, before analysing contemporary libertarian conceptions of childhood and the experiences of children within Rosario's anarchist movement, it is first necessary to establish the predominant socio-cultural attitudes towards children during the period under study, as well as the material conditions in which local children lived. Here, the term 'children' refers specifically to minors up to the age of fourteen when, following the introduction of compulsory education (see below), contemporary Argentinians normally left school.[118]

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[116] Isabella Bakker, 'Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 12.4 (2007), 541-556 (p. 541).
[117] Hugh Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', *The American Historical Review*, 103.4 (1998), 1195-1208 (p. 1197).
[118] Sandra Carli, *Niñez, Pedagogía y Política: Transformaciones de los Discursos acerca de la Infancia en la Historia de la Educación Argentina entre 1880 y 1955* (Buenos Aires and Madrid: Miño y Dávila, 2003), p. 35.

Throughout the period under study, the city's working-class children grew up in unhygienic and dangerous conditions. In a letter to the Mayor of Rosario on the 31st of March 1891, Isidoro Quiroja, from the local Public Health department, reported that some 432 people had died of smallpox during the previous year and that, in response, the authorities had begun to administer vaccinations both in the local clinic and in the *conventillos*.[119] Despite these precautions, in the early years of the twentieth century, the child mortality rate in Rosario remained high. A 2001 study of thirty-six towns across England and Wales found that, in 1895, child mortality reached 15.6 per cent, falling to 12.8 per cent, in 1905.[120] By contrast, in 1900, 29.1 per cent of Rosario's children died in their first year, and though this figure declined gradually over the following decade, in 1909, it was still 26.8 per cent.[121] Similarly, many children worked alongside their parents in conditions that proved severely detrimental to their health. In his 1904 report, Bialet Massé stated that young girls 'of twelve and ten years of age' worked ten-and-a-half hours per day at the Argentinian Refinery, and he complained that many of the young girls appeared 'anaemic, pale, skinny, with all the symptoms of over-work and restricted breathing…'[122] He also suggested that the poorest families which required their children to find work in the Refinery – or in the local tobacco factories – often encouraged them to lie about their age, so that 'little girls say they are twelve years old when they are younger than eight…'[123] From an early age, local working-class children (those fortunate enough to survive infancy) confronted the same physical demands as their parents: forced to navigate hazardous living and working conditions which, in many cases, led to illness and fatigue.

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[119] *Memoria que Presenta el Intendente Municipal de la Ciudad de Rosario de Santa-Fé (República Argentina) Dr. Gabriel Carrasco á la Comisión Administradora Correspondiente al Año 1890* (Rosario de Santa-Fé: Imp. Librería y Encuadernación de R. Olivé [Hijo], 1891), pp. 189-190.
[120] Frances Bell and Robert Millward, 'Infant Mortality in Victorian Britain: the Mother as Medium', *Economic History Review*, 4 (2001), 699-733 (pp. 700-701).
[121] *Tercer Censo Municipal del Rosario de Santa Fe*, p. 65.
[122] Bialet Massé, pp. 294-295.
[123] Ibid., p. 305.

At the same time, in their daily lives, local children often became exposed to the same vices as adults. On the 5th of June 1895, the city's police department ordered its officers to be particularly vigilant of minors who visited brothels and establishments that sold alcohol, 'in order to prevent them, as far as possible, from embarking on a life of sin and perdition.'[124] Similarly, on the 6th of March 1902, one of Rosario's main newspapers, *La Capital*, complained of the pervasiveness of gambling and prostitution in the city, remarking that 'people play shamelessly, day and night, opening their door to vice, without distinctions of class or age'.[125] The editors reported that, the previous day, they had seen a minor lose 'at least 108 *pesos* in fewer than thirty minutes, and another youngster who lost a further thirty-five *pesos* in half that time'.[126] Evidently, at the turn of the twentieth century, contemporary distinctions between adulthood and childhood remained tenuous, at least in relation to the spheres of labour and leisure. Both children and adults worked, drank alcohol, gambled, and frequented brothels. Ariès argued that, in the early modern period, young people found themselves integrated into the 'world of adults' at an early age.[127] Specifically, he suggested that adults and children undertook the same recreational activities until games exclusively aimed at children began to emerge in the seventeenth century.[128] Equally, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, children in Rosario soon found themselves immersed in the culture of their elders, often participating in the same illicit leisure activities, and indulging in the same licentious behaviours.

Scholars have often misinterpreted Ariès' thesis that, in the Middle Ages, 'the idea of childhood did not exist'.[129] As Hugh Cunningham points out, in translations of Ariès' work,

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[124] 'Policía del Rosario – Órden del Día Número 1-291 Año 1895', Archivo del Museo de la Ciudad de Rosario 'Wladimir Mikielievich', Rosario, p. 123.
[125] 'El Juego en el Rosario', *La Capital*, 6 March 1902, p. 1.
[126] Ibid., p. 1.
[127] James Casey, *The History of the Family* (New York and Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 153.
[128] Ibid., p. 153.
[129] Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', p. 1197.

the word 'idea' denotes 'the French *sentiment*, which conveys a very different meaning'.[130] Put simply, rather than suggesting that the concept of childhood did not exist at all in the Middle Ages, Ariès merely argued that understandings of childhood were different in that historical context.[131] In a similar way, the participation of young *rosarinos* in adult pastimes during the period under study does not mean that the concept of childhood did not exist in the city at this time, or that locals did not distinguish between children and adults in any way. The fact that the police and local press drew attention to the involvement of children in adult pastimes reflects a general consensus that certain activities remained unsuitable for younger people. Here, Colin Heywood's assertion that, in the nineteenth century, 'childhood was less distinct from adulthood than in the early twenty-first century' constitutes a more accurate interpretation.[132] Undoubtedly, locals differentiated between children and adults (and, by extension, between childhood and adulthood), but the realities of urban poverty – with the concomitant mortality rate, unhygienic living conditions, gruelling work-regime and associated dangers – precipitated the speed at which young *rosarinos* entered the sphere of adult life.

In spite of the ostensibly tenuous separation between childhood and adulthood in certain aspects of everyday life, some local institutions reinforced the distinctions between the two, at least in theory. In his work, Ariès emphasised the role of formal education in marking out a 'transitional' phase between childhood and adulthood, with schools serving as an 'instrument of social initiation'.[133] That is, schooling provides a framework in which children 'learn' to become adults gradually, rather than abruptly entering adult life at a young age. In 1884, the Argentinian government introduced compulsory secular education

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[130] Cunningham, 'Histories of Childhood', p. 1197.
[131] Ibid., p. 1197.
[132] Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge and Maiden: Polity Press, 2008), p. 171.
[133] Ariès, pp. 369 and 412.

throughout the Republic.[134] In an effort to encourage attendance, Rosario's local press often published the names of those enrolled students who failed to attend school. For example, on the 21st of October 1899, *La República* included a list of those who had been absent from the National College the previous day whilst, on the 16th of July 1905, *El Municipio* did the same.[135] Such cases highlight the importance that local elites attributed to education, but by the early twentieth century, Rosario's state education system was failing to meet the needs of the city's children. In his report, Bialet Massé drew attention to the shortage of educational institutions throughout the locality, recalling various conversations with mothers in the *conventillos* who expressed their frustration at not being able to send their children to school.[136] The municipal census of 1900 calculated that some 22,899 children of school age (between six and fourteen years old) lived in the area, but only 14,649 had enrolled in the city's schools.[137] The authorities noted that many children received formal instruction at home, and pointed out that some parents refused to send their children to school until the age of seven.[138] However, they also admitted that approximately 6,792 children could not attend state schools due to a lack of places.[139]

In the light of these figures, it is clear that many local children did not receive any formal education. Poor families were, by definition, unable to resort to private tuition, and so those working-class children who did not obtain a place at a local state-run institution would have had few opportunities to acquire skills such as reading and writing. In 1900, 30.62 per cent of the local population was illiterate and, though this figure fell over the following decade, in 1910, the proportion of *rosarinos* (over the age of six) who could not read or write

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[134] Lucía Lionetti, 'Ciudadanas Útiles para la Patria. La Educación de las "Hijas del Pueblo" en Argentina (1884-1916)', *The Americas*, 58.2 (2001), 221-260 (p. 223).
[135] 'Noticias Varias', 21 October 1899, *La República – Diario de la Mañana*, p. 1 and 'Noticias Varias', *El Municipio*, 16 July 1905, p. 2.
[136] Bialet Massé, p. 306.
[137] *Primer Censo Municipal de Población*, pp. 269-270.
[138] Ibid., p. 270.
[139] Ibid., p. 270.

remained high, at 23.6 per cent.[140] Such figures reflect the inadequacy of the local education system and, by extension, the lack of a formal 'transitional' stage between childhood and adulthood for many of the city's poorest inhabitants.

The deficiency of the state education system following the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1884 affected working-class children throughout the Republic, and many saw themselves forced to abandon their studies in order to work and help feed their families.[141] Moreover, state schools did not provide training in the technical skills necessary for working-class pupils who would later find themselves excluded from higher education, which remained accessible only to the most privileged of the country's youth.[142] As a result, both the socialist and anarchist movements started to create their own educational institutions, which could simultaneously meet the concrete needs of the workers and help to combat inequality.[143] In the 1890s, anarchist schools began to emerge in Buenos Aires, and at its first congress, in 1901, the anarcho-syndicalist Argentinian Workers' Federation (the FOA, which later became the FORA) voted in favour of establishing libertarian schools.[144] The third congress, in 1903, stipulated that these schools would combine the teaching of science with technical skills, and the sixth congress in 1906 – held in Rosario – even proposed the creation of a nation-wide Council of Education and Instruction, which would organise the establishment of both day- and night-schools across the country, as well as libraries.[145] In 1903, the FOA agreed that the motto of the anarchist schools would be 'freedom through education', thereby linking the creation of educational institutions to the class struggle.[146] In other words, the aim of the anarchist educational project was explicitly political, openly

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[140] *Primer Censo Municipal de Población*, p. 268 and *Tercer Censo Municipal del Rosario de Santa Fe*, p. 87.
[141] Alberto Acri and Del Carmen Cácerez, pp. 130-131.
[142] Ibid., p. 131.
[143] Ibid., p. 131.
[144] Ibid., pp. 133-134.
[145] *Acuerdos, Resoluciones y Declaraciones – Congresos Celebrados por la Federación Obrera Regional Argentina Desde 1901 a 1908* (Buenos Aires: Consejo Federal, 1908), p. 9 and Acri and Del Carmen Cácerez, p. 134.
[146] *Acuerdos, Resoluciones y Declaraciones*, p. 9.

oriented towards transforming the economic, social, cultural and political structures of society. In Rosario, the anarchist educational project found fertile ground, often within the local labour movement. In late 1913, activists installed the Rationalist School No. 1 in the headquarters of the Local Workers' Federation whilst, in early 1919, local railway workers initiated the construction of a Modern School which, by April of that year, already boasted 300 subscribers.[147]

Whilst acknowledging the potentially counter-cultural role of local anarchist schools, and the ways in which the experiences of the children who attended them differed from those who attended state-run (or other privately run) schools, it is important to point out that these supposedly libertarian institutions did not always prove as subversive as they appeared. For example, in September 1899, *La Nueva Humanidad* complained that a so-called 'Libertarian School' had recently expelled a young girl called Ildefonsa Francia because her mother could not pay the required fees.[148] Upon closer inspection, it transpired that the teachers at the school resorted regularly to corporal punishments, and even encouraged the children to sing 'patriotic songs'.[149] In addition, James Yeoman notes how, in Spain, critics of Ferrer's Modern School regarded such educational initiatives as little more than attempts to indoctrinate children into the movement.[150] In like manner, Rosario's authorities and local elites accused libertarian schools of indoctrination regularly. On the 25th of November 1901, the General Administrator of the Argentinian Refinery wrote to the Provincial Schools' Inspector, informing him that the classes which the director of a local anarchist school – Cupernino Gris – held for men, women and children in his institution constituted merely a pretext for 'inculcating [in them] the most extreme doctrines of anarchism and the means of

[147] Barrancos, pp. 143 and 170.
[148] 'En el Rosario', *La Nueva Humanidad*, September 1899, p. 37.
[149] Ibid., p. 37.
[150] James Yeoman, 'Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement in Spain, 1890-1915' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2016), p. 147.

putting them into practice'.[151] Equally, on the 4th of December 1902, an Inspector Giménez wrote to the Director General of Schools in Santa Fe, informing him that he, along with the Mayor of Rosario, had recently interrogated a man named Ricardo Cano, the director of another anarchist school in the neighbourhood of La Refinería.[152] According to Giménez, Cano denied that he had relayed anarchist propaganda to the children in his school, and declared that 'he was on the verge of resigning from his role as director…because the parents did not agree with his teaching…'[153]

Nevertheless, despite the accusations of indoctrination, Rosario's anarchist schools constituted spaces in which working-class children could acquire an education in a setting that, in various ways, proved far more tolerant and permissive than that found in many other local educational institutions. In the first place, they aimed to create an atmosphere in which children felt able to express themselves freely, and in which teachers respected their pupils' agency and autonomy. For example, in January 1912, the directors of the aforementioned Rationalist School No. 1 – drawing on the 'educational teaching methods of the Modern School in Barcelona' – declared that the school aimed to overturn the entrenched pedagogical practices that, in their view, led to the 'elimination of the moral personality of the child, moulding him so that he becomes an automaton'.[154] Moreover, in 1922, the teachers at the '22nd of May' school on Catamarca Street stressed that they knew how to 'respect the idiosyncrasies' of each of their pupils.[155] In this sense, these schools sought to continue Ferrer's 'child-centred' approach to teaching (outlined in the previous chapter), creating a space in which children could demonstrate and pursue their own unique interests and

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[151] Letter from the General Administrator of the Argentinian Refinery to the Provincial Schools Inspector, p. 3.
[152] Letter from Inspector Giménez to the Director General of Schools in Santa Fe, 4 December 1902, 'Inspector Giménez Informa de la Escuela "Luz del Porvenir" de Rosario – 4 de Diciembre de 1902', 1 Ministro de Gobernación, Tomo 385, Expd. 0130, Extr. 0000, Sec. 001, AGPSF, pp. 1-2.
[153] Ibid., pp. 2-3.
[154] Flyer titled 'A los Amantes del Progreso Humano', January 1912, AR ARCEDINCI COL-2, 2.1. Colección Volantes Partidos Políticos, 2.3 Volantes Movimiento Obrero, Carpeta Carpeta 68 (1), Centro de Documentación e Investigación de la Cultura de Izquierdas, Buenos Aires.
[155] 'Educacionales – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', p. 3.

inclinations.[156] In January 1933, the Buenos Aires-based publication *Amor y Libertad* – an organ of the Modern School movement – even reported that, at the Free Commune school in nearby Venado Tuerto (a small city in the south-west of Santa Fe province), the children played an active role in running the institution.[157] In contrast to the traditional family structure in which, as Foucault argues, 'fathers are individuated' (unlike mothers and their children), teachers in local anarchist schools regarded children as individuals, rather than constituent parts of a collective body.[158] Therefore, within Rosario's extended anarchist family, children assumed a distinctive status, acquiring the same intellectual and moral value as their adult counterparts.

One of the most distinctive features of the local anarchist schools is the fact that – again following the example of Ferrer's Modern School in Barcelona – they remained co-educational throughout the period under study.[159] On the 1st of August 1889, *La Nueva Humanidad* described the newly-established Elementary School – housed in the Centre for Social Studies – as open to 'both sexes'.[160] Similarly, on the 15th of April 1922, *Tribuna Libertaria* affirmed that both boys and girls attended classes at the '22nd of May' school on Catamarca Street.[161] By the turn of the century, many local schools accepted male and female children, but not in every case. In 1900, the local authorities registered 149 schools in the locality (not including the anarchist schools that existed in the city at that time), and sixty-two of these institutions had only male or female pupils.[162] That is, in more than a third of the schools in Rosario, boys and girls did not receive classes alongside each other. Furthermore, the idea of male and female pupils receiving classes together proved, at least to some locals,

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[156] Fidler, p. 109.
[157] 'Una Escuela Moderna en Venado Tuerto es Saqueada por la Cosaquería', *Amor y Libertad – Publicación Racionalista*, January 1933, p. 4.
[158] Taylor, p. 204.
[159] Shaffer, 'Freedom Teaching', p. 164.
[160] 'En el Rosario', *La Nueva Humanidad*, 1 August 1889, p. 32.
[161] 'Educacionales – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', p. 3.
[162] *Primer Censo Municipal de Población*, pp. 272-278.

distasteful. On the 16th of November 1901, the Inspector General in Santa Fe received a letter from a local official who, on the orders of the Mayor of Rosario, had recently visited an anarchist school (again, in the neighbourhood of La Refinería). Significantly, the letter asserted that 'it is common knowledge that the most dangerous anarchists gather [in the school], and that adults of both sexes (as the director himself confessed) frequent it…'[163] Here, the author implies that, as well as allegedly harbouring vicious fanatics, the director of the school subverted the norms of polite society simply by providing classes to both men and women. In such a context, creating educational spaces in which boys and girls learned and played together constituted, in and of itself, a challenge to the socio-cultural norms of local life, in a city where authorities regularly separated children (and adults) on the basis of their gender.

As well as encouraging the cultivation of an inclusive atmosphere in libertarian schools, local anarchists emphasised the importance of play. On the 10th of July 1922, the weekly supplement of *La Protesta* published an article by the Rosario-based anarchist Enrique Nido – who, as mentioned above, ran the '22nd of May' Rationalist School No. 1 – in which he argued that, in a 'wisely organised society', school would be like 'a child's game, in the open air'.[164] In this sense, he implied that the experience of education should be playful and free, whilst also allowing children to connect with the natural world. Again, returning to *Tribuna Libertaria*'s report on the third '22nd of May' school, situated on Catamarca Street, the authors recalled the frequent shouts and laughter of the children (who sounded 'like a flock of birds'), and the teachers noted the regular trips that the children made outdoors to take the sun and play games.[165] Significantly, watching the children playing, the authors

[163] Letter to the Inspector General in Santa Fe, 16 November 1901, 'Gris Cupernino, Establece que su Esc. de Rosario no es Anarquista', 1 Ministro de Gobernación, 4 Sección Agricultura, Tomo 394, Expd. 0350, Extr. 0000, Sec. 0001, AGPSF, p. 3.
[164] Barrancos, p. 175 and Enrique Nido, 'Cuestiones Pedagógicas', *La Protesta – Suplemento Semanal,* 10 July 1922, p. 4.
[165] 'Educacionales – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', p. 3.

confessed that 'the atmosphere appeals to us, it captivates us and we also feel a desire to be students again'.[166] The reaction of these journalists indicates that the anarchist schools created an environment that not only foregrounded the innocence and playfulness of children, but also reawakened in adults an appreciation for the importance of play in their own lives.

Writing in *La Rebelión* – a local anarchist paper – on the 30th of June 1913, García Thomas recalled how, as a child, he was walking the streets one evening when 'the pavement filled with games and the beautiful notes of pleasure', as children gathered to play and sing together.[167] Thomas noted that he had sung along with the other children, and he reminisced that 'it was our era of harvest, the only vintage of pure joy that I remember'.[168] Significantly, he went on to remark that: 'when I was a child, I was anxious to become a man to live and enjoy with intensity…Today, as a man, [when] I think of the days of my childhood…I would like to return to that spring, always blossoming with games and laughter…'[169] Similarly, in an article published in February 1927 in *Libre Acuerdo*, another local anarchist newspaper, Rafael Barrett lamented the fact that, in his view, adults had become dissociated from children, and he complained that the latter had 'expelled us from their games'.[170] In response, he stressed the need to 'go back to [our] children, and [to go back] full of respect and faith. In that way, the memory of our own childhood, a memory which sings and groans in the heart of our conscience, will be less sad…'[171] In cases such as these, local anarchist writers celebrated the playfulness, innocence and freedom of childhood, whilst also expressing a desire to absorb those qualities into adult life.[172]

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[166] 'Educacionales – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', p. 3.
[167] García Thomas, 'Corro de Niños', *La Rebelión*, 30 June 1913, p. 6.
[168] Ibid., p. 6.
[169] Ibid., p. 6.
[170] Rafael Barrett, 'Los Niños', *Libre Acuerdo*, February 1927, p. 2.
[171] Ibid., p. 2.
[172] These attitudes are highly reminiscent of those expressed by the British anarchist Colin Ward, who co-edited the libertarian publication *Freedom* between 1947 and 1960 and, from 1961 until 1970, *Anarchy*. In his writings, Ward exhibited 'a strong recognition of and respect for "play"', which 'he valued and regarded as [something that] may be done by adults as much as children'. See David Crouch, 'Lived Spaces of Anarchy: Colin Ward's Social Anarchy in Action', in *Historical Geographies of Anarchism: Early Critical Geographers and Present-*

In his seminal 1938 monograph *Homo Ludens*, Johan Huizinga argued that the phenomenon of play pre-dates the existence of human civilisations, and that it remains deeply entrenched within all cultures.[173] For Huizinga, play is both 'free' and 'a stepping out of "real life"'.[174] That is, it allows the participant to escape temporarily from the mental space of her everyday existence, thereby instilling in her a liberatory sensation. In the context of Rosario, play proved central to many of the cultural practices within the local anarchist community, for adults as well as children. For example, the aforementioned family picnic that took place on the 7th of January 1923 included a race between men and 'young single women'; an egg-and-spoon race; and 'roulette games and puppets'.[175] Equally, on the 27th of December 1921, *Tribuna Libertaria* advertised a raffle that would take place at an upcoming picnic, in which participants could win prizes such as a Singer sewing machine, a camera, and even a revolver.[176] Of course, the purpose of these games was ostensibly promotional – to encourage readers to attend family events – but the prominent role of child-like play in local anarchist culture (and the reverence for children's games in local anarchist discourse) is striking. When writing of the continued use of masks in certain rituals, Huizinga describes how the sight of masked figures 'carries us back to the world of…the child and the poet, which is a world of play'.[177] Seen in this light, the participation of local adult activists in communal games (and their observations of children engaged in play) proved equally transformative. Unlike more 'adult' leisure activities such as drinking or illicit sex, these relatively innocent and child-like games facilitated a temporary regression to a state of childhood.

Day Scientific Challenges, ed. by Federico Ferretti, Gerónimo Barrera de la Torre, Anthony Ince and Francisco Toro (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 153-164 (pp. 153-154).

[173] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Kettering: Angelico Press, 2016), p. 8.

[174] Ibid., p. 8.

[175] 'La Protesta en Rosario', *La Protesta*, 30 December 1922, p. 2.

[176] 'Federación Obrera Local Rosarina', *Tribuna Libertaria*, 27 December 1921, pp. 3-4.

[177] Huizinga, p. 26.

Anarchist cultural practices such as libertarian schooling and the prevalence of games at social gatherings created spaces in which adults could participate in the same recreations as children. In other words, local anarchist discourse and practice often evoked a desire to align adulthood with childhood, whereas the prevailing socio-cultural norms (and material reality of working-class life) tended to produce the opposite result, forcing children to enter adulthood at an early age. Traditionally, many scholars – especially Marxist historians – have tended to identify atavistic traits within anarchist theory and practice; a desire to revert back to an earlier stage of human development.[178] For example, Murray Bookchin illustrates how many historians have presented the revolutionary activities of anarchists in Spain as an 'attempt to turn back the historical clock'.[179] Bookchin demonstrates that, at least in the Spanish case, this interpretation of anarchism lacks substance, as anarchists counter-balanced continually their desire to preserve pre-capitalist forms of social organisation with a strong emphasis on the importance of both modern technology and scientific development.[180] Despite this, it could be argued that the nostalgia with which some anarchist *rosarinos* wrote about childhood reveals a desire, at least on the part of some adults, to revert to an earlier stage of their own development. Nevertheless, the fact that local anarchists simultaneously reinforced the differences between children and adults indicates that the veneration of childhood within local anarchist discourse did not necessarily result from a desire to reverse the development of adults (or to eradicate adulthood), but rather to assimilate certain aspects of childhood into adult life.

For example, though the local movement encouraged the participation of children in the city's anarchist circles and trade unions, it did so whilst maintaining a clear distinction between child activists and their adult counterparts. By participating in the movement,

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[178] Bookchin, p. 58.
[179] Ibid., p. 58.
[180] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

children did not necessarily enter what Ariès called the 'world of adults'; they remained in a separate (and distinctively juvenile) sphere.[181] For instance, throughout the period under study, a close relationship persisted between the anarchist schools and the local labour movement, and some institutions even based themselves in trade-union headquarters (such as the '22nd of May' school on Catamarca Street). Furthermore, trade-union activists made use of the schools in order to hold meetings: in his aforementioned letter to the provincial schools' inspector in November 1901, the General Administrator of the Argentinian Refinery complained that, during the recent strike action, the nearby Libertarian School had hosted gatherings of striking workers.[182] In this sense, those children who attended such schools would have come into contact with representatives of the local labour movement, even if they (or their parents) did not become involved directly. Therefore, whether consciously or not, children formed part of the local anarchist community. Most importantly, local activists formed groups aimed specifically at children. On the 12th of October 1902, a 'children's choir' performed at an event held in the local People's Hall.[183] Similarly, on the 5th of May 1904, *La Protesta* reported that various anarchist groups had recently attended an event at the San Martín Theatre in Rosario, to commemorate those anarchists who had fallen victim to government repression, and members of a local 'Infants' Group' featured among the attendees.[184] In addition, by June 1932, young activists had formed a local League of Anarchist-Communist Youth in the city, which distributed its 'Declaration of Principles' to young people across the country.[185]

In other words, children played an important role within the local anarchist movement and, within Argentinian anarchist discourse more generally, they became 'political

[181] Casey, p. 153.
[182] Letter from the Administrator General of the Argentinian Refinery to the Provincial Schools Inspector, p. 2.
[183] Parsons, 'Desde Rosario', *La Protesta Humana*, 18 October 1902, p. 3.
[184] 'Movimiento Obrero', *La Protesta*, 5 May 1904, p. 3.
[185] 'Liga Juvenil C. Anárquista', *Trabajo – Semanario Popular*, 11 June 1932, p. 1.

subject[s]', incorporated into the national anarchist community.[186] Nevertheless, their role remained distinctive. The fact that local anarchists distinguished between adult and child activism indicates that, in everyday life, activists acknowledged the differences between adulthood and childhood and, in some ways, they reinforced actively these differences.

The Transnational and Trans-local Anarchist Family

The transfer of both ideas and people between the anarchist movements of Spain and Argentina played a pivotal role in transforming conceptions of the family and adult-child relations within Rosario's anarchist circles. In the late nineteenth century, migration to the city increased considerably: between 1858 and 1869, the proportion of foreigners living in the locality only grew by 2.9 per cent but, by 1887, foreign-born *rosarinos* made up 41.1 per cent of the population, which then totalled almost 51,000 people.[187] The proportion of foreigners living in Rosario remained high throughout the period under study. In 1926, forty-five per cent of *rosarinos* had been born abroad.[188] Notably, many of the city's migrants came from Spain. In 1901, 11,753 Spanish nationals resided in the locality, out of a total population of 112,461; and in 1926, there were 66,459 Spanish-born residents, whilst the city's overall population comprised some 407,000 people.[189] Significantly, the number of Spanish men migrating to Rosario remained higher than that of Spanish women: in 1926, 34,674 men from Spain lived in the city, but only 31,785 female Spanish nationals.[190] At the same time, Spanish women in the locality were more likely to be married than their male counterparts: in that year, only 28.23 per cent of local Spanish women were single, compared to 34.28 per

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[186] Carli, p. 32.
[187] Falcón, *La Barcelona Argentina*, p. 23.
[188] *Cuarto Censo Municipal de Rosario Levantado el Día 21 de Octubre de 1926, bajo la Dirección del Doctor Domingo Dall'anese, Profesor en la Facultad* (Rosario: Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, Comerciales y Políticas, Universidad Nacional del Litoral, 1935), p. 29.
[189] *Memoria Presentada al Honorable Concejo Deliberante por el Intendente Municipal Luis Lamas – del 15 de Febrero de 1898 al 15 de Febrero de 1901*, p. 158 and *Cuarto Censo Municipal de Rosario*, pp. 25 and 30.
[190] *Cuarto Censo Municipal de Rosario*, p. 30.

cent of local Spanish men.[191] In other words, at that time, it remained more common for female Spanish migrants to live in a traditional nuclear family unit (comprising parents and children), despite the fact that more married Spanish men had settled in the city.[192] In any case, whilst it is not possible to ascertain which of these individuals lived with their marital partner (some might have remained in their country of origin), it is reasonable to assume that many of Rosario's nuclear family units comprised at least one Spanish-born member.

These figures provide revealing insights into the structure of local 'transnational families'.[193] They suggest that, by the late 1920s, a significant number of local children would have had at least one parent from Spain (even if they were not Spanish themselves). In this sense, for many people, the migratory links between Spain and Argentina formed part of the daily experience of life in the family home. Furthermore, compared to children from wealthier families, working-class children were the most likely to encounter foreigners in their everyday lives (at home and on the street), or to have been born outside of Argentina. As Agustina Prieto indicates in her 2001 study of workers in Rosario, by the early twentieth century, the proportion of foreigners was highest in the poorest neighbourhoods: in 1900, an average of seventy-six per cent of males between the ages of eighteen and seventy who lived in the working-class areas had been born abroad whilst, in 1906, this figure reached just over seventy-four per cent.[194] Equally, Bialet Massé noted that very few of the city's workers came from Rosario originally, as migrants from nearby provinces such as Corrientes and Entre Ríos – and from countries such as Italy and Spain – arrived to bolster the local work-force.[195] Therefore, migrants made up a disproportionately large part of the local working-

[191] *Cuarto Censo Municipal de Rosario*, pp. 30 and 186-191.
[192] Ibid., pp. 187 and 191.
[193] Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuotela describe 'transnational families' as family units that exist 'across national borders'. See Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela, 'Transnational Families in the Twenty-First Century', in *The Transnational Family: New European Frontiers and Global Networks*, ed. by Deborah Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela (New York and Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp. 3-30 (p. 3).
[194] Prieto, 'Capítulo 3: Los Trabajadores', p. 120.
[195] Bialet Massé, p. 291.

class population.[196] As well as being concentrated in the city's poorest neighbourhoods with a lack of affordable accommodation, migrant workers and their families were also particularly vulnerable to economic setbacks. In 1932, 10.92 per cent of Rosario's unemployed workers were Spanish, and 20.14 per cent were Italian.[197]

Notably, migrants often became involved in the local socialist and anarchist movements. For example, in 1890, local socialists and anarchists gathered together to celebrate May Day, and the speakers at this event included representatives of the city's Spanish, Italian and French migrant communities.[198] Equally, anarchists who had already been active in the Spanish movement continued their activities after relocating to Argentina. For example, the Spanish anarchist Emilio Arana edited the local anarchist newspaper *La Nueva Humanidad* and became 'extremely popular among militant anarchists, who attended his funeral in enormous numbers' upon his death in 1901.[199] In addition, Arana had a daughter who also appears to have been involved in the anarchist movement, as she recited a poem on the emancipation of women at a conference her father gave at the Olympus Theatre, on the 17th of January 1897.[200]

In a similar way, the aforementioned Enrique Nido (Amadeo Lluan), who directed the first '22nd of May' school between 1914 and 1915, was born in Spain and had collaborated with Francisco Ferrer personally, before emigrating.[201] In a letter to the German anarchist Max Nettlau on the 15th of January 1924, Nido explained how he had been born in Barcelona in 1884 but, due to his political agitating, he had fled Spain, was later expelled from France and Switzerland, and finally settled in Rosario, where he had lived for the previous fourteen

[196] The arrival of 20,000 migrants in 1906 exacerbated the shortage of workers' housing, and Prieto maintains that this contributed to the outbreak of a rent strike in 1907. See Prieto, 'Capítulo 3: Los Trabajadores', p. 149.
[197] *Censo de los Desocupados: Existentes en la Provincia de Santa Fe entre el 10 y el 25 de Abril de 1932*, pp. 13 and 27.
[198] Falcón, *La Barcelona Argentina*, pp. 69-70.
[199] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 260 (notes).
[200] 'Adelante', *La Nueva Humanidad*, 1 April 1899, pp. 3-4.
[201] Barrancos, pp. 143-144 and 175-176.

years.[202] After arriving in Argentina, Nido promptly resumed his militant activities: in protest against the execution of Ferrer on the 13th of October 1909, he placed a bomb outside the Spanish Consulate in Rosario but, unfortunately, the device exploded prematurely, severing the four fingers of his left hand.[203] Due to his injuries, Nido chose to remain in Rosario where he 'established a home' and had three daughters.[204] By the early 1920s, Nido dedicated most of his time to the education of local children. Writing to Nettlau on the 30th of September 1923, he noted that 'my school completely absorbs my time. I work in the morning, afternoon and night, leaving my propaganda work for the holidays'.[205] Examples such as this demonstrate how the movement of people between Spain and Argentina proved an important factor in the development of the local anarchist movement and, by extension, of local anarchist families and children's education.

Nevertheless, whilst Nido's case highlights the significant contribution that migrant activists made to the proliferation of the extended anarchist family within Rosario, his activities also demonstrate the role that Rosario-based activists played in consolidating a transnational and trans-local extended anarchist family, which transcended the borders of both Rosario and Argentina. In a letter to Abad de Santillán on the 5th of December 1924, Nido lamented that, after ten years of hard work, he had recently closed his school.[206] Despite this, he had decided to establish a 'small bookshop of school resources', and he had arranged for the grandson of the deceased Spanish anarchist Anselmo Lorenzo to come and stay with him, in order to assist with this new enterprise.[207] On the 10th of January 1925, Nido confirmed to Abad de Santillán that Lorenzo's grandson remained a guest in his home, and he

[202] Letter from Enrique Nido to Max Nettlau, 15 January 1924, Max Nettlau Papers, 900, IISG, pp. 7-8.
[203] Ibid., pp. 8-9.
[204] Ibid., p. 9.
[205] Letter from Enrique Nido to Max Nettlau, 30 September 1924, Max Nettlau Papers, 900, IISG, p. 3.
[206] Letter from Enrique Nido to Diego Abad de Santillán, 5 December 1924, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 199, IISG, p. 23.
[207] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

explained that he had maintained continual correspondence with the Lorenzo family over the previous fifteen years.[208] In other words, transnational and trans-local connections between anarchist households on opposite sides of the Atlantic facilitated the further transfer of people between locales.[209]

At the same time, individual migrants and 'transnational families' faced discrimination, at least from the city's elite and local authorities. For example, on the 6th of November 1902, *La Capital* – one of Rosario's main newspapers – applauded the measures that the Office of Immigration had recently taken to restrict the number of migrants entering Rosario.[210] On the 13th of November, the paper published an article titled 'Pernicious Foreigners', in which it complained that 'not all those who arrive are useful, are good', and it stressed the need to purge the population of 'parasitic elements'.[211] Ricardo Falcón suggests that, in general, locals considered Spanish migrants to be 'good immigration', because they could already communicate with the city's inhabitants and tended to arrive with savings.[212] However, for 'transnational' anarchist families, discrimination and government repression became a regular feature of everyday life.

At midnight on the 22nd of November 1902, the national government passed the notorious 'Residency Law', which stemmed from an explicit desire to curb the influence of the anarchist movement.[213] Between the promulgation of this law in November 1902 and February 1903, the authorities deported some seventy 'foreigners': anarchists who did not possess Argentinian citizenship.[214] The orders of deportation which the Ministry of the

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[208] Letter from Enrique Nido to Diego Abad de Santillán, 10 January 1925, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 199, IISG, pp. 6-7.
[209] Unfortunately, in a letter to Abad de Santillán on the 20th of April 1925, Nido noted that his new bookshop had failed, and he complained that Lorenzo's grandson was 'a good-for-nothing of the worst kind'. See letter from Enrique Nido to Diego Abad de Santillán, 20 April 1925, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 199, IISG, p. 5.
[210] 'El Trabajo en Rosario – Medida Acertada', *La Capital*, 6 November 1902, p. 1.
[211] 'Extranjeros Perniciosos', *La Capital*, 13 November 1902, p. 1.
[212] Falcón, *La Barcelona Argentina*, p. 113.
[213] Oved, pp. 286-290.
[214] Ibid., p. 307.

Interior issued did not usually reveal from which city the alleged offenders originated. With this in mind, it is difficult to determine the exact number of *rosarinos* who faced deportation during the period under study. Nevertheless, it is clear that, at least on some occasions, Rosario's local police department involved itself in the deportations, and that the authorities in Buenos Aires expelled anarchists who had supposedly been active in Rosario or elsewhere in the province of Santa Fe. For example, on the 27th of December 1907, the Ministry of the Interior ordered the expulsion of Ángel Fernández, Victorio Bragolini and Ramón Magariños, on the recommendation of the Rosario Police, and police in Buenos Aires were then tasked with carrying out the order.[215] Similarly, local anarchists donated considerable amounts of money in aid of both prisoners and deportees, as well as their families. In January 1924, the FORA's financial records indicated that, across the country, its Regional Pro Prisoners and Deportees Committees had raised 39,717.7 *pesos* during the previous year and, crucially, activists in the province of Santa Fe had spent some 930 *pesos* to support local victims of repression.[216]

Evidently, government repression affected many local anarchist families, and the experiences of 'transnational' anarchist families would arguably have been among the most traumatic, with activists physically separated from their partners and children. In some cases, whole families had to relocate. On the 30th of January 1904, *La Protesta* published a letter from an anarchist called Francisco Berri whom the government had recently expelled from the country. Berri wrote emotively of the 'desperate situation' in which his deportation had placed him and his family who, in his case, had accompanied him to Australia.[217] Sociologist Zlatko Skrbiš emphasises the need for scholars to consider emotions when analysing the

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[215] 'Ministerio del Interior – 1a Sección – Copiador – Anarquismo – Anarquía – Expulción [sic] de Extranjeros por la Aplicación de la Ley 4144', Ministerio del Interior, Serie Icd 10, Archivo Intermedio, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Buenos Aires, p. 14.
[216] Document titled 'Comités Pro Presos y Deportados Regionales', January 1924, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG, p. 1.
[217] 'Cosas Varias', *La Protesta*, 30 January 1904, p. 4.

formation and experiences of 'transnational families'.[218] Specifically, he suggests that emotions are 'a constitutive part of the transnational family experience', as the process of migration 'dissociates individuals from their family and friendship networks'.[219] In this sense, deportation entailed a forcible 'severing' of attachments, either between the deportee and his or her family, or between the nuclear family unit and the extended anarchist family in Rosario. That is, for a significant number of 'transnational' anarchist families in the city – and for the extended anarchist family in general – trauma proved inherent to experiences of transnationalism and trans-localism.

Despite this, as discussed above, transnational and trans-local connections facilitated the development of a distinctly anarchist conception of family life in Rosario. Enrique Nido built on his experiences of working alongside Francisco Ferrer and became heavily involved in local anarchist educational projects. In other words, children of local anarchists directly benefited from – and absorbed – ideas that Nido had brought with him from Spain. In like manner, Arana argued that, in a libertarian society, 'children will have the same rights as their parents and they will make use of these as their reason indicates'.[220] The local anarchist Science and Progress group called on other libertarian groups in the area to help fund the publication of Arana's works, and it received donations from places as far away as Timor, Río de Janeiro and Spain.[221] Furthermore, as this chapter has already indicated, the Spanish anarchist and writer Rafael Barrett – who emigrated to Argentina at the age of twenty-six – contributed to Rosario's anarchist press, in which he urged local parents not to use physical violence against their children.[222] Just as the movement of people led to the creation of

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[218] Zlatko Skrbiš, 'Transnational Families: Theorising Migration, Emotions and Belonging', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 29.3 (2008), 231-246 (p. 236).
[219] Ibid., p. 236.
[220] Arana, p. 80.
[221] Flyer from the Science and Progress group, 'A los Compañeros y Grupos Anarquistas', April 1898, Max Nettlau Papers, 3389, IISG.
[222] Fábio Luiz de Arruda Herrig, 'Rafael Barrett: um Anarquista no Coração da América do Sul', *História e Cultura*, 5.1 (2016), 234-252 (p. 235) and Rafael Barrett, 'Los Niños', *Libre Acuerdo*, February 1927, p. 2.

'transnational' anarchist families in Rosario, the ideas of Spanish anarchists regarding aspects of family life such as parenting (and the autonomy of children) permeated the local movement. For children and adults alike, transnational and trans-local connections formed part of their everyday experiences of family life and, by extension, of their prefigurative familial practices.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how, through their cultural practices, anarchists in Rosario challenged the prevailing socio-cultural norms of family life in ways that simultaneously prefigured the future libertarian society they wished to establish. Specifically, the chapter has highlighted three key aspects of family life in which local anarchists implemented their ideological beliefs: the family home, gender roles (such as motherhood and fatherhood) and adult-child relations. At the same time, it has demonstrated how Rosario's 'anarchist family' constituted both a transnational and trans-local phenomenon, drawing on the movement of people and ideas between Spain and Argentina.

For local anarchist families, the home became a libertarian space in which activists met and performed subversive socio-cultural practices. Again, further evidence is needed to attain a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which anarchists implemented their ideological beliefs in their own homes, but the available source material suggests that the family home served to blur the lines between the nuclear family and the wider anarchist movement. Anarchist family households were not isolated units: they integrated themselves into a broad kinship network of anarchist families which, together, constructed a collective sense of anarchist identity and community. Anarchists in Rosario transcended the confines of the nuclear family, creating an informal, extended anarchist family which, in and of itself, formed a blueprint for a wider anarchist society. At the same time, both female and male

anarchists played an active role in the construction of explicitly anarchist nuclear families, proudly raising 'anarchist' children. In the process, motherhood and fatherhood became inherently political, as anarchist parents formed the next generation of libertarian militants in their own homes.

Furthermore, whilst children in Rosario usually faced exposure to the vices and physical demands of adulthood at an early age, the local anarchist movement created spaces which, in contrast, emphasised the innocence and playfulness of youth. If they received a libertarian education, boys and girls mixed together, and the adults they came into contact with on a daily basis afforded them more autonomy and freedom than the prevailing socio-cultural norms of adult-child relations prescribed. In this context, adults regarded childhood and adulthood as distinct phases of life with their own associated characteristics, and they even reinforced the distinction between the two by allocating specific roles to children and adults. Accordingly, they challenged the contemporary socio-cultural milieu in which childhood tended to merge into adulthood. At the same time, adult activists also imbibed some of the characteristics of childhood, observing and participating in child-like games that provided a (temporary) feeling of liberation from the sphere of adult life. As a result, children of local anarchists became just as 'political' as their adult counterparts.

In addition, by analysing anarchist cultural practices from the perspective of the family, this chapter has shed further light on the ways in which, in everyday life, activists experienced the transnational and trans-local connections that linked the anarchist movements in Spain and Argentina together. Crucially, it has demonstrated the importance of these connections to the construction of the 'anarchist family' in Rosario, and the prefigurative familial practices of local activists.

Nevertheless, as indicated above, the concept of prefigurative politics implies at least some degree of intentionality. With this in mind, the chapter has not only highlighted the

ways in which the cultural practices of anarchist *rosarinos* subverted the socio-cultural norms of family life: it has also demonstrated consistently the existence of a theoretical framework for libertarian family and home life within Argentinian anarchist discourse which is consonant with the familial practices examined here. For example, Argentinian anarchists advocated concepts such as a 'home without walls' and a 'homeland without borders'; the national anarchist press stated explicitly that family-oriented events should ensure that 'the relations between libertarian communist families are cultivated and made stronger'; and local anarchist publications urged anarchist mothers to 'transform the home' in order to create an environment more amenable to the education of their children.[223] Equally, the chapter has shown how, in many cases, the construction of an anarchist nuclear family unit resulted from a conscious decision: male and female activists sought out anarchist partners exclusively, and their evident pride at raising 'anarchist' children is a clear indication of their intention to create the next generation of militants. Moreover, local Modern Schools and their teachers espoused an alternative conception of adult-child relations in which the 'idiosyncrasies' of children would be respected, and the 'moral personality' of the pupil would be preserved. [224] In other words, the cultural practices that this chapter has analysed did not occur by accident: there was a clear relationship between anarchist theory and praxis. For local activists, the family was a key part of the anarchist cultural project and, most importantly, it constituted a process rather than a fixed phenomenon.

Despite this, the chapter has also drawn attention to an inherent contradiction in anarchist family life in Rosario. Whilst, ostensibly, the anarchist family formed an 'open' institution, which diminished the boundaries that traditionally separated the nuclear family from the wider community, it also isolated itself from the 'non-anarchist' urban population.

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[223] Dicenta, p. 4, 'La Protesta en Rosario', *La Protesta*, 30 December 1922, p. 2, and Ginard, p. 2.
[224] 'Educacionales – Visitando las Escuelas "22 de Mayo"', *Tribuna Libertaria*, 15 April 1922, p. 3 and flyer titled 'A los Amantes del Progreso Humano'.

For example, the fact that the local anarchist movement placed such a strong emphasis on forging connections exclusively between anarchist families by encouraging activists to attend family-oriented events highlights the insularity of the local anarchist community. Similarly, by consciously seeking out like-minded romantic partners, anarchist men and women entrenched simultaneously the divisions between the local movement and the rest of the city's population. In like manner, though local anarchists created a more egalitarian model of adult-child relations, they also reinforced the separation between childhood and adulthood. They granted more autonomy and agency to children but, at the same time, they accentuated the differences (and, by implication, the boundaries) between adulthood and childhood, by emphasising the innocence of youth. In other words, anarchist family life proved both open and insular; it transcended certain boundaries whilst strengthening others.

CHAPTER THREE

Beat the Clock: 'Anarchist Time' vs. 'Capitalist Time' in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat

'During the day, our different occupations
separated us; but, ah, the nights! These were ours.
After dinner, we ran to the union. The pat on the
shoulder and the "Hi, Floreal!", or "Hi, Luis!"'[1]

The first chapter of this thesis examined anarchists' spatial practices, demonstrating how, in Alcoy, these constituted a form of prefigurative politics. Nevertheless, in order to provide a rigorous analysis of anarchism in everyday life, space cannot be examined in isolation: one must also consider time.[2] Sociologist Émile Durkheim argues that space and time are both 'social constructs' and, in like manner, Pierre Bourdieu maintains that the ways in which societies define 'objective space and time' influence directly their social relations and hierarchies.[3] Most importantly, scholars have often presented both concepts as inherently political. Henri Lefebvre regards space as 'the ultimate locus and medium of struggle' and, consequently, Frederic Jameson supports 'Lefebvre's call for a politics of space'.[4] Similarly, political scientist Valerie Bryson highlights the connections between 'changing orientations to time' and 'people's sense of political possibility', whilst philosopher Peter Osbourne

[1] Local anarchist José Casajuana, quoted in Dolors Marín Silvestre, *Clandestinos* (Barcelona: RBA Coleccionables, 2009), pp. 180-181.

[2] Due to the complexity of time as an analytical category, the introduction to this chapter is significantly longer than those of the other three case studies in this thesis, as it requires a more extensive discussion of the chapter's theoretical frameworks.

[3] David Harvey, 'Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 80.3 (1990), 418-434 (pp. 418-419).

[4] Stuart Elden, 'There is a Politics of Space because Space is Political: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space', *Radical Philosophy Review*, 10.2 (2007), 101-116 (p. 107) and Frederic Jameson, *The Ideologies of Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 2008), p. 369. As Arina Lungu points out, Jameson's understanding of space differs from that of Lefebvre: unlike the latter – who regards 'space as a social category organising all of human history' – the former discusses space specifically in the context of postmodernism, arguing that the so-called 'spatial turn' is what distinguishes postmodernist from modernist scholarship. See Arina Lungu, 'Marx, Postmodernism, and Spatial Configurations in Jameson and Lefebvre', *Comparative Literature and Culture*, 10.1 (2008), 1-11 (pp. 3-4).

suggests that politics itself primarily involves 'struggles over the experience of time'.[5] Accordingly, this chapter complements the earlier analysis of space by illustrating the political nature of anarchists' temporal practices which, like their spatial and familial practices, also prefigured an alternative society.[6]

Until now, scholarship on the Spanish and Argentinian movements has almost entirely overlooked anarchists' relationship to time. Manuel Morales Muñoz has shown how, in Spain, key events of the anarchist 'ritual calendar' helped to consolidate a sense of libertarian identity and, moreover, Juan Suriano has demonstrated that anarchists in Argentina tried to 'invent a proletarian tradition' by – among other things – replacing religious holidays with secular ones.[7] Nevertheless, such studies do not provide sufficient insight into the ways in which anarchists experienced time in everyday life and, more generally, the existing literature fails to consider the prefigurative qualities of their temporal practices. As a result, this chapter pioneers a new area of study in the history of the anarchist movement, and indicates future avenues of historical research.

Conceptually, the analysis articulates a 'polytemporal' understanding of time: the idea that 'historical time' emerges from 'the intersection of different temporal layers and strands' which 'produce particular experiences and discursive formations'.[8] As Reinhart Koselleck notes, 'historical time' is not a singular entity: it consists of a multitude of overlapping and concurrent 'times'.[9] Taking Koselleck's argument as a point of departure, this case study emphasises that anarchists inhabited a distinctive 'time' of their own, which reflected the

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[5] Valerie Bryson, *Gender and the Politics of Time: Feminist Theory and Contemporary Debates* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2007), p. 19 and Peter Osbourne, 'The Politics of Time', *Radical Philosophy*, 68 (1994), 3-9 (p. 7).
[6] Here, the term 'temporal practices' refers to the ways in which anarchists divided, used, measured and conceptualised time.
[7] Morales Muñoz, pp. 32-34, 38-39 and 41 and Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 214.
[8] Victoria Browne, *Feminism, Time and Nonlinear History: a Polytemporal Approach* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 26 and 31-32. Browne uses the term 'polytemporality' to refer to this phenomenon. See ibid., p. 31.
[9] Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, trans. by Todd Samuel Presner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 110.

idiosyncrasies and goals of the wider movement. To this end, the chapter focuses on three key aspects of 'anarchist time' in the city of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, and their significance in the context of political prefiguration.

Firstly, it explores the ways in which local anarchists experienced the tensions between work time and free time in everyday life. Jacques Rancière suggests that, rather than utilising their free time 'simply to replenish the machines that would report to work the next morning', workers in nineteenth century France sought to 'reclaim' the night from their employers by filling their evenings with 'creative and scholarly pursuits'.[10] These nocturnal activities constituted a form of 'dis-identification'; permitting workers to transcend the restrictive roles that the 'division of labour' had designated for them.[11] Drawing on Rancière's work, this chapter demonstrates how, through their individual and collective leisure activities, anarchists disrupted the internal logic of 'capitalist time', which decreed 'that workers work during the day and sleep during the night'.[12]

Secondly, through an analysis of 'lived time' – one's 'experience of things happening' and 'awareness…of movement from one experience to the next'– the chapter reveals the ways in which anarchists experienced, measured and marked the passage of time.[13] In this sense, it 'foregrounds the experiential, relational, and discursive aspects of temporal existence'.[14] In a seminal 1967 article, E. P. Thompson argued that the seventeenth

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[10] Joseph J. Tanke, *Jacques Rancière: an Introduction: Philosophy, Politics, Aesthetics* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), p. 26. Here, the term '"reclaim" the night' is taken from Ben Highmore's introduction to the preface to Rancière's *Proletarian Nights* where, describing the latter's work, he writes: 'What would it mean to reclaim those nightly hours…?'. See Jacques Rancière, '*Preface to Proletarian Nights'*, in *The Everyday Life Reader*, ed. by Ben Highmore (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 243-250 (p. 243).
[11] Tanke, p. 26.
[12] Jacques Rancière, 'The Thinking of Dissensus: Politics and Aesthetics', in *Reading Rancière*, ed. by Paul Bowman and Richard Stamp (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), pp. 1-17 (p. 7). Anthropologist Laura Bear uses the term 'capitalist time' to refer to various features of the capitalist temporal logic, including its propensity to link 'human time to external non-human rhythms'. This is reminiscent of E. P. Thompson's concept of 'time-discipline', mentioned below. See Laura Bear, 'Anthropological Futures: for a Critical Political Economy of Capitalist Time', *Social Anthropology*, 25.2 (2017), 142-158 (p. 143).
[13] Martin Wyllie, 'Lived Time and Psychopathology', *Philosophy, Psychiatry, & Psychology*, 12.3 (2005), 173-185 (pp. 174-175).
[14] Browne, p. 26.

century saw a transition from 'task-orientation to timed labour'.[15] Whilst work had previously involved the completion of tasks when the need arose (with the length of the working day varying accordingly), it was measured increasingly in units of time.[16] In Thompson's view, the advent of large-scale capitalist industry consolidated the arrival of 'time-discipline', which 'was most rigorously imposed' in 'the textile mills and the engineering workshops'.[17] In other words, the Industrial Revolution inaugurated a 'clock-controlled world', in which the notion that time was 'a human, qualitative experience' gave way to a 'homogeneous and quantitative' understanding of time.[18] In contrast, this chapter highlights the ways in which anarchists contested the hegemony of 'clock-controlled' (or 'objective') time in everyday life, as well as the 'time regime' that the established calendars of both the Spanish state and Catholic Church imposed.[19]

Thirdly, this case study examines libertarian temporalities: the ways in which anarchists situated their actions in historical time discursively (and psychologically), and the impact that these had on their activities in the present.[20] As Evelyn B. Tribble and John Sutton indicate, people do not experience the present in isolation: instead, 'many time periods

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[15] E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), 56-97 (p. 61).
[16] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[17] Ibid., pp. 82-85 and Vanessa Ogle, 'Time, Temporality and the History of Capitalism', *Past and Present*, 243 (2019), 312-327 (p. 315). In recent years, some of Thompson's assertions have faced scrutiny. For example, Ogle claims that 'the internalization of time-discipline' due to the introduction of time-measuring devices in workplaces, 'was likely not as sweeping as Thompson envisioned'. Similarly, as Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift indicate, later scholarship stressed that Thompson's idea of 'task-oriented' labour was a highly simplistic understanding of pre-industrial work. Despite this, Ogle maintains that the basic premise of Thompson's argument remains valid. See Ogle, pp. 316-317, Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, 'Reworking E.P. Thompson's "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism"', *Time and Society*, 5.3 (1996), 275-299 (p. 284).
[18] Trish Ferguson, 'Introduction', in *Victorian Time: Technologies, Standardizations, Catastrophes*, ed. by Trish Ferguson (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 1-15 (p. 6).
[19] Wyllie, pp. 174-175, Ferguson, p. 6 and Osbourne, p. 4. Sociologist Norbert Elias suggests that people create 'time regimes' as part of their 'continuous…efforts to measure, divide, and tame the flow of time'. See Guy Miron, 'The "Lived Time" of German Jews under the Nazi Regime', *Journal of Modern History*, 90.1 (2018), 116-153 (p. 117).
[20] Scholars frequently employ the term 'temporality' in a highly ambiguous manner and, moreover, the distinction between 'time' and 'temporality' is not always clear-cut. To avoid confusion, in this chapter, 'temporality' refers to understandings of 'how past, present and future relate to one another'. See Felix Ringel, 'Beyond Temporality: Notes on the Anthropology of Time from a Shrinking Fieldsite', *Anthropological Theory*, 16.4 (2016), 390-412 (p. 393) and Ogle, pp. 314-315.

[coexist] in body and mind'.[21] For example, through the act of remembering, 'the past animates the present'.[22] Equally, in his 2012 study of contemporary libertarian activism in Germany, anthropologist Felix Ringel suggests that anarchists engage in 'future-oriented' practices of 'creative presentism', based on a 'near-future teleology'.[23] That is, though he does not use the term explicitly, Ringel suggests that anarchists' actions are often prefigurative; ways of 'experimenting with and working on their future selves'.[24] These 'future-oriented' practices include following a vegan diet, creating art, and constructing new forms of social organisation.[25] Building on this idea, the chapter analyses anarchist cultural practices through the lens of Ringel's 'creative presentism', not only revealing the ways in which anarchists related the past to the present, but also highlighting their sense of historical agency, and their corresponding efforts to shape – or prefigure – the future.

Methodologically, the analysis utilises both traditional documentary sources and a wide range of oral testimonies. Many scholars have highlighted the difficulties that historians face when utilising sources such as these: for instance, the need to consider the way in which the interviewer frames questions, the subjectivity of the respondent's narrative, and debates concerning 'the reliability of memory'.[26] Nevertheless, Alessandro Portelli stresses that this perceived lack of objectivity is by no means unique to oral testimonies and, in fact, written sources must be treated with equal scepticism.[27] Most importantly, the subjectivity of oral

[21] Evelyn B. Tribble and John Sutton, 'Minds in and out of Time: Memory, Embodied Skill, Anachronism, and Performance', *Textual Practice*, 26.4 (2012), 587-607 (p. 589).
[22] Ibid., p. 589.
[23] Felix Ringel, 'Towards Anarchist Futures? Creative Presentism, Vanguard Practices and Anthropological Hopes', *Critique of Anthropology*, 32.2 (2012), 173-188 (pp. 175). Ringel's study focuses on the practices of contemporary libertarian activists in the (former) East German city of Hoyersweda. Notably, Ringel distinguishes between 'the utopian distant future' and the 'concrete near future of particular places and social groups'. See ibid., pp. 173, 175 and 182.
[24] Ibid., p. 179.
[25] Ibid., p. 179.
[26] R. Kenneth Kirby, 'Phenomenology and the Problems of Oral History', *Oral History Review*, 35.1 (2008), 22-38 (pp. 23-25).
[27] Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different?', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd ed., ed. by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 48-58 (pp. 55-56).

testimonies is precisely what makes them useful: they reveal ‘less about *events* than about their *meaning*’.[28]

L’Hospitalet de Llobregat: a ‘City without Law’

Straddling Barcelona’s southern border, and located within the Catalan capital’s greater Metropolitan Area, L’Hospitalet de Llobregat possesses its own town council and, since 1925, it has been a city in its own right.[29] Nevertheless, Enric Gil Meseguer suggests that, during the period under study, many locals had little understanding of the ‘administrative border’ between L’Hospitalet and Barcelona, and often they did not know in which locality they resided.[30] Similarly, in his memoirs, José Peirats – a key figure in the history of Spanish anarchism, whose family moved to L’Hospitalet in 1918 – reveals that, in practical terms, the city was merely an extension of Barcelona.[31] This chapter focuses primarily on L’Hospitalet, but due to the proximity of this locality to its larger neighbour (and the permeability of the border separating the two cities), the analysis touches inevitably on Barcelona, too.

Traditionally, L’Hospitalet’s local economy was predominantly agricultural but, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, it became increasingly industrialised, manufacturing textiles, soap, matches and alcoholic beverages.[32] In 1900, the locality was home to some 4,498 people, but over the first few decades of the twentieth century it underwent a dramatic

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[28] Portelli, p. 52.

[29] Joan Camós i Cabecerán and Clara C. Parramón, ‘The Associational Movements and Popular Mobilizations in L’Hospitalet: from the Anti-Francoist Struggle to Democracy, 1960-80’, in *Red Barcelona: Social Protest and Labour Mobilization in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Angel Smith (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 206-222 (p. 206) and Enric Gil Meseguer, ‘Societat, Ideologia i Esport a L’Hospitalet de Llobregat’, *Plecs d’Història Local*, 92 (2001), 52-55 (p. 52).

[30] Enric Gil Meseguer, ‘Els Cano: Història d’una Família Anarquista a l’Hospitalet’, *Centre d’Estudis de L’Hospitalet. Quaderns d’Estudi*, 28 (2014), 67-103 (pp. 72-73).

[31] Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, pp. 2 and 25 and José Peirats i Valls, *De mi Paso por la Vida* (Barcelona: Flor del Viento Ediciones, 2009), p. 126.

[32] Inocencio Salmerón, *Històries de Collblanc-La Torrassa* (L’Hospitalet de Llobregat: Arxiu Municipal de L’Hospitalet de Llobregat, 2009), p. 89.

expansion and, in 1930, it recorded a population of 37,650.[33] During the 1920s, the number of inhabitants increased by more than 450 per cent and, by the 1930s, L'Hospitalet had become the second-most populated urban conurbation in Catalonia.[34] Specifically, the 1920s saw the precipitous growth of the proletarian districts of Collblanc and La Torrassa, which attracted 20,000 migrants from the south of the country.[35] As Joan Camós i Cabecerán illustrates, this 'extraordinary demographic and urbanistic growth' gave rise to both 'social confrontation and cultural clashes between different traditions'.[36] Whilst, in 1930, 37.2 per cent of Barcelona's population had been born outside of Catalonia, in L'Hospitalet this figure was 44.5 per cent.[37]

By the turn of the twentieth century, the city already had a long history of libertarian activism. In August 1872, some 191 local workers (constituting forty per cent of the locality's industrial and agricultural workforce at that time) affiliated themselves to the First International and, following the subsequent split of this organisation, 159 of these local members aligned themselves with the International's anarchist wing.[38] During the period under study, the contiguous neighbourhoods of Collblanc and La Torrassa – together with the adjacent Barcelona district of Sants – formed collectively an important hub of anarchist militancy.[39] Between 1917 and 1923, Barcelona became the scene of continual armed conflict between the CNT and the 'Free Union' which, with the support of the authorities, defended

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[33] Salmerón, p. 30.
[34] Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 26. By 1930, the population of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat had grown to 37,650. See Salmerón, p. 30.
[35] Chris Ealham, *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona: 1898-1937* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 21-22.
[36] Joan Camós i Cabecerán, 'L'Hospitalet i la Immigració: Calatanistes i Anarquistes als Anys Trenta', *Centre d'Estudis de l'Hospitalet. Quaderns d'Estudi*, 21 (2009), 71-84 (p. 72).
[37] Camós i Cabecerán, 'L'Hospitalet i la Immigració', p. 74.
[38] Manuel Domínguez López, 'Los Primeros Anarquistas de l'Hospitalet', *Progrés*, 78 (1991), 4 (p. 4). The ideological differences between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin led to the latter's expulsion from the International Working Men's Association (the First International) in 1872, which 'tends to be seen as the point at which the movement divided into two separate wings, one Marxist and the other anarchist'. Nevertheless, Ruth Kinna suggests that this 'split' became much more apparent in later years. See Kinna, *The Government of No* One, pp. 13-18.
[39] Enric Gil Meseguer, 'Els Cano: Història d'una Família Anarquista a l'Hospitalet', *Centre d'Estudis de L'Hospitalet. Quaderns d'Estudi*, 28 (2014), 67-103 (p. 70).

the interests of the employers.[40] L'Hospitalet saw much of this conflict and, in the neighbourhoods of Collblanc and La Torrassa, the CNT assumed an important role in everyday life, creating what Chris Ealham has called 'a community of resistance'.[41] Accordingly, in the eyes of both the local authorities and the bourgeois press, these neighbourhoods constituted 'a space of fear', in a 'city without laws'.[42]

Reclaiming the Night: 'Work Time' and 'Free Time'

E. P. Thompson argued that, with the transition from 'task-orientation to timed labour', time itself became commodified, giving rise to a previously absent division between free time and the time 'belonging' to employers.[43] In L'Hospitalet, the city's bourgeois press bolstered the idea that employers 'owned' their employees' time by enforcing 'time-discipline' in local workplaces. For instance, on the 4th of February 1930, *La Voz de Hospitalet* reproached local telegraph operators for arriving late to work, stating explicitly that a lack of punctuality 'damages the interests of the industrial gentlemen'.[44] Similarly, local employers consistently opposed the reduction of working hours. On the 22nd of November 1919 – some seven months after the national government had officially implemented the eight-hour working day – the Barcelona-based *Solidaridad Obrera* reported that, in the County of Llobregat, employers still refused to comply with the new legislation.[45]

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[40] Albert Balcells, *El Pistolerisme: Barcelona (1917-1923)* (Barcelona: Raval Edicions, 2009), p. 9.
[41] Manuel Domíngez López, 'El Pistolerisme a L'Hospitalet', *Quaderns d'Estudi*, 25 (2012), 87-126 (p. 96) and Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 29.
[42] Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 29.
[43] Thompson, p. 61. Karl Marx himself identified 'the commodification of time' in the capitalist economy and, in turn, he contrasted 'the alienating aspects of commodified time' with 'the liberatory potential of free time'. See Carmen Sirianni and Cynthia Negrey, 'Working Time as Gendered Time', *Feminist Economics*, 6.1 (2000), 59-76 (p. 60).
[44] 'Una Queja', *La Voz de Hospitalet*, 4 February 1930, p. 3. The claim that employers 'own' their workers' time is still pervasive today, with some scholars in the discipline of business studies even using the term 'time theft' to describe 'time that employees waste or spend not working during their scheduled work hours'. See Christine A. Henle, Charlie L. Reeve and Virginia E. Pitts, 'Stealing Time at Work: Attitudes, Social Pressure, and Perceived Control as Predictors of Time Theft', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 94 (2010), 53-67 (p. 53).
[45] 'Los Conflictos Actuales', *Solidaridad Obrera – Suplemento*, 22 November 1919, p. 2. The Spanish government introduced the eight-hour day for all workers on the 3rd of April 1919. The term 'County of

The same employers had even rejected more modest proposals for an eight-and-a-half hour day.[46] Furthermore, in a meeting of L'Hospitalet's Local Board of Social Reforms, held on the 27th of September 1919, attendees discussed reports that individuals were working twelve-hour shifts at a local foundry.[47] In other words, legislative changes did not necessarily lead to a substantive transformation in the local work-life balance, and 'employer-owned' time continued to consume a significant portion of workers' daily lives.

Nevertheless, whilst it is important to establish the quantity of time that local workers spent labouring, it is also necessary to consider the qualitative characteristics of the time they spent at work, and the adverse impact that this had on their free time. In the first three decades of the twentieth century, 'industrial psychology' became increasingly influential in Spain, largely drawing on the work of Frederick Taylor.[48] An American engineer, Taylor advocated 'techniques to understand, control and monitor work' in order to maximise productivity, such as reducing work-breaks to a minimum, and incentivising employees to work as hard as possible throughout their shifts.[49] On the Ford assembly lines in the United States, Taylorism led to habitual acts of coercion and control in the workplace, such as 'bans on talking, singing, whistling or smoking', which supervisors enforced.[50] These 'symbolic exchanges of subordination' were linked intrinsically to employers' drive to increase the efficiency of production.[51] That is, 'docile workers offered a silent, productive tribute to

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Llobregat' is translated from the Spanish 'Comarca del Llobregat': the area to the south and west of L'Hospitalet. See Bookchin, p. 179.

[46] 'Los Conflictos Actuales', p. 2.

[47] 'Villa de Hospitalet Año 1900 – Libro de Actas de la Junta Local de Reformas Sociales Ro. de 9 Junio', session on 27 September 1919, Fons Municipal, 101, Secció Z Gestió del Recursos Econòmics, Z04 Junta Local de Reformes Socials, Arxiu Municipal de L'Hospitalet (AMHL), L'Hospitalet de Llobregat.

[48] Fania Herrero, 'Los Orígenes de la Psicología Industrial en España', *Acción Psicológica*, 2.1 (2003), 51-61 (p. 51). After its publication in 1911, Taylor's book *The Principles of Scientific Management* was immediately translated into numerous languages, and Herrero highlights the subsequent influence of 'Taylorism' on contemporary Spanish psychologists such as Mercedes Rodrigo, 'the first person in Spain trained specifically in psychotechnics'. See Herrero, pp. 52, 54 and 58.

[49] Richard Coopey and Alan McKinlay, 'Power without Knowledge? Foucault and Fordism, c. 1900-50', *Labor History*, 51.1 (2010), 107-125 (p. 108) and Herrero, p. 52.

[50] Coopey and McKinlay, p. 111. Here, the authors are referring specifically to the Ford assembly lines in the United States between 1900 and 1941. See ibid., pp. 110-111.

[51] Ibid., p. 111.

[their employers'] dispersed form of sovereign power'.[52] Employers in L'Hospitalet often created a similarly disciplined production process, designed to extract as much labour as possible from their employees during working hours. For example, though the working regulations of the Bau company (a local olive oil manufacturer) – ratified on the 9th of January 1928 – granted workers an eight-hour day, they also prohibited talking during shifts.[53] Equally, on the 22nd of May 1924, *Solidaridad Obrera* reported that the owners of a brick-works in L'Hospitalet had recently dismissed requests to increase wages, instead demanding higher rates of production from their workers.[54] According to the paper's editors, the employees already 'worked like slaves' and, rather than forcing subordinates to work even harder, they suggested that the owners should provide them with better tools.[55]

The testimonies of local workers – both within and outside the anarchist movement – further highlight employers' drive to increase productivity through a combination of continual surveillance and coercion. In an interview in 2005, Carme Bosch i Mas – who began working in the late 1920s when she was twelve years old – confirmed that, at the local Can Trinxet mill, foremen reprimanded employees consistently if their work proved unsatisfactory.[56] In his memoirs, José Peirats even recalls that, as an apprentice at a glass-works in Collblanc in the winter of 1919, his supervisors beat him regularly while he worked and, in 1995, Francesc Pedra – a local CNT member who moved to L'Hospitalet in 1923 – reported similar abuses from his time as a glass-works apprentice in La Torrassa.[57] Of course, some shop-floors proved less strict, and afforded a greater degree of autonomy during

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[52] Coopey and McKinlay, p. 111.
[53] 'Reglamento del Trabajo en los Almacenes de Aceites Bau S.A.', Fons Municipal 101, Secció J Població i Eleccions, J100 Empadronament, 'Cens Obrer 1926-1929', AMHL.
[54] 'Movimiento Sindical', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 22 May 1924, p. 4.
[55] Ibid., p. 4.
[56] Interview with Carme Bosch i Mas, January 2005, Col·leccions, 905 Fonts Orals, 471-475 Indùstries Sta. Eulàlia: Godó i Trias, AMHL, pp. 3 and 7.
[57] Peirats, pp. 127-128, interview with Francesc Pedra, 20 March 1995, 17 July 1995, and 8 October 1995, Col·leccions, 901 Documents Personals, 015 Documents de Francesc Pedra Argüelles, AMHL, pp. 17 and 20 and interview with Francesc Pedra, 1982, Fons Personals, 855 Joan Camós Cabecerán, AMHL, pp. 7-8.

working hours. For instance, in an interview in 2001, former Can Trinxet-employee Mercé Gimeno – who was born in 1906 and started working at the age of thirteen – pointed out that, on occasion, she and the other female employees sang while they worked.[58] Despite this, even in Gimeno's work-place, employees remained under constant observation: Gimeno herself noted that she was a supervisor at Can Trinxet after the Civil War.[59]

Given the considerable physical and psychological exertions that industrial occupations entailed, work time had a direct (and negative) impact on the ways in which workers utilised their free time. The highly pressured working environment in L'Hospitalet's mills and factories ensured that, during the period under study, local workers' free time was dedicated primarily to recovering. In 2005, Pere Carretero i Battle – who began working in the late 1920s – described how, after his shifts at the local Conde Godó mill, he used to cough all night due to the toxic chemicals he had inhaled during the day.[60] In Peirats' memoirs, he notes that, after a day working at the glass-works, with 'the blows, burns, cuts from glass and bruises', he was regularly 'a mess' by the time he returned home.[61] In addition, like male apprentice glass-workers, L'Hospitalet's female textile trainees experienced physical abuse from their supervisors, and were forced to carry heavy loads which, given their young age, placed a great deal of strain on their bodies.[62]

Here, it is important to draw attention to the relationship between time and gender: that is, the way in which 'gender inequalities are reflected in the social organisation of

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[58] Interview with Mercé Gimeno, May 2001, Col·leccions, 905 Fonts Orals, 345-348 and 349-363 Fàbrica Can Trinxet, AMHL, pp. 3 and 13. It is not clear which years Gimeno is referring to here. She worked at Can Trinxet from around the year 1919 (she was born in 1906 and claimed that she was employed from the age of thirteen) until 1934, when the mill closed. Later, she returned to work there in 1945, after the mill had reopened. Therefore, her comments could relate to either the 1919-1934 period or the post-Civil War period. See ibid., pp. 3-4 and 7.
[59] Ibid., p. 7.
[60] Interview with Pere Carretero i Battle, November 2005, Col·leccions, 905 Fonts Orals, 471-475 Indústries Sta. Eulàlia: Can Pareto, AMHL, pp. 3 and 7-8.
[60] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[61] Peirats, p. 128.
[62] Marín Silvestre, p. 169.

time'.[63] Specifically, feminist scholars have often highlighted women's experiences of 'time poverty'; or 'the temporal asymmetries in the distribution of household-labor time among men and women'.[64] For L'Hospitalet's female workers, supposedly 'free' time also entailed forms of 'reproductive labour' which, as the last chapter noted, refers to those tasks traditionally associated with housewives ('from cleaning bathrooms and preparing food to caring for children').[65] In 1920, nearly forty per cent of Catalonia's industrial workers were women and, though many were confined to the domestic sphere after having children, some chose to remain in the factories.[66] However, even those women who continued working outside the family home simultaneously performed the majority of domestic work, too.[67] In this respect, it is highly revealing that, when Mercé Gimeno, a mother of three, was asked in her interview in 2001 whether she ever pursued any 'hobbies' during her working life, she replied simply: 'I didn't have time to do anything'. [68] Moreover, in an interview in 2002, Anna Vives Solé – another local textile worker who, born in 1922, worked at the Tecla Sala mill from the age of fourteen – implied that, after she married, she not only continued working but also cooked for her husband.[69]

Philosopher Julie Rose specifies that genuinely 'free' time does not involve tasks which are essential to the satisfaction of 'basic needs'.[70] That is, in Rose's view, free time does not consist of either rest or 'reproductive' labour, but of other (more enjoyable) activities. By this measure, even if they did not involve paid work, the hours that

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[63] Siriani and Negrey, p. 59.
[64] Ibid., p. 61 and Bryson, pp. 146-147.
[65] Duffy, p. 315.
[66] Smith, pp. 37-38.
[67] Ibid., p. 39.
[68] Interview with Merçé Gimeno, pp. 5 and 12.
[69] Interview with Anna Vives Solé, December 2002, Col·leccions, 905 Fonts Orals, 81-96 Fàbrica Tecla Sala, AMHL, pp. 1-2 and 4. At one point, the interviewer asked Anna how she managed the combined workload of completing shifts at the mill and then 'putting the house in order', to which Anna replied: 'well, well'. See ibid., p. 4.
[70] Julie Rose, *Free Time* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), p. 40. Rose points out that nineteenth century labourers in the United States recognised this, and therefore demanded 'eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, and eight hours for what we will'. See ibid., p. 2.

L'Hospitalet's workers spent caring for their families between shifts – or, in the case of men, simply recovering – did not constitute 'free' time at all: they were an extension of the working day.

Of course, throughout the period under study, anarchists in L'Hospitalet participated regularly in strikes and campaigns which aimed to reduce 'official' working hours. On the 11th of October 1886, the Madrid-based anarchist newspaper *Bandera Social* printed a report from a meeting of trade unions which had gathered in Barcelona on the 12th of September, in an effort to attain an eight-hour working day for their members.[71] Delegates from various local workers' organisations were among the attendees, including the Construction Workers of L'Hospitalet, as well as groups from neighbouring Sants, such as the Progress group, and Carpenters of Sants.[72] Similarly, on the 24th of August 1931, the CNT-affiliated 'Single Union' of L'Hospitalet distributed a flyer demanding a series of concessions from employers at a local ceramics factory, including a guarantee that stokers would not be forced to work more than forty-eight hours per week.[73] These actions focused on paid work, but local activists also drew attention to the time they spent in their workplaces without any financial remuneration. In an interview in 1982, Francesc Pedra recalled that, as an apprentice glass-worker in the mid-1920s, he had participated in a strike to protest against the fact that employers required apprentices to arrive at work an hour early to prepare the factory for the day ahead.[74]

Nevertheless, these attempts to reduce working hours formed only part of anarchists' efforts to disrupt the hegemony of 'capitalist time'. As indicated above, Rancière argues that workers in nineteenth century France recognised the need to 'break away from the very

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[71] 'Tribuna del Trabajo', *Bandera Social*, 11 October 1886, p. 2.
[72] Ibid., p. 3.
[73] Flyer from the Single Union of Workers of L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, titled 'A la Opinión Pública', 24 August 1931, Col·leccions, 902 Entitats de l'Hospitalet, 057 Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT), AMHL.
[74] Interview with Francesc Pedra, 1982, pp. 7-8.

partition of time sustaining social subjection' and, subsequently, they sought to 'reclaim' the night by dedicating their non-working hours to intellectual and creative activities.[75] Anarchist *hospitalenses* engaged in similar practices in their free time, incorporating educational and artistic pursuits into their working days and weekends. In 1982, Severino Campos – who first became involved in the local anarchist movement in 1924 – stated that, during the Primo de Rivera years, he knew many young libertarian activists who acquired an education outside work.[76] These individuals, all local factory workers without any formal academic training, 'took advantage of the extra hours…away from work, to dedicate themselves to studying', either at one of the local educational institutions or 'as autodidacts'.[77] As a teenager, Peirats established a 'study area' in his bedroom, and created a personal library, using 'large egg boxes' to build his own bookcases.[78] Writing about his early militancy in the Brickmakers' Society in 1927, Peirats recounts how he, along with three of his fellow militants – all 'crazy about books' – would spend his Sunday mornings traversing local bookshops, and eventually he helped to install a library in the Society's locale.[79] In 1982, Francesc Pedra claimed that another comrade of Peirats, referred to simply as 'Alba', taught himself to read by studying at night.[80] This 'Alba', who worked at the same brick-works as Peirats in the 1920s, allegedly went on to become not only a teacher at the local libertarian athenaeum, but also a university lecturer.[81]

These educational pursuits repurposed workers' free time and, most importantly, they were inherently prefigurative. As highlighted above, throughout Spain, anarchists regarded

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[75] Jacques Rancière, 'The Thinking of Dissensus', p. 7 and Jacques Rancière, *Proletarian Nights: the Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France*, trans. by John Drury (London and New York: Verso, 2012), p. 16.
[76] Interview with Severino Campos, 1982, Fons Personals, 855 Joan Camós Cabecerán, AMHL, pp. 1-3.
[77] Ibid., p. 3.
[78] Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 36.
[79] Peirats, pp. 155-156.
[80] Interview with Francesc Pedra, 1982, pp. 3-4.
[81] Ibid., pp. 3-4. In an interview in 2002, Alba Conejero – whose father, Pedra Conejero, was a prominent local member of the CNT – noted that, when she attended a rationalist school in Collblanc in the 1930s, one of her teachers was called 'Alba'. See interview with Alba Conejero, 18 September 2002, Col·leccions, 905 Fonts Orals, 323-324 Fons Plaça Espanyola, AMHL, pp. 1 and 5.

education as essential to the emancipation of the working classes, partly as a means of countering the influence of the Catholic Church in everyday life, but also because it helped workers to gain awareness of their own abilities and potential.[82] As Martha Ackelsberg illustrates, 'to teach people to read and write was to empower them socially and culturally; it became, truly, a revolutionary act'.[83] On a more practical level, James Yeoman has pointed out that, since the printed word constituted 'the primary means by which anarchism was communicated', workers' illiteracy posed a serious obstacle to the development of the movement.[84] With that in mind, education proved a formative experience; a key stage in the creation of the so-called 'conscious worker', who not only 'symbolized the devotion and knowledge necessary to revitalize humanity' but, more concretely, also played an important role in disseminating propaganda.[85] In this sense, by using the limited amount of free time available to them outside work to educate themselves, local anarchists were not only 'reclaiming the night' from their employers, but simultaneously prefiguring a future society of well-informed and politically engaged working-class militants. Put simply, education transformed free time from a period of passive recuperation into one of active prefiguration.

Unfortunately, whilst L'Hospitalet's anarchist circles included women such as Lola Peñalver, Francisca Conejero Tomàs and María Ascaso, the educational and creative pursuits of local female activists rarely feature in sources from the locality and period under study.[86]

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[82] Litvak, p. 253 and Cleminson, *Anarquismo y Sexualidad*, p. 175.
[83] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p. 80.
[84] Yeoman, 'Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement', p. 121.
[85] Mintz, p. 87 and Yeoman, 'Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement', p. 121. Yeoman points out that, given 'disparities in reading ability', the most educated workers often 'became local elites, performing the roles of press correspondents, orators, union leaders and teachers in secular schools'. See Yeoman, 'Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement', p. 121.
[86] Lola Peñalver moved to L'Hospitalet at the age of nine and, like her partner Francesc Pedra, she was a prominent CNT activist. Similarly, after moving to Barcelona at the age of seven or eight, Francisca Conejero Tomàs later became involved in the local Truth anarchist group, along with her brother, Pedra Conejero. Furthermore, in his unpublished memoirs, Severino Campos recalls that, during the period under study, he regularly met with anarchists at the local Tupinet café, including María Ascaso and an individual called Luisa (the sister of fellow activist, Diego Barrancos). See interview with Germà Pedra, 31 January 2001, Col·leccions, 905 Fonts Orals, 63-80 Dones Sindicalistes, AMHL, pp. 1 and 4, interview with Francisca Conejero Tomàs, 1986, Col·leccions, 901 Documents Personals, 012 Documents de Dolors Marín Silvestre, AMHL, pp. 1-2, Severino Campos, *Una Vida por un Ideal* (unpublished), pp. 5-6 and Marín Silvestre, p. 187.

Despite this, there are indications that, in later years – and elsewhere in Spain – female activists did pursue an education outside work. In the autumn of 1938, *Mujeres Libres* – the journal of Free Women, an anarcho-feminist organisation established in 1937 – urged female strikers to 'take advantage of [their free] time' by enrolling in classes at Barcelona's Centre for Working Women, and an earlier issue even included a photograph of anarchist women studying in L'Hospitalet.[87] Similarly, in an article in the Alcoy-based publication *Redención* on the 7th of May 1921, Julia Ferrer reminded female paper workers of the need to acquire an education in their non-working hours.[88] Accordingly, it is likely that at least some anarchist women engaged in similar practices in L'Hospitalet prior to the Civil War, but more evidence is needed to ascertain the extent to which the educational and creative pursuits of local female activists mirrored those of their male counterparts.

Whilst anarchists encouraged workers to educate themselves outside work, this does not mean that they denied the necessity of rest during free time, or that they discouraged relaxation. On the 31st of May 1903, the *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna* – the official organ of the Barcelona Modern School – emphasised the importance of sleep to the health of children and young adults alike, including those of working age. For instance, according to the editors, four-year-old children required twelve hours of sleep every night, whilst those aged between fourteen and twenty needed eight or nine hours.[89] Similarly, on the 20th of November 1908, *Solidaridad Obrera* published an article by Ramón Font y Rodó – a baker from the nearby town of San Baudilio de Llobregat – in which he defended the 'Sunday Rest

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[87] *Mujeres Libres*, Autumn 1938 (issue 13), untitled message, p. 11 (no official page numbers), Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, pp. 115 and 121-122 and 'Compañeras de Hospitalet en Plena Actividad', *Mujeres Libres*, II de la Revolución (issue 10), p. 2. As discussed below, *Mujeres Libres* did not use a conventional dating system, and so it is not possible to ascertain the exact date on which issues 13 and 10 were printed. Anarchists Mercedes Comaposada, Lucía Sánchez Saornil and Amparo Poch y Gascón founded the 'Free Women' organisation (and edited its journal), in response to the failure of both society and the anarchist movement 'to address the specific problems confronting [women]'. See Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, pp. 115 and 121-122.

[88] Julia Ferrer, 'A las Obreras Papeleras', *Redención*, 7 May 1921, p. 4.

[89] 'El Sueño Infantil', *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*, 31 May 1903, pp. 85 and 96.

Law', celebrating the fact that it afforded workers a few extra hours of sleep at the end of the week.[90] In addition, like the anarchists in Rosario, local activists in L'Hospitalet also recognised the importance of incorporating aspects of play into everyday life. In 1995, Pedra recalled that, when he was a child, a sympathetic neighbour – whom the authorities later arrested for being a suspected anarchist – taught him to read.[91] Already employed at that time, Pedra used to get up at five o'clock in the morning to go to work, returning home at three o'clock in the afternoon.[92] His neighbour agreed to teach him after his shifts, and this arrangement continued for 'three or four years'.[93] Significantly, the neighbour refused to teach Pedra every day, since he was aware of the long hours he worked, and he insisted that 'children have to play', too.[94] Moreover, in an article published on the 29th of December 1936, the local anarchist publication *Ideas* confirmed that, at L'Hospitalet's Modern School, teachers encouraged pupils of all ages to play, 'since we know the enormous influence that it has on the child'.[95]

Though, to a certain extent, local anarchists regarded both rest and recreation as legitimate ways to occupy their time outside work, libertarian discourse also criticised those who spent their non-working hours in a state of idleness. For example, throughout Spain, anarchists campaigned consistently against vices such as drinking alcohol and, in some cases, their criticism of these activities centred on the idea that they led to a counterproductive – or frivolous – use of free time.[96] In the early 1920s, *Redención* printed anonymous messages which discouraged workers from spending their time in bars. On the 2nd of April 1921, the paper declared that 'the tavern or gambling den, where alcoholic beverages are sold, is like a

[90] Ramón Font y Rodó, 'A los Obreros Panaderos', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 20 November 1908, p. 2.
[91] Interview with Francesc Pedra, 20 March 1995, 17 July 1995, and 8 October 1995, pp. 21-22.
[92] Ibid., p. 21.
[93] Ibid., p. 21.
[94] Ibid., p. 21.
[95] Abella and Alonso, 'Escuela Moderna de Hospitalet', *Ideas*, 29 December 1936, p. 5.
[96] Cleminson, 'Making Sense of the Body', pp. 708-709.

battlefield, where the life of the drinker and the happiness of his family are exterminated'.[97] Later in the same issue, the editors affirmed that 'the moral education of the people is acquired by means of schools and good teachers, and not with taverns and casinos, which shrivel the brains of those who frequent them.'[98] On the 1st of December 1924, *Generación Consciente* – another Alcoy-based libertarian publication – included an article by Ramón Magre, in which he described a bar he had recently visited whilst waiting for a friend.[99] The author not only lamented the fact that, on a Saturday, regular drinkers would squander half of their week's salary on alcohol (to the detriment of their families) but, crucially, he stressed the triviality of spending time in such establishments.[100] In Magre's view, the tavern served as a 'funfair' for 'older children, whose toys are bottles of poison'.[101] By presenting the consumption of alcohol as both infantile and injurious to the drinker's intellectual capacity, anarchist writers situated such hedonistic activities within a binary of productive (educational) and counter-productive (destructive) pastimes.

These attitudes remained prevalent among anarchists in Barcelona and L'Hospitalet. On the 28th of February 1917, the Barcelona-based anarchist newspaper *Tierra y Libertad* printed an article on 'vice' in the city, which presented a similar binary between productive and counter-productive activities: 'In place of schools, brothels. Instead of educational centres, gambling dens.'[102] Equally, when the editors of *Mujeres Libres* encouraged female workers in Barcelona to take classes in the autumn of 1938, they urged readers not to be 'lazy comrade[s]'. [103] Significantly, in L'Hospitalet, many anarchists who educated themselves in their free time shared an aversion to drinking alcohol.[104] In an interview in 1983, Viçens

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[97] Untitled message, *Redención*, 2 April 1921, p. 2.
[98] Ibid., p. 4.
[99] Ramón Magre, 'Llagas – La Taberna', *Generación Consciente*, 1 December 1924, pp. 219-220.
[100] Ibid., p. 220.
[101] Ibid., p. 219.
[102] Dionysios, 'Los Antros del Vicio', *Tierra y Libertad*, 28 February 1917, p. 1.
[103] *Mujeres Libres*, Autumn 1938 (issue 13), untitled message, p. 11.
[104] Significantly, activists in the locality maintained regular correspondence with *Redención* which, as noted above, actively discouraged alcohol consumption. On the 8th of February 1923, the editors requested that all

Nebot – who was born in 1913 and moved to L'Hospitalet at the age of four – described how, as a young ceramics worker, he had attended evening classes at a rationalist school on Alcolea Street.[105] Nebot went on to become one of the founders of the Rationalist Athenaeum in La Torrassa in 1931 and, as he recalled later, he and the other founders drew inspiration from a 'pure anarchism' which imbibed aspects of naturism.[106] For his part, Nebot was a vegetarian and teetotaller.[107] In like manner, when interviewed in 2002, the daughter of prominent CNT member Pedra Conejero reminisced about how her father – who worked in various occupations ranging from glass-worker to newspaper vendor – not only spent a great deal of his free time reading, but also performed regularly on stage at the local athenaeum.[108] Notably, she stipulated that her father – a naturist, who had met her mother at a local hiking club – never visited bars.[109]

Furthermore, Peirats' turn to scholarship coincided with a radical change in his own leisure routine.[110] In the early 1920s, Peirats had frequently indulged in drinking sessions in the 'rowdy bars of Collblanc-La Torrassa' and the 'red-light district' of nearby Barcelona but, as he began to develop an interest in reading, he made 'new friends who always had a book under their arm'.[111] Peirats would later become highly critical of alcohol consumption: in a letter to historian José Gutiérrez on the 28th of June 1985, he recalled how his first article in

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anarchist publications send subscriptions to Manuel Arbona, a resident of L'Hospitalet's Prat de la Riba Street. Similarly, on the 22nd of that month, *Redención* published the details of the Rationalist Culture group, which had just established itself in the area. See 'Correo Libre', *Redención*, 8 February 1923, p. 4, and 'Correo Libre', *Redención*, 22 February 1923, p. 3.

105 Interview with Viçens Nebot, 9 February 1983, Fons Personals, 855 Joan Camós Cabecerán, pp. 2-4.

106 Ibid., p. 8 and Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, pp. 50-52. The founders of the Rationalist Athenaeum of La Torrassa were inspired by a similar institution in Sants and, following its establishment in 1931, their institution soon became a regular meeting-place for local libertarian activists. See Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, pp. 50-52.

107 Interview with Viçens Nebot, p. 8 and Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, pp. 50-52.

108 Interview with Alba Conejero, pp. 1, 8 and 10. Alba was born in 1930, and she estimates that, at the time of her birth, her father was twenty-three years old. See ibid., pp. 1-2.

109 Ibid., pp. 2 and 11.

110 Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 32.

111 Ibid., p. 32.

the anarchist press took the form of 'a violent attack' on those brickmakers who enjoyed drunken nights at music halls.[112]

Whilst local anarchists filled their evenings and weekends with educational and creative pursuits, it is important to note that these activities were often communal experiences. Discussing nineteenth century workers in France, Rancière maintains that the 'time [they] wrested from the night and from sleep' was not only 'for the purpose of individual transformation', but also for the 'collective *oeuvre*'.[113] In a similar way, Peirats describes how, as a young worker, he shared his burgeoning knowledge with close family members, reading aloud regularly to his mother and aunt in the evenings, thereby transforming himself into 'a collective reader of that delirious literature'.[114] Furthermore, as mentioned above, Pedra Conejero acted frequently in plays and, according to her son, Francesc Pedra's partner and fellow anarchist Lola Peñalver – who moved to L'Hospitalet in 1924 at the age of nine and started working at the Fabra i Coats factory some five or six years later – also participated in theatre productions at the local athenaeum, in spite of her illiteracy.[115] In this sense, 'productive' pastimes such as reading and acting helped to not only disseminate knowledge; they also formed part of a broader range of social activities that brought like-minded activists together in their free time. As Suriano points out when discussing the anarchist *veladas* of Buenos Aires, such events – which comprised 'theater, musical performances, and lectures' – not only sought to occupy workers' free time 'with a

[112] Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 32 and letter from José Peirats to José Gutiérrez, 28 June 1985, José Peirats i Valls Papers, 216, IISG, p. 2.
[113] Jacques Rancière, quoted in Mark Robson, 'Jacques Rancière and Time: *le Temps d'Après'*, *Paragraph*, 38.3 (2015), 297-311 (p. 307).
[114] Peirats, p. 149. Here, Peirats was engaging in a practice that had long been prevalent among anarchists: in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, militants would often read aloud to their peers who, in many cases, could not read for themselves. See Gabriel Jackson, 'The Origins of Spanish Anarchism', *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 36.2 (1955), 135-147 (pp. 136 and 140).
[115] Interview with Germà Pedra, pp. 1 and 11. Germà notes that Lola was born in 1915, moved to L'Hospitalet at the age of nine, and then started working when she was fourteen or fifteen years old. For this reason, it is likely that here Germà is referring to plays that took place in the early 1930s. See ibid., p. 1.

cultural project that was fun and [that] instructed them in the libertarian field'; they also aimed 'to respond to workers' social needs'.[116]

The last chapter illustrated how 'sociability' – the drive to create relationships with other people and construct 'collectives' – remained central to anarchist practices, and events such as picnics helped to form and consolidate social bonds between libertarian activists, constructing a model of community life that could be implemented in the future society.[117] For example, in Argentina, Maciel Island became a regular venue for libertarian gatherings, where activists experienced 'the clear joy and spiritual communion of the whole'.[118] Nevertheless, anarchist sociability was not only practised in specific locations, but also at specific times. In his unpublished memoirs, Severino Campos recounts how, after moving to Sants shortly after the death of his aunt in late 1917, he began spending his Friday evenings at the Tupinet café – on the edge of Collblanc – which local activists of both sexes (including Peirats, Alba and Conejero) frequented.[119] During their evenings at the café, they discussed politics and developments in the wider movement.[120] In a similar way, during his interview in 1995, Francesc Pedra highlighted the 'social culture' of L'Hospitalet (specifically La Torrassa) in the 1920s, when 'at night [comrades] met and talked'.[121] In this sense, local anarchists created routines which, in turn, appropriated certain times of the day and week for the movement; 'reclaiming' the free time which (unofficially) belonged to their employers. As another prominent local activist, José Casajuana, put it: 'during the day, our different occupations separated us; but, ah, the nights! These were ours.'[122]

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[116] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 91.
[117] Guereña, p. 16 and Morland, p. 135.
[118] 'Nuestras Fiestas', *La Protesta – Suplemento Semanal*, 19 February 1922, p. 7.
[119] Campos, *Una Vida por un Ideal*, pp. 4-6.
[120] Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[121] Interview with Francesc Pedra, 20 March 1995, 17 July 1995, and 8 October 1995, p. 27.
[122] José Casajuana, quoted in Marín Silvestre, pp. 180-181.

'Lived Time': Scarcity, Duration and 'Temporal Markers'

Sociologist Peter Freund argues that, by occupying so much of our time, capitalism 'reduc[es] the sphere of autonomy and one's ability to engage in relatively unalienated and sustainable… activities'.[123] Put simply, the more hours one works, the less time one has to do other things. Accordingly, Freund draws attention to the experience of 'time scarcity'; a phenomenon symptomatic of a 'harried, crowded, and frantic pace of existence'.[124] In L'Hospitalet, workers experienced a similar sense of 'time scarcity': even if they 'reclaimed' the night, work time continued to structure their daily lives and, for anarchists, it determined when they could (and could not) engage in activism. In his interview in 2005, local worker Pere Carretero i Battle recalled that, once a week, he would complete two successive eight-hour shifts at a factory, starting at six o'clock in the morning.[125] He would then spend the night working as an agricultural labourer, before returning to the factory the following day, without having slept.[126] Similarly, in an interview in the 1980s, Josep Bonastre remarked that, in 1920 – when he was four years old – he went to live at the local Vilumara factory, where his father was a porter.[127] According to Bonastre, his father's contract provided free accommodation for him and his family, but it did not grant him any holidays, and it required that he remain on site twenty-four hours per day.[128] Bonastre went on to describe how, when he himself began working as a mechanic in 1929, he would often labour until eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and the working week only ended on Saturday afternoons.[129] In

[123] Peter Freund, 'Capitalism, Time-Space, Environment, and Human Well-Being: Envisioning Ecosocialist Temporality and Spatiality', *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, 21.2 (2010), 112-121 (p. 116). Here, Freund is referring to the impact of the capitalist system on contemporary society.
[124] Ibid., p. 116. This phenomenon is reminiscent of 'time poverty', mentioned above. Specifically, Freund indicates that a sense of 'time scarcity' (or a 'time squeeze') results from 'ever-accelerating realities'. See ibid., p. 116.
[125] Interview with Pere Carretero i Battle, pp. 7-8.
[126] Ibid., pp. 7-8.
[127] Interview with Josep Bonastre, 1980s, Col·leccions, 901 Documents Personals, 012 Documents de Dolors Marín Silvestre, AMHL, p. 1.
[128] Ibid., p. 1.
[129] Ibid., p. 3.

addition, discussing the early 1930s in an interview in 1995, Pere Ricart – who was born in 1921 and worked on his family's local dairy farm from the age of eight – noted that, during that period, he laboured from four o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock at night, Monday to Sunday.[130]

Of course, due to the nature of workplace organising, political agitation and education often took place during working hours. As Yeoman notes, many of the CNT's actions were 'bound to workplace activity', with members raising funds on the shop-floor, and distributing anarchist newspapers.[131] In his memoirs, Ángel Pestaña – a highly influential figure in the Catalan CNT during the period under study – describes a discussion he had with two confessed anarchists during a work-break, which contributed to his initiation into the movement.[132] Similarly, Peirats recalls how, during one of his shifts at the brick-works, a colleague – whom he had noticed reading – gave him a package which contained copies of the libertarian publication *La Revista Blanca*.[133] Nevertheless, whilst some activism took place at work, it was not confined primarily to the workplace. In general, local anarchists scheduled their organisational activities around work commitments, holding meetings routinely in the evenings. On the 9th of January 1917, *Solidaridad Obrera* published a notice from the rationalist school on Alcolea Street in Sants, calling for representatives from the various trade unions which supported the school to begin attending meetings on the evenings of the second and fourth Fridays of each month, to keep abreast of developments at the institution.[134] Equally, on the 14th of September 1930, the newspaper notified readers in L'Hospitalet that its director, Juan Peiró, would give a talk at the Choral Society's locale in

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[130] Interview with Pere Ricart, 21 June 1995, Col·leccions, 905 Fonts Orals, 197-211 Taller Collblanc Torrassa, AMHL, pp. 1, 3 and 5. Notably, when the interviewer (Inocencio Salmerón) remarked that Ricart evidently had no time to participate in the anarchist uprising that occurred in L'Hospitalet in 1933, Ricart replied 'No, we [worked] like a machine'. See ibid., p. 5.
[131] Yeoman, 'Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement', pp. 40 and 216.
[132] Ferrán Aisa, *CNT: la Força Obrera a Catalunya (1910-1939)* (Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2013), p. 40 and Ángel Pestaña, *Lo que Aprendí en la Vida*, 2 vols (Madrid: Zero, 1972), II, pp. 16-17.
[133] Peirats, pp. 144-145.
[134] La Comisión de Escuela, 'Escuela Racionalista "Luz"', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 9 January 1917, p. 2.

Spain Square (La Torrassa), at 10 o'clock in the evening on Tuesday the 16th of that month.[135] Furthermore, on the 2nd of September 1932, Salvador Martí – of the local Pro Culture, Peace and Love Athenaeum – wrote to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet to request permission to hold a conference on the subject of 'anarchy', at half past nine of the following evening.[136]

As well as after work, local CNT members regularly held meetings at weekends. On the 15th of May 1924, *Solidaridad Obrera* informed its readers of a conference due to take place at the locale of the CNT-affiliated 'Single Union' of L'Hospitalet on the following Sunday.[137] On the 4th and 11th of October 1930, the paper reported on two further Sunday meetings that the local 'Single Union' held on the 28th of September and the 12th of October.[138] In addition, on the 2nd of April 1931, L'Hospitalet's 'Single Union' distributed a flyer announcing an assembly on Sunday the 5th of that month whilst, on the 15th of May 1931, the same organisation invited workers to attend another assembly on Sunday the 17th of May.[139]

The response of the local authorities to perceived acts of political dissent illustrates how other forms of activism – specifically direct action – tended to occur outside regular working hours, too. Writing to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet on the 22nd of August 1896, Agustín Álvarez Navarro, of the Civil Guard in Sants, stressed 'the absolute necessity of exercising the most active vigilance' to prevent agitators from putting up posters with

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[135] 'A los Obreros de Hospitalet', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 14 September 1930, p. 3.

[136] Letter from Salvador Martí to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet, 2 September 1932, Fons Municipal, 101, Secció U Relacions Institucionals i Comunicación, U430 Enquestes i Estudis Sociològics, 1932_001 Recull de Peticions d'Entitats i Associacions', 'Peticions d'Associacions, Agost, Setembre i Desembre, Octubre, Novembre 1932', AMHL.

[137] 'Conferencia', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 15 May 1924, p. 3.

[138] 'De la Región', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 4 October 1930, p. 5 and 'Información Regional', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 11 October 1930, p. 6.

[139] Flyer from the Single Union of Workers of Hospitalet, 2 April 1931, Col·leccions, 902 Entitats de l'Hospitalet, 057 Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT), AMHL and flyer from the Committee of the Single Union of Hospitalet, 15 May 1931, Col·leccions, 902 Entitats de l'Hospitalet, 057 Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT), AMHL.

'revolutionary slogans' during the night.[140] Moreover, on the 26th of March 1919 – two days after the CNT had declared a general strike throughout the province of Barcelona as a result of the government's refusal to release all of those detained during the *La Canadiense* conflict – the military authorities in L'Hospitalet imposed a strict curfew, ordering all establishments to close at ten o'clock at night, and prohibiting the local inhabitants from leaving their homes after eleven.[141] The next chapter discusses nocturnal activism in more detail, and the ways in which operating under the cover of darkness helped anarchists to avoid detection. However, in this context, the preventative measures of the local authorities further highlight that libertarian militancy was, by necessity, temporally (as well as spatially) bounded.[142]

The confinement of a large portion of their activism to the hours outside work had a significant impact on the ways in which anarchists measured and experienced the passage of time. For example, when advertising social and organisational events, on many occasions the anarchist press sought to generate a culture of punctuality among its readers. On the 29th of January 1917, *Solidaridad Obrera* announced a *velada* which would take place on the 1st of February at the Rationalist Athenaeum on Vallespir Street, in Sants.[143] The authors were careful to point out that 'the most punctual attendance is requested', and they stipulated that

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[140] Letter from Agustín Álvarez Navarro to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet, 22 August 1896, Fons Municipal, 101, Secció M Seguretat Ciutadana i Mobilitat, M400 Funcions de Policia Asistencial i Protecció Civil, 'Col·locació de Pasquins Revolucionaris pels Carrers de L'Hospitalet de Llobregat', AMHL, pp. 1-2 and 4.

[141] Aisa, p. 71 and 'Pregonat en el Dia 26 de Mars de 1919', Fons Municipal, 101, Secció M Seguretat Ciutadana i Mobilitat, M400 Funcions de Policia Asistencial i Protecció Civil, 1919_31 Correspondència sobre Ordre Públic, AMHL. The *La Canadiense* strike refers to an industrial dispute initiated by energy workers in Barcelona in January 1919 (the Canadian Bank of Commerce of Toronto was a major investor in the city's energy production). See Manel Aisa Pàmpols, *La Efervescencia Social de los Años Veinte: Barcelona 1917-1923* (Barcelona: Descontrol Editorial, 2016), p. 43.

[142] As the next chapter illustrates, night-time facilitated clandestine activities such as sabotage. Notably, the official minutes of L'Hospitalet's Municipal Council meetings from the period indicate that, at least in the poorer neighbourhoods of Collblanc and La Torrassa, the streets were dark for most of the night. On the 27th of December 1918, Councillor Rius requested that Progress Street, Boada Street and the Ronda de la Torrassa remain illuminated all night, to allow those working late-shifts to walk safely to the factories of Santa Eulalia. Similarly, on the 6th of June 1919, the Council agreed to illuminate the streets of Collblanc and La Torrassa at night during the annual carnival, on the 7th, 8th and 9th of that month. See 'Acta del Ple 1918/12/27', Fons Municipal, 101, Actes del Ple, AMHL, p. 176 and 'Acta del Ple 1919/06/06', Fons Municipal, 101, Actes del Ple, AMHL, p. 63.

[143] 'Ateneo Racionalista de Sans, Vallespir, 12', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 29 January 1917, p. 2.

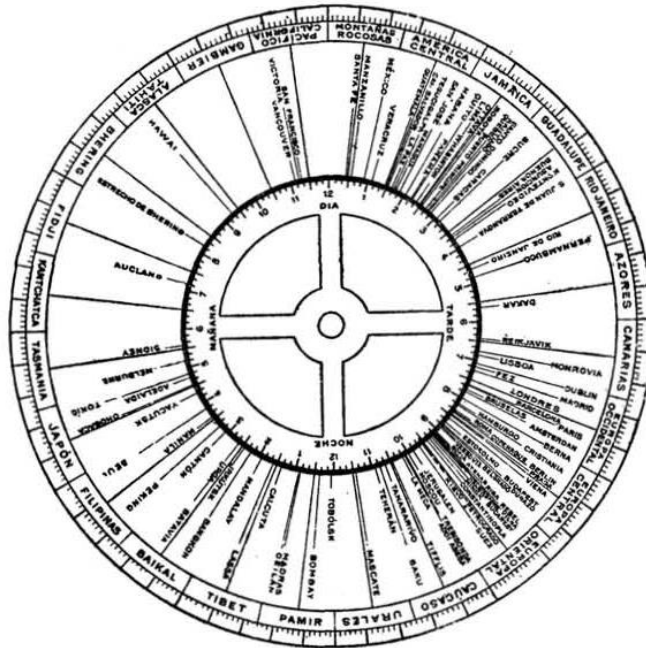
the event would commence 'at nine o'clock on the dot'.[144] Similarly, announcing a meeting of the Union of Welders and [Welders'] Assistants on the 11th of November 1917, the newspaper again stressed that 'punctual assistance is requested' and, in like manner, the editors were equally specific when they declared, on the 9th of January 1918, that an upcoming fund-raising event of the Society of Barcelona Lamplighters and Tin-Workers would begin 'at half past nine exactly' on the following Saturday.[145] This emphasis on punctuality permeated libertarian educational institutions: the Barcelona Modern School reprimanded both children and their parents regularly for arriving late, publishing the names of offending pupils in the *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*. On the 31st of October 1902, the newspaper printed a list of all pupils who had failed to arrive on time between the 1st and the 25th of that month, with figures showing the number of each pupil's offences.[146] Later that year, on the 31st of November, the editors published another list of tardy pupils, and appealed to their families to 'avoid as much as possible that [the children] arrive late to school, since every time that this happens they miss the first class'.[147]

Apart from encouraging punctual attendance, the anarchist press sought to inculcate in its readers an intellectual appreciation for accurate time measurement. On the 1st of January 1926, *Generación Consciente* published a chart showing readers how to calculate the time from different points on the planet (see Figure 3 below).[148]

[144] Ibid., p. 2. The phrase 'at nine o'clock on the dot' is a translation from the Spanish 'a las 9 en punto'.
[145] 'Convocatorias', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 11 November 1917, p. 4 and 'Pro Jesús Vega', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 9 January 1918, p. 4. Again, the phrase 'at half past nine exactly' is translated from the Spanish 'a las nueve y media en punto'.
[146] 'Alumnos y Números de Veces que Han Llegado Tarde del 1.o al 25 de Octubre', *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*, 31 October 1902, p. 12.
[147] 'Ruego a las Familias', *Boletín de la Escuela Moderna*, 31 November 1902, p. 24.
[148] 'El Horario Universal', *Generación Consciente*, 1 January 1926, p. 5.

Figure 3

EL HORARIO UNIVERSAL



Alongside the chart, the editors included detailed instructions, demonstrating that if, in Spain, it was three o'clock in the afternoon, then in Havana it must be twenty-nine minutes past ten in the morning.[149] Similarly, on the 1st of January 1927, the editors presented a chart that correlated the dates of the following year with the phases of the moon.[150] Again, this chart comprised highly precise calculations: for instance, it predicted that the first full moon of the year would appear on the night of the 17th of January, at exactly twenty-seven minutes past ten.[151] Moreover, on the 1st of January 1928, the publication informed readers of the dates, times and durations of the various lunar and solar eclipses that would occur that year, indicating where on the planet these events would be visible.[152]

In their efforts to educate readers about time measurement (and the related discipline of astronomy), these publications reflected the broader tendency of anarchists to embrace

[149] 'El Horario Universal', p. 5.
[150] 'Fases de la Luna para 1927', *Generación Consciente*, 1 January 1927, p. 5.
[151] Ibid., p. 5.
[152] 'Eclipses – 1928', *Generación Consciente*, 1 January 1928, p. 5.

scientific progress. In Spain, the movement stressed the importance of keeping abreast of technological developments and of acquiring a '"scientific" understanding of reality', which (they hoped) would serve as a corrective to the dominant role that religion played in society.[153] However, by encouraging strict time-keeping – and by admonishing lateness – libertarian discourse mirrored that of L'Hospitalet's bourgeois press, imposing its own form of 'time-discipline' on local workers and their families. In this sense, anarchists' preoccupation with punctuality highlights the extent to which the movement had internalised the temporal logic of the 'clock-controlled world'.[154] As Trish Ferguson argues – drawing on the work of scholars such as E. P. Thompson and Lewis Mumford – the introduction of 'mechanical time' in the nineteenth century ensured that 'workers entered a complex new relationship with time-efficient technology, both belonging to it and contributing to it …'[155] That is, workers were not only subject to the new 'time regime': they played an active role in its proliferation.[156]

Nevertheless, anarchists' punctuality does not necessarily constitute an endorsement of 'capitalist time'. Instead, it indicates that, given the endemic scarcity of free time under the established economic system, anarchists (rightly) perceived their time as a finite resource. Again, it is likely that this proved especially true of local working women, who engaged in both paid and 'reproductive' labour. As Rita Felski points out, 'caught between the conflicting demands of home and work…women…are clock watchers…who view time as a

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[153] Jenny Cristina Sánchez Parra, '<<Amo la Ciencia y la Verdad, pero si Todo el Tiempo me lo Ocupa el Trabajo…>>. La Construcción del Saber Educativo Anarquista durante el Último Tercio del Siglo XIX', *Diacronie*, 34.2 (2018), 1-16 (p. 9).
[154] Reiterating Thompson's claims, David Harvey suggests that workers came to accept the notion that 'time is money' and, as he points out, the labour movement often continues to resist capital on these terms, with 'attempts to speed up or intensify labour processes [provoking] some of the bitterest of struggles'. David Harvey, *The Condition of Post-Modernity: an Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), p. 231.
[155] Ferguson, p. 6.
[156] Sociologist Norbert Elias suggests that people create 'time regimes' as part of their 'continuous…efforts to measure, divide, and tame the flow of time'. See Miron, p. 117.

precious commodity to hoard or to spend'.[157] The phenomenon of 'time scarcity' – engendered by long working hours and domestic responsibilities – led both male and female activists to exercise the same discipline over free time that their employers exercised over work time. Despite this, it is important to point out that, in contrast to their employers, anarchists enforced 'time-discipline' to facilitate activities which ultimately aimed to dismantle the existing power-structures. In this sense, they inverted the prevailing temporal logic, utilising techniques of control to subvert – rather than bolster – the socio-cultural order.

In addition, whilst libertarian commentators expressed a keen interest in the 'scientific' forms of time measurement that characterised the 'clock-controlled world', they also questioned whether these 'objective' measures could accurately reflect their experiences of time. On the 15th of August 1923, an article in *Solidaridad Obrera* discussed the ways in which the 'duration of time' was 'catalogued', describing the colour-codes that calendars used to represent working and non-working days, and the pages corresponding to each month of the year.[158] The piece denied that 'a year so long …so replete with events, so pregnant with life…[could be] condensed into twelve little sheets of a calendar'.[159] It went on to argue that this way of marking the passage of time remained 'the most arbitrary and misleading imaginable', and that, as a result, the conception of time that calendars presented was 'very far from reality'.[160] Similarly, even when not addressing the subject of time specifically, libertarian writers stressed that the way in which individuals perceive the passage of time is often dependent on context. In June 1929, the editors of *Estudios* printed an anonymous poem about incarceration, titled 'At the Chiming of the Clock', and written from the perspective of a prisoner.[161] In the poem, the author evoked the sensation that time passes slower for those

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[157] Rita Felski, *Doing Time: Feminist Theory and Postmodern Culture* (London and New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 20.
[158] 'Sugerencias – el Tiempo', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 15 August 1923, p. 4.
[159] Ibid., p. 4.
[160] Ibid., p. 4.
[161] 'A la Campana del Reloj', *Estudios*, June 1929, p. 48.

behind bars where, 'sunken into silence', and forgotten by those on the outside, one becomes subject 'to the rhythm of not existing'.[162] Addressing the clock directly, the author exclaimed: 'you do not know…of my horrendous agony!'[163] Adopting an equally lyrical tone in an article she contributed to the Barcelona-based *La Revista Blanca* on the 1st of September 1927, Federica Montseny also depicted prisoners' heightened awareness of the passage of time, describing two individuals anxiously awaiting their execution, who are disappointed to find that: 'No, no it is not *yet* time. The hour [of death] is postponed *again*'.[164] Montseny showed how, for the condemned, time appeared to stand still, as she lamented: 'Oh, [the] hours, [the] long, anxious, desperate hours that separate us from…tomorrow…'[165]

Though the anarchist press did not receive similar contributions from writers in L'Hospitalet, it remains highly likely that local activists were aware of the perspectives on time that these publications espoused. As illustrated above, *Solidaridad Obrera* advertised events regularly to readers in L'Hospitalet, and the subscription lists of *La Revista Blanca* indicate that the newspaper enjoyed a wide readership in the locality. On the 15th of July and the 1st of August 1924, the editors recorded payments of eighty-eight and twelve *pesetas* from subscribers based in the area, whilst on the 1st of January and the 1st of April 1925, the publication received contributions of two and twenty-five and a half *pesetas* respectively, from a local inhabitant named 'Ródenas'.[166] Similarly, Floreal Ocaña – who belonged to a

[162] 'A la Campana del Reloj', p. 48.
[163] Ibid., p. 48.
[164] Federica Montseny, 'La Canción de las Horas', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 September 1927, p. 200.
[165] Ibid., p. 200.
[166] 'Notas Administrativas', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 July 1924, p. 40, 'Notas Administrativas', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 August 1924, p. 40, 'Notas Administrativas', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 January 1925, p. 40, and 'Suscripción Internacional a Favor de los Presos por Cuestiones Sociales', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 April 1925, p. 39. It is likely that 'Ródenas' was Pedro Ródenas (known as 'Floreal'), a member of the local 'Novatos' anarchist group, which was founded in 1931. See Marín, pp. 170 and 205. Furthermore, as Ealham notes, José Peirats was not only aware of the existence of *La Revista Blanca* but, in the Civil War years (and afterwards), he would 'clash' regularly with Federica Montseny. See Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, pp. 41-42 and 61.

family of prominent libertarian educators in L'Hospitalet – contributed regularly to *Estudios* as both a writer and a translator.[167]

Of course, literary ruminations on the passage of time are not necessarily representative of rank-and-file attitudes, but it is clear that, at least among the intellectuals of the movement, there was a recognition that 'cosmological' (or 'objective') measurements of time did not reflect time's 'phenomenological' (or 'subjective') qualities, such as 'duration or individual time-consciousness'.[168] Nonetheless, even if most anarchists did not articulate this explicitly, they acknowledged tacitly the subjectivity of time in everyday life: their actions reflected an understanding that the prevailing 'time regime' had been socially constructed and that, as a result, one could alter it.

Specifically, anarchists asserted a distinctively libertarian conception of time by contesting the dominant 'temporal markers' of the civic and religious calendars, such as patriotic celebrations, Catholic rituals and popular carnivals.[169] As Morales Muñoz notes, from the second half of the nineteenth century, the anarchist movement in Spain embarked on a process of 'secularising civil life'; replacing religious festivals with secular alternatives.[170] For example, in 1872, Internationalists in Málaga held a 'fraternal banquet' to mark 'so-called Good Friday', serving meat and fish in repudiation of Catholic doctrine.[171] Anarchists in Barcelona and the surrounding area expressed a similar disdain for traditional public celebrations, not only due to their religious content, but also because they encouraged activities that, in their view, degraded workers. On the 8th of March 1889, the Barcelona-

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[167] Marín, pp. 205-206, 'Paqueteros Morosos', *Estudios*, September 1932, p. 37, and Floreal Ocaña, 'La Ciencia y la Religión', *Estudios*, October 1931, p. 15. For translations by 'F. Ocaña', see Albert Mary, 'La Mecánica Universal y la Vida Terrestre', *Estudios*, January 1931, pp. 34-35, F. Monier, 'Necesidad de la Solidaridad Biocósmica', *Estudios*, September 1931, p. 28, 'Orientaciones Pedagógicas – el Nuevo Niño', *Estudios*, October 1931, pp. 3 and 6 and Pierre Termier, 'La Literatura Científica – la Geología', *Estudios*, January 1933, p. 23.
[168] Osbourne, p. 4.
[169] Browne suggests that calendars use 'temporal markers' (units of time such as 'days, months, years') to arrange 'histories into chronologies and timelines'. See Browne, p. 99.
[170] Morales Muñoz, p. 44.
[171] Ibid., p. 44.

based anarchist newspaper *El Productor* complained that: ‘We finish the Carnival and enter Lent. The festivals of vice at an end, those of hypocrisy begin… [with the members of the] bourgeoisie transform[ing] themselves into humble penitents’.[172] Moreover, on the 27th of July 1916, *Solidaridad Obrera* ridiculed the recent ‘National Holiday’, noting that ‘the brutalisation and degeneration of the people…has always counted on the…sympathy of the [ruling powers]’, and concluding with an ironic ‘Long live Spain!’.[173]

Nevertheless, whilst anarchist publications staunchly opposed the traditional ‘temporal markers’ of local and national life, there was often a significant disparity between libertarian rhetoric and praxis. On the 11th of March 1917, *Solidaridad Obrera* printed a satirical attack on the Holy Week procession that had taken place outside Barcelona’s cathedral on the previous day, declaring sarcastically that the ‘good Catholics’ of the city had ‘delighted us’, and referring to the crowd disparagingly as ‘cattle’ and ‘chickens’.[174] In spite of these remarks, on the day of the procession, the newspaper had printed an advert from the *El Barato* clothing company, which targeted religious customers explicitly with a sale on ‘black items for Holy Week’.[175] On the 14th of April 1918, *Solidaridad Obrera* again shared an advertisement from the company, offering ‘a great variety of items appropriate for First Communion’.[176] In L’Hospitalet, this contradiction manifested itself in anarchists’ daily practices. In an interview in 1987, Montserrat Silvestre – a CNT member from La Torrassa and personal acquaintance of Juan Melich, one of the delegates at the CNT’s national congress in 1919 – indicated that her husband (a fellow *cenetista*) ‘always’ took their children to L’Hospitalet’s annual festival.[177] In another interview in the 1980s, a group of four local

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[172] ‘Miscelánea’, *El Productor*, 8 March 1889, p. 2.
[173] ‘Viva la Fiesta Nacional’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 27 July 1916, p. 1.
[174] ‘La “Juerga” de Ayer – Procesión Disuelta…por la Lluvia’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 12 March 1917, p. 1.
[175] ‘El Barato durante los Seis Días Sucesivos Rebaja de Precios en Toda Clase de Artículos Negos para Semana Santa’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 11 March 1917, p. 3.
[176] ‘El Barato’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 14 April 1918, p. 3.
[177] Interview with Montserrat Silvestre, May 1987, Col·leccions, 901 Documents Personals, 012 Documents de Dolors Marín Silvestre, AMHL, pp. 1, 37 and 39 and Marín Silvestre, p. 181. It is not clear exactly which period Montserrat is referring to here, since she does not state the year of her birth. However, later in the interview, her

men – including at least one former CNT member and an individual named Miquel Prats Tarantino who, born in 1917, was the son of a so-called 'revolutionary' – reminisced about how, before the Civil War, they would regularly attend festivals in neighbourhoods such as Sants and Gracia.[178]

Despite this lack of consistency, anarchists did create their own 'temporal markers' which, in turn, formed part of an alternative 'ritual calendar'.[179] For example, throughout the period under study, militants commemorated key figures and events from the movement's history. On the 27th of October 1892, *El Productor* noted that 'an anarchist group from Barcelona' was selling portraits of the eight anarchists who had been executed in Chicago during the 'Haymarket Affair' of 1886, to mark the fifth anniversary of their deaths.[180] Similarly, on the 27th of September 1916, *Tierra y Libertad* announced that the Syndicalist Athenaeum on Mercaders Street in Barcelona would hold a commemorative *velada* on the 14th of the following month, in memory of Francisco Ferrer.[181] Again, on the 22nd of October 1916, *Solidaridad Obrera* invited supporters of the Modern School movement to join the pupils of the rationalist school in Sants on a visit to Ferrer's grave, which would take place at three o'clock that afternoon.[182]

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husband says that he was born in the province of Alicante in 1913, moved to Barcelona at the age of four, and joined the CNT before the Civil War. See interview with Montserrat Silvestre, pp. 45-46 and 57.

[178] Interview with Sadurni Busquets Ortega, Joan Casas, Xarto, Miguel Prats Tarantino, 1980s Col·leccions, 901 Documents Personals, 012 Documents de Dolors Marín Silvestre, AMHL, pp. 4, 6-7 and 19-20. It is not always possible to discern who is speaking during the interview, but one individual discusses how he joined the CNT in 1934 or 1935. Furthermore, Miquel Prats Tarantino – referred to as 'uncle' – notes that his father was a 'revolutionary' (a description that his companions also attribute to him); that one of his sisters was called 'Libertad'; and that only one of his four siblings was baptized, until his mother's employer (the Can Vilumara factory) pressured her into arranging baptisms for all of her children. With this is mind, it is highly likely that both Miquel and his parents had anarchist sympathies. See ibid. pp. 4 and 6-7.

[179] Morales Muñoz, p. 32.

[180] 'Movimiento Obrero', *El Productor*, 27 October 1892, pp. 3-4. The 'Haymarket Affair' refers to a series of events that occurred in Chicago in 1886. Following the deaths of several striking workers at the hands of the police (during their campaign for an eight-hour day), a protest took place on the 4th of May, where an explosive device was detonated. In response, police arrested eight known anarchists, four of whom were executed, and a fifth ended his own life whilst in custody. See Kinna, *The Government of No One*, pp. 22-23.

[181] La Junta, 'Ateneo Sindicalista – 13 de Octubre de 1909', *Tierra y Libertad*, 27 September 1916, p. 4. Francisco Ferrer had been executed seven years previously, on the 13th of October 1909. See Shaffer, 'Freedom Teaching', p. 164.

[182] 'Una Visita a la Tumba de Francisco Ferrer', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 22 October 1916, p. 1.

As well as memorialising fallen comrades, anarchists also participated in recurring annual protests. On the 30th of April 1917, the 'Single Union' for Gas, Water and Electrical Workers in Barcelona urged all of its members to take a holiday on the 1st of May, warning that 'anyone who works will be considered a traitor, and will be treated as such'.[183] In L'Hospitalet, local CNT members held a meeting on the 1st of May 1924 at the locale of the 'Single Union' on Church Street, where attendees discussed the need to organise workers to celebrate the event.[184] Notably, during the Civil War, anarchist women even replaced the traditional *anno domini* calendar with a new dating system: the editors of *Mujeres Libres* transformed the publication date of the magazine into a continual commemoration – and affirmation – of the social revolution that had broken out in July 1936.[185] For example, the fifth issue appeared on 'Day 65 of the Revolution', whilst the eighth issue was printed in the '[tenth] month of the Revolution'.[186]

Though they often featured in the national anarchist press, libertarian 'temporal markers' remained, in many cases, specific to the locality under study, denoting local achievements and personal landmarks. On the 15th of June 1918, *Solidaridad Obrera* announced that jewellery and silverware workers in Barcelona would hold a banquet on the following evening 'to commemorate the triumph' of their campaign for an eight-hour day.[187] Similarly, in April 1932, Juan Pérez wrote to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet to inform him that, on Sunday the 17th of that month, activists would hold a meeting at the Romero Cinema, to celebrate the first anniversary of the establishment of the Rationalist Athenaeum of La

[183] 'El 1o de Mayo en Cataluña', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 30 April 1917, p. 2.
[184] 'Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de Hospitalet de Llobregat', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 27 April 1924, p. 3.
[185] The *anno domini* dating system – premised on the notion that Jesus Christ was born in the year 1 – was already widespread by the start of the ninth century, and it later became 'accepted throughout the western world'. Following the military coup in Spain on the 17th of July 1936, CNT activists embarked on a 'revolutionary process', forming militias, creating collectives, and assuming control of workplaces. See Sethanne Howard, 'What Day is it Anyway?', *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, 96.4 (2010), 13-34 (pp. 27-28) and Evans, *Revolution and the State*, p. 1.
[186] *Mujeres Libres*, Día 65 de la Revolución (issue 5), p. 1 and *Mujeres Libres*, X Mes de la Revolución (issue 8), p. 1.
[187] 'Noticias', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 15 June 1918, p. 2.

Torrassa.[188] In addition, the anarchist press informed readers of civil wedding ceremonies (or 'free unions') which took place in localities throughout Spain, stressing that these events consciously challenged prevailing socio-cultural norms. On the 13th of October 1915, *Tierra y Libertad* reported that local comrades José Barberá and Teresa Blanchi – the daughter of the janitor at the Rationalist Athenaeum in Sants – had 'joined together freely' in a ceremony 'devoid of all official mumbo-jumbo', which exhibited their 'libertarian convictions'.[189]

Whilst scholars such as Suriano and Morales Muñoz emphasise that libertarian celebrations and commemorations helped to engender a sense of anarchist identity – and cultivate 'an atmosphere of enthusiasm, fraternity and agitation' – these innovations also reveal how, even if work continued to structure daily life, anarchists' 'lived time' disrupted the prevailing 'time regime'.[190] Calendar events construct 'a framework for social life' and, accordingly, the 'temporal markers' which local anarchists created were, again, inherently prefigurative.[191] They laid the foundations for a 'social life' which prefigured a secular, stateless society, creating a distinctively libertarian 'time regime' that reflected the beliefs and aspirations of the anarchist movement.

Anarchist Temporalities: Atavism, Teleology and 'Creative Presentism'

Early scholars of anarchism often depicted the Spanish movement as anachronistic; 'a medieval movement in the modern age'.[192] For example, Gerald Brenan drew parallels

[188] Letter from Juan Pérez to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet, 11 April 1932 or 15 April 1932 (partly illegible), Fons Municipal, 101, Secció U Relacions Institucionals i Comunicación, U430 Enquestes i Estudis Sociològics, 1932_001 Recull de Peticions d'Entitats i Associacions', Peticions d'Associacions, Abril, Maig, Juni, Juliol 1932', AMHL.
[189] 'Uniones Libres', *Tierra y Libertad*, 13 October 1915, p. 3. On another occasion, on the 13th of May 1918, *Solidaridad Obrera* announced that Armonia Casasola (the daughter of the well-known libertarian educator José Casasola) had recently celebrated a similar civil ceremony with her partner, and the editors urged the young couple 'to dispense with what is common for the majority of people in their situation'. See 'Unión Libre', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 13 May 1918, p. 2.
[190] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 216 and Morales Muñoz, p. 39.
[191] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: on the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. by Keith Tribe (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 1985), p. xxii.
[192] Grace Duncan, p. 323.

between Andalusian anarchists and Baptists in late-nineteenth century England, whilst also suggesting that, like the 'messianic tradition' of Judeo-Christianity, the movement adhered to a 'naïve millenarianism'; an 'eschatological' belief in a 'future age of bliss'.[193] Similarly, as the introductory chapter highlighted, Eric Hobsbawm described Spanish anarchists as the '*pre-political* people' of modern times whilst, in his 1972 study of contemporary Mexican anarchism, Peter Coy refers to the movement explicitly as 'atavistic', alleging that it 'recalls [the] ancient past' of Aztec society.[194] In this iteration, anarchism is oriented principally towards the past, replicating (or re-creating) earlier modes of existence in the present. Whilst the preceding case studies have portrayed anarchism repeatedly as a forward-looking movement – which created new forms of everyday life – anarchists did maintain a close relationship with the past, often invoking the memory of historical struggles. In Buenos Aires, libertarian activists utilised visual art – such as images in anarchist publications – to commemorate fallen comrades and, like their Argentinian counterparts, anarchists in the vicinity of L'Hospitalet surrounded themselves with 'material items' that evoked a shared history, and functioned as 'carriers of collective memory'.[195] As noted above, in October 1892, 'an anarchist group from Barcelona' distributed copies of a 'revolutionary allegory' (or artwork) – which included portraits of the so-called 'Haymarket Martyrs' – printed on 'fine cardboard', and measuring ten by fifteen centimetres.[196] Equally, in the meeting that the 'Single Union' of L'Hospitalet held on the 1st of May 1924, attendees deliberated over the

[193] Brenan, pp. 254 and 283 and Grace Duncan, pp. 326 and 328.
[194] Hobsbawm, p. 2 and Peter Coy, 'Social Anarchism: an Atavistic Ideology of the Peasant', *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 14.2 (1972), 133-149 (pp. 133 and 141).
[195] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 211-213 and Fiona Kerlogue, 'Memory and Material Culture: a Case Study from Jambi, Sumatra', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 39.113 (2011), 89-101 (p. 92). Here, Kerlogue is referring specifically to the material culture of the Jambi peoples of Sumatra, but her comments are equally applicable in this context. As archaeologist Howard Williams points out, 'words (spoken or written) are only one means by which the past can be communicated, negotiated and contested', and 'material culture' also provides a way of 'incorporating and inscribing memories'. See Howard Williams, 'Material Culture as Memory: Combs and Cremation in Early Medieval Britain', *Early Medieval Europe*, 12.2 (2003), 89-128 (pp. 89-90).
[196] 'Movimiento Obrero', *El Productor*, 27 October 1892, pp. 3-4 and Melissa Dabakis, 'Martyrs and Monuments of Chicago: the Haymarket Affair', *Prospects*, 19 (1994), 99-193 (p. 106).

creation of a piece of art to mark the occasion and, describing the visits that he paid to the locale of the CNT-affiliated brickmakers' union on Christ Street in Sants from 1922 onwards, Peirats notes that the walls were decorated with a fresco depicting the Russian Revolution of 1917.[197]

Though working-class history featured prominently in anarchist aesthetics, interpretations of the past – and opinions regarding the form that historical memory should assume – varied considerably. Activists negotiated continually the meaning of historical events and their relevance to the socio-cultural and political order of the day, illustrating how, as sociologist Elizabeth Jelin maintains, historical memory 'is always anchored in the present'.[198] In a circular dated the 1st of May 1896, a group from Barcelona – which referred to itself simply as 'Various Workers' – criticised the 'socialist organisations' for transforming the annual May Day protest 'into the farce of [submitting] memorials to the government'.[199] The group went on to lament that May Day had 'lost its revolutionary character', and suggested that 'it is not necessary to hold a festival to present a memorial'.[200] Echoing this line of argument, on the 20th of April 1903, *La Huelga General* – another anarchist publication based in Barcelona – printed an article rejecting the supposed 'atavism' of the annual May Day protest (which, in the author's view, had imbibed 'mystical-pagan' qualities), and stating that such commemorations distracted workers 'from the path which leads to our emancipation'.[201] Conversely, in September 1912, the Syndicalist Athenaeum of Barcelona underlined the importance of the past to contemporary struggles, when it

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[197] 'Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de Hospitalet de Llobregat', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 27 April 1924, p. 3 and Peirats, pp. 133 and 138. Peirats is careful to point out that 'this fresco must have been a relic of another era,' since the CNT disavowed the Soviet regime in 1923. See Peirats, p. 138.
[198] Elizabeth Jelin, quoted in Bill Rolston, '"Trying to Reach the Future through the Past": Murals and Memory in Northern Ireland', *Crime, Media, Culture: an International Journal*, 6.3 (2010), 285-307 (p. 290).
[199] Flyer from 'Various Workers', titled '1.o de Mayo de 1896', 1 May 1896, Max Nettlau Papers, 3347, IISG, p. 2.
[200] Ibid., p. 2.
[201] 'El 1.o de Mayo', *La Huelga General*, 20 April 1903, p. 1.

advertised an act of remembrance in honour of Francisco Ferrer.[202] Specifically, the authors asserted that, rather than 'a vague memory [or] an incident which is lost in the annals of history', Ferrer's execution was 'something current [,] which still moves and outrages'. [203] Moreover, they drew parallels between past and present power-structures, implying that the authorities' actions mirrored those of the notorious figureheads of the Spanish Inquisition, Pedro de Arbués and Tomás de Torquemada.[204]

Whilst libertarian discourse often centred on the relationship between past and present, contributors to the Spanish anarchist press also speculated about how society would appear in later years.[205] Here, they echoed a long tradition of anarchist writers depicting the future in their work. In 1882, French anarchist Jean Grave (discussed below) published *The Future Society* and, in his 1914 book *The American Anarchist City*, French-Argentinian writer Joaquín Alejo Falconnet (adopting the pseudonym 'Pierre Quiroule') countered the claim that anarchists focused primarily on destruction, by providing a 'draft of the libertarian city and organisation of tomorrow…'[206] In Spain, anarchist writers portrayed themselves frequently as witnesses to a historical juncture; a 'transitional period' between the two contrasting epochs of past and future.[207] Reflecting on the 'futurist' artistic movement in *La*

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[202] Flyer from the Syndicalist Athenaeum of Barcelona, titled 'Remember', September 1912, Max Nettlau Papers, 3348, IISG.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid. Pedro de Arbués was the Head Inquisitor of Aragon, until his assassination in Zaragoza in 1485. Tomás de Torquemada became Spain's first Inquisitor-General in 1483. See Karina Galperín, 'The Passion according to Berruguete: Painting the *Auto-da-Fé* and the Establishment of the Inquisition in Early Modern Spain', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 14.4 (2013), 315-347 (p. 321) and Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Carlton, Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 58-59.
[205] In Spain, writers had begun to explore possible future societies as early as the 1820s and, by the mid-nineteenth century, authors such as Gabino Tejado y Rodríguez and Primitivo Andrés Cardaño were publishing 'futuristic fiction' in the national press. See Geraldine Lawless, 'The Problem of the Future and Nineteenth-Century Spain', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 16.2 (2015), 147-162 (pp. 148-149).
[206] Pierre Quiroule, *La Ciudad Anarquista Americana: Obra de Construcción Revolucionaria con el Plano de la Ciudad Libertaria* (Buenos Aires: La Protesta, 1914), p. 17 and Fernando Aínsa, 'La Ciudad Anarquista Americana. Estudio de una Utopía Libertaria', *Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Lusobrésilien*, 46 (1986), 65-78 (pp. 68-70). As discussed below, a series of Grave's articles – titled 'To Prepare the Future Society' – later appeared in *La Revista Blanca*. See Jean Grave, 'Para Preparar la Sociedad Futura (I)', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 August 1926, p. 142, 'Para Preparar la Sociedad Futura (II)', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 August 1926, p. 166, and 'Para Preparar la Sociedad Futura (III)', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 September 1926, p. 198.
[207] Göran Blix, 'Charting the "Transitional Period": the Emergence of Modern Time in the Nineteenth Century', *History and Theory*, 45.1 (2006), 51-71 (pp. 51 and 53).

Revista Blanca on the 1st of June 1923, Federica Montseny referred to 'the struggle between the world which is being born and that which is dying'; an 'old and unjust world, condemned to disappear'.[208] Three years later, on the 15th of May 1926, Montseny again affirmed that readers were living through a 'period of transition between two worlds: the old and the new; between the old moral and religious laws of the past, and the new concepts of life and human dignity of the future'.[209] In a piece titled 'The Year Two Thousand', printed in *Solidaridad Proletaria* – the official organ of the Catalan CNT – on the 20th of December 1924, Ricardo Fornells expressed a similar view, indicating that 'we do not conceive of this period as anything other than an interim, which will give way to a situation that, though not stable, will be one of serene development…'[210] Whilst Fornells doubted that, at the advent of the twenty-first century, people would enjoy technology as advanced as a 'pill [containing] all of the nutritive elements necessary to the body', he did predict that, by the year 2000, a 'free society' would not be far off.[211]

Such assertions suggest that, in the anarchist imaginary, the present constituted a period of profound transformation. As Göran Blix points out, historical transitions 'are often figured as the result of a fateful collision between past and future, as if the present were a battleground…'[212] However, since the early nineteenth century, the concept of a 'transitional period' has also been integral to the periodisation of history itself.[213] That is, 'if periods are

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[208] Federica Montseny, 'El Futurismo', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 June 1923, p. 10. Following the publication of the Egyptian-Italian poet Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's 'Founding Manifesto of Futurism' in 1909 – which 'expressed a passionate loathing of everything that was old…while praising the beauty of modern life' – the futurist movement became highly influential among European artists, stimulating the emergence of later movements such as Dadaism and Surrealism. See Pierpaolo Antonello and Marja Härmänmaa, 'Introduction: Future Imperfect – Italian Futurism between Tradition and Modernity', *The European Legacy*, 14.7 (2009), 777-784 (p. 777).
[209] Federica Montseny, 'La Mujer Nueva', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 May 1926, p. 24.
[210] Ricardo Fornells, 'Panoramas – el Año Dos Mil', *Solidaridad Proletaria*, 20 December 1924, p. 3. It has only been possible to locate eleven issues of this publication, but there is evidence to suggest that it enjoyed a wide readership among activists in L'Hospitalet. On the 6th of November 1924, the editors noted that 'the comrades from Hospitalet de Llobregat will write to us, giving us the details of where to send [copies of the paper]'. See 'Notas Varias', *Solidaridad Proletaria*, 6 November 1924, p. 2.
[211] Fornells, p. 3.
[212] Blix, p. 61.
[213] Ibid., pp. 51 and 53.

both self-contained and…distinct, it becomes necessary to imagine, at their borders, a brief temporal span that bridges the gap…'[214] In this sense, anarchists' depictions of a transitionary stage in history indicate that, from their perspective, the present formed part of a 'larger teleology' of successive and distinct historical periods, or 'coherent cultural spaces'.[215] On the 4th of February 1937, the L'Hospitalet-based libertarian publication *Ideas* again demonstrated anarchists' conviction that they were experiencing a progression from one clearly-defined historical period to another, when it announced the commencement of 'a truly new year, in which tyranny in Spain is ended'.[216]

Writing to José Gutiérrez on the 12th of July 1985, Peirats implied that, during the period under study, some anarchists not only adhered to a linear view of history, but also espoused a millenarian belief in the inevitability of revolution. Specifically, he recalled a 'millenarian atmosphere' at the rationalist school he attended on Alcolea Street in Sants, and he claimed that, following the advent of the Second Republic in 1931, many of the 'comrades from Sants' believed the revolution to be 'around the corner'.[217] Similarly, in another article in *Ideas*, printed on the 29th of December 1936, the author – writing under the pseudonym 'Fontaura' – recounted how, between 1917 and 1922, 'the revolution [had] seemed imminent' and, as a result, many militants became convinced of the movement's 'total and definitive triumph'.[218] Despite this tendency towards 'teleological thinking', it is important to note that local anarchist discourse highlighted consistently the causal relationship between contemporary actions and future achievements, stressing that, rather than resulting from a meta-historical process, the attainment of workers' emancipation would depend on choices

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[214] Blix, p. 53.
[215] Ibid., pp. 53-54.
[216] Ibid., p. 61 and Cristóbal Martínez, 'Año de la Libertad', *Ideas*, 4 February 1937, p. 6.
[217] Letter from José Peirats to José Gutiérrez, 12 July 1985, José Peirats i Valls Papers, 216, IISG, p. 2.
[218] Fontaura, 'A Río Revuelto', *Ideas*, 29 December 1936, p. 3.

made in the present.[219] In the aforementioned advert from the Syndicalist Athenaeum of Barcelona in September 1912, the authors were careful to point out that, whilst acts of remembrance would not, by themselves, lead to the triumph of 'the great cause of human liberation', they had 'the virtue of uniting forces and wills' in an effort to avoid the repetition of 'past injustices…in the future'.[220] Equally, as the CNT in L'Hospitalet stated in a flyer it distributed on the 7th of March 1930, members had a 'historical responsibility to humanity', and it stipulated that 'in this retaliatory hour, we must not fail to notice…cruel exploitation…'[221] Again, when the CNT-affiliated 'Single Union' of L'Hospitalet demanded a series of concessions for workers at a local ceramics factory on the 24th of August 1931, it specified that the workers' victory in this dispute would only be secure if 'everyone, [acting] as one man, shows solidarity with [these employees]'. [222]

In other words, local anarchists emphasised their historical agency, reiterating that, in order to realise their ambitions, individuals had to act on them. In the same way, when they alluded to the movement's past in their manifestoes and proclamations, local activists often highlighted the impact of their own actions for posterity, and their responsibility to future generations. On the 19th of April 1923, *Solidaridad Obrera* printed a manifesto which the 'Single Union' of L'Hospitalet had recently distributed to its members, not only urging readers to defend 'those liberties conquered by our grandparents', but also stressing the necessity of defensive action so that, in turn, 'we can bequeath [these liberties] to our children, who will be proud to know that their parents halted the reactionary avalanche with an act of rebellion'.[223] On the 30th of March 1917, the same newspaper had encouraged all

[219] 'Teleological thinking' is 'the attribution of purpose and a final cause to natural events and entities'. See Sylvain Delouvée, Sebastian Dieguez, Nicolas Gauvrit and Pascal Wagner-Egger, 'Creationism and Conspiracism Share a Common Teleological Bias', *Current Biology*, 28.16 (2018), 847-870 (p. 847).
[220] Flyer from the Ateneo Sindicalista de Barcelona, titled 'Remember'.
[221] Flyer from the CNT in L'Hospitalet, titled 'A los Trabajadores', 7 March 1930, Col·leccions, 902 Entitats de l'Hospitalet, 057 Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT), AMHL. Here, the authors refer specifically to the exploitation of women.
[222] Flyer from the Single Union of Workers of L'Hospitalat de Llobregat, titled 'A la Opinión Pública'.
[223] 'De Hospitalet de Llobregat', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 19 April 1923, p. 3.

glass-workers – many of whom were based in the locality under study – to ‘wake up from the lethargy in which [we] have been submerged for so many years’, and it referred to younger employees as ‘the men of tomorrow’; the only generation capable of securing an eight-hour working day, ‘never [achieved]…in past times’.[224] Similarly, during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, CNT activists in L’Hospitalet circulated a flyer which declared that ‘as we did yesterday and we will do tomorrow… [we] believe ourselves to be fulfilling a social and human duty’ by drawing attention to the transgressions of the country’s rulers, in ‘an era without precedent in the…history of Spain’.[225] Whilst they invoke historical memory, such proclamations are not oriented towards the past. They encompass several ‘temporal layers’ simultaneously, illustrating the relationship between the past and the present whilst, most importantly, underlining the ability (and responsibility) of historical actors to shape the future.

Notably, anarchists in L’Hospitalet engaged regularly in bodily and educational practices of ‘creative presentism’, which allowed them to ‘[experiment] with and [work] on their future selves’.[226] In a letter to Peirats on the 22nd of May 1973, José Casajuana recalled how he had been both a naturist and a vegetarian in his youth and, in a further letter on the 15th of December, he stated that many other militants who spent time abroad in the 1920s ‘came home eating hazelnuts and gnawing roots’.[227] As with trade union-based activities, anarchist discourse highlighted the impact of bodily practices – such as eating and drinking – on future generations, situating them within a continual process of self- and societal-

[224] ‘Acción Sindical’, *Solidaridad Obrera*, 30 March 1917, p. 2. As noted above, many local anarchists were glass-workers during the period under study. Manuel Domínguez points out that a significant proportion of the conflicts that occurred between workers and employers in the years 1917-1923 in L’Hospitalet took place within the city’s glass-making industry, as well as in the textile, metal and construction industries. See Manuel Domíngez López, ‘El Pistolerisme a L’Hospitalet’, *Quaderns d’Estudi*, 25 (2012), 87-126 (pp. 87 and 119).
[225] Flyer from the Local Federation of Barcelona, titled ‘Los Anarquistas al Pueblo’, no date, Fons Municipal, 101, Secció K Cooperació Municipal en la Defensa de L’Estat, K300 Restriccions de Drets i Llibertats, AMHL. Though the flyer is undated, it is likely that it was produced in 1929, like the other documents in this folder.
[226] Ringel, ‘Towards Anarchist Futures?’, p. 179.
[227] Letter from José Casajuana to José Peirats, 22 May 1973, José Peirats i Valls Papers, 97, IISG, p. 2 and letter from José Casajuana to Jose Peirats, 15 December 1973, José Peirats i Valls Papers, 97, IISG, p. 1.

improvement. In its July 1927 issue, the Valencian vegetarian-naturist magazine *Helios* printed a photograph of a seven-month-old infant with the distinctively libertarian name 'Acracia Campuzano'.[228] Drawing attention to the 'healthy appearance' of the child's 'clean and tanned skin', the editors affirmed that she was 'the daughter of a vegetarian mother, who gave birth to her with great ease'.[229] Similarly, writing in *Nueva Humanidad* on the 14th of April 1933, Floreal Ródenas – a member of L'Hospitalet's Novices anarchist group – also depicted a vegetarian-naturist lifestyle as beneficial to the future health of individuals and their families, urging readers to reject the vices of tobacco and alcohol so that, 'if we end up having children they are not sad and sickly, but joyful, intelligent and healthy'.[230] Anthropologist Margaret Lock suggests that 'bodily practices mediate a personal realization of social values' and, from the perspective of libertarian commentators, avoiding harmful substances and following a vegetarian diet constituted a means of realising their ideological beliefs in the long-term. On the 1st of April 1924, an article in *Generación Consciente* declared that the widespread adoption of naturism would lead to 'the great libertarian family [being] capable of sweeping away all the values sustained by this wicked society, and of creating a new society…from its ashes'.[231]

In this sense, when they performed such practices, anarchists were looking beyond the present, prefiguring a future body, family and society, simultaneously.[232] In the same way, libertarian education also centred on future outcomes. As the previous chapters have

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[228] 'Acracia Campuzano', *Helios*, July 1927, p. 148.
[229] Ibid., p. 148.
[230] Floreal Ródenas, 'El Alcohol y el Trabajo', *Nueva Humanidad*, 14 April 1933, p. 4 and Marín Silvestre, pp. 170 and 205.
[231] Margaret Lock, 'Cultivating the Body: Anthropology and Epistemologies of Bodily Practice and Knowledge', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 22 (1993), 133-155 (p. 137) and A. Serrat, 'Místicos', *Generación Consciente*, 1 April 1924, p. 192.
[232] Applying biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling's concept of 'developmental systems theory' to the context of the Spanish anarchist movement, Cleminson shows how bodies can 'adopt new realities into themselves', as a result of practices such as vegetarianism (as well as body building and body-piercing). Building on this idea, I argue that, through their dietary practices, vegetarians construct a new (or future) body. See Cleminson, 'Making Sense of the Body', p. 698.

illustrated, contemporary critics of Ferrer-inspired educational initiatives often alleged that they aimed to mould future militants rather than educate pupils, and some historians have agreed with this interpretation: Carolyn P. Boyd argues that 'the Modern School did not offer rational education, but indoctrination in anarchism and revolution'; whilst Robert Alexander claims that Ferrer's institution in Barcelona 'sought to indoctrinate its pupils in anarchist ideas'.[233] Some activists in the locality under study expressed similar concerns. In his interview in 1983, Nebot – who attended the rationalist school on Alcolea Street in Sants – remarked that he 'never liked' the school's director, Josep Roigé, because of his 'fanaticism' and narrow-mindedness.[234] In particular, Nebot alleged that the school 'taught ideas rather than mathematics [or] grammar…'[235] Even Peirats – whom Severino Campos referred to as a 'disciple' of Roigé – described the atmosphere at the school as 'millenarian' and, in his memoirs, he acknowledged that Roigé remained the 'object of serious criticism for his antiquated teaching methods'.[236] Furthermore, in his letter to Peirats in December 1973, Casajuana – who, as former pupils Pepita Hernández and Rafael Pérez recalled in an interview in the 1980s, taught piano and singing classes at the Modern School in L'Hospitalet – suggested that the school's founder, Josep Xena, had authoritarian tendencies, 'reducing his followers to a congregation', and 'believing himself General of the armies…'[237]

[233] Yeoman, 'Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement', p. 147, Caroyln P. Boyd, 'The Anarchists in Education in Spain, 1868-1909', *The Journal of Modern History*, 48.4 (1976), 125-170 (p. 149) and Robert Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War* (London: Janus Publishing Company, 2007), p. 662.
[234] Interview with Viçens Nebot, p. 3. Here, Nebot refers to the director of the school as 'Joan Roger', but Marín Silvestre uses the name 'Josep Roigé'. See Marín Silvestre, pp. 171-173.
[235] Interview with Viçens Nebot, p. 3.
[236] Letter from José Peirats to José Gutiérrez, 12 July 1985, interview with Severino Campos, p. 15 and Peirats, p. 150.
[237] Letter from José Casajuana to Jose Peirats, 15 December 1973, pp. 1-2 and interview with Pepita Hernández R. and Rafael Pérez, 1980s, Col·leccions, 901 Documents Personals, 012 Documents de Dolors Marín Silvestre, AMHL, p. 9. Neither Rafael nor Pepita specify which period they are referring to, but they are described as 'pupils of the "Ferrer y Guardia School"', and they refer repeatedly to Josep Xena as their teacher who, as noted above, established his school in 1933. See interview with Rafael Pérez and Pepita Hernandez R., pp. 1 and 10-11 and Marín Silvestre, p. 173.

Of course, these comments are not necessarily representative of opinions within the wider movement and, as this thesis has already highlighted, rationalist educational institutions often afforded far more autonomy to pupils than other schools. Nevertheless, regardless of whether libertarian educators inculcated children and young people with anarchist doctrine deliberately or merely facilitated their intellectual development, the 'temporal structure' of their actions was – in contrast to the traditional interpretation of anarchist practices – oriented towards the future and, in this sense, prefigurative.[238] Local activists often presented education as a preparative tool, which shaped one's ideological outlook and, by extension, prepared the ground for future political militancy. In an interview in 1984, Xena – a local anarchist who, born in 1907, established a school in the centre of L'Hospitalet, in 1933 – recalled the education that he had acquired in Barcelona in the mid-1920s, including Esperanto classes at the Encyclopaedic Athenaeum.[239] Significantly, Xena referred to his learning as 'ideological preparation', and he reiterated that education in general was key to 'transforming society'.[240] Equally, relating how, as a young man, he had frequented libertarian athenaeums – where attendees 'benefited from "talks", guided readings, libraries' – Francesc Pedra suggested that he had been 'training…culturally, within an ideology…'[241] Moreover, an article in *Ideas* on the 29th of December 1936 stated explicitly that, at the Modern School in L'Hospitalet, teachers did 'everything possible to

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[238] Osbourne uses the term 'temporal structure of action' when describing temporalities (or 'temporalisations'). Specifically, he argues that 'all temporalisations involve specific orientations to practice, since they provide alternative structures through which past, present and future may be fused together to define the temporal structure of action'. See Osbourne, p. 7.
[239] Interview with Josep Xena, 1 November 1984, Fons Personals, 855 Joan Camós Cabecerán, AMHL, pp. 1 and 4-5, and Marín Silvestre, p. 173. Notably, Josep Xena also engaged in naturist practices, making regular trips to the La Farola nudist beach with fellow local militants José Casajuana, Marià Coromines and José Abella. See Marín Silvestre, p. 183.
[240] Interview with Josep Xena, pp. 5 and 21.
[241] Interview with Francesc Pedra, 20 March 1995, 17 July 1995, and 8 October 1995, p. 29.

instil in the children a conscience that serves as a solid foundation for the establishment of a New World…'[242]

Time Travels: the Impact of Transnational and Trans-local Connections on Libertarian Temporal Practices

Up to this point, the chapter has demonstrated that anarchists' temporal practices prefigured an alternative society in three ways: by transforming free time from a period of passive recuperation into one of active, intellectual (and ideological) development; by creating distinctively libertarian conceptions of time and 'temporal markers'; and, more generally, through the future-oriented 'temporal structure' of militants' actions. Nevertheless, like their spatial and familial practices, anarchists' temporal practices also assumed transnational and trans-local dimensions. As noted above, in the 1920s, L'Hospitalet experienced a period of sustained demographic growth and, by the following decade, it had become the second-most populated urban settlement in Catalonia.[243] The dramatic expansion of L'Hospitalet's population stemmed, in large part, from a process of domestic migration.[244] Though migrants came from a variety of regions (including Valencia, Aragon, Andalusia and Murcia), locals referred to them generically as 'Murcians' and, as a result, La Torrassa acquired the nickname 'Little Murcia'.[245] Unlike in Alcoy – where most of the inhabitants had been born in the locality – many prominent local anarchists in L'Hospitalet originated

[242] Abella and Alonso, p. 5. It is likely that the authors are José Abella (a textile worker and teacher at Xena's school) and Ginés Alonso, one of the founders of the Rationalist Athenaeum in La Torrassa. See Marín Silvestre, pp. 60 and 179.
[243] Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 26.
[244] Ealham, *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona*, p. 22.
[245] Camós i Cabecerán, 'L'Hospitalet i la Immigració', p. 72. Both Lola Peñalver and Conchita Vicente – another former CNT member who, born in 1915, had moved to L'Hospitalet at the age of seven – recalled that La Torrassa was referred to as 'Little Murcia'. See interview with Lola Peñalver, 1982 and 1984, Fons Personals, 855 Joan Camós Cabecerán, AMHL, p. 7 and interview with Conchita Vicente, February 1983, Fons Personals, 855 Joan Camós Cabecerán, AMHL, pp. 1, 5-6 and 16.

elsewhere.[246] For example, Peirats was born in the Valencian village of La Vall d'Uixó, moving to Barcelona three and a half years later; and Nebot's family relocated to Catalonia from Lucena del Cid (also in today's Valencian Community) when he was four years old.[247] In an interview in 2001, Lola Peñalver's son confirmed that she had been born in the town of La Unión, in Murcia; whilst Pedra Conejero and Francisca Conejero Tomàs – both members of the local Truth anarchist group – were natives of Villena, in Alicante.[248] In this respect, L'Hospitalet's anarchist movement resembled the movement in La Boca, where transatlantic migration played a key role in shaping working-class communities (see the next chapter).

At the same time, Catalonia enjoyed extensive connections with localities in Argentina. Throughout the period under study, a large proportion of those travelling to the country from Spain departed from Catalan ports: in the early 1890s, 'approximately thirteen hundred' migrants sailed for Argentina from Catalonia, out of a total of 'almost four thousand' nationally.[249] Unfortunately, these figures do not reveal the origins of the passengers and, as James Baer points out, they 'could have come from anywhere in Spain'.[250] However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, Catalans comprised over a tenth of the 'Iberian-born' migrant population in Buenos Aires, and most had been inhabitants of 'the province of Barcelona and the Balearic islands'.[251] Equally, a significant number of Catalans settled in Rosario: on the 4th of March 1902, *La Capital* stressed that migrants from Catalonia

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[246] Though there are no statistics available for Alcoy itself, provincial figures show that, in 1930, only 8.18 per cent of the population of Alicante (which included the locality of Alcoy) had been born outside of either the province or the country. By contrast, in the same year, 44.5 per cent of L'Hospitalet's population had been born outside of Catalonia. See Salvador Forner Muñoz, 'Industrialización, Clase Obrera y Movimiento Obrero en Alicante, 1923-1936' (unpublished doctoral tesis, Universidad de Alicante, 1980), p. 74 and Camós i Cabecerán, 'L'Hospitalet i la Immigració', p. 74.
[247] Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, pp. 9 and 12 and interview with Viçens Nebot, p. 2.
[248] Interview with Germà Pedra, p. 1 and Marín Silvestre, p. 187. In an interview in 1986, Francisca noted that she was born in 1903, and relocated to Barcelona at the age of seven or eight, after her brothers (who had already moved to Catalonia in search of work) sent for the rest of the family. See interview with Francisca Conejero Tomàs, pp. 1-2.
[249] Baer, p. 39.
[250] Ibid., p. 39.
[251] José C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley, London and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 15-17.

had played an important part in the founding of the city and, consequently, it reported that a group of local residents intended to establish a 'Catalan Centre', to celebrate their heritage.[252]

Notably, L'Hospitalet itself formed part of this transatlantic migratory network. Whilst a 'Register of Foreigners' compiled on the 11th of November 1890 recorded just twenty-four individuals – none of whom were Argentinian – by the early twentieth century, Argentinians had begun to appear in local census data.[253] In 1905, the census of L'Hospitalet registered one household in which Argentinians resided and, by 1920, this number had risen to five.[254] Discussing his childhood in an interview in 2002, Josep Bonastre recalled that one of his friends had been born in Mendoza, after the boy's father – who already had cousins in Argentina – had migrated there.[255] In a letter to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet on the 19th of April 1917, the Spanish Mutual Aid Association of Buenos Aires – which migrants from Spain had established in the Argentinian capital in 1857 – provided a further illustration of L'Hospitalet's transatlantic connections when it revealed that Antonio Sánchez, a resident of La Torrassa, was a member of the organisation.[256]

Whilst many anarchists in the vicinity of L'Hospitalet had migrated from other parts of the country, they had often travelled between Spain and Argentina, too. The Catalan-born Eduardo García Gilimón occupied a key role in the Argentinian anarchist movement from the

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[252] 'Centro Catalán', *La Capital*, 4 March 1902, p. 1.

[253] 'Padró d'Estrangers de 1890', Fons Municipal, 101, Secció J Població i Eleccions, J200 Estadístiques Generals de Població, J210 Censos de Població,AMHL.

[254] 'Padró General de l'Any 1905', Fons Municipal, 101, Secció J Població i Eleccions, J100, Empadronament, J110 Padró Municipal d'Habitants, J111 Renovació del Padró Municipal d'Habitants, AMHL. The 1905 census is divided into three parts and consists of loose documents (without page numbers). For that reason, it is possible that some pages have been lost and, as a result, the number of Argentinian-born residents could be higher. Again, the 1920 census comprises four parts, and includes loose documents, suggesting that some of its pages might be missing, too. See 'Padró Municipal d'Habitants', 1920, Fons Municipal, 101, Secció J Població i Eleccions, J100, Empadronament, J110 Padró Municipal d'Habitants, J111 Renovació del Padró Municipal d'Habitants, AMHL.

[255] Interview with Josep Bonastre, pp. 7-8.

[256] Letter from the Spanish Mutual Aid Association of Buenos Aires to the Mayor of L'Hospitalet, 19 April 1917, Fons Municipal, Secció V Organització Administrativa, V100 Gestió Administrativa General, V150 Sol·licituds d'Accés a la Documentació i a la Informació, 1917_43 Correspondència Emesa per la Asociación Española de Socorros Mutuos de Buenos Aires, AMHL and Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, p. 281. As Moya notes, this organisation formed part of the 'institutional network' that Spanish migrants in Argentina constructed to support one another, in the absence of a formal welfare state. See ibid., pp. 398-399.

mid-1890s, until his deportation to Barcelona in 1905.[257] Similarly, José Prat – another prominent Catalan anarchist – travelled to Buenos Aires in 1897, where he edited *La Protesta Humana*.[258] Prat later returned to Spain, assuming an administrative position at the Barcelona Modern School.[259] Furthermore, in an interview in 1995, Francesc Pedra stated that his father – who embraced anarchism at an early age – had travelled extensively as a young man, and had even met with like-minded activists in Argentina.[260]

Nevertheless, as the previous chapters have highlighted, transnational and trans-local connections facilitate not only the transfer of people, but also the transfer of ideas and practices. Accordingly, libertarian temporal practices reflected the transnationalism and trans-localism of the wider movement. Whilst, in some cases, anarchists celebrated events and personal landmarks specific to the locality in which they lived (as noted above), their 'temporal markers' often transcended the borders of their neighbourhood, city or country. For example, writing in *Tierra y Libertad* on the 5th of May 1910, a contributor from Bilbao reminded readers of the thirteenth anniversary of the deaths of five anarchists in Barcelona, whom the authorities had executed following the bombing of the city's annual *Corpus Christi* procession, in 1897.[261] Several years later, on the 12th of August 1916, *Solidaridad Obrera* stated that Esperanto speakers in Madrid had recently celebrated the twenty-ninth anniversary of the publication of Ludwik Zamenhof's 'first grammatical manual'.[262] Moreover, whilst the pupils of the rationalist school in Sants held an act of remembrance in honour of Francisco

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[257] Albornoz, pp. 7-8.
[258] Baer, p. 37.
[259] Ibid., p. 37.
[260] Interview with Francesc Pedra, 20 March 1995, 17 July 1995, and 8 October 1995, pp. 18-19. Pedra does not say where his father came from originally, but he himself was born in Barcelona, and his father had met his mother in Asturias, whilst working as a coal-miner. See interview with Francesc Pedra, 1982, p. 2 and interview with Francesc Pedra, 20 March 1995, 17 July 1995, and 8 October 1995, pp. 19
[261] Mariano López, 'Fecha Recordatoria', *Tierra y Libertad*, 5 May 1910, pp. 2-3.
[262] 'Fiesta Esperantista en Madrid', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 12 August 1916, p. 3. The physician and ophthalmologist Ludwik Zamenhof created the language of Esperanto in 1887. See Andrzej Grzybowski, 'Ludwik Zamenhof: a Major Contributor to World Culture, on the 150th Anniversary of his Birth', *Survey of Ophthalmology*, 55.2 (2010), 183-188 (pp. 183-184).

Ferrer in October 1916, activists in Argentina engaged in similar practices: on the 15th of May 1911, the Buenos Aires-based magazine *Francisco Ferrer* printed a commemorative illustration of the publication's namesake, with the date of his death, and an image of pupils grieving over his body.[263] Again, on the 7th of October 1922, *La Protesta* announced that, on the 12th of that month, the League of Rationalist Education would hold a *velada* in the Argentinian capital in memory of the Modern School's founder.[264] Most importantly, the annual May Day protests that featured prominently in the anarchist 'ritual calendar' of L'Hospitalet formed part of a larger cycle of protests throughout Europe and the Americas which, beginning in the aftermath of the 'Haymarket Affair' of 1886, transformed the 'Chicago Martyrs' into 'global symbols of the injustices of the capitalist state'. [265] In other words, many libertarian temporal practices were inherently transnational and trans-local, memorialising individuals and events that belonged to a shared anarchist history and culture.

In the same way, Spanish anarchist discourse on time and temporalities often incorporated perspectives and experiences from different localities, both in Spain and Argentina. In his article in *Solidaridad Obrera* on the 20th of November 1908, baker Ramón Font y Rodó justified his defence of the 'Sunday Rest Law' by comparing workers' temporal practices in Barcelona to those on the other side of the Atlantic. In particular, he questioned why local employers forced their employees to labour on Sundays, whilst workers in cities such as the 'great capital' of Buenos Aires – as well as 'provincial capitals throughout Spain' – enjoyed a holiday.[266] In turn, on the 1st of May 1917, the newspaper printed an article by the Argentinian writer and anarchist José de Maturana – the editor of *La Protesta* – in which he extolled the virtues of the eight-hour working day, describing its achievement as 'a

[263] 'E Pour si Muove', *Francisco Ferrer*, 15 May 1911, pp. 8-9.
[264] 'Liga de Educación Racionalista', *La Protesta*, 7 October 1922, p. 2.
[265] Marco Aurélio Santana and Alexandre Barbosa Fraga, 'Primeiro de Mayo – Trajetória, Dimensões e Sentidos', *Laboreal*, 15.1 (2019), 1-6 (pp. 3-4) and Carl Levy, 'Anarchism, Internationalism and Nationalism in Europe, 1860-1939', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 50.3 (2004), 330-342 (p. 334).
[266] Font y Rodó, p. 2.

popular event of indisputable transcendence'.[267] Equally, in his article in the Alcoy-based *Generación Consciente* on the 1st of December 1924, the Catalan writer Ramón Magre drew on his personal experiences of Barcelona explicitly to demonstrate the iniquities of alcohol consumption, contributing to the broader discourse on productive and non-productive pastimes, illustrated above.[268]

In like manner, anarchists in Spain and Argentina articulated similar understandings of the relationship between past and present, and employed the same rhetorical devices to situate the movement in historical time. Like the Syndicalist Athenaeum of Barcelona, militants in L'Hospitalet identified parallels between the contemporary government's repression of activists and the violence of the Spanish Inquisition. On the 29th of December 1936, a contributor to *Ideas* suggested that leading members of the Catholic Church aimed 'to subject Spain to an Inquisition darker than that of Torquemada'.[269] Such comments mirrored those of activists in Argentina. On the 15th of October 1901, the Commission Against the Spanish Inquisition – an organisation based in Buenos Aires – distributed an 'anti-inquisitorial protest in favour of the persecuted and crushed workers of Spain', arguing that the authorities' repression of working-class militants echoed 'the horrors of the time of [King] Philip *the Dark*…'[270] The document included messages of support from affiliated groups throughout Argentina and Uruguay and, like their Catalan counterparts, the Free

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[267] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 86 and 106-107 and José de Maturana, 'El 1.o de Mayo', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 1 May 1917, pp. 1-2. De Maturana stipulated that such improvements in working conditions must result from the 'energetic pressure of the people'. See De Maturana, p. 2.

[268] Magre, pp. 219-220. Ramón Magre Riera headed the CNT-affiliated Gastronomical [Workers'] Union of Barcelona. See María Teresa Martínez de Sas and Pelai Pagès i Blanch, *Diccionari Biogràfic del Moviment Obrer als Països Catalans* (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona and Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2000), p. 808.

[269] Senén, 'Constataciones: Pasado y Presente', *Ideas*, 29 December 1936, p. 7.

[270] Flyer from the Commission Against the Spanish Inquisition, titled 'Protesta Anti-Inquisitorial en Pro de los Trabajadores Perseguidos y Atropellados en España', 15 October 1901, Fernando Gómez Peláez Papers, 658, IISG, p. 1. The term 'Philip *the Dark*' (translated from 'Felipe *el Sombrío*') appears to be a reference to the sixteenth-century Spanish monarch Philip II whom historians have presented traditionally as being highly supportive of the Inquisition. See J. Lynch, 'Philip II and the Papacy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 11 (1961), 23-42 (pp. 23 and 30) and Daniel Muñoz, 'The Abolition of the Inquisition and the Creation of a Historical Myth', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 11.1 (2010), 71-81 (pp. 71-72).

Thinkers Group of Rosario invoked the memory of the Inquisition's figureheads, referring to the Spanish authorities as 'modern Torquemadas'.[271] Crucially, the list of affiliates printed messages from individuals who had personal connections to Spain, further illustrating the role of migration in the formation of anarchist discourse. For instance, on the 30th of September 1901, the Spanish anarchist Juan Casademont had written on behalf of various organisations in Rosario to express their support for the Commission, including the local Science and Progress group, in which the aforementioned Emilio Arana – another Spanish activist – had been a prominent member, until his death in May of that year.[272] In addition, on the 1st of September 1901, Fortunato Serantoni – an Italian writer who, after emigrating to Barcelona in 1883, had worked for local libertarian publications such as *La Justicia Humana* and *Tierra y Libertad*, and had established *La Revolución Social*, in 1889 – confirmed that his Sociological Bookshop in Buenos Aires supported the Commission, too.[273]

Whilst Spanish and Argentinian anarchists shared similar conceptions of past and present – and of the former's relevance to the latter – the 'cross-fertilisation' of ideas between different anarchist movements informed the 'temporal structure' of militants' actions directly.[274] In an article titled 'To Prepare the Future Society', published in *La Revista Blanca* on the 1st of August 1926, the French anarchist Jean Grave highlighted the need to conceptualise (and realise) a libertarian society in the present, rather than during (or after) a

[271] Flyer from the Commission Against the Spanish Inquisition, p. 2.
[272] Ibid., p. 4 and Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 28 and 260. On the 26th of November 1902, the Argentinian President ordered the deportation of fifty-nine foreigners – including Casademont – in retaliation for a general strike that had encompassed not only the Capital, but also the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe. Although the extradition order does not state the deportees' countries of origin, Abad de Santillán confirms that the authorities deported Casademont to Spain. See 'Ministerio del Interior – 1a Sección – Copiador – Anarquismo – Anarquía – Expulción [sic] de Extranjeros por la Aplicación de la Ley 4144', p. 13 and Diego Abad de Santillán, *El Movimiento Anarquista en la Argentina (Desde sus Comienzos hasta 1910)* (Buenos Aires: Editorial 'Argonauta', 1930), p. 97.
[273] Flyer from the Commission Against the Spanish Inquisition, p. 2 and Eduardo Souza Cunha, 'Fortunato Serantoni y la Librería Sociológica: el Circuito Editorial en la Red Transnacional de Militancia del Anarquismo', *Políticas de la Memoria*, 19 (2019), 189-210 (pp. 191-192).
[274] Ackelsberg, 'It Takes More than a Village', p. 209.

future revolutionary conflict.[275] Specifically, Grave stipulated that 'it is from now, in our propaganda work…in theory [and] practically, that we must concern ourselves with [this] problem'.[276] Similarly, writing in *Solidaridad Proletaria* on the 8th of November 1924, the Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta – who 'did much to lay the basis for the growth of the anarchist movement' in Argentina, where he lived between 1885 and 1889 – suggested that 'the great problem in life is to find the means which…lead most surely and economically to the desired end'.[277] He went on to clarify that the movement's goal was 'the triumph of freedom and love', and that 'our means [of achieving this] are those which circumstances permit us or impose on us'.[278] In the aforementioned issue of *Ideas* in December 1936, Luigi Fabbri – another Italian anarchist, who had migrated to Uruguay to avoid political persecution in his homeland – echoed these sentiments, arguing that 'the road towards victory' was 'precisely that which never loses sight of the final objective'.[279] In addition, he predicted that 'action not illuminated by an idea' would fail, and he urged activists to engage in propaganda, as well as trade union militancy, education and 'experiments with [forms of] life'.[280] By stressing the relationship between means and ends, these authors – representing a range of libertarian movements throughout Europe and South America – advocated a future-oriented 'temporal structure of action', in which militants' practices reflected (and contributed to) the future society they aimed to create.

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[275] Jean Grave, 'Para Preparar la Sociedad Futura (1)', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 August 1926, pp. 142-143.
[276] Ibid., p. 143.
[277] Enrique Malatesta, 'Adaptaciones – un Poco de Teoría', *Solidaridad Proletaria*, 8 November 1924, p. 4, Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 14 and Baer, p. 42. After his arrival in Argentina, Malatesta played a key role in organising workers – such as the bakers of Buenos Aires – and established *La Questione Sociale*, an Italian-language anarchist publication. See Oved, pp. 43-46.
[278] Malatesta, p. 4.
[279] Luis Fabbri, 'Una Intransigencia Necesaria', *Ideas*, 29 December 1936, p. 3 and Luciana Anapios, 'Prensa y Estrategia Editoriales del Movimiento Anarquista en la Argentina de Entreguerras', *Anuario del Instituto de Historia Argentina*, 16.2 (2016), 1-20 (p. 16).
[280] Fabbri, p. 3.

Conclusion

Building on the analysis of space in Alcoy, this chapter has shown how, in L'Hospitalet de Llobregat, anarchists' relationship to time challenged the prevailing socio-cultural order, disrupting the temporal logic of industrial capitalism, the state, and the Catholic Church, simultaneously. As sociologist Elliot Jacques notes, 'no two men [or people] living *at* the same time live *in* the same time' and, in like manner, this chapter has drawn on a 'polytemporal' understanding of time to highlight the distinctive temporal experiences – or 'time' – of libertarian activists.[281]

Contesting employers' 'ownership' of workers' free time, local anarchists 'reclaimed' those hours previously dedicated 'to replenish[ing] the machines that would report to work the next morning', transforming free time into a period of personal (and collective) development.[282] Accordingly, libertarian discourse positioned leisure activities within a binary of productive and counter-productive pastimes, encouraging education, whilst discouraging hedonism. In his seminal 1983 study *Languages of Class*, Gareth Stedman Jones warns against 'overpoliticising leisure as an arena of struggle': for instance, he suggests that 'the primary point of a holiday is not political [but rather] to enjoy yourself, for tomorrow you must work'.[283] Here, Stedman Jones' argument resembles one of the principal objections to using 'resistance' – which the next chapter discusses in more detail – as an analytical category: in theory, one could interpret almost any practice as subversive or oppositional, even if, in reality, it lacks 'political significance'.[284] Nevertheless, as this chapter has already indicated, local anarchists conflated education with ideological formation

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[281] Elliot Jacques, 'The Enigma of Time', in *The Sociology of Time,* ed. by John Hassard (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), pp. 21-34 (p. 21).
[282] Tanke, p. 26.
[283] Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832-1982* (Cambridge, Melbourne and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 88-89.
[284] Marta Iñiguez de Heredia, *Everyday Resistance, Peacebuilding and State-Making: Insights from 'Africa's World War'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 58.

explicitly and, in a similar way, the libertarian press portrayed the rejection of vices regularly as part of a long-term process of self- and societal-improvement. In this sense, by devoting their free time to scholarship – and, more generally, by favouring productive (educational) over counter-productive (destructive) leisure activities – anarchists were consciously contributing to a socio-cultural and political project, utilising their non-working hours to prepare themselves for – and prefigure – an anarchist society.

Though anarchists' use of free time was inherently political, this chapter has also emphasised that the temporal demands of the capitalist system continued to structure their daily lives, and the resulting phenomenon of 'time scarcity' had a direct impact on libertarian activism. Despite this, anarchists did contest the 'temporal logic' of the 'clock-controlled world', by stressing the phenomenological – rather than objective – aspects of time in libertarian publications and, crucially, they constructed their own 'temporal markers' which reflected the movement's distinctive history and culture. As anthropologist Nancy Munn argues, control over 'temporal media' – such as the 'annual calendar' or 'clock time' – also 'implies control over [a] more comprehensive order'.[285] By imbuing certain dates with meaning and significance that was specific to the movement – and substituting religious 'temporal markers' with secular ones – anarchists not only challenged the Church and state's symbolic control over time but, by implication, their control over everyday life. In the same way, the chapter has also drawn attention to the disparity between anarchist theory and praxis, which undermined efforts to oppose the hegemony of the civic and religious calendars, as local activists continued to attend municipal festivals, and the movement's press advertised to a religious audience. Nevertheless, even if activists observed the established 'temporal markers' of civic and religious life, the creation of a libertarian 'ritual calendar'

[285] Nancy D. Munn, 'The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21 (1992), 93-123 (p. 109).

still constituted an alternative temporal order which was, again, prefigurative: it served as a cultural blueprint of the society that anarchists envisioned.

Furthermore, the chapter has explored the ways in which anarchists situated themselves in historical time, illustrating how they debated continually the relevance of the past to the present, and revealing that, in many cases, they recognised (and reiterated) their historical agency. Most importantly, it has analysed the 'temporal structure' of their actions within the theoretical framework of 'creative presentism', demonstrating how anarchists' practices were often 'future-oriented', as they 'experiment[ed] with and work[ed] on their future selves'.[286] Notably, scholars have described prefigurative politics frequently in temporal terms: Mathijs van de Sande suggests that 'in prefigurative action a world to come is constituted in the here and now', whilst Dan Swain defines this form of activism as 'ends-guided', as it 'seeks to match action in the present with long distant…ends'.[287] Accordingly, this chapter has demonstrated that the 'temporal structure' of anarchist practices was inherently prefigurative, 'removing the temporal distinction between the struggle in the *present*' and 'a goal in the future'.[288] Of course, as the previous chapters have stipulated, it is only accurate to describe these practices as prefigurative if, through them, activists 'consciously and deliberately' sought to implement a 'future form of society'.[289] Therefore, as stated above, the analysis has highlighted consistently anarchists' explicit focus on future outcomes: for example, the libertarian press presented naturism as a means of dismantling 'this wicked society', and of constructing 'a new society…from its ashes'; whilst anarchist

[286] Ringel, 'Towards Anarchist Futures?', p. 179.
[287] Mathijs van de Sande, 'Fighting with Tools: Prefiguration and Radical Politics in the Twenty-First Century', *Rethinking Marxism: a Journal of Economics, Culture & Society*, 27.2 (2015), 177-194 (p. 189) and Swain, p. 49.
[288] Marianne Maeckelbergh, *The Will of the Many: How the Alterglobalisation Movement is Changing the Face of Democracy* (London and New York: Pluto Press, 2009), pp.66-67.
[289] Raekstad, p. 361.

teachers in L'Hospitalet regarded education as key to 'transforming society', and actively sought to lay 'a solid foundation for the establishment of a New World'.[290]

Finally, the chapter has drawn attention to the impact of transnationalism and trans-localism on anarchists' temporalities, as well as illustrating the transnational and trans-local nature of temporal practices such as commemorations, protests and celebrations. In this sense, the analysis of 'anarchist time' has provided a further indication of how, in daily life, anarchists experienced the personal and discursive connections that linked activists in different localities together.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that, whilst this chapter has drawn on a variety of oral and written testimonies, they are not necessarily representative of all members (and sympathisers) of the local movement – or of the movement as a whole – since they reflect the experiences of a relatively small group of especially dedicated (and often male) militants. These personal accounts provide useful insights into the libertarian cultural *milieu* of the locality under study, and to mitigate (as far as possible) their potential lack of representativeness, the analysis has referred extensively to other sources – including both the local and national anarchist press – to illustrate the diverse range of opinions and experiences within the movement. However, as this chapter examines an aspect of everyday life which scholarship on the anarchist movement has largely neglected to address, more research is needed to ascertain the extent to which the experiences of prominent anarchists mirrored those of individuals who did not produce written or oral testimonies, as well as to provide further insights into the relationship between gender and 'anarchist time'.

[290] A. Serrat, p. 192, interview with Josep Xena, pp. 5 and 21 and Abella and Alonso, p. 5.

CHAPTER FOUR

Dissent beneath the Surface:

'Informal' Resistance in La Boca

'I cannot give you a satisfactory explanation for
this blind spirit of resistance to authority, which seems to
inspire certain sectors among the public…'[1]

The preceding chapters have examined prefigurative political practices in distinct spheres of everyday life, focusing on anarchist experiences of space, time and the family, respectively. In contrast, this chapter demonstrates how acts of 'informal' resistance permeated various spheres of anarchists' everyday lives, simultaneously. Like the spatial, temporal and familial practices discussed so far, these 'informal' acts of resistance also constituted a form of prefigurative politics; a means of implementing a new society within the existing one.

In the wake of anthropologist James C. Scott's seminal 1985 study *Weapons of the Weak*, social scientists have turned their attention increasingly to what Scott describes as acts of 'everyday resistance', which are 'informal and non-organized'.[2] In his book, Scott refers to 'the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups', which include everyday practices such as 'foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance…pilfering…feigned ignorance…sabotage and so forth.'[3] Such actions 'typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority', and 'require little or no coordination or planning'.[4] In Scott's view, though this

[1] *Memoria del Departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1889-1890* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1890), p. xxxiii.
[2] Anna Johannsson and Stellan Vinthargen, 'Dimensions of Everyday Resistance: an Analytical Framework', *Critical Sociology*, 42.3 (2016), 417-435 (p. 417). *Weapons of the Weak* draws on Scott's ethnographic fieldwork in a small Malaysian village – referred to as 'Sedaka' – between 1978 and 1980, where he studied 'the struggle between rich and poor', including practices such as 'backbiting, gossip, character assassination, rude nicknames, gestures, and silences of contempt'. See Scott, p. xviii.
[3] Scott, p. 29.
[4] Ibid., p. 29.

kind of resistance appears relatively innocuous compared to more overt forms of opposition to authority (such as armed uprisings), the cumulative effects of myriad acts of 'informal' resistance can be just as significant.[5] In the absence of historical research which applies Scott's theoretical framework explicitly to the anarchist movements of Spain or Argentina, this chapter presents a *Scottian* analysis of anarchist practices in a working-class neighbourhood of Buenos Aires.[6]

Nevertheless, the term 'resistance' poses an epistemological problem, as there is considerable disagreement regarding its meaning.[7] As sociologists Rachel L. Einwohner and Jocelyn A. Hollander highlight, the debate centres largely on the question of whether 'recognition and intent' are prerequisites for resistance.[8] For example, Jeffrey Rubin argues that resistance only occurs when 'targets and other observers are equally aware of the resistant act'.[9] Scott's understanding of 'everyday' or 'informal' resistance rejects such limitations, as he suggests that, in many cases, these acts of resistance remain hidden or 'unnoticed'.[10] Despite this, they still 'deny or mitigate claims made by appropriating classes'.[11] At the same time, whilst some scholars – such as sociologist Dick Hebdige –

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[5] Scott, p. 36.
[6] Historians have increasingly utilised the concept of 'everyday resistance' to examine opposition to state power, especially in the Soviet Union and Francoist Spain. For example, writing in 2011, Sheila Fitzpatrick invokes Scott's work explicitly in her exploration of 'popular sedition' in the Soviet Union after Stalin, highlighting everyday resistant acts such as making 'obscene gestures to portraits of leaders' and producing 'anonymous letters denouncing the regime's misdeeds'. Equally, in an article in 2013, Óscar Rodríguez Barreira refers to the 'everyday resistance' of women in post-war Europe. For instance, he illustrates how, after the Spanish Civil War, women played a significant role in running the country's 'black market'. However, to date, there are no historical studies of Spanish or Argentinian anarchism which incorporate Scott's concept into their analysis. See Ana Cabana and Miguel Cabo, 'James C. Scott y el Estudio de los Dominados: su Aplicación a la Historia Contemporánea', *Historia Social*, 77 (2013), 73-93 (p. 84), Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Introduction to the English Edition: Popular Sedition in the Post-Stalin Soviet Union', in *Sedition: Everyday Resistance in the Soviet Union under Khruschev and Brezhnev*, ed. by Sheila Fitzpatrick, Vladimir A. Kozlov and Sergei V. Mironenko, trans. by Olga Livshin (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 1-24 (pp. 3-4), and Óscar Rodríguez Barreira, 'Cambalaches: Hambre, Moralidad Popular y Mercados Negros de Guerra y Postguerra', *Historia Social*, 77 (2013), 149-174 (pp. 167-168).
[7] Rachel L. Einwohner and Jocelyn A. Hollander, 'Conceptualizing Resistance', *Sociological Forum*, 19.4 (2004), 533-554 (p. 534).
[8] Ibid., p. 539.
[9] Ibid., p. 541.
[10] Ibid., p. 539.
[11] Ibid., p. 539.

indicate that intent is not necessarily relevant, others – such as anthropologist Brian Fegan – take the opposite view.[12] For Scott, 'intent is a better indicator of resistance than outcome, because acts of resistance do not always achieve the desired outcome'.[13] However, this again raises the question – discussed in the introductory chapter – of how, exactly, one can ascertain a political actor's intentions, especially 'when researchers and actors are not located in the same culture'.[14] As Marta Iñiguez de Heredia points out, to determine intent, Scott's analysis relies on a '*translation*…between what is observed and how it is described'.[15] Accordingly, as Einwohner and Hollander demonstrate, it is possible for something to be interpreted as an act of resistance, even if this was not the actor's intention.[16]

In contrast to Scott, Anna Johannsson and Stellan Vinthargen dismiss the view that either 'intent' or 'recognition' are essential to resistance.[17] Instead, they regard 'everyday' resistance as 'a practice…not a certain consciousness, intent or outcome'.[18] However, if one removes the criteria mentioned above, this gives rise to one of the main criticisms of Scott's concept: that the term is too ambiguous, and potentially applicable to any human activity.[19] With that in mind, and in order to mitigate (as far as possible) the risk of ambiguity, here the term 'resistance' refers to those actions which are either intended as acts of resistance, recognised as such, or both. Though it can be difficult to infer intent from action, the discourse in the anarchist press often provides an insight into the motivations behind the actions of individual militants whilst, in turn, official government sources reveal cases in which authorities perceived actions as challenges to the established socio-cultural order. In this context, the so-called 'translation' between observation and description does not

[12] Einwohner and Hollander, p. 542 and Iñiguez de Heredia, p. 63.
[13] Einwohner and Hollander, p. 542.
[14] Ibid., p. 543.
[15] Iñiguez de Heredia, p. 52.
[16] Einwohner and Hollander, p. 545.
[17] Johannsson and Vinthargen, p. 418.
[18] Ibid., p. 418.
[19] Iñiguez de Heredia, p. 58.

automatically require any great imaginative leap (or assumption) on the part of the historian. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that, whilst this chapter examines primarily 'informal' resistant acts, the distinction between 'formal' and 'informal' resistance is not always clear.[20]Accordingly, rather than adhering to a rigid and exclusionary definition of 'informal' or 'everyday' resistance, this case study employs Scott's concept in a general sense; as a 'heuristic device' that illustrates the extent to which, in their daily lives, anarchists manifested their ideological opposition to authority.[21]

La Boca: a 'City Apart'

Located at the mouth of the Río de la Plata, La Boca is a neighbourhood in the southeast of the Argentinian capital. Until the construction of a new port in the north of Buenos Aires in the 1890s, the docks of La Boca had been central to the city's 'maritime prosperity'.[22] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, La Boca remained largely inaccessible (except from the river), and sparsely populated. [23] However, by the last decade of the century, La Boca had developed into a densely populated working-class district. In 1890, its inhabitants numbered 27,514, mainly living in houses made of wood or galvanised steel.[24] In a session of Buenos Aires' Deliberative Council on the 5th of April 1927, Councillor Ángel Giménez noted that, in 1925, some 508 *conventillos* existed in La Boca, housing 26,026

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[20] For example, in his critique of Scott's theory of 'everyday' resistance, Matthew C. Gutmann notes that, in Latin America, 'covert' and 'overt' forms of resistance frequently 'occur together, alternate, and transform themselves into each other'. Similarly, he rejects the idea that 'everyday' resistance 'must…necessarily be "hidden"'. In like manner, this chapter shows how even ostensibly 'formal' modes of resistance can encompass 'informal', non-organised or spontaneous practices. See Matthew C. Gutmann, 'Rituals of Resistance: a Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance', *Latin American Perspectives*, 20.2 (1993), 74-92 (pp. 77 and 86).

[21] Sheldon J. Chow equates the term 'heuristic devices' with 'models and analog[ies]' that 'help us learn or understand something about our world'. In a similar way, this chapter utilises the concept of 'informal' resistance as an illustrative model, to highlight habitual resistant – or oppositional – activities. See Sheldon. J. Chow, 'Heuristics, Concepts and Cognitive Architecture: Toward Understanding how the Mind Works' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Western Ontario, 2011), p. 54.

[22] Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, p. 199.

[23] Antonio J. Bucich, *El Barrio de La Boca: La Boca del Riachuelo desde Pedro de Mendoza hasta las Postrimerías del Siglo XIX*, 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires: Municipalidad de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 1963), p. 15.

[24] *Memoria de la Intendencia Municipal: 1890-1892* (Buenos Aires: Municipalidad de la Capital, 1892), p. 367.

people.[25] At that time, this 'neighbourhood of the poor' comprised approximately 150 blocks, still consisting of many 'rustic dwellings'.[26]

As Geoffroy de Laforcade highlights, La Boca has 'played a role in Argentine history far disproportionate with its size'.[27] Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the neighbourhood made a significant contribution to the emergence of both a coherent Argentinian identity and the national labour movement.[28] From the 1820s onwards, the locality became an increasingly popular destination for Italian migrants and, by the middle of the century, La Boca had acquired a markedly cosmopolitan character, forming 'a centre of immigrant sociability' and resembling a 'city apart'.[29] Crucially, both La Boca and the adjacent neighbourhood of Barracas attracted large numbers of Spanish migrants, too. In 1852, nine per cent of the city's Spanish inhabitants lived in the district of Barracas (which then encompassed what is now La Boca).[30] Later in the decade, cart drivers living in the vicinity of Patricios Street established a trade union, and many of its members were Spanish migrant workers.[31]

By the early 1900s, a strong tradition of anarchist militancy already existed in La Boca, and anarcho-syndicalism exercised a considerable influence over the local labour movement, until the 1950s.[32] José C. Moya even claims that, at the turn of the century, the majority of Buenos Aires' anarchist activists lived in 'the heavily Italian and Spanish

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[25] Ángel Giménez, *Por los que Viven y Trabajan en los Barrios de Boca y Barracas: Proyectos Presentados al Consejo Deliberante* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Luz, 1928), pp. 6 and 14.
[26] Ibid., p. 13.
[27] Geoffroy de Laforcade, 'Memories and Temporalities of Anarchist Resistance: Community Traditions, Labor Insurgencies, and Argentine Shipyard Workers, Early 1900s to Late 1950s', in *In Defiance of Boundaries: Anarchism in Latin American History*, ed. by Geoffroy de Laforcade and Kirwin Shaffer (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), pp. 185-218 (p. 188).
[28] Ibid., pp. 188-189.
[29] Ibid., pp. 189 and 191.
[30] Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, pp. 130-131.
[31] Celia Guevara, Sergio Vega, Gabriel Atlas and Gloria Morelli, 'La Huelga de los Inquilinos en La Boca', *Jornadas de la Carrera de Sociología: Veinte Años Después. Noviembre 1996. Taller de Historia Urbana.* (Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, 1997), p. 31.
[32] Ibid., p. 10 and De Laforcade, pp. 187-189.

neighbourhoods of La Boca and Barracas'.[33] For some in the contemporary bourgeois press (such as a journalist writing for the Buenos Aires-based newspaper *El Diario*, in 1904) La Boca was synonymous with anarchist criminality.[34] Despite the hyperbole of these commentators, many working-class *boquenses* clearly felt an affinity with the anarchist cause, throughout the period under study. In 1887, anarchists in Buenos Aires formed what would become the Bakers' Society – with the participation of the aforementioned Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta – which launched a ten-day strike, in 1888.[35] During this dispute, workers in La Boca supplied the strikers and their families with bread and, in the first decade of the twentieth century, anarchist bakers still maintained a notable presence in the area.[36] In 1899, anarchist groups in Barracas helped to establish a nearby libertarian school whilst, in 1902, La Boca's Free Education Circle began the process of creating two further anarchist educational institutions, with the support of local dockers.[37]

Irreverence and Insubordination: Disobedience as Everyday Resistance

Throughout the period under study, the enforcers of law and order in Buenos Aires perceived a marked lack of respect for authority among the working-class population. For instance, on the 12th of April 1890, Alberto Capdevila, then-head of the city's police, wrote to the Minister of the Interior complaining that, over the previous year, '[the offences of] attacking and disobeying authority, especially in relation to the mission of the police, occurred too frequently'.[38] In some instances, these offences 'degenerated into a revolt or uprising, with people on the street shouting for the immediate release of common

[33] Moya, 'The Positive Side of Stereotypes', pp. 28-29.
[34] Martín Albornoz, 'Figuraciones del Anarquismo: el Anarquismo y sus Representaciones Culturales en Buenos Aires (1890-1915)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2015), p. 153.
[35] Oved, pp. 45-46.
[36] Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, pp. 10 and 19.
[37] Barrancos, pp. 91-92.
[38] *Memoria del Departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1889-1890*, p. xxxiii.

prisoners…'[39] Capdevila proved unable to explain this 'blind spirit of resistance' which, in his view, hindered significantly his officers' ability to carry out their duties.[40] In later years, the police singled out the working-class populations of La Boca and Barracas for being especially defiant of authority. On the 28th of March 1914, Eloy Udabe, who headed the police's Public Order Division, informed the Minister of the Interior that FORA activists had recently attempted to launch a general strike.[41] Udabe noted that the strike only met with support among the industrial workers of La Boca and Barracas, areas 'where the atmosphere of rebelliousness has always been majorly intensified'.[42] In addition, on the 16th of December 1907, writing of 'the prolonged and intense fight that the proletariat has sustained against capitalism over the past few years', the notorious police chief Ramón Falcón (whom the anarchist Simón Radowitzky would assassinate in 1909) referred to recent incidents which had 'bloodied the neighbourhoods of La Boca and Barracas', such as attempted bombings and the burning down of the local Society for the Protection of Free Labour's headquarters.[43] Falcón went on to suggest that 'this state of affairs has taken root in the shadows of that area and the spirit of the people'.[44]

Abstract terms such as 'spirit of resistance' and 'atmosphere of rebellion' convey an understanding of resistance to authority as an errant mentality or attitude, rather than a coherent set of behaviours born of material circumstances and a legitimate desire to challenge

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[39] *Memoria del Departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1889-1890*, p. xxxiii.
[40] Ibid. p. xxxiii.
[41] Julia Rodríguez, *Civilizing Argentina: Science, Medicine, and the Modern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), p. 145 and *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1913-1914 – y Proyecto de Presupuesto para 1915* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1914), p. 14.
[42] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1913-1914,* p. 14.
[43] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 191 and *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital: 1906 a 1909* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1909), p. 156. After assuming control of the capital's police force in November 1906, Colonel Ramón Falcón became 'the main enemy of the anarchist movement' and a symbol of police repression throughout the country. Under his leadership, deportations of anarchists increased and, following violent confrontations between anarchist activists and police in Buenos Aires on the 1st of May 1909, he faced international criticism for inciting 'a slaughter', and transforming the city centre into 'a battlefield'. See Martín Albornoz and Diego Galeano, 'Anarquistas y Policías en el Atlántico Sudamericano: una Red Transnacional, 1890-1910', *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani"*, 47 (2017), 101-134 (pp. 116 and 119).
[44] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital: 1906 a 1909*, p. 156.

power. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, European commentators viewed crime as a 'social pathology', part of a 'degenerative process' within society.[45] According to contemporary science, 'sexual perversion, crime, insanity [and] anarchism' were all symptomatic of '"cultural crisis"'.[46] These ideas spread to Latin America, where theories such as the 'positivist criminology' of Cesare Lombroso – who argued that '"born criminals" could be identified by atavistic deficiencies of mind and body' – found fertile soil.[47] Drawing on Lombroso's writings (and in the wake of a rise in anarchist terrorism in Europe), by the first decade of the twentieth century, Argentina's governing classes had also begun to categorise anarchist beliefs as a mental illness.[48] The reports of the Buenos Aires police encapsulate this interpretation of resistance to authority. In April 1890, Capdevila remarked that 'it is a law [of nature] that as a people progresses and advances in culture, the principle of authority is more widely accepted, the use of force less necessary…'[49] In other words, the local authorities associated obedience with progress, whilst disobedience denoted backwardness and degeneracy.

In contrast, anarchists in Buenos Aires challenged actively the authority of the legal system, and promoted disobedience of both the law and its enforcers as a legitimate

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[45] Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: a European Disorder, c. 1848-c. 1918* (Cambridge, Melbourne and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 21.
[46] Ibid., p. 43.
[47] Gilbert M. Joseph, 'Preface', in *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since Late Colonial Times*, ed. by Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre and Gilbert M. Joseph (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. ix-xxii (p. xiv).
[48] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 204. Prominent libertarian thinkers such as Federico Urales and Ricardo Mella challenged Lombroso's thesis. Specifically, in his *Lombroso y los Anarquistas* (published in 1896), Mella questioned the basis of criminal anthropology, 'denying the existence of the born criminal'. Nevertheless, at times, anarchists adopted a far more ambiguous – and even contradictory – attitude towards *Lombrosian* ideas. For example, following his arrival in Argentina in 1898, the Italian lawyer and anarchist intellectual Pietro Gori embarked on a highly successful speaking tour, putting forth a persuasive case for anarchism. Despite this, Gori also established a journal titled *Criminalogía Moderna*, which declared 'war on crime', identified connections between immigration and delinquency, and even published contributions from Lombroso himself. As a result, Gori's journal attracted criticism from anarchist newspapers such as *El Rebelde* and *La Protesta Humana* which, in response, stressed the dangers of *Lombrosian* criminology and reiterated that, rather than resulting from 'born criminals', crime remained a 'social consequence'. See Campos and Huertas, pp. 317-318 and Martín Albornoz, 'Pietro Gori en la Argentina (1898-1902): Anarquismo y Cultura', in *Visitas Culturales en la Argentina,1898-1936*, ed. by Paula Bruno (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2014), pp. 23-49 (pp. 23-24, 26 and 34-35).
[49] *Memoria del Departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1889-1890*, p. xxxiii.

expression of individual and collective freedom. As Suriano highlights, anarchists equated 'command and obedience' with 'servitude and inequality' which, in their view, remained the bases of the state's existence.[50] For them, the law 'fossilize[d] social relationships and subvert[ed] progress' and, therefore, it constituted 'an assault upon individual freedom'.[51] On the 14th of August 1892, the individualist anarchist paper *El Perseguido* published an article with the provocative title 'Are Thieves our Best Workers?', which ridiculed *Lombrosian* criminology, and maintained that crimes such as theft would cease to exist when private property was eradicated.[52] In the author's words, 'society creates crime, and the criminal is the instrument which carries it out'.[53] Moreover, the piece argued that, rather than opposing the actions of thieves, workers should embrace them, as they served as a catalyst for revolutionary change.[54] Similarly, thirty years later, in its weekly supplement on the 4th of September 1922, *La Protesta* proclaimed that 'cultivating the dogma of obedience…is not the best exercise to ensure that individuals or peoples can be free and independent.'[55] Instead, the editors urged its readers to 'worship intelligent rebelliousness', and emphasised that 'the principle of authority, which is only upheld by brute force… endures whilst it is feared, but becomes impotent when challenged.'[56] To underline their point, the editors illustrated the so-called 'dogma of obedience' by including a sketch which depicted workers adopting a servile posture as they passed a police officer in the street.[57]

With these interventions, the anarchist press sought to engender an attitude of defiance among its followers, which would manifest itself in everyday acts of disobedience as a means of undermining (and therefore weakening) the authority of law enforcement agents.

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[50] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 184.
[51] Ibid., p. 174.
[52] Un Mártir, '¿Los Ladrones son Nuestros Mejores Obreros?', *El Perseguido*, 14 August 1892, p. 3.
[53] Ibid., p. 3.
[54] Ibid., p. 3.
[55] 'El Dogma de la Obediencia', *La Protesta – Suplemento Semanal*, 4 September 1922, p. 1.
[56] Ibid., p. 1.
[57] Ibid., p. 1.

As a result, anarchists' disobedience was inherently political, questioning the legitimacy of the legal system and, by implication, asserting their anti-statist and anti-authoritarian ideology.[58] In this sense, anarchists replaced the 'dogma of obedience' with a 'dogma of *dis*obedience', which prefigured a society without authority. As Marianne Maeckelbergh points out, whilst prefigurative politics involves 'constructing alternative structures', it necessarily entails 'challenging and confronting' the existing political system to create a 'space' for these alternatives.[59]

Nevertheless, though the anarchist press urged readers frequently to disobey the law and its enforcers, it is necessary to ascertain the extent to which activists in La Boca and the surrounding areas followed these recommendations, and utilised disobedience as 'informal' resistance in their daily lives. Official crime figures from the period provide a cursory indication of the extent to which locals refused to comply with the authorities. During the period under study, La Boca fell under the jurisdiction of Section 20 of the city's police force.[60] In 1891, this Section reported the highest number of crimes in Buenos Aires, with 312.[61] Section 19, corresponding to the adjacent neighbourhood of Barracas, recorded the

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[58] Robert Celitakes highlights how scholars often present disobedience in 'a simplified and depoliticized' manner, ignoring the 'complex reality' of disobedient acts, and the ways in which these can 'challeng[e] the legitimacy of the existing order'. In this respect, writing of the Occupy Wall Street movement, Bernard E. Harcourt is careful to distinguish between 'civil disobedience' and what he refers to as 'political disobedience'. In Harcourt's view, the former 'accepts the legitimacy of the political structure [and] political institutions but resists the moral authority of resulting laws'. Conversely, the latter 'resists the very way in which we are governed'. Following Harcourt's line of argument, in this context, anarchists in Buenos Aires engaged in *political* disobedience, as they contested the legitimacy of police authority itself. Notably, Ealham highlights a similar phenomenon in Barcelona, where disobeying law enforcement agents symbolised a more fundamental opposition to the authority of the government. In Ealham's words, 'popular opposition to the state was most commonly witnessed in terms of resistance to the police', widely regarded 'as the vanguard of state power on the streets.' See Robert Celikates, 'Learning from the Streets: Civil Disobedience in Theory and Practice', in *Global Activism: Art and Conflict in the 21st Century*, ed. by Peter Weibel (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), pp. 65-72 (p. 65), Bernard E. Harcourt, 'Political Disobedience', Critical Inquiry, 39.1 (2012), 33-55 (p. 33) and Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 32.

[59] Maeckelbergh, 'Doing is Believing', p. 14.

[60] In a report to the Minister of the Interior on the 1st of April 1893, then-head of police Domingo Viejobueno noted that the area covered by 'Sección 20a' was bordered by Almirante Brown Street to the north, the Ribera to the east, the Riachuelo to the south, and Defensa Street to the west. See *Policía de la Capital: Memoria del Año 1892 y Cálculo de Gastos para 1894 por el Jefe General Domingo Viejobueno* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía de la Capital, 1893), pp. 6 and 55.

[61] *Anuario Estadístico de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires Año I – 1891 (*Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1892), p. 468.

second-highest number, with 257 reported crimes.[62] Notably, in 1894, Barracas recorded ten incidents of 'attacking authority', the joint-highest number in the city (alongside Section 16), whilst La Boca recorded six (sharing third place with Sections 1 and 15).[63] In 1919, police in Barracas reported the second-highest number of 'crimes against internal security and public order', including nine incidents in which the perpetrators employed firearms whilst 'attacking authority'.[64] Again, in 1922, Barracas registered the second-highest number of 'crimes against the administration and public authorities', comprising the joint-highest number of incidents of 'attacking and resisting authority'.[65]

However, these official figures do not always support the image of a pronounced 'atmosphere of rebelliousness' in the locality. More specifically, this type of data does not necessarily provide much insight into the activities of local anarchists. In the first place, despite the relatively high number of crimes committed in La Boca and Barracas in the years noted above (especially crimes which undermined the authorities explicitly), official figures also reveal many years in which the crime-rate in both localities proved unexceptional, in comparison with other neighbourhoods in the city. For instance, between 1902 and 1911, police in La Boca reported 5,963 crimes under the category of 'disorder, use of firearms, fighting and other offences' whilst, in Barracas, the authorities recorded some 2,978 incidents.[66] In contrast, police in Section 1 noted 9,399 of these cases whilst, in Section 3, officials documented some 11,593 transgressions.[67] Equally, in 1915, neither La Boca nor

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[62] *Anuario Estadístico de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires Año I – 1891*, p. 468. The title page features a map illustrating which sections correspond to each locality in the city, with La Boca and Barracas labelled 'XX' and 'XIX', respectively.
[63] *Policía de la Capital: Memoria del Año 1894-95 y Presupuesto de Gastos para 1896 por el Jefe General Don Manuel J. Campos* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía de la Capital, 1895), p. 81. In Spanish, the offence is 'atentado a la autoridad'.
[64] *Policía de la Capital Federal: Memoria, Antecedentes y Datos Estadísticos Correspondientes al Año 1919* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1920), p. 171.
[65] *Policía de la Capital Federal: Memoria, Antecedentes y Datos Estadísticos Correspondientes al Año 1922* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1923), p. 305.
[66] *Anuario Estadístico de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires Años XX y XXI – 1910 y 1911* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta <<El Centenario>> de Alegre y Quincoces, 1913), p. 387.
[67] Ibid., p. 387.

Barracas' police reported particularly high numbers of 'crimes against internal security and public order'.[68] Only six of these crimes were reported in La Boca, and seven in Barracas, whilst Sections 1 and 6 recorded thirty and twenty-four incidents, respectively.[69] Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that, even in the cases in which police arrested local anarchists, the detainees had not always committed the crimes of which they were accused. On the 7th of June 1896, the Rosario-based anarchist newspaper *La Libre Iniciativa* alerted its readers to a recent incident that had occurred on the 30th of May when, without explanation, officers had arrested an anarchist who was walking down Salta Street in Barracas, taken him to the headquarters of Section 19, and beaten him.[70] The editors alleged that the officers had told the detainee that 'they had punished him for being an anarchist, and that they planned to do away with all the anarchists in Barracas'.[71] Similarly, on the 5th of March 1904, *La Protesta* reported that the anarchist José M. Acha was being held in prison in Rosario having been accused of disobeying authority, 'when in reality, he was the victim of police brutality'.[72]

In addition to these cases of alleged false imprisonment, many arrests of anarchists remain 'hidden' in the official figures, as police charged individuals regularly with unrelated crimes as a means of punishing them for carrying out militant (but not necessarily illegal) activities. For example, on the 12th of February 1899, *La Protesta Humana* published a letter from Vicente Dellucca, an anarchist dockworker. Dellucca recounted how police in Puerto Madero (a neighbourhood situated just to the north of La Boca) had arrested him whilst he was distributing flyers which invited workers to attend a meeting of the local dockworkers'

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[68] *Memoria de la Policía, 1915-16* (Buenos Aires: Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1916), p. 379.
[69] Ibid., p. 379.
[70] 'Atropello Policial', *La Libre Iniciativa*, 7 June 1896, p. 3.
[71] Ibid., p. 3.
[72] 'Informaciones', *La Protesta*, 5 March 1904, p. 4.

union.[73] Dellucca stated that the police had detained him for twenty-four hours, and confiscated the materials.[74] He went on to claim that 'as they could not charge me for distributing the flyers…they felt it appropriate to charge me with drunkenness, a very common and convenient recourse in such cases'.[75] In the light of Dellucca's remarks, it is striking that, in the period in which he was writing, the number of arrests for drunkenness in La Boca was significantly higher than in most other parts of the Argentinian capital. For instance, in 1894, Section 20 recorded the second-highest number of arrests (1,773), with Section 1 taking the lead with 2,280.[76] If Dellucca's assertions were correct, at least some of those arrested would have been local anarchists, subjected to police harassment.

Nevertheless, whilst it is possible that the number of arrests for drunkenness provides an indication of the scale of the police response to local anarchist militancy, relying primarily on quantitative data fails to account for all relevant factors, and can therefore lead to highly reductive conclusions. Addressing the city's Deliberative Council in April 1927, Councillor Ángel Giménez revealed that a high rate of alcohol consumption had long been endemic to La Boca – within a radius of seven blocks he had counted sixty-six taverns – and he equated drunkenness (and, incidentally, carrying firearms) with 'the life of the mariner'.[77] In other words, to obtain a more accurate view of the extent to which La Boca's anarchists disobeyed the authorities in their everyday lives, the analysis must consider qualitative sources which provide more detailed insight into the daily interactions between activists and authority-figures.

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[73] Vicente Dellucca, 'Abusos Policiales – Recibimos y Publicamos', *La Protesta Humana*, 12 February 1899, p. 3.
[74] Ibid., p. 3.
[75] Ibid., p. 3.
[76] *Policía de la Capital: Memoria del Año 1894-95*, p. 88.
[77] Giménez, p. 22. As Diego Armus points out, anarchists in early-twentieth century Buenos Aires associated alcoholism with degeneration, but throughout the period under study, many local workers persisted in their belief that 'the hardest jobs needed stronger drinks and in greater quantities'. See Diego Armus, *La Ciudad Impura: Salud, Tuberculosis y Cultura en Buenos Aires, 1870-1950* (Barcelona and Buenos Aires: Edhasa, 2007), pp. 181 and 185.

On the 2nd of May 1908, police chief Ramón Falcón wrote to the Minister of the Interior, informing him of the events that had occurred during the annual May Day protests. He indicated that officers had alerted him to a meeting of anarchists that took place on Montes de Oca Street in La Boca on the night of the 30th of April, in which some 1,500 activists had agreed to 'attack trams and all types of vehicles' during the protest the following day.[78] Describing the scene he had witnessed as he later drove past the column of protestors marching through central Buenos Aires, Falcón noted that the anarchists had formed 'the most hostile and inconsiderate demonstration', and he pointed to the especially belligerent attitude of a group from Barracas.[79] According to Falcón, throughout the march, this group 'directed vulgar insults at the police' and threw stones at trams and shop-windows.[80] Such behaviour illustrates the refusal of local anarchists not only to comply with the authorities, but also to conform to the 'orderly and peaceable' model of May Day marches that their socialist counterparts advocated.[81] By insulting authority-figures in public and acting aggressively towards commercial premises and public infrastructure, anarchists asserted their conception of May Day as 'a day of protest and rebellion', rather than 'a means of petitioning the state for reforms'.[82] At the same time, they publicly undermined (and therefore weakened) the authority of law enforcement agents.

Similar episodes occurred during the Buenos Aires rent strike of 1907. By the end of that year, almost ten per cent of the city's inhabitants (in some 2,000 tenements) were refusing to pay their rent, following the example of tenants who, in October, had defied their landlord when he attempted to raise the cost of their accommodation by forty-seven per

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[78] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital: 1906 a 1909*, pp. 256-257.
[79] Ibid., pp. 258 and 260.
[80] Ibid., p. 260.
[81] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 218.
[82] Ibid., pp. 218-219.

cent.[83] Though it is difficult to calculate the exact number of *boquenses* who participated in the strike, the residents of various *conventillos* in the area took part, such as those living in the vicinity of Lamadrid Street and Olavarría Street.[84] Writing of the city as a whole, James Baer suggests that anarchists played a relatively minor role in this conflict, as tenants largely ignored their appeals to 'sabotage and violent confrontation with police'.[85] However, it is clear that anarchists in La Boca and Barracas – especially female anarchists – played an important part in encouraging local residents to show solidarity. Juana Rouco Buela became one of the leaders of the strike, helping to establish a coordinating committee for La Boca and Barracas.[86] On the 2nd of October 1907, *La Protesta* published the details of a recent meeting of the Women's Anarchist Centre, which had agreed to send a commission of four representatives to visit *conventillos* in La Boca, Barracas and central Buenos Aires, to encourage all tenants to withhold rent.[87]

In her memoirs, Rouco Buela recalls how, when police and firefighters attempted to evict residents of the '14 Provinces' *conventillo* in La Boca, female tenants poured boiling water on their attackers.[88] Women armed with brooms impeded the entry of police into the locality, as some 120,000 people – including both anarchists and socialists – marched in support of the striking tenants.[89] Furthermore, on the 1st of October 1907, *La Protesta* reported that, when the authorities had begun to evict families from a large *conventillo* on Ituzaingó Street (situated just a few blocks from La Boca), some of the children living there

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[83] James A. Baer, 'Tenant Mobilization and the 1907 Rent Strike in Buenos Aires', *The Americas*, 49.3 (1993), 343-368 (p. 343).
[84] Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, pp. 4 and 9.
[85] Baer, 'Tenant Mobilization and the 1907 Rent Strike in Buenos Aires', p. 361.
[86] Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, p. 13.
[87] Martha Neevelstein, 'Centro Anarquista Femenino – la Reunión del Domingo', *La Protesta*, 2 October 1907, p. 2.
[88] Rouco Buela, *Historia de un Ideal*, p. 17. Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli confirm that this was in La Boca. See Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, p. 22.
[89] Analía Hernández and Cristina Carballo, 'El Patio en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires como Espacio de Resistencia: la Huelga de Inquilinos de Principios del Siglo XX', *Estudios de Teoría Literaria. Revista Digital: Artes, Letras y Humanidades*, 8.16 (2019), 100-116 (p. 114).

sang the 'Revolutionary Hymn' defiantly, in protest.[90] Elsewhere, in the jurisdiction of Section 8 of the city's police force, when an official attempted to collect rent from the tenants of a *conventillo* on Pasco Street, he was met with 'a good salvo of shouts and whistles', and 'had no other option but to flee the scene'.[91] Here, though these actions took place within the context of an organised city-wide strike, the apparent spontaneity of some of these acts of collective disobedience is highly evocative of Scott's description of everyday resistance in *Weapons of the Weak*. Specifically, Scott stipulates that such actions 'require little or no coordination or planning', and 'often represent a form of individual self-help'.[92] By jeering and intimidating rent-collectors and other officials, residents not only undermined authority, but also engaged in an act of self-defence, impeding (or at least delaying) the eviction of both themselves and their neighbours.

The attitude of defiance which anarchists encouraged among the working-class population manifested itself not only in the public sphere: it permeated other spheres of daily life, too. As noted above, children followed the example of their adult counterparts during the 1907 rent strike and contributed to resisting evictions. Illustrating the widespread participation of minors, on the 26th of October 1907, the Buenos Aires-based satirical magazine *Caras y Caretas* published a photograph of local children holding up a sign that read 'To the People: Long Live the General Strike!'.[93] In this case, it is not clear whether these children were acting on their own account, or simply following the instructions of

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[90] Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, p. 8 and 'La Gran Huelga', *La Protesta*, 1 October 1907, p. 1.
[91] 'Caso Curioso', *La Protesta*, 1 October 1907, p. 2.
[92] Scott, p. 29. These spontaneous expressions of opposition highlight the intersection between so-called 'formal' and 'informal' resistance, discussed above. Notably, Nick Ryder describes similar practices during the Barcelona rent strike of 1931, when 'resistance to landlords [began] spontaneously', as workers in both the Catalan capital and neighbouring L'Hospitalet de Llobregat helped recently-evicted families to re-occupy their homes. See Nick Ryder, 'The Practice of Direct Action: the Barcelona Rent Strike of 1931', in *For Anarchism: History, Theory, and Practice*, ed. by David Goodway (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 79-108 (p. 91).
[93] *Caras y Caretas*, 26 October 1907, p. 62.

adults.[94] Nevertheless, their exaltation of the general strike remains distinctively libertarian: unlike their socialist counterparts, anarchists in Argentina promoted consistently this form of strike action – rather than 'partial strikes' – as a means of dismantling state power.[95]

Notably, there is evidence that at least some children carried this attitude of defiance into the classroom. On the 1st of December 1911, the rationalist education magazine *Francisco Ferrer* published a letter from José Andrade, a pupil at one of the state-run schools in La Boca. In his letter, Andrade complained about the restrictive atmosphere in which he and his fellow pupils received their education, where 'they deceive [children], making them sing hymns to the homeland and to the flag'.[96] Crucially, he remarked that 'they held many conferences, they spoke a lot about liberties, but we answer them with silence because behind those liberties of which they speak is the gag on freedom of thought, freedom of the press…'[97] Here, Andrade implies that he, along with some of his fellow students, engaged in regular acts of disobedience at school, refusing to participate in collective displays of patriotism. In the same way, anarchist parents defended vociferously the intellectual freedom of their children by disobeying the dictates of state schoolteachers. On the 12th of March 1910, *La Batalla* recounted how a young girl called Leontina San Martín, a former pupil of the Modern School, was currently attending a state-run school on Montes de Oca Street, in La Boca.[98] At the Modern School, Leontina had acquired a book by the aforementioned French anarchist Jean Grave, titled *The Adventures of Nono*, but shortly after starting her studies at the school on Montes de Oca Street, one of her teachers discovered the book, and reprimanded Leontina in front of her class-mates.[99] The headmaster 'sent for the mother of

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[94] Notably, the editors included a caption under this photograph which reads: 'A propaganda committee'. See *Caras y Caretas*, 26 October 1907, p. 62.
[95] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 193-194.
[96] 'Una Carta', *Francisco Ferrer – Revista Racionalista*, 1 December 1911, p. 13.
[97] Ibid., p. 13.
[98] 'En la Escuela Superior No. 3', *La Batalla*, 12 March 1910, p. 1.
[99] Ibid., p. 1.

the child, and meddling in affairs that belong to the sphere of the home, had the nerve to give advice and instructions [to her].'[100] However, the mother defied his instructions staunchly, and *La Batalla* concluded that 'the child Leontina loves Grave's book, and will acquire it again'.[101]

In addition, from the 1890s onwards, local anarchists proved particularly recalcitrant towards the country's armed forces, and anti-militarism became an especially prevalent theme in the anarchist press following the introduction of mandatory military service in 1901.[102] Anarchist publications regularly encouraged conscripts to disobey their officers and desert.[103] In 1898, an anarcho-communist group with the suggestive name of 'The Deserters' began to distribute propaganda among young people in the city and, by the early twentieth century, activists were circulating propaganda among soldiers in army barracks.[104] Again, in his work, Scott refers explicitly to desertion – rather than outright mutiny – as a form of everyday resistance, which 'has probably been more responsible for the fates of armies and nations than the strategy and tactics of generals'.[105] Though it is not possible to ascertain the number of soldiers who deserted Argentina's armed forces as a result of anarchist convictions – or anarchist propaganda – during the period under study, it is clear that, in the 1930s, anarchist sympathisers were still attempting to undermine the authority of the military from within. Interviewed in July 1992, the Spanish-Argentinian anarchist Alfredo Seoane recalled that, when he was required to complete national service in 1931, he often spoke to his fellow soldiers about anarchist ideology, and even gave them books to educate them in libertarian

[100] 'En la Escuela Superior No. 3', p. 1.
[101] Ibid., p. 1.
[102] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 179.
[103] Ibid., p. 180.
[104] Zaragoza, p. 255 and Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 180.
[105] James C. Scott, 'Everyday Forms of Resistance', *Copenhagen Papers in East and Southeast Asian Studies*, 4 (1989), 33-62 (p. 34) and James C. Scott, 'Infrapolitics and Mobilizations: a Response by James C. Scott', *Revue Française d'Études Américaines*, 131.1 (2012), 112-117 (p. 114).

doctrine.[106] When he received news of the execution of the notorious anarchist militant Severino Di Giovanni on the 1st of February 1931, he found himself in the barracks and, in a defiant outburst, shouted to his officers in protest, who then ordered him to attend a disciplinary hearing.[107] In other words, even when they did not desert, anarchist conscripts subverted the established hierarchies to which they were subjected, by adopting an insubordinate attitude to those in authority, much like the attitude they adopted on the street.

'Invisible' Resistance: Dissimulation, Boycott and Sabotage

As Hollander and Einwohner highlight, Scott's understanding of resistance is particularly innovative in that he argues that 'everyday' resistance is not always visible.[108] That is, 'some resistance is intended to be recognised, while other resistance is purposefully concealed or obfuscated. Resisters may try to hide either the act itself…or the intent behind it.'[109] At the same time, even if authorities are aware of some of the acts of resistance which Scott mentions – such as 'dissimulation', 'false compliance' and 'feigned ignorance' – they do not necessarily know exactly who the perpetrators are and, therefore, those who carry out such acts maintain a degree of 'invisibility'. Such resistance is not 'literally invisible' but, instead, it consists of 'covert discourses and non-confrontational activities'.[110] In everyday life, the defiant attitude that anarchists – and the wider working-class community – in La Boca adopted towards law enforcement agents often manifested itself in such acts of 'invisible' (or partially visible) resistance.

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[106] Interview with Alfredo Seoane, 7th of July 1992, Disco 012, Cinta 123, AMFSS, p. 17. Seoane lived in Buenos Aires during this period, and although he does not explicitly say that he resided in La Boca, he does note that he 'always liked living by the river'. See ibid., p. 18.
[107] Ibid., p. 16. Between 1927 and 1931, Di Giovanni carried out a series of killings in Buenos Aires, including the attempted assassination of the Italian Ambassador in 1928. See Luciana Anapios, 'Prensa y Estrategias Editoriales del Movimiento Anarquista en la Argentina de Entreguerras', *Anuario del Instituto de Historia Argentina*, 16.2 (2016), 1-20 (p. 17).
[108] Hollander and Einwohner, p. 540.
[109] Ibid., p. 540.
[110] Iñiguez de Heredia, p. 67.

On the 16th of December 1907, Ramón Falcón wrote to the Minister of the Interior, informing him of a series of violent events that had occurred recently in La Boca and Barracas, including bombings and arson (mentioned above).[111] Falcón believed that those responsible for these crimes were 'a nucleus of fanatical individuals who, for the most part, belonged to the leading commissions of the disbanded Resistance Society for Port-Workers'.[112] However, he complained that, even when these crimes were extremely loud and occurred in very densely populated areas in broad daylight, the 'evident protection of the locality' allowed the perpetrators to escape or hide.[113] Following a recent shooting on Parke Street (between California Street and Sarmiento Street), Falcón had interrogated hundreds of locals personally, but 'not one single witness, nobody had seen anything and some claimed, despite having been in the immediate vicinity, that they did not even hear the gunshots'.[114] Here, it is possible that the witnesses proved uncooperative with the police due to their fear of the gunmen, and without further evidence the historian cannot claim categorically that their silence stemmed from a sympathy with the anarchist cause. Nevertheless, Falcón's account implies that this refusal to cooperate constituted a regular problem for investigators when they sought to locate anarchist outlaws in the area. Given the scale of popular support for the demonstrations in La Boca during the rent strike, which was then reaching its apogee (see above), it is plausible that many locals, even if not anarchists themselves, harboured at least some hostility towards the authorities and were motivated to withhold the identity of those who opposed them. In other words, rather than challenging authority openly, working-class 'informal' resistance often involved finding ways to create subtle obstacles for authority-figures which, in turn, helped anarchists to avoid detection.

[111] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital: 1906 a 1909*, p. 156.
[112] Ibid., p. 157. Abad de Santillán's history of the Argentinian labour movement affirms that this society was affiliated to the FORA, at least in 1904. See Abad de Santillán, *La FORA*, p. 116.
[113] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital: 1906 a 1909*, p. 157.
[114] Ibid., p. 157.

As the chapter on Rosario illustrated, the Argentinian government introduced the so-called 'Residency Law' in November 1902, primarily to aid the authorities in their repression of the anarchist movement, by deporting foreigners suspected of being militants.[115] In response, small acts of evasion and misdirection became part of the movement's repertoire of 'informal' resistance. For example, on the 7th of August 1912, Eloy Udabe wrote to the head of the Buenos Aires police, informing him that, on the 14th of April, various railway workers and representatives of the Argentinian Regional Workers' Confederation (CORA) had held a meeting on Montes de Oca Street in La Boca, in which the participants approved the statutes for a new Argentinian Federation of Railway Workers (drawn up by an anarchist lathe operator).[116] Notably, when discussing the appointment of secretaries for each section of this organisation, the attendees stipulated that 'these should be Argentinians so that in the case of a strike they cannot be deported'.[117]

In 1910, the violent actions of a minority of anarchists – such as an attempted assassination at the Colón Theatre on the 26th of June – led the government to adopt an increasingly hard line towards the movement as a whole.[118] On the 28th of June, the national legislature approved what would become known as the 'Social Defence Law'.[119] Until a Radical government repealed this law in 1921, the symbols and flags of the anarchist

[115] Oved, pp. 284-290.
[116] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, 7 August 1912, Ministerio del Interior, Series Históricas, Caja 5 (Cuestiones Ferroviarias, Antecedentes y Actuaciones en el M.I.), Carpeta E, Archivo Intermedio, AGN, pp. 7-8. In 1909, members of the former UGT (General Workers' Union) and anarchists leaning towards syndicalism founded the CORA. In 1915, the CORA was dissolved, and its members affiliated themselves to what would become the FORA IX. See Julio Godio, *Historia del Movimiento Obrero Latinoamericano/1 – Anarquistas y Socialistas: 1850-1918*, 2 vols (San José: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1987), I, p. 205.
[117] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, p. 8. The Maritime Workers' Federation (discussed in more detail below) implemented similar measures: from its establishment in 1910, it prohibited foreigners from becoming members of the organisation's secretariat. In 1919, the Federation's secretary – Francisco García – explained that this measure had been taken to ensure that the Residency Law could not be used to deport the union's leadership. See David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890-1930: the Rise and Fall of Radicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 90.
[118] Diego Gabriel Echezarreta, 'Represión del Anarquismo en Buenos Aires: el Rol de la Policía de la Capital en los Orígenes de la Ley de Defensa Social de 1910', *Contenciosa*, 2 (2014), 1-16 (p. 1).
[119] Ibid., p. 1.

movement remained prohibited, and libertarian publications were either closed or subject to censorship.[120] In other words, this legislation outlawed the very existence of anarchist organisations.[121] As the Buenos Aires police reminded the city's inhabitants in an edict published on the 5th of May 1919, the law prohibited 'any association or meeting of people whose objective is the propagation of anarchist doctrine'.[122] Despite these measures, anarchists continued to hold meetings throughout the city during these years, and anarchist organisers spoke regularly at trade union meetings. As Udabe reported in his letter in August 1912, the anarchist and 'professional agitator' Francisco García held a meeting of railway workers at 383 Olavarría Street in La Boca on the 8th of March 1912, where attendees discussed the creation of a new trade union for railway workers.[123] Significantly, Udabe noted that he had received news of a series of 'clandestine' meetings of libertarian activists which had allegedly taken place in previous months: for example, on the 25th of January, a group of anarchists – including José Rivas, José Rodríguez, Juan Gutiérrez and Pedro Marasco – had held a meeting with an employee of the Central Argentinian Railway, in Villa Ballester.[124] Such incidents suggest that, in the wake of the authorities' increasingly punitive policy towards anarchists, local activists either continued to agitate as they had done previously, or they adapted their behaviour by holding meetings in secret. In this sense, during these years of repression, anarchists engaged in what Scott refers to as 'calculated conformity': rather than organising public (or visible) meetings, they simply relocated their activities to the private sphere.[125]

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[120] Gabriel Echezarreta, p. 1.
[121] María Migueláñez Martínez, '1910 y el Declive del Anarquismo Argentino. ¿Hito Histórico o Hito Historiográfico?', *XIV Encuentro de Latinoamericanistas Españoles: Congreso* Internacional (2010), 436-452 (p. 442).
[122] *Policía de la Capital Federal: Memoria, Antecedentes y Datos Estadísticos Correspondientes al Año 1919*, p. 85.
[123] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, p. 2.
[124] Ibid., p. 3.
[125] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, pp. 241 and 278-281. Here, Scott describes the obstacles to 'open' resistance that peasants in the Malaysian village of Sedaka faced at the time of his fieldwork, and he points out that, for

This does not mean that the 'Social Defence Law' had no effect: as Diego Gabriel Echezarreta points out, the anarchist movement survived these years, but only just.[126] In May 1912, Luis J. Dellepiane – then-head of the city's police – claimed to the Minister of the Interior that, since the introduction of this law, 'the influence of anarchist sectarianism…has almost completely lost its strength in the heart of the trade unions'.[127] However, writing on the 5th of October 1916, Udabe acknowledged that, though the new law had led anarchists 'to adopt a more measured tone' and had 'put a stop to the precocious and incendiary propaganda' of the more violent elements of the movement, their newspapers and groups continued to exist.[128] Moreover, whilst the authorities were clearly aware of the existence of 'clandestine' meetings and publications, it is also possible that they underestimated (or were simply unaware of) the scale of 'invisible' anarchist activities. In this respect, it is clear that anarchists made considerable efforts to engage in resistance which, in *Scottian* terms, 'covers its own tracks'.[129] As Udabe noted when describing a further meeting between various representatives of railway workers, held on the 28th of April 1912 on Montes de Oca Street, the attendees had agreed to send instructions 'regarding the way to spread propaganda without being discovered by the representatives of the [railway] companies' to a signalman (and local member of the Socialist Party) in Saavedra.[130]

In a similar manner, at times, these activists were careful to make superficial modifications to the message they presented to the public so as not to provoke the authorities whilst, in reality, they maintained the same principles and strategies for labour mobilisation. For instance, in a meeting at 2207 Mexico Street on the 16th of May 1912, militants agreed to

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this reason, much of the resistance that he encountered 'covers its own tracks'. See Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p. 281.

[126] Gabriel Echezarreta, p. 16.

[127] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1911-12 – y Proyecto de Presupuesto para 1913* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1913), p. 7.

[128] *Memoria de la Policía, 1915-16*, p. 24.

[129] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p. 281.

[130] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, p. 9.

modify the statutes of the new railway workers' union, by removing a phrase that read 'during strikes sabotage will be used to resolve a conflict in the union's favour', and replacing it with the more ambiguous line: 'all the modern means of struggle will be used…'[131] According to Udabe, those present at this meeting did not agree to this modification because of a shift in policy, but rather 'in order to avoid persecutions on the part of the authorities, since manifesting or almost encouraging as a rule the use of sabotage would mean condemning themselves to be punished under the Law…'[132]

As the preceding chapters have already highlighted, throughout the period under study, contributors and subscribers to the anarchist press in both Spain and Argentina adopted individual and collective pseudonyms regularly, including activists in La Boca and Barracas. For instance, on the 31st of January 1896, the list of subscribers to the anarcho-feminist newspaper *La Voz de la Mujer* included several activists from these neighbourhoods under assumed names such as 'an Argentinian comrade' and 'an exploited blacksmith', as well as a local collective of anarchists who called themselves the 'Three Scoops Group'.[133] Political scientist Marco Deseriis describes pseudonyms as 'improper names' that 'provide anonymity and a medium for recognition to their users'.[134] Similarly, adopting these names in the anarchist press constituted a form of dissimulation which allowed activists to avoid persecution. Again, at a meeting of activists on Montes de Oca Street on the 12th of May 1912, attendees discussed the 'convenience' of publishing propaganda in favour of the new railway workers' union in the anarchist press (presumably anonymously) to prevent the authorities and railway companies from finding out the identity of the propagandists.[135]

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[131] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, p. 10.
[132] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[133] 'Suscripción a Favor de <<La Voz de la Mujer>>', *La Voz de la Mujer*, 31 January 1896, p. 4. The subscribers include a group from Barracas called the 'Grupo 3 Bochas', which could also be translated as the 'Three Balls Group'.
[134] Marco Deseriis, 'Improper Names: Collective Pseudonyms and Multiple-Use Names as Minor Processes of Subjectivation', *Subjectivity*, 5.2 (2012), 140-160 (p. 152).
[135] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, p. 10.

Though these evasive practices challenged the authorities indirectly by helping anarchists to subvert repressive legislation, they were also primarily defensive; relatively minor adaptations in activists' behaviour which allowed the movement to survive. Nevertheless, other 'invisible' practices proved more offensive, and were more directly oriented towards inflicting damage on the established socio-cultural order. For example, by the end of the nineteenth century, boycotts had become a regular feature of libertarian activism in Buenos Aires. In November 1897, the Bakers' Society agreed to boycott all bakeries which did not meet the basic hygiene requirements of their workers and, in April 1902, the second congress of the FORA recommended boycotts explicitly as an effective weapon of class struggle.[136] Accordingly, in their daily lives, workers in La Boca and Barracas abstained from buying certain products or dining at specific locales. On the 2nd of October 1907, *La Protesta* referred to a 'Pro Boycott Sub-Committee' based at 363 Olavarría Street whilst, on the 24th of March 1920, the *Boletín de la Unión del Marino* (the official organ of the Maritime Workers' Federation, based in La Boca at 1109 Necochea Street) urged its readers to boycott a patisserie called 'La Camelia' on the corner of Almirante Brown Street and Pinzón Street.[137] Similarly, in January 1921, *La Rebelión* – the monthly newspaper of the coal-workers' section of the city's Port-Workers' union, also based in La Boca – repeated the call to boycott 'La Camelia', and encouraged workers to abstain from

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[136] Zaragoza, p. 215 and *Acuerdos, Resoluciones y Declaraciones*, p. 5.
[137] 'Organización Gremial', *La Protesta*, 2 October 1907, p. 2 and 'Boicot a "La Camelia"', *Boletín de la Unión del Marino*, 24 March 1920, p. 2. An earlier issue of the *Boletín de la Unión del Marino*, dated the 10th of March 1920, provides the address of the paper's offices. See *Boletín de la Unión del Marino*, 10 March 1920, p. 1. After the FORA's ninth congress in 1915, the Maritime Workers' Federation (FOM) – established in La Boca in April 1910 – occupied an important position within the syndicalist FORA (or 'FORA IX') after the aforementioned split in the organisation. According to David Rock, the Federation's secretary, Francisco García – who played a key role in the creation of the FOM – had 'held anarchist sympathies' before adhering to the syndicalist faction, in 1910. Rock goes on to note that, in 1920, 'two rival unions emerged among the dockers, one Syndicalist and linked with the F.O.M., and the other Anarchist…' Nevertheless, in contrast, Alejandro Belkin suggests that, at its inception, the FOM displayed a 'markedly anarchist tendency' and, as late as 1915, García continued to identify as an anarchist. By 1918, García had embraced revolutionary syndicalism and, in Belkin's view, he sought to conceal the organisation's past connections to the anarchist movement. See Rock, pp. 89-91 and 210 and Alejandro Belkin, 'La Identidad Política de los Trabajadores Marítimos en los Albores del Siglo XX, Corrigiendo un Equívoco Historiográfico', *Épocas: Revista de Historia*, 19 (2019), 97-117 (pp. 115-116).

smoking cigarettes produced by a range of brands, including *Avanti*, *Regina*, *Banderita*, *Genio*, *Monopolio* and *Firence*.[138] In addition, on the 23rd of May 1923, *La Protesta* published a message from the Waiters and Cooks of Boca and Barracas who had declared a boycott of three restaurants in the locality: the Restaurant Italiano on Olavarría Street; as well as the El Centenario restaurant and Café Morana, both on Necochea Street.[139] In the words of the authors, anybody who ate at these premises became 'an enemy of the working class'.[140]

Equally, anarchists' opposition to voting in elections manifested itself as a form of boycott, or 'voters' strike'.[141] Anarchists 'condemned politics as an act of delegation in which individuals entrust their needs and desires to another' and, as a result, the libertarian press in Argentina urged its readers repeatedly to abstain from voting.[142] On the 7th of March 1896, the Abstentionist Groups of Barracas and Buenos Aires distributed a flyer which railed against political parties (especially the Socialist Workers' Party), and declared 'Down with ballots! Death to politicians of all stripes, be they bourgeois, be they workers!'[143] As Suriano highlights, in 1916, several years after the introduction of the Sáenz Peña Law in 1912 – which made voting compulsory for all Argentinian men over eighteen years of age – anarchists continued to encourage workers to boycott the general election of that year.[144]

As well as the continual 'voters' strike', the boycotts mentioned above illustrate how 'informal' resistance permeated various spheres of everyday life, simultaneously. In their leisure time, anarchists adapted their routines to avoid drinking, eating and purchasing foods at certain establishments whilst, both in public and at home, smokers opted for different

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[138] 'Boicot a la Confitería "Las Camelias" A. Brown y Pinzón', *La Rebelión*, January and February 1921, p. 4. At this time, the newspaper was based at 232 Brandsen Street, in La Boca. Alejandro Belkin affirms that, from its establishment in September 1901, the Society of Port-Workers of the Capital was 'controlled by the anarchists'. See *La Rebelión*, January and February 1921, p. 1 and Belkin, p. 101.
[139] 'Huelgas', *La Protesta*, 12 May 1923, p. 4.
[140] Ibid., p. 4.
[141] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 188.
[142] Ibid., p. 185.
[143] Flyer from the Abstentionist Groups of Barracas and Buenos Aires, 7 March 1896, 'Al Pueblo Trabajador de Toda la República y de Buenos Aires en Particular', Max Nettlau Papers, 3396, IISG.
[144] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 172 and 196-197.

tobacco products.[145] At the same time, boycotts inevitably impacted anarchists' working day. On the 29th of May 1920, the *Boletín de la Unión del Marino* reminded its readers that the Maritime Workers' Federation had declared that members should not load any products from boycotted factories onto ships.[146] Moreover, these measures further underline the 'invisible' aspects of 'informal' resistance. Police records indicate that the authorities were aware that trade unions encouraged workers to boycott companies and their products: writing to the Chief of Investigations on the 21st of January 1919, police official Enrique T. Duffey reported that the FORA IX had recommended the use of direct action in their fight against employers, 'that is to say, strikes, boycotts and sabotage'.[147] However, despite the authorities' awareness of the existence of boycotts, such forms of resistance are impossible to measure quantitatively: unlike during strikes, when the authorities could compile statistics on the participants (including their gender and age), workers participating in boycotts largely remained anonymous.[148]

The same dynamic occurred when anarchists committed acts of sabotage. Like boycotts, from the start of the period under study, the anarchist movement in Argentina promoted sabotage as an important weapon in the struggle against capitalism. During the first sessions of the national workers' congress, held at the headquarters of the Ligurian Society in

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[145] Whilst many anarchists in the Río de la Plata region abstained from smoking altogether (which can itself be regarded as a form of boycott), Diego Armus notes that, from the end of the nineteenth century, the rate of tobacco consumption among the Buenos Aires population was high in comparison to that of the Anglophone world. See Clara Rey, 'Poesía Popular Libertaria y Estética Anarquista en el Río de la Plata', *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, 15.29 (1989), 179-206 (p. 190) and Diego Armus, 'Washington y Ginebra Llegan a Buenos Aires: Notas sobre la Historia del Hábito de Fumar y su Medicalización', *História, Ciências, Saúde – Manguinhos*, 22.1 (2015), 293-302 (p. 297).

[146] 'Solidaridad con los Obreros de las Barracas y Mercado Central de Frutos', *Boletín de la Unión del Marino*, 29 May 1920, p. 1.

[147] *Memoria de Investigaciones: Año 1918* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1919), p. 84.

[148] Again, this highlights how, as Gutmann points out, 'covert' and 'overt' forms of resistance frequently overlap. Official police reports from the period under study often contain detailed annual figures for strikes in the city. For example, in 1925 the Buenos Aires police recorded 77 strikes, in which 37,138 men, 1,472 women and 342 children participated. However, whilst the police knew that anarchists were boycotting certain companies, it was not possible to provide similar figures to demonstrate the impact of these actions. See *Memoria – Correspondiente al Año 1926* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, no date), pp. 369-370 and Gutmann, p. 77.

La Boca on the 25th and 26th of May 1901 (which saw the formation of the FOA), delegates agreed on the importance of sabotage in conflicts between labour and capital.[149] At the meeting of railway workers and CORA activists which took place on the 7th of August 1912 on Montes de Oca Street, one of those present – a 'known agitator' called Félix Godoy – reportedly advocated sabotage, 'as he considered it the most effective [means] of [obtaining] an immediate and favourable solution to the conflicts with the [railway] companies'.[150] Again, the authorities remained aware of acts of sabotage, but found it difficult to prove who, exactly, was responsible. Writing to the Minister of the Interior on the 5th of October 1916, Udabe noted that, over the previous year, there had been forty-three arrests for 'damages' resulting from tar thrown over 'recently painted buildings'.[151] According to Udabe, the alleged culprits were individuals who were 'supposedly unemployed painters', whom the police had arrested and sent before a judge.[152] He did not categorise these individuals as anarchists explicitly, but later sources show that the authorities recognised the important role that painters played within the FORA V. In a report sent to the Chief of Investigations in January 1918, Enrique Duffey not only described the members of the 'FORA of the Fifth Congress' as anarchists, but also suggested that, though some sixteen unions were affiliated to the Federation at that time, 'in reality, it only has two…Bakers and Painters'.[153]

Similar episodes took place in 1932 when, in May, the Federation of Telephone Workers and Employees declared a strike to protest against employers' efforts to dismantle the union.[154] Since only a relatively small number of workers joined the strike (between sixteen and twenty per cent of the total workforce), sabotage became their main source of

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[149] Zaragoza, pp. 302-304 and 307.
[150] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, pp. 7-8.
[151] *Memoria de la Policía, 1915-16*, p. 25.
[152] Ibid., p. 25.
[153] *Memoria de Investigaciones: Año 1917* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1918), pp. 49 and 51.
[154] Joel Horowitz and Sibila Seibert, 'Ideologías Sindicales y Políticas Estatales en la Argentina, 1930-1943', *Desarrollo Económico*, 24.94 (1984), 275-296 (p. 285).

leverage.[155] On the 24th of May, the Santa Fe-based newspaper *El Orden* reported that, the previous day, telephone workers in Buenos Aires had set off firecrackers at various railway stations and workshops across the city, though it pointed out that these events had only caused 'material damages', rather than injuries.[156] On the 14th of June, R. E. Petley – the general administrator of the *Unión Telefónica* company – wrote to the President of the National Labour Department to inform him that 'the company understands that it is not possible to continue speaking with delegates of the Federation about conciliatory solutions whilst sabotage continues with even more intensity than [before].[157] In his letter, Petley detailed various incidents in which telephone cables across the city had been cut during the previous day, including at 3231 Alsina Street in La Boca, under the jurisdiction of the company's 'Mitre Office'.[158] Furthermore, according to figures which the *Unión Telefónica* compiled during the strike, on the 31st of May, the company's Mitre and Barracas offices recorded 1,116 and 1,350 telephones as being out of order.[159] In Barracas – where sixteen employees went on strike – saboteurs had cut some fourteen telephone cables.[160]

As with boycotts, acts of sabotage often allowed activists to remain anonymous, and avoided what Scott refers to as a 'direct symbolic confrontation with authority', since the perpetrators attacked property rather than people, and often managed to avoid detection.[161] In the case of the unemployed painters arrested for sabotage in 1916, Udabe complained that

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[155] Horowitz and Seibert, p. 285.
[156] 'Tiroteos, Petardos, Palos y Otras Argumentaciones como Ésas han Menudeado en Bs.As.', *El Orden*, 24 Mayo 1932, p. 1.
[157] Letter from R. E. Petley to the President of the National Labour Department, 14 June 1932, Ministerio del Interior, Series Históricas, Caja 67 (Huelga Unión Telefónica), Carpeta 126, 'E/Actuaciones Relativas Conflicto Obrero con la Compañía Unión Telefónica', Archivo Intermedio, AGN, pp. 1-2.
[158] Ibid., p. 4. Though Alsina Street does not appear on modern maps of the city, on the 25th of January 1915, the *Boletín de la Liga de Educación Racionalista* reported that one of the locales of the Liga's Boca Section was situated at 1565 Alsina Street. See 'Cursos de la Liga', *Boletín de la Liga de Educación Racionalista*, 25 January 1915, p. 5.
[159] 'Huelga Personal Compañía Unión Telefónica – Parte Diario Correspondiente al Día 31 de Mayo de 1932, de los Comisionados Destacados en las Oficinas Telefónicas de esta Capital y Avellaneda', Ministerio del Interior, Series Históricas, Caja 67 (Huelga Unión Telefónica), Carpeta 126, 'Dando Cuenta del Resultado de la Investigación de los Servicios Telefónicos', Archivo Intermedio, AGN.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p. 29.

'without catching them in the act, it is difficult to produce the proof, since the acts are carried out between 12 [AM] and 4 AM…[when] nobody is passing by the chosen places'.[162] By carrying out these actions at night, activists minimised the risk of witnesses providing testimonies to the police: that is, they maintained a degree of deniability. Equally, in the letter he wrote to the president of the National Labour Department in June 1932, in which he detailed widespread sabotage during the telephone workers' strike, Petley affirmed that police had only made two arrests, with another two suspects managing to escape.[163] In many cases, the authorities had not discovered the identity of the offenders. For instance, Petley noted that 'unknown persons' had cut cables on Campichuelo Street and Caracas Street between the 13th and 14th of July whilst, on Luis Viale Street, people 'believed to be striking workers' had sawed through a cable and a telephone mast.[164] As with the incidents involving unemployed painters, these actions also tended to occur under cover of darkness. Mr. C. Fernández, who reported the sabotage on Luis Viale Street, first noticed the damage at twenty minutes to midnight whilst, on the 12th of June, acts of sabotage had taken place at two and three o'clock in the morning on Dolores Street and Argerich Street, respectively.[165]

Resistance through Humour, Satire and 'Collective Joy'

Like acts of dissimulation, boycott and sabotage, other types of 'informal' resistance afforded anarchists a degree of anonymity. Again, when viewed through a *Scottian* lens, seemingly innocuous behaviour such as spreading rumours, gossip and humour – which can take place 'off-stage', or out of sight of the authorities – constitute part of the struggle

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[162] *Memoria de la Policía, 1915-16*, p. 25.
[163] Letter from R. E. Petley to the President of the National Labour Department, p. 1. Despite this, Petley noted that police had succeeded in identifying all four individuals as workers who were currently on strike, and members of the Federation of Telephone Workers and Employees. See ibid., p. 1.
[164] Ibid., p. 1.
[165] Ibid, pp. 5-6.

between 'dominators and dominated'.[166] In the case of humour, this can serve as a 'transgressive cultural form' which provides a 'voice' to those who are usually 'kept silent in normal discourse'.[167] Crucially, philosopher Simon Critchley suggests that it 'can be implicitly underpinned by a vision of an alternative and better social reality'.[168] In other words, humour is, at times, prefigurative; a 'practically enacted theory' of how power should be distributed in society.[169]

In everyday life, anarchists in La Boca mocked authority-figures regularly, both in private and in public. In Buenos Aires today, a variety of pastries still bear names such as 'Canons', 'Friars' Balls', 'Nuns' Sighs' and 'Sacraments', which deride the Argentinian army, police and the Catholic Church.[170] Several scholars claim that these names originated among members of the Buenos Aires Bakers' Society in the late nineteenth century, which included many anarchists and – as mentioned above – enjoyed widespread support in La Boca.[171] For instance, Luis Alposta argues that this practice 'began with a secret conspiracy among the anarchist bakers' officials', who attributed these 'sarcastic' and 'blasphemous'

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[166] Beltrán Roca Martínez, 'Pensar con James Scott: Dominación, Conocimiento, Resistencia', *Araucaria: Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política y Humanidades*, 37 (2017), 91-113 (p. 109).

[167] Marek Korczynski, 'The Dialectical Sense of Humour: Routine Joking in a Taylorized Factory', *Organization Studies*, 32.10 (2011), 1421-1439 (p. 1423).

[168] Ibid., p. 1423. In a 2018 study, Julian Brigstocke stresses that anarchism 'has a long tradition of engaging with humorous, carnivalesque forms of protest' and, focusing on the Parisian suburb of Montmartre in the late nineteenth century, he analyses the 'varying attitudes towards humour, laughter, cruelty and violence' in local libertarian culture. Notably, discussing the work of Simon Critchley, he indicates that, for the latter, 'humour works through displacement, generating something new by defying our expectations'. Accordingly, it constitutes 'an important tool for [his] pacifist anarchist politics'. See Julian Brigstocke, 'Humour Violence and Cruelty in Late Nineteenth-Century Anarchist Culture', in *Historical Geographies of Anarchism: Early Critical Geographers and Present-Day Scientific Challenges*, ed. by Federico Ferretti, Gerónimo Barrera de la Torre, Anthony Ince and Francisco Toro (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 65-86 (pp. 65-66, 68 and 82).

[169] Korczynski, p. 1423. As Patrick Merziger points out, scholars have often interpreted humour 'either as a form of protest and resistance or as [a] means of political argument and an instrument of power'. For example, philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin suggests that the humour prevalent in the 'carnival-grotesque' of the early modern period constituted 'an opposition to power', whilst philosopher Henri Bergson portrays laughter 'as a form that brings together one community in order to destroy another'. In contrast, Peter L. Berger draws attention to 'a third meaning of humour…aside from as a form of protest or aggression', which he describes as 'benign humour'. See Patrick Merziger, 'Humour in Nazi Germany: Resistance and Propaganda? The Popular Desire for an All-Embracing Laughter', *International Review of Social History*, 52 (2007), 275-290 (pp. 275-276).

[170] Christian Ferrer, *Cabezas de Tormenta: Ensayos sobre lo Ingobernable* (Buenos Aires: Anarres, 2004), pp. 62-63.

[171] Luis Alposta, *Mosaicos Porteños* (Buenos Aires: Marcelo Héctor Oliveri, 2005), p. 87.

names to the products of their labour, 'to make fun of the [state] institutions'.[172] For his part, Christian Ferrer is more cautious, suggesting that it is worth 'conjecturing' about the origins of these names, but indicating that it 'appears' that the 'word and food…have been sewn together with ideological thread'.[173]

Unfortunately, it is difficult to find substantiating evidence for this theory and, as Ferrer himself points out, a similar phenomenon can be observed in other parts of the country (such as the province of Santa Fe, where some pastries are referred to as 'Jesuits').[174] On the other hand, the rhetoric which members of the Bakers' Society employed in the 1890s is clearly compatible with the idea of bakery workers ridiculing the state and ecclesiastical authorities through their daily work. At a meeting to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Society, held on the 30th of September 1891, one worker stressed that 'the true path which workers had to follow to achieve their emancipation was that of attacking property and authority and all religions…'[175] More importantly, the fact that this theory remains prevalent among Argentinian scholars is itself revealing, as it indicates that it has long formed part of a local collective memory of resistance. As De Laforcade illustrates, anarchism in La Boca constituted a 'story' which workers in the locality drew upon for some fifty years; part of a 'theatre of resistance' that 'informed the memories and meanings of labor conflict for generations'.[176] Even if the theory is apocryphal, it provides the historian with a great deal of insight into the importance of the anarchist movement in the formation of local working-class identity, and the enduring legacy of everyday resistance that local anarchists left behind.

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[172] Alposta, p. 87.
[173] Ferrer, *Cabezas de Tormenta*, pp. 62-63.
[174] Ibid., p. 62.
[175] Flyer from the Cosmopolitan Society of Bakery Workers, titled 'A los Miembros de la Sociedad Cosmopolita de Obreros Panaderos en Particular y a Todos los Trabajadores en General', 1891, Max Nettlau Papers, 3389, IISG.
[176] De Laforcade, p. 187.

Despite the lack of substantive evidence for this theory, there are many concrete examples of local anarchists employing humour in response to repression. On the 31st of January 1896, *La Voz de la Mujer* reported that, following a meeting of the Society of Construction Workers in Barracas on the 19th of that month, police had arrested approximately thirty attendees.[177] When describing this incident, the authors adopted a markedly satirical tone, depicting the police as animals. For instance, they referred to the officer who had interrupted the meeting as a dog 'without collar', and later remarked that those who detained the workers were 'some eighty dogs of every breed', including 'snub-nosed dogs', 'Greyhounds' and 'Newfoundlands'.[178] At the end of their account, the authors lamented sarcastically that 'what surprises us is that [the workers] have received the police so badly…leading to [the police] having to complain about the conduct of the comrades from Barracas.'[179] Here, the authors' dehumanisation of the police is not merely comical: as psychologist Clive Fletcher would argue, their mockery of the authorities is inherently subversive as this form of humour ('satire' as opposed to 'wit') challenges the existing social order by 'turning it upside down'.[180]

In a similar incident, on the 10th of May 1896, the Buenos Aires-based anarchist newspaper *La Revolución Social* recounted how, on the 26th of April, various local activists had organised an outdoor party on Del Recreo Island in La Boca, which some 2,000 workers attended.[181] To the disdain of the editors, the local police had been present throughout the day, 'in order to guarantee us "order"'.[182] Again, the authors mocked the police, reporting that 'Lady Authority did not waste such an opportune occasion to demonstrate once more her

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[177] 'Notas', *La Voz de la Mujer*, 31 January 1896, p. 4.
[178] Ibid., p. 4.
[179] 'Notas', p. 4.
[180] David L. Collinson, '"Engineering Humour": Masculinity, Joking and Conflict in Shop-Floor Relations', *Organization Studies*, 9.2 (1988), 181-199 (p. 182). According to David Collinson, Fletcher argues that wit 'accepts the status quo', whereas satire 'generates a critical questioning of social conditions'. See Collinson, p. 182.
[181] 'Notas Sociales', *La Revolución Social*, 10 May 1896, p. 3.
[182] Ibid., p. 3.

uselessness', and recalling that the officers had made a 'ridiculous show of force with their Remingtons and revolvers, attempting to prevent anarchist speeches.'[183] In spite of these efforts, the authors concluded that the police 'had to listen to [the speeches] or cover their ears [:] this is what their power was reduced to'.[184]

Whilst anarchist writers mocked the authorities in print, sympathisers of the movement in La Boca engaged in equally subversive behaviour by distributing and consuming satirical media. *El Azote* was a Buenos Aires-based publication which described itself as a 'weekly newspaper against the clerical plague and those who govern by machete'.[185] Though not explicitly libertarian, the paper did express support for the syndicalist Buenos Aires Graphic Federation (a printworkers' trade union formed in 1907, when the anarchist Federation of Graphic Arts merged with the socialist Typographers' Union) and the aforementioned CORA.[186] It satirised the Catholic clergy regularly and, in a clear attempt to counter the prevailing influence of the Church, it appeared on Sundays.[187] For instance, on the 22nd of August 1909, the editors printed a 'survey', asking readers to send their responses to the question: 'Why does a priest resemble a pig?' (see Figure 4 below).[188]

[183] 'Notas Sociales', p. 3.
[184] Ibid., p. 3.
[185] *El Azote*, 22 August 1909, p. 1.
[186] María Silvia Badoza, 'El Mutualismo Obrero en Argentina. La Sociedad Tipográfica Bonaerense, 1907-1918', *Travesía*, 19.2 (2017), 35-67 (pp. 36 and 62). On the 4th of June 1911, *El Azote* reproduced the logos of both of these organisations. See *El Azote*, 4 June 1911, p. 4.
[187] See *El Azote*, 22 August 1909, p. 1.
[188] 'Por Qué un Fraile Se Asemeja a Cualquier Cerdo?', *El Azote*, 22 August 1909, p. 1. Here, the editors noted that 'Answers to this survey which exceed five lines will not be published'. See ibid., p. 1.

Figure 4

Here, the editors repeated the trope of dehumanising authority-figures, transforming them into absurd caricatures. In a further example of comic derision, on the 7th of May 1911, the paper included a cartoon titled 'Horror!', showing three priests wading through a flooded church, with a caption that read: 'Flooding in the house of God! Now we *can* be sure that *El Azote* has broken our water pipes!'.[189] Significantly, in the same issue from August 1909, the editors published a list of subscribers that included two individuals in La Boca, and one in Barracas.[190] Moreover, on the 1st of October 1911, the editors noted that readers could purchase *El Azote* from three addresses in La Boca: the Gheraldo Lartondo bookshop on Montes de Oca Street, and the homes of Nazareno Dubenille and José Buldini, on Olavarría Street and Patricios Street, respectively.[191] It also included the address of an individual called José Civitate, who lived on Aconcagua Street in Barracas.[192]

189 '¡Horror!', *El Azote*, 7 May 1911, p. 2.
190 'Administrativas', *El Azote*, 22 August 1909, p. 3.
191 'Agencias de Venta', *El Azote*, 1 October 1911, p. 4.
192 Ibid., p. 4.

Unlike *El Azote*, the anti-clerical newspaper *El Burro* had stronger links to the libertarian movement: it advertised fundraising events for the Rationalist Education League, and *La Protesta* sold copies from its offices on Humberto Street.[193] This publication employed a similarly comic tone to deride the ecclesiastical authorities. On the 8th of December 1918, it printed a cartoon titled 'Blessed are the Poor', in which an impoverished family turn to a priest for help, with the words: 'We are miserable, Mr. Priest. We have a dreadful appetite.'[194] In reply, the priest admonishes the family, declaring: 'And you complain? I, for example, I am unhappy, because I do not have [an appetite].'[195] According to Enrique Duffey (writing to the Chief of Investigations in January 1919), *El Burro* was among several anarchist periodicals which 'circulated profusely' throughout the city, alongside *La Protesta*, *La Obra* and *Pan y Libertad*.[196] Again, this form of religious satire resonated with readers in the vicinity of La Boca. On the 24th of November 1918, *El Burro* published a letter of support from a resident in Barracas called Manuel Parra, who declared himself an avid reader of the paper, which he praised as a 'brave bulwark of liberalism'.[197] In this sense, irreverent satire became a feature of everyday life, as locals were exposed to (and actively sought out) these materials on a regular basis. At the same time, consuming and disseminating this form of media proved just as much an act of resistance as writing and illustrating it: the fact that police officials assiduously censored such publications underlines the extent to which the authorities regarded both their dissemination and consumption as a threat to the established order. On the 15th of March 1911, police chief Luis Dellepiane wrote to Dr. Eduardo F. Newton, an examining magistrate, to inform him that, on the 23rd of

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[193] 'Liga de Eduación Racionalista – Domingo 1.o de Diciembre – Gran Pic-Nic Familiar' and 'Agentes y Paqueteros', *El Burro*, 1 December 1918, p. 11.
[194] 'Bendito Sean los Pobres', *El Burro*, 8 December 1918, p. 7.
[195] Ibid., p. 7.
[196] *Memoria de Investigaciones: Año 1918*, p. 91.
[197] Manuel Parra, 'Adelante', *El Burro*, 24 November 1918, p. 11.

February, police officers had confiscated copies of magazines called *La Sotana* and *Fray Pimiento*, which a 'Mr. P.' had allegedly printed on Balcarce Street.[198]

As well as reading satirical media, local anarchists also attended performances of subversive plays, which similarly mocked and criticised the authorities. As Suriano illustrates, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the theatre became a core component of anarchist *veladas* in Buenos Aires, with many activists embracing the idea of 'theater as propaganda'.[199] As a result, libertarian dramas were often simplistic, presenting a crude binary of 'exploited and exploiters', in an 'oppressor-oppressed relationship'.[200] Notably, many of these theatre-pieces took place in La Boca and Barracas. For instance, on the 24th of November 1900, *La Protesta Humana* advertised an event which the United Artisans of North Barracas would hold that evening, and which featured a production of a play titled *The Feudal Lord*, as well as a short comedy called *Wisdom Tooth*.[201] Equally, on the 15th of November 1902, the editors advertised another play, which the local anarchist Gentlemen of the Ideal group would perform at La Boca's Iris Theatre on the 23rd of that month, followed by a comic piece titled *Snoring whilst Awake*.[202]

In his analysis of local anarchist theatre, Suriano estimates that, during the 1900s, these events attracted 'an average of 500 spectators', and he argues that they constituted 'a small but significant alternative cultural space'.[203] Despite this, he stresses that the impact of these *veladas* did not prove as extensive as some anarchists had hoped, largely due to the fact that the growth of libertarian theatre did not occur in isolation. [204] The same period saw an increase in the number of theatres and cinemas throughout the city, affording a greater choice

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[198] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1911-12*, pp. 101-102.
[199] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 105.
[200] Ibid., p. 109.
[201] 'Notas', *La Protesta Humana*, 24 November 1900, p. 3.
[202] 'Fiestas Obreras', *La Protesta Humana*, 15 November 1902, p. 4.
[203] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 112.
[204] Ibid., pp. 112-114.

of leisure activities to the general working-class population.[205] Nevertheless, even if the appeal of anarchist *veladas* was ultimately limited, Suriano does not take into account the perspective of the local authorities, who clearly regarded satirical and propagandistic theatre as detrimental to established hierarchies. As highlighted above, when analysing 'resistant acts', it is important to consider the extent to which authorities perceive (or 'recognise') these acts as forms of resistance and, in turn, this provides some insight into their impact. Writing to the Mayor of Buenos Aires on the 1st of February 1908, Ramón Falcón lamented that, in some theatres, 'they do not just put on plays of a very questionable morality, but these also contain scenes in which…actors pretend to be law enforcement officials [wearing] uniforms [and] badges [which are] exactly the same as those worn by the real public guardians'.[206] He went on to note that playwrights normally made these characters perform 'thankless' and 'hateful' tasks, and he suggested that this had damaged the image of law enforcement officials in the popular imagination.[207] In his view, the 'mockery and scorn' which the general public showed towards the police was 'a consequence of that abuse [and the] discrediting of authority'.[208]

Furthermore, on the 28th of April 1913, Francisco Durá, of the police's consultancy department, wrote to the head of the police to complain about a drama of 'a wholly anarchist nature', titled *Soul of the Gaucho*.[209] The libertarian writer Alberto Ghiraldo (who edited *La Protesta* from 1904 to 1906) was the author of this piece, and performances of his work took place at conventional theatres rather than at anarchist locales.[210] As a result, it is likely that Ghiraldo's play reached a much wider audience than smaller productions at the anarchist

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[205] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 112-114.
[206] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital: 1906 a 1909*, p. 170.
[207] Ibid., p. 170.
[208] Ibid., p. 170.
[209] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1913-14 – y Proyecto de Presupuesto para 1915* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Encuadernación de la Policía, 1914), p. 213.
[210] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 44 and 106.

veladas, and he did achieve at least some notoriety in wider artistic circles.[211] According to Durá, the New Theatre had held a performance of *Soul of the Gaucho* on the 25th of March and, in his opinion, it was 'saturated with spite, and [could not do] anything other than stir hatred among the spectators'.[212] Ghiraldo used the image of the *gaucho* to evoke a tradition of popular rebellion and, accordingly, Durá became concerned about the effect that the play would have on the general public.[213] He argued that, when confined to anarchist locales, such dramas 'do not affect anyone except those who voluntarily attend' but, in mainstream theatres, 'the public of good faith is often more numerous than the sectarian public'. [214] With that in mind, he proposed that the police ban the play, suggesting that it fell under the remit of the Social Defence Law.[215] However, Durá's assertion that the danger of libertarian propaganda remained limited if restricted to an explicitly anarchist context is not consistent with the police's actions in other cases. For instance, on the 1st of April 1911, *El Libertario* reported that the police had – 'without giving any explanation' – prohibited a *velada* that activists had arranged for the 26th of March, in support of prisoners.[216]

More importantly, whilst police clearly considered the content of libertarian theatre to be dangerous (even when confined to activists' locales), anarchist social gatherings often constituted, in and of themselves, a type of 'informal' resistance. A preceding chapter referred to the concept of 'sociability', and demonstrated how, in Rosario, the movement encouraged anarchist families to socialise with each other at events such as picnics, thereby consolidating a collective sense of libertarian identity. Similarly, it highlighted the role of

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[211] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 106.
[212] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1913-14*, p. 213.
[213] Carina Peraldi, 'Imágenes en Conflicto: las Representaciones del Pasado Rural como Instrumento de Pugna Política al Interior del Movimiento Anarquista Argentino, 1900-1910', *A Contracorriente*, 10.1 (2012), 451-471 (p. 455) and *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1913-14*, p. 216.
[214] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1913-14*, p. 216.
[215] Ibid., p. 215.
[216] 'Velada Teatral Pro-Presos – Tretas Policiales', *El Libertario*, 1 April 1911, p. 3. Despite the police's evident hostility towards these theatre-pieces, the authors went on to argue that 'it is not with words that one can cure the ailments that afflict the country in general'. See ibid., p. 3.

'play' in anarchist cultural practices, such as the games in which activists participated at outdoor events. Sociologist Émile Durkheim introduced the concept of 'collective effervescence' to describe 'the ritually induced passion or ecstasy that cements social bonds' and, from the 1930s, functionalist anthropologists also started to regard such practices as 'mechanisms for achieving cohesiveness and generating feelings of unity'.[217] Nevertheless, in her 2008 *History of Collective Joy*, Barbara Ehrenreich takes this idea a step further, suggesting that these 'festivities and ecstatic rituals' are inherently subversive and, as a result, elites have consistently opposed them.[218] In Ehrenreich's view, festivities create a space in which the divisions of social hierarchy cease to exist, albeit temporarily: that is, 'we step out of our assigned roles and statuses – of gender, ethnicity, tribe, and rank – and into a brief utopia defined by egalitarianism, creativity, and mutual love'.[219] In this sense, by engaging in practices of 'collective joy', people resist the prescribed socio-cultural order and, by implication, they can prefigure a non-hierarchical society.

In La Boca, 'collective joy' permeated anarchist social gatherings, where both games and music remained prevalent. At the aforementioned outdoor party on Del Recreo Island in

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[217] Barbara Ehrenreich, *Dancing in the Streets: a History of Collective Joy* (London: Granta Books, 2008), pp. 2-3 and 10. In anthropology, functionalism is often associated with the work of anthropologists such as Alfred Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski. As S. N. Eisenstadt indicates, one of the main 'tenets' of functionalism is that 'patterns of social behavior – roles, institutions, and the like – must be analyzed in terms of their contribution to the maintenance of the systemic boundaries of society'. For example, sociologist Émile Durkheim – a major influence on functionalist anthropology – argued that festivals bring 'different sectors of the society together…alleviating the society's tensions'. See S. N. Eisenstadt, 'Functional Analysis in Anthropology and Sociology: an Interpretative Essay', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19 (1990), 243-260 (pp 243-244).

[218] Ehrenreich, p. 251.

[219] Ibid., p. 253. Here, Ehrenreich's portrayal of 'collective joy' evokes the 'carnival' and 'carnivalesque', concepts which scholars often associate with Mikhail Bakhtin (in fact, elsewhere in her book, Ehrenreich refers to Bakhtin's work explicitly, citing his argument 'that carnival is something people create and generate *for themselves*'). In his seminal study *Rabelais and his World* (first translated into English in 1968), Bakhtin suggests that, in the Middle Ages, participants in carnivals experienced a 'temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order', including a 'suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions'. He goes on to argue that 'this temporary suspension…created during carnival time a special type of communication impossible in everyday life…permitting no distance between those who came into contact with each other'. See Ehrenreich, p. 95, Krystyna Pomorksa, 'Foreword', in Mikhail Bakhtin , *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. vii-xii (p. vii), Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 4 and 9-10 and Darren Webb, 'Bakhtin at the Seaside: Utopia, Modernity and the Carnivalesque', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22.3 (2005), 121-138 (pp. 121-122).

April 1896, a band played various ‘revolutionary songs’, and the attendees sang along.[220] Moreover, on the 4th of November 1904, *La Protesta* advertised an event which the Mechanical Workers and Affiliates had organised to raise money for libraries in La Boca and Barracas, and the editors noted that it would feature a ‘family dance’.[221] Writing of the annual summer picnics which *La Protesta* hosted on Maciel Island, Diego Abad de Santillán recalled how festival-goers travelled to the island from the port of La Boca on steamboats and, when they arrived, they entered a ‘cordial and friendly atmosphere’.[222] Announcing one of these events on the 15th of November 1912, the anarchist newspaper *El Manifiesto* promised attendees that there would be a sack-race, a 100-metre sprint, a ‘family dance’, a band playing ‘workers’ hymns’, and several games of football.[223]

Despite this, it is important to bear in mind that, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, at least a vocal minority of local anarchists remained highly sceptical of popular forms of festivity. As Suriano points out, anarchists began to include dancing at their *veladas* mainly in order to widen the appeal of these events, since a variety of dances – such as *tango* – had become increasingly popular among the city’s working-class population.[224] Some anarchists opposed these dances, regarding them as a form of ‘vice’ and, for the same reason, the local movement generally proved hostile to the city’s annual carnival.[225] Accordingly, even after dancing became a regular feature of anarchist social gatherings, the movement attempted to ‘regulate’ these leisure activities, ‘encouraging moderation and eliminating wildness’.[226] Richard Cleminson illustrates a similar tendency within the Spanish movement, which was concerned about the supposed ‘degradation’ of humanity under a

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220 ‘Notas Sociales’, p. 3.
221 ‘Veladas y Conferencias’, *La Protesta*, 4 November 1904, p. 3.
222 Diego Abad de Santillán, *Memorias: 1897-1939* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1977), p. 50.
223 ‘Gran Pic-Nic – a Total Beneficio de <<La Protesta>>’, *El Manifiesto*, 15 November 1912, p. 8.
224 Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 97.
225 Ibid., pp. 97-99.
226 Ibid., p. 98.

capitalist system, and therefore campaigned against the consumption of both alcohol and tobacco.[227] In like manner, Abad de Santillán's memoirs depict the annual picnics on Maciel Island as sober affairs, where festival-goers enjoyed 'country food and alcohol-free drinks'.[228] Equally, on the 11th of December 1922, the weekly supplement of *La Protesta* praised anarchist summer picnics for providing an alternative to the 'boring' Sundays that people faced in 'the asphyxiating oven that is the capital', where they 'congregated in drunken revelries'.[229] In contrast, after attending these picnics, people returned home 'with their body revitalised and their soul full of joy: entirely renewed'.[230]

However, even if the movement in Buenos Aires sought to restrict the 'wildness' of anarchist parties and celebrations, this does not necessarily detract from the subversive nature of the festivities. Once again, the reaction of the local authorities provides some insight into the extent to which such events undermined the prevailing socio-cultural order. On the 15th of December 1912, *El Manifiesto* printed articles from a variety of local papers, including *La Prensa*, which reported that, the previous day, police had prevented the annual picnic on Maciel Island from taking place.[231] According to a delegation of workers who visited the offices of *La Prensa* that evening, the organisers of the picnic – which was to feature 'various popular games', such as the 'slippery pole' – had applied for and received the required permit ahead of the event, but on the eve of the picnic the authorities withdrew their permission.[232] From six o'clock in the morning of the following day, some 3,000 people assembled on

[227] Cleminson, 'Making Sense of the Body', pp. 708-709.
[228] Abad de Santillán, *Memorias*, p.50.
[229] 'Notas', *La Protesta – Suplemento Semanal*, 11 December 1922, p. 2.
[230] Ibid., p. 2.
[231] 'Tentativa de una Nueva Reacción – Udabe, Jolly Medrano y el Prefecto del Puerto – Prohibición del Pic Nic de "La Protesta" – Comentarios de la Prensa', *El Manifiesto*, 15 December 1912, pp. 3-6.
[232] 'Tentativa de una Nueva Reacción', pp. 4-5. The *palo enjabonado* is a traditional game in which participants try to climb up a 'slippery pole'. There are accounts of this taking place in Buenos Aires in the early nineteenth century, such as at the national independence commemorations in May 1822. See Ricardo D. Salvatore, *Wandering Paysanos: State Order and Subaltern Experience in Buenos Aires during the Rosas Era* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 371 and William Garrett Acree Jr., *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780-1910* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011), p. 31.

Pedro Mendoza Street and Almirante Brown Street to embark from the port of La Boca, until police ordered the crowd to disperse.[233] When the festival-goers protested, police cavalry allegedly charged the attendees.[234]

At the same time, it is also important to point out that these ‘official’ anarchist parties did not constitute the only spheres in which local anarchists and anarchist-sympathisers practiced ‘collective joy’, in the form of music and ‘play’. As noted above, *La Protesta* reported that when the authorities attempted to evict residents from their tenements on Ituzaingó Street during the 1907 rent strike, children sang the ‘Revolutionary Hymn’. [235] The editors also claimed that, in a recent visit to these tenements, they had witnessed ‘no fewer than 500 little children [singing] the popular hymn “Son of the People”’, and that they ‘were also joined by women, youngsters and men’.[236] Whilst it is possible that the authors of this piece embellished (or even invented) these incidents, there is visual evidence of the festivity of the protests that occurred during this conflict. On the 16th of November 1907, *Caras y Caretas* published a photograph of protestors at 768 Estados Unidos Street – just a few blocks north of La Boca – releasing balloons into the air (see Figure 5 below). [237]

[233] ‘Tentativa de una Nueva Reacción’, p. 5.
[234] Ibid., p. 5.
[235] Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, p. 8 and ‘Caso Curioso’, *La Protesta*, 1 October 1907, p. 1.
[236] Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, p. 8 and ‘Caso Curioso’, *La Protesta*, 1 October 1907, p. 1.
[237] ‘Lo de los Alquileres’, *Caras y Caretas*, 16 November 1907, p. 47.

Figure 5

Here, the crowd comprises a mixture of adults and children (though the majority of those present appear to be men), and many of the faces bear joyful expressions. Moreover, it is especially revealing that the editors of *Caras y Caretas* referred to this demonstration explicitly as a 'party', rather than a 'protest'.[238] In this sense, the festive elements of the rent strike – and especially the widespread participation of children – evoke Henri Lefebvre's concept of 'revolution-as-festival': the idea that revolutionary conflicts such as the Paris Commune of 1871 combined mass political engagement with the 'joyful reversals' of traditional 'folk-festival aesthetics'.[239]

Though it is not possible to ascertain the political affiliations of the individuals in this photograph – or that of the striking tenants on Ituzaingó Street – given the significant role that anarchists played in the 1907 rent strike, it is likely that at least some of these protestors had libertarian leanings. In fact, in its coverage of the strike, on the 2nd of November 1907, *Caras y Caretas* even published photographs of prominent anarchists such as Juana Rouco Buela, José de Maturana and María Collazo.[240] Consequently, for local anarchists, 'collective

[238] 'Lo de los Alquileres', p. 47. The editors included a caption under the photograph which reads: 'Releasing balloons into the air during the party in favour of lowering rents, in the *conventillo* at 768 Estados Unidos'.
[239] Guevara, Vega, Atlas and Morelli, p. 26 and Gavin Grindon, 'Revolutionary Romanticism: Henri Lefebvre's Revolution-as-Festival', *Third Text*, 27.2 (2013), 208-220 (p. 216).
[240] 'Los Oradores', *Caras y Caretas*, 2 November 1907, p. 54. José de Maturana was a playwright and editor of *La Protesta*. Between 1906 and 1907, he also edited *Los Nuevos Caminos*, which was based on Ayolas Street in

joy' did not just occur in a carefully coordinated and organised setting: as with some of the acts of disobedience discussed above, it became, at times, a spontaneous form of resistance to authority.

Mutual Aid: Transnational and Trans-local Dimensions of 'Informal' Resistance

So far, this chapter has drawn attention to three main categories of 'informal' resistance that local anarchists carried out in their everyday lives: disobedience, 'invisible' resistance, and what could loosely be termed 'leisure' (denoting both humour and 'sociability'). However, as with the spatial, temporal and familial aspects of libertarian prefigurative politics, anarchist practices of 'informal' resistance were also inherently transnational and trans-local. Moreover, La Boca and the surrounding neighbourhoods provide a particularly illustrative example of the ways in which these three categories of 'informal' resistance had both transnational and trans-local dimensions.

Even before the promulgation of the so-called 'Residency Law' in November 1902, the local authorities in Buenos Aires employed anti-migrant rhetoric, and anarchists saw themselves forced to leave the country. In a report he sent to the Minister of the Interior on the 12th of April 1890, Alberto Capdevila suggested that the rising crime rate was, in no small part, due to the 'waves of immigrants', who 'carry, among their healthy seeds of work and civilisation, the corrupted waste of the old societies'.[241] Similarly, on the 18th of March 1898,

La Boca. Like Rouco Buela, María Collazo was an anarcho-feminist who edited the Montevideo-based anarchist newspaper *La Batalla* in Montevideo. See Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 85, Acri and Del Carmen Cácerez, p. 191 and Janet Greenberg, 'Toward a History of Women's Periodicals in Latin America: A Working Bibliography', in *Women, Culture and Politics in Latin America*, ed. by Emilie Bergmann, Janet Greenberg, Gwen Kirkpatrick, Francine Masiello, Francesca Miler, Marta Morello-Frosch, Kathleen Newman and Mary Louise Pratt (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 182-231 (p. 190).

[241] *Memoria del Departamento de la Policía de la Capital, 1889-1890*, p. vi.

La Protesta Humana published a letter from José Consorti, a local anarchist who, facing repression, was about 'to abandon this continent in which I leave a treasure of affection'.[242]

At the turn of the century, a considerable proportion of the anarchists in Buenos Aires were Spanish migrants: in 1902, some twenty-three per cent of those whom the police suspected of being militants had come from Spain.[243] In addition, Moya estimates that, at this time, most of the city's anarchists lived in La Boca and Barracas, areas which both had large Spanish and Italian populations.[244] Among the capital's foreign migrants, Spanish anarchists proved the most likely to fall victim to the repression that ensued following the introduction of the Residency Law. Between 1902 and 1914, some 205 suspected Spanish anarchists faced deportation from Buenos Aires, constituting the largest group of foreign deportees.[245] Many of these individuals lived in – or had connections to – La Boca. For example, Celso Ros, who directed a Modern School on Lamadrid Street from August 1902, was later forced to return to his country of origin.[246] Equally, Julio Andrés Camba – a Galician anarchist and writer – appears to have spent a significant amount of time in the locality after emigrating to Argentina in May 1901, and he was among the first to be deported in November of the following year.[247] Furthermore, on the 24th of December 1913, the sub-Secretary of Foreign Affairs received a report which informed him that officials had placed the La Boca-based

[242] José Consorti, 'Declaración', *La Protesta Humana*, 18 March 1898, p. 4.
[243] Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, p. 308. Moya notes that, in 1902, 149 out of 661 of those whom the local police suspected of being anarchists were Spanish. See Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, p. 308.
[244] Moya, 'The Positive Side of Stereotypes', pp. 28-29.
[245] 'Ministerio del Interior – 1a Sección – Copiador – Anarquismo – Anarquía – Expulción [sic] de Extranjeros por la Aplicación de la Ley 4144'. The specific page with this information is not numbered, but it is titled 'Estadística de Sujetos Expulsados del País por la Policía de la Capital en Virtud de Hallarse Comprendidos en la Ley Número 4144', and it includes figures up to the 10th of May 1914. The 145 deported Italians constituted the second-largest group of foreign deportees during this period.
[246] Barrancos, pp. 93-94.
[247] José Ángel Maquieira Rodríguez, 'El Anarquismo de Julio Camba' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2015), pp. 10, 59 and 68. Camba's name was included on an expedition order – along with fifty-nine other suspected anarchists – on the 26th of November 1902. See 'Ministerio del Interior – 1a Sección – Copiador – Anarquismo – Anarquía – Expulción [sic] de Extranjeros por la Aplicación de la Ley 4144', p. 3.

Spanish anarchist José Andrade on a steamboat to Lisbon, following an extradition order issued on the 12th of that month.[248]

In response to state repression, anarchists formed support groups and raised funds for the victims, both at home and abroad. For instance, on the 6th of November 1898, *La Protesta Humana* announced that a local anarchist group had organised a *velada* that would be held in La Boca's Iris Theatre the following week, in support of the family of Polinice Mattei.[249] An Italian anarchist, Mattei had been killed during recent protests against the conservative Southern Union in São Paolo.[250] The support group established itself in La Boca on the 1st of October and, on the 9th of that month, it agreed to circulate 100 subscription lists throughout the area, to be returned to the group's treasurer, Francisco Botazzi, who lived on Ayala Street.[251] Similarly, in his letter in March 1898, Consorti expressed gratitude to the 'numerous comrades who have given me a great demonstration of friendly solidarity', by distributing subscription lists in his support.[252] On the 1st of January 1904, *La Protesta* reported that anarchists in La Boca and Barracas had decided to adopt the same strategy in the wake of the Residency Law, again circulating subscription lists to raise money to help a recently-deported activist known as 'Jacobino' to be reunited with his family in Montevideo.[253]

Whilst some local anarchist support groups held *veladas* and raised funds in the area, others opened offices in the locality. In response to the emergence of a dictatorship in Spain in September 1923, activists in Buenos Aires formed the Anarchist Grouping in Support of

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[248] 'Ministerio del Interior – 1a Sección – Copiador – Anarquismo – Anarquía – Expulción [sic] de Extranjeros por la Aplicación de la Ley 4144', p. 162. It is highly likely that this is the same José Andrade (the former pupil of the Modern School in La Boca) whose letter was published in the rationalist education magazine *Francisco Ferrer* just two years previously, on the 1st of December 1911. See 'Una Carta', *Francisco Ferrer – Revista Racionalista*, 1 December 1911, p. 13.
[249] 'Comunicados', *La Protesta Humana*, 6 November 1898, p. 4.
[250] Angelo Trento, *Do Outro Lado do Atlântico: um Século de Imigração Italiana no Brasil*, trad. by Mariarosaria Fabris and Luiz Eduardo de Lima Brandão (São Paolo: Livraria Nobel, 1989), p. 174.
[251] 'Comunicados', *La Protesta Humana*, 23 October 1898, p 4.
[252] Consorti, p. 4.
[253] 'Cosas Varias', *La Protesta*, 1 January 1904, p. 3.

Spain's Social Prisoners.[254] A flyer from December 1924 requested that all correspondence be sent to Sergio Varela at 1557 Perú Street in La Boca – then the headquarters of *La Protesta* – and another flyer (undated) referred to an upcoming public demonstration at a locale on La Boca's Patricios Street.[255] Furthermore, this group also announced a rally in Adolfo Alsina Square in Avellaneda – formerly South Barracas – which it held in conjunction with the Local Federation of that neighbourhood.[256] In like manner, the Workers' Cultural Athenaeum of Boca and Barracas held no fewer than eight benefit events for a local Pro Prisoners and Deportees committee, between the 9th of May and the 12th of December 1926.[257] In this sense, La Boca and the surrounding areas became the epicentre of transnational and trans-local anarchist solidarity in the Argentinian capital.

These local support groups formed part of what constituted, in many ways, a highly formalised network of resistance, often centralised and coordinated from above. For example, the FORA created regional Pro Prisoners and Deportees Committees throughout the country, and maintained records of the funds that each committee raised annually. As indicated above, in 1924, these committees raised a total of 39,717.7 *pesos* from affiliated trade unions and personal donations, as well as benefit functions.[258] That year, bakery workers in Buenos Aires raised 7,797.7 *pesos* – more than any other FORA committee – to attend to the needs of

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[254] Nathaniel Andrews, 'Transatlantic Anarchism: Cultural Deviance and "Prefigurative Politics" in Argentina and Spain, 1917-1936', in *New Journeys in Iberian Studies: a (Trans-)National and (Trans-)Regional Exploration*, ed. by Mark Gant, Paco Ruzzante and Anneliese Hatton (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), pp. 182-193 (p. 184).
[255] Flyer from the Anarchist Grouping in Support of Spain's Social Prisoners, December 1924, 'Agrupación A. Pro-Presos Sociales de España – Al Compañero…Salud', Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG and flyer from the Anarchist Grouping in Support of Spain's Social Prisoners, '¡Trabajadores, Pueblo Todo' [no date], Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG. Another flyer explicitly directed all correspondents to the offices of *La Protesta* at 1557 Perú Street. See flyer from the Anarchist Grouping in Support of Spain's Social Prisoners, 'A Todas las Entidades Revolucionarias del País' [no date], Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG.
[256] Flyer from the Anarchist Grouping in Support of Spain's Social Prisoners, 'Agrupación A. P. Presos S. de España' [no date], Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG. The neighbourhood of Avellaneda is situated just to the south of La Boca and Barracas. As Hebe Clementi notes, it was at one time known as 'Barracas Sur'. See Hebe Clementi, *De la Boca…Un Pueblo* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Histórico de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 2000), p. 117.
[257] 'Notas Varias', *La Protesta*, 2 April 1926, p. 4.
[258] Document titled 'Comités Pro Presos y Deportados Regionales', p. 1.

eighteen of their members who had fallen victim to the repression.[259] At the same time, the FORA leadership played an active role in coordinating support for the Spanish CNT, which then faced severe repression on the other side of the Atlantic.[260] In a letter he wrote to the CNT's national committee on the 5th of December 1924, José M. Acha – the secretary of the FORA's Federal Council – noted that the Federation had taken a range of measures in support of its Spanish counterpart, 'in order to help you shake off the regime which is suffocating you'.[261]

However, though this network of transnational support remained ostensibly 'formal', these activities gave rise to a variety of 'informal' resistant acts. Like the anarchist social gatherings mentioned above, the events that local support groups organised often incorporated music and games, thereby infusing them with practices of 'collective joy'. In April 1922, *El Obrero en Dulce* – a newspaper affiliated to the 'Communist FORA' – promoted an event in support of a local Pro Prisoners Committee, which would take place at the Union and Benevolence theatre on Cangallo Street.[262] The event would feature various orchestral pieces, 'libertarian songs', and a raffle in which participants could win prizes such as a silver wrist-watch and a suit worth eighty *pesos*.[263] In a similar manner, the financial records of the FORA's regional Pro Prisoners and Deportees Committees affirm that, at least in 1924, part of the funds that these groups raised came from 'festivals and raffles'.[264]

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[259] Document titled 'Comités Pro Presos y Deportados Regionales', p. 2.
[260] After General Miguel Primo de Rivera seized power in Spain in September 1923, the CNT was officially outlawed. See Pere Gabriel, 'Red Barcelona in the Europe of War and Revolution, 1914-30', in *Red Barcelona: Social Protest and Labour Mobilization in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Angel Smith (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 44-65 (pp. 62-63).
[261] Letter from José M. Acha to the Committee of the National Confederation of Labour, 5 December 1924, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 3, IISG, p. 1. Incidentally, Acha's letter shows that, at this time, the FORA's Federal Council had two offices, one of which was on Patricios Street in La Boca. See ibid, p. 1.
[262] 'Gran Velada Teatral', *El Obrero en Dulce*, April 1922, p. 1. In this context, the term 'FORA Comunista' refers to the so-called 'FORA of the Fifth Congress', discussed above.
[263] Ibid., p. 1.
[264] Document titled 'Comités Pro Presos y Deportados Regionales', p. 1.

As local anarchists organised such events to raise money (and, presumably, awareness), they also engaged in routine acts of dissimulation, to mitigate – as far as possible – the effects of the government repression on everyday life. As indicated above, when activists met on Montes de Oca Street to approve the statutes for the new Argentinian Federation of Railway Workers, on the 7th of August 1912, they were careful to ensure that the secretaries of each section of the Federation would be Argentinians, to protect foreign members from the risk of deportation.[265] Similarly, part of the campaign that the Anarchist Grouping in Favour of Spain's Social Prisoners launched involved members distributing flyers which informed Argentinian workers of developments in Spain and, crucially, the small size of these flyers suggests strongly that activists distributed them clandestinely, either at work or on the street.[266]At the same time, some activists hid from the authorities, or secretly re-entered the country after their expulsion. The authorities deported Juana Rouco Buela in January 1908, but she later returned to Argentina in disguise, under the assumed name of 'Luisa Rodríguez'.[267] Back in Buenos Aires, she decided to change her surname to avoid detection, and called herself simply 'Juana Rouco'.[268] Writing of the aftermath of General José Félix Uriburu's *coup d'état* in September 1930, Diego Abad de Santillán recalled a similar incident when Rodolfo González Pacheco – editor of *La Protesta* from 1908 – warned him not to attend a meeting of the FORA's Federal Council on Defensa Street, which the police had surrounded.[269] To evade capture, Abad de Santillán spent the night at a friend's house in

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[265] Letter from Eloy Udabe to the head of the Buenos Aires police, pp. 7-8.
[266] Andrews, 'Repression, Solidarity and a Legacy of Violence', p. 180. These flyers usually measured approximately 9cm x 10cm (fitting comfortably in the average adult hand). See flyer titled '¡Hermanos Trabajadores!', no date, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG. Not all of these flyers bear the official stamp of the Anarchist Grouping in Support of Spain's Social Prisoners, but they are among other propaganda materials related to this group, in the same collection.
[267] Ackelsberg, 'It Takes More than a Village!', pp. 213-214 and Rouco Buela, *Historia de un Ideal*, pp. 35-36. In her account, Rouco Buela does not specify when, exactly, she returned to the country but, given the context in which the account appears in her memoirs, it is likely that she is referring to late 1909 or early 1910. Notably, she claims that she entered the country dressed as a widower, and carrying her two-month-old niece in her arms. See Rouco Buela, *Historia de un Ideal*, pp. 35-36.
[268] Rouco Buela, *Historia de un Ideal*, p. 36.
[269] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, p. 85 and Abad de Santillán, *Memorias*, pp. 138 and 140.

Avellaneda, and then, with the help of armed comrades who escorted him to the docks, he managed to board a ship to Montevideo, travelling anonymously.[270]

Like the collective disobedience of tenants during the 1907 rent strike, these activities constituted, in *Scottian* terms, 'covert acts of opposition and self-help'.[271] In this sense, such activities assumed a degree of 'invisibility' for both the contemporary authorities and historians; that is, due to their clandestine character, they were (and are) almost impossible to quantify. In contrast to these acts of individual and collective dissimulation, some anarchists did engage in what Scott refers to as a 'direct symbolic confrontation with authority', to show solidarity with persecuted activists abroad.[272] In a letter he wrote to Abad de Santillán on the 14th of January 1925, Sergio Varela – the secretary of the Anarchist Grouping in Favour of Spain's Social Prisoners – noted that, after the Spanish government imprisoned the Catalan anarchists Pedro Mateu and Luis Nicolau in 1921, sympathisers in Argentina placed bombs outside the Spanish consulates in La Plata, Río Grande and Córdoba.[273] Equally, as a preceding chapter highlighted, in a letter to Max Nettlau on the 15th of January 1924, the anarchist Enrique Nido admitted that he had planted a bomb outside the Spanish consulate in Rosario, following the execution of Francisco Ferrer on the 13th of October 1909.[274] Nevertheless, these overt forms of resistance remained exceptional. As Varela pointed out in his letter, his group had held 'innumerable events' in workers' locales and, after receiving news of Mateu and Nicolau's incarceration, activists 'did not pause for a single moment from raising funds'.[275]

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[270] Abad de Santillán, *Memorias*, p. 141.
[271] Iñiguez de Heredia, p. 53.
[272] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p. 29.
[273] Letter from Sergio Varela to Diego Abad de Santillán, 14 January 1925, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG, pp. 1 and 5. Mateu and Nicolau assassinated the Spanish Prime Minister, Eduardo Dato, on the 8th of March 1921. See Gerald H. Meaker, *The Revolutionary Left in Spain, 1914-1923* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), p. 341.
[274] Letter from Enrique Nido to Max Nettlau, 15 January 1924, p. 8.
[275] Letter from Sergio Varela to Diego Abad de Santillán, 14 January 1925, pp. 2-3.

In addition, the group encouraged workers regularly to participate in a boycott of Spanish goods. For example, one of the flyers it distributed declared a boycott on 'Spanish plutocracy', whilst another flyer specified that comrades should 'intensify propaganda' to urge consumers 'to apply the most rigorous boycott' on all Spanish products.[276] Like the boycotts of certain local eateries and bakeries, the refusal of local anarchists to buy products manufactured in Spain illustrates how they incorporated subtle acts of 'informal' (and largely 'invisible') resistance into their daily routines, as well as further highlighting the extent to which activists experienced transnational and trans-local connections in their everyday lives.

In the same way, the subversive activities discussed above involved regular acts of disobedience. This is especially clear in those cases in which individual anarchists either avoided deportation or returned to the country secretly, but it is also evident in the activities of support groups and anarchist publications, whose very existence was, at times, illegal. On the 28th of March 1914, writing of the impact that both the Residency Law and Social Defence Law had had on the local anarchist movement, Eloy Udabe remarked that, in spite of these measures, the movement continued to exist 'in a semi-anonymous and clandestine sense'.[277] Moreover, he noted that the Administrator and Director of *La Protesta* had recently received prison sentences of eighteen months and three years, respectively, for publishing an article which 'glorified' the Russian anarchist Simón Radowitzky, Ramón Falcón's assassin.[278] Referring to a similar incident, on the 19th of May 1913, Francisco Durá recommended that legal action be taken against *La Protesta* for 'incitement to crime', after it suggested that, in the light of ongoing deportations, the anarchist response 'must be as ferocious and brutal as the bloody repression'.[279] Even after the repeal of the Social Defence

[276] Andrews, 'Repression, Solidarity and a Legacy of Violence', p. 180 and flyer titled 'Agrupación Anarquista Pro-Presos Sociales de España', no date, Diego Abad de Santillán Papers, 376, IISG.
[277] *Memoria de la Policía de la Capital – 1913-14*, pp. 17-18.
[278] Ibid., p. 18.
[279] Ibid., p. 221.

Law in 1921, local anarchists still needed to disobey the law in order to maintain their networks of transnational and trans-local solidarity. In his letter to Abad de Santillán in January 1925, Varela noted that his group had attempted to hold public demonstrations in defiance of the police, who either prohibited such gatherings or dispersed them.[280]

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how, in La Boca, 'informal' resistance formed a key part of local anarchists' daily routines and permeated various spheres of everyday life, simultaneously. Anarchists disobeyed authority constantly, both in public and private, and cultivated an attitude of defiance which, from the perspective of activists and law enforcement agents alike, weakened the established hierarchy of state institutions. Though these small acts of disobedience appear, in isolation, to be insignificant, the historian must consider their cumulative impact. As Scott points out, 'thousands upon thousands of individual acts of insubordination and evasion create a political or economic barrier of their own'.[281] With that in mind, it is important to underline the *political* character of these acts: anarchists in Buenos Aires questioned the legitimacy of the legal system openly, and argued explicitly that disobedience provided a means of eroding the authority of the police (and, by implication, the state).

In the same way, the chapter has illustrated that, in order to avoid a 'direct symbolic confrontation with authority', local anarchists often resorted to subtle acts of dissimulation, to protect both themselves and fellow comrades from persecution. By focusing on so-called 'invisible' acts, the analysis has revealed what Scott refers to as the 'hidden transcript of resistance'.[282] It has also illustrated the existence of a 'third realm of politics' (neither

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[280] Letter from Sergio Varela to Diego Abad de Santillán, 14 January 1925, p. 2.
[281] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p. 36.
[282] Stevphen Shukaitis, 'Infrapolitics and the Nomadic Educational Machine', in *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: an Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*, ed. by Randall Amster, Abraham DeLeon, Luis

completely public nor completely 'hidden'), involving 'disguise and anonymity', which 'takes place in public view but [has] a double meaning or [shields] the identity of the actor'.[283] In La Boca, though government officials became aware of some of the 'invisible' acts of resistance that anarchists carried out under cover of darkness (or under assumed names), dissimulation allowed perpetrators to maintain a degree of anonymity and deniability which, in turn, created uncertainty among the authorities, and made it difficult for them to react effectively.

Scholars such as sociologist Eric Selbin distinguish 'resistance' from 'revolution', suggesting that, whilst revolution 'is at root driven by dreams and desires', resistance necessarily 'presumes a defensive posture'.[284] Despite this, Scott's concept of 'everyday' resistance implies that 'informal' acts do contribute to revolutionary shifts.[285] In the case of La Boca, many of the anarchists' acts of dissimulation were defensive, born out of a desire for self-preservation (on both a collective and individual level), but others – such as boycotts and sabotage – were committed with the explicit intention of inflicting damage on the material interests of capital and the authority of the state. In this sense, even if they constituted 'resistant' acts, they were also offensive, and formed part of a revolutionary process.

In addition, the chapter has drawn attention to the prevalence of satire, humour and 'collective joy' in local anarchist practices and has shown how these were both intended and recognised as acts of resistance. The popularity of satirical media among La Boca's working-class population provides some insight into the extent to which activists engaged in humour

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A. Fernández, Anthony J. Nocella II and Deric Shannon (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 166-174 (p. 167).

[283] Ibid., pp. 167-168.

[284] Eric Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: the Power of Story* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2010), p. 15.

[285] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p. 36.

'off stage', at the expense of the authorities.[286] As sociologist Marek Korczynksi has indicated, humour 'is based upon shared social understandings among the participants' and, as a result, it 'deepens and extends social understandings'.[287] In this respect, by hosting productions of plays and disseminating publications which mocked authority-figures, local anarchists not only developed a collective sense of libertarian identity, but also reinforced their anti-authoritarian values. At the same time, by creating shared moments of 'collective joy', anarchist social gatherings (either organised or spontaneous) allowed participants to enter a sphere in which they could 'step out' of their 'assigned roles and statuses', albeit temporarily.[288] As Ehrenreich argues, 'while hierarchy is about exclusion, festivity generates inclusiveness'.[289]

Most importantly, these 'informal' acts of resistance all constituted forms of prefiguration. By consistently disobeying the authorities and utilising acts of dissimulation to circumvent repressive legislation, local anarchists constructed a 'Temporary Autonomous Zone' in which, rather than formally dismantling state authority, they simply disregarded it. Writing under the pseudonym 'Hakim Bey', the poet Peter Lamborn Wilson developed the concept of the Temporary Autonomous Zone in a series of essays in the 1980s, describing it as 'a microcosm of [the] anarchist dream of a free culture'.[290] For his part, Graeber refers to the Temporary Autonomous Zone as a space 'where one can live as if one is already free'.[291] In like manner, anarchist festivities (such as picnics, demonstrations and *veladas*) gave rise to

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[286] In Scott's view, the struggle between 'dominated and oppressed' is played out just as much in the private sphere ('off stage') as in the public sphere. See Roca Martínez, p. 109.
[287] Korczynski, p. 1422.
[288] Ehrenreich, p. 253.
[289] Ibid., p. 253.
[290] Hakim Bey, *The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (Forgotten Books, 2008), pp. 102 and 105 and Simon Sellars, 'Hakim Bey: Repopulating the Temporary Autonomous Zone', *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 4.2 (2010), 83-108 (p. 83). Notably, Richard Day equates the Temporary Autonomous Zone explicitly with 'the prefiguration of alternatives'. See Richard Day, *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (Ann Arbor and London: Pluto Press, 2005), p. 163.
[291] Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*, p. 74.

a similar alternative socio-cultural reality or 'oppositional space', which prefigured a broader libertarian society.[292]

Once again, this argument is only valid if the analysis also demonstrates a degree of intentionality and, to that end, it is worth highlighting the connections between local anarchist discourse and praxis, especially in relation to disobedience (which, in many ways, is present in all of the 'informal' acts of resistance mentioned above). Whilst local anarchists regularly disobeyed the authorities, the anarchist press urged them to do so explicitly on the understanding that this would weaken a system of power that 'is only upheld by brute force' and 'becomes impotent when challenged'.[293] Equally, at its fourth congress in 1904, the FORA stipulated that its members should actively encourage police officers to desert, since they were the 'bulwark of defence of capitalist supremacy'.[294] Furthermore, as the preceding chapter on Rosario noted, the anarchist press regarded gatherings such as the annual picnics on Maciel Island as 'the most faithful exponent[s] of popular culture', and events that demonstrated 'the clear joy and spiritual communion of the whole'.[295] In other words, anarchists were conscious of the transformative effect that cumulative subversive acts (such as disobedience and 'collective joy') would have on the prevailing socio-cultural order: in their view, such acts were an expression of anarchists' values and, by extension, they prefigured the society they wished to create.

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[292] Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, pp. 178-179.
[293] 'El Dogma de la Obediencia', p. 1.
[294] *Acuerdos, Resoluciones y Declaraciones*, p. 12.
[295] 'Nuestras Fiestas', *La Protesta – Suplemento Semanal*, 19 February 1922, p. 7.

CONCLUSION

General Félix Uriburu's military coup of September 1930 dealt a severe blow to the anarchist movement in Argentina, resulting in the closure of its locales, the censorship of its publications, and the expulsion of hundreds of activists from the country.[1] The FORA saw itself forced underground, and the majority of its affiliated unions were disbanded.[2] Similarly, the repression unleashed after the victory of General Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War had 'devastating effects' on the anarchist movement in Spain: in 1939, the new regime outlawed libertarian organisations such as the CNT, and many activists faced exile, imprisonment or execution.[3] It is important to point out that these events did not lead to the complete eradication of anarchism from these countries. For example, anarchists in Argentina continued to agitate against the governments of the 1930s whilst, after the fall of the Spanish Republic, libertarian activists both at home and abroad made concerted efforts to topple Franco's regime and resist fascism.[4] Despite this, the defeats of 1930 and 1939 marked the

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[1] Baer, *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina*, p. 118 and Juan Suriano, *Auge y Caída del Anarquismo: Argentina, 1880-1930* (Buenos Aires: Capital Intelectual, 2005), p. 91.

[2] Suriano, *Auge y Caída del Anarquismo*, p. 92.

[3] Eduardo Romanos, 'Emociones, Identidad y Represión: el Activismo Anarquista durante el Franquismo', *Reis: Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 134 (2011), 87-106 (p. 89) and Evans, *Revolution and the State*, p. 195.

[4] For example, highlighting the continuation of anarchism in Argentina after Uriburu's military coup, Diego Ceruso draws attention to the activities of two anarchist organisations during the 1930s: the Spartacus Workers' Alliance (AOS) and the Argentinian Anarcho-Communist Federation (FACA). Ceruso estimates that the former was created in 1934, whilst the latter was officially established the following year, in La Plata. Both the AOS and the FACA attracted activists from various industries, including brickmakers, bakers, car-washers, and transport, textile and construction workers. At the end of the Spanish Civil War, the anarchist movement was divided into two broad groups: a minority of libertarian activists managed to leave the country (approximately 80,000 crossed the border into France) whilst the majority remained in Spain. During the Second World War, anarchists on the Iberian Peninsula collaborated with the Allies to remove Franco from power, and Ángel Herrerín López even estimates that, between 1945 and 1947 – the apogee of clandestine libertarian activity during the Franco years – the CNT in Spain had as many as sixty thousand members. In like manner, those in exile played an important role in the fight against Nazism: for instance, many helped to form the French Resistance, and facilitated the escape of Allied troops from Occupied France. See Diego Ceruso, 'El Trabajo Sindical de Base del Anarquismo Argentino: la FACA y la Alianza Obrera Spartacus', *A Contracorriente*, 8.3 (2011), 233-254 (pp. 233, 237-238 and 244-245), Ángel Herrerín López, *La CNT durante el Franquismo: Clandestinidad y Exilio (1939-1975)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2005), pp. 405 and 409-410 and Chris Ealham, 'Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists in Toulouse: the Red-and-Black Counter-City in Exile', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 91.1/2 (2014), 95-115 (pp. 97- 98 and 103).

end of an era for Spanish and Argentinian anarchism, respectively.[5]

When assessing the historical trajectory of libertarian activism in Spain and Argentina, historians have portrayed anarchism consistently as an antiquated political project, increasingly unviable in a modernising world. Discussing the Andalusian anarchist movement in his 1959 monograph *Primitive Rebels*, Eric Hobsbawm describes 'classical anarchism' as 'incapable of effective adaptation to modern conditions' and, as a result, he concludes that 'the history of anarchism, almost alone among modern social movements, is one of unrelieved failure…'[6] Similarly, in an article in 1992, Julián Casanova asserts that, despite the strength of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism prior to the Spanish Civil War, 'it never went as far as to create a rational plan of action capable of being taken seriously as a real alternative'.[7] Moreover, writing in 2002, Helen Graham presents the gradual 'centralisation' of the CNT during the Civil War as 'in some ways, a form of political modernisation'; thereby implying that horizontal forms of organisation had, by that time, become obsolete.[8] Scholarship on the Argentinian anarchist movement has often exhibited a similar tendency. For instance, reflecting on the supposed decline of Argentinian anarchism from the 1910s onwards, Hernán Camarero refers to the movement's 'indisposition towards adapting to the new political-institutional era'.[9] Specifically, he suggests that, after 1915, the FORA V

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[5] Whilst José Benclowicz emphasises that anarchists in Argentina remained active within the country after 1930, he acknowledges that, after the military coup of that year, 'the golden age of Argentinian anarchism was little more than a memory'. Similarly, Ferran Aisa states that, after the Civil War in Spain, 'a new era began, marked by repression, an era in which anarcho-syndicalism would increasingly lose its earlier strength'. See José Benclowicz, '¿Vencidos sin Dignidad o Sujetos Revolucionarios? Los Anarquistas ante los Desocupados y la Desocupación en la Argentina en la Primera Mitad de los Años Treinta', *Izquierdas*, 31 (2016), 19-45 (p. 22) and Aisa, p. 320.
[6] Hobsbawm, p. 92.
[7] Julián Casanova, 'Anarchism, Revolution and Civil War in Spain: the Challenge of Social History', *International Review of Social History*, 37 (1992), 398-404 (p. 401).
[8] Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 275-276. As James Yeoman notes, scholars such as Helen Graham and Julián Casanova have interpreted the defeat of Spain's social revolution during the Civil War 'as the inevitable result of the failings of anarchist ideology to grasp the realities of modern political mobilisation and the necessities of war'. See James Yeoman, 'Danny Evans, Revolution and the State: Anarchism in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 55.2 (2020), 445-447 (p. 445).
[9] Hernán Camarero, 'Prólogo', in *El Anarquismo y el Movimiento Obrero en Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Imago Mundi, 2013), pp. 1-15 (p. 4). In the past decade, historians have begun to reject the traditional periodisation of

condemned itself to 'a growing irrelevance', as it failed to respond to the needs of a 'more modern working class'.[10] Equally, in the second volume of his 1985 study of the Argentinian labour movement, Edgardo Bilsky indicates that, after 1910, 'the changes in the structure of Argentinian society, in the relationship between the proletariat and the state…and within the working class itself' changed the conditions 'that had permitted [anarchism's] ascendance…'[11] In turn, Juan Suriano maintains that 'the shortcomings of [the anarchists'] political, social, and cultural alternatives would sooner or later prove insurmountable' and that, accordingly, the movement became 'lost in the course of the twentieth century'.[12]

Though it has not centred on the contributing factors that led to the decline – and, ultimately, the defeat – of Spanish and Argentinian anarchism in the early-to-mid twentieth century, this thesis has not denied the weaknesses and inconsistencies of these movements. For example, it has emphasised repeatedly the contradictory behaviour of activists, especially in relation to traditional gender roles, the family and leisure. Nevertheless, it has also furthered our understanding of the profound impact that libertarian activism had on the urban environment during the period under study. By focusing on four localities where anarchism laid particularly deep roots, the preceding chapters have shown how, between 1890 and 1930, anarchists not only appropriated and transformed urban space, but also contested and transcended the borders of the nuclear family. In like manner, the thesis has broken new

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Argentinian anarchism, which suggests that the movement declined from 1910. In the spring of that year, the government organised events across the country to mark the centenary of Argentinian independence. Many anarchists – seizing the opportunity to challenge the legitimacy of the ruling elite – protested the events and, in response, the authorities unleashed an increasingly severe repression of the anarchist movement. Nevertheless, writing in 2010, María Migueláñez Martínez suggests that the relative absence of work on the activities of the Argentinian anarchist movement in the years after the Centenary (and, by implication, the narrative of decline) stems, at least partly, from the influence of Marxist historians such as Eric Hobsbawm who argued that, by the turn of the twentieth century, the anarchist project had already failed. See María Migueláñez Martínez, '1910 y el Declive del Anarquismo Argentino. ¿Hito Histórico o Hito Historiográfico?', *XIV Encuentro de Latinoamericanistas Españoles*, (2010), 436-452 (pp. 436, 438-440, 444, 448 and 450).

[10] Camarero, pp. 4-5.

[11] Edgardo Bilsky, *La FORA y el Movimiento Obrero/2 (1900-1910)*, 2 vols (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1985), II, p. 159.

[12] Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, pp. 230-231.

ground in the field by demonstrating that these activists formulated their own conception of time, and how they utilised habitual disobedience, humour and satire to create Temporary Autonomous Zones; or spaces 'where one can live as if one is already free'.[13] Above all, these case studies have pioneered a new area of historical research by examining Spanish and Argentinian anarchism through the lens of prefigurative politics, illustrating how, through their everyday cultural practices, local anarchists prefigured an alternative society, in opposition to the prevailing political, economic and socio-cultural order. In this sense, rather than depicting anarchists as primitive or anachronistic – the '*pre-political* people' of modern times – this thesis has stressed that these historical actors were forward-looking, seeking to create *new* forms of everyday life, and challenge essentialist assumptions about class, gender, the family and the body.

Furthermore, with its focus on everyday life, and on the transfer of ideas, resources and practices – rather than just people – across the Atlantic, this thesis has made a significant contribution to the emerging field of transnational and trans-local anarchist history. It has shown how activists (even those who did not travel) experienced the connections that tied anarchist locales in Spain and Argentina together and, in this way, it has provided further insights into the importance of these connections to the consolidation and survival of libertarian movements. At the same time, by examining anarchist cultural practices in several different locations, the preceding chapters have not only highlighted the transnational and trans-local nature of libertarian prefigurative politics: they have also stressed the diversity of personal experiences and practices that local conditions engendered. Nevertheless, to fully reflect this diversity, much more research is needed. In particular, there is a pressing need to uncover further evidence regarding the ways in which women experienced libertarian spaces, the 'anarchist' home, 'anarchist' time and 'informal' resistance. Similarly, it is necessary to

[13] Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*, p. 74.

explore further the experiences of children affiliated (or in close proximity) to libertarian movements, as well as anarchist conceptions of adulthood and childhood, respectively. In addition, whilst they have begun to shed light on the prefigurative aspects of Spanish and Argentinian anarchism, the four cases studies included here remain limited to an urban context. Consequently, future historical research into libertarian prefigurative politics must consider the particularities of rural anarchist movements, too.

However, though this thesis has focused on a specific historical and geographical context, its findings have much broader implications. As the introductory chapter highlighted, scholars of contemporary social movements have largely overlooked the history of prefigurative politics and, in turn, historians have failed to build on Carl Boggs' pioneering research into the so-called 'prefigurative tradition'.[14] With that in mind, this thesis has demonstrated that historical studies can further our understanding of prefigurative activism, including its spatial, temporal and familial dimensions; its relationship to 'informal' (or 'everyday') resistance; and its dependence on – and contributions to – transnational and trans-local activist networks. In the same way, this study has emphasised the need for historians to utilise the theoretical framework of prefiguration when examining the anarchist movements of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Specifically, it has shown how this approach can further our understanding of the relationship between libertarian theory and praxis, and the extent to which, during the period under study, Spanish and Argentinian anarchists experienced and implemented their ideological beliefs in everyday life.

Despite this, the concept of prefigurative politics poses certain theoretical and methodological difficulties for the historian. For example, drawing on the work of scholars such as Paul Raekstad, this thesis has repeatedly stressed that prefiguration implies at least a

[14] Boggs, 'Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers' Control', p. 100.

degree of intentionality on the part of activists.[15] However, though many researchers view intentionality as integral to prefiguration, there is considerable disagreement regarding the exact level of intentionality required. For instance, in an article in 2018, Uri Gordon claims that prefigurative politics involves a 'recursive temporal framing', denoting a 'pre-ordained historical path'.[16] Specifically, he shows how the idea of prefiguration dates back to the millenarian Christian movements of the Middle Ages, who presented 'insurrection as preparation for the imminent arrival of Christ'.[17] Therefore, according to Jane Dyson and Craig Jeffrey, Gordon implies that prefigurative practices rely on 'a fully worked out vision of utopia'.[18] In contrast, Marianne Maeckelbergh stipulates that prefiguration does not entail 'an alternative model in the form of a predetermined goal [or] a five-year plan for changing the existing landscape...'[19] For their part, Dyson and Jeffrey maintain that 'prefigurative activists are more like uncertain actors improvising around a theme' and that 'trial and error are core founding components of most prefigurative action'.[20] In this context, whilst the preceding chapters have argued that anarchists in Spain and Argentina consciously prefigured a libertarian society through their everyday cultural practices, this does not necessarily mean that these activists adhered to a rigid plan, or that they believed that the downfall of the prevailing socio-cultural order was inevitable. Instead, the analysis has emphasised anarchists' sense of historical agency, as well as their ability to adapt and improvise in response to government repression.[21] In other words, anarchist cultural practices were

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[15] See Raekstad, p. 361, Trott, p. 270, Gordon, *Anarchy Alive*, p. 35 and Dyson and Jeffrey, p. 4.
[16] Gordon, 'Prefigurative Politics between Ethical Practice and Absent Promise', p. 521.
[17] Dyson and Jeffrey, p. 6.
[18] Ibid., p. 6. Specifically, Gordon describes prefigurative politics as 'a *recursive* temporal framing central to Christian theology' which, historically, served to provide 'reassurance for religious and political movements.' Consequently, he suggests that 'prefigurative terminology' actually obscures the 'generative disposition towards the future' within contemporary anarchist activism. See Gordon, 'Prefigurative Politics between Ethical Practice and Absent Promise', p. 522.
[19] Maeckelbergh, 'Doing is Believing', p. 3.
[20] Jeffrey and Dyson, p. 6.
[21] In particular, see Chapters Three and Four.

prefigurative but not prescriptive; they reflected the society that anarchists envisioned, but they were not fixed – or static – phenomena.

Nevertheless, it is also important to recognise that, when examining supposedly prefigurative practices, one cannot always identify a clear distinction between the political and the non-political.[22] As Anthony James Elliot Ince notes, 'prefigurative practice is an elusive subject, since it inhabits the micro-politics of interpersonal relations, macro-level global strategy, and all else between.'[23] Put simply, as with resistance, studies of prefigurative politics involve an element of subjective interpretation; or a '*translation*…between what is observed and how it is described'.[24] Of course, whilst all historical inquiry is – to a greater or lesser extent – subjective, this thesis has sought to mitigate the risk of ambiguity by analysing not only the actions of anarchists, but also what they wrote and said. Fortunately, the discourse in anarchist publications often provides an insight into the intentions of libertarian activists during the period under study and, where possible, the preceding chapters have utilised these sources to illustrate the relationship between intent and action (or theory and praxis) in this context.

Most importantly, by applying the theoretical framework of prefigurative politics to a historical study – and by employing, in an innovative manner, the work of a wide range of theorists, from Michel Foucault to Jacques Rancière – this thesis has challenged the dichotomy between everyday life and politics. Scholars continue to associate everyday life with 'the mundane, the routine and the hidden', whilst considering political activism to be 'public, explicit, explosive…'[25] With that in mind, this study has revealed how, in Spain and Argentina, anti-capitalism and anti-statism pervaded anarchists' lived experience: they

[22] Yates, p. 5.
[23] Anthony James Elliot Ince, 'Organising Anarchy: Spatial Strategy, Prefiguration, and the Politics of Everyday Life' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Queen Mary, 2010), p. 315.
[24] Iñiguez de Heredia, p. 52.
[25] Pink, p. 4.

reflected these values in the home, in the school, in the workplace, in the union locale, and at social events. In other words, anarchists blurred the line between everyday life and the political by imbibing public space with distinctively libertarian historical and cultural meanings; by creating their own 'temporal order' which reflected the idiosyncrasies and goals of the wider movement; by actively creating 'anarchist' families; and by incorporating acts of resistance into their daily routines. As Sarah Pink maintains, 'activism can be an everyday practice' and, in a similar way, this thesis has argued that, during the period under study, libertarian activists implemented anarchism in everyday life.[26] In this sense, the preceding chapters have utilised the theoretical framework of prefiguration to interrogate traditional understandings of revolution. As Elliot Ince argues, prefiguration 'emphasises politics as always *becoming* and suggests that political theorisation must reflect this processual character of life'.[27] Accordingly, by prefiguring the society they wished to create through their everyday cultural practices, anarchists engaged in what Michael Fielding and Peter Moss refer to as 'permanent provisionality'.[28] That is, rather than waiting for a 'horizon' or 'totalising event', they participated in 'an ongoing process' of revolution.[29]

[26] Pink, p. 144.
[27] Elliot Ince, p 29.
[28] Michael Fielding and Peter Moss, *Radical Education and the Common School: a Democratic Alternative* (Abindgon and New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 155. Fielding and Moss associate prefigurative practices with 'permanent provisionality' which, they argue, 'insists that democracy as a way of living in, apprehending and changing the world is never finished, but always open to the necessity of critique and transcendence in our quest for the good society. In turn, Trott draws on this idea when he describes prefigurative politics as 'a messy process of continual implementation'. See Fielding and Moss, p. 155 and Trott, p. 270.
[29] Newman, 'Postanarchism and Space', pp. 351-352 and Trott, p. 270.

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