Comradeship, Gender, and the Making of Anarchist Womanhood in Spain c.1923-1939

Sophie Marguerite Turbutt

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School of Languages, Cultures & Societies

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I confirm that the work submitted is my own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis applies history of emotions methods to the study of Spanish anarchist history (c.1923-1939), to demonstrate for the first time that this anarchist movement cultivated mobilising and moral emotions, strove to re-shape affiliates' enduring affective relationships, and reimagined the very meanings of certain emotions such as love. As a result, the thesis transforms historical understandings of how social movements construct comradeship: comradeship is not only a shared belief in an idea but an emotionally intimate affective bond. Anarchists in Spain theorised comradeship in discourses about ideal work, friendship, and love and constructed it processually in everyday encounters which altered their sense of identity. The thesis focuses on how constructions of comradeship touched women's lives: it argues that anarchist womanhood—an intersection of gender identity with political identity—was ever-contested throughout the period such that women, especially, felt comradeship to be precarious. The thesis draws on oral histories, memoirs, advice columns, fiction, newspapers, and document archives to examine how and why women came to feel this precarity. It illustrates that: gender inequalities in activism work were emotionally destructive for the movement; friendships enabled women to persevere in the movement despite those inequalities; and these women supported themselves and each other to lead one of the movement's greatest historical contributions—the transformation of love.

Abbreviations and Spanish-Language Terms

AIT: *Asociación Internacional del Trabajo* (International Workingmen's Association)

***ateneos libertarios* (libertarian Athenaea)**
Neighbourhood organisations for working-class educational and cultural activities

CNT: *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (National Confederation of Labour)
Anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation founded in 1910

FAI: *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (Iberian Anarchist Federation)
Federation of anarchist affinity groups, founded in 1927

FIJL: *Federación Ibérica de las Juventudes Libertarias* (Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth)
Anarchist youth organisation founded in 1932. Separate Catalan version: JJLL.

MMLL: *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women)
Anarchist-affiliated women's organisation, founded in the spring of 1936

PCE: *Partido Comunista de España* (Spanish Communist Party)

PSOE: *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)

SIA: *Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista* (International Antifascist Solidarity)
Anarchist-affiliated humanitarian organisation, founded during the Civil War in 1937

UGT: *Unión General de Trabajadores* (General Union of Workers)

Archival Abbreviations

AEP = archive of the *Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular*, Barcelona

AHCB = *Arxiu Historic de la Ciutat*, Barcelona

ANC = *Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya*, Sant Cugat del Vallès, Catalonia

CDMH = *Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica*, Salamanca

FAL = archive of the anarchist *Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo*, Madrid

FSS = archive of the anarchist *Fundación Salvador Seguí* (oral histories held at CDMH)

IISH = International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam

Note

All translations of foreign language sources were carried out by the author.

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Introduction

Rationale and research aims

In 1929, the widely-read Spanish anarchist magazine *Estudios* published an article entitled 'Thinking and Feeling'. The author, concealed by a pseudonym, wrote: 'Feelings and ideas are indivisible in the human soul, and the great formations of ideas, religious, philosophical or political, originate from the conjunction of these two forces, regulators and drivers of all progress.'[1] 'Only in the individual?', it continued, 'At first yes. But the individual is not an absolutely independent being; it depends on the social body, and on its relational life, it does not only receive external influences […], but at the same time its way of feeling with thoughts and acts is reflected in the social arena.'[2]

Although published almost a century ago, this essay exhibited a grasp of revolutionary identity-making that historians of the radical Left are only recently beginning to embrace. The author recognised that social-movement actors are motivated not only by ideology but by the interactions between ideology and emotion that bridge gaps between the ideational and the material or the epistemological and the phenomenological. More than this, the essay framed revolutionary emotion not as a symptom of personal irrationality but as a 'way of feeling' shaping and shaped by social and cultural contexts. It furthermore theorised that the 'conjunction' of revolutionary feelings and ideas was situated in the 'human soul', which alluded to an intangible sense of personal identity (a term not employed at the time but useful nonetheless, as will be elaborated). And this identity, it suggested, was not only independently constructed within an individual, but reciprocally bound up in the individual's 'relational life'.

On all these same tenets rests the present PhD thesis. The thesis advocates for the introduction

[1] Noy, 'Réplica: El pensamiento y el sentimiento', *Estudios*, October 1929, pp. 39-40.
[2] Ibid. The author may have been Pedro Cané Barceló, who had previously used the pseudonym El Noy.

of history of emotions methodologies to the study of Spanish anarchist history, in order to use this paradigmatic case study to interrogate how social movements cultivate comradeship and how this has touched women's lives. The subject under scrutiny in the thesis—via that history of emotions lens—is the unstable and ever-evolving construction of identity: in particular, the making of 'anarchist womanhood', an intersecting identity forged among women who participated in the anarchist movement in Spain. The thesis, mirroring another of the above tenets, considers identity to be something constructed both individually and relationally, which is reflected in its overall structure beginning with a chapter on the self and then extending to three further pairs of chapters on relational themes—workers, friends and lovers—each of which represents an everyday site where an emotionally intimate feeling of anarchist comradeship might be cultivated.

The thesis's first research aim is to demonstrate that historians should not take for granted that anarchists were one another's 'comrades'. Comradeship was not only a shared belief in an ideology or goal but an emotionally intimate affective bond which altered anarchists' sense of identity. Comradeship was theorised in discourses about work, friendship, and love and cultivated processually in everyday interpersonal encounters.

Accordingly, the thesis advocates examination of anarchist intimacies beyond the strictly sexual, to include new intimate categories such as friendship, family, work collaboration, and indeed comradeship itself. It examines evidence of the development of anarchist thought in these categories, including books, essays, and the periodical press, and puts this into dialogue—via an alternating chapter structure—with archival and testimonial evidence of anarchists' relational lives, from ego-documents like letters, memoirs, and oral histories, to official documents like political circulars, payrolls, and staff lists.

The first argumentative thread running throughout the thesis, in particular via Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 6 which centre on anarchists' conceptual ideals, is that throughout the period in question—through near-total clandestinity (1923-30), sporadic reemergence (1931-36), revolution and civil

war (1936-1939)—anarchist understandings of social relations (namely selfhood, work, friendship, and love) remained largely—albeit conflictingly—patriarchal. The summer of 1936 represented a turning point, not because anarchists' comradely intimacies changed but because they failed to change—the transformative affective-emotional potential of the revolution was forsaken. Building on this, the thesis's second argumentative thread, unravelled in Chapters 3, 5 and 7 which have phenomenological foci, is that to women, anarchist comradeship very often was, and felt, precarious, and became even more so in wartime. As a result, women invested greater emotional labour in their most intimate affective bonds: nurturing emotional refuges between friends and becoming protagonists in the anarchist movement's revolutionary transformation of love.

This addresses the thesis's second research aim, which is to shed light on how anarchist efforts to cultivate comradeship touched women's lives in this period. The thesis draws particular attention to women-authored sources and reads against the grain of evidence to ascertain women's presence in anarchist spaces and their lived experiences of interpersonal life within them. By examining comradeship-building from its margins—that is, from the perspective of anarchist women—the thesis demonstrates that feeling an emotionally intimate bond of comradeship was not a given for all individuals who believed in the anarchist ideal. As Nathaniel Andrews has observed, one of the main outcomes of gender histories of anarchism has been to make evident that 'historians must not limit their analysis to libertarian discourse: they must consider the inconsistencies—as well as the continuities—between anarchist theory and practice'.[3] This thesis will show that anarchist womanhood—an intersection of gender identity with political identity—was ever-contested throughout the period, with destabilising emotional consequences for many women.

Each key contribution of the thesis will now be introduced in turn: its history of emotions methodology; its expansive outlook on intimate categories for analysis; and its contributions to the historiography of anarchist women and gender identity.

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[3] Nathaniel Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life: Libertarian Prefigurative Politics in Spain and Argentina, 1890-1930*, PhD thesis, (WRoCAH eTheses, 2021), p. 25.

Emotions: a new lens for the historiography of Spanish anarchism

Anarchism has manifested variably depending on its geographical and historical contexts, but with a lowercase 'a' as a global frame of reference, it has signified: 'more dispersed and less concentrated power; less top-down hierarchy and more self-determination through bottom-up participation; liberty and equality seen as directly rather than inversely proportional; the nurturance of individuality and diversity within a matrix of interconnectivity, mutuality, and accountability; and an expansive recognition of the various forms that power relations can take, and correspondingly, the various dimensions of emancipation'.[4] People who identify with such a tendency do not just prepare for the revolutionary moment to arise, but prefigure actions towards realising it in the here and now.[5] In the West, where anarchist movements developed from utopian socialism and democratic republicanism, this included challenging hierarchical social norms, attacking capitalist, religious, or state structures, and voicing disenchantment with 'modern' life.[6]

Emotions have not always been conceptualised, expressed and felt in the same ways throughout history.[7] A helpful concept to frame the emotional lives of people who affiliated to subaltern groups—as anarchists did—is historian Barbara Rosenwein's 'emotional community': a group sharing the same emotional value system and adjusting their emotional displays and judgements accordingly.[8] Historian and cultural anthropologist William Reddy has furthermore used 'emotional regimes' to refer to the involvement of political power in emotion, whereby emotional learning takes place, conformity is rewarded, and nonconformity is punished, and he coined

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[4] Maia Ramnath, *Decolonizing Anarchism: An Antiauthoritarian History of India's Liberation Struggle* (AK Press, 2011), pp. 6-7.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Rob Boddice, *A History of Feelings* (Reaktion Books, 2019), pp. 10-12.
[8] Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review*, 107.3 (2002), pp. 821-845 (pp. 842-843), doi:10.1086/ahr/107.3.821.

'emotives' to denote the names we give to emotions to attribute them meaning.[9] These concepts suit the study of interwar anarchists in Spain, even though they rejected hierarchical power structures, because their movement cultivated mobilising emotions both in the short-term and long-term (demonstrated in Part II), perceived people's emotional lives—such as their affective relationships—as something that should be transformed through revolution (examined in Part III), and reimagined the very meaning of certain emotions such as love, with collective accountability—or what anarchist Ricardo Mella called '*coacción moral*', moral compulsion—being the enforcer (examined in Part IV).[10]

History of emotions pioneers Carol and Peter Stearns coined 'emotionology' 1985 to describe the study of how emotions have been thought about and expressed in the past according to social factors, but this constitutes only part of the present thesis's aspiration.[11] The consequences for experiences of 'feeling' are the ultimate object of its research, the two being tied together through Rosenwein's framing of 'emotional community' and Reddy's power-sensitive 'emotional regimes' and 'emotives'. The thesis uses 'emotions' as a general term to encompass concepts like anger or joy; takes 'affect' to mean the impact of emotion on one's embodied subjectivity; and takes 'feeling' to signify any precise emotional experience to which one attributes meaning according to (or in contravention of) certain emotional norms.[12]

In their 2019 edited volume on the subject, Dolores Martín Moruno and Beatriz Pichel interrogated 'what emotions do, rather than what they are, [which] led us to break with the initial affiliation of emotion history with what Lucien Febvre referred to in 1941 as the "history of

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[9] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 55.
[10] These concepts will be fully introduced later. On Mella's *coacción moral*: Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (AK Press, 1991), p. 36.
[11] Stearns and Stearns were unconvinced that historians might access historical actors' actual emotional experiences. Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review*, 90.4 (1985), pp. 813-836, doi:10.2307/1858841.
[12] The thesis draws on, and amends, the definitions in: Leonie Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow: climate activists as emotion entrepreneurs', *European Journal of International Relations*, 29.2 (2023), pp. 352-373 (pp. 354-355), doi:10.1177/13540661221136772.

sensibilities." […] By shifting the focus away from intellectual history, our aim was to capture emotional experience "from below"'.[13] This reflected that although embodied experiences of emotions may be felt by individuals, these are situated in a wider context in which society, culture, and objects together contribute to what Katie Barclay calls 'the phenomena of emotion'.[14] The present thesis in its third, fifth and seventh chapters accordingly takes a phenomenological approach to the study of emotionally intimate comradeship-building, but it complements this via its first, second, fourth and sixth chapters which explore the anarchist ideal concepts of selfhood, work, friendship, and love underpinning such experiences.

Through this alternating structure, the thesis sheds new light on how anarchists in Spain attempted to reconfigure how people perceived the very nature of human selves and their social entanglements: how notions of liberating work played into and responded to relations between workers; how notions of good friendship played into and responded to relations between friends; and how notions of free love played into and responded to relations between lovers. Further social entanglements are integrated into the chapters where relevant, including bonds between family members, bonds between teachers and students, and inverse bonds such as enmity or rivalry. As such, the thesis contributes an important new historical case study to the interdisciplinary question of how social movements influence historical subjects' emotional worlds and vice versa.

In doing so, the thesis progresses the historiography of Spanish anarchism beyond a debate which long prevented any meaningful scholarly engagement with the history of emotions. Early-twentieth century writers derided protestors' emotionality to undermine their political legitimacy, and sociologists and social historians in subsequent decades could not escape debating the validity

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[13] Dolores Martín-Moruno and Beatriz Pichel, 'Introduction', in *Emotional Bodies: The Historical Performativity of Emotions*, ed. by Martín-Moruno and Pichel (University of Illinois Press, 2019), pp. 1-14, doi:10.5406/j.ctvthhcxc.4.

[14] Katie Barclay, 'Emotions in the History of Emotions', *History of Psychology*, 24.2 (2021), pp. 112-115 (pp. 113-114), doi:10.1037/hop0000162.

of that stance.[15] Due to the dissemination of racist and classist turn-of-the-century criminology, challenging order and authority—as anarchists did —was believed to be evidence in itself of anarchist individuals' incompetence in 'feeling properly'; their emotions were 'always abnormal, violent, unstable'.[16] Consequently, when early histories of anarchism in Spain by Díaz del Moral (1928), Brenan (1943), and Hobsbawm (1957) wrote off the movement as an example of irrational and pre-modern peasant millenarianism, challenges to that narrative by Temma Kaplan (1975, 1977) on rural anarchism and Nick Rider (1989) on urban anarchism echoed E.P. Thompson's theory of the deliberate, patterned, rationality of protestors (1971).[17] The dominant historical approaches, then, were to demean anarchists' emotions or strip them of emotion altogether.

Following sociologist James M. Jasper's 2011 state of the field essay on emotions and social movements, the thesis rejects this false duality and re-approaches the matter anew by embracing emotionality 'to recognize that feeling and thinking are parallel, interacting processes of evaluating

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[15] Eduardo Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism: Understanding the Emotional Practices of the Spanish Anarchists under Franco's Dictatorship', *Contemporary European History*, 23.4 (2014), pp. 545-564 (p. 547), doi:10.1017/S0960777314000319. For instance, see Gustave le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (T. Fisher Unwin, 1909 [1896]), <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.223078/page/n3/mode/2up> [accessed 5 February 2024]. The same was true outside Europe, as has been highlighted in: Daniel Humberto Trujillo Martínez, 'The Crime of Barrocolorado: A History of Emotions, Anarchism, Medicine and Crime in Early Twentieth Century Colombia', *Latin American Research Review*, 59.2 (2023), pp. 1-16 (pp. 3-6), doi:10.1017/lar.2023.51. See also: Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, 'Why Emotions Matter', in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. by Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta (University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 1-26.

[16] Trujillo Martínez, 'The Crime of Barrocolorado', p. 11.

[17] Juan Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas* (Alianza Editorial, 1973 [1928]), p. 25; Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 1943), pp. xxi-xxii; Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester University Press, 1959); Temma Kaplan, 'The Social Base of Nineteenth-Century Andalusian Anarchism in Jerez De La Frontera', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6.1 (1975), pp. 47-70 (p. 66), doi:10.2307/202824; Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903* (Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 207, 211; Nick Rider, 'The Practice of Direct Action: The Barcelona Rent Strike of 1931', in *For Anarchism: History, Theory, and Practice*, ed. by David Goodway (Routledge, 1989), pp. 79-108 (pp. 79, 88-89); E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,' *Past & Present*, 50.1 (1971), pp. 76–136 (pp. 76-79, 131), doi:10.1093/past/50.1.76. This has also been noted by: Davide Turcato, 'Collective Action, Opacity, and the "Problem of Irrationality": Anarchism and the First of May, 1890-1892', *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 5.1 (2011), pp. 1-31 (p. 1), doi:10.2307/41889946; Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism', pp. 546-547.

and interacting with our worlds'.[18] It situates the case of Spanish anarchism amongst interdisciplinary research which explores how: 'Emotions can be means, they can be ends, and sometimes they can fuse the two. They can help or hinder mobilization efforts, ongoing strategies, and the success of social movements'.[19]

A 2014 issue of *Contemporary European History* has also now brought the matter of emotion in social movements firmly into the historical discipline, by likewise casting doubt on the explanatory potential of determining protestors' rationality or irrationality.[20] In their suggestions for future research, the editors, Joachim Häberlen and Russell Spinney, suggested that there was an 'emotional turn' in protesting since 1968 as movements began to elevate emotion as a political concern, suggesting that our modes of relating emotionally to others should be transformed.[21] A notable example was the slogan, 'the personal is political'; historians of postwar feminism have shown that this implied that 'the emotional is political' because 'personal' does not only mean 'private' but 'intimate' and intimacy is emotionally affective.[22] Anarchists in Spain recognised this, in a way, half a century earlier; they integrated the transformation of emotional concepts and forms of expression—including, but not limited to, love—into their revolutionary theories and praxes.

For instance, prolific Spanish anarchist theoretician, writer and physician Isaac Puente asserted

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[18] James M. Jasper, 'Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37 (2011), pp. 285-303 (p. 286), doi:10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150015.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Joachim C. Häberlen and Russell A. Spinney, 'Introduction', *Contemporary European History*, 23.4, Special Issue: Emotions in Protest Movements in Europe since 1917 (2014), pp. 489-503 (p. 490), doi:10.1017/S0960777314000289. For a detailed survey of the contributions made by various disciplines to the study of emotions and their history, see: Begoña Barrera and María Sierra, 'Historia de las emociones: ¿qué se cuentan los afectos del pasado?', *Historia y Memoria,* Nº. Número Especial (2020), pp. 103-142, doi: 10.19053/20275137.nespecial.2020.11583.
[21] Häberlen and Spinney, 'Introduction' pp. 501-503.
[22] Mercedes Arbaiza Vilallonga, 'Dones en Transició: el feminismo como acontecimiento emocional', in *Mujeres, Dones, Mulleres, Emakumeak: Estudios sobre la historia de las mujeres y del género*, ed. by Teresa María Ortega López, Ana Aguado Higón and Elena Hernández Sandoica (Ediciones Cátedra, 2019), pp. 267-286 (pp. 270-271, 279-280, 286); Elena Nájera, 'El resto de la intimidad. A propósito de feminismo y resistencia', in *Activistas, Creadoras y Transgresoras: Disidencias y representaciones*, ed. Mónica Moreno Seco (Dykinson, 2020), pp. 167-190 (pp. 175-185).

across two magazine articles in 1929 that ‘only feelings’ were powerful enough to bring people into comradeship, and that ‘for us to accept an ideology, it is not enough that reason presents it as the truth, […] but it is necessary that our feelings elevate it as a duty’.[23] As will be illustrated throughout this thesis, anarchists not only theorised on ‘feeling’ in general, but reimagined specific emotionally affective experiences like love, friendship and comradeship. The Spanish anarchist movement therefore represents a historically significant antecedent for Häberlen and Spinney’s notional late-twentieth-century ‘emotional turn’ in social movement activism internationally.

The thesis accordingly takes inspiration from historians who have infused histories of radical political cultures with emotional texture, like Josie McLellan whose study of love in communist East Germany ‘contradict[s] the idea that life [there] was grey and joyless’.[24] In the Spanish context, the thesis builds on the work of Alejandro Lora Medina who studied the ‘sentimental’ in Spanish anarchism (albeit from a social history rather than ‘history of emotions’ theoretical base) and Eduardo Romanos who applied history of emotions methods to the study of Spanish anarchism’s post-Civil-War era. The thesis dialogues with, while also developing beyond, Lora Medina’s particular focus on love by affording equal attention to less intense intimate bonds between anarchists too.[25] As such, it engages with Romanos’s efforts to highlight the pertinence of emotion to all manner of encounters between anarchists—positive and negative, professional and personal—and applies some of Romanos’s political sociology methods to pre-Civil War Spain for

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[23] Isaac Puente, ‘El Pensar y el Sentir’, *Estudios*, September 1929, p. 3; Isaac Puente, ‘El pensar y el sentir’, *Estudios*, November 1929, p. 3. See also: Higinio Noja Ruiz, *El sendero luminoso y sangriento (El instinto de conservación a través de la Historia)* (Luis Morote, 1932), pp. 15-16, extract, trans. Joshua Newmark, in Newmark, *Internationalism and the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement: ideas, practices and debates, 1910-1939*, PhD thesis (University of Leeds, 2024), p. 22 [under embargo, cited with permission]. Additionally, see the quotation which opens the present thesis.

[24] Josie McLellan, *Love in the Time of Communism: Intimacy and Sexuality in the GDR* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 1. See, for instance, Barbara Ehrenreich’s characterisation of secular intellectual movements like communism as ‘drab and joyless’: Barbara Ehrenreich, *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy* (Granta Books, 2007), pp. 249-250.

[25] Alejandro Lora Medina, ‘El amor libre y las relaciones sentimentales en el anarquismo español (1930-1939),’ *Historia Contemporánea*, 60 (2019), pp. 581-617, doi:10.1387/hc.19430.

the first time.[26]

Häberlen and Spinney additionally noted that a study into how gender identity was entangled with the emotional practices of activists would be beneficial for the field.[27] As expounded above, the present thesis contributes to that endeavour. Through its emotional approach, the thesis honours the very root of history-writing about anarchist women and gender in Spain: the memory work—an inescapably emotional pursuit—carried out by women who had been part of the anarchist movement prior to the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1976). This has resulted in anarcha-feminist autobiographies and biographies of over a dozen anarchist women, as well as a wealth of oral history projects conducted since the 1980s by historians in collaboration with historical memory and activist groups.[28] The thesis's methodological approach is to synthesise such testimonies with archival and print sources from the period in question (1923-1939), to reconstruct how anarchists conceived of emotions and affects such as love and friendship at the time and to in turn draw out the emotional significances of events, encounters, and relationships experienced by anarchist women within that political culture. As a result, the thesis will contribute a nuanced and textured picture of the making of 'anarchist womanhood' in the 1920s and 1930s in Spain.

Comradeship from the margins: an interdisciplinary and intimate approach

Queer history scholars have brought to light early-twentieth-century Spanish anarchism's sexual revolution, which in turn has brought notions of 'intimacy' into its historiography.[29] The

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[26] Especially the 'moral battery' concept of emotional protest mobilisation that he deploys: Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism'. On negative encounters between anarchists, see also: 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), pp.273-289 (p. 275), doi: 10.1386/ijis.29.3.273_1.
[27] Häberlen and Spinney, 'Introduction', pp. 501-502.
[28] On the affective interplay between objects, memories and feelings, see: Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 6-8.
[29] Important works on Spanish anarchism and sexuality include: Richard Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science*

thesis examines sexual intimacy in its fourth part, but it additionally proposes a new direction for the field by introducing new intimate categories for analysis in its first three parts: selfhood, collaborative work, and friendship.[30] Comradeship entwined with all these.

Comradeship—the emotionally affective sense of shared identity one feels with another person who is embroiled in the same political struggle—is an intimate phenomenon, and its history should therefore be studied through a 'history of intimacy' methodology that works with personal testimony as much as impersonal documentary evidence and illuminates the inner worlds of historical subjects. In 2021, historian of intimacy George Morris wrote that 'intimacy is important in the construction of the self, and ideas of selfhood shape our intimate interactions', and that intimate practices bound up with emotions and selfhood have often been 'enacted in the context of interpersonal relations'.[31] The thesis offers a novel perspective on the Spanish anarchist movement by applying this concept to the movement's construction of comradeship. Importantly, the thesis will illustrate how the presence of intimacy distinguishes comradeship from another affective construction: solidarity, which can operate as an imagined community between peoples otherwise unconnected.[32] By recognising comradeship as a form of intimacy borne from other interpersonal intimacies, we can pinpoint the precise motors and obstacles shaping its development within specific social movements in the past and present.

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and Sex: Eugenics in Eastern Spain, 1900-1937 (Peter Lang, 2000); Eduard Masjuan, *La Ecología Humana en el Anarquismo Ibérico* (Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, 2000); Xavier Diez, *Utopia Sexual a la Premsa Anarquista de Catalunya: La Revista Ética-Iniciales (1927-1937)* (Pagès Editors, 2001); Isabel Jiménez-Lucena and Jorge Molero-Mesa, 'Good birth and good living. The (de)medicalizing key to sexual reform in the anarchist media of inter-war Spain,' *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, 24.3 (2011), pp. 219-241, doi:10.1386/ijis.24.3.219_1; Javier Navarro Navarro, 'Sexualidad, Reproducción y Cultura Obrera Revolucionaria en España: La Revista Orto (1932-1934)', *Arbor*, 190.769 (2014), pp. 1-13, doi:10.3989/arbor.2014.769n5014; Alejandro Lora Medina, "Sexualidad, desnudismo y moralidad en el anarquismo español de los años treinta: de los debates en la prensa a la aplicación de la ley del aborto durante la Guerra Civil Española," *Hispania*, 78.260 (2018), pp. 817-846, doi: 10.3989/hispania.2018.020.

[30] Work, family, and friendships as additional forms of intimacy beyond sexuality have been noted in: George Morris, 'Intimacy in Modern British History', *The Historical Journal*, 64.3 (2021), pp. 796-811 (p. 799), doi:10.1017/S0018246X20000230.

[31] Ibid., pp. 806-807.

[32] On solidarity, see: Joshua Newmark, '"Put rifles in their hands!": constructing Spanish anarchist solidarity with the early Mexican Revolution', *WRoCAH Journal,* 6 (2022), pp. 64-74, doi:unavailable.

Decolonial theorists have shown that decentring frameworks and concepts by observing them from the margins may reveal that the hegemonic perspective of the centre has been mistakenly taken at face value.[33] Anarchists' convention of calling one another 'comrades' warrants interrogation, because even at the time writers openly questioned the legitimacy of such a loaded label.[34] To examine comradeship from the margins, where it was most felt to be contested, is the most straightforward way of assessing its emotional ramifications on the identity-making of anarchists in Spain.[35] From a gender perspective the 'margins' of comradeship were occupied by anyone who did not identify with (or was not identified with) archetypal anarchist masculinity. Non-hegemonic masculinities would be a fruitful subject for a future project, but the present thesis centres on those who identified with womanhood.

Research into gender relations within anarchist political culture in Spain has been published for decades now, focused primarily (though not exclusively) on women's presence in labour disputes—as exemplified in Pamela Radcliff and Temma Kaplan's local history research—and on anarchists' attitudes towards sexual intimacy.[36] What remain to be ascertained are the effects of non-sexual intimacies on anarchist women's encounters with other anarchists, and these encounters' consequent relative impact on Spanish women's identification with subaltern anarchist womanhood as opposed to more mainstream feminine ideals. The present thesis pursues that question. Ackelsberg has suggested that quotidian interpersonal connections sustained the anarchist

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[33] bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre* (Taylor & Francis, 2014), pp. xvii-xviii.
[34] See most notably: Mercedes Comaposada, 'La cuarta revolución', *Mujeres Libres*, 2, 1936, pp. 4-5, which will be unravelled at the start of Chapter 1.
[35] That emotions shape identity was implied in Ahmed's model of 'the sociality of emotions': Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, p. 10.
[36] For example: Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers and Collective Action'; Kaplan; 'Female Consciousness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona, 1910-1918', *Signs*, 7.3 (1982), pp. 545-566, doi:10.1086/493899; Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*; Richard Cleminson, 'Making Sense of the Body: Anarchism, Nudism and Subjective Experience', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81.6 (2004), pp.697-716, doi:10.1080/1475382042000272256; Jiménez-Lucena and Molero-Mesa, 'Good birth and good living'; Lora Medina, 'El amor libre y las relaciones sentimentales'; Lora Medina, 'Sexualidad, desnudismo y moralidad en el anarquismo español'. Anarchist attitudes towards sexuality have also been the starting point for gender histories focused on anarchist women's groups and the Civil War – see thesis pp. 36-38.

Mujeres Libres (‘Free Women’) group, founded in 1936; the thesis likewise studies *Mujeres Libres* but also adopts a wider scope extending beyond the confines of this single (albeit historically significant) women’s organisation.[37]

Whereas many existing gender histories of Spanish anarchism focus on only the Second Republic (1931-1936) or only the Civil War (1936-1939), the thesis adopts a longer chronology in order to trace changes and continuities in conceptual ideals and lived experiences of comradeship over time. Historians typically identify 1870 as the ‘birth’ of Spanish anarchism, when the Spanish Regional Federation of the International Workingmen’s Association was founded.[38] The Spanish section of the Association would then side with the anarchist Bakuninists upon their split from the Marxists at the 1872 Hague Congress.[39] To examine anarchism from 1870 until the present would have been too ambitious, but the thesis does trace sixteen years of Spanish anarchist history divisible into three periods: 1923-1930; 1931-1936; and 1936-1939. The latter of the three comprised the Spanish Civil War, in which anarchist ‘libertarian communism’ was widely implemented in Spain. The preceding period was significant for the anarchist movement’s relative flexibility to organise; in this period Spain was a democratic republic under which some governments protected civil liberties.[40] During the period before that, Spain had been ruled by a composite monarchy under which a military dictatorship held power achieved through a 1923 coup d’etat, making anarchist activities illegal and forcing many militants into exile.[41]

By selecting these sixteen years, the thesis can assess change and continuity over time through

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[37] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p. 166.
[38] Or 1868, when Bakuninists travelled to Spain to disseminate their ideal. Romanos, ‘Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism’, pp. 547-548.
[39] Murray Bookchin, ‘Introductory Essay’, in *The Anarchist Collectives: Workers’ Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-1939*, ed. by Sam Dolgoff (Black Rose Books, 1990), pp. xi-xxxix (pp. xv-xvi); Francisco Romero Salvadó*, Twentieth Century Spain: Politics and Society in Spain, 1898-1998* (St. Martin’s Press, 1999), pp. 24-25.
[40] Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain*, pp. 70-83.
[41] Ibid., pp. 47-66. In 1925 the CNT to a limited extent managed to resume publishing its newspaper and operating its National Committee, now based in Gijón where the movement was more moderate and the local Civil Governor tolerated it: Pamela Beth Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War: The Politics of Polarization in the Spanish City of Gijón, 1900-1937* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 182. There was also a brief second military dictatorship from 1930-1931, during which the CNT was legalised again.

three very different political and social contexts in which the anarchist movement found itself operating. Furthermore, these sixteen years are perfectly situated to be able to trace the three oft-highlighted generations of anarchists in Spain: those who were already militant elders at the outset of the period; those who first participated in anarchism while it was illegal or in exile and then experienced its post-1931 expansion; and those who came of age during the Civil War.[42] Although its structure is not strictly chronological, the thesis attends to changes and continuities over time in each of its chapters.

In its intimate perspective and chronological scope the thesis takes inspiration most of all from Eulàlia Vega's 2010 book on anarchist women and gender: *Pioneras y revolucionarias* ('Pioneers and Revolutionaries'). Drawing on a new collection of oral histories, Vega's has been the most convincing exploration of what drew women into the anarchist movement and kept them there, acknowledging that ideology was not the only factor at play. Vega draws attention in particular to close friendships and family bonds as important motivators, the only historian to have done so.[43] The present thesis reinforces Vega's argument through incorporation of an even broader range of sources—most notably, bringing together various local oral history collections for the first time so as to geographically and socially diversify the women's voices afforded attention—as well as placing these in conversation with an examination of the revolutionary concepts of social relationships (friendships and family, plus love and work) underpinning the anarchist political culture to which those women sought to belong.

Much can be learned from sociological studies of social movement activism, which have illuminated the various roles that not only emotionality but gendered emotional dynamics might

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[42] These generations shape, for instance: Laura Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras: la revista Mujeres Libres* (Comares, 2020); Eulàlia Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias: mujeres libertarias durante la República, la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo* (Icaria, 2010), see pp. 79-81.

[43] Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* pp. 17-18, 29-30. Radcliff's study of Gijón anticipated some of these conclusions, although taking a broader focus on labour disputes and working-class struggle rather than centring on the relevance of friendship and family ties to the anarchist movement specifically as Vega did: Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*.

play in the construction of bonds between activists. By adopting such interdisciplinary considerations, the thesis situates Vega's work into a broader explanatory narrative that illuminates the emotional precarity of anarchist comradeship felt by women. This led them to value intimate affective bonds, contributing especially disproportionately to the revolutionary remaking of love.

Gender and identity: giving voice to interwar anarchist women in Spain

Upon analysing the making of anarchist womanhood through a history of intimacy approach, the thesis responds to Michael Seidman's *Republic of Egos* (2002). While agreeing with him that a methodological focus on everyday intimacies like families, friends and neighbourhoods can be enormously fruitful in shedding light on the emotional worlds of, and ergo the actions taken by, historical actors, the thesis challenges Seidman's assertion that this approach 'show[s] the limitations of the recent emphasis on race, class, and gender.'[44] Individual experience is always refracted through one's intersecting identities: human bodies encompass considerable variation and social relations have historically been mediated through patriarchy, capitalism, racism, ableism, and other power structures. As Seidman's claim that the 'recent emphasis on gender assumes, like class perspectives, an identity that neglects individual dissidence' is a straw man, the thesis will, like the many historians of anarchism and gender it draws upon, reckon with complexities and contradictions in source material to present a textured picture of the past.[45]

Identities are mosaics: they are simultaneously tied to many facets of one's life and they may be felt, expressed, and recognised differently between different spaces or different encounters. Identification with 'anarchist womanhood' would be felt, expressed and recognised differently during time spent with a romantic partner compared to time spent with a colleague at work.

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[44] Michael Seidman, *Republic of Egos: A Social History of the Spanish Civil War* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp. 6, 13.
[45] Seidman, *Republic of Egos*, p. 236.

Identities, too, are processual: continually in flux over a lifetime.[46] The thesis asserts that women's anarchist identities were constructed via their quotidian experiences within a specifically anarchist subaltern political culture.[47]

The thesis defines 'political culture' not as a synonym for anarchist ideology but instead, following Mary Nash, as a socio-cultural term: 'a combination of symbolic practices, representations, and discourses through which individuals or groups in any society articulate, negotiate, implement or impose their demands'.[48] In other words, anarchist political culture comprised both discourses and individual and interpersonal practices through which imaginaries of anarchist revolution were worked towards.[49] Anarchism was a prefigurative political culture, in that it taught people how to live anarchist lifestyles to remove any need for a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' to coordinate the post-revolutionary transition.[50] Historian Javier Navarro emphasised anarchism's attempts to prefiguratively revolutionise 'mentalities'; the present thesis brings an affective dimension to the matter by centring instead on prefigurative transformations of emotion.[51] Navarro showed that collective anarchist sociability cultivated a sense of 'anarchist identity' among participants; the thesis interrogates how this 'anarchist identity' intersected with gender identity, the first study to explicitly pursue that question.[52] To identify with anarchism was to seek comradeship with other anarchists, and one's gender impacted that experience. This offers us a new

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[46] On the instability of subjective identities ('unos yoes siempre inestables') see: Barrera and Sierra, 'Historia de las emociones', p. 135.
[47] Ibid., pp.11, 21; Javier Navarro Navarro, *A La Revolución por la Cultura: Prácticas Culturales y Sociabilidad Libertarias en el País Valenciano (1931-1939)* (Universitat de València, 2004), pp. 17-18. In this sense the thesis aligns with the Cultural Turn in anarchist studies.
[48] Mary Nash, *Ciudadanas y protagonistas históricas: mujeres republicanas en la II República y la Guerra Civil* (Cuadernos del Congreso de los Diputados, 2009), p. 51.
[49] On this framing, see also: Marín i Silvestre, Dolors, 'La llarga tradició de la revolta: records i testimonis del procés de construcció de la cultura llibertaria a la Catalunya del anys vint', *Revista d'etnologia de Catalunya,* 10 (1997), pp. 120-130, doi:unavailable.
[50] George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Broadview Press, 2004 [1962]), p. 29.
[51] Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, p. 387.
[52] Ibid., p.18. Ackelsberg did note the importance of interpersonal connections in maintaining anarchist political culture, but she did not explicitly examine the intersection of political identity with gender identity: Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p. 166.

way of understanding anarchist women's perseverance in the movement in the face of sexist disrespect and belittlement.[53]

In its methodological approach to researching the quotidian and intimate construction of identities, the thesis follows Almudena Hernando Gonzalo who in 2020 presented an individual-relational framework for understanding gendered processes by which women's social identities have historically been constructed. She asserted that individual identity is self-reflective, constructed in the mind via intimate thoughts and emotions in line with changes experienced over time, while relational identity is constructed via the body, its appearance, its practices and actions, its links to material culture and to space, and it gives us a feeling of belonging in a group.[54] In subscribing to this same dual notion of identity-making the thesis is structured with an opening chapter on individual identity, followed by three pairs of chapters on relational identity.

Although anarchists did not use the word 'identity', they described their revolution as elevating free and autonomous personhood and cultivating every individual's sense of self through collective transformations of interpersonal life.[55] Rudolf Rocker, a German anarchist whose work frequently appeared in translation in the Spanish anarchist press, wrote in 1937: 'For the anarchist, freedom is not an abstract philosophical concept, but the vital concrete possibility for every human being to bring to full development all the powers, capacities, and talents with which nature has endowed

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[53] For an overview of sexism in Spain's anarchist movement see: Sharif Gemie, 'Anarchism and Feminism: A Historical Survey', *Women's History Review* 5.3 (1996), pp. 417-444 (pp. 417-418, 429-434), doi:10.1080/09612029600200123. Studies which incorporate critique of anarchists' sexism include: Chris Ealham, *Anarchism and the City: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Barcelona, 1898-1937* (AK Press, 2010), p. 47; James Yeoman, *Print Culture and the Formation of the Anarchist Movement in Spain, 1890-1915,* PhD Thesis, (University of Sheffield, 2016), pp. 123-125.
[54] Almudena Hernando Gonzalo, 'Subordinación de Género entre los Gumuz y Dats'in de Etiopía. Matrimonio, Cuerpo y Cultura Material', in *Cultura Material e Historia de las Mujeres*, ed. by Ángela Muñoz Fernández and Marta del Moral Vargas (Comares, 2020), pp. 3-40 (p. 4).
[55] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p. 21. See for instance: Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 26 September 1935, p. 2; Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La Cuestión Femenina en Nuestros Medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 15 October 1935, p. 2.

him, and turn them to social account'.[56] Many anarchists recognised that this 'development' was especially pertinent for women, who by the interwar period in Spain had not yet, in many cases, obtained as men had an individual autonomous subjectivity in legal, political, educational and labour realms, let alone in their own sense of selfhood.[57] For women, then, individual processes of identity-construction were equally as important as relational processes of the same; and anarchist political culture was theoretically well-equipped to support them due to the equal emphasis it placed between personal autonomy and collective acountability.[58]

In its subsequent chapters on relational identity-making, the thesis draws on Sara O'Shaughnessy and Emily Huddart Kennedy's concept of 'relational activism'.[59] They defined this as the intentional actions taken by activists, usually in the private sphere or blurring the public-private divide, to demonstrate and encourage certain quotidian behaviours and build long-term networks to effect change.[60] Efforts to cultivate comradeship were acts of relational activism. These scholars furthermore built a gender analysis into their concept, in that they argued that the community-building work inherent to relational activism has been performed primarily by women.[61] This was certainly true in the case of Spanish anarchism in the 1920s and 1930s. A relational approach to the study of activism affords explanatory power to the informal and intimate where typically the formal, institutional, and professional have dominated explanations for movements' developments and successes. Especially relevant to feminist historians, it calls

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[56] Rudolf Rocker, *Anarchosyndicalism* (Secker &Warburg, 1938), p. 31, extract, in Noam Chomsky, *On Anarchism* (Penguin, 2013), pp. 1-2.
[57] Nash, *Ciudadanas y protagonistas*, p. 60.
[58] This defining feature of Western anarchist thought dated back long into the nineteenth century, especially since the pioneering works of the French thinker Proudhon: Alex Prichard, 'Justice, Order and Anarchy: The International Political Theory of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865)', *Journal of International Studies*, 35.3 (2007), pp. 623-645 (p. 632), doi:10.1177/03058298070350031401. In the interwar Spanish case, see: Isaac Puente, *La sociedad del porvenir: el comunismo anárquico* (Ediciones «Amor y Voluntad», 1933), <https://es.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/isaac-puente-la-sociedad-del-porvenir-el-comunismo-anarquico> [accessed 19 May 2023].
[59] Sara O'Shaughnessy and Emily Huddart Kennedy, 'Relational Activism: Reimagining Women's Environmental Work as Cultural Change', *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 35.4 (2010), pp. 551-572 (pp. 552-553), doi:10.29173/cjs7507.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

attention to neighbourhood and domestic activism, both of which are under-appreciated in many labour histories and political histories which focus on male workers.[62]

Pamela Radcliff's incorporation of women's and gender history into her book on worker mobilisations in Gijón is exemplary in this regard, and this thesis draws inspiration from it.[63] The thesis builds too on the work of Constance Bantman who applied a 'relational approach' to the lives of French anarchists (2017, 2020), and Chris Ealham who applied this same concept in his 2015 biography of Spanish anarchist José Peirats.[64] Both historians illustrated the importance of informal intimate bonds in cementing anarchist movements.[65] The present thesis takes their approach in a transformative new direction by centring anarchist women, giving voice to their perspectives about these gendered processes.

Rosa Medina Domenech has argued that historians should not place expert and non-expert understandings of emotion in a hierarchy, because people encounter both every day and therefore both interact equally with their emotional lives.[66] She furthermore suggests that writing a history that addresses both political ideals and lived experiences demands 'a polyphony of historical voices'; in other words, a range of sources from diverse genres which give voice to varied perspectives.[67] The thesis uncovers the perspectives of anarchist women in a linguistic-archival system plagued by gender neutral mentions of 'anarchists', 'revolutionaries', 'militants',

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[62] Ibid. Espigado Tocino's work strives to correct this: Gloria Espigado Tocino, 'Las Mujeres en el Anarquismo Español (1869-1939),' *Ayer*, 45 (2002), pp. 39-72 (pp. 49-50, 52-53), doi:unavailable. See also: Frank Mintz, *Anarchism and Workers' Self-Management in Revolutionary Spain* (AK Press, 2013 [1970]), p. 13.
[63] Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*.
[64] Constance Bantman, 'Jean Grave and French Anarchism: A Relational Approach (1870s–1914)', *International Review of Social History* 62.3 (2017), pp. 451-477 (p. 452), doi:10.1017/S0020859017000347; Constance Bantman, *Jean Grave and the Networks of French Anarchism, 1854-1939* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); Chris Ealham, *Living Anarchism: José Peirats and the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement* (AK Press, 2015).
[65] Bantman, 'Jean Grave and French Anarchism', pp. 452-453; Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, pp. 1-2. See also: Nadine Willems, 'Transnational anarchism, Japanese revolutionary connections, and the personal politics of exile', *The Historical Journal*, 61.3 (2018), pp. 719-741, doi:10.1017/S0018246X1700019X.
[66] She focused specifically on the emotion: love. Rosa Medina-Doménech, '"Who Were the Experts?" The Science of Love vs. Women's Knowledge of Love During the Spanish Dictatorship', *Science as Culture*, 23.2 (2014),), pp. 177-200 (p. 178), doi:10.1080/09505431.2013.809412.
[67] Ibid., p. 179.

'affiliates', 'writers', 'workers', 'teachers', 'comrades', 'friends', 'siblings', all of whom historians can too easily imagine to be men except in the precious few instances when we are blessed with their names, gendered adjectives, autobiographical mentions of their gender identities, or references to their participation in 'women's' groups.[68] Given that we know a significant portion of the people who engaged with the anarchist movement in Spain between 1923 and 1939 were women, and the vast majority of these have faded into obscurity, the thesis follows feminist historian and political theorist Kathy Ferguson in aspiring 'to bring women's lively presence back into our historical accounts of the anarchist movement'.[69] It does so by weaving together two research approaches influenced by the interdisciplinary Spatial Turn: analysing women's contributions to anarchist thought in gendered discursive spaces; and shedding light on women's anarchist praxes in gendered physical spaces.

Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 6 of the thesis draw attention to discursive 'spaces' where anarchists constructed gendered notions of comradeship, and—following Nash and Torres—situate these into their local and transnational contexts.[70] Detailed analyses of Spain's local and transnational anarchist print media, including women's role within it, have indicated the ways in which anarchism attempted to forge a new model of womanhood.[71] The personal experiences of anarchist

[68] This challenge to the historian has been noted by: Liz Willis, 'Women in the Spanish Revolution', *Solidarity*, London, 15 October 1975, accessed 1 June 2024, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/liz-willis-women-in-the-spanish-revolution>.
[69] Kathy E Ferguson, 'Anarchist Women and the Politics of Walking', *Political Research Quarterly*, 70.4 (2017), pp. 708-719 (p.708), doi:10.1177/1065912917732417.
[70] Mary Nash and Gemma Torres, 'Presentación', in *Los límites de la diferencia: alteridad cultural, género y prácticas sociales*, ed. by Nash and Torres (Icaria, 2008), pp. 1-16 (pp. 11-12).
[71] Marisa Siguan Boehmer, *Literatura popular libertaria: trece años de La Novela Ideal (1925-1938)* (Ediciones Península, 1981); María Angeles García Maroto, *La mujer en la prensa anarquista* (Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, 1996); Nuria Cruz-Cámara, *La mujer moderna en los escritos de Federica Montseny* (Tamesis, 2015); Mar Soria, 'The Erotics of Urban Female Work in Anarchist Kiosk Literature and the Contradictions of Modernity', *Hispanic Research Journal* 19.6 (2018), pp. 620-635, doi:10.1080/14682737.2018.1537332. This was something mirrored in other political movements of the time too, as shown in research by María Nieves García Pintor on Spanish socialism and Begoña Barrera on the women of the Spanish fascist Falange group, among others. María Nieves García Pintor, 'La lucha contra el Don Juan: La construcción de la masculinidad socialista ante la Segunda República a través de El

women were usually entangled with transnational discursive spheres because anarchism was a universalist movement developed in parallel across multiple continents and with a significant itinerant exile population.[72] The thesis builds on Yeoman's research into anarchist publishers' 'networks of exchange' by demonstrating how relations between readers and writers, or publishers and distributors, could manifest as informal, intimate and emotional interactions.[73]

The thesis draws on correspondence—formal letters to and from organisations and personal letters between friends that have made it into archives—both as evidence of trends in discourse and as testimony pertaining to lived experiences.[74] Like gender scholar Clare Hemmings, it analyses letters as a literary genre whose words were originally expressed without any intention to broadcast them to future public audiences.[75] Many anarchists were busy letter-writers, especially those coordinating campaigns between localities and those maintaining relationships with family and friends while in exile (or self-exile). Hemmings suggests that letters reveal 'stutters and gaps in the archive' because we may only have one side of a conversation, they may reference other letters never archived whose intertextuality we can only estimate, and we cannot always know how they

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Socialista (1930-1932)', *Pasado y Memoria,* 24 (2022), pp. 165-188, doi:10.14198/PASADO2022.24.07; Begoña Barrera, 'The Vanguard of the Sección Femenina: Gender and Emotions in the Creation of a Mythic Narrative (1934–39)', *Hispanic Research Journal*, 21.2 (2020), pp. 127-142, doi:10.1080/14682737.2019.1673061. Álvarez Junco frames Spanish anarchist thought as a conglomeration of ideas borrowed from other nations' anarchist movements and other political currents in Spain: José Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español (1868-1910)* (Siglo Veintiuno, 1991 [1976]), p. 9.

[72] This is why postcolonial scholars have called for a more globally-integrated and multidirectional depiction of anarchist activism: 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*, ed. by Hirsch and van der Walt (Koninklijke Brill, 2010), pp. xxxi-lxxiii (p. liv). See also: Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Polity Press, 1994), pp. 9-10. On debates around Spanish anarchism's exceptionality and/or transnationality, see: Danny Evans and James Michael Yeoman, 'New Approaches to Spanish Anarchism', *International Journal of Iberian Studies,* 29.3 (2016), pp. 199-204 (pp. 199-201), doi:10.1386/ijis.29.3.199-2.

[73] Yeoman, *Print Culture*, p.241. See also: Constance Bantman and David Berry, 'Introduction', in *New Perspectives on Anarchism, Labour and Syndicalism: The Individual, the National and the Transnational,* ed. by Bantman and Berry (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 1-13 (pp. 3-4); Bantman, Constance, and Bert Altena, 'Introduction', in *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies*, ed. by Bantman and Altena (Routledge, 2015), pp. 3-22 (pp. 3-4).

[74] Some of this correspondence was transnational too.

[75] Clare Hemmings, *Considering Emma Goldman: Feminist Political Ambivalence and the Imaginative Archive* (Duke University Press, 2018), p. 31.

were received by the recipient.[76] This is all true of the correspondence consulted in this thesis.

Anarchist fiction has been underused in the historiography of early-twentieth-century Spanish anarchist discourse, despite its ubiquity and contemporary widespread consumption. Fictionalised depictions of work, friendships, and love indicate what resonated with contemporary readers, who were frequently women and girls, as well as pointing to concepts and issues that were considered by authors and publishers to be worthwhile subjects for fable-like stories that aspired to teach as well as entertain and sell copies. The most significant body of literature here is *La Novela Ideal*, a series of 600 32-page octave-sized novellas published between 1925 and 1938 by the Barcelona-based anarchist publishing house *La Revista Blanca*.[77] These novellas were so commercially successful, achieving a distribution of between 10,000 and 50,000, that they helped to cover the costs of the publishing house's more expensive outputs.[78] Although more than half were written by men, the remainder constituted a significant corpus of women-authored material; some contributed only one novella, while others wrote many.[79] Since they had the appearance of mainstream *novelas rosas* and fitted aesthetically with wider international trends in kiosk fiction—which saw its heyday in this period—they circumvented censorship during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship.[80] This aesthetic vogue also appealed to a broad audience beyond anarchist organisations like trade unions, as one of their aims was to attract more women to anarchist ideas.[81] Following sociologist Anthony Giddens, the thesis will explore how writing and reading these stories—especially their depictions of intimate relationships—served women in 'com[ing] to terms with frustrated self-identity in

[76] Ibid., p. 32.
[77] Siguan Boehmer, *Literatura popular libertaria.* On anarchist fiction predating this period, including its portrayal of women, see: Lily Litvak, *El Cuento Anarquista: Antología (1880-1911)* (Taurus, 1982), pp. 7-50.
[78] Federica Montseny, *Mis primeros cuarenta años* (Plaza & Janes, 1987), p. 42.
[79] Siguan Boehmer, *Literatura popular libertaria*, pp. 41, 143-155.
[80] *La Revista Blanca* also obtained some privileges because of a deal struck between its editor and a man who worked at the censorship office. But there is something to be said for the mainstream commercial branding of these anarchist stories and how that might have helped them slip through the net.
[81] This is mentioned specifically in oral history recounts by Antònia Fontanillas Borràs and Carmen Mesa: CDMH, FSS, Caja 37, SI,000933, DVD, Antònia Fontanillas Borràs; CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000974, CD, track 152, Carmen Mesa.

actual social life'.[82] The historical significance of this literature is reinforced by anecdotal evidence of the impact the novellas had on young women in Spain who became involved in anarchism.[83]

Non-fiction anarchist print media, too, offers a wealth of women-authored discursive material. This included books, essays, pamphlets, magazine articles, and entries to advice columns. Spanish anarchist advice columns have drawn attention from only a handful of scholars, who emphasise their utility as unique sites where rank-and-file sympathisers had their voice heard by well-known anarchist militants, all conducted publicly in view of a wide readership.[84] Women wrote to the editors of these columns as well as men, and their letters often included descriptions of the intimate lives of unremarkable working-class people, which so rarely appear anywhere else in archives.

Much existing historical research into intimate lives of women inevitably focuses on middle-class subjects who wrote diaries or extensive correspondence deemed important enough to be archived.[85] To study the lives of working-class women in largely illiterate societies often means resorting to hostile sources like medical or court records.[86] In 1930 almost half of Spanish women were illiterate, and in 1936 the figure was still almost 40%.[87] The case of the anarchist movement in Spain offers much needed insight into the everyday affective lives of women from these backgrounds, precisely because working-class anarchists did so much to support one another to

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[82] Anthony Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Polity Press, 1992), p. 44.
[83.] Women wrote to La Novela Ideal author and publisher Federica Montseny to sing the novellas' praises, e.g.: Joaquina Colomer, 'En defensa de Clara', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 November 1925, p. 37. The stories have also been mentioned unprompted in oral histories as formative experiences for anarchist women: CDMH, FSS, Caja 37, SI,000933, DVD, Antònia Fontanillas Borràs; CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000974, CD, Carmen Mesa; Mercedes Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles: Explotación fabril, revolución y represión* (Icaria, 1996), pp. 169, 459.
[84] Carlos Tabernero-Holgado, Isabel Jiménez-Lucena and Jorge Molero-Mesa, 'Movimiento libertario y autogestión del conocimiento en la España del primer tercio del siglo XX: la sección "Preguntas y respuestas" (1930-1937) de la revista Estudios', *Dynamis*, 33.1, (2013), pp. 43-67 (p. 56), doi:10.4321/S0211-95362013000100003; Sophie Turbutt, 'Sexual Revolution and the Spanish Anarchist Press: Bodies, Birth Control, and Free Love in the 1930s Advice Columns of La Revista Blanca', *Contemporary European History*, 33.1 (2024), pp. 338-354, doi:10.1017/S0960777322000315.
[85] See for instance the chapter on 'Romantic Friendship' in Rebecca Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Women since 1500* (Greenwood World Publishing, 2007).
[86] Ibid., p. 48.
[87] Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, p. 19.

become autodidacts.[88] This has left us with a wealth of sources penned by working class anarchists who learned to read and write outside formal education, from correspondence and memoirs to advice column entries, magazine articles, essays, and novellas, all of which are analysed in chapters 1, 2, 4 and 6 which examine anarchist ideals.[89]

The thesis's remaining chapters (3, 5 and 7) explore women's everyday praxes of comradeship-building by examining evidence of what went on in workplaces, anarchist sociable spaces, and anarchists' homes. To this end, these chapters draw on research in the FAL anarchist archive in Madrid, the Ateneu Enciclopedic Popular archive in Barcelona, the Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, the national Documentary Centre for Historical Memory in Salamanca and the International Institute of Social History. The chapters particularly examine documents produced by members of anarchist organisations, including the CNT, the FAI, the FIJL and JJLL, *Mujeres Libres*, SIA, and the anarchist *ateneos*.

There is a significant disparity between the quantity of archived papers dating from the Civil War and the much lesser quantity dating from earlier periods, reflecting not only an increase in anarchist organisational documentation post-1936 but the Franco regime's agenda to preserve documents that could incriminate its former wartime foes.[90] This is echoed too in the fact that the historiography of anarchist women is dominated by studies of the *Mujeres Libres* organisation which operated mostly during the Civil War years. There are also geographical biases; the most substantial archival collections on anarchism derive from groups, branches and organisations in

[88] Lola Iturbe, *La mujer en la lucha social y en la Guerra Civil de España* (Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 1974), p. 198.
[89] Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, pp. 256-257. On researching anarchist political culture by examining what texts workers were reading, see: Marín i Silvestre, 'La llarga tradició de la revolta'.
[90.] The CNT extraordinary national congress held in 1924 was raided by police and so no more were held at all until the Second Republic. Due to governmental persecution of 'socially dangerous elements' during the Republic the CNT only managed to hold national congresses in 1931 and 1936. By contrast, during the Civil War committee-based decision-making multiplied enormously, thereby leaving an extensive documentary record. Sam Dolgoff, 'Part One: Background', in *The Anarchist Collectives,* ed. by Dolgoff, pp. 5-48 (p. 36); Stuart Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas! Un estudio de la Federacion Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) 1927-1937* (Universitat de València, 2010), Chapter III.

Madrid and above all Barcelona, with other records being far more disparate and sparser.

This means that in studies of anarchist workplaces, groups, and organisations the historian must correct for the marginalisation of documentary evidence from Spain's other regions, especially its majority rural population, as well as the relative archival quietness of the pre-Civil War period. One solution is to read against the grain to identify ways in which sources indirectly lead us these perspectives. Turcato's 'charitable' approach to opacity in Spanish anarchist sources is also useful: fragmented source material should be heuristically read with open-mindedness to its potential significance rather than fed into a simple narrative that either downplays anarchists' logic or overestimates their surreptitious influence on society.[91]

The thesis employs a further strategy, too: it draws on less conventional evidence outside the document archive, including memoirs and oral histories. It supplements these with existing local history studies of anarchist political culture in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Gijón, and Andalusia, as well as rural observational research conducted during the period itself by Gaston Leval and others, to compose a wide-ranging and textured picture of anarchist women's multifaceted activisms in various urban and rural spaces.[92] The thesis does certainly examine evidence from the Civil War and from *Mujeres Libres*, but situates this within a wider scope of enquiry.

In Chapters 3, 5 and 7 the thesis builds upon existing gender histories of the anarchist movement in Spain and of the Spanish Civil War, which have examined the gendering of space, women's presence in workplaces and protests, relations between anarchist men and women, and the formation of anarchist women's groups. In the first of these categories, Temma Kaplan's pioneering 'women's history' of the Spanish Left in 1982 argued that women in Barcelona

[91]. Turcato, 'Collective Action, Opacity, and the "Problem of Irrationality"', pp. 3-4, 8, 26. This is drawn upon by Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism', p. 547.

[92] Fernando Jiménez Herrera, *¡Por la Libertad! Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos en el primer tercio del siglo XX* (Agita Vallecas, 2023); Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*; Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*; Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*; Lucía Prieto Borrego, 'Las mujeres en el anarquismo andaluz: cultura y movilización en la primera mitad del siglo XX', *Arenal* 19.1 (2012), pp. 47-74, doi:10.30827/arenalv19i1.1408; Sam Dolgoff (ed.), *The Anarchist Collectives*.

embodied normative femininity in their collective action, emphasising their feminine sensibilities even when conducting resistance in public.[93] Pamela Radcliff's 1993 study of Gijón went on to challenge the legitimacy of binary frameworks when interpreting women's gendered experiences of collective action, by emphasising the multifaceted nature of working-class women's political identities which were forged not only in the public sphere or domestic realm but in a third social space: local community.[94] Chris Ealham's study of anarchism in Barcelona reiterated that the local community roots of anarchist organisations made neighbourhoods feel powerful: they offered a 'vibrant alternative public sphere' in which to socialise, compensated where public services were lacking via cooperative projects, and welcomed those living in socioeconomic precarity such as migrants and those branded social deviants.[95] Ackelsberg added that community-based and cultural forms of political association were especially important for the inclusion of women in anarchism because they were less likely to be unionised, which built on Radcliff's research into everyday working-class life.[96] In support of this approach to reintegrating women into labour history, the thesis illustrates how many of the same women developed their anarchist identities in their workplaces (Chapter 3), in their homes (Chapter 7), and in the local sociable spaces they frequented (Chapter 5). It uses ego-documents like correspondence, memoir and oral history to trace women's movements through these interconnected gendered spaces in everyday life.

Gender historians of anarchism in Spain have, as aforementioned, revealed ways in which sexism pervaded the movement. Historians have especially examined discrimination against women during the extraordinary transformation in gender relations brought about by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and the present thesis likewise explores change and continuity before and

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[93] Temma Kaplan, 'Female Consciouness and Collective Action: The Case of Barcelona, 1910-1918', *Signs* 7.3 (1982), pp. 545-566 (pp. 545-547, 565), doi:10.1086/493899.
[94] Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers', pp. 87-89. See also: Matthew Kerry, *Unite, Proletarian Brothers!: Radicalism and Revolution in the Spanish Second Republic* (University of London Press, 2020), pp. 13-14.
[95] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, pp. 43, 48, 52. See also: Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura,* pp. 371-373.
[96] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p.23. Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers', pp. 88-89, 101.

after the summer of 1936. Mary Nash's research into anarchism and sexuality during the war concluded that the revolution only somewhat subverted prevailing norms—even *Mujeres Libres* elevated childcare as women's most important social role.[97] Liz Willis has revealed that economic discrimination against women persisted even once revolutionaries transformed localities into communes and workplaces into self-managed enterprises in many parts of Spain during the early months of the Civil War.[98] Radcliff summarises the situation thus: 'Instead of being apolitical or clerical dupes, poor women were available political actors whose energies were not successfully tapped', an observation echoed by Ana Martínez Rus who has uncovered the ill-treatment of Civil War militiawomen.[99] Using meeting minutes, payrolls, circulars, and reports, the present thesis not only provides additional archival evidence to reinforce these conclusions but also examines further systemic ways in which anarchist men placed women in everyday precarity, from hiring practices to social ostracisation.

By alternating its phenomenological chapters with chapters shedding light on anarchist thought pertaining to interpersonal relations, the thesis demonstrates that these wartime precarities faced by women felt not like a comfortable continuity with mainstream culture but a frustrating disjuncture, since their everyday lived experiences did not match the notions of comradely intimacy that revolutionary conceptual ideals had promised before the war. Through its emotional lens the thesis transforms our understandings of why sexism was so emotionally destructive for the movement and why so many women persevered within it nonetheless.

Historians of *Mujeres Libres,* the Spanish anarchist women's group which obtained a national

[97] Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (Arden Press, 1995), pp. 5, 91; see also: Mary Nash, 'Un/Contested Identities: Motherhood, Sex Reform and the Modernization of Gender Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Spain', in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. by Victoria Lorée Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 25-50.
[98] Willis, 'Women in the Spanish Revolution'.
[99] Radcliff's critique referenced not only a failure in the anarcho-syndicalist mass movement but in the republican mass movement too: Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 313. Ana Martínez Rus, *Milicianas: mujeres republicanas combatientes* (Catarata, 2018), p. 12.

reach and an international reputation, have brought to light that Spanish women retained faith in anarchism because they believed it was the political ideology that best served women's emancipation (more so than Marxism), but that at the same time they were disillusioned by the enduring misogyny of their male peers.[100] The present thesis's interdisciplinary approach, applying social movement sociology to historical evidence from the archive, offers a transformative further explanation of the emotional motivations and outcomes surrounding *Mujeres Libres* and the smaller women's groups that preceded it. By tying together themes raised in various independent oral history projects, memoirs, and other '*fuentes del yo íntimo*' ('sources of the intimate self'), the thesis elucidates not only the impact of these collectives on the opportunities for emancipation fought for by anarchist women, which is well-documented, but also how such groups functioned as emotional refuges which supported women to remain resilient and valuable participants in the mixed gender anarchist movement as a whole.[101]

Isabel Burdiel has rightly emphasised that a single person's life story, when read with others, 'rescues the plurality of the past'.[102] It allows the historian to assess whether patterns in documentary evidence are sufficiently illustrative of the lived experiences of the individuals to whom that evidence pertained, and account for any nuances and discrepancies. The thesis examines

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[100] These projects have examined the group's publications, biographies of its members, its educational and cultural intitiatives, and oral history testimonies pertaining to its social influence: Mary Nash, *"Mujeres Libres": España 1936-1939* (Tusquets, 1976); Mary Nash, *Mujer y Movimiento Obrero en España, 1931-1939* (Editorial Fontmara, 1981); Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*; Laura Sánchez Blanco, 'Mujeres Libres en la Guerra Civil Española. La Capacitación Cultural y Profesional en la Región de Cataluña', *Social and Education History*, 6.3 (2017), pp. 290-313, doi:10.17583/hse.2017.2940; Isabella Lorusso, *Mujeres Libres* (Ediciones de Tempestad, 2013), republished as Isabella Lorusso, *Mujeres en Lucha* (Altamarea Ediciones, 2018); Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras*.

[101] A facet of the history of anarchist women that has been especially emphasised by: Nekane Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado: Mujeres Libres* (Eusko Lurra Fundazioa, 2017). María Sierra, 'Las fuentes del yo íntimo: biografía y virilidades románticas', in *La historia biográfica en Europa: nuevas perspectivas*, ed. By Isabel Burdiel and Roy Foster (Institución Fernando el Católico, 2015), pp. 241-260.

[102] Isabel Burdiel in Mónica Bolufer, Isabel Burdiel and María Sierra, '¿Qué biografía para qué historia? Conversación con Isabel Burdiel y María Sierra', in *¿Y ahora qué? Nuevos usos del género biográfico*, ed. by Henar Gallego and Bolufer (Icaria, 2016), pp. 19-35 (p. 32). On the usefulness of biographies for writing history that intersects emotion with gender, see: Barrera and Sierra, 'Historia de las emociones', p. 136.

five oral-history collections and four published works based on oral-history interviews.[103] It has been imperative to account for the various degrees to which each of these has undergone processes of mediation (interviewing, recording, editing, transcribing, and translating). Moreover, Pilar Díaz Sánchez has suggested that oral histories should aspire to avoid exceptional stories, but many of the interviews that have been conducted with anarchist women were obtained precisely because of those women's continued involvement (and thus notoriety) in the movement or at least in its affiliated historical memory projects.[104] To account for this, the thesis research has striven to identify biographical details of lesser-known women in the testimonies of those who have been afforded platforms.

Part I (Chapter 1) will examine the construction of individual identity amongst anarchist women and illustrate that this was a core aim of the anarchist movement in line with its imaginary of women's emancipation. The chapter will place anarchist conceptualisations of womanhood itself, as well as the idealised role constructed for women in so-called 'social regeneration', into the historical context of Spain's crises of masculinity, femininity and family between the 1923 coup d'etat and the 1939 close of the Civil War, and position these crises—as Richard Cleminson and others have done—within interwar European and Ibero-American political and scientific thought.[105] It will introduce the thesis's power-sensitive and subject-broadening approach to studying the lives of women, inspired by Nerea Aresti's problematisation of the matter, by drawing

[103] Oral history collections: Fundación Salvador Seguí (at CDMH); Women in the Spanish Civil War collection (at CDMH); Anna Monjo collection (at AHCB); Eulàlia Vega collection (at AHCB); Spanish Anarchists collection (at IISH). Abridged oral history research: Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*; Lorusso, *Mujeres Libres* and Lorusso, *Mujeres en Lucha*; Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*; Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*.
[104] Pilar Díaz Sánchez, 'Testimonios de vida: relaciones familiares y genealogías femeninas', in *¿Y ahora qué? Nuevos usos del género biográfico*, ed by. Henar Gallego and Mónica Bolufer (Icaria, 2016), pp. 221-239 (pp. 223-224).
[105] Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*; Masjuan, *La Ecología Humana en el Anarquismo Ibérico*; Francisco Javier Navarro Navarro, *"El paraíso de la razón", la revista Estudios (1928-1937) y el mundo cultural anarquista* (Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1997); Nerea Aresti, 'A Fight for Real Men: Gender and Nation-Building during the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship (1923-1936)', *European History Quarterly,* 50.2 (2020), pp. 248-265, doi:10.1177/0265691420910947.

upon Enrique Moral de Eusebio's transfeminist critiques both of traditionally monolithic feminist histories and of postmodern queer-theory-led histories of gender.[106] The chapter will close by illustrating the pertinence of gender to anarchist self-emancipation initiatives.

Part II (Chapters 2 and 3) will explore anarchist notions of ideal work, demonstrating that a feeling of fulfilment was fundamental to these. It will also show for the first time that all activism work inhabited by anarchists in Spain in this period incorporated some form of emotion work.[107] Häberlen, Spinney, Romanos and Barclay have shown that emotion work to trigger protest actions and maintain commitment to the cause is central to any social movement's repertoire.[108] Chapter 2 will accordingly point to various arenas in which emotion operated in anarchist political culture. The chapter will end by demonstrating that there was a significant shift in anarchist discourses about work upon the summer of 1936, deprioritising women's feelings of fulfilment at work within a new revolutionary wartime paradigm. Chapter 3 will begin by examining the impact of this shift on the gender dynamics of emotional activism work, before detailing evidence of material and social obstacles to fulfilment that women now faced. The chapter will draw on both historical and sociological research into activism, emotion and gender—especially that by Jacobsson and Lindblom, Martín Moruno, Holthaus, and Milan—to suggest a new gender history interpretation of the work women contributed to the anarchist revolution: one which makes evident the precarity of comradeship they were extended in return.[109]

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[106] Aresti, 'A Fight for Real Men', pp. 250-251; Enrique Moral de Eusebio, 'Hacia una arqueología transfeminista: el estudio de la sexualidad, el espacio y la materialidad en el pasado', in *Cultura material e historia de las mujeres*, ed. by Ángela Muñoz Fernández and Marta del Moral Vargas (Albolote: Comares, 2020), pp. 41-57.

[107] 'Emotional labour' was first theorised in: Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (University of California Press, 2012 [1983]), pp. 6-7. The thesis explores various further sociological developments of that theory.

[108] Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism', p. 547; Häberlen and Spinney, 'Introduction', p. 491; Katie Barclay, 'State of the Field: The History of Emotions', *History*, 106.371 (2021), pp. 456-466 (p. 465), doi:10.1111/1468-229X.13171.

[109] Kerstin Jacobsson and Jonas Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism* (Amsterdam University Press, 2016); Dolores Martín-Moruno, 'Feeling humanitarianism during the Spanish Civil War and Republican exile', *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 21.4 (2020), pp. 445-457, doi:10.1080/14636204.2020.1842092; Dolores Martín-Moruno, Brenda Lynn Edgar, and Marie Leyder, 'Feminist perspectives on the history of

Building on this picture of precarity, Part III (Chapters 4 and 5) will illustrate that the creation and maintenance of friendships was one of the most important facets of the emotion work underpinning anarchist comradeship-building. This social phenomenon has been hinted at since the 1980s in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of 'durable alliances', but rarely applied to histories of specific revolutionary movements.[110] María Rosón and Rosa Medina Domenech have suggested that individuals and groups with subaltern positionalities construct 'assemblages [*bricolajes*] of affective experiences which violate norms' that are transmitted intergenerationally and which constitute resistance against hegemonic and oppressive cultures or institutions.[111] The anarchist movement in Spain between 1923 and 1939 certainly occupied such a positionality. Chapter 4 will emphasise that unlike blood family ties, friendships are founded on free choice and considered to be between equals, which made them apt analogies for ideal anarchist comradeship.[112] It will illustrate how close friendships became like 'chosen families' that provided what Rosenwein has termed 'emotional refuges', for anarchists in Spain.[113] Following Laura Forster's writings on 'radical friendship', as well as research into Spanish anarchism and community by Pamela Radcliff and Eulàlia Vega, Chapter 5 will then explore the relevance of space to shaping gendered affective bonds between anarchist friends, with particular emphases on the home and on the social life of the anarchist *ateneos*, as well as the intersections between these and other associative bonds. The chapter will illustrate the centrality of friendship to anarchist strategy in Spain, and how this was

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humanitarian relief (1870–1945)', *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 36.1, (2020), pp. 2-18, doi:10.1080/13623699.2020.1717720; Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow'; Chiara Milan, 'Emotions in Action: The Role of Emotions in Refugee Solidarity Activism', *Sociological Forum*, 38.3 (2023), pp. 813-829, doi:10.1111/socf.12926.

[110] Pierre Bourdieu, 'What Makes a Social Class? On the Theoretical and Practical Existence of Groups' *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 32 (1987), pp. 1-17 (p. 5), doi:unavailable.

[111] María Rosón and Rose Medina Domenech, 'Resistencias emocionales. Espacios y presencias de lo íntimo en el archive histórico', *Arenal*, 24.2 (2017), pp. 407-439 (pp. 413-418), doi:10.30827/arenal.v24i2.3914.

[112] Sarah Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), p. 3.

[113] Rosenwein coined 'emotional refuges' to describe refuges of feeling within a hegemonic 'emotional regime' (Reddy's term): Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 19.

refracted through notions of gender, illustrating that by introducing friendship as a new category for analysis we gain more thorough explanations for anarchism's endurance. The chapter will also explore tensions between anarchist friends, and the implications of these on comradeship-building and the making of anarchist womanhood.

The thesis will then segue to Part IV (Chapters 6 and 7) which will explore processes of identity-making between anarchist lovers.[114] The chapters will show that anarchists in interwar Spain envisioned love's transformative revolutionary potential, something that is now seeing a revival among anticapitalist activists.[115] They will demonstrate the protagonism of women in this historically significant contribution to revolutionary thought and practice. The chapters will contribute, too, to the historiography of what Giddens calls 'plastic sexuality'—the discourses and praxes by which sexuality has, since the eighteenth century, been decentred away from the impetus to reproduce.[116] Following Felski, Part IV will examine not only anarchists' discursive interpretations of interwar sexological ideas (Chapter 6), but their 'messy and complicated' gendered real life experiences of implementing (and not implementing) these in Spain in this period (Chapter 7).[117] Chapter 6 will build upon histories of sex and sexuality in Spanish anarchism by presenting for the first time an emotional history of anarchist love.[118] Chapter 7 will illustrate that anarchist discourse established new boundaries for sexual permissiveness as well as subverting old ones, and demonstrate that anarchist women carried out a disproportionate share of the emotional, cultural and reproductive labour necessary to transform relations between lovers according to that ideal. Consequently, it will substantiate Hall's stance that women were never 'blank wax imprinted with the ideas of male sexologists', but participants in that history, and reflect on bell hooks'

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[114] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics*, p. 8.
[115] Matt York, 'Revolutionary Love and Alter-globalisation: Towards a New Development Ethic', *Social Change*, 48.4 (2018), pp. 601-615 (pp. 607-608), doi:10.1177/0049085718801402.
[116] Giddens, *Transformation of Intimacy,* p. 2.
[117] Rita Felski, 'Introduction', in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 1-8 (p. 2).
[118] See footnote 28.

observation that 'Men theorize about love, but women are more often love's practitioners'.[119]

[119] Lesley A. Hall, 'Feminist Reconfigurations of Heterosexuality in the 1920s', in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. by Lucy Bland and Laura Doan (University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 135-149 (p. 136); see also: Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, '"The power of motherhood […], free of obstacles, will amply fulfil its eternal mission". Feminism and motherhood in the early twentieth century Spain', *Feminismo/s*, 41 (2023), pp. 103-130 (p. 110), doi:10.14198/fem.2023.41.05. bell hooks, *All About Love: New Visions* (Harper Collins, 2001), p. xx.

Part I

Introduction

'I do not want you to "call" me your comrade; I would prefer that you "make" me your comrade, that you give me what your position, your ability, your sensibility have made possible for you and not for me[...] Only when we are comrades can we call ourselves comrades.'[1]

Mercedes Comaposada, co-founder of the anarchist women's organisation *Mujeres Libres*, published these words in the second issue of the group's magazine in 1936. At first glance, it reads simply as a call for anarchist men to be more active in realising the movement's theoretical commitment to the emancipation of women. But also, on further reflection, Comaposada invoked a very particular sense of what 'comradeship' meant: something that a person desires for oneself, develops through encounters with others, and only then can internalise. To understand the gender dynamics of how comradeship was constructed in anarchist political culture in Spain between 1923 and 1939, this thesis employs the concept of identity. Anarchists wrote about selfhood, personhood, and a secularised notion of the 'soul', with all these being understood as senses of self that were constructed both individually through autonomous self-empowerment and collectively through revolutionary processes of social liberation.[2]

Beginning with the present chapter (Chapter 1), the thesis draws upon Hernando Gonzalo's contention that individual identity is made up of one's sense of agency and self-determination, while relational identity—developed through interpersonal encounters and relationships—is one's sense of belonging to certain groups.[3] Chapter 1 attends to individual identity-making. Sociologists

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1. Comaposada, 'La cuarta revolución'.
2. Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p. 11.
3. Hernando Gonzalo, 'Subordinación de género', p. 5.

O'Shaughnessy and Kennedy rightly noted that in activism 'relationships have greater agency than individual actors', but this inadvertently obscures the centrality of subjective (as well as intersubjective) identity-making as a motivator for initiation into, and continued participation in, social activism.[4] As a movement which stressed that the key to a more equal and just society lay not only in collective harmony but in personal autonomy, anarchism placed just as much weight on the development of individual identity as relational identity in its revolutionary project.

Hernando Gonzalo elucidated the power dynamic at play in the development of identities: groups marginalised by hegemonic cultures (such as those identifying with oppressed minority ethnicities or as women living under patriarchy) are denied full realisation of their individual identity because they are always perceived (and taught to perceive themselves) relationally.[5] We might point for instance to archetypal models of femininity which described women only as mothers (relational to offspring) and wives (relational to husbands). Accordingly, those anarchist writers in Spain in the interwar period who concerned themselves with the 'emancipation' of women recognised that instilling individual identity in women was fundamental in the struggle to dismantle gender hierarchy.

This chapter, drawing upon anarchist print media from the period, will first examine anarchists' discursive conceptualisations of womanhood, and the intersecting implications of these for women's freedom to construct and express their gender identity. This will then be linked to anarchist ideas about the social role of the self, in particular: the tension between egoism and collectivism, the various roles ascribed to women in the repairing of the early-twentieth-century apparent crisis of social degeneration, and the discursive construction of 'womanhood' as one half of a binary gender regime bound to compulsory heterosexuality. The chapter will culminate by illustrating anarchist political culture's efforts to cultivate individual identity—that is, autonomous personhood and agency—among women in interwar Spain.

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4. O'Shaughnessy and Huddart Kennedy, 'Relational Activism', p. 555.
5. Hernando Gonzalo, 'Subordinación de género', pp. 4-5.

The chapter will suggest how historians of Spanish anarchism might achieve a transfeminist approach to the 'history of women', representing a new historiographical avenue, and it will situate existing historical research into anarchist self-empowerment projects (such as autodidactism) within a broader picture of gendered praxes of anarchist comradeship-building.

Chapter 1: Self

Constructions of womanhood in the Spanish anarchist press

The 1920s and 1930s represented a turning point in how sexual scientists understood, justified, and clinically acted on sex categorisation ('male', 'female' and 'intersex'), and Spanish anarchist political culture demonstrated curiosity about these developments. Research into Spanish sexology and sex categorisation in this period has been conducted by Thomas Glick, Francisco Vázquez García, and Richard Cleminson, with the latter also exploring the reception of these developments among anarchists.[1] This sub-section analyses the implications of this discursive, conceptual matter for the embodied gender identity-making of anarchist women.

By the nineteenth century it was widely believed that the 'two sexes' occupied distinct bodies, then in the early twentieth century new research in endocrinology and intersexuality re-approached this.[2] Interwar scientific developments disrupted the alleged common sense of Western society's sex categorisation system. To some this may have represented long overdue recognition of the elasticity of what it meant to be 'male' or 'female', whereas to many others it reinforced the sense of moral crisis that characterised those decades. Historian Nerea Aresti convincingly characterises this period as a crisis of hegemonic masculinity that was really a crisis in patriarchy; as women seemingly became more like men, the logics of patriarchy were destabilised. [3]

Amid the Spanish anarchist print media, intersexuality was discussed especially in the Valencia-based magazine *Estudios* which in 1929 published a number of texts by, and drawing on,

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[1] Thomas F. Glick, 'Marañón, Intersexuality and the Biological Construction of Gender in 1920s Spain', *Cronos*, 8 (2005), 121-138, doi:unavailable; Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, *Hermaphroditism, Medical Science and Sexual Identity in Spain, 1850-1960* (University of Wales Press, 2009).

[2] Cleminson, 'Medical Understandings of the Body', p. 81.

[3] Nerea Aresti, 'La historia de género y el estudio de las masculinidades. Reflexiones sobre conceptos y métodos', *Feminidades y masculinidades en la historiografía de género*, ed. by Henar Gallego Franco (Comares, 2018), pp. 173-194.

Spanish sexologist and endocrinologist Dr Gregorio Marañón.[4] The wide proliferation of his work, inside and outside Spain, reflected the fact that the 1920s were the 'heyday of hormonal determinism' in sexology.[5] The first excerpt of Marañón's work printed in *Estudios* remarked that recent research had now conclusively disproven that sex was an absolute and unconfutable categorisation.[6] Human development in the uterus begins hermaphroditically, he wrote, and then differentiates several weeks into gestation, and it is not that female sexual characteristics vanish in a male but that the male characteristics become more pronounced (hypertrophy) and the female characteristics become less pronounced (atrophy) or vice versa.[7] Therefore, he wrote, it was too vague to label someone 'male' or 'female'; there were nuances within each category causing each to be 'full of graduations along two diverging scales that converge in a common zone, separated arbitrarily and with difficulty'.[8] To assign sexed labels, he wrote, people rely on secondary characteristics such as hair distribution, skeletal proportions, libido, or voice.[9] Almost no human being entirely meets the criteria of 'male' or 'female' and therefore a great majority live their lives passing as one or the other.[10]

In the 1930s it would be discovered that the 'male' hormone androgen is present in female-categorised bodies and oestrogen in males; this likewise reinforced the point made by Marañón that sex is not absolute.[11] In this period doctors typically pathologised intersexuality as something to be

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4. In 1932 he would become the President of the Spanish chapter of the World League for Sexual Reform, and he was one of the very few Spanish scientists who were known internationally: Thomas F. Glick, 'Sexual Reform, Psychoanalysis, and the Politics of Divorce in Spain in the 1920s and 1930s', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 12.1 (2003), pp. 68-97(pp. 70, 77), doi:10.1353/sex.2003.0061.
5 Glick, 'Marañón, Intersexuality', p. 121.
6. Gregorio Marañón, 'Nuevas ideas sobre el problema de la intersexualidad y sobre la cronología de los sexos', *Estudios*, June 1929, pp. 17-23.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid. See also: Luis Huerta, 'El marañonismo y la intersexualidad', *Estudios*, May 1929, pp. 9-12; G. Marañón, 'Nuevas ideas sobre el problema de la intersexualidad y sobre la cronología de los sexos', *Estudios*, July 1929, pp. 24-31. Marañón's work on sexual physiology is mentioned, though not explored in detail, in Alejandro Lora Medina, 'La visión ontológica de la mujer y el hombre en el anarquismo español de los años treinta: Identidad y Género a Debate,' *Brocar*, 41 (2017), pp. 153-175 (pp. 171-172), doi:https://doi.org/10.18172/brocar.3412.
11. Cleminson, 'Medical Understandings of the Body', p. 82.

'treated' by bringing a body back within the Western socio-biological categories of 'male' or 'female'.[12] Therefore, the appearance of this discourse in the anarchist press not only affected anarchist-affiliated people who knew that they were themselves in the intersex category (as they understood it), but also had implications for the gendered lived experiences of all people in anarchist political culture.[13]

The relevance of this matter to those who identified with womanhood was explored in another anarchist publication: Dr Amparo Poch y Gascón's 1932 book for women and girls, *La vida sexual de la mujer* ('The Sexual Life of the Woman'). She drew on her medical school training as well as years of providing clinical birth control and maternity services and giving public lectures on such matters.[14] She began the book by acknowledging that the foetal and embryonic development of sex markers other than genitalia were still unknown to science.[15] She then detailed the parts of the female internal and external genitalia, including an illustration.[16] She also wrote of the development of secondary sex characteristics, directed by the ovaries, in a way that recognised that masculinity and femininity were categories grounded in perception: 'the whole organism of the girl undergoes profound modifications that lead her to the acquisition of the form that is considered characteristic of femininity'.[17] Moreover, in a later passage she wrote that some of these characteristics are 'not so certain and constant' as internal and external genitalia, thereby acknowledging that sex categorisation was imperfect because it did not account for all possible bodies.[18] Later in the book

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[12] See for example: Sam Fernández-Garrido and Rosa Medina-Domenech, '"Bridging the Sexes": Feelings, Professional Communities, and Emotional Practices in the Spanish Intersex Clinic', *Science as Culture*, 29.4 (2020), pp. 546-567, doi:10.1080/09505431.2020.1718088; Mirjam Janett and others, 'Doctors, families and the industry in the clinic: the management of 'intersex' children in Swiss paediatric medicine (1945–1970)', *Medical History*, 65.3 (2021), pp. 286-305, doi:10.1017/mdh.2021.17.
[13]. This point has been made in a more generalised historical context by: Cleminson, 'Medical Understandings of the Body', p. 79. Glick has also shown that because Marañón's theory of sexual differentiation challenged sexual binarism with ambiguity, it appealed to a wide range of social sectors and campaigners: Glick, 'Marañón, Intersexuality', p. 136.
[14] Antonina Rodrigo, *Una Mujer Libre: Amparo Poch y Gascón, médica y anarquista* (Flor del Viento Ediciones, 2002).
[15]. Ámparo Poch y Gascón, *La vida sexual de la mujer* (Cuadernos de la Cultura, 1932), pp. 5-6.
[16]. Ibid., pp. 11-13.
[17]. Ibid., pp. 10, 15-17.
[18]. Ibid., p. 40.

she turned to the matter of sex determination in utero, echoing Marañón's hermaphroditic theory.[19] Like Marañón's, her scientific explanation of what it meant to be 'female' emphasised that such categories were socially delineated and therefore imperfect and mutable. This serves to substantiate the stance of sexuality historian Harry Cocks, who has argued that the notion of gender being 'socially constructed' was not a late-twentieth-century idea; it had been advanced in other linguistic terms by writers since at least the eighteenth century.[20]

Although both Poch y Gascón and Marañón threw into question the validity of binary sex categorisation, they differed in their consequent attitudes towards relations between genders. In other works, Marañón upheld that the gendered social roles of men and women should remain distinct in accordance with reproductive logics; Poch y Gascón disrupted this through her anarchist activism.[21] Moreover, Marañón believed in the neo-Darwinian and Freudian premise that women were, phyletically and physiologically speaking, underdeveloped men; whereas Poch y Gascón rejected such a notion and condemned its socio-cultural utilisation in legitimising misogyny.[22]

Similarly, in other texts in the anarchist press, a recurring message was that sex characteristics could not logically justify men's subordination of women. Indeed, this was core to anarchist understandings of women's emancipation. A 1933 article about virginity by Brazilian anarchist María Lacerda de Moura in the Spanish anarchist magazine *Iniciales* lamented, 'It seems incredible that the genital organs of the woman are the determinants of her exploitation', and more specifically that 'from the hymen is borne sexual exploitation'.[23] Lacerda de Moura suggested here that reducing womanhood to a virginal or non-virginal hymen reinforced the oppression of women.

[19.] Ibid., p. 39.
[20.] Harry G. Cocks, 'Approaches to the History of Sexuality since 1750,' in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body, 1500 to the Present,* ed. by Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (Routledge, 2016), pp. 38-54 (p. 41), doi:10.4324/9780203436868.
[21.] Mary Nash, *Mujeres en el Mundo: Historia, Retos y Movimientos* (Alianza Editorial, 2012), p. 60.
[22] Glick, 'Marañón, Intersexuality', pp. 123-124; Poch y Gascón, *Vida Sexual*, p. 23.
[23.] María Lacerda de Moura, 'Esclavitud Sexual', trans. by Medina González, *Iniciales*, 1933, 8, p. 8. Lacerda de Moura likely drew here on her own lived experience living in Brazil; the connection between virginity and the Virgin Mary was especially important in Latin American Christian culture: Nash, *Mujeres en el Mundo*, p. 42. The scientific validity of judging sexual experience via the hymen was debunked in: Poch y Gascón, *Vida Sexual*, p. 13.

Similarly, *Estudios* published a text by scientist Santiago Ramón y Cajal in which he debunked the idea that the typically superior size of male brains caused differences in intelligence between the sexes.[24] He argued that unequal education access was the real cause of differences in 'intelligence'.[25] In other words, he—like Poch y Gascón—argued that men's and women's aptitudes were a socially constructed matter of gender under patriarchy, not a matter of which 'sex' category one's body fitted into.

Discursive reconception of the sex categories as socially equal was able to co-exist, though, with discursive rejection of gender expressions that threatened the popular façade of sex being binary. Writers wrote from a subjective perception of common sense and lived reality. For instance, a 1936 contribution to the *Mujeres Libres* magazine argued that co-education in anarchist schools had been proven through experience to temper the inherent delicateness of girls and the inherent brutality of boys.[26] Even this organisation by and for women, which was founded on the belief that women should break free of reductive orthodoxies that curtailed their activities, discursively upheld binary qualitative differences between genders.[27] Gender expressions that subverted sex categorisation were furthermore used as the punchlines to jokes in this period. For instance, a satirically hyperbolic article in the anarchist magazine *La Revista Blanca* critiqued a reported increase in the number of female smokers in Paris (smoking was seen as a masculine activity) by suggesting that if the trend persisted then men 'will drink ambrosia, will crochet, will play the harp'.[28] While men's and women's capacities to perform equally valuable social roles was vehemently defended by anarchist women in the press, articles like this upheld the façade that binary gender expression of binary sex differentiation was merely common sense: an example of

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24. S. Ramón y Cajal, 'La capacidad de la mujer', *Estudios*, January 1930, p. 23.
25. Ibid.
26. Julia M. Carrillo, 'Algo sobre coeducación', *Mujeres Libres*, 2, 1936, p. 7. See also: Federica Montseny, 'Vanguardismo literario y vanguardia moral,' *La Revista Blanca*, 1 July 1929, pp. 74-75.
27. This has been noted by Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado*, pp. 255-256 and Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras*, p. 50.
28. Hipatia, 'Rodando por el mundo,' *La Revista Blanca*, 15 February 1924, p. 27.

what historian Lorraine Daston has termed the 'naturalistic fallacy'.[29]

Indeed, newfound awareness in this period of the fragility of the sex-gender categories 'male' and 'female' motivated a moral panic that sexual order needed to be restored.[30] Anarchists who knew about intersexuality through reading Marañón's texts in *Estudios* did not necessarily afford this scientific knowledge greater weight than the apparently common-sense notion that childbearing was an important social duty which required the pairing of fertile 'male' people with fertile 'female' people.[31] In other words, compulsory heterosexuality dissuaded anarchists in Spain from developing an ideological justification for the social acceptance of intersexual people or even androgynously-presenting people, either on the basis of free and autonomous self-realisation or on the basis of communal and mutualist care praxes.[32] The closest any anarchist writers came to something resembling this was in some of their discursive interventions surrounding homosexuality, but these were limited and scarce.[33] Men who loved men were thought to be biologically not masculine enough, and vice versa; writers categorized them, alongside 'hermaphrodites' and those who presented differently from their sex assigned at birth, as sexual 'deviants'.[34] There was also doubt as to the reproductive capacities of intersex people, so their existence was believed to contribute to Spain's interwar crisis of virility.

Popular discursive rejections of scientific evidence of sex and gender's fluidity may have been furthermore connected to anarchist publications' demonstrable distrust in medical professionals' intentions. Just as in the vaccine debate raging in this period (with *Iniciales* giving platforms to vaccine sceptics), sex categorisation was a sphere of everyday life in which everyday experiential

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[29] Lorraine Daston, 'The Naturalistic Fallacy Is Modern', *Isis*, 105.3 (2014), pp. 579-587, doi:10.1086/678173.
[30.] Nerea Aresti has written about this phenomenon in the wider Spanish context in the 1920s and 1930s: Aresti, 'La historia de género', p. 191.
[31] On anarchists' perceptions of bourgeois scientists, see: Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, p. 76.
[32] This concept derives from: Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence', *Signs*, 5.4 (1980), pp. 631-660, doi:10.1353/jowh.2003.0079.
[33] This will be examined in detail in Chapter 6.
[34.] Cleminson and Vázquez García, *Hermaphroditism*, p. 126. In another article, Cleminson has called this the 'menace of homoeroticism': Richard Cleminson, 'Anarchism and Feminism', *Women's History Review,* 7.1 (1998), pp.135-138 (pp. 136-137), doi:10.1080/09612029800200162.

common sense prevailed over the logics of bourgeois laboratory researchers.[35] In this cultural context, gender non-conformity (including homosexuality), which might betray someone's hidden intersexuality, was feared to be a catalyst for Spanish and European social degeneration.

Accordingly, anarchist women writers circumscribed the ideal embodiment of anarchist womanhood in the press by grounding it in a binary conception of sexual difference. The founders of the women's organisation *Mujeres Libres* emphasised in their 1936 mission statement that 'The species to reproduce needs two elements, masculine and feminine'.[36] Prolific anarchist writer Federica Montseny had endorsed the same underpinning worldview a decade earlier, writing in *La Revista Blanca* that, 'The woman of the future will not be a little androgynous being' because 'We [women] have to have a higher aspiration than that cowardly aspiration to emulate and imitate the other sex'.[37] Although early-twentieth-century Spanish urban centres saw new 'feminist' cultural movements which identified empowerment in gender nonconformity—wearing trousers, sporting short hair, smoking—these were largely disparaged in Spanish anarchist periodicals of the time.[38] In fact, Spanish anarchist concepts of womanhood occupied the same paradigm as other contemporary political and cultural discourses that reframed ideals of the 'modern girl' or 'modern woman' around eugenic notions of social transformation.[39] Anarchists' determination to discursively promote the regeneration of the human race as part of their revolutionary project—a stance which will be explored more in the next sub-section—upheld binary gender differentiation

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[35] Anti-vaccination is a huge area of study which goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, to give some examples: Bernard Shaw, 'La vacunación es un crimen,' *Iniciales*, 1933, 2, p. 5; Pedro Bou, 'Laceros de niños,' *Iniciales*, 1933, 4, pp. 3-4; Dr E. C. Gray, 'La vacunación es un insulto a la naturaleza', *Iniciales*, 1936, 4, pp. 10-12; Isaac Puente, 'La libertad individual ante la medicina', *Estudios*, December 1933, pp. 6-8. An exception was Dr Amparo Poch y Gascón who endorsed vaccines: Amparo Poch y Gascón, 'Consultorio de puericultura', *Tiempos Nuevos*, 1 April 1936, p. 208.

[36.] 'Fanny' [Mercedes Comaposada, Amparo Poch y Gascón and Lucía Sánchez Saornil], *Mujeres Libres*, 1, 1936, p. 1.

[37.] Federica Montseny, 'La mujer nueva', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 May 1926, p. 25. See also: Federica Montseny, 'Lecturas', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 February 1928, pp. 570-571.

[38.] On this 'new woman' feminism, see: Nash, 'Un/Contested Identities', pp. 31-32.

[39] The history of this in Spain, and similar phenomena in France, Anglo-America and Japan, has been explored in: Micaela Pattison, 'La muchacha moderna: celebridad, sexo y lo privado en público', in *Autoridad, poder e influencia: mujeres que hacen Historia*, ed. by Henar Gallego Franco and María del Carmen García Herrero (Icaria, 2017), pp. 263-277 (pp. 271-272).

as an embodiment of sexual differentiation and thus of heterosexual virility and fertility.[40]

One way in which sexual differentiation is expressed through the body and into social space is through cultivating one's appearance. Anarchist women therefore published moralistic articles about how an individual person's anarchist womanhood should look. On several occasions in the late 1930s *Mujeres Libres* published criticisms of make-up, echoing a trend in Federica Montseny's contributions to *La Revista Blanca* since the 1920s.[41] In *Mujeres Libres*, Mercedes Comaposada published a hyperbolic, sardonic opinion piece claiming that make-up paralyses one's facial features, such that mascara 'gives the face a constant shocked expression'.[42] Her portrayal of modern 'beauty' products as undignified drew not only on the gender binary but also on a racialised conception of civilisational hierarchy. She claimed, 'Savages fill their spiritual voids and their cerebral limitations with visible external signs: tattoos and paintings. But it is natural'.[43] Her insinuation was that since anarchist women in Spain should 'naturally' have, or at least aspire to have, greater moral conviction and intellectual capacity than 'savages' in communities further down the civilisational hierarchy, they should not debase themselves with make-up which is a westernised form of body paint. Moral panic about 'social degeneration' spanned interwar Europe, but in Spain there was the compounding factor of anthropologists and criminologists ranking Mediterranean peoples somewhere between Africans and northern Europeans.[44]

Federica Montseny expounded a similarly hierarchical worldview in a 1926 article in which

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40. Although any interpretation of masculinity and femininity in Spanish regenerationist discourse requires considerable nuance, shown in: Aresti, 'A Fight for Real Men', pp. 248-265.
41. Such as this aforementioned article which goes on to criticise beauty products: Montseny, 'La Mujer Nueva', p. 25.
42. Mercedes Comaposada, 'Belleza y maquillaje', *Mujeres Libres*, 3, 1936, pp. 6-7. The magazine contained another, more subtle class-based critique of makeup in: 'Mujeres heroicas', *Mujeres Libres,* 7, 1937, p. 3.
43. Comaposada, 'Belleza y maquillaje', pp. 6-7.
44. On fear of social degeneration in Europe: Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, pp. 39-40. On bourgeois moral panics about 'primitive' and 'barbaric' elements in early twentieth century urban Spain: Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, pp. 13-15. On the situation of Spain below northern Europe in a racist civilizational hierarchy, bolstered by turn-of-the-century scientific racism: Joseph Clarke and John Horne, 'Introduction: Peripheral Visions – Militarized Cultural Encounters in the Long Nineteenth Century', in *Militarized Cultural Encounters in the Long Nineteenth Century: Making War, Mapping Europe,* ed. by Clarke and Horne (Springer International, 2018), pp. 1-21 (pp. 10-11, 18).

she argued that the anarchist revolution should seek to forge a ‘woman-woman’ and ‘man-man’, the former being a woman who was hard-working, measured, intelligent, and ideologically engaged, and the latter being a man who can comfortably coexist with such a woman. She contended that for this to succeed women and men would have to be ‘stripped of primitive legacies, of strange similarities with the monkey, it is necessary that men no longer be beings little differentiated from the brutes of the caves.’[45] In such texts we might detect the middle-class sensibilities of Montseny and Comaposada.[46] Furthermore, it may have been that the two women’s deployment of racialised vocabularies was additionally influenced by their proximity to Catalan social, literary, and political circles in particular. Catalan ‘national identity’, during this volatile period for the Catalan autonomy movement, was intellectually bound up with eugenic questions of whether the so-called ‘Catalan race’—distinct from the racial identities of those who immigrated to Catalonia from elsewhere in Spain—was under threat.[47] It is significant that although the anarchist movement purported to welcome not only the ‘decent’ working class but everyone (ex-convicts, the unemployed, the homeless), some parts of its press did portray revolution as a paternalistic civilising project.[48]

Taken together, these interventions in the press between the 1920s and 1930s suggested that individually identifying with anarchist womanhood, depending on which press outputs one consumed and internalised for one’s own self-development, could involve curating one’s body to reflect a ‘civilised’ feminine appearance. These anarchist women appealed to ‘nature’ in their worldviews: not only the seemingly commonsense naturalness of sexual difference, as

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[45.] Federica Montseny, ‘Ante el gran libro abierto,’ *La Revista Blanca*, 1 March 1926, p. 13.
[46] On contemporary understandings of class and the social construction of ‘race’, see: Isaac Puente, ‘La raza de los pobres’, *Estudios*, April 1929, pp. 1-2.
[47] Comaposada was born in Barcelona; Montseny moved from Madrid to Barcelona with her parents as a child (her parents were themselves Catalans). A ‘Manifesto for the preservation of the Catalan race’ was disseminated among the Catalan public sphere in 1934. See: Richard Cleminson, ‘“Per la conservació de la raça catalana”: The Catalan Eugenics Society (1935–1937)’, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 25.1 (2019), pp. 11-33, doi:10.1080/14701847.2019.1579493. See also: Chapter 5.
[48] On the social composition of urban anarchism: Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 43.

aforementioned, but what they saw as natural hierarchies of civilizational progression.[49] Thereby, they constrained their own and others' embodied expressions of feminine identity. This contradiction within early-twentieth-century Spanish anarchist discourse—aspiring to dismantle all hierarchies while upholding a racialised hierarchy—has been examined in depth by Álvaro Girón, and it was mirrored in women's movements throughout the Global North in this period.[50]

An aspect of women's appearance that seemed to concern the editors of another anarchist magazine, *Iniciales*, was their fitness, or rather, their ability to continue appearing and operating as young and fertile bodies. This was evident from the nude photographs the magazine published from its outset until 1935, almost always featuring women in athletic positions or posed to evoke fertility, family or romantic affection.[51] Dr Amparo Poch y Gascón, too, sought to shape women's relationships with their 'natural' bodies. In an article for *Tiempos Nuevos,* she attempted to instil safer sex practices in readers by detailing the discomforts of living with syphilis; most prominently, she highlighted the detrimental effects of the disease on the 'beauty' and apparent 'youth' of an afflicted woman's body.[52] The health impacts may be substantial, but Poch y Gascón prioritised conveying in the article's title and opening paragraph the fact that women with syphilis would lose their feminine attractiveness and perceived fertility (becoming socially useless in a society underpinned by compulsory heterosexuality).

This link between anarchist womanhood and social utility had implications for disabled women who might pass on their disabilities to their children. Rationalist teacher and anarcha-naturist Antonia Maymón wrote in an article for *La Revista Blanca* in 1925 that 'a healthy organism works

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49. Mary Nash has highlighted how this 'naturalisation' of difference caused gender and race to intersect in Spanish civilisational discourses since the nineteenth century: Nash, *Mujeres en el Mundo*, p. 33.

50 See: hooks, *Feminist Theory,* pp. 3-4. Álvaro Girón Sierra, 'Discursos sobre la raza en el anarquismo barcelonés: evolucionismo, internacionalismo y nación (1869-1918)', in *Clase antes que nación: Trabajadores, movimiento obrero y cuestión nacional en la Cataluña metropolitana, 1840-2017*, ed. by José Luis Oyón and Juanjo Romero (Ediciones de Intervención Cultural, 2017), pp. 117-143. Intersectional analysis of gender and race in Spanish anarchist thought remains a much-needed but as yet underexplored avenue for historical research.

51. Decisions to publish nude photos in another anarchist magazine, *Estudios*, are discussed in: Lora Medina, 'Sexualidad, desnudismo y moralidad', p. 822.

52. Amparo Poch y Gascón, 'La sifilis enemiga de la belleza', *Tiempos Nuevos*, May 1936, pp. 229-230.

more and better towards human perfection […] because by bestowing upon his/her descendants a deteriorated organism he/she obstructs the progressive march of humankind'.[53] This again reflected some anarchists' eugenic understanding of social progress; ill, disabled and unfit bodies were all looked down upon as obstacles to the evolutionary project embedded within the anarchists' socio-cultural revolution.[54] The power of an anarchist woman to assert her place within anarchist culture was therefore emboldened or constrained by the relationship she had with her body—its appearance, its fertility (health and sex-conformity), and by extension where it was situated in civilisational hierarchy.[55] The cultivation of individual identity among women in anarchist political culture was bound up in Butlerian performance of gender: 'materializ[ing] the body's sex, to materialize sexual difference in the service of the consolidation of the heterosexual imperative'.[56] While of course many anarchist women subverted this in their own gender expression, their identities were discursively devalued.[57]

Building upon this opening section, the thesis pursues a transfeminist outlook that historicises the complexity and instability within anarchist conceptual understandings of womanhood. Gender historian Nerea Aresti has problematised the traditionally monolithic categorisation of 'women' as a historical subject, highlighting its fallacy of inherent naturalness and consequent erasure of

53. Antonia Maymón, 'Anarquismo y naturismo', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 September 1925, p. 12. See also: Dra Amparo Poch y Gascón, 'La cuestión del derecho a la vida', *Orto*, July 1932, pp. 58-59; Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* p. 181.
54. That in anarchism the body was simultaneously a site of illness and degeneracy and also a potential for progress: Cleminson, 'Making Sense of the Body', p. 714. On fear of the 'degeneration' of the human species among anarchists in Spain, see: Álvaro Girón-Sierra, 'Eugenesia y anarquismo en el primer neomalthusianismo libertario barcelonés, 1896-1915', *História, Ciências, Saúde*, 25 (2018), pp. 87-103 (pp. 95-98), doi:unavailable.
55. The importance of 'embodied subjectivity' has been highlighted in: Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Taylor and Francis, 1994), p. 22.
56. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (Routledge Classics, 2011 [1993]), p. xii.
57. For instance, lesbian anarchist Lucía Sánchez Saornil is well-known to have sported a short haircut and worn suits, as well as taking on a masculine name when signing some of her poetry. Yanira Hermida, Luchaban por un mundo nuevo: *Lucía Sánchez Saornil y Sara Berenguer Laosa, militancia anarquista durante la Guerra Civil Española* (Descontrol Editorial, 2015), pp. 61-67. Other biographies dispute her attraction to women, against all evidence: Antònia Fontanillas Borràs and Pau Martínez Muñoz, *Lucía Sánchez Saornil: poeta, periodista y fundadora de Mujeres Libres* (LaMalatesta Editorial, 2014), p.63.

deviant and non-normative subjectivities.[58] Enrique Moral de Eusebio has pointed to more fruitful ways in which this history can be written, such as deliberately broadening and pluralising the feminist subject to encompass all those identifying as women, including those who faced compounding oppressions such as working-class women, sex workers, queer women, and racialised women.[59] Queer theory approaches often oppose the distinct study of women in an effort to erase the gender binary, whereas transfeminist approaches recognise that we need these categories in order to articulate gendered dynamics of power but at the same time we can use them in inclusive, flexible, and non-binary ways attuned to their historical contexts.[60]

The revolutionary role of the (gendered) anarchist self in 'regenerating' society

As historian Nathaniel Andrews has argued, the term 'anarchist' may represent individuals who are wholeheartedly committed anarchist-identifying militants, individuals who simply hold rank-and-file membership of anarchism-affiliated organisations, as well as individuals who hold no such formal affiliation but sympathise with the anarchist ideal.[61] Anarchism opposed 'dogma' and so anarchist ideas were deliberately ever-evolving, which meant that anarchists could (and did) shift their ideological convictions, amalgamate them, and move between factions forming around them.[62] The movement was heterogenous, shaped as much by local circumstances as from the

[58] Aresti, 'A Fight for Real Men', pp. 250-251. See also: Miriam Solá, 'Pre-trextos, con-textos y textos', in *Transfeminismos: epistemes, fricciones y flujos*, ed. by Miriam Solá and Elena Urko (Txalaparta, 2018), pp. 15-30, (pp. 17-23).
[59] Moral de Eusebio, 'Hacia una arqueología transfeminista', p. 44. The plurality of women's experiences was something emphasised too in: Teresa María Ortega López, Ana Aguado Higón and Elena Hernández Sandoica, 'Prólogo', in *Mujeres, Dones, Mulleres, Emakumeak: Estudios sobre la historia de las mujeres y del género*, ed. by Ortega López, Aguado Higón and Elena Hernández Sandoica (Ediciones Cátedra, 2019), pp. 1-18 (p. 10).
[60] Moral de Eusebio, 'Hacia una arqueología transfeminista', p. 44.
[61] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life*, p. 7.
[62.] Álvarez Junco, *La Ideología Política*, pp. 10, 583; Rider, 'The Practice of Direct Action', p. 80; Yeoman, *Print Culture,* p. 11; Gemie, 'Anarchism and Feminism', p. 436. A great example of intellectual hybridity was Ada Martí, who moved in various radical circles including anarchist ones: Abel Paz, *Ada Martí: una mujer anarquista* (Editorial Renacimiento, 2020).

centre.[63] Bearing all this in mind, this sub-section applies a gender perspective to what Navarro terms 'anarchist identity'.[64] It interrogates how women came to think of themselves as anarchists and, in turn, how they imagined their anarchist selves to be situated in the movement and in wider society.

There had been various clusters of anarchist thought in the nineteenth century, centred on prolific writers whose works would continue to be republished, lent, sold and read in anarchist circles into the 1920s and 1930s. These included individualism, mutualism, collectivism, and anarcho-communism.[65] By the twentieth century the clearest separation in anarchist thought was between individualism and syndicalism, which were developed in different (albeit financially and socially overlapping) spaces.[66] Bookchin argues that the advent of anarcho-syndicalism marginalised individualism which was little more than a petit-bourgeois distraction, but this is an androcentric view of anarchist history that overvalues the working man as an apparently universal historical subject. Autodidactism and culture were crucial to the ideological recruitment of the masses to anarchism, which included women and indeed entire families.[67] Both anarcho-syndicalism and individualism, and their interrelation, then, are integral to this history.

Anarcho-syndicalism, unlike individualism, was fundamentally tied to workplaces, and was encapsulated in the organisation of the CNT (National Confederation of Labour), founded in 1910.[68] This labour organisation intervened in conflicts between workers and employers, while also operating as a revolutionary instrument. To a large extent anarcho-syndicalism was the descendent

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[63] Radcliff, *From mobilization to civil war,* p. 12.
[64.] Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura,* especially pp. 18-21.
[65.] Woodcock, *Anarchism,* pp. 20-21. These writers included Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin. They were contemporaries of, and challengers to, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, whose theory of communism departed from the formers' due to its retention of the State (albeit a newly constituted state) which would requisition all property in the name of the people.
[66] On overlaps between anarchist spaces in Alcoy (Valencia) see: Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* pp. 54-55; on the same phenomenon in Gijón (Asturias) see: Radcliff, *From mobilization to civil war,* pp. 213-222, 236.
[67.] Murray Bookchin, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (AK Press, 1995), pp. 6-7.
[68.] It actually began in Barcelona as *Solidaridad Obrera* in 1907 but became a national federation in 1910. Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* p. 35; Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain*, pp. 28-29.

of nineteenth-century Spanish rural anarchism which used direct action to resolve disputes between landlords and tenants.[69] During its first decades, the CNT became a highly extensive and federated organisation comprising industry-specific trade unions split into specialised 'sections', which came together via local, regional and national committees and the collective decision-making protocols of meetings, congresses and conferences. Anarcho-syndicalist revolutionaries believed that well-coordinated strike action could topple the state and an anarchist society (termed 'libertarian communism') could be established in its place.[70]

CNT unions did not only serve to co-ordinate industrial actions. They sometimes also produced newspapers and many funded (and even housed, in their locales) *ateneos* where not just workers but all people in a neighbourhood, including children, could access cultural activities.[71] *Ateneos* began as republican institutions to civilise the working class through secular education and culture—an alternative to Spain's dominant Catholic cultural system—then many were co-opted by the labour movement which turned them into radical political spaces.[72] Those *ateneos* affiliated to anarchism called themselves *ateneos libertarios*. They usually had lending libraries, including sometimes mobile libraries, and organised classes for both children and adults, as well as leading excursions into nature.[73]

The growth of anarcho-syndicalism since 1910, which at times seemed to some to threaten a shift in the movement towards state-collaborationist syndicalism rather than revolutionary strategising, motivated some anarchists in 1927 to form the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation). The FAI's small, secret, ephemeral affinity groups ('*grupos de afinidad*') launched direct actions

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69. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, pp. 5-8, 91-92; Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, pp. xxi-xxii; Kaplan, 'The Social Basis of Nineteenth-Century Andalusian Anarchism', pp. 66; Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia,* pp. 207, 212.
70 A thorough definition of libertarian communism will be developed later in this sub-section.
71. On CNT members also joining *ateneos*, see: Jorge Molero-Mesa, Isabel Jiménez-Lucena and Carlos Tabernero-Holgado, 'Neomalthusianismo y eugenesia en un contexto de lucha por el significado en la prensa anarquista española, 1900-1936,' *História, Ciêcias, Saúde*, 25 (2018), pp. 105-124 (p. 119), doi:10.1590/S0104-59702018000300007.
72 Radcliff, *From mobilization to civil war*, pp. 200-201.
73 For a detailed study of how *ateneos* operated, see Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos*. See also: Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*.

more aligned with the highly federated libertarian ideology of the pre-CNT era.[74] These actions included violent attacks on political targets, publishing, putting on lectures or debates, organising cultural activities like plays or choirs, excursions to the countryside, maintaining an *ateneo* or school, setting up a cooperative to serve a community and raise funds, mutual aid, and supporting prisoners.[75] Affinity groups had been one of the main organising units of anarchists in urban centres like Barcelona in the nineteenth century, where they would meet in theatres, bookshops, cafes or bars.[76] FAI affinity groups were entirely self-funded and autonomous; indeed, they were free to develop principles or tactics that conflicted with other FAI groups.[77]

Many FAI affinity group members were also members of CNT unions via their workplaces and participants in social anarchist spaces like the *ateneos*. Additionally, from 1932 the CNT was tied to the newly founded Libertarian Youth (FIJL), which often held its meetings on CNT premises and was attended by individuals who were members of both organisations (although in Catalonia the Libertarian Youth asserted independence from the FIJL organisation, using the acronym JJLL instead, because it had its origins in the FAI rather than in the CNT).[78] All these groups were operationally intertwined: *ateneos* depended on mutualistic relationships with other anarchist groups in order to stay afloat; they charged monthly fees to members (with exceptions for those who could not pay), but also asked for financial or material help from local union branches, FIJL or JJLL groups, and other local *ateneos*—and if one *ateneo* shut down then it donated all its

74. For more details of these motivations see: Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain*, pp. 52-55; Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* p. 87.
75. Agustín Guillamón, *Ready for Revolution: The CNT Defense Committees in Barcelona 1933-38*, trans. Paul Sharkey (AK Press, 2014), p. 30. As long as they agreed to be affiliated with all other FAI groups, special interest groups like naurists and Esperantists were likewise permitted to join the FAI (according to stipulations agreed at the FAI's founding congress in Valencia): Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!,* Chapter V.
76. Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 34.
77. Guillamón, *CNT Defense Committees*, pp. 28-29.
78. Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, pp. 149-153; Danny Evans, *Revolution and the State: Anarchism in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Routledge, 2018), p. 21; Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter XV.

materials to other locales in the area.[79]

Given the CNT's proliferation in Spain in the first decades of the twentieth century, its fluctuating membership numbers are usually taken by historians to be the surest indication of the anarchist movement's overall size and influence in any given period. However, although the CNT's highly federated syndical structure facilitated the localised creation of new branches which might incorporate feminised industries like cleaning or domestic service, this was far from universal. Many women workers (and women who did not do paid work) were therefore excluded from membership. Moreover, male CNT members rarely brought their partners or daughters along to union meetings; they would go alone or bring their sons.[80] Oral histories furthermore suggest that during this period day-to-day CNT activism such as attending meetings rarely appealed to women whose free time was typically scarce; instead most saw greater benefit in engaging with anarchist political culture through sociable, educational and family-friendly activities like the events and classes put on by libertarian *ateneos*.[81] Socio-spatial gender dynamics thereby shaped the type of relationship an anarchist woman may have had to anarcho-syndicalism.[82]

A further reason why political identity is impossible to study through membership statistics alone, is that one must distinguish between ideologically committed militants and mere card-carrying rank-and-file union members. One oral history from a woman who worked in a theatre company revealed that in her industry the majority of workers (many of whom were women) joined the CNT during the Civil War simply because a performer now needed to join a union (either the CNT or the socialist UGT) in order to be given work.[83] In some localities, the CNT may have been

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[79] Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos*, pp. 27, 31-32. Likewise for anarchist rationalist schools: Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, p. 103.
[80.] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* p. 44.
[81.] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain,* pp. 58-60; Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* p. 21.
[82] This will be explored more in Chapter 2.
[83.] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000971, CD, María Elena Samada Barroso. This offers a more concrete example to substantiate an argument posited by Susanna Tavera, *La ideología política del anarcosindicalismo catalán a través de su propaganda (1930-1936),* Doctoral Thesis, (University of Barcelona, 1982), pp. 2-3.

the only union affiliation available. Historian Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez has furthermore highlighted that during the so-called '*pistolerismo'* period (1917-23), heightened violence between employers and CNT militants motivated coercive internal threats against any CNT members who sought to defect.[84] Historians generally concur that most members of the CNT would have joined due to pragmatic reasoning (such as the comparative price of union dues or their impressions of the comparative effectiveness of CNT wildcat strike strategies) rather than particular intellectual commitment to the ideal of 'libertarian communism', something even recognised by anarchists at the time such as Soledad Gustavo.[85]

Nonetheless, it is reasonable to interpret that joining the CNT was still a statement of preference for this union over others, such as the Catholic and corporatist *Sindicatos Libres* or the socialist UGT, which at least lets us loosely identify shared antiauthoritarian left leanings among CNT members.[86] CNT membership would furthermore have integrated an individual, and potentially their family and friends, to the additional anarchist spaces in a neighbourhood like *ateneos* where a deeper appreciation for anarchist ideas and consequent sense of anarchist political identity might be cultivated over time. Collaborations with *ateneos* and the FIJL extended the CNT's remit beyond the workers' struggle and into the local community, extending the purview of the movement beyond only card-carrying union members by entangling with some of the causes advanced by individualist anarchism.

Individualist anarchism had its origins in the nineteenth-century European free-thinking (*librepensamiento*) school of thought among urban middle-class intellectuals who established reading circles, cultural affinity groups, and secular schools. Individualist writers emphasised

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[84] Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez, 'A Proletarian Turf War: The Rise and Fall of Barcelona's Sindicatos Libres', *International Review of Social History*, 66 (2021), pp. 243-271 (p. 251), doi:10.1017/S0020859021000213.

[85] Angel Smith, 'Anarchism, the General Strike and the Barcelona Labour Movement, 1899-1914', *European History Quarterly*, 27.1 (1997), pp. 5-40 (p. 32), doi:10.1177/026569149702700101; Gustavo's 1922 article in *Redención* is cited in: Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter II.

[86] Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter II; Zoffmann Rodriguez, 'A Proletarian Turf War', p. 270.

education and culture as routes to personal self-determination and freedom from oppressive structures (including, most famously, in regard to sexuality).[87] By the 1920s and 1930s this tradition was more prominent in France than in Spain, but certain widely-read Spanish publications—such as *La Revista Blanca*—continued to spread its influence. Many anarchists were autodidacts; anarchist educational initiatives provided the working class with self-driven routes out of illiteracy and poor educational attainment.[88] These included not only the classes and libraries of the *ateneos*, but rationalist schools staffed by anarchist-affiliated teachers, and informal peer-learning opportunities such as book-discussion groups organised by the *ateneos* and FIJL.[89]

Women were especially important beneficiaries of these projects because barriers to state education in Spain in this period were gendered. In her 1974 history of anarchist women in Spain, Lola Iturbe highlighted that many of her subjects had taught themselves to read and write using the books in the libraries of CNT locales and *ateneos*.[90] Local histories corroborate that anarchist lending libraries, in CNT locales and elsewhere, actively encouraged affiliates to take books home to aid the education of friends and family.[91] Even for the many women who lacked the time to commit to becoming accomplished autodidact anarchist militants, accessible educational initiatives were still seen as valuable routes towards inhabiting less physically demanding sources of income.[92] Individualism thus underpinned anarchists' emphasis on the development of individual identity (self-determination and agency); it emphasised autonomy, but also considered the role that individuals together might play in collective harmony. A dual notion that human nature encompasses both egoism and sociability, the former deriving from anarchism's liberal roots and the latter deriving from its socialist roots, had underpinned anarchist theory ever since the

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[87.] Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras,* p. 6; Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia*, p. 207.
[88] Historians of Spanish anarchism going back to Díaz del Moral have long recognised its commitment to reading and education: Díaz del Moral, *agitaciones campesinas andaluzas,* pp. 180-181.
[89] For instance, see Conxa Pérez's recount of '*lectura comentada'* in Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* pp. 96-97.
[90.] Iturbe, *La mujer en la lucha social,* p. 198.
[91] For instance, in Alcoy (Valencia): Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* p. 75.
[92] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles,* p. 27. See also: Borderías, *Entre Líneas,* pp. 159-160.

nineteenth century.[93]

Various social imaginaries filled the pages of anarchist publications in Spain, but in the spring of 1936 the CNT national congress landed on 'libertarian communism' ('*comunismo libertario*') as the core idea underpinning the Spanish anarchist movement, reiterating the stance adopted by the CNT back in 1919.[94] Libertarian communism imagined a form of collectivism based on harmonious cooperation between free individuals. It signified the abolition of the state and all its institutions and the establishment of a mutualist associational society in its place, via a revolution. A canonical text here was Isaac Puente's essay '*Finalidad de la CNT. El Comunismo Libertario'* ('Purpose of the CNT: Libertarian Communism'), published as a pamphlet in Valencia in 1933 and then republished in 1935 and 1936. Puente reasoned that libertarian communism would uphold the individualist commitment to respect individual autonomy.[95] The required instruments, he argued, were anarcho-syndicalist trade unions and *municipios libres* ('free municipalities', neighbourhood associations at which representatives of all areas of economic life would meet to negotiate contracts and resolve problems in the locality).[96] Puente added that transport and communication arrangements would be agreed at national-level syndicalist meetings as these industries inherently traverse local boundaries.[97] While urban workers might be best represented by syndicalist self-management of their workplaces, farmers and artisans might be better served by retaining their productive individuality while coming together via *municipios libres* to involve themselves in collective economic organisation.[98] Everything else—culture, arts, science—would have very limited connection to the collective organisations and instead would be coordinated by

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93. David Morland, *Demanding the Impossible? Human Nature and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Social Anarchism* (Cassell, 1997), pp. 183, 196.
94. On 1936: Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras*, p. 10. On 1919: Zoffmann Rodriguez, 'A Proletarian Turf War', p. 250.
95. Isaac Puente, *Finalidad de la CNT. El Comunismo Libertario*, 3rd edition, Cuadernos de Educación Social (Ediciones de Tierra y Libertad, 1936), pp. 4-5.
96. Ibid., pp.4, 22.
97. Ibid., p.23.
98. Ibid., pp.4-5.

spontaneously arising groups motivated by shared passion for the activity.[99] Puente's pluralistic vision, inspired by decades of evolution in anarchist revolutionary thought, became the basis of the Resolution (*Dictamen*) on Libertarian Communism adopted by the CNT at its spring 1936 national congress.[100] It was then implemented in many corners of Republican Spain, from Catalonia and Aragon to Valencia, Andalusia and parts of Castile, during the revolutionary opening months of the Spanish Civil War (summer, 1936).[101]

In early-twentieth-century Spanish anarchist texts about re-making society, the ideal role of the autonomous self was intimately bound up in gendered notions of what it meant to live in harmony with the natural world.[102] Anarcho-naturist writers, especially, argued that instead of trying to defeat or control nature, as capitalist technological innovations did, one must be encouraged to learn about and live in accordance with nature (including human nature) in order to physically and morally 'regenerate' humanity.[103]

While Spanish anarchist discourse emphasised respect for nature, it also acknowledged human agency to effect change: most prominently, to effect a reversal of the apparent degeneration of the human race.[104] Degeneration was unnatural; regeneration would restore natural harmonies. *La Revista Blanca* was particularly vocal in this regard, especially during the 1920s.[105] An article by Federica Montseny in *La Revista Blanca* in 1923 lamented that society was now 'on that dangerous slope of physical and moral degeneration' and that as new generations were coming into the world

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99. Ibid., p.32.
100 Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter XV.
101. This will be explored in much more detail in Chapter 3.
102 García Maroto, *La Mujer en la Prensa Anarquista,* p. 235; Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, p. 42.
103. On anarchism's unique relationship to science see: Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política,* pp. 74-75. An extreme iteration of naturism was homeopathy, endorsed by some anarchist writers such as: J. Pedrero Vallés (Medico Homeópata), 'La homeopatía', *Estudios*, June 1929, pp. 36-37.
104. Lora Medina, 'Identidad y Género a Debate', pp. 154, 162. See for example: Federica Montseny, 'La duda y el misterio,' *La Revista Blanca*, 1 July 1924, p. 12 and Luis Huerta, *La Vida (Biología)*, (Cuadernos de la Cultura, 1930).
105 It was one of very few anarchist periodicals still making it past the censors under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, and it has been noted that this apparent growth in naturist activity among anarchists was likely, in part, down to the usefulness of naturist excursions as an excuse for anarchists to meet without the authorities noticing: Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, p. 346.

'we are losing physical and moral health. We are losing contact with Nature, we are fleeing from the sun, to sink in electricity': in other words, modern life was plunging humanity into moral and physical crisis.[106] This apparent crisis worried not only anarchists but all those Spanish politicians, writers and artists who—after 1898, upon Spain losing the last of its colonial possessions—came to be known as *'regeneracionistas'* ('regenerationists').[107] As has been noted by historian Lorraine Daston, 'Nature's authority has been enlisted by reactionaries and by revolutionaries, by the devout and secular alike'.[108]

Many interpreted naturism through making self-disciplined changes to their lifestyle, such as sobriety and vegetarianism, and even those who did not opt for these changes were still exposed to the discourse surrounding it.[109] That being said, anarcha-naturist Antonia Maymón wrote in 1925 that what would make naturism have a real impact on 'physically' and 'morally' regenerating humanity was not personal lifestyle choices but social activism—including tackling issues like working and living conditions among the proletariat—that sought to give all people the chance to share in 'integral' naturist prosperity.[110] That was what differentiated naturists (a group including individuals with bourgeois interests) from anarcho-naturists in this period. Anarchist women's cultivation of individual identity took place against the backdrop of this moral impetus.

Some anarcho-naturists were also nudists: they exalted the holistic health benefits of

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106. Federica Montseny, 'Crisis de vida', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 November 1923, p. 5. The anarchists' concern about social degeneration being a dark consequence of technological progress has been discussed in: Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex,* pp. 39-40.

107. Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex,* pp. 69-70; Eduard Masjuan, *La Ecología Humana,* pp. 205-206; Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain,* p. 27.

108 Daston, 'The Naturalistic Fallacy', p. 579.

109. For instance, Amparo Poch y Gascón published an article condemning consumption of alcohol. But she published this in *Tiempos Nuevos,* which was not a specifically naturist magazine and was edited by CNT activists. A. Poch y Gascón, 'El alcohol', *Tiempos Nuevos*, 1 July 1936, p. 320. On self-disciplined rejection of vices, see for instance: Maria Lacerda de Moura, 'El individualismo estoico de Han Rynner[sic]', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 January 1928, pp. 466-467.

110. Antonia Maymón, 'Naturismo', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 October 1925, p .26. Maymón's prominence in Naturist circles is evidenced, for example, by her involvement in major Naturist congresses: 'Del congreso naturista de Málaga', *Ética*, November 1927, pp. 27-31.

sunbathing and exercising outdoors in the nude.[111] Embracing one's 'natural' body had gendered implications. The *Mujeres Libres* magazine connected naturism to the possibility of fomenting friendships between children of different genders; accompanying an image of children playing together nude in a river was a caption suggesting that such activities encouraged them to feel comfortable with one another instead of feeling compelled by adults to observe strict social codes about modesty.[112] Anarcho-nudism moreover had particular resonance for women and girls because it dismantled the taboos around female bodies' potential impurity cultivated by the Catholic Church in Spain.[113] Developing a positive relationship with one's natural body was thus seen as key to halting corporeal degeneration and achieving gendered self-realisation.[114]

Gender was imperative to anarcho-naturist worldviews of social progress. Across the political spectrum, as Inmaculada Blasco has highlighted, 'Because of their capacity for mothering, women were designed as social regeneration subjects able to counteract the failure of men's management of the world'.[115] Several anarchist magazines advertised, and lent from their affiliated libraries, homemaking manuals that were written by non-anarchists but aligned with their principles, and practices specific to women dominated these.[116] Historian Sharif Gemie has highlighted that this was motivated by a belief that women were inherently more likely to be drawn in by artificial

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[111] Naturist 'exercise', it is important to note, signified aerobic activities that moved the body for pleasure without unnaturally strengthening it and without vulgar spectacle as seen in 'sport' – a different category altogether. See for example: Eleese, 'Frente al deporte', *Mujeres Libres*, 1, 1936, p. 14. Illustrated guides to this sort of exercise were published in anarchist magazines such as: Dr Roberto Remartínez, 'Algo sobre gimnasia', *Estudios*, April 1929, pp. 19-23.
[112] *Mujeres Libres*, 7, 1936, p. 6.
[113] Carmen Cubero Izquierdo, *La Pérdida del Pudor: El Naturismo Libertario Español (1900-1936)* (LaMalatesta Editorial, 2015), p. 125.
[114] This connection between exercise and gendered roles in social betterment was not unique to anarchism; many health cultures in Spain advocated physical education for women of childbearing potential: Catharina Vallejo, 'La mujer in-corporada: la educación física de la mujer en la España del siglo XIX, o las paradojas entre el fundamento teórico y la realidad', *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 42.1 (2017), pp. 173-193 (p. 183), doi:10.18192/rceh.v42i1.1943; Nuria Cruz-Cámara, ''La representación de las deportistas en la prensa española,' *Hispania*, 101.1 (2018), pp. 99-113 (p. 100), doi:unavailable.
[115] Blasco Herranz, 'Feminism and motherhood in the early twentieth century Spain', p. 110.
[116] One example was: Jenny Springer, *El médico del hogar,* trans. by Dr R. J. Slaby and Dr Alfonso Arteaga, revised by Dr Francisco Salas Hurtado (Editorial Orbis, 1936), which had sections on advisable clothing, hairstyles, shoes and hygiene, as well as recommending aerobic exercises and nude sunbathing. See also individual articles such as: Andrés Heid, 'El error del sosten', *Iniciales,* 1934, 6, p. 8.

fads.[117] More than that, though, the labour of habitually instilling the practices described in homemaking manuals would have fallen disproportionately on women, who were the primary caregivers overseeing the everyday appearances of children. Moreover, it has been underappreciated that naturist praxes around diet (vegetarianism, or other regimens geared around the nutritional value of certain foods) would have been gendered in this period, as conventionally women and girls did the groceries and cooking for their fathers, siblings, partners or sons.[118] The prefigurative revolutionary outlook of anarchists in Spain meant that confronting social degeneration did not only pertain to sex (eugenics and Malthusianism will be discussed in Part IV), but all embodied practices.[119]

Women's self-determination: distinctly anarchist imaginaries of emancipation

Anarchist writers, especially women, advocated that if women were to have agency in the collective mission to regenerate society, then they needed to be imbued with individual personhood and self-determination. In 1935, Lucía Sánchez Saornil wrote an article for the organ of the CNT, *Solidaridad Obrera*, in which she criticised how for centuries patriarchal societies had oscillated between the concepts of mother and prostitute without ever pausing in between for long enough to see the individual human 'woman' with rational thought and autonomy.[120] An anarchist woman is a woman and possibly also a mother, she wrote, just as an anarchist man is a man as well as also possibly a worker.[121] Here, she was building upon an earlier article of hers that had asserted that

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117. Gemie, 'Anarchism and Feminism', pp. 434-435.
118. One example of a pedagogic article on diet in an anarchist magazine was: Roberto Remartínez (Médico), 'Esquemas dietéticos', *Estudios*, September 1929, pp. 6-9. A more expansive exploration of gendered labours in anarchist activism work will appear in Chapters Two and Three.
119 Ballantyne and Burton concur that histories of the body should not be boiled down to sexuality, as bodies relate to all manner of experiences including work and play: Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 'Introduction: Bodies, Empires, and World Histories,' in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. by Ballantyne and Burton (Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 1-15 (p. 7).
120 Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 15 October 1935, p. 2.
121 Ibid.

men, if they want to truly live by anarchist principles and win women around to the ideal, must instil within women 'consciousness of their personhood [...] their standing as an individual'.[122] This reflection anticipated remarkably the power-sensitive framework of relational and individual identity construction that would be put forward by historian Almudena Hernando Gonzalo in 2020.[123]

An article in *Mujeres Libres*, co-founded by Lucía Sánchez Saornil in 1936, contended during the Civil War that while anarchist men were simply fighting fascism, anarchist women were in a 'dual struggle' fighting both fascism and the obstacles to their own gendered oppression.[124] This was the case even before the War, when the enemy was not precisely 'fascism' but the monolith of the state and all its affiliated institutions. *Mujeres Libres*'s co-founders defined a 'free and dignified' life as one where every individual person 'can be their own master', which reflected the commitment to defending self-determination that distinguished anarchism from other political movements.[125]

Such discursive interventions predated the founding of *Mujeres Libres*. A 1933 article in *Iniciales* lamented that even though in Spain women were increasingly able to take on the same careers as men (doctor, lawyer, and so on) they were still expected to live under the orders of a father, brother or husband.[126] Their very opinions and actions were not allowed to be their own; they were mediated through another (male) person.[127] Ego-documents, too, indicate how women devalued themselves, having been taught to internalise their own gendered inferiority: one woman who submitted an article to the anarchist magazine *El Luchador* attached a note warning the editors that she was 'very poor in intellectual ability' but felt motivated to write down 'the limited ideas of

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122 Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera,* 26 September 1935, p. 2.
123 Hernando Gonzalo, 'Subordinación de género'.
124. Ilse, 'La doble lucha de la mujer', *Mujeres Libres*, 7, 1937, p. 7. The other founders were Mercedes Comaposada and Amparo Poch y Gascón.
125. 'Fanny', '[Untitled]', *Mujeres Libres*, 1, 1936, p. 2.
126. '[Review of *Amai e não vos multipliqueis* by Maria Lacerda de Moura],' *Iniciales,* 1933, 7, p. 4.
127. Ibid.

my poor mind'.[128] She felt unable to advocate for revolutionary ideas without a substantial caveat about the value of her own voice and opinion. Although many working-class men were unable to access education too, for example if their parents needed them to work, societal disregard for the value in educating girls at all required a significant mentality shift.[129] Anarchist revolutionary texts strove to convince self-doubting women of their own value as rounded individuals invested in all parts of social life. This individualism made anarchist womanhood stand out from alternative experiences of activism among Spanish women, which typically were limited to defending one's family as a wife and mother.[130]

Crucial, too, to the anarchist revolutionary project was individual responsibility for liberation: women must be supported to emancipate themselves.[131] Educational efforts to raise women's political consciousness to their own oppression, and practical programmes to raise their literacy rates and skillsets to perform work ('*capacitación*') abounded in anarchist spaces throughout the early twentieth century. Anarchists recognised that being able to think for yourself, therefore define yourself, and in turn cultivate a sense of self, was crucial in order to break free from hierarchical dependence and resigned conformity.[132] This was continually pushed in the anarchist press even during contextual improvements in the Spanish educational landscape, because reforms implemented by successive governments were considered little use to anarchists who believed that state institutions fundamentally restricted freedom.[133]

A decade before *Mujeres Libres* made women's emancipation the backbone of their new organisation in 1936, Federica Montseny wrote in *La Revista Blanca* that 'women must consolidate

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128. CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 809, 4, fol. 15 Letter Margarita Oller(¿) to Federica Montseny (n.d.).
129 Developments in Spanish education provision will be examined in Chapter 5.
130. Temma Kaplan, 'Community and Resistance in Women's Political Cultures', *Dialectical Anthropology*, 15 (1990), pp. 259-267 (p.259), doi:unavailable.
131. This was emphasised, for example, by this article: Emma Goldman 'Situación social de la mujer', *Mujeres Libres*, 6, 1936/7, p. 8. It has also been noted by historians: Yeoman, *Print Culture,* p. 125.
132. Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain,* p. 20.
133 On ebbs and flows in Republican education reform between 1931 and 1936, see: Ana Aguado and María Dolores Ramos, *La Modernización de España (1917-1939): Cultura y Vida Cotidiana* (Editorial Síntesis, 2002), pp. 157-161.

around themselves their personhood, their creative mental and physical strength, […] the feeling of their dignity and use and enjoyment of a freedom that nothing nor no-one must take away from them'.[134] Her use of the term 'personhood' indicated that this was advocacy for the development of individual identity in women. In 1933 the magazine *Iniciales* published a translated excerpt of a text by Brazilian anarchist Maria Lacerda de Moura, which argued that under capitalism—which fetishises materiality and exchange of capital—women would always be considered 'slaves' to be bought and sold by men. For women to be attributed personhood of their own, capitalism needed to be overthrown.[135] Although Lacerda de Moura wrote about Brazil, the resonance of these arguments in Spain was demonstrated by the publishing of this text by Spanish anarchists.

Anarchism's close connection to the *Escuela Moderna* ('Modern School') movement, spearheaded by Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia in Barcelona in the 1910s and rolled out by educators around the world as part of a wider trend in progressive pedagogy, was instrumental in the development of anarchist thought around self-determination.[136] It was implemented in schools staffed by anarchist-affiliated teachers, co-existing with other progressive education initiatives in Spain (especially Madrid) led by socialists and republicans. Ferrer's pedagogical method emphasised collaborative learning, outdoor teaching, co-education of boys and girls, and the value of honouring students' own interests, so as to model what it meant to think freely and thereby emancipate new generations from the dogma of the Church which had traditionally dominated educational institutions across the Ibero-American world.[137] It explicitly aspired to instil individual

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134. Federica Montseny, 'La mujer, problema del hombre,' *La Revista Blanca*, 15 April 1927, p. 682.
135. Cited too in the first sub-section: Lacerda de Moura 'Esclavitud sexual', p. 8.
136. The global interconnectedness of Escuela Moderna practices was indicated, for instance, in this article in Spanish magazine *Mujeres Libres* which celebrated the pedagogic techniques of a school in Mexico: María Luisa Castellanos, 'La reforma escolar en Méjico', *Mujeres Libres,* 3, 1936, p. 4. See also the discussion of Ferrer's International League for Children's Rational Education in: Kirwin R. Shaffer, 'Freedom Teaching: Anarchism and Education in Early Republican Cuba, 1898-1925', *The Americas,* 60.2 (2003), pp. 151-183 (p. 164), doi:10.1353/tam.2003.0113.
137. Francisco Ferrer Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna: Enseñanza científica y racional* (Publicaciones de la Escuela Moderna, 1908), <https://www.solidaridadobrera.org/ateneo_nacho/libros/Ferrer%20Guardia%20-%20La%20escuela%20moderna.pdf> [accessed 6 June 2024]. Two among many interwar essays on this educational method were: Maria Lacerda de Moura, 'La educación moral', *Estudios*, August 1932, pp. 20-

identity in its students as a route to social prosperity: the first advert publicised by Ferrer stated that the school programme 'will stimulate, develop and guide every pupil's own skills, so that with the totality of the individual's own efforts they not only are a useful member of society, but that, as a result, the value of the collective is proportionally elevated'.[138] The programme prioritised the interests and talents of students as individuals, echoing anarchist ideals of work.[139]

The 'Modern School' rational educational movement then expanded to an unprecedented extent in Spain during the Civil War, when neighbourhood libertarian *ateneos* proliferated throughout the Republican zone and set up self-managed schools. In Madrid, via these networks, the anarchist-controlled Local Councils of Culture took over the oversight of teaching in the capital.[140] The prominence of women teachers in this movement served as a way to model what the development of individual identity (personhood, agency and self-determination) in women could and should look like.[141] Indeed, the female protagonist of a popular Spanish anarchist novella, *La Victoria* (Federica Montseny, 1925), was a self-educated and intellectually curious teacher at a rationalist *ateneo* school.[142] Montseny, even though she firmly believed in the essentialist orthodoxy that biological gender differentiation created gendered skills in men and women, emphasised in her column for *La Revista Blanca* that being 'maintained in the perpetual view of auxiliaries [to men]' was a form of oppression that women faced and must break free from.[143] Schools were thought instrumental in this intellectual and moral shaping of human beings. While feminists and liberals outside the anarchist movement lauded in this period the pioneering cohort

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21; Castellanos, 'La Reforma Escolar en Mejico', p. 4. See also this biography of a rationalist teacher: María Carmen Agulló Díaz and María Pilar Molina Beneyto, *Antonia Maymón, anarquista, maestra, naturista* (Virus Editorial, 2014), p. 21.

138 Ferrer Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*, p. 14.

139 Which will be unpacked in Chapter 2.

140. This circular emphasised the ethos of the *Escuela Moderna* as instituted in *ateneo* schools: IISH, CNT Papers, 002D.3, Circular No.5 by CNT-FAI Local Council of Culture distributed to 'All the Teachers who Give Classes in the Schools of the Libertarian Athenae', Madrid, 2/12/1938.

141. Prieto Borrego, 'Las mujeres en el anarquismo andaluz', pp. 52-53.

142. The romance novella in question was Federica Montseny, *La Victoria* (La Revista Blanca, 1930 [1925]).

143. Federica Montseny, 'Las conquistas sociales de la mujer', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 September 1925, pp. 15-17.

of (middle-class) university-educated women as ideal symbols of modern femininity, anarchist political culture's emphasis on autodidactism and provision of alternative education allowed working-class women a stake, to an extent, in the embodiment of that same ideal.[144]

Yet, gendered obstacles to individual identity persisted, and in response women throughout the interwar period formed anarchist groups of their own, although they generally did not see this as 'feminist' organising.[145] Throughout 1920s and 1930s women's sections were spontaneously set up in some CNT trade unions at local levels, to advocate specifically for issues that affected working women.[146] There were also reading groups comprising only or mostly women, such as the group of girls who would gather at old-guard anarchist Teresa Claramunt's home in Barcelona during the 1920s.[147] An anarchist cultural group for women was established in Barcelona in 1934, connected to the *ateneo* of the Clot neighbourhood and meeting at the locale of the CNT Construction Union—the *Grupo Cultural Femenino* ('Female Cultural Group').[148]

It was at this point that *Mujeres Libres* came to be. When a group of three women in the process of establishing a women's organisation and accompanying magazine in Madrid, *Mujeres Libres* ('Free Women'), reached out to the *Grupo Cultural Femenino* to collaborate, they joined up under the *Mujeres Libres* name.[149] From 1936 onwards, this federation elected regional and national representatives and recruited local correspondents and distributors. It grew to become one of the most prominent rearguard mobilisers in the Civil War, boasting roughly 170 groups with an

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[144] See for instance the *Asociación Universitaria Feminina* (University Women's Association) and María Zambrano's *Liga de Educación Social* (Social Education League): Micaela Pattison, 'Eugenics and the modern woman on trial in Spain: from the Primer curso eugénico (1928) to the trial of Aurora Rodríguez Carballeira (1934)', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 25.1 (2019), pp. 35-56 (p. 38), doi:10.1080/14701847.2019.1579497.

[145.] Even in early Spanish anarchism, in the nineteenth century, women formed their own groups: Espigado Tocino, ''Las mujeres en el anarquismo español' pp. 48-49.

[146.] On this point in relation to *Mujeres Libres* in particular: Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado*, p. 246.

[147.] Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 44; Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras*, p. 8.

[148.] Sara Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta: treinta y dos meses de guerra (1936-1939)* (Seuba Ediciones, 1988), p. 215.

[149.] Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras,* p. 24.

estimated 20,000 affiliates.[150]

Despite all this activism by women for women, the word 'feminist' was widely shunned by those involved. 'Resurrection of feminism? Bah!' wrote the founders of *Mujeres Libres* on the first page of the first issue of their magazine in May 1936.[151] One of the founders' criticisms of contemporary feminism was its focus on winning political rights for women—especially the hailing of female politicians as success stories for women's liberation. As anarchists, *Mujeres Libres* rejected the premise that gender equality should be bestowed by the State, which could never be truly trusted to act in the interests of the people—politics signified power, they wrote, and 'where there is power there is slavery'.[152] It has long been recognised by feminist historians that this women's organisation was significant for its proletarian composition which distinguished it from the bourgeois character of feminist groups in Spain at the time.[153]

Equally, though, plenty of highly engaged anarchist women never joined women's organisations at all, and it was common for anarchist women's group activists to be active in mixed-gender spaces too. Oral histories reveal that Blanca Navarro and Concha Pérez were active in the anarchist movement without ever joining *Mujeres Libres* because they did not believe in dividing along gender lines, and Pepita Carpena did join *Mujeres Libres* but remained active in the mixed gender movement and had close male friends in the CNT.[154] Federica Montseny, who would later in life be memorialised by modern feminists as the very first female government minister in Spanish history, remained always a steadfast opponent of breakaway anarchist 'women's organisations'.[155]

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150. Espigado Tocino, 'Mujeres en el anarquismo español', p. 69.
151. *Mujeres Libres*, 1, Madrid, May 1936, p. 1.
152. Ibid., pp. 1-2.
153. Iturbe, *La Mujer en la Lucha Social,* pp. 7-8; Nash, *Mujeres en el Mundo*, p. 91.
154. The 2018 edition of these oral history interviews abridges a portion of the transcriptions first published in 2013: Carpena is recorded as saying in the 2013 version but not the 2018 version that she remained close friends with CNT men and always opposed women-only organisations; and the segment of the interview with Pérez in which she said (in the 2013 version) that she never joined *Mujeres Libres* due to her preference for being among both men and women rather than only women, was omitted in the 2018 version. Isabella Lorusso, *Mujeres Libres* (Ediciones de Tempestad, 2013), pp. 49, 57, 176. Isabella Lorusso, *Mujeres en Lucha* (Altamarea Ediciones, 2018), pp. 29, 220.
155 In November 1936 two members of the CNT and two members of the FAI – after much internal debate

This historical context implores us to recognise that the much-used label 'anarcha-feminism' was applied to these groups retrospectively, and accordingly acknowledge the unique characteristics of 'anarchist womanhood'.[156] To be an anarchist woman signified something distinct from being a campaigner in other 'women's emancipation' groups in Spain at that time.

Anarchist notions of social regeneration influenced *Mujeres Libres* to oppose certain ways of embodying modern 'feminisms'of the time. As has already been indicated in this chapter's discussion of Mercedes Comaposada's article on make-up, the group's magazine rejected contemporary feminist encouragements of the 'New Woman' archetype: the post-WWI working woman dressed androgynously or seductively, a rejection of the 'angel of the home' archetype that had prevailed prior to the war.[157] In 1927, journalist Carmen de Burgos had described the modern Spanish woman as: 'another type of skinny woman, with short hair, short skirt and wide neckline, with plucked eyebrows, smoking a cigarette and painting her lips'.[158] This Spanish equivalent to the French '*garçonne*' and the British-American 'flapper' was not representative of most Spanish women, but it was pervasive enough a trope for the women writers of the anarchist movement to come out firmly in opposition to it, for reasons explained in the previous two sections of this chapter: binary notions of gender, and anxiety about social degeneration.[159] To use Jacobsson and Lindblom's term, anarchist women writers emotionally 'neutralised' their own ideal of emancipated womanhood by portraying it as commonsense while disparaging contemporary

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and personal introspection – became cabinet ministers in Francisco Largo Caballero's new Popular Frontist administration which aimed to 'channel revolutionary fervour into a united war effort': Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain,* p. 114; Montseny, c*uarenta años*, pp. 102-103. On Montseny's stance see: Nash, *Defying Male Civilization,* p. 86. It should be noted that even Federica Montseny eventually did give a talk at the *Mujeres Libres* locale, on the topic of 'Women in Peace and War': Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta*, p. 207. Antonia Maymón shared Montseny's stance: Antonia Maymón, 'De actualidad', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 June 1925, p. 33.

156. Supporters of this stance include: Espigado Tocino, 'Mujeres en el anarquismo español', pp. 42-44 and Hermida, *Luchaban por un mundo nuevo*, p. 116.

157. *Mujeres Libres*, 1, 1936, p. 1. This stance was also advanced by Spanish eugenicist Luis Huerta: Luis Huerta, *Natalidad Controlada (Birth Control)* (Cuadernos de Cultura, 1933), p. 36. On the 'New Woman': Nash, *Mujeres en el Mundo,* p. 55.

158 Cited in Pattison, 'La muchacha moderna', pp. 263-264.

159 Ibid., p. 264.

alternatives.[160] Moreover, *Mujeres Libres* rejected any notion that women should be fighting against men in the name of feminism: this 'threatens to sink civilisation', the founders wrote, because societal progress required all people to work towards a common goal.[161]

During the Civil War (1936-1939) *Mujeres Libres* differentiated itself from non-anarchist parallel organisations for explicitly political reasons. *Mujeres Libres*'s opposition to *Mujeres Antifascistas* ('Antifascist Women'), which was affiliated to the USSR-backed Communist Party of Spain, became heightened after the May Days of 1937, in which the Catalan unified party of Communists and Socialists (PSUC) clashed violently on the streets of Barcelona for four days against dissident communists (the POUM) and the CNT-FAI, deposing the latter from their strategic strongholds (beginning with the telephone exchange) and forcing them to surrender with divisive and demoralising consequences.[162] When a 'Unión de Muchachas' (Union of Young Women) was formed later in 1937 to gather all the women's organisations on the Republican side of the war, the Women's Section of the FIJL distributed a circular to state that they recognised no other women's organisation but *Mujeres Libres*, which was the only appropriate group for anarchist women.[163] This echoed the fact that the FIJL itself was formed precisely to offer young people an anarchist alternative to the PSOE's *Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas* (JSU), although unlike *Mujeres Libres* the FIJL had, since November 1936, been open to collaborations with the socialists

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[160] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, p. 116

[161]. *Mujeres Libres*, 1, 1936, p. 1. Among historians of *Mujeres Libres*, Nekane Jurado emphasised this point most emphatically. She suggests that this means the *Mujeres Libres* of the 1930s in some ways speak more to present day post-gender feminism than it ever did to the gender-separatist radical feminism of the 1970s second wave: Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado*, p. 27.

[162] Mujeres Libres made sure, via their own communications and those of their collaborators such as the JJLL, to make clear which organisation was which: CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 483, 11, fols. 2-3, Circular No.9 of the Levant FIJL Regional Committee, 9/11/1937. On the May Days, and the relevance of *Mujeres Libres* to them: Danny Evans, 'In and Against the State: The Making and Unmaking of the Barcelona May Days (1937)', *European History Quarterly,* 52.3 (2022), pp. 485-505, doi:10.1177/02656914221103464. See also: Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain,* pp. 116-117.

[163] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 483, 11, fols. 2-3, Circular No.1 of the FIJL National Committee Women's Secretariat, 9/11/1937. This friction between *Mujeres Libres* and Mujeres Antifascistas has been noted in: Rodrigo, *Una Mujer Libre*, pp. 204-206.

(via the *Frente de la Juventud Revolucionaria* [Youth Revolutionary Front]).[164] For a multitude of reasons, then, both before and during the Civil War, to be an anarchist woman signified something distinct from being a woman who identified with other 'women's' groups in Spain. Indeed, sometimes this distinction was more stringently upheld than that between anarchist and non-anarchist 'youth' in Spain.

While certain facets of 'anarchist womanhood' were constructed individually, with the support of self-empowerment initiatives like alternative schooling and the consciousness-raising efforts of *Mujeres Libres* and other anarchist women's groups, this identity was also constructed relationally in gendered quotidian comradeship-building praxes amongst workers, friends and lovers.

[164] Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter XV. Jordi Getman-Eraso, 'Too Young to Fight: Anarchist Youth Groups and the Spanish Second Republic', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 4.2 (2011), pp. 282-307 (p. 300), doi:10.1353/hcy.2011.0019.

Part II

Introduction

Working-class women in industrialising European societies such as early-twentieth-century Spain were not entirely confined to the private sphere while men went out to work.[1] Indeed, the so-called father of Spanish anarchism, Anselmo Lorenzo, acknowledged women's work (which took place in and between both the private and public spheres) when he wrote of 'the men and women who constitute the Proletariat'.[2] He drew here on Bakunin, an early anarchist influential on the theoretical evolution of the movement in Spain, who emphasised throughout his writing that the same rights and freedoms should be enjoyed by 'every man and every woman' upon the revolution.[3] But what did work signify to anarchist women, and how did their interactions with their fellow workers contribute to shaping their emotional experiences of comradeship?

Besides its history of emotions approach, Part II's foremost historiographical contribution is to integrate archival research with sociological studies to frame anarchist activism itself as a form of work, to which pertained many of the same issues of economic, social and emotional disparity historically seen in other workplaces.[4] Part II's subsidiary contribution is its interdisciplinary re-appraisal of the fluidity between 'public' and 'private' in the spatial gender history of work and activism; the two chapters highlight that anarchist activism work was especially likely to be mobile

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[1.] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, pp. 9-10. See for example: CDMH, FSS, Caja 36, SI,000913, DVD, Isabel Mesa & Maruja Lara; CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000964, CD, Ángelina Ferriz Aguilar.

[2.] Anselmo Lorenzo, *Evolución Proletaria: Estudios de orientación emancipadora contra todo género de desviaciones* (Publicaciones de la Escuela Moderna, c.1930), p. 57.

[3.] Mikhail Bakunin, *Revolutionary Catechism* (1866), <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/1866/catechism.htm#:~:text=In%201864%20Bakunin%20founded%20the,which%20Bakunin%20outlined%20the%20basic> [accessed 12 July 2023]

[4] Including: Amy S. Wharton and Rebecca J. Erickson, 'The Consequences of Caring: Exploring the Links between Women's Job and Family Emotion Work', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36.2 (1995), pp. 273-296, do i:10.1111/j.1533-8525.1995.tb00440.x; Norene Pupo and Ann Duffy, 'Unpaid work, capital and coercion', *Work Organisation, Labour & Globalisation*, 6.1 (2012), pp. 27-47, doi:10.13169/workorgalaboglob.6.1.0027.

between spaces. Radcliff's local history of workers in Gijón and Ealham's study of neighbourhood-based anarchist action in Barcelona have been instrumental in introducing 'community' as a liminal space that disrupted the public-private divide.[5] It was in this spatial context that anarchist women's experiences of work interacted with notions of productive and socially reproductive labour.[6] By analysing a combination of anarchist publications, correspondence, payrolls, meeting minutes, fiction, and testimonies in memoirs and oral history, Part II reflects that 'how we make ourselves and are made as humans is a labour process'.[7]

The gendered implications of anarchist concepts of work have been overlooked in the existing historiography of the Spanish anarchist movement, even though this perspective could help historians to better understand why women were underserved by the anarchists' revolution between 1936 and 1939. Michael Seidman is among the foremost historical critics of the revolutionary realities that unfolded in Spain in this period; he attempts to undermine the rationality of anarchist thought by historicising individual selfishness, claiming one can achieve this without any recourse to gender history before going on to highlight a plethora of sexist incidents between anarchists.[8] Chapter 2 instead elucidates anarchists' own conceptions of ideal work, before Chapter 3 illustrates how and why the abandonment of these ideals during wartime underserved many anarchist women.

Chapter 2, inspired by Dolores Martín Moruno's emotional approach to the gender history of humanitarian work, applies sociological research into emotions and activism to the case of interwar Spanish anarchism.[9] Anarchists in interwar Spain developed emotions-led concepts of work that

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5. Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers', pp. 87, 101; Ealham, *Anarchism and the City.*
6. On social reproduction as a development and deepening of the Marxist concept of labour: Tithi Battacharya, 'Introduction: Mapping Social Reproduction Theory', in *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*, ed. by Bhattacharya (Pluto Press, 2017), pp. 1-20 (pp. 2, 6), doi:10.2307/j.ctt1vz494j.
7. Rachel Rosen and Jan Newberry, 'Love, labour and temporality: Reconceptualising social reproduction with women and children in the frame', in *Feminism and the Politics of Childhood: Friends or Foes?,* ed. by Rosen and Katherine Twamley (UCL Press, 2018), pp. 117-133 (p. 122), doi:10.14324/111.9781787350632.
8. Seidman, *Republic of Egos,* pp. 5-6.
9. Martín-Moruno, Edgar, and Leyder, 'Feminist perspectives on the history of humanitarian relief'; Dolores Martín Moruno and Javier Ordóñez Rodríguez, 'The nursing vocation as political participation for women

situated liberation in individual self-fulfilment, and advanced gendered beliefs about what fulfilment at work should ideally feel like for anarchist men and anarchist women respectively. In the pre-Civil-War period, ideals of feminine self-fulfilment hung on the distinctions and intersections between productive and socially reproductive labour, and this bled into women's emotional activism work too. Anarchist activism work elicited 'mobilising emotions' and developed a subaltern 'emotional regime', including gendered 'feeling rules' for the expression of deviant 'moral emotions'.[10] Anarchist discourses around work then took on a very different gender dimension during the Civil War, when ideal concepts of work might have been implemented in revolutionary actions across Republican Spain. Instead, discourse now deprioritised women's self-fulfilment as an end in itself: no longer subverting the universal masculine 'worker', it was now grounded by a return to traditional feminine archetypes of subordination and assistance.

In this new discursive paradigm, anarchists demonstrated revised priorities about women and work materially and socially too. This is the subject of Chapter 3, which systematically demonstrates that material obstacles to training and pay equity, and social obstacles to inhabiting positions of responsibility and to mutualistic collaboration, characterised the construction of anarchist womanhood in interactions between colleagues in this extraordinary three-year period. Anarchist women now confronted a frustrating emotional disconnect between the pre-war anarchist ideal where work should feel fulfilling and the new reality of work relations which forsook women's self-fulfilment and exacerbated inequities that would make comradeship feel precarious.

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during the Spanish Civil War', *Journal of War and Culture Studies*, 2.3 (2009), pp. 305-319, doi:10.1386/jwcs.2.3.305/1; Martín-Moruno, 'Feeling humanitarianism during the Spanish Civil War'.

[10] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 55; Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364; Milan, 'Emotions in Action', pp. 817-818.

Chapter 2: Work

In the years preceding the Civil War, idealised anarchist womanhood hinged on an expectation to spend part of one's time contributing to activism work (to honour one's anarchist identity) and another part of one's time pursuing personal economic autonomy through certain aspirational forms of remunerated work which might elicit a feeling of self-fulfilment. Among the working-class, the bourgeois 'separate spheres' model was only ever a fiction; one household income was not enough, and typically girls would begin paid work at a young age so that their brothers might afford to go to school in pursuit of a breadwinning career.[1] Paid work, and the entry of women into it, was thus only aspirational for anarchists if it was not under oppressive conditions. There were two pillars to anarchist notions of fulfilment at work in Spain in the 1920s and 1930s: aptitude and passion; and prosperity and wellbeing. This chapter will explore the as yet understudied gender implications of the two in turn, then examine anarchist understandings of emotional activism work and the place of women within it. It will close by illustrating that much of this discourse altered upon the Civil War.

The chapter will argue that in anarchist discourse, ideal work for women signified bridging the public and private spheres and conducting much of the movement's socially reproductive and emotional activism work. At the same time, anarchist activism offered Spanish women unprecedented opportunities to upskill and experience new forms of fulfilling work. The cultivation of comradeship between anarchist-affiliated workers, then, was a gendered process situated not only in unionised workplaces but also in all the spaces in which anarchist activism was practised. Indeed, anarchists in Spain used the word '*labor*' to refer to their activist 'struggle'; a synonym for 'labour'. Only by expanding the definition of 'work' that we use to study workplace gender relations to include 'activism work' too, can we gain a truly comprehensive picture of anarchist

[1] Cristina Borderías, *Entre Líneas: Trabajo e identidad femenina en la España contemporánea La Compañía Telefónica 1924-1980* (Icaria, 1993), pp. 168-169.

women's everyday working lives.

In particularly collaborative anarchist activism work projects, women performed a disproportionate share of the emotion work necessary for ideal comradely co-operation. This foreshadowed the shift away from long-held gendered ideals of emancipatory work which then occurred during the Civil War when the time came to make the revolution a reality. This turning point felt frustrating to women, many of whom now felt their place at work threatened, unappreciated, and uncollaborative—far from what was promised.

Making work feel fulfilling: a gendered anarchist ideal

Anarchist revolutionaries aspired to abolish capitalism and thus entirely transform the meanings attached to, and the reality of, work. The first pillar of any anarchist concept of work was that work should suit the personal passions and skills of workers; as Anselmo Lorenzo put it, one should contribute work 'for society according to one's aptitudes, and for oneself according to one's tastes'.[2] This evoked gendered considerations: anarchists considered certain categories of work a good fit for the passions and skills of women.

It was thought unconscionable that under capitalism many people were coerced by economic hardship to inhabit forms of work that they did not enjoy nor feel competent to perform. French mutualist anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, had used this as justification for confining women's work to the home.[3] Political scientist Alex Prichard notes that Proudhon's contractualist theory of mutualism 'assumes asymmetric abilities and powers

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2. Lorenzo, *Evolución Proletaria,* p. 242.
3. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, 'Selections from Pornocracy, or Women in Modern Times [1852]', collected and translated by Stefan Mattessich, *Cultural Critique*, 100 (2018), pp. 44-64 (pp. 49-50), doi: 10.5749/culturalcritique.100.2018.0044. Proudhon, like Lorenzo later, believed that human progress rested on rediscovering our alienated passions from oppressive forces: Prichard, 'Justice, Order and Anarchy', pp. 628-629.

between societies, groups and individuals', and he imagined patriarchal implications for this too.[4] By contrast, most anarchist writers in Spain by the interwar period were convinced of women's potential to be skilled in many different forms of work outside the home, even if they still believed women's ultimate nature-given skillset and spiritual affinity were for motherhood. Soledad Gustavo, a campaigner for the emancipation of women through anarchism, in an 1899 speech which was re-published in her family's magazine *La Revista Blanca* in 1933, reiterated Lorenzo's view: that the purpose of work should be 'to prioritise one's tastes and satisfy one's inclinations' and that a person works most enthusiastically and freely when the task suits their 'aptitudes'.[5]

This anarchist imaginary of an emancipated person's working life, guided by skill and passion, was depicted not only in theoretical essays but in the short story series, *La Novela Ideal*, where the emotionality of anarchist notions of work was made evident. In *Flora*, by Joaquina Colomer, the eponymous protagonist is skilled in playing the violin and makes a modest living through her art which she chooses to pursue instead of a more economically stable career. Another character observes that while she plays her eyes are 'illuminated by the inspiration that her artist's soul was feeling'; this portrayed an embodied emotional experience of self-fulfilment in work.[6]

Anarchists were sceptical of the contemporary feminist idea that entry into workplaces was synonymous with the emancipation of women, because work under capitalism could never constitute freedom. Historian Nancy Fraser argues that both liberal and socialist feminists in the early twentieth century agreed that 'the "masculine" aspiration to autonomy' was a more valuable ideal than '"feminine" ideals of nurture', yet in interwar Spanish anarchism both were equal parts of the emancipatory imaginary for people of all genders.[7] This had particularly pertinent gender

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[4] Prichard, 'Justice, Order and Anarchy', pp. 641-642.
[5.] Soledad Gustavo, *La Sociedad Futura*, speech at a conference of the Madrid-based republican group *Germinal* on 2nd April 1899 (La Revista Blanca, 1933) – FAL, Patricia Greene Papers, Caja 15, fol. 23.
[6.] Joaquina Colomer, *Flora*, La Novela Ideal, 73 (La Revista Blanca, n.d. [c.1920s]), p. 14. For a similar depiction of shared joy and love cultivated through playing music, see: Celia Morales, *El Mayor Tesoro*, La Novela Ideal, 47 (La Revista Blanca, 1934), pp. 7-8.
[7.] Nancy Fraser, 'Crisis of Care? On the Social-Reproductive Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism',

implications in the early twentieth century, when increasingly women were granted the 'right' to study for and enter into certain professions for the first time. Such career-women were hailed by feminists as victories for their cause.

In contrast, in an article in *La Revista Blanca* in 1924 that commented on a recent speech by British Labour MP Margaret Bondfield, anarchist Federica Montseny feigned confusion that Bondfield had called for more women to enter workplaces. Montseny argued that there was nothing inherently admirable about working women, given that so many forms of labour harmed labourers: she pointed for example to 'miners, blackened and aged by the dust and the noxious gases' and 'the factories, that so many youths endure'.[8] She emphasised that women's bodies were 'not inferior, but distinct' from those of men (alluding to the binary notion of gender outlined in Chapter 1), so it was counterproductive to put those bodies in harm's way.[9] While Montseny recognised that successful campaigns to overturn gendered career barriers in medicine, law, engineering, typing and switchboard operating were victories for women's emancipation, she differentiated between these and the hard manual jobs to which working-class, uneducated women were most likely to be limited.[10] Indeed, working-class women in cities and on farms had been doing such work long before interwar feminists began equating work with freedom. Career-chasing feminism served most of all those women fortunate enough to be educated and therefore qualified for white- or blue-collar jobs, largely ignoring those whose access to education was curtailed by their intergenerational confinement to the bread line. As Kropotkin noted, career women readily offloaded their manual domestic work onto other, poorer, women.[11] Moreover, even if women did earn wages they most likely did not have autonomy over their spending, but instead contributed to a household income

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in *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression,* ed. by Tithi Bhattacharya (Pluto Press, 2017), pp. 21-36 (p. 28), doi:10.2307/j.ctt1vz494j.

8. Federica Montseny, 'Las mujeres y las elecciones inglesas', *La Revista Blanca,* 15 February 1924, p. 10.

9. Ibid.

10. Federica Montseny, 'España y el problema de los sexos', *La Revista Blanca,* 1 March 1929, pp. 549-551.

11. Piotr Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread* (1892), <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-the-conquest-of-bread> [accessed 11 March 2024]

managed by a man (usually their partner, father or brother); this would only change during the Civil War when many of those men were away at the Front.[12] This evidence represents a caveat to historian Martha Ackelsberg's observation that anarchists in Spain generally believed the subordination of women would end if they performed paid work alongside men.[13]

Montseny's critiques did not engage so directly with socioeconomic questions, though; instead, her greatest point of contention was the harm inflicted on women's bodies by manual labour in poor conditions, insinuating that their reproductive capacities should be protected first and foremost. One could therefore instead infer here a call back to Proudhon's view that women should be 'freed from all utilitarian work, especially rude and repugnant work' because the beauty in which resides their power would be 'at risk of degradation'.[14] Montseny certainly departed from Proudhonian anarchism in other respects, though, not least his aforementioned belief that all economic 'production' should naturally be performed by men.[15] Her view on work and gender was more similar to that of another French writer, Paul Lafargue, whose critique of capitalist work-obsession suggested that manual labour made women 'pale drooping flowers' corporeally ill-suited to bearing healthy children.[16]

To prioritise corporeal health channelled anarchist women's work ideal towards particular imaginaries of fulfilment. Work that was dangerous, and which therefore provoked fear or anxiety, was not appropriate work for potential childbearers in an anarchist society. Ideally, women should be trained and recruited to take on work that felt safe, which may have included once-male-dominated intellectual work like writing and medicine, but most prominently alluded to work which

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12. Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos,* pp. 71-72.
13. Martha A. Ackelsberg, 'Models of revolution: Rural women and anarchist collectivisation in civil war Spain', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 20.3 (1993), pp. 367-388, (pp. 368-369), doi:10.1080/03066159308438514.
14. Proudhon, 'Women in Modern Times', p. 45.
15. Ibid.
16. Paul Lafargue, *The Right to be Lazy* (Duke Classics, 2012 [1883]), p. 22. Lafargue was an outspoken Marxist opponent of anarchism but one of his prótégés, Anselmo Lorenzo, expressed in his eulogy that he remained at heart an anarchist communist: Anselmo Lorenzo, 'A la memoria de Paul Lafargue y Laura Marx', *La Palabra Libre* (1911).

cultivated the alleged compassionate and empathetic emotional strengths of (potential) mothers. In the 1920s and 1930s, therefore, there were two categories of work for which anarchists considered women to be better-suited than men: social reproduction and emotion work.

Social reproduction denotes not only the reproductive labour of carrying, giving birth to, and raising children, but any work in which one is entrusted to care for human beings: it may include childcare in nurseries, contributing to the raising of young people in schools, feeding and clothing people, and elderly care. In other words, social reproduction is the work some people do in order that other people (or they themselves, in other parts of their time) can do productive work.[17] In capitalist societies this tends to be unwaged, 'systematically devalued', 'taken for granted and under-recognised'.[18] Interwar anarchism by contrast recognised, appreciated, and socially valued this work.[19] Emotion work denotes the management of one's own or another's emotions, whether that be self-regulating one's expressions in a public-facing role or cultivating politicised emotional responses amongst others in an activism setting.[20]

In sociology, the relationship between care work and family life, which are characterised by both social reproductive labour and emotional labour, is alternatively theorised to either be mutually reinforcing or a drain on one's emotional energy.[21] Interwar anarchist discourse seemed to concur with the first hypothesis; that the socially reproductive and emotional labour women performed in their domestic lives would in turn make subsistence work centred on these same skills and qualities the most fulfilling possible work for them. As has been illustrated in Chapter 1, as the descendant of a broadly Bakuninian tradition Spanish anarchism subscribed to the notion that men

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17. Alan Sears, 'Body Politics: The Social Reproduction of Sexualities' in *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression,* ed. by Tithi Bhattacharya (Pluto Press, 2017), pp. 171-191 (p. 180), doi:10.2307/j.ctt1vz494j.
18. Ibid., pp. 178-179. See also: Fraser, 'Crisis of Care?', p. 23.
19. Fraser points out that historically men have always done some of the share of social reproduction work, however it has consistently been cast as 'women's work' all the same: Fraser, 'Crisis of Care?', p. 21.
20 Hochschild coined the sociological term 'emotional labour' in: *The Managed Heart,* pp. 6-7. Now, 'emotion work' has become the more common term in social movement sociologies.
21. These are termed the 'expansion hypothesis' and the 'scarcity hypothesis': Wharton and Erickson, 'The Consequences of Caring', p. 273.

and women had somewhat different yet equally socially valuable skillsets.[22] Real freedom was ensuring all people had equitable access to skills training that would allow them to make a living from their natural gifts and passions. Crucially, whilst in capitalist societies the idea that care work is something women would inhabit willingly due to maternal instincts has been used to justify patriarchal exploitation (such as refusal to reimburse such labour), in anarchism people of all genders were encouraged to let enjoyment and instincts guide their working lives.[23] If women tended to prefer different types of work to men, that was thought unproblematic.

Equalisation of the social value and prestige attributed to forms of work that were stratified by income disparities under capitalism, including manual and intellectual labour as well as skilled and unskilled labour, was therefore a priority for anarchists, and this would enable women to find a feeling of dignity and pride in whatever work they undertook.[24] Dignity and pride were mobilising emotions; revolutionaries reasoned that if women were made aware of the great social contribution they were making by performing these labours, then their emotional energy would remain elevated.[25] Accordingly, anarchists also aspired to flatten the hierarchical socio-economic valuation of different forms of labour materially, through abolition of the wage economy, in turn transforming the relationship between productive and socially reproductive labour.

In pre-Civil War Spain, socially reproductive labour was mostly unremunerated (teaching was an exception) and therefore usually had to be conducted alongside remunerated work or in place of it, to the detriment of a family's ability to subsist. Lack of education and training among girls, a barrier to acceptance of women in certain professions and a cause of their consistent employment in subordinate positions, was directly linked to this problem. Unwaged socially reproductive labour

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22. Bakunin, *Revolutionary Catechism*.
23. On unwaged care work framed as a labour of love that there is no need to reimburse: Pupo and Duffy, 'Unpaid work, capital and coercion', pp. 29-34.
24. Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*.
25 This theory of emotional energy is discussed in: Randall Collins, 'Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention', in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements,* ed. by Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 27-44 (pp. 28-30). On pride as a mobilising emotion, see: Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism,* pp. 57-64.

was not only a 'female' burden but, more specifically, something one inhabited since girlhood.[26] For instance, in an oral-history interview, Angelina Ferriz Aguilar, who grew up on a farm, recalled that as the eldest child she was burdened with domestic care duties while parents permitted her younger sisters and brother to go to school; in exchange those siblings would teach her bit by bit how to read at home.[27] She was able to take night classes for just three months in total.[28] In response, tackling illiteracy was a priority for anarchists in Spain, as evident in the CNT's statement, in its *Dictamen* on Libertarian Communism that arose from its spring 1936 national congress, that illiteracy must be 'combatted energetically and systematically'.[29] It advocated that free and equal education should be provided to all people of 'both sexes' in order to develop all children's potential.[30] Notably, the *Dictamen* also suggested that schools should teach puericulture to girls to prepare them for motherhood, thereby ensuring that their skillsets matched their presumed desires to perform reproductive labour.[31]

The second pillar of any anarchist concept of work was that the wellbeing of individuals should be an outcome of, and a motivator for, performing work. Anarchist discourse envisioned work as just one part of a vibrant social life; instead of centring social prosperity on maximising productivity, anarchists centred it on the understanding that an emotionally fulfilled society would be a productive one. What wellbeing looked like for anarchist women was entwined with the binary notions of femininity and impressions of the 'modern woman' lifestyle examined in Chapter 1.

Material satisfaction was believed to be a given in a libertarian communist economy, but—according to the 1936 *Dictamen* of the CNT national congress—a person would not truly feel free

26. That girls have not only been objects of socially reproductive care work but also the performers of that work is highlighted by: Rosen and Newberry, 'Love, labour and temporality', p. 120.
27. CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000964, CD, Ángelina Ferriz Aguilar.
28. Ibid. See also: Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles,* p. 157.
29. *Dictamen of the CNT National Congress in Zaragoza* (1936), <https://jmc.web.uah.es/comunismolibertario.pdf> [accessed 3 February 2023]
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.

unless their 'needs of a spiritual order' were met too.[32] This idea developed from Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread*, in which he elevated 'the right to wellbeing' as the ultimate outcome of economic freedom. Rather than merely fighting for 'the right to work' (or better conditions for the exercise of that right), he advocated that workers demand 'their right to live in comfort'.[33] The way anarchists understood human psychology was that individuals inherently want to better themselves, experiment, be creative, and freely express themselves; putting food on the table was not their only reason for performing work. The 1936 CNT *Dictamen* emphasised that all people should have 'the right to science [and] art' because enjoyment of these would 'guarantee the balance and health of human nature', echoing a 1933 essay by Isaac Puente.[34] Hours committed daily to subsistence work should thus be limited so that leisure might become part of every working person's routine. As Kropotkin argued, 'Man [...] is not a being whose exclusive purpose in life is eating, drinking, and providing a shelter for himself', and so in anarchist communism, 'After bread has been secured, leisure is the supreme aim'.[35]

Work-life balance was integral to the anarchist ideal of liberated work, including a reduction in working hours (Kropotkin suggested four to five hours per day) and improved access to cultural and social activities.[36] The social crisis of overwork was addressed in *La Novela Ideal* novellas: for example, in *Vidas Humildes* by María del Amparo Borrás, the protagonist becomes increasingly anaemic due to overwork in her job as a seamstress, unable to make ends meet but desperate to

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32. Ibid.
33. Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*. Campaigns for the 'right to work' were also heavily criticised in Lafargue, *The Right to be Lazy*.
34. It was Puente who drafted the 1936 *Dictamen*, too. *Dictamen of the CNT National Congress in Zaragoza*; Isaac Puente*, La Sociedad del Porvenir: El comunismo anárquico* (Ediciones «Amor y Voluntad», 1933), <https://es.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/isaac-puente-la-sociedad-del-porvenir-el-comunismo-anarquico> [accessed 19 May 2023]
35. Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*. That good use of free time (and more of it) became a pillar of working-class culture across the political Left in this period is noted in: Aguado and Ramos, *La modernización de España*, pp. 180-195.
36. Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*; Lafargue proposed even fewer - just three hours' work per day: Lafargue, *The Right to be Lazy*, p. 57. Experiences of overwork litter the memoirs and oral histories of working-class anarchist women – see for example the case of Lola Iturbe: Antònia Fontanillas Borràs and Sonya Torres Planells, *Lola Iturbe Arizcuren: Vida e ideal de una luchadora anarquista* (Virus Editorial, 2006), p. 34.

support her orphaned siblings, to the point that she becomes blind and is forced to beg on the street.[37] She only finds fulfilment—and a route to recovery—when the man she loves comes into money and is able to henceforth support her family and her medical recovery. The message here was clear: had she been living in a society where the economic recompense for work was irrelevant and socialised services supported her siblings, she would never have experienced overwork and thus would sooner have begun her fulfilled and rounded life with her partner.

At the other end of the scale from overwork, there was the social problem of so-called 'idleness'. Idlers were taken to denote those who under capitalism lived on a passive income through business or landowning, and it was expected that those people would at first instinctively absent themselves from any anarchist commune before coming round to the idea upon witnessing it prosper before them.[38] In this period the very word 'leisure' connoted bourgeois idleness, or in Thorstein Veblen's words 'an indulgence of a proclivity for the avoidance of labour'.[39] Essays on libertarian communism generally suggested that those who opted not to work should nonetheless be provided equitable subsistence, but denied the right to participate in decision-making within the commune.[40]

Importantly, the sick, elderly, and pregnant who could not partake in productive work were not taken to be idlers; in the anarchist social imaginary, workers would be morally content to provide for such members of the community.[41] Another matter was the lifestyle of women who were capable of working productively for a collective but chose instead to dedicate themselves full-time to domestic homemaking, in accordance with the bourgeois-capitalist archetypes of the *ángel del hogar* ('angel of the home') and *perfecta casada* ('perfect wife'). Their socially reproductive labour

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37. María del Amparo Borrás, *Vidas Humildes*, La Novela Ideal, 229 (La Revista Blanca, n.d. [c.1930]), pp. 7-10.
38. Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*.
39. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Books on Demand, 2018 [1899]), Chapter 3.
40. Bakunin suggested they should also lose custody of their children until they opted back into society: Bakunin, *Revolutionary Catechism*.
41. Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*. See also: Bakunin, *Revolutionary Catechism*.

was certainly valued in anarchist political culture, but at the same time suggestions that housework might be collectivised to economise on time, and essays on the equality in intellectual capacity of men and women, implied that anarchist womanhood involved willingness to contribute to collectivised productive work as well as management of domestic chores.[42] In any case, anarchists understood laziness to be a social construct; once every person found a way to inhabit work that matched their skillset—such that they felt pride in doing the work competently—and suited their passions—such that they felt energised to commit time to the work; no impulse towards laziness would remain.[43]

Anarchist theories of work and play thereby reclaimed the legitimacy of leisure by situating it not as a uniquely bourgeois human defect but as a healthy component of the human condition that the bourgeoisie had heretofore denied the proletariat. Historian Nathaniel Andrews has highlighted that the prevalence of games for all ages at anarchist social gatherings—especially those out in nature—reflected the movement's 'desire to align adulthood with childhood', not only by allowing children to be children but also by reawakening in adults 'an appreciation for the importance of play in their own lives'.[44] Concurrently, much of the feminist writing pertaining to the so-called 'modern woman' during the 1920s and 1930s defended her right to enjoy leisure and sociability, having gained the means to do so via work outside the home, and while anarchist women largely rejected this model of femininity (as discussed in Chapter 1) they upheld the principle of a right to feeling joy and fulfilment in everyday life for all people including women.[45]

According to the 1936 CNT *Dictamen*, a libertarian communist society would establish a balance between work and play: 'daily hours would be dedicated to exhibitions, theatre performances, cinema, cultural conferences, which would diffuse happiness and communal

42. On mechanised appliances and collectivisation of household chores as potential routes to alleviating women's domestic work: Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*.
43. Ibid. See also: Lafargue, *The Right to be Lazy.*
44 Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* pp. 123-4, 126.
45 Pattison, 'La muchacha moderna', p. 268.

enjoyment'.[46] This constituted a radical response to the social problem of physical and emotional exhaustion, as well as suggesting an alternative imaginary of work-home life for women raising children. Anarchist discourse endorsed some recreational activities more than others, with educational and naturist activities being championed while unproductive and corporeally destructive pastimes like drinking at taverns met shameful condemnation in the anarchist press.[47] The libertarian *ateneos*, whose leisure activities had long included the exhibitions, theatre, cinema and cultural conferences mentioned in the 1936 *Dictamen*, were designed to be family-friendly, providing opportunities for learning and leisure not only aimed at men but women and children.

Gender and space in anarchist discourses surrounding emotional activism work

All anarchist-sympathising women—from those who might be termed 'occasional activists' to the most diligent militants—were involved, one way or another, in activism work.[48] Just because many women with children did not have time to become as thoroughly involved in union activities as men, does not mean they were not participants in activism.[49] Radcliff suggests that focus on a third space, 'community', can help historians locate the considerable activism work of anarchism-sympathising women.[50] Building on this observation, this sub-section will posit that women's community-based activism in schools and *ateneos,* and in and between their own homes, was an indispensable mode of inhabiting contemporary anarchist ideals of work. This analysis will substantiate historian Chris Ealham's research into the anarchist movement's integration into the very 'fabric of the *barris* [neighbourhood]', broadening the picture beyond his focus on

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[46] *Dictamen of the CNT National Congress in Zaragoza*.
[47] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* p. 157; Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, pp. 371-373; Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* pp. 234-235.
[48] The term 'occasional activists' is from: Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 364-365.
[49] Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers', p. 101; Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 246.
[50] Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers', p. 101.

Barcelona.[51] Additionally, the sub-section will illustrate that anarchist political culture's emphases on educational and cultural development offered women opportunities to take on roles as organic intellectuals (to use Gramsci's term) whose work would be of equivalent revolutionary social value to that of those embroiled in manual activism work.[52]

In particular, the sub-section will show that all activism work inhabited by anarchists in Spain incorporated some form of emotion work, and not only to trigger protests. Sociologist Chiara Milan notes that activists' emotion work develops beyond protest mobilisation into two additional stages over time: cultivation of 'moral emotions' which differentiate their activism culture (or 'emotional regime', in Reddy's words) from mainstream social morality; and strengthening of affective bonds between activists which are essential in maintaining their continued participation in the movement.[53] This sub-section and the subsequent chapter examine mobilising and moral emotions in the Spanish anarchist movement, then Chapters 4 and 5 will examine affective bonds.

Sociologists Jacobsson and Lindblom have shown that mobilising and moral emotion work in prefigurative social movements may include: containing one's emotions when faced with antagonism from non-activists; venting anger through direct action; and using everyday collective praxes to build rituals with other activists, trigger one's own and others' moral outrage, and cycle between guilt and activism.[54] 'Activists need to be emotionally competent' for their movement to effect moral and social change.[55] In the Spanish anarchist movement, whose ideal concept of work was founded on cultivating natural passion and skill, surely those perceived to be most emotional—women—would be encouraged into performing that work.[56] Yet the reality was more nuanced.

Due to their everyday reasons for moving between gendered spaces, women conducted a

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[51] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* p. 42.
[52.] John Schwartzmantel, *The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's Prison Notebooks* (Routledge, 2015), pp. 70-85.
[53.] Milan, 'Emotions in Action', pp. 817-818; Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 55.
[54.] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 5-74.
[55.] Ibid., p. 75.
[56] On women's alleged emotionality compared to men, see for instance: 'Consultorio General,' *La Revista Blanca*, 22 February 1934.

significant portion of the anarchist movement's emotion work. There were obvious overlaps between subsistence work and activism work: not least going on strike. Women's socially reproductive labour and men's productive labour could overlap too: for instance, Lola Iturbe grew up in her mother's guesthouse providing room and board to working men and it was through conversations with those productive labourers in her home that Lola, who performed their socially reproductive labours like laundry, came to learn about anarchist ideas for the first time.[57] Women's socially reproductive labour also could bring them into productive labour spaces. Sara Berenguer as a teenager used to take home-cooked food to her father at his workplace, where she encountered conversations between him and his colleagues about politics, news of strikes and the imprisonment of revolutionaries.[58] Through her father's gendered workplace role, Sara was brought into anarchist political culture. This mirrored the experiences of many men who became CNT affiliates, as it was common for work colleagues to teach one another to read by sharing newspapers.[59]

Activism work could also traverse the public and private spheres via its liminal intersections between work and sociability. Most domestic labour was not housebound at all in working-class neighbourhoods; houses faced shared courtyards, laundry was done at shared washhouses, water was collected from fountains, and food was bought at markets very regularly due to the absence of modern refrigeration.[60] Women in different households therefore felt their lives to be intertwined. Anarchist activism could take place in sociable settings; for instance, Ricardo Sanz and his CNT-affiliated work colleagues developed plans to establish a domestic service union through Sanz's partner Pepita who worked in that industry, and he first introduced them all at a local dance.[61] Anarcho-syndicalism, then, did not only take place in physical workplaces or in CNT meetings; activism work extended to one's recreation and domestic life too.

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57. Fontanillas Borràs and Torres Planells, *Lola Iturbe Arizcuren*, pp. 35, 89, 92.
58. CDMH, FSS, Caja 35, SI,000884, DVD, Sara Berenguer and Pepita Carnicer.
59. This was how Ricardo Sanz learned to read - from a colleague at work: Ricardo Sanz, *El sindicalismo español antes de la guerra civil: los hijos del trabajo* (Ediciones Petronio, 1976), pp. 72-73.
60 Radcliff, *From mobilization to civil war*, pp. 98-99.
61. Sanz, *El sindicalismo español*, pp. 108-109, 130-133.

Gendered emotion work saw women contribute to the cultivation of anarchist emotional communities, situated in and between the public, private, and community spheres and characterised by an emotional regime grounded in working-class opposition to the bourgeois-conservative morality upheld by the authorities. The 'emotion norms' of social movements are linked to the construction of a subaltern morality, and so they grow and thrive by transforming negative and demobilising 'moral emotions' such as guilt for not living up to the ideal or shame for not being committed enough into mobilising 'moral emotions' like pride and righteous anger.[62]

The activism work for which anarchists in Spain were most notorious was direct action in the streets: violence against property or people and bearing arms (from firing guns to throwing stones) during militant strikes and riots. As well as ultimately aspiring to force concessions from the bourgeoisie amounting to the toppling of the state, these actions aimed to contribute in the short term to the cultivation of mobilising emotions—indeed, the strategy was given a name, 'revolutionary gymnastics', in the 1930s—and the reinforcement of moral righteousness that distinguished the anarchist emotional regime from that upheld by people in power. As historian Romero Salvadó has noted, an increase in rural revolts against landowners in 1932, as the global Great Depression endured and the Second Republic's agrarian reforms did not deliver on their promises, was motivated not only by—in most cases—anarchist ideology, but also 'spontaneous acts of despair'.[63] Since the inception of the movement in the nineteenth century, women had been involved in this protest-mobilising emotion work of 'venting' through violence.[64]

Women had long been integral to food riots and strikes-turned-violent in parts of Spain that included Andalusia, Asturias, the Basque Country, and Catalonia, and their gender was recognised

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[62]. Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism,* pp. 57-64. See also: Milan, 'Emotions in Action', p. 827.
[63] Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain*, p. 80.
[64] 'Venting' was one of the mobilising forms of emotion work highlighted by: Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 5-74.

as relevant to the emotional impact of that work.[65] In an article celebrating the 'epic and legendary' 'heroines' who fought alongside men at barricades in Zaragoza during a December 1933 attempt at libertarian communist revolution, Federica Montseny asserted that the involvement of women in mass direct actions was positive for the movement because the unsettling knowledge that some of those taking up arms were women—morally superior beings to men—cast the insurrection as all the more rebellious.[66] Sometimes women even played to gender stereotypes to try and slip by unnoticed while doing revolutionary acts: such as when Casilda Hernáez Vargas was arrested and sentenced to 29 years in prison during the 1934 Asturias uprising for carrying a bomb in a shopping basket.[67] Such actions were portrayed as the latest iterations in an ongoing legacy of heroic revolutionary women, with Louise Michel (an anarchist icon of the 1871 Paris Commune) being especially revered.[68] While the working classes would have seen women—providers of food for households and defenders of their sons and partners—as legitimate protagonists in popular insurrections, this contravened the bourgeois gender regime upheld by institutions of the state.[69] While this evidence seems to reinforce the trend noted by Temma Kaplan that women protestors tended to harness gender stereotypes to make their actions more impactful, examination of the full range of anarchist activism work performed by women complicates that narrative.[70]

Among historians of Spanish anarchism, the relevance of gender to direct action is most

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65. See: Kaplan, 'The Social Base of Nineteenth-Century Andalusian Anarchism'; Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers'; Radcliff, *From mobilization to civil war,* pp. 54-56, 288-289; Luis Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Casilda Miliciana: Historia de un Sentimiento* (Txertoa, 2012), pp. 31-32; Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*; Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* p. 59.
66. Federica Montseny, 'Las mujeres de Aragón', *La Revista Blanca*, 25 January 1934, pp. 161-162. This gendered phenomenon has been noted in: Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, 'Why Emotions Matter', p. 9. On the events of December 1933: Julian Casanova, *The Spanish Republic and Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 95-96.
67. Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Casilda Miliciana*, pp. 34, 40. For more on women's contributions to the Asturias revolution in 1934, see: Radcliff, *From mobilization to civil war*, pp. 298-299. During this uprising the CNT had united with the Socialists to form the Asturian Workers' Alliance: Kerry, *Unite, Proletarian Brothers!,* p. 31.
68. Espigado Tocino, 'Las mujeres en el anarquismo español', pp. 50-51.
69. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd', pp. 78-79.
70 Kaplan, 'Female Consciouness and Collective Action', pp. 545-547, 565.

frequently noted in regard to the masculinised violence of the FAI.[71] Murray Bookchin has described the FAI as a 'macho' organisation which cultivated feelings of competitive daredevil heroism amongst small, secret affinity groups.[72] This certainly would not have been compatible with discursive constructions of anarchist womanhood such as those espoused by Federica Montseny regarding dangerous work.[73] However, some women were nonetheless contributors to it. The FAI did not have membership cards and did not charge membership fees, so there were never any membership lists; this means historians cannot gather statistically significant evidence of the genders of its affiliates, relying instead on disparate narrative testimonies.[74]

The *Los Solidarios* affinity group, not officially connected to the FAI but sympathetic to it, and behind much of the 'revolutionary gymnastics' of the 1930s (which sought to stoke large-scale revolutionary fervour through persistent local revolutionary actions), is known for its male proponents such as Durruti and Ascaso, but Sara Berenguer's memoir reveals that the group included women such as Ramona Berni, María Luisa Tejedor, Julia López Mainar, and Pepita Not.[75] Moreover, Conxa Pérez was a member of the FAI-affiliated group *Siempre Adelante* which participated in a January 1933 anti-state insurrection in Barcelona.[76] Soledad Estorach and Concha Liaño, inseparable friends (see the next sub-section), were both in Barcelona's *Amor y Voluntad* affinity group, and Ada Martí was in the *Faros* group.[77] Joaquina Dorado was not only a member of the *Luz y Cultura* affinity group but its representative at FAI congresses.[78] While not all FAI

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71. For details of how the FAI emerged, see Chapter 1. For details of its culture, see Chapter 5.
72. Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p. xxxvii.
73 See this chapter's first sub-section.
74 Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter VIII.
75. Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta*, p. 221. 'Revolutionary gymnastics' was a strategy originating in the CNT defence committees, but many of those who supported it did so in the name of the FAI even if they weren't themselves FAI affinity group members: Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!,* Chapter XII. The *Solidarios* group was founded in 1922 by members of defence committees during the *pistolerismo* period, and then reconvened in 1931 during the Second Republic but changed its name to *Nosotros*: Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter II, Chapter XII. Women in FAI groups were often the partners or family members of male members: Eulàlia Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* p. 111.
76 Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 114-115.
77 Paz, *Ada Martí*, pp. 19, 36.
78 Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 158-159.

activities were violent, this still is an important corrective to Juan Gómez Casas's history of the FAI which does not name a single woman.[79] Among anarchists the idea of women productively contributing to armed struggle and clandestine organising for the cause was already very familiar by the onset of civil war in the summer of 1936; the CNT declared in its May 1936 *Dictamen* that in the moment of revolution 'all people of both sexes will be understood as apt for the battle'.[80]

Anarchist activism work was not limited to violent direct actions; intellectual work was essential too. There were anarchist doctors like Amparo Poch y Gascón and Félix Martí Ibáñez who trained as medical practitioners and ran socially-conscious surgeries, and the CNT designed a Workers' Sanitary Organisation to provide low-cost healthcare.[81] There were also the anarchist writers, speakers and teachers who took on the intellectual work of disseminating anarchist thought into local communities and beyond. Via print media and public lectures, women and men contributed to the stimulation of moral outrage and legitimation of anarchist moral emotions through evidence-based essays and opinion pieces. Women were integral to anarchist print activism throughout the interwar period; they worked as writers, sometimes as editors or assistants in publishing houses, and often as distributors.[82] For instance, Ana Villalobos and her partner José Sánchez Rosa together ran a publishing house in Seville, as did Lola Iturbe and her partner Juanel in Barcelona.[83] Federica Montseny wrote for various publications while the administration of her family's publishing house in Barcelona was accomplished by family friend María and other young women including Dolores Burón and Rafaela Mateu.[84] Other women engaged in publishing work

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79. Apart from quoting some articles by Federica Montseny. Juan Gómez Casas, *Anarchist Organisation: The History of the FAI* (Black Rose Press, 1986), pp. 16-17.
80. *Dictamen of the CNT National Congress in Zaragoza*. The evolution of this during the war itself will be examined in Chapter 2.
81 Richard Cleminson, 'Dr Félix Martí Ibáñez's "Considerations on Homosexuality" and the Spanish Anarchist Cultural Project', *Anarchist Studies*, 28.1 (2020), pp. 84-99 (p. 86), doi:10.3898/AS.28.1.04.
82. An example of a woman-run press kiosk specialising in anarchist publications was Josefa Jiménez: CDMH, PS-BARCELONA 1353, 1, 43, Letter from the CNT Local Federation of *Sindicatos Únicos* in Orihuela to the Director of *Tierra y Libertad*, 24/1/1938.
83. Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 70.
84. Ibid., p. 74.

included Ada Martí Vall, based in Barcelona, who wrote for a range of publications including *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Tierra y Libertad*, *La Novela Ideal*, and *Ruta* (the organ of the FIJL).[85] Female anarchist orators were fewer in number than male anarchist orators but nonetheless their intellectual labour to disseminate ideas was significant too. At the founding meeting of a new union attached to an *ateneo* in Santa Coloma de Gramanet (Catalonia) in the early 1920s one of the three speakers was Rosario Dolcet, a textile worker and well-known militant.[86] Throughout the 1920s, even as the *ateneo* was frequently raided by police, its conferences continued to include women speakers.[87]

Both writers and orators performed emotion work: their interventions framed anarchist emotional responses to social injustices as rational—a strategy which Holthaus terms 'objectification'—and served to charge up the carefully balanced 'emotional battery' of hope and indignation, which—as political sociologist Eduardo Romanos posits—'mediated the interpretation of means and ends' in this objectification of anarchist ideals.[88] Cultivating a feeling of personal dignity through collective defiance against authority had been central to the anarchist movement's re-making of moral emotions developed ever since the nineteenth century.[89]

The women and men performing the intellectual work of writing and speaking in anarchist oral and textual venues were, therefore, important 'emotion entrepreneurs' for the movement: a category which will be explored in more depth in Chapter 3. Meanwhile, those who sold, read or listened, and discussed these intellectual products—again, including many women—were also performing activism work that co-constituted the same moral emotions. Anarchist propaganda was an effective tool for modelling and adopting revolutionary 'feeling rules': the appropriate ways for

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85. Manel Aisa Pàmpols, *Ada Martí Vall: El Sueño de la Conciencia Libre* (El Lokal, 2019), pp. 16-17, 21-22.
86. José Berruezo Silvente, *Por el sendero de mis recuerdos: Veinte años de militancia libertaria en Santa Coloma de Gramanet (1920-1939)* (Grupo de Estudios Histórico-Sociales, 1987), pp. 29-31.
87. Ibid., p. 52.
88. Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', p. 362. Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism', pp. 553-554.
89. Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p. xviii. Isaac Puente also wrote about the importance of defending one's individual wellbeing as a source of revolutionary dignity in: Puente, *La sociedad del porvenir*.

anarchists to interpret and defend their personal emotional responses to current events.[90]

Equally essential tools for the dissemination of anarchist influence in Spain, and thus additional sites where women and men performed emotional activism, were correspondence networks. A poignant case study in this regard is the networking that gave rise to a national network of anarchist women in the spring of 1936: *Mujeres Libres*. The founders of *Mujeres Libres*, in collaboration with correspondents, published a magazine which encapsulated the emotion work of charging sociologist Romanos's aforementioned 'moral battery' between indignation (at the social situation of women) and hope (via human-interest stories of women coming together to effect change).[91] Furthermore, in the lead up to releasing their first issue these anarchist women performed Holthaus's 'objectification': making revolutionary ideas appear common-sense and rational to readers who may not already be sympathisers.[92]

This oft-neglected discursive feature of *Mujeres Libres*'s early correspondence instructed the group's promoters to obscure its ties to anarchism on grounds of emotional sensitivity.[93] On 17th April 1936 the founders sent a letter to famous US-based anarchist Emma Goldman, explaining that they were a group of anarchists aiming to 'awaken the female consciousness towards libertarian ideas'.[94] However, the very next day, they wrote to ask Lola Iturbe in Barcelona to promote the organisation via her *Tierra y Libertad* publishing house, advising that 'the word anarchism scares off women too much and it is best to not frighten the prey'.[95] This pragmatic stance was reiterated in a similar letter Carmen Perez (who distributed the magazine in Burgos) which emphasised that the organisation's magazine 'will not be called anarchist, because you know the terror that the word

[90] 'Feeling rules' were first theorised in Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, pp. 56-63. This theory was applied to activism contexts in: Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364.
[91.] For details of all the articles published in the magazine, and their contemporary significance, see: Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras.*
[92.] Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', p. 362.
[93.] Possibly this correspondence was not yet available for earlier historians to consult; Vicente's 2020 monograph seems to be the first to mention it. Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras,* p. 19.
[94.] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1 [no folio number], Letter from MMLL editors to Emma Goldman, 17/4/1936.
[95.] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 160, Letter from MMLL editors to Kiralina, 18/4/1936.

still stirs among women, but […] without uttering the word we will go on tilting the female brain towards our ideology'.[96] The *Mujeres Libres* magazine did not mention anarchism by name, instead communicating anarchist ideas and struggles through more universally resonant language, and distributors were instructed to adhere to that same emotional strategy: first convince the reader to identify with the struggle by neutralising its association with frightening street violence, then point them to anarchist groups or publications through which they might find the answers—and justice—that they sought.[97] Evidently, anarchists in Spain reflected not only on the gendered appropriateness of performing certain types of work, but also the gendered sensitivities of those receiving the outputs of it.

Social reproduction was the area of activism work in which most anarchists considered anarchist women most likely to achieve proficiency and fulfilment, because there the necessary emotion work was about care. Women performing anarchist care activism had to employ emotional restraint to handle the subaltern position of anarchist spaces within a hegemonic political-emotional regime, as well as reassuring management of other activists' emotions in periods of crisis.

Anarchist schools were the community-based workplace where a considerable portion of literate anarchist women engaged in this work. Schools staffed by anarchists were usually connected to CNT unions or *ateneos* and so the pupils there tended to be the children of affiliates.[98] Besides their educational purpose they also served to teach anarchist feeling rules to children, intergenerationally strengthening anarchism's subaltern emotional regime.[99] Like in publishing,

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96. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 159, Letter from Lucía to Carmen Perez (Burgos), 23/4/1936. This message was repeated in: PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 114, Letter from MMLL editing committee to Josefa de Tena (Mérida) (n.d.). Another letter to a distributor worded it slightly differently; that they sought to appeal to all women rather than just women who already identified as anarchists: PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 142, Letter from MMLL editing committee to Vicente Gonzalo (Oviedo), Madrid, 25/6/1936. See also: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 126, Letter from MMLL to Isabel Mesa (Ceuta), 29/5/1936.
97. Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras,* p. 19.
98. Valeria Giacomoni, *Joan Puig Elías: Anarquismo, pedagogía y coherencia* (Descontrol, 2016), p. 56.
99 Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364

many women did this alongside, or in parallel with, the activism work of their partners, with the anarchist couple becoming a prominent unit of social integration into the movement.[100] Emilia Roca ran a rationalist school in Barcelona alongside her partner: the renowned educator Joan Puig Elías.[101] Roca took over the running of the school entirely once the Civil War commenced because Joan took on a governmental role.[102] Mathilde Escuder, the partner of prominent anarchist Félix Carrasquer, was a teacher at the well-attended school of the *ateneo* in San Adrían de Besos (Catalonia) during the Second Republic.[103] In Seville, Ana Villalobos was a trained teacher who not only ran a mixed-gender school but also was the person who had taught her partner José to read and write.[104] This last example indicates, too, that formal schools were not the only places where anarchists educated one another. The JJLL, for example, welcomed illiterate young people into its membership and then provided opportunities for them to collectively learn to read and write: they typically possessed libraries and organised reading groups.[105] Indeed, according to the oral testimony of Antonio Costa Truco, even young people who were not affiliated to the CNT were welcome to attend the JJLL and *ateneo* locales during the 1930s.[106]

Setting up a school to provide education and cultural activities for the working classes was depicted in anarchist fiction, which illustrates that it was an anarchist praxis informed by the discursive development of anarchist ideals of fulfilling activism work. It was a central plot point of the *La Novela Ideal* story *La Hija del Banquero*, in which a couple employ their skills, all their material resources, and their passion for social justice, into doing just that. The emotion work of women is explored in this story, as the protagonist becomes increasingly estranged from her father

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[100] This was also the case in other spaces, for instance an anarchist couple issued a joint letter of resignation from the 'Amigos de Durruti' affinity group so as to prevent their expulsion from the CNT: Joaquin Aubi and Rosa Muñoz, 'Manifestaciones de los compañeros Aubi y R. Muñoz', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 29 May 1937, p. 3.
[101.] Giacomoni, *Joan Puig Elías,* p. 49.
[102.] Ibid., pp. 164-165.
[103.] Silvente, *Por el sendero de mis recuerdos,* pp .61-65.
[104.] Montseny, *cuarenta años,* p. 70.
[105.] AHCB, Anna Monjo oral history collection, Interview with Antonio Costa Truco, Barcelona, 19 December 1986.
[106.] Interview with Antonio Costa Truco.

as a result of her work yet continues desperately to earn his respect. The father and his colleagues embody traditional bourgeois work values: they are breadwinners, church-goers, and charity-funders, who marry to advance their economic and social prospects. On the flipside, his daughter and her partner embody anarchist work values: they strive to do work that they believe in (supporting the working class against capitalist oppressors) and find a rounded balance for work to hold in their lives (their work emphasises the value of culture, and their union is motivated by love rather than good business).[107] She maintains her composure through repeated conversations with her father in which she reinforces the rational motivations behind her activism; something essential not only due to the contemporary association between anarchism and irrational violence but also due to contemporary gendered perceptions of women as prone to irrational behaviour.[108] It is evident from the emotional dialogues in this story that anarchist schools placed relentless emotional expectations on those performing socially reproductive work within them.[109] These workers had to maintain adherence to anarchist feeling rules through all manner of affective encounters, constantly reaffirming the legitimacy of their ideal despite pressure to reassimilate to the hegemonic emotional regime to which others around them (such as this fictional woman's father) remained tied.[110]

The domestic sphere, too, was an important site for socially reproductive activism work, and one where women according to anarchist concepts of work would feel fulfilled. Radcliff's local history of cigarette workers in Gijón was particularly significant for the light it shed on hosting workers in need in one's home as a form of gendered activism work inhabited by anarchist-sympathising women.[111] Lewis's research into women's domestic hosting and hospitality role in post-colonial socialism showed that this praxis, beyond its practical aim, 'resulted in strong

[107.] Romilda Mayer, *La Hija del Banquero,* La Novela Ideal*,* 47 (La Revista Blanca, n.d. [c.1920s]), pp. 11, 14, 18.
[108.] See: Trujillo Martínez, 'The Crime of Barrocolorado', pp. 2, 5-6, 11.
[109] More on this, particularly in wartime, in Chapter 3.
[110] Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364
[111.] Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers', pp. 88-89.

networks of trust and comradeship'.[112] Anarchists across Spain experienced this phenomenon in many different crises, from long-drawn-out strikes to cases of imprisonment and exile.[113] Hosting guests was part of the domestic labour expected of women in this period; they were to clean and prepare the house, cook meals, and so on. This form of activism work was therefore one that women were thought to be inherently skilled in, as well as fulfilled by, according to their gender.[114] It could become, too, a particularly high-stakes experience of emotional labour; refugee children were likely to be traumatised by separation from their parents, and even adults living in exile would have felt continually anxious and paranoid about being identified and caught. Care in these contexts would have demanded not only humanitarian reassurance but politicised emotion work which reaffirmed the moral righteousness of anarchists who put themselves in such dangerous situations.[115] Part III will elucidate how domestic activism work contributed too to forging long-term affective bonds.

Summer, 1936: a turning point in anarchist discourse about women's work

The most iconic image of anarchist womanhood—certainly in present-day popular culture—is that of the antifascist *miliciana*: the gun-carrying woman in androgynous blue overalls who signed up in the summer of 1936 to fight alongside militiamen on the Spanish Civil War front line.[116] These women's work trajectory epitomised the Civil-War shift in anarchist discourse about working women. In some cases, *milicianas* had been trained in handling firearms as a group—by

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[112] Su Lin Lewis, 'Women, Hospitality and the Intimate Politics of International Socialism', *Past & Present*, 262 (2024), pp. 242-280 (p. 247), doi:10.1093/pastj/gtad006.
[113] See Chapters 3 and 5 for specific examples.
[114.] A similar reconfiguration of the 'angel of the home' archetype would be applied, during the Civil War, to other socially reproductive care work like knitting clothing, not only among anarchists, but in mainstream discourse: Mary Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines: Images of Women in Revolutionary Spain (1936-1939)', *History of European Ideas*, 11 (1989), pp. 235-244 (p. 241), doi:10.1016/0191-6599(89)90212-X.
[115] Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, pp. 36, 39.
[116] Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines', p. 236. See also: Lisa Lines, 'Female Combatants in the Spanish Civil War: Milicianas on the Front Lines and in the Rearguard', *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 10.4 (2009), pp. 168-187, doi:unavailable.

men—in mixed-gender spaces like *ateneos*, which indicates that initially some anarchist men did entertain the idea of women soldiers.[117] Posters hailed the *milicianas* as aspirational young women. Amongst anarchists this represented a continuity with the pre-war period because women had always fought amongst men during militant strikes.[118]

However, after only a few months, the *milicianas* were sent back to the rearguard and their image was displaced by the new feminine archetype of 'homefront heroine', to use historian Mary Nash's term.[119] In reality, as well as the few militiawomen like Casilda Hernáez who defiantly refused the order to withdraw, plenty of anarchist women continued travelling back and forth to the Front as nurses, journalists, ambulance drivers, or deliverers of supplies (such as clothing or food) for the soldiers, and there were also women in the rearguard who carried firearms, ready to defend themselves and their cities.[120] From then on, though, militiawomen were not celebrated but disparaged.

The *milicianas* were misleadingly accused of spreading venereal diseases at the Front; their image was tarnished with sexual stigma and so a new archetype of the ideal anarchist woman was elevated.[121] Although it is difficult to judge the impact of the *miliciana* in public consciousness, historian Mary Nash has provided evidence that by October 1936, women dressed in overalls (already a small minority, as the style never really permeated mainstream fashion trends in Republican Spain) were pejoratively presumed to be extravagant, frivolous and unbecoming.[122] While propaganda images of women in overalls did not disappear, these were not aiming to convince women to take up arms but situate them as participants in the overall war effort.[123]

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[117] Such as Tersa Garrote Cerrato and Ángeles García Longoria, in the Picazo *ateneo* in Madrid: Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos*, pp. 73-74.
[118] See the second sub-section.
[119] Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines', pp. 235-238.
[120] IISH, CNT Papers, 40C.4, Memo asking permission from the National Defence Section for Amparo Carceller Marin, Concepción Liaño Gil, Soledad Estorach and María Boadas Boadas to go to the Front, 19/7/1938. See also: Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta*, pp. 32-34, 154; Lines, 'Female Combatants'; Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, p. 166.
[121] For more on this sexual shaming, see Chapter 7.
[122] Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines', pp. 237.
[123] Ibid., p. 239.

Anarchist discourse now appealed instead to women's mothering instincts as the loved ones of men in active service, rather than to their political convictions as antifascists.[124] Seidman suggests that this shows the war 'disturbed but did not profoundly transform traditional gender divisions', but Ana Martinez Rus has demonstrated that in fact the war transformed gender divisions so much that a new gender paradigm was fabricated to grapple with it, one which stigmatised radical women to protect the masculinities of radical men.[125] Mary Nash argues that the *miliciana* never constituted a major archetype of femininity in Spain, because it was only ever a minority trend and it was extremely short-lived.[126] However, considering the matter at hand (anarchist ideals of gender and work), the withdrawal of the *milicianas* and consequent transformation of women's front-line work into solely humanitarian activism via aid organisations like SIA did transform gender identity-making for those women whose identification with anarchism pre-dated the war.[127] It undermined the precedent of feminine presence in armed anarchist direct action, and discursively re-cast women's presence at the Front as conventionally feminine socially reproductive labour rather than a productive contribution to the re-masculinised work of violence.

Some anarchists' wartime emotional activism work included intervening in this discursive shift to reframe ideal women's work as a compassionately maternalistic complement to men's masculine militancy. Writers especially appealed to rearguard women's feelings of guilt, a mobilising emotion whose significance for activism has been noted by sociologists Jacobsson and Lindblom.[128] A 1937 article by postal worker Conchita Menéndez in *Comunicaciones Libre*, the organ of the CNT communications union in Madrid, wrote of the inherent pacifism of women whose 'innate

[124] Mary Nash, *Defying Male Civilization,* p. 73. This mirrored the wartime propaganda of the *Mujeres Antifascistas* group even though the anarchist *Mujeres Libres* group emphatically refused formal collaboration with them (see Chapter 1).
[125] Seidman, *Republic of Egos*, p. 55; Martínez Rus, *Milicianas,* p. 12.
[126] Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines', p. 238.
[127] One example of SIA-led humanitarian activism involving Sara Berenguer, Cristina Kong, Lucía Sánchez Saornil and Mery Barrosso is recalled in: Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta*, pp. 123-126.
[128] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, p. 74.

maternity' made them feel disgusted by violence that destroys human life.[129] She continued, 'As normal women we feel hate towards war because […] it destroys our best brothers, the most robust men, the most efficient producers, [while] assuring the survival of the weak'.[130] The concluding message of the article was to implore women who were not yet engaged in productive labour for the war effort to join her in the communications industry.[131] Therefore the eugenic language lamenting the survival of the 'unfittest' was supposed to make those women surviving the war by not bearing arms feel guilty and accordingly take on greater productive labour.

Similarly, a speech by a representative of the Commission for Confederal and Anarchist Propaganda on Madrid's 'Unión Radio', targeted at CNT members, in one segment addressed women directly. It vividly described water and mud inundating the trenches as winter approached, the cold 'our men' were feeling, and how 'we the women comrades who find ourselves in the rearguard have a great duty' to provide them with warm clothing by manufacturing it, which they could do via a CNT union.[132] Such tasks, then, were loaded with the emotion work of handling the anxiety of potentially losing loved ones and cycling between moral guilt and activist action.[133]

This brought anarchism into a broader gender paradigm on the Civil War era Left, illustrated in the fact the Executive Committee for a campaign to clothe the Republican army for winter comprised representatives from SIA and the *Socorro Rojo* (Red Aid) as well as four other representatives—all women—from various political factions.[134] Socialists, communists and anarchists, all of whom had initially recruited *milicianas* at the outset of the war, now opted to elevate women as their symbolic representatives of socially reproductive rearguard activism (even

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[129] Conchita Menéndez, 'La mujer en los sindicatos', *Comunicaciones Libre*, 15 March 1937, p. 1.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid. See also: A.A., 'Feminismo en acción', *Comunicaciones Libre*, 15 May 1937, pp. 1-2.
[132] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 404, 45, fol. 3, Speech by the Commission for Confederal and Anarchist Propaganda on Unión Radio Madrid, (n.d.), speaker unnamed.
[133] Both of these are forms of activist emotion work highlighted by: Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 63-64, 74.
[134] They were Dolores Ibarruri, Federica Montseny, Matilde de la Torre and Catalina Salmerón. CDMH, PS-MADRID 1552, 7, fols. 1-2, Report by the FIJL National Committee presented at the CNT National Committee on 29/12/1937.

though considerable numbers of women in the rearguard were contributing productive labour too to industries such as manufacturing, transport, and communications) while men remained at the Front.[135] Discursive emotion work re-framed the anarchist ideal to deprioritise women's workplace self-fulfilment as an end in itself and instead champion women's natural place as auxiliaries to men, embracing the new discourse of 'combative motherhood', to use Nash's term, echoed throughout all parties and groups on the Republican side during the war.[136]

In the headquarters of the CNT-FAI in revolutionary Barcelona, women cooked all the collective meals.[137] Their reproductive labour fuelled the productive labour of anarchist committees.[138] Similarly, in SIA's humanitarian '*colonias*' (homes for orphaned or refugee children), women consistently took on all roles in cooking, cleaning and sewing.[139] This pattern was reflected too in an account of the activities put on by one SIA-run *colonia* for Spanish children evacuated to France: 'the garden is boys' work, but also we [girls] know how to behave at home, like "little women of tomorrow". There are groups for cleaning, serving the table and helping in the kitchen; I belong to the kitchen group'.[140] Socially reproductive labour in these workplaces was socialised, thus differing from pre-war capitalist work relations, yet still gendered feminine.

The long-held conviction in anarchist thought that holistic wellbeing was key to social prosperity was reflected in propagandistic infrastructure projects implemented in collectivised communities during the 1936 Revolution. Village committees built new parks and baths (Calanda),

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[135] On the political identities of *milicianas*, see: Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines', p. 236; Lisa Lines, 'Female Combatants in the Spanish Civil War', Martínez Rus, *Milicianas*.
[136] Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines', p. 240.
[137] On Pepita Gálvez see: Iturbe, *La mujer en la lucha social,* p. 25.
[138] Federica Montseny's family friend María was among those women. Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 91.
[139] Two examples: IISH, CNT Papers, 002D.3, List of Auxiliary Staff of the SIA colonia 'Los Ingleses' in Sitges; IISH, CNT Papers, 41D.1A, payroll of the SIA colonia in Rebos. In Madrid's *ateneos* the cleaning and cooking roles were likewise taken on by women: Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos*, pp. 71-72. At least one rural collective during the War had an elderly care home, and it was run by three women: Leval, *Colectividades Libertarias*, pp. 122-123.
[140] IISH, CNT papers, 32C.3C, Concha López, 'Productos de la colonia', *Reflejo*, August 1938, p. 4 [magazine produced by the children of the *colonia* at Chatenay Malabry (France)].

planted new vineyards (Montblanc), created new museums and art schools (Graus), and almost all established new libraries, schools and cultural centres in requisitioned buildings such as bourgeois villas, convents, and Civil Guard barracks.[141] These served much-needed practical purposes for local people while also serving as apparent evidence of libertarian communist society's superior attention to human self-fulfilment compared to the state-capitalist society that came before.

There were limits, though, to the roles women could play in these cultural transformations. Most notably, in anarchist schools women were especially seen as suited to teaching the youngest children because there was already a precedent for it in Spain.[142] Back in 1932 the newspaper of a Catalonian affinity group firmly emphasised that women's fundamental revolutionary role was to morally educate preschoolers.[143] During the Civil War, almost every neighbourhood (of the Republic-held towns and cities) which did not already have an *ateneo* were be furnished with one, and many of these had schools. Barcelona and Madrid boasted dozens apiece.[144] As anarchist alternatives to mainstream schools, these served not only as training grounds to prepare future generations for effective performance of productive labour, but in the case of very young pupils they served also as childcare facilities to create time for more productive labour in the present.[145] Recruitment documents that have reached the archive show that during the war whenever Madrid's *ateneo* schools specifically opened classes for young children, they usually sought a woman

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[141] José Peirats, *Los anarquistas en la crisis política española*, vol.1 (Toulouse, 1951), extract, trans. by Sam Dolgoff, in *The Anarchist Collectives*, pp. 115-116. See also: Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, (Milan, 1952), extract, trans. by Sam Dolgoff, in *The Anarchist Collectives*, p. 125, and Agustín Souchy, *Nacht uber Spanien* (Damstadt, 1957), extract, trans. by Sam Dolgoff, in *The Anarchist Collectives*, p. 131.
[142] See for instance: IISH, CNT Papers, 001A.2, document by Mariano Andres Medreno outlining his intentions for the *Federación Infantil Libertaria*, sent to J. Domenec[sic], Barcelona, 21/1/1938. By the turn of the century women teachers taught basic literacy and Catholic dogma to young children in villages where local authorities lacked the funds to open properly staffed state schools: Ferrer Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*.
[143] Un Obrero, 'Dignificación de la mujer', *Luz y Vida*, 18 November 1932, p. 3.
[144] As evidenced in their correspondence, archived at the CDMH.
[145] On ideal conditions for these schools: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 7, fol. 10, Report of a visit on 13th May 1938 to the Chamartín (Madrid) Commission for Confederal and Anarchist Propaganda, by the Local Council of Culture, 13/5/1938.

teacher, indicating that they were considered better suited to this work than men.[146]

However, even in these workplaces women's skills were not universally respected by their colleagues; consequently, many women's chances for fulfilment at work remained under threat. Women's work, now, was no longer about self-fulfilment but about prioritising the work outcomes of boys and men, including at their own expense. A letter from the Chamberí *ateneo* in Madrid in September 1938 asked the Local Council of Culture to send them a male teacher to establish better disciplinary boundaries with the students because 'a man always will do a better job in this case'.[147] In particular, the Chamberí *ateneo* school was struggling with 'a lack of respect from the boys to the female teachers'.[148] Such lack of respect may well have been a learned behaviour, given the attitudes held by some anarchist working men towards working women—as will be elaborated in due course. If influential anarchists had continued to envision work as an emancipatory space where one achieved self-fulfilment through harnessing one's skills and passions, then a woman who had chosen to work as a teacher would be supported in developing the skillset necessary to prosper in that caring role. Instead, in this case, the approach taken was to oust her and replace her with a man, and in the process undermine the potential of any woman to be emancipated through this work. Such evidence challenges historian Nathaniel Andrews's otherwise compelling suggestion that

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[146] Request for a female teacher specifically, as the *ateneo* was opening a nursery school: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 9, fol. 13, Letter from the Colonias *ateneo* to the Local Council of Culture, 19/10/1937. Request for female teacher upon opening a new class for 4-7 year olds: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 9, fol. 20 Letter from the Ciudad Lineal *ateneo* to the Local Council of Culture, 1/2/1938. One exception to this might be the case of the *ateneo* of La Latina, where the man organising recruitment asked specifically for a woman to teach the middle grade and suggested two women currently undergoing teacher training classes at his *ateneo* as candidates: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 9, fol. 22, Letter from the La Latina *ateneo* to the Local Council of Culture, 8/4/1938. Two other exceptions were the *ateneo* "de Cervantes" which opened a class for toddlers and was open to a teacher of any gender being recruited for it: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 9, fol. 27, Letter from the Federation of *Ateneos Libertarios* to the Local Council of Culture, 26/8/1938; and the Legazpi *ateneo* which asked for a man to teach the young children's class: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 12, fol. 1, Letter from the Federation of *Ateneos Libertarios* to the Local Council of Culture, 26/6/1937. See also: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 12, fol.11, Letter from the Federation of *Ateneos Libertarios* to the Local Council of Culture, 14/5/1938; CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 12, fol. 12 Letter from the JJLL Provincial Committee in Linares to the Regional Federation of *Ateneos Libertarios*, 6/5/1938.

[147] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 4, fol. 12, Letter from the Chamberi *Ateneo Libertario* to the Local Council of Culture, 22/9/1938.

[148] Ibid.

anarchist schools constituted sites for the manifestation of anarchist utopianism.[149]

Furthermore, contrasting with the content of its internal magazine, which continued to tackle topics as far-ranging as free love, revolutionary activism, gender relations, and holistic health and wellbeing, a *Mujeres Libres* pamphlet some months into the war emphasised publicly that the core role of the organisation was now to train women to replace drafted men in workplaces.[150] It was now an education provider and facilitator of employment (paid or voluntary) geared towards improving the productivity of the Republican rearguard.[151] The pamphlet was printed on CNT-headed paper, suggesting that the organisation would consent to be seen collaborating with *Mujeres Libres* if it were to abandon its discursive commitment to pre-war emancipatory ideals of work and instead became complicit in re-framing women's work as supplementary to that of men.

There are further instances in correspondence from anarchist workplaces that reveal a lack of comradely respect for women colleagues. In one instance, male representatives of the agrarian collective in Lérida asserted that women there were motivated by 'egotism and lack of spirit of sacrifice' and should be assigned suitable work such as 'cleaning and washing'. Seidman has interpreted this quote as evidence of women's genuine selfishness, whereas Ackelsberg has situated it in a wider context of sexual division of labour in rural collectives whereby the 'egoism' lay actually in families' decisions to let wives and mothers work fewer hours in the collective in order to have time to perform private domestic tasks.[152] We might look, instead, to meeting minutes where such mindsets were elaborated in more depth. The minutes of the 22nd May 1937 meeting of the Transport unions betray great reluctance to recruit women and indeed disrespect for those women who trained in Transport jobs. Speakers alleged that women pursued training in driving

[149] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life*, p. 75.
[150] For analysis of all the articles across the magazine's various issues before and during the war, see: Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras*.
[151] CDMH, PANFLETOS, 4501, El Comité de Mujeres Libres, *Al Pueblo: ¿Qué es la Agrupación MUJERES LIBRES?* (Gráficas Nacional, n.d.).
[152] Seidman, *Republic of Egos*, pp. 140-142; Ackelsberg, 'Models of revolution', pp. 374-375.

public transport 'only [for their] personal gain', which insinuated that only men (overlooking that they too were paid) performed labour selflessly for the war effort.[153] This mirrored the 'lack of spirit of sacrifice' purportedly expressed by farmers in Lérida.

At the Transport meeting the representatives agreed a motion to force some of *Mujeres Libres*' schools for training women in transport careers to shut down, and reallocate resources to schools that would train both young men and women in those jobs, since the former would be better suited to the work.[154] At a later meeting of the same union, it was agreed to stop sending funds to the *Mujeres Libres* training school until it agreed to take on all CNT transport union members regardless of gender 'in view of the fact that no Union wants women drivers'.[155] This revealed the heart of the issue: that scarce resources in wartime legitimised that influential men reshaped anarchism's gender dynamic of work to suit their own subjectivities. Women's workplace fulfilment was no longer an emotional priority for the movement. As will be explored in the next chapter's first sub-section on 'emotion entrepreneurship', individuals or groups within a movement who enjoy greater social or cultural capital may exert greater control over the emotion work directed towards, or away from, certain goals; this meeting was certainly a case in point.

At a congress almost a year later on the 25th March 1938 which included representatives of *Mujeres Libres*, as well as the FAI, the Regional Committee of the CNT, the libertarian *ateneos*, and several of the CNT unions, the conversation was much more positive towards women workers. The presence of *Mujeres Libres* might have played a role in the seriousness with which women's subjectivities were considered here, though a more likely factor was the much greater need to incorporate women into workplaces now that the Republic had faced considerable front-line losses. The representative of the Construction and Timber union spoke in favour of women enjoying the

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[153] CDMH, PS-MADRID 991, 4, fols. 49-51, Minutes of the 22 May 1937 CNT Transport Union Meeting attended by representatives of the following Sections: Drivers; Loading and Unloading, Undertakers, Trams, and Coal.
[154] Ibid.
[155] PS-MADRID 991, 4, fols. 112-113, Minutes of the 1 October 1937 CNT Transport Union Committee and Sections Meeting attended by the Technical Administrative Committee and the Schoolteachers.

same tasks, hours, and workplace rights as men as well as being able to freely choose their jobs according to their skills.[156] This was backed by the Water, Gas and Electricity union and the Transport union (which had been so discriminatory against women a year before) advocated equal pay for men and women.[157] The Food and Gastronomy union representative warned that women should not yet be encouraged to enter service jobs in bars and cafés due to the poor behaviour of many customers, but the Construction and Timber union representative indicated that in other parts of Spain the food service industry was somewhere women workers thrived so they should be given a chance.[158] The Railways union representative was, in this meeting, the most concerned with the gendered suitability of women to certain tasks: they raised the issue of women's 'specific and particular job' of 'tending to one's partner and home' and suggested that women therefore be employed in shifts such that they would have time for domestic work as well as paid employment.[159]

As an output of the meeting, representatives from Railways, Transport, Construction and *Mujeres Libres* drew up a Judgement on the matter of incorporating women into rearguard work, which stated: that women performing paid work was nothing new in Spain; that this work had historically been remunerated poorly compared to that of men; that the present needs of the war demanded that more women entered productive work; that this should not be achieved through gendered recruitment targets but through simply filling all the vacancies that arise by responding to the skills of the applicants regardless of gender; that advanced qualifications should no longer be necessary for jobs that do not really require it as the education of more women for these would be slow and costly; that 'to relegate a woman to clean floors and wash dishes or pots, is to devalue her in spite of proclaiming her a comrade'; that on incorporating women into workplaces, 'like us

[156] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 994, 6, fols. 1-3, Minutes of the 25 March 1938 CNT Madrid Plenum of Committees hosted by the Technicians Union, attended by representatives of: Mujeres Libres, FAI, CNT Regional Committee, libertarian ateneos, and the unions, with the exception of Metallurgy, Health, Leather, Tobacco and Entertainment. Chair: Transport. Secretaries: Graphics and Ateneos. Dated 29/3/1938.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.

[men] they must be treated, respected, and remunerated'; that women's sections in unions will no longer exist and instead women will be part of the union section in which they work; that the most vulnerable women (such as those with family members in fascist territories or those who were single or with young children) should be prioritised for employment and training; that the federal committees, unions, control committees and socialised industries could not reject any woman sent to work for them from a CNT-associated professional training school; and that those schools would be supported and fed into by *Mujeres Libres*, the Union of Mixed Professions, and the FIJL.[160]

This statement seemingly in favour of gender equality in workplaces in fact betrayed yet again the abandonment of the emancipatory pre-war anarchist ideal of work. The motivation for egalitarianism here was not the anarchist principle of flattening social hierarchies but the 'needs of the war'. The comment about cleaning and washing being demeaning occupations undermined the idea in anarchism that all forms of work—manual, intellectual, productive, socially reproductive—can feel satisfying if they suit one's interests and proficiencies and are performed collectively. The abolition of women's sections in trade unions called into question long-maintained practices of creating spaces for anarchist women to develop skills in reading and public speaking through which they might gain the self-assurance to defend their own interests in mixed-gender committees. The CNT and *Mujeres Libres* were collaborators in this overhaul of gendered anarchist work ideals.

[160] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 994, 6, fol. 4, Minutes of the 27 March 1938 CNT Madrid Plenum of Committees and Militants hosted by the Local Federation of the CNT, attended by representatives of: libertarian ateneos, CNT Regional Committee, FAI, Mujeres Libres, and the unions, with the exception of Metallurgy, Oil, Leather, Tobacco, Metro, Communications and Armed Forces. Chair: Transport. Secretaries: Banking and Insurance. Dated 29/3/1938.

Chapter 3: Workers

The anarchist movement in early-twentieth-century Spain was characterised by its prefigurative ambitions. Its revolution was supposed to be lived through in the day-to-day, its principles implemented in all aspects of life, and its ever-evolving thought translated processually into praxes. Yet, one can identify a clear shift away from the anarchist movement's gendered ideal of work once revolution turned to civil war in the summer of 1936. Work in this period was not about fulfilment through cultivating one's passions and skills, nor was it about supporting one's wellbeing. Hierarchies in recruitment, pay, and positions of responsibility were not comprehensively flattened and many attempts at collaboration between the mixed gender movement and the women's organisation *Mujeres Libres* were not reciprocated. Principles stated only two months before the outbreak of war at the CNT's Zaragoza Congress such as the importance of attending to everybody's 'spiritual' needs as well as their subsistence and that when it came to revolution both men and women 'will be understood as apt for battle' were quickly abandoned.[1] Although some promises were met, such as the proliferation of anarchist cultural and sociable activities in local communities, these largely reinforced unequal gender dynamics which did little to strengthen feelings of comradeship between men and women.

Women were recruited into productive work in greater numbers than ever but their material and emotional experiences of that work became ever further removed from those of anarchist men. Meanwhile, women's socially reproductive work continued, with ever more tasks to tackle as humanitarian crises unfolded on an unprecedented scale. Anarchist women faced material barriers to pay parity, positions of responsibility, and training, and emotionally they faced frustrating renewed barriers to collaboration with men in workplaces. Building on Martha Ackelsberg's argument that 'women did not come to see themselves (nor were they seen by their male comrades)

[1] *Dictamen of the CNT National Congress in Zaragoza*.

as fully equal participants in rural revolutionary transformation', the chapter will show that this played out not only in rural collectives but in towns and cities, and illustrate that this phenomenon during the Civil War represented a frustrating departure from the ideal of work developed by anarchists in the preceding decades.[2]

In her 2020 study of gender and anarchism through the prism of the women's organisation *Mujeres Libres*, Laura Vicente argued that in spite of the fact that so many women took men's places at work, women's role in the war effort was considered secondary to that of men and little effort was made to rectify consequent inequalities.[3] Chapter 3 puts forward considerable evidence to elucidate this in greater detail, as well as turning attention for the first time to the phenomenon's emotional implications for women. It begins with an examination of emotion entrepreneurship in anarchist workplaces, including how this played out upon revolutionary collectivisation and in wartime committees. Then the chapter scrutinises the material and social obstacles to comradeship that working women faced, and the implications for their identity-making as anarchists.

Gender dynamics of emotion entrepreneurship in anarchist political culture

Although emotional activism work was inhabited to some degree by every sympathiser, political scientist Leonie Holthaus has theorised that in activist movements there are certain people whose cultural capital (such as social recognition or linguistic skill) puts them in favourable positions to act as 'emotion entrepreneurs', shaping the emotional experiences of other activists.[4] In 1920s-1930s Spanish anarchism this was true to an extent; those who became renowned writers, orators, arms-wielders and union committee spokespeople had greater potential influence in their

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[2] Ackelsberg, 'Models of revolution', p.379. Even the 'Amigos de Durruti' group, who strove to reinvigorate the anarchist revolution in 1937, did not mention in their manifesto a single explicit measure to restore the emancipation of women as a revolutionary goal. The manifesto is reproduced in: Agustín Guillamón, *The Friends of Durruti Group: 1937-1939* (AK Press, 1996), pp. 63-64.
[3] Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras*, pp. 28, 168.
[4.] Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', p. 354.

emotion work—and, notably, most of these were men. This sub-section will examine the emotion work developed in anarcho-syndicalist committees and the correspondence-based emotion work of the women who set up *Mujeres Libres*, to show how and why the gender dynamics of emotion entrepreneurship in the anarchist movement made comradeship feel precarious for women activists.

While print media served as a figurative space for the ritualisation of new feeling rules, CNT committees were physical spaces for it.[5] These not only served to make bureaucratic decisions and move actions forward but also to cultivate rituals for the transmission and learning of anarchist feeling rules which made influential emotion entrepreneurs out of only the most respected public speakers. To occupy such a position was difficult for women though, not least because—as Lucía Sánchez Saornil recalled in a 1935 article for the CNT newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera*—many male workers (including members of CNT committees) resented women's increasing employment in factories and workshops because they blamed this for male unemployment.[6] Mercedes Vilanova, through her oral history of factory workers who were illiterate during the 1930s, found too that a person needed at least basic functional literacy to have the confidence to speak up in CNT debates, because lacking this skill made one feel vulnerable to being manipulated by those who could read.[7] More women than men were illiterate in early-twentieth-century Spain. Some women did manage to participate in the meetings of CNT anarchist committees, which prior to the Civil War was a voluntary activism role.[8] Furthermore, in an oral history interview Soledad Estorach recalled that in some rural collectives in Aragon that she visited during the Civil War, the first delegates to village committees were women because local men were so often far away tending flocks.[9] This was the exception that proved the rule, though. Antònia Fontanillas Borràs was active in many

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[5] Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364.
[6] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestion femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 9 October 1935, p. 2. Employment crises were especially acute in the 1930s due to the Great Depression.
[7] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles,* pp. 24-27.
[8]. The only paid CNT positions were the National Secretary, Secretaries of the Regional Federations, the clerical staff of the National Committee, and newspaper staff. Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p. xix; Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!,* Chapter II.
[9]. Interview conducted by Ackelsberg: Ackelsberg, 'Models of Revolution', p. 378.

different anarchist committees but in her oral history testimony she recalled that it was rare to see another woman there alongside her, and—as historian Bookchin has suggested—anarchist committees were supposed to serve as moral examples for the working class as a whole.[10]

From this picture we might intuit that therefore the anarchist feeling rules taught by these collective rituals were shaped by masculine subjectivities, to which anarchist women would have to adapt to feel any sense of comradeship. Intervention in committee meetings and their negotiation processes, like involvement in direct action, was work that subverted what was considered suitably enjoyable and skills-appropriate for most women. We might consider, for instance, the 1931-2 expulsion of thirty 'Treintistas' from the CNT (including the incumbent National Secretary, Angel Pestaña) upon their publication of a manifesto in favour of reformism, peaceful coexistence with the Second Republic, and gradual revolutionary preparation.[11] None of the thirty signatories to the manifesto were women; none occupied prominent enough delegate positions to be contributors in the meticulous process of drafting, debating, and redrafting this text, which was thought to be the appropriate means of resolving ideological conflict in the CNT.[12]

The rituals through which committees handled disputes indicate their members' learned feeling rules.[13] One of the most poignant emotional examples of internal conflict within the anarchist movement was the altercation between the National Committee of the CNT and the editors of *La Revista Blanca* over the issue of funds for prisoners. The latter had long raised money for political prisoners through its magazine in which it canvassed donations and published lists of donors. The former considered itself better-suited to managing the matter as it could ensure that the donations went not to whomever the editors of *La Revista Blanca* deemed deserving, but specifically to CNT

[10.] CDMH, FSS, Caja 37, SI,000933, DVD, Antònia Fontanillas Borràs. For another example see Joaquina Dorado's story in: Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 81-83. Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p .xix.
[11.] On this 'schism' in the CNT: Casanova, *Spanish Republic and Civil War*, pp. 55-57. See also: Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapters XIII, XIV; Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain,* p. 76.
[12.] On this process, see: Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!,* Chapter XIV.
[13] Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364

members.[14] This matter came to a head when the Secretary of the CNT visited the editors of *La Revista Blanca*, the Montseny family: tensions rose, and Federica Montseny slapped him.[15] A CNT Extraordinary Congress was called to resolve the issue in 1928.[16] That the chosen response to an angry outburst was a collective meeting, demonstrates that calm emotion management was valued by the CNT.[17] At the same time, it made plain the importance of skills contemporarily understood to be masculine (articulation in public speaking) in the CNT's social legitimation of feeling.

Some anarchist women took it upon themselves to produce additional resources to close this skills gap. Since the turn of the twentieth century anarchist publications increasingly tackled questions pertaining to the emancipation of women, inspiring the formation of local women's groups.[18] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s anarchist women in Spain continued organising amongst themselves to find ways of inhabiting the activism work of committees and public debate, such as by founding 'women's sections' in local CNT trade-union branches.[19] These initiatives cultivated the debating skills of women who showed interest in performing committee-based activism work, thereby matching their passion for this type of activism with their capacity to excel at it: the anarchist recipe for ideal self-fulfilment. At a localised level, then, women took it upon themselves to reimagine the gender dynamics of anarchist emotion entrepreneurship. *Mujeres Libres*, from 1936, would develop this effort nationally.[20]

Another of *Mujeres Libres*'s foremost contributions to reimagining the gender dynamics of work was its early openness to male collaboration, which attempted to harness conventional gender hierarchies in emotion entrepreneurship in order to then subvert them. Right from its outset, and

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14. Montseny, *cuarenta años,* p. 47.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
17 Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, 'Why Emotions Matter', pp. 3-4.
18 Espigado Tocino, 'Las mujeres en el anarquismo español', pp. 48-49; Yeoman, *Print Culture*, pp. 131-132.
19. On this point in relation to *Mujeres Libres*: Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado,* p. 246.
20 See: Vicente, *La revolucion de las palabras*.

reflecting its antecedence in Barcelona's *Grupo Cultural Femenino* and similar groups comprising women who were active across multiple anarchist spaces, *Mujeres Libres* sought collaborations with individual women and men and mixed-gender groups to advance its reach and influence into every part of Spain.[21] Back in 1934 the *Grupo Cultural Femenino* had deliberately invited men to their very first rally; they wanted as many people as possible to be made aware of the group's existence and its activities.[22] Although their planning of the event had been hindered by local CNT unions' unwillingness to contribute funds, the outcome of the mixed gender rally was a well-consolidated relationship between the new group and the local JJLL branch.[23] Accordingly, *Mujeres Libres* distributed their magazine to mixed-gender groups who, in many cases, actively asked to be sent copies, such as the *Grupo Cultural Libertario* in Soria (Castile).[24]

Furthermore, the fragments of *Mujeres Libres's* correspondence that have reached the archive demonstrate that many of the organisation's press distributors were men.[25] The magazine did not accept men as writers because it was supposed to be by women for women, but due to the immense task of growing the federal organisation at a national level (far beyond anything before attempted by localised women's groups) they wrote directly to known press distributors and accepted unprompted offers of distribution, with little regard to gender.[26] These distributors were often individuals, but sometimes also representatives of libertarian *ateneos*, local branches of the FIJL,

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21. For more on the justifications behind this, see Chapter 1.
22. Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* pp. 217-218.
23. Ibid.
24. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 12, Letter from Celedonio Arribas (Soria) to 'Distinguished comrades of "Mujeres Libres"', 5/5/1936; PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 27, Letter Arsenio Andrés (Soria) to Camarada ['Comrade'] Concha Saornil, 22/5/1936.
25. Such as Sebastián Murcia who was also the accountant of an *ateneo* in Peñarroya, Andalusia: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 38, Letter from Sebastián Murcia, 12/3/1936. Another example was Manuel Gonzalez who was based in Madrid: PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 31, Letter from Manuel Gonzalez to Lucía, 14/5/1936.
26. On not accepting male writers: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 59, Letter from MMLL editing committee to Compañero Damiano (Málaga), 19/5/1936; PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 54, Letter from MMLL editing committee to Camarada Morales Guzman, 14/6/1936. It should be noted, though, that there were two exceptions: the magazine included some poems by León Felipe and it was mostly illustrated by Baltasar Lobo, Mercedes Comaposada's partner: Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado,* p. 240.

or established vendors of kiosk literature.[27] In fact, *Mujeres Libres* gave a man, Gabriel Derri, exclusive distribution rights across the Seville area.[28] *Mujeres Libres* did try to engage women in their efforts to promote and grow the organisation. For instance, a letter from *Mujeres Libres* to Josefa de Tena, a distributor of theirs in Mérida, emphasised that ideally they would like all the magazine's services to be performed by women so as to demonstrate women's abilities to do such activism work well.[29] Perhaps, had a woman offered to cover Seville, they might have broken their agreement with Derri to meet this aim.[30] Ultimately, though, the letters between *Mujeres Libres* and Josefa de Tena reveal further evidence of collaboration between men and women: Josefa boasted that in her local CNT branch women enjoyed respect and the union was at present fighting on behalf of a group of female textiles workers.[31] From these examples one learns that in the context of patriarchal interwar Spain, anarchist women's groups considered it an acceptable compromise to ensure that all their most influential positions were held by women while at the same time harnessing existing mixed-gender networks to extend the reach of the organisation and achieve aims that improved women's lives. The most productive possible gender dynamic of that activism work would be mutual respect and collaborative harnessing of one another's skillsets and contacts.

Disappointingly to these women, despite the collaborative work avenues they initiated, they did not always find discursive support from anarchist men. The *Grupo Cultural Femenino's* lack

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[27]. Example of the FIJL distributing MMLL: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 145, Letter from Avelino Mallada to Lucía, 30/6/1936.
[28]. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 35, Letter from Gabriel Derri to MMLL, 28/4/1936; PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 36, Letter from The Administrator to Gabriel Derri, 6/5/1936; PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 134, Letter from MMLL editing committee to Juan López (Seville) 7/5/1936; PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 33, Letter Juan Gomez to the editors, 28/4/1936; PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 95, Letter from Juan Gomez to the editors, 18/5/1936.
[29]. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 114, Letter from MMLL editing committee to Josefa de Tena (Mérida) (n.d.). See also: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1 [no folio number], Letter Kiralina to Lucía (n.d.); PS-MADRID, 432, 1 [no folio number], Letter Lucía to Kiralina 15/5/1936. This network of women correspondents extended to all corners of Spain, including Ceuta (a Spanish enclave in North Africa) where Isabel Mesa was the distributor: PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 126, Letter MMLL to Isabel Mesa (Ceuta), 29/5/1936; PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 138, Letter Isabel Mesa (Ceuta) to MMLL, 12/7/1936.
[30]. No example exists in this *Mujeres Libres* correspondence archive but that is not to say none ever existed.
[31]. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 115, Letter from Josefa de Tena (Mérida) to Lucía, 28/4/1936. This gave hope and joy to the recipient, as noted in her reply: PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 116, Letter from MMLL editing committee to Josefa de Tena (Merida), 1/5/1936.

of financial backing from the CNT in 1934, as already noted, only reiterated that male-dominated committees ultimately determined who could afford to exert emotional influence in the service of anarchist revolution. Then in the spring of 1936, when *Mujeres Libres* was building its reputation among anarchist organisations, they received a letter from a man who remarked, 'permit me to tell you that you have organised your propaganda very badly'.[32] Since he had only seen two adverts about *Mujeres Libres's* existence, he felt himself qualified to advise the women overseeing the organisation's propaganda. *Mujeres Libres* responded by illustrating not only that they had done much more propaganda work than he knew about, and seen great success in terms of recruitment numbers and popular enthusiasm, but also that his comments were motivated by his sexism: 'you [men] are so accustomed to think that women do not do anything fruitful'.[33]

Around the same time, tension was brewing between *Mujeres Libres* and the CNT because the mouthpiece of the latter, *Solidaridad Obrera,* neglected to publish the advert they were sent on behalf of the former.[34] In an indignant letter, the co-editors of the *Mujeres Libres* magazine demanded to know why they had not been supported, at the very least 'For comradeship, for obligatory cordiality between colleagues because we work for a common cause'.[35] Later correspondence indicates that *Solidaridad Obrera* did go on to publicise *Mujeres Libres* advertisements—the letter may have contributed to that shift.[36] Shifting the gender hierarchy of emotion entrepreneurship was not readily accepted; it had to be fought for resiliently through ongoing and exasperating correspondence.

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32. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 115, Letter from Pedro Vicéns (San Felin de Guixols) to MMLL, 1/6/1936.
33. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 116, Letter from MMLL to Pedro Vicents[sic], 4/6/1936.
34. CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, [no folio no.], Letter from MMLL editing committee to Compañero ['Comrade'] Director of *Solidaridad Obrera*, 28/5/1936.
35. Ibid.
36. Mentioned in: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 137, Letter from the editors of MMLL to Luisa García (Alcoy), 18/6/1936.

Material precarity: obstacles to women's financial autonomy and stability

From July of 1936, workers took control over their own work in all parts of Spain where the revolution caused the state to collapse: communes formed the basis of rural collectives (especially in Aragon and Valencia, briefly in Andalusia, and to a lesser extent in Castile and Catalonia), while committees formed the basis of industrial collectives (those in Barcelona being the most notable), both of these—according to sympathetic accounts—arising from spontaneous workers' self-organisation.[37] There, activism work thus now shaped all work. In many localities these collectives were brought about through politically- and personally-motivated acts of violence, and by the same token many were later dismantled again through violence (often by other actors on the Republican side).[38] The Republican government meanwhile decreed that all those in remunerated work must unionise with either the CNT or the UGT, and this was reinforced when workplaces established either UGT or CNT offices in their entrances that workers had to pass each day.[39] This motivated opponents of the anarchist revolution to swell the UGT's ranks; meanwhile workplaces taken over by CNT committees enforced that all UGT-affiliated workers switch to CNT membership instead.[40]

Originally a mosaic of localised initiatives, by the spring of 1937 the collectives became more standardised and centralised due to government intervention.[41] This shift even affected the portion

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[37] Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p. xxxii; Ackelsberg, 'Models of revolution', pp. 371-372. Historian Julian Casanova attributes this protagonism instead to city-based CNT militants who travelled out to rural settlements to co-ordinate their socio-economic transformations, at least on the Aragon Front: Julian Casanova, 'Anarchism and Revolution in the Spanish Civil War: The Case of Aragon', *European History Quarterly*, 17.4 (1987), pp. 421-451 (p. 445), doi:10.1177/026569148701700402.
[38] Dolgoff, 'Part One: Background', pp. 44-46; Casanova, 'Anarchism and Revolution', pp. 431-432, 446.
[39] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, p. 170. Similarly coercive practices to enforce syndical loyalty had been used in parts of Spain in the 1910s and early 1920s: Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* pp. 230-231; Zoffmann Rodriguez, 'A Proletarian Turf War', p.251.
[40] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, extract, in *The Anarchist Collectives,* p.56; Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, 140.
[41] Bookchin blames anarchists' collaboration in government for this: Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p.xxxii. Those anarchists who collaborated did so to contribute to ensuring a solid antifascist front against the insurgents: Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, p. 51. For more details, see: Dolgoff, 'Background', pp. 42-44, 47-48. As Romero Salvadó has argued, the unequivocal need to prioritise winning a total war above all else was imposed on the Republic (including the anarchist revolutionaries) by the fact that the insurgent

of Aragón that had been taken over by a CNT revolutionary Council and become—according to anarchist Gaston Leval, who toured Spain to gather information on the various collectives—'the only area in which the revolutionary situation corresponded to the expectations of the anarchists as formulated in the 1870s' (in other words, the area where libertarian communist theories of work were most directly implemented).[42] Elsewhere, anarchists forming collectives collaborated with non-anarchists such as the socialist UGT, in order to defend their new society against the greater fascist threat.[43] Leval observed that although the anarchists achieved great influence in reshaping workplace relations, they were only really in control in Barcelona for the first weeks of the war and were never the dominant force in Spain's other cities.[44] When these cities and their surrounding regions enjoyed more peaceful periods, though, the anarchists were able to extend far more influence over everyday life and culture.[45] He identified, in fact, the Levant region as boasting the most collectives, from 340 in 1937 to 900 by the end of 1938, and estimated that within them resided 40% of the region's population.[46] Unlike in Aragon, the collectives in the Levant were not dominated by the CNT, although they maintained formal relations with the CNT unions who mediated between agrarian collectivists and 'individualists' who wished to maintain small private farms of their own, over time persuading the latter to incorporate themselves into the former.[47]

Throughout those revolutionary three years, activism in anarchist organisations was often remunerated, at least in urban areas where the wage economy was not abolished, because consistent involvement in decision-making became essential for the smooth running of the CNT-FAI administration.[48] As the revolution unfurled and the struggle against the insurgents escalated,

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Nationalist forces were well-supplied by Hitler and Mussolini: Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain,* p. 114.
[42] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, p. 53.
[43] Ibid., pp. 52-53. If they could not agree, sometimes a CNT-affiliated collective would form beside a UGT-affiliated collective in the same locality: Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, p. 113.
[44] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, p. 56.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid., p. 122.
[47] Ibid., pp. 122-123.
[48] Bookchin suggests that this systematisation of CNT funding and finances was motivated by increasing need to compete with the UGT for workers' allegiance: Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p. xix.

activism work became the primary form of income for some women, many of whom also did additional unpaid evening work.[49] Concurrently, there were still many women who sympathised with anarchism but did not contribute work in the service of the revolution to that same extent.[50]

At a local level, some collectives did implement facets of the anarchist ideal of work. In Calanda (Aragon), teams of workers chose their teammates on the basis of 'affinity', prioritising their passion for a particular job and their wellbeing over financial or hierarchical considerations.[51] However, such experiences proved very rare. Vilanova's oral-history study of Barcelona found that most ordinary workers were uninterested in union activities and felt, upon their workplaces being collectivised, that they simply worked for a new boss (or multiple bosses, if run by committee).[52] They did recall feeling too, though, that their work was impressively part of something bigger than themselves, as they watched their bourgeois former bosses lose their mansions and big businesses and witnessed the new committees distributing food fairly to all amid scarcity.[53]

Furthermore, due to mass military mobilisation in the Civil War, opportunities to train for paid jobs now significantly expanded; women were a key target group, as well as key instigators, of these initiatives. For instance, in July 1937 Mercedes Comaposada, via *Mujeres Libres*, spearheaded the establishment of an 'Institute for the Professional Training of Women' in Barcelona, whose executive committee included representatives for the Departments of Labour and Public Works, Culture, and Economics, the CNT and the UGT. The Institute, by offering free training programmes to women, sought not only to serve the war effort by filling jobs vacated by male soldiers but also 'avoid […] the scourge of prostitution, adapting a good number of these

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[49] For instance: Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* pp. 23-25, 46-47, 97, 120; CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000971, CD, María Elena Samada Barroso.
[50] See for example: IISH, Spanish Anarchists oral history collection, 173.12, María 'La Macuca'.
[51] Souchy, *Nacht uber Spanien*, p. 131.
[52] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, p. 55.
[53] Ibid., pp. 55, 57.

women to perform labour of use to the Society that we are building'.[54] The purpose of these women-led initiatives, then, was to not only help women to inhabit work that aided the war effort but also transform the position of women in society. Equally, the urgent and unprecedented labour climate of the war meant that some women encountered greater flexibility in work training requirements. For instance, Sara Berenguer was permitted to train on the job as a secretary for a CNT revolutionary committee in Barcelona by taking night classes in typing alongside it and using a Catalan dictionary to aid her as she worked.[55]

There were limits to such flexibility, though. At the school attached to an *ateneo* in Vallecas (Madrid) in June 1938, a teacher was denounced to her colleagues for not being truly qualified.[56] Allegedly, her lack of qualification was evident from her writings on the blackboard in class.[57] When confronted by her colleagues and asked to show her qualification certificate, she (and her sister, in solidarity) resigned the next day.[58] On one hand we might read this as evidence that the woman really did deceive the school in order to gain an income.[59] Alternatively, it is plausible that she simply resigned in response to feeling shamed or disrespected by the denunciation's questioning of her expertise. Her sister's expertise was not brought into question in the denunciation so why would she have resigned too if not in protest at unfair treatment? In any case, the letter from the *ateneo* to the Local Council of Culture, detailing these events, made no mention of efforts to offer the woman training or support her in finding alternative employment; the writer only communicated frustration that they needed to find two replacement teachers.[60] Barriers to upskilling faced by women, then, were not only about literal access to training courses but also

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[54] IISH, CNT papers, 36E.1, Memo announcing the creation of the Institute for the Professional Training of Women, Barcelona, 16/71937.
[55] Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta*, pp. 23, 46-48, 93; CDMH, FSS, Caja 37, SI,000939, DVD, Sara Berenguer Lasaosa.
[56] CDMH, PS-MADRID 386, 4, fols. 5-6, Letter from the Secretary of the Vallecas *ateneo libertario* to the Local Council of Culture, 17/6/1938.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] This incident is described in a history of the Vallecas *ateneos*, albeit without interpretation as to the significance of the matter: Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos,* pp. 84-85.
[60] Letter from the Secretary of the Vallecas *ateneo libertario* to the Local Council of Culture.

shaped by their emotional encounters with their work colleagues.

One workplace where women could gain experience of decision-making and respect, potentially evoking feelings of fulfilment and stability, was in the many committees of *Mujeres Libres*. Notably, in its Regional Committee in Catalonia as of November 1938 all twelve members earned the same wage regardless of title, including the Secretary.[61]

It has been claimed, by sympathetic witnesses to the anarchists' 1936 Revolution, that wages were made equal in all those localities and industries which retained remunerative work relations—a successful transformation of the capitalist status quo in Spain.[62] Documents such as payrolls do not exist in their entirety in the archive which makes direct comparisons difficult; however there is sufficient documentary evidence to suggest that there was not, in fact, any consistent gender pay parity in CNT-coordinated workplaces during the Revolution and Civil War.[63] Wage rates would be decided by workers themselves via CNT committee meetings.[64] Thus, if the issue of gender parity was not raised, or those in favour of it were not represented, it would not be addressed. *Mujeres Libres* did raise the issue with the CNT on a case by case basis, but it was never unilaterally resolved.[65] Historian Julian Casanova has indeed commented that 'in wage terms at least, women were in the same situation of inequality under the revolution as they had been under capitalism'; it remains to deconstruct said 'inequality' by situating this interpretation into the broader gender history of Spanish anarchist women's working lives.[66]

There are a few examples which indicate localised instances of gender parity in pay. Towards the start of the war women and men in the FAI Department of Investigation and Committees all

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[61] IISH, CNT Papers, 40C.4, Monthly spending budget of the Catalonia Regional Committee of MMLL.
[62] For instance: Souchy, *Nacht uber Spanien*, (Alibri Verlag, 1955), extracts, trans. by Sam Dolgoff, in *The Anarchist Collectives*, p. 86. On persistent gender pay gaps in Spain, even after labour equality between men and women was declared during the II Republic: Borderías, *Entre líneas,* pp. 101-102.
[63] Liz Willis contributed towards evidencing this in: Willis, 'Women in the Spanish Revolution'.
[64] Souchy, *Nacht uber Spanien* (2), p. 95.
[65] For instance, at a CNT-FAI Congress *Mujeres Libres* raised the issue of women in the metallurgy industry being paid lower day wages than the men for the same labour: Minutes of the 25 March 1938 CNT Madrid Plenum of Committees.
[66] Casanova, 'Anarchism and Revolution', p. 439.

earned 84 pesetas.[67] It was agreed that the schools attached to libertarian *ateneos* in Madrid from May 1938 onwards would pay all teachers the same: 450 pesetas per month.[68] However, this pay parity was not enjoyed everywhere. Among those who worked at the archive of the CNT-FAI during the war, the eight male employees earned 100 pesetas per week while the three female employees earned 84.[69] This gender pay gap (100:84) was the same across a range of CNT-FAI committees and workplaces in various industries.[70] That women earned 84 pesetas at the archive had been due to a raise in salary; in earlier periods the gender pay gap had been 84:60. This seems to have also been the case at the CNT Councils of Workers and Soldiers between October 1936 and January 1937 at least.[71] Elsewhere, the pay structures were different yet still stratified by gender. At a SIA *colonia*, the gardener, who was a man, earned 200 pesetas for every 150 earned by the women who worked there as cooks and cleaners.[72] Although wage rates over time were affected by inflation and factors like poor harvests and war-related scarcities, comparison of wages between genders cannot be legitimately explained away by those circumstances.[73]

These material circumstances could create very visible disjunctures between discourse and

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[67] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA 11, 5, fol. 1, Payroll of the FAI Department of Investigation and Committees, 24/10/1936.

[68] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 12, fol. 10. This has also been noted (albeit without reference to teachers' genders) in Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos*, p. 81. Equality in pay between male and female teachers was still being implemented at least as late as December 1938 as shown in payrolls: IISH, FAI Papers, CP-33C.7. Different categories of teachers would be paid according to a common pay scale.

[69] IISH, CNT Papers 36E.1, Report about the activities of the CNT-FAI Archive.

[70] We can see the 100:84 pay gap in many payrolls which have made it into the archive, such as: CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 1049, 21, fols. 1-5, Payrolls of the Defense Section of the CNT-FAI Regional Committee of Catalonia, 19 November to 25 December 1937; PS-BARCELONA, 1049, 21, fols. 4, 15, 16, 17, Payrolls of the Local Federation of FAI Groups in Barcelona, throughout December 1937; PS-BARCELONA, 1049, 21, fols. 11-14, Payrolls of the Catalonia Regional Committee of the JJLL, throughout December 1937; PS-BARCELONA, 378, 8, fols. 1-8, Payrolls of the Catalonia Regional Committee of the FAI from 15 January to 5 March 1938.

[71] Their job titles are not listed, however out of three women employed there one earned 60 and two earned 36, and even though one male employee earned 25 this may have been due to working fewer hours as all the other men earned 84. CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 11, 5, fols. 2-7, Payroll of the Councils of Workers and Soldiers and Other Similar Bodies in Spain (CNT-AIT), Barcelona, 15/10/1936, 10/12/1936, 3/12/1936, 17/12/1936, 24/12/1936, 7/1/1937.

[72] IISH, CNT Papers 41D.1A, Payroll of the SIA *colonia* at Rebos. See also: IISH, CNT Papers 41D.1A, Payroll of a SIA *colonia* nursery (location illegible).

[73] On variation of wages due to inflation, seasonality, and scarcity during the war: Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, p. 118.

lived experience. At the 'Libertarian Cinema' in Ventas (Madrid) throughout 1938, all the front-of-house roles were taken by men and all the cleaners were women; until April the former earned 10 pesetas a day while the latter earned 5 (apart from 2 men on 10 and 15); after April they all received pay rises but with the former reaching between 12 and 15 pesetas while the latter reached only 7.5.[74] This gendered distribution of pay was the same at all the dozens of cinemas in the Clot and Centro neighbourhoods of Barcelona, except that women not only cleaned and monitored the restrooms but also worked in ticket booths (while men were the respectable concierges, porters, and so on).[75] The symbolic significance of this for histories of anarchism is huge: although feminist historians rightly point to anarchist female orators as representatives of the movement's steps towards women's empowerment, the workplace gender dynamics of the anarchist-managed venues at which they gave those rallying speeches were not so empowering for women.

Such gendered pay gaps had potentially very negative implications for women's experiences of comradeship. Lack of pay parity not only undermined the inclusion of women in workplaces, but also had tangible effects on the capacity of women to participate in anarchist organisational activity. María Oto recalled in an oral history how despite being sympathetic to anarchism she never attended meetings because she did not earn enough money to be able to contribute dues to anarchist organisations like the CNT or the JJLL.[76]

Gender pay gaps did not apply in the same way in localities which were fully converted into collectives because there wage labour was abolished. Gaston Leval, after surveying a range of collectives across various Spanish regions, concluded that overall: 'A conquest of enormous importance was the right of women to livelihood, regardless of occupation or function.'[77] In collectives where there was no wage at all, such as Llombay (Castellón) and Calanda (Aragon),

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[74] CDMH, PS-MADRID 2281, 2, fols. 1-37. The one exception was María Mínguez who started working there in September on 10 pesetas.
[75] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 1085, 6, fols. 1-85, CNT Staff list of the cinemas in the Clot neighbourhood, n.d.; CNT Staff list of the cinemas in the Centro neighbourhood, Barcelona, June 1937.
[76] IISH, Spanish Anarchists oral history collection, 173.1, María Oto.
[77] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin,* p.167.

scarce resources were rationed with priority given to children, elderly people, disabled people, and pregnant people, while abundant items were distributed freely without restrictions.[78] In Muniesa (Aragon), basic commodities were provided for free while supplementary items were purchasable using currency distributed by the commune at a daily rate of one peseta per man or woman and 50 *céntimos* per child.[79] Moreover, sick days were counted as days worked, those experiencing accidents or disabilities were given full pay, and pregnancy was centred on prenatal care and counted as a special consideration.[80] In Graus and Mas de las Matas (Aragon), accounts assert that children—presumably including girls—were to go to school instead of work until they reached fourteen years old.[81] However, the lived reality of this new paradigm, across the broad spectrum of new economic systems implemented in the collectives, saw marked differences from the emancipatory ideal of work developed prior to the war. Women may have been guaranteed a livelihood, but at what cost to their self-realisation and fulfilment?

Some of Spain's anarchist collectives implemented a 'family wage', and Leval claims that this was established in all districts of the Levant region.[82] In Lérida, a married working man earned 60 pesetas a week, 70 if he had children, and José Peirats' account lists similar arrangements in other parts of Spain.[83] Where women fitted into this is not detailed in Peirats' account, though; we need additional sources to unravel the issue. Leval observed that not far away, in Graus, the basic unit was the couple, who would receive two pesetas a day plus one for each additional family member.[84] This implied that women workers were on a par with working men. However, he later added that some women in Graus worked in a textile factory to make clothes for the militiamen even though

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[78] Peirats notes the prioritisations used in Llombay but Souchy just says that in Calanda scarce goods were distributed 'equitably'. Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, p. 114; Souchy, *Nacht uber spanien* (1)*,* p. 130.
[79] Souchy, *Nacht uber Spanien* (1), p. 132.
[80] Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, pp. 113, 118. See also: Alardo Prats, quoted in José Peirats, *La CNT en la revolución española,* vol. I (Toulouse, 1951), extract, trans. by Sam Dolgoff, in *The Anarchist Collectives,* p. 139; and Leval, *Espagne Libertaire*, p. 140.
[81] Prats in Peirats, *La CNT en la revolución española*, p. 139; Leval, *Espagne Libertaire*, pp. 162-163.
[82] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, p. 123.
[83] Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, p. 118.
[84] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, pp. 135-136.

'they were not obliged to work - they were covered by the family wage'.[85] Evidently, the family wage there was based on a working man and not a working couple after all.

Furthermore, gender pay gaps of a different sort found their way into the 'family wage' in some parts of Spain. In Magdalena de Pulpis (Castellón), on a family ration card men were entitled to one peseta and 50 céntimos while women were entitled to only one peseta and 10.[86] Although basic necessities such as housing and medical care were entirely socialised and free to use, and 'family wages' were maintained all year rather than being seasonally dependent for farm workers (unlike under capitalism), this discrepancy in access to commodities was surely problematic.[87] Indeed, the family wage system was criticised at the time by an otherwise somewhat sympathetic commentator who described it as putting women oppressively under men's control.[88]

This moreover fits with José Peirats' observation that in collectives housewives were no longer be obliged to work outside the home; their domestic socially reproductive labour sufficed as a contribution to society.[89] By way of contrast, Seidman has put forth a case of a collective in Berbegal (Huesca) expelling single women who did not contribute productive work (albeit against the protestations of a CNT official) as potential evidence of anarchists' discriminatory treatment of homemaking women as shirkers.[90] Unfortunately the rationale behind the expulsion is presumed rather than quoted, nor is it made clear to which ideological faction (anarchist CNT, socialist UGT, or another affiliation) this particular collective adhered. If this really were an example of an anarchist collective discriminating against homemakers, there were alternative examples to counterpose it. Only in cases such as busy harvests, as recalled in Leval's account of the collective

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[85] Gaston Leval, *Colectividades Libertarias en España* (Editorial Proyección, 1972), pp. 110.
[86] Gaston Leval, in *Cahiers de l'Humanisme Libertaire*, March 1968, and also in *Né Franco né Stalin*, pp. 156-157. Similarly scaled family wages were seen in collectives in Lérida and Valencia, meanwhile in two collectives in Aragon paid men and women equally: Ackelsberg, 'Models of revolution', p. 376.
[87] On seasonality: Leval, *Colectividades Libertarias*, p. 111.
[88] H.E. Kaminski, *Ceux de Barcelone* (1937), trans. *Anarchy*, no.5, July 1961, extract, in *The Anarchist Collectives*, pp. 144-145. Also cited in: Ackelsberg, 'Models of revolution', p. 376.
[89] Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, p. 113.
[90] Seidman, *Republic of Egos,* pp. 138-139.

in nearby Binéfar, were housewives strongly encouraged to lend a productive hand.[91] Overall, as Ackelsberg's archival research on the rural collectives has shown, some women did participate in collective work groups but since domestic work fell automatically on women it was seen as unfair to expect them to contribute equal hours to men on such projects.[92] Leval concluded that in the roughly fifty percent of agrarian collectives which assigned women a lower income than men this was justified by the fact that women rarely lived alone.[93] In any case, though, the pre-war anarchist ideal that had suggested that women might discover unparalleled feelings of self-fulfilment through gaining the freedom to choose work that invigorated their passions and capabilities, was not implemented in Spain's agrarian collectives when the revolution came. Instead, their most socially valued contribution to the collective was in the home and anything else was supplementary, 'donated […] for the common cause' rather than for their own feeling of fulfilment.[94]

María Oto's testimony alluded to a feeling of exclusion from parts of anarchist womanhood due to her poor pay, and there were other ways too in which matters of remuneration could impact gendered emotional experiences of work for women. Seidman has claimed that in Republican-held territories some women exchanged sexual favours for better employment conditions (including wages) and that their male colleagues resented this.[95] He takes this as evidence of women's—including potentially anarchist women's—selfishness in spite of their alleged belief in revolutionary ideology.[96] This superficial depiction erases the male dependents at home or male loved ones at the Front whom the money earned through such an ordeal may have been supporting.[97] Furthermore, it ignores the emotional impact of such action, to face potential physical

[91] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, pp. 148.
[92] Ackelsberg, 'Models of revolution', pp. 374-375.
[93] Leval, *Espagne Libertaire*, p. 167.
[94] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, p. 138.
[95] Seidman, *Republic of Egos*, p. 229.
[96] Ibid.
[97] On women living in poverty who turned to sex work to feed their children, or were forced into it by their exployers, see: Peter Anderson, *The Age of Mass Child Removal in Spain: Taking, Losing and Fighting for Children, 1926-1945* (Oxford University Press, 2021), pp. 102-104.

pain as well as social degradation in order to access something (fair wages and work conditions) that society should provide without such a price. Moreover, testimonies such as that of Casilda Hernáez Vargas indicate that sometimes known sex workers participated in anarchist direct actions: she gives the example of a woman who joined her barricade as an informant in the 1934 Asturias uprising because she shared their determination to re-make society anew.[98]

In fact, this matter was explored in anarchist fiction predating the war, because it was already recognised as a societal ill. To give just two examples from the *La Novela Ideal* series: in *El Hijo* (1931) a working man's girlfriend comes close to being sexually assaulted by his employer (she shoots him) when she tries to flirt her way into getting the man's job back after a wrongful dismissal; and in *Todo un Caballero* (1935) an imprisoned anarchist's partner resorts to sex work (mercifully her client turns out to desire only her company, not her body) to pay his bail, and confronts several attempts by legal and police officials to exchange sexual favours for information to aid his release.[99] These stories centred the women's emotional ordeals, portraying not their proximity to sex work but the exploitation at play (unfair redundancy, the carceral system, and predatory men in positions of power) as the rightful targets for resentment and indignation.[100] The stories showed that in the years before the war anarchist women were performing emotion work by writing novellas that reframed moral emotions around sex work away from the hegemonic emotional regime that disparaged them and towards the subjectivities of those finding themselves in such circumstances.[101] If anarchist men during the war expressed resentment towards women

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[98] Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Casilda Miliciana,* p. 59. She additionally described a gender non-conforming person who went by the name 'Rosita', who was well-known in the Barcelona red-light district although not specifically described here as a sex worker, who became renowned for their military contribution during the Civil War: p. 75.

[99] Dora Ferré, *El Hijo*, La Novela Ideal, 245 (La Revista Blanca, 1931), pp. 8-11; Asunción Hernández, *Todo un Caballero*, La Novela Ideal, 474 (La Revista Blanca, 1935), pp. 6-8, 28-29. For further examples of sexual assaults by landlords against tenants in fiction see: Regina Opisso, *Del Cielo al Penal*, La Novela Ideal, 85 (La Revista Blanca, n.d. [c.1920s]); Margarita Amador, *El Señorito*, La Novela Ideal, 558 (La Revista Blanca, 1937).

[100] See also how sex work is portrayed in the *La Novela Ideal* stories authored by Ángela Graupera: Deborah Madden, 'Patriarchal Politics in Pre-Civil War Spain: Prostitution in Ángela Graupera's Anarcho-feminist Novellas', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 98.4 (2021), pp. 375-394, doi:10.3828/bhs.2021.22.

[101]

engaged in commercial sex, this betrayed a dearth of emotion work on their own part, not least because—as Deborah Madden has shown—these novellas were written with readers of all genders in mind, in recognition of anarchist women's resolve to earn men's cooperation in their own emancipation.[102]

Social and emotional precarity: obstacles to women's workplace fulfilment

Flattening workplace hierarchies constituted an important step towards implementing the anarchist ideal of fulfilling work. Anarchist historian Sam Dolgoff, for instance, has described how in the transport industry the technicians and operators were—after the revolution—encouraged via committee-based decision-making to work collaboratively and with mutual appreciation for one another's respective expertise.[103] This was reflected in medicine too, which was socialised by the CNT. A testimony recorded by Leval during his survey of anarchist collectives in Spain claimed that hierarchies between senior and junior doctors had been flattened: 'We are now all equal comrades, working together, who esteem and respect each other.'[104] Oral testimonies recall, too, that a quotidian shift upon the 1936 revolution was that anarchists called everybody the informal second-person '*tú*' (you), whereas it had always been traditional in workplaces to call one's colleagues, and especially one's superiors, the formal third-person '*usted*'.[105]

There remained ways of communicating hierarchies informally in everyday life, though. In an oral history interview, Antònia Fontanillas Borràs recalled that when she worked as an operator in the publishing office of *Solidaridad Obrera* the men around her rarely spoke to her, which limited the sense of comradeship she felt at work.[106] Furthermore, committee-based work organising would

[102] Madden, 'Patriarchal Politics', pp. 382, 391.
[103] Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, pp. 86-87.
[104] Leval, *Né Franco, né Stalin*, p. 101.
[105] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, p. 386.
[106] CDMH, FSS, Caja 37, SI,000933, DVD, Antònia Fontanillas Borràs. She also worked as an accountant

always situate some people in greater positions of responsibility than others (if only temporarily, until new representatives were voted in). Agustín Souchy recalled that in CNT-controlled workplaces, 'Only fully capable and qualified workers of proven personal integrity were deemed fit for responsible posts. It was considered a privilege and an honor to be entrusted with responsibilities by their fellow union members'.[107] A characteristic of workplaces which indicated the real influence of discourse about gender and work on women's jobs was the degree to which women were trusted with these competence-affirming tasks.

In spite of the barriers they faced, some women did take on positions of responsibility above men in the FIJL. These included Josefa Sánchez, treasurer of the Regional Federation of the FIJL in Andalusia, and Amelia Jover, General Secretary of the Valencia Regional Federation.[108] Jover had already gained managerial experience as Secretary of the women's section of the Gastronomy Union in the city.[109] Paquita Merchán became Secretary of Propaganda and Press of the FIJL Regional Committee of the Central Region, Carmen Gómez moved between several important FIJL roles, and Pilar Laguarta became General Secretary of the JJLL in Caspe (Zaragoza).[110] In some parts of Spain the FIJL played a pivotal role in the implementation of libertarian communism in agrarian collectives.[111] This indicates the potential symbolic importance of holding these positions for anarchist women.

The context of what the FIJL represented does, though, introduce caveats to this gendered

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in a JJLL committee but was made to feel self-conscious and uncomfortable there too, as the only woman: Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 154-155.

[107] Souchy, *Nacht uber Spanien* (2), p. 92. See also: Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, p. 57.

[108] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 842, 13, Letter from the JJLL Regional Federation's Andalusia Regional Committee to *Juventud Libre*, 20/11/1937; Letter from the JJLL Regional Federation's Levant Secretariat to *Juventud Libre*, 2/3/1938.

[109] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000974, CD, Amelia Jover.

[110] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 842, 13, Letters from the FIJL Secretary for Propaganda and Press of the FIJL Regional Committee of the Centro region to *Juventud Libre*, 23/2/1938 and 24/2/1938; Letter from the FIJL in Caspe (Zaragoza) to *Juventud Libre*, 29/1/1938; CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 842, 30, Letter from the Syndical Secretary of the FIJL Peninsular Committee to the CNT Collective of Rural Workers in L'Hospitalet (Barcelona), 31/5/1938; Letter from the Political-Social Secretary of the FIJL Peninsular Committee to the National Committee of SIA, Barcelona 30/3/1938; Letter from the Women's Secretariat of the FIJL Peninsular Committee to the National Committee of MMLL, Barcelona, 7/4/1938.

[111] For instance, in Calanda (Aragon): Souchy, *Nacht uber Spanien* (1), p. 130.

picture. Historian Jordi Getman-Eraso has suggested that prior to the Civil War the FIJL projected itself as an anti-violent organization working only on peaceful educational and cultural projects separate from the potentially violent direct actions of the CNT and FAI (although individual members often perpetrated actions via those groups too).[112] This may, therefore, have affected the relative willingness of anarchist men to see women in positions of responsibility in the FIJL, more so than in the CNT. Moreover, during the Civil War young men, of the age to be FIJL members, were drafted to the Front in enormous numbers. This left positions of responsibility open with a greater proportion of available women candidates than ever before.

Holding an even greater extent of responsibility for activism work was Lucía Sánchez Saornil, who was made General Secretary of the entire SIA organisation in May 1938.[113] Indeed, several women held positions of responsibility in that mixed-gender organisation during the Civil War: Cristina Kong as Secretary of Foreign Relations, Mery Barroso as International Secretary, Aurea Cuadrado as Secretary of Social Assistance, to name a few.[114] Cuadrado in particular had considerable managerial experience as she co-ran the *Casa de Maternidad* (Maternity Home) in Barcelona which was located in a requisitioned convent.[115]

The picture of gender and workplace responsibility in such feminine-coded humanitarian workplaces was not quite this simple though; men's greater likelihood of having prior supervisorial experience, greater education or training, or more free time away from care responsibilities at home, facilitated their continued dominance. Therefore, when it came to the oversight and management of SIA's *colonias*, the number of women appointed to the National Council for Evacuated Infants

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[112] Getman-Eraso, 'Anarchist Youth Groups'.
[113] CDMH_HEM_PER00003_1938_05_24_N914_0002, *CNT: Órgano de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,* Madrid, 24 May 1938.
[114] Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta*, p. 153.
[115] Some former nuns worked under Aurea at the Casa de Maternidad – anarchist Sara Berenguer paints this as voluntary but it is likely that such a decision was taken in exchange for being spared during anticlerical violence: Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta*, p. 41.

remained ever low: in May 1938 only one; in August, two.[116] Similarly, the heads of the various regional Infant Hygiene Service branches in Republican Spain during the war were men, while all the nurses, dispensary staff, and instructors working under them were women.[117] Emotion work relating to compassion in humanitarian contexts was seen as particularly appropriate for women's natural skills (across the political spectrum, not only in anarchism), but there also clearly remained relationships of power in SIA's humanitarian care structures.[118]

Opportunities to collaborate, too, were potential sites for expressing respect for colleagues' workplace contributions. The women involved in *Mujeres Libres* did experience some fruitful instances of cross-organisational mutualist collaboration during the Civil War, cultivating a sense of supportiveness. One example was the setting up of the *Casal de la Dona Treballadora* (House of the Working Woman) in Barcelona: this *Mujeres Libres* initiative, a training centre for women, was spearheaded by Amparo Poch y Gascón and Soledad Estorach, but they obtained support from the JJLL as well as being allocated apartments from the CNT Union of Food Workers and furniture from the CNT Union of Woodworkers.[119] There is also evidence of collaboration between *ateneos* and *Mujeres Libres*, such as the fact that in the Cuatro Caminos neighbourhood of Madrid the two locales shared two teachers who would alternate between them.[120] Also, from early August 1937 onwards, *Mujeres Libres* and the FIJL were both invited to participate in assemblies of the Madrid Local Federation of Libertarian *ateneos*. Among the first contributions of *Mujeres Libres* to this assembly was to collaborate in setting up a new *colonia* by providing clothes for the children who

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[116] IISH, CNT Papers 32C.2, Payroll of the National Council for Evacuated Infants, Barcelona (for May, signed 5/9/1938); IISH, CNT Papers 32C.2, Payroll of the National Council for Evacuated Infants, Barcelona (for August, signed 3/9/1938).
[117] IISH, CNT papers, 33B.8, List of the Heads of the Infant Hygiene services in Republican Spain (n.d., but during Civil War).
[118] Martín-Moruno, Edgar, and Leyder, 'Feminist perspectives on the history of humanitarian relief', pp. 6-8.
[119] Rodrigo, *Una Mujer Libre,* pp. 197-198.
[120] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 386, 8, fol. 13, Letter from the Cuatro Caminos *Ateneo Libertario* (Madrid) to the Local Council of Culture, 14/7/1938.

would be housed there.[121]

However, despite its evident commitments to the anarchist revolution, *Mujeres Libres* did not reliably find willing collaborators in mixed-gender anarchist organisations. The CNT-FAI neglected to invite *Mujeres Libres* to put forward speakers for its monumental series of rallies commemorating the second anniversary of anarchist martyr Durruti's death.[122] Correspondence reveals that this was felt as a symbolic devaluing of these anarchist women's voices and labour in Spanish anarchist political culture, and it was not the first time that it had happened: *Mujeres Libres* was serially excluded from bulletins and other anarchist promotional activities.[123]

In June 1938, the *Mujeres Libres* Secretary for Propaganda, Carmen Lobo, wrote to the Commission for Confederal and Anarchist Propaganda to communicate *Mujeres Libres*' dissatisfaction that in CNT-FAI bulletins the activities of the FIJL and *ateneos* were always included but *Mujeres Libres* was never so.[124] Then, on 2nd August 1938, frustrated representatives of *Mujeres Libres* wrote to the CNT to lament the fact that their unions and the FIJL were continually unwilling to support them—indeed, that 'they treat the Mujeres Libres groups like real enemies'.[125] 'We are tired of repeating over and over', they wrote, 'what our objectives are, the work that we are carrying out by way of the social preparation of women, the great benefit that our well accomplished women's organisation will have to yield in the current moments of the libertarian movement'.[126]

This had been an ongoing issue. Six months previously, the Catalan regional committee of *Mujeres Libres* wrote to their counterparts in the CNT urging them to stop quibbling amongst

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[121] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 990, 3, Minutes from Assemblies of the Local Federation of *Ateneos Libertarios* (Madrid), fol. 12 (2/9/1937), fol. 15 (9/9/1937), fol. 24 (23/9/1937).
[122] Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta,* p. 211. See also: Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado*, p. 246.
[123] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 894, 62. fol. 4, Letter from the Propaganda Secretary of the Local MMLL Federation (Carmen Lobo) to the Commission for Confederal and Anarchist Propaganda, 11/6/1938.
[124] Ibid.
[125] IISH CNT Papers, 40C.4.
[126] Ibid.

themselves and realise simply that without funding their organisation would not be able to survive.[127] In a proposal from 20th January 1938 they had already outlined clearly to the CNT-FAI *Mujeres Libres*'s important work—materially supporting the war effort, and bringing increasing numbers of politically engaged women under the libertarian wing—and asked them for a regular income.[128] The CNT National Committee had previously noted that they would put the matter on the agenda for their next congress (to allocate a small amount of the CNT's war funds to *Mujeres Libres* and an even smaller amount from the FAI and FIJL) but evidently the resolution was negative.[129]

The damage done to mixed gender comradeship by these mounting tensions between *Mujeres Libres* and the CNT-FAI now began to infect the former's relations with other anarchist women's groups too, as in the March 1938 congress of anarchist organisations *Mujeres Libres* came out in opposition to the creation of any new 'women's sections' of anarchist trade unions, arguing that it undermined their streamlining aspiration to gather and train as many Spanish women as possible and thereby threatened to marginalise *Mujeres Libres* into nonexistence.[130] This illustrated the precarity of all comradeship forged in this political culture ever-frustratingly plagued by discord.

In September 1938 the National Committee of *Mujeres Libres* doubled down once again, producing an extensive report outlining in detail all the contributions their organisation had made to the war and to the libertarian movement, in an effort to convince the CNT-FAI to agree a motion at their next congress to materially collaborate with *Mujeres Libres* by both promoting them and contributing to funding them.[131] The CNT-FAI, in official correspondence, seemed to then begin to respect the work of *Mujeres Libres* and tangible evidence of collaboration began to emerge. For instance, a Regional Congress of *Mujeres Libres* was held at the CNT-FAI headquarters in

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[127] IISH CNT Papers, 40C.4.
[128] IISH CNT Papers 45B.17.
[129] Ibid.
[130] PS-MADRID 994, 6, fols. 1-3, Minutes of the 25 March 1938 CNT Madrid Plenum of Committees.
[131] IISH, CNT Papers 40C.4, September 1938.

Barcelona in October 1938.[132] Although the former's formal request for incorporation into the anarchist movement that same month was rejected, a National CNT circular from November 1938 still emphasised that 'From a social and revolutionary point of view, their [Mujeres Libres'] importance is enormous'.[133] It also recognised that *Mujeres Libres*'s initiatives to train and ideologically orientate working women became all the more necessary as more women replaced men in workplaces and, in turn, in unions.[134]

The November circular asked all the regional CNT committees to submit, by January, their views on the matter so that they could be discussed altogether and a resolution on CNT-*Mujeres Libres* collaboration reached.[135] However, a couple of weeks later, a Peninsular FAI circular reported to all the organisation's regional committees that in their recent congress they had discussed a financing request from *Mujeres Libres* and decided that, although they would take steps to cultivate closer links with the organisation by inviting them to speak at FAI events, ultimately the FAI could not spare the money asked for in terms of funding.[136] Once again, collaboration between the women of *Mujeres Libres* and the male-dominated CNT-FAI was supported discursively but not matched materially. Precarity was not only a material or social condition but a feeling, and collaborative activism, for *Mujeres Libres*'s women, remained a source of frustration.

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[132] Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta*, p. 195.
[133] On the October 1938 rejection: Nash, *"Mujeres Libres",* p. 19. The November 1938 circular: IISH, CNT Papers 52A.10.
[134] IISH, CNT Papers 52A.10.
[135] Ibid.
[136] IISH, FAI Papers CP-29E.1.

Part III

Introduction

Chapters Two and Three have shown that anarchist women experienced material, social and emotional barriers to comradeship that men did not. This was partly down to the gendered implications of anarchist concepts of ideal work, but above all, during the Revolution and Civil War, those barriers worsened because women's self-fulfilment was largely deprioritised in workplaces shaped by anarchist activism work. How, then, did women continue to be brought into the anarchist movement, and why did so many continue participating in anarchist activism? Examining anarchist ideals of friendship, and affective bonds between friends, may provide some answers.

There is no prior historiography on friendship as a category of analysis in the Spanish anarchist history field, despite being brought up in passing by Radcliff's study of Gijon, Vega's study of Barcelona, and Navarro's study of Valencia.[1] Part III therefore draws upon histories of radical friendship in other countries (especially Britain and France) and sociological research into the role of friendship in social movements.[2] As well as demonstrating the relevance of friendship to the gender history of Spanish anarchism, it suggests that Spain represents a remarkable case study in friendship-building that might fruitfully be placed in conversation with these other national historiographies.

Anarchists' friendships in Spain have had particular characteristics because they were influenced by Catholic traditions of sociability, particular patterns of migration, and legacies of

[1] Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War*, pp. 91-100; Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, across various case studies; Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, p. 18.
[2] For histories of radical friendship see: Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics*; Laura Forster, 'Radical Friendship,' *History Workshop* blog, 10 June 2020, accessed 15 July 2022, <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/activism-solidarity/radical-friendship/>. For sociologies of radical friendship see: Milan, 'Emotions in Action'; O'Shaughnessy and Huddart Kennedy, 'Relational Activism'.

working-class self-management and mutual aid in the absence of state safety nets or free democracy.[3] Friendships in this period were gendered, due to their intersections with other gendered facets of social life such as emotional norms, leisure pursuits, labour patterns, occupation of space, and practices around touch. Many of these phenomena were also specific to everyday cultural practices in Spain.

Historians of Spain have hinted at the potential relevance of friendship to social phenomena, such as Angel Smith's comment that 'friendship networks' provided links between men's and women's otherwise rather distinct social worlds in working-class Barcelona neighbourhoods.[4] However, friendship in Spanish history has never been taken as its own subject of study in historical work. By applying intimate history methods which have been used to research other countries, such as close reading of personal correspondence and triangulation of memoir and oral history testimonies, Part III shows that we can learn much about social relations in Spain—including gender—via this new category of analysis.

Sociologists of social movements have shown that people may believe fervently in an ideal, but it takes something more to move them to action: intimacy—that is, emotional closeness—with other people is essential to activism.[5] Part III develops the thesis's overall contention that intimacy is an indispensable component of comradeship, in which one not only identifies with an ideal but feels an emotional sense of belonging with others who fight for it. It argues that the presence of intimacy was what distinguished 'comradeship' from 'solidarity', the latter of which has likewise been convincingly framed by Joshua Newmark (building on David Featherstone) as an emotional

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[3] On the Restoration political system in Spain see: Francisco J. Romero Salvadó and Angel Smith, 'The Agony of Spanish Liberalism and the Origins of Dictatorship: A European Framework', in *The Agony of Spanish Liberalism: From Revolution to Dictatorship, 1913-1923*, ed. by Romero Salvadó and Smith (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 1-31 (p. 3).
[4] Angel Smith, 'From subordination to contestation: The Rise of Labour, 1898-1918', in *Red Barcelona: social protest and labour mobilization in the twentieth century* ed. by Smith (Routledge, 2004), pp. 17-43 (p. 30), doi:10.4324/9780203219379.
[5] Milan, 'Emotions in Action', pp. 814-815, 827.

and affective construction.[6] Friendships, like comradeships, are defined by their degree of felt intimacy.

Anarchists inside and outside Spain developed an ideal of friendship, with implications for gender identity, situated within the broader anarchist theoretical paradigm of mutual aid and free association. This involved ritual use of '*amigo*' ('friend') and '*amistad*' ('friendship') as gestures of solidarity. Furthermore, through appropriation of the lexicon of family, and integration of anarchist strategic needs with moralism, anarchist writers portrayed specific qualities as representing good friendship and by extension good comradeship. Building on this, interwar anarchist political culture navigated boundaries between platonic and erotic love as well as fraternal and familiar love. Bringing together these threads, Chapter 4 will contend that Spanish anarchist political culture, through quotidian discourses, cultivated emotional communities which we might describe as 'chosen family' networks because of how they drew upon existing vocabularies and cultural significances of familiar relations. Such discourses further elevated friendships as ideal freely elective bonds: prime analogies for anarchist comradeships.

Chapter 5 will then unravel how this ideal was translated into practice in Spain, via microhistories of individual friendships. The chapter will demonstrate that friendship played a central role in bringing new people into the Spanish anarchist movement, with this being especially important for women due to their social position.[7] On the flipside, it will show that among those who entered the movement for reasons unrelated to friendship (such as being the children of anarchists), friendships nonetheless served to cement their commitment to anarchism. Concurrently, friendships with other anarchists cultivated affective webs which convinced anarchists to remain committed to the ideal in the face of emotional obstacles such as rejection by loved ones outside the movement, terrifying state repression, or demoralising sexist derision. The

[6] Newmark, '"Put rifles in their hands!"; Featherstone frames solidarity as an inventive construction: David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (Zed Books, 2012), pp. 5-9.
[7] Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*.

chapter will then explore negative inversions of friendship, such as competing loyalties, mistrust, and rejection, to illustrate that ebbs and flows in friendships between anarchists influenced the movement's various ideological fractures over the course of the period. 'Chosen families' of anarchists supported one another through those moments of turbulence.

Chapter 4: Friendship

Anarchists in Spain in this period used 'friendship' as an analogy for what they understood as good praxes of comradeship, to denote a particularly intimate interpersonal devotion between perceived equals that was freely chosen.[1] This went further than broad appeals for 'solidarity' from other adherents to the same ideal during crises or as part of everyday resistance.[2] It was a step beyond 'sympathy' with an idea or group.[3] Comradeship was a solidaristic feeling of intimacy, the performance of which was bound up with expectations about what constituted a good 'friend'. Unsurprisingly, given what previous chapters have elucidated, those expectations were gendered.

Anarchist political culture in Spain challenged some of the gendered boundaries which governed friendship bonds, while still upholding certain mainstream norms of emotional expression and affection. Without romanticising sorority, making women's friendships the subject of a historical study sheds valuable new light on women's affective lives aside from their shared sexual encounters.[4] Chapter 4 draws on affect-theorist Clare Hemmings' approach to 'modes of community' as 'relational over oppositional', in this particular case entwining the symbolic and the authentic, the fraternal and the sororal, and the erotic and the platonic, in order to reflect anarchists' own worldviews.[5] Anarchists not only recognised the revolutionary potential of friendship, but developed a radical ideal of friendship that pushed contemporary boundaries for intimacy and placed new roles on men and women within a complexly gendered subaltern paradigm of chosen

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[1] On friendships as elective bonds, see: Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics*, p. 3.
[2] Such as this letter from a woman in prison to an *ateneo* asking if they could buy a book from her by way of 'solidarity' so that she might support her family on the outside with the proceeds: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 108, Leg. 1178, 1, fols. 7-11 Letter from Amor Buitrago to the Committee of the *Ateneo Libertario* in Puente Vallecas, 24/2/1934.
[3] As expressed, for instance, in this letter to Federica Montseny expressing 'sympathy' with her ideas but not going so far as to use the term 'friend': CDMH, PS-BARCELONA,831,2, Letter from Dr Oscar Tenioro (Brazil) to Federica Montseny, 25/12/1928.
[4] Serena Owusua Dankwa, *Knowing Women: Same-Sex Intimacy, Gender, and Identity in Postcolonial Ghana* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 42-43.
[5] Clare Hemmings, 'Invoking Affect: Cultural Theory and the Ontological Turn,' *Cultural Studies*, 19.5 (2005), pp. 550, doi:10.1080/09502380500365473.

family.

They created spaces where men and women might socialise together, responding to the existing gendered sociocultural contexts of everyday sociability in early-twentieth-century Spain, and grappled with consequent questions about whether friendships between them might be able to exist freely and equally, uninhibited by compulsory heterosexuality. At the same time, anarchist discourse around free love—albeit largely heteronormative—legitimised certain slippages between platonic and romantic affection which particularly affected women's intimacies with one another. The 1960s are hailed as a total point of inflection which redefined intimate life in the West, but this drew, in fact, upon a subversive emotional current that had been simmering in subaltern cultures such as the Spanish anarchist movement since the beginning of the century if not before.[6]

Friendship as an analogy for comradeship, and ideals of good friendship

Anarchist thinkers and writers understood that friendships would be central to the success of their revolution, as they represented and fulfilled the sociable nature of humanity.[7] We might trace this back as far as Charles Fourier in the early nineteenth century, who listed friendship among the four 'affective passions' behind all natural human impulses (the other three were ambition, consanguinity, and love).[8] Fourier's works were widely read amongst revolutionaries of many stripes in Spain, including both the precursors of the socialist PSOE and the libertarian anarchist movement.[9] Similarly, French anarchist Proudhon, in his 1847 critique of egoism, drew on the Christian idea of loving thy neighbour to argue that revolutionary spontaneity will come about only

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[6] On the 1960s turning point: Häberlen and Spinney, 'Introduction', p.503.
[7] Morland, *Demanding the Impossible?,* pp. 183, 196.
[8] Charles Fourier, 'III. Of the Role of the Passions', in *Selections from the Works of Fourier,* ed. by, trans. by Julia Franklin (London: S. Sonnenschein & co., 1901), pp. 55-67.
[9] Juan Pro, 'Thinking of a Utopian Future: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century Spain', *Utopian Studies*, 26.2 (2015), pp. 329-348 (p. 344), doi:10.5325/utopianstudies.26.2.0329.

when individuals cease to alienate themselves through viewing their neighbours with hostility.[10] While theological reasonings had little purchase with anticlerical anarchists almost a hundred years later, early-twentieth-century anarchist writers in Spain pursued the idea that electing to extend love towards the people around oneself constituted a revolutionary praxis.

Furthermore, anarchists, as defenders of the libertarian principle of free choice, contended that enjoying friendships with different degrees of closeness, rather than upholding some abstract altruistic principle that all one's affiliates must be entirely equal in importance, was a natural way to live.[11] For instance, Kropotkin wrote in 1892 that an anarchist post-revolutionary society would boast self-managed collective kitchens and canteens but at the same time 'we still maintain that no one has a right to force the housewife to take her potatoes from the communal kitchen ready cooked if she prefers to cook them herself in her own pot on her own fire. And, above all, we should wish each one to be free to take his meals with his family, or with his friends, or even in a restaurant, if so it seemed good to him.'[12] This illustrated anarchist discourse's principled protection of individual free choice in sociability, and consequent rejection of the Marxist notion of dictatorship of the proletariat.

While anarchists saw total selfishness ('egoism') as unnatural although produced by the capitalist system; they saw no contradiction in balancing self-preservation with altruistic sociability in service of the conservation of the human species - as Isaac Puente wrote in 1933.[13] Therefore, within anarchist social imaginaries, which emphasised that love for one's peers was both a prerequisite and a consequence of revolution, friendship—as a freely chosen social bond—occupied a pivotal place. Indeed, Bakuninist anarchist groups, including the Spanish branch of the International Workingmen's Association from 1870, drew on Bakunin's 1866 *Revolutionary*

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[10] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *The System of Economic Contradictions: or, The Philosophy of Poverty,* Volume I (1847).

[11] 'The nurturance of individuality and diversity within a matrix of interconnectivity' is one of the universal characteristics of lowercase-a anarchism listed by: Ramnath, *Decolonizing Anarchism,* pp. 6-7.

[12] Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*.

[13] Puente, *La Sociedad del Porvenir.*

Catechism which stated that every individual (as well as every commune, region, or nation) should have the freedom 'to associate or not to associate, to ally themselves with whomever they wish'.[14] If unity between individuals or groups were instead imposed by violence, it would be weaker and less productive.[15]

This implied that Spanish anarchist forms of organisation right from the outset, both within Spain and in international arenas, prefiguratively embodied the principle that alliances would only be free if they were elective, not obligatory. 'Friendship', as a preexisting societal and linguistic concept that represented one of the most intimate forms of human association (surpassed only by sexual intimacy), could—and did—symbolically signify such an elective bond. This constitutes an important corrective to Michael Seidman's argument that among radical leftists in Civil War Spain 'one's own welfare, family, and closest friends […] were more important than organizations, social classes, and the future society.'[16] In fact, one's own welfare, and that of one's family and one's closest friends, were seen by anarchists as worth protecting for the sake of the future society. The future society would not be free if individuals were not freely able to choose with whom they associated, in mutually supportive relationships, and how intimate those associations became.

In light of this worldview, anarchists in Spain employed the words '*amigo*' ('friend') and '*amistad*' ('friendship'), as well as the lexicon of family as will be elaborated later in this chapter, as discursive instruments of intimate comradeship-building. José Álvarez Junco has suggested that 'anarchism was a political current that was characterised in great measure by not being a doctrine, but an attitude (in which gestures and symbols are sometimes more important than words)'.[17] We might build on this with Temma Kaplan's observation that '"inarticulate" workers and peasants spoke clearly through their actions and organizations about the kinds of social relationships they

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[14] Mikhail Bakunin, *Revolutionary Catechism*.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Seidman, *Republic of Egos,* p. 6.
[17] Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, p. 10.

desired'.[18] From prolific writers to illiterate workers, all those involved in anarchist praxis engaged one way or another with the construction and maintenance of a linguistic ritualisation that framed anarchist social relationships through analogies of friendship, as well as of the kinship and romantic love situated along friendships' frayed conceptual edges.[19]

It is evident from anarchists' archived correspondence that vocabularies of friendship were only sometimes used to convey authentic emotional intimacy; other times they were used to ingratiate oneself, to honour a period of collaboration, to gain leverage, or to rhetorically imply that someone was not demonstrating comradely behaviour. A reader of Federica Montseny's debut novel in 1925 wrote to her to sing its praises, describing her as 'Distinguished friend', which may have reflected genuine intimacy but equally may have just been an invocation to sororal solidarity between two anarchist women.[20] This example may additionally have been affected by cultural conventions of politeness in letter-writing, as noted by Sarah Horowitz in her study of radical friendships in post-revolutionary France, although this explanation has limited application to the writings of anti-authoritarian anarchists.[21] An indicative instance of friendship being used for leverage appeared in a letter from Lucía Sánchez Saornil to a colleague in SIA, asking for aid to help her friend Carmen Comaposada.[22] Anarchist political culture, which balanced collective accountability with libertarian free choice, made space for people to care more deeply for the wellbeing of some people than others. Friendship furthermore held rhetorical weight. For instance, when a group of anarchist revolutionaries mobilised against the government collaborationism of the CNT during the Civil War, they called themselves 'The Friends of Durruti', after the

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[18] Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia*, p. 11.
[19] This provides greater detail for Anderson's observation of common international anarchist vocabularies: Benedict Anderson, 'Preface', in *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940*, ed. by Hirsch and van der Walt (Koninklijke Brill, 2010), pp. xiii-xxx (p. xvi).
[20] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Leonor Martínez de Berrera to Federica Montseny, 22/4/1925.
[21] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics*, p. 11.
[22] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 468, 39, fol. 2, Letter from Lucía Sánchez Saornil (SIA General Council) to Juan Sobrino (SIA Valencia), 23/5/1938.

movement's recently martyred popular hero, and stated their purpose as 'see[ing] to it that his last wishes are made a reality'.[23] In their group's very name they implied that collaborationists influencing the CNT were betraying the friendship, and ergo the comradeship, of Durruti himself.

Comradely use of the words 'friend' and 'friendship' also appeared in newspapers, which typically invoked a less personal, yet nonetheless intimate, concept of 'friendship'. For instance, a eulogy for the martyred Salvador Seguí and Francisco Comas in *Solidaridad Obrera*, the organ of the CNT, in 1923 expressed: 'we pay a tribute of ardent friendship and homage […] They are two friends who were taken from us […]'.[24] The use of 'us' implied hyperbolically that the two deceased anarchists were 'friends' to all; as such, this discourse constructed a sense of how it should ideally feel to identify with and belong to the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

Indeed, the eulogy continued, 'We do not know the value of a friendship, until that friendship has been extinguished, just as we do not know the value of liberty until we are prisoners; just as we do not know the value of life, until we are close to death […] Those disappeared brothers of ours were just and were good, because they knew the value of a friendship. Because they loved Liberty and Life.'[25] The eulogy, then, evoked not an authentic personal friendship between the anonymous writer, Salvador and Francisco, but a symbolic framing of ideal anarchist comradeship as an intimate 'friendship' with all anarchists, in which what made someone a 'just' and 'good' anarchist comrade was synonymous with what made someone a valuable friend. In its comment that these anarchists 'knew the value of a friendship', the eulogy also insinuated that anarchism's adversaries did not; the bourgeoisie were popularly seen as embroiling themselves in perversely disingenuous relationships in the pursuit of wealth and power.[26] Notably, this eulogy's discursive appeal to anarchist comradeship-as-friendship was then realised, when CNT militants avenged Seguí's death

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[23] This quotation was from a *Solidaridad Obrera* article by the group's co-founder ahead of their formal convocation: Guillamón, *The Friends of Durruti Group*, p. 24.
[24] A, 'Nota Diaria', *Solidaridad Obrera,* 21 March 1923, p. 1.
[25] Ibid.
[26] On working-class emotional perceptions of bourgeois hypocrisy and untrustworthiness, see: Arbaiza Vilallonga, 'Cuerpo, emoción y política, pp. 55-56.

at the hands of employer-sponsored gunmen by forming a new wave of 'action groups' comprising small, intensely loyal groups of close confidantes, to retaliate against years of state violence.[27]

It follows, then, that to examine what anarchist discourses framed as ideal performances of friendship can tell us much about the construction of comradeship. As noted by Constance Bantman in her work on French anarchists' informal networks, relationship-building not only contributed to anarchist activism but 'constitut[ed] activism in and of itself'.[28] While friendships are certainly important facilitators of intellectual cross-fertilisation as Laursen has shown, they additionally serve emotional purposes for subaltern activists as well as acting as intimate sites for political identity-making.[29] Historian Javier Navarro has argued convincingly that the Spanish anarchist movement's efforts to facilitate cultural activities were not only about building social networks but about modelling and constructing the ideal anarchist individual who would eschew traditional but harmful leisure pursuits in favour of alternative and healthier ones.[30] The two objectives were in fact further intertwined, as the ideal anarchist was an ideal friend and therefore one's contribution to building and maintaining sociable networks was itself part of one's individual and collective embodiment of a healthy and fulfilling anarchist ideal.

In life, friendships are 'both made and found'; encountered through similarity or attraction and constructed via mutual commitment.[31] Anarchist ideals of friendship, though, delineated the most desirable characteristics to actively seek out in a friend. Bakunin outlined his vision of what constituted an 'honest, reliable' revolutionary brother in 1866: 'good faith, courage, caution, discretion, constancy, steadfastness, resolution, boundless dedication, absence of personal vanity

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[27] Guillamón, *CNT Defense Committees*, p. 31.
[28] Bantman, 'Jean Grave and French Anarchism' p. 458.
[29] Ole Birk Laursen, 'Anti-Colonialism, Terrorism and the "Politics of Friendship": Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and the European Anarchist Movement, 1910-1927', *Anarchist Studies*, 27.1 (2019), pp. 47-62 (p. 58), doi:unavailable.
[30] Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura,* pp. 371, 377.
[31] Penelope Anderson and Lorna Hutson, *Friendship's Shadows: Women's Friendship and the Politics of Betrayal in England, 1640-1705* (Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 16.

and ambition, intelligence, experience'.[32] Taken together, these characteristics point to overarching criteria for an ideal anarchist friend: secure trustworthiness, generosity of spirit, and loyalty. Identifying, and becoming, a friend who embodied these qualities was a prefigurative revolutionary praxis that would become universal in the post-revolutionary 'harmonious society'. As Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta wrote in 1920, the human 'need for brotherhood and love' 'always flourishes' once people are liberated from oppressive forces and their material needs are met.[33]

Echoing this high standard of friendship proposed by Bakunin, anarchists in early-twentieth-century Spain encouraged one another to pick their friends carefully. A 1929 article in *Estudios* entitled 'On the selection of friends' emphasised the importance of trust and confidence in the cultivation of intimacy, especially via exchanges of intimate knowledge. It claimed that 'true friendship' meant ensuring that one could trust their friends as much as themselves.[34] Trusting a person requires one to make oneself vulnerable.[35] This article was a thinly veiled allegory for the selection of comrades; as anarchism was an illegalised movement throughout the political repression of the 1920s it was essential to be able to confide in one's comrades with information about upcoming actions or campaigns so as to prevent intervention by the authorities. That *Estudios*, a Valencia-based magazine, published this think-piece only two years after the secretive FAI was constituted in the same city, may not have been coincidental.[36] As Lewis has highlighted in regard to postcolonial socialist internationalism, 'the ability to share subversive information depended on networks of trust, fostered through the intimacy built up through long-distance correspondence as well as in-person hospitality'—two modes of friendship-building that will be

[32] Mikhail Bakunin, 'Organization of the International Revolutionary Brotherhood' (1866), in *Mikhail Bakunin: Selected Writings*, ed. by Arthur Lehning, trans. by Steven Cox (Jonathan Cape, 1973).
[33] Errico Malatesta, 'Anarchism and Freedom', (*Umanità Nova*, 24 September 1920), in *Life and Ideas: The Anarchist Writings of Errico Malatesta,* ed. by and trans. by Vernon Richards (PM Press, 2015), p. 38.
[34] Séneca, 'De la elección de amigos', *Estudios*, August 1929, p. 31.
[35] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 8.
[36] Christie emphasises that the FAI was not so secretive that members did not know about one another's activities, it was just that these would not be loudly advertised outside anarchist spaces: Cited in: Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter VI.

examined in Chapter Five.[37] Whether or not one was invited to share in anarchist comradeship, and to what degree, depended on one's validation as a good friend.

Forgiveness and generosity of spirit were further qualities of good friendship (and by extension comradeship) suggested in a 1923 article in *Solidaridad Obrera*, perhaps reflecting on the ideological hybridity in this organisation which encompassed workers from a range of backgrounds and personal degrees of anarchist sympathy. The article lamented that 'we' in the anarchist movement were too often affronted by the misjudged actions of fellow activists - 'we do not know to forgive the error of a friend'.[38] The allegorical 'friend' here implied that good comradeship included treating others with forgiveness; while some errors committed by one's comrades warranted condemnation, not all should be judged so harshly.[39] This article may also have been using a friendship-as-comradeship analogy to address and move on from a recent rift in the movement, whereby, following the Third International and a 1921 visit to Russia, pro-Bolshevik committee members of the CNT including Andreu Nin and Joaquín Maurín left the organisation.[40]

Concurrently, works of fiction questioned how trust might be cultivated, and how the ideal friend might therefore exist to be befriended, and often stories explored the role of gender in friendships. In her 1925 novel *La Victoria*, Federica Montseny communicated her attitude towards entering close friendships in memorable lines uttered by her protagonist Clara, such as 'It is stupid to trust in others'.[41] One could argue, given this character is subsequently met with criticism for not being sufficiently aware of the hardships others go through that lead them to need to trust and rely on others, that the reader was not supposed to agree with her stance.[42] Yet the amount of

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[37] Lewis, 'Intimate Politics of International Socialism', p. 246.
[38] Anon., 'Falta de generosidad', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 9 March 1923, p. 1.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez interprets this event as a doctrinaire turn on the part of the CNT, which would make the *Solidaridad Obrera* article curiously subversive in tone. Arturo Zoffmann Rodriguez, ''Off to Moscow with No Passports and No Money': The 1921 Spanish Syndicalist Delegation to Russia', *European History Quarterly*, 48.3 (2018), pp. 435-461, doi:10.1177/0265691418777982.
[41] Montseny, *La Victoria* p. 58.
[42] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

correspondence Montseny received from readers who identified strongly with Clara, and the fact Montseny defended her character in ongoing debates in the press, suggested that this was likely a reflection of her own personal opinion. Hers was not an outright rejection of friendship, though; when Montseny questioned the utility of friendships, what she critiqued was gender inequality. The heart of Clara's quandary, exposed through Montseny's novel, was whether or not a truly trusting and mutually-supportive friendship was at all possible for women while they were not socially equal with men.[43] In revolutionary rhetorics, friendship was supposed to be an elective affective bond among perceived equals.[44] This differentiated it from other social relationships, like kinship.

Spanish anarchist discourse was situated in a long international history of conceptualising comradeship through friendship. Aristotle once described friendships that are especially passionate, exclusive and rare as the 'comradely type of friendship'.[45] Idealisation of friendships as equalising and freely chosen derived from French Revolutionary romanticism which emerged from the eighteenth-century 'sentimentalist' emotional regime.[46] For instance, the early-modern European rhetoric of the *amicitia perfecta* (perfect friend) was constructed in seventeenth-century England, when 'the passionate attachments of the perfect friends to one another illustrate[d] and construct[ed] ideal citizens'.[47] Anarchists did not want to be citizens, as they did not aspire to live in a state. Instead, their ideal of friendship built on the mutually-constituting anarchist revolutionary concepts of individual freedom and collective harmony, in which one might extend solidarity to all of one's fellow humans while also cultivating especially close friendly intimacy—Aristotelian comradeship—with a select few.

[43] See Chapter 6 for more on this.
[44] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 3.
[45] Anderson and Hutson, *Friendship's Shadows,* p. 5.
[46] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 21. On Romanticism, see Chapter 6.
[47] Anderson and Hutson, *Friendship's Shadows,* p. 2.

Gendered imaginaries of friendship as chosen family

Friends, then, in anarchist discourse, were people with whom one actively chose to cultivate intimacy, based on an assessment of their character and their consequent potential to become a valued comrade. An associative group may be roundly defined by its ideological unity, but a feeling of comradeship additionally required the intimacy experienced between elective and equal friends. Accordingly, comradely intimacy might be felt to different degrees with different individuals or groups.

Sometimes, though, choices of friends became hard to maintain. Many anarchist fugitives led itinerant lives between regions or even continents. Other anarchists faced rejection from loved ones or people with influence in their communities who could not comprehend why they would commit themselves to the anarchist ideal. In such fraught emotional contexts, anarchist political culture, through its networks of mutual aid and extension into neighbourhoods' sociable spaces, cultivated a sense of what today might be termed 'chosen family'. 'Chosen family' is apt as a framing device for interwar anarchist sociability (even though it is a modern LGBTQ+ concept and interwar anarchists refused to wholly accept same-sex desire) precisely because the lexicon of family was ubiquitous throughout these anarchists' own discourses, from publications to private correspondence, at the time. Indeed, a FAI circular described the FAI, CNT and JJLL as 'the great anarchist family'.[48] A deafening silence here was the exclusion of any mention of *Mujeres Libres*, the anarchist women's organisation; where did women fit, then, in the figurative anarchist family?

Historian of post-revolutionary France, Sarah Horowitz, frames revolutionary 'fraternity' as a generalised expression of solidarity (with friendship being the more intimate alternative).[49] This sub-section suggests instead that 'fraternity', as a term derived from a kinship bond between siblings, signified something more precise: a discursively articulated and gendered bond situated

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[48] IISH, CNT Papers, 52B.14. *Dictamen of the National Congress of the FAI in Valencia*, 4-7 July 1937.
[49] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 30.

within broad socio-cultural notions of family and specific notions of how friends can perform everyday emotional and social functions of family for anarchist individuals. In an oral-history interview, Concha Liaño described her days socialising in an anarchist *ateneo*, having rebelled against her parents: 'We were a great family, and that is what I liked because I didn't have a family'.[50]

'Chosen family' denotes close friends with whom one feels comfortable enough to be one's authentic self and feel supported in ways that one's actual family cannot—or opt not—to fulfil. Beyond the LGBTQ+ community from which it originates, the concept may arguably apply to any subversive political culture whose prefigurative activism violates social norms—interwar Spanish anarchism included. In this regard the chapter follows sociologists Jacobsson and Lindblom: 'Like members of other deviant groups, activists must devote parts of their lives to reduce the social and psychological effects of their being defined as norm transgressors […] activists are often perceived by their surroundings—family, friends, colleagues at work and unknowns alike—as lawbreakers and—more generally—as "outsiders" or deviants.'[51] Chosen 'family' here evoked not a nuclear household but a multifaceted and overlapping web of fraternal and intergenerational bonds, reflecting the already complex configurations of families in Spain in this period.[52]

The most obvious discursive manifestation of this was anarchists' use of 'fraternity' and 'brotherhood' to signify alliance or affection between revolutionary comrades—not only in Spanish anarchism but internationally.[53] One pertinent example was Bakunin's Organization of the International Revolutionary Brotherhood, comprising 'the international family' and 'the national families'.[54] These were networks of elective bonds (in other words, friends of varying closeness), described in language conventionally ascribed to kin. Similarly, when Italian anarchist Errico

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[50] Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* p. 102.
[51] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, p. 104.
[52] Bray took this same approach to the study of voluntary kinship in early modern Europe: Alan Bray, *The Friend* (University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 104-105.
[53] See this aforementioned example: A, 'Nota Diaria'.
[54] Bakunin, 'International Revolutionary Brotherhood'.

Malatesta wrote in 1925 that 'Anarchy is a form of social life in which men live as brothers', he suggested that anarchists treat one another with the commitment that blood siblings were meant to; only unlike in 'real' families, they choose freely to do so.[55] Of course in reality both blood/social families and chosen families can crumble and severe, which will be explored in Chapter 5, but Malatesta was articulating an aspirational ideal. By appropriating terms like 'family', 'brother', and 'sister', this revolutionary lexicon idealised comradely bonds as feeling intimate, dutiful, and long-lasting.[56] It furthermore harnessed a ready-made linguistic allegory for complex webs of horizontal (brothers, sisters), vertical (fathers, mothers, grandparents), and intersecting (aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews) gendered affective ties. Such an expansive framework builds upon historian Radcliff's interpretation of 'brotherhood' as an equalising figurative bond 'purged' of the figures of authority in real families.[57] Anarchist 'chosen family' was not only comprised of siblings but elders and youths, teachers and students, famous militants and their admirers: such dynamics represented, if not 'authority', then guardianship. One gains a more comprehensive picture of gendered comradeship-building by expanding one's view to recognise the emotional importance anarchists placed in this extended affective web.

When Spanish anarchists described their comrades as 'brothers', 'sisters', 'grandfathers', or 'grandmothers', it was not always only a ritualistic echo of a revolutionary rhetorical tradition, but often a genuine expression of their intimacy. It was because anarchist political culture felt, to many, like a chosen family that in personal testimonies one finds examples like Elena Samada Barroso describing Lucía Sánchez Saornil as being like a grandmother to her, while they both worked in the publishing office of *Umbral*. It was not only their age difference, but the closeness of their affective relationship, as well as that between Elena's aunt Mery Barroso and Lucía, which made

[55] Errico Malatesta, 'Anarchy and Anarchism', (*Pensiero e Volontà*, 1 September 1925), in *Life and Ideas: The Anarchist Writings of Errico Malatesta*, p. 13.
[56] Such as in this letter from a man to *Mujeres Libres* which opened with: 'Sisters in the social transformation': CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, 58, Letter from Gipriomo Damiano to MMLL, 2/5/1936.
[57] Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 226.

their dynamic genuinely feel familiar.[58] Similarly, when the young María Anguera, from an anarchist family, went to stay with Federica Montseny and her parents so that her mother could home-school her, she became like Federica's sister.[59] This sororal intimacy, according to Federica's memoir, frustrated María's real mother to such an extent that she too moved in with the Montsenys.[60] Within the paradigm of chosen family, and its emotional subculture, anarchist womanhood signified different (and even contradictory) things at once, depending on which friends one was with at the time and what sort of kinship one felt with them, while also remaining ever upheld as a subaltern identity opposed to the normative embodiment of womanhood expected outside anarchist political culture.

Evidence of parasocial friendships offers insight into the qualities anarchist women sought in friends, especially when it came to sororal bonds in the paradigm of chosen family. A reader of *La Victoria* wrote to Federica Montseny to express that she would like to 'open the doors of my friendship for you, if you want to enter into this, it would please me very much because it is so difficult for those who think and act as we do'.[61] She interpreted Clara as a reflection of Montseny's own personality, and therefore saw in the author a kindred spirit who like her may be feeling socially ostracised as a result of their political convictions. There was a loneliness in her parasocial appeal to friendship. This was similarly evident in a series of letters sent to Montseny by a schoolgirl who told her whole life story including her feeling of displaced identity upon being forced to migrate across continents from North Africa to the United States and growing up mixed race.[62] She wrote of feeling 'alone, more alone than ever', and that 'I need friendship'.[63] It seems

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[58] She adds that she did not believe Lucía and Mery were in a romantic relationship, irrespective of whether either of them were attracted to women. CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000971, CD, María Elena Samada Barroso.
[59] Federica Montseny, *cuarenta años,* p. 43
[60] Ibid.
[61] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter (¿) to Federica Montseny, 6/1/1926.
[62] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Clara Perez (Lorain, Ohio) to Federica Montseny 14/5/1925; PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Clara Perez to Federica Montseny (n.d.).
[63] PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Clara Perez to Federica Montseny, 14/5/1925; PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Clara Perez to Federica Montseny (n.d.).

that Federica did reply, once at least, because this was mentioned in a later letter in which the girl gushed 'Dear friend, you have been gifted a clear moral (and intellectual) vision'.[64]

There was a power dynamic in both letters due to the perceived difference in educational prowess between sender and recipient, and in the second case there was also an age difference. This framed the parasocial friendships within a 'chosen family' paradigm of intergenerational deference (like daughter to mother) or perhaps more like admiration from a younger sister towards an older sister. In any case, such appeals to friendship, as idealised articulations of intimate comradeship, evidently helped those anarchist sympathisers to handle the emotional stresses of living in a subaltern political culture, opposed to hegemonic social moralities. Further evidence of this, in physical neighbourhood spaces of anarchist sociability, will be shown in Chapter 5.

Moreover, seeking to feel part of a chosen family was a gendered experience; those women reached out specifically to another woman, not a man. In the paradigm of chosen family, sorority and maternity were especially important in the cultivation of friendships between women who were active in organisations by and for women, such as 'Women's Sections' in trade unions and the *Mujeres Libres* network. The editorial team of *Mujeres Libres* wrote to a female supporter in 1936 that their motivations were 'love of ideas and of our sex', which conveyed a sense of what second-wave feminists would later call 'sisterhood' (political joy in women's shared experiences with one another, and political anger over women's shared struggles).[65] Women writing for anarchist periodicals with mixed gender readerships sometimes used their platforms to evoke anarchist sorority, too, like when Rosalina Gutiérrez exclaimed in *Generación Consciente* in 1923: 'My

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[64] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Clara Perez to Federica Montseny, 28/6/1926.
[65] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol.114 Letter from the editing committee to Josefa de Tena (Mérida) (n.d.). 'Sisterhood' has since been challenged on the basis of its inherent exclusions, as middle-class white feminists were especially likely to share experiences in common and would turn a blind eye to other women in order to uphold its logic. See the literature review in Valgerður Pálmadóttir, Evelina Johansson-Wilén and Eva Schmitz, 'Collective identity, solidarity, and sisterhood in the ASAB cleaning women's strike in Sweden and the Women's Day Off in Iceland', *Labor History,* 64.5 (2023), pp. 478-495, doi:10.1080/0023656X.2023.2223518.

Sister: study, rebel and redeem yourself'.[66]

A further question was what good anarchist friendship should prefiguratively look like when cultivated between people of different genders who lived, for now, within a patriarchal society. Linguistically, women's expressions of interpersonal affection could lose their feminine identity when communicated across genders since plurals in Spanish are masculine. This was seen in the fraternal greetings used in letters from administrators of *Mujeres Libres* to anarchist men.[67] To return to Montseny's *La Victoria* (1925), fiction depicted friendships that took those Spanish linguistic norms into the affective realm. The lead character Clara, in conversation with an anarchist man, asked him to think of her not as a 'woman' but as 'a friend; a friend who is some disciple of yours'.[68] She used the masculine/plural '*amigo*' instead of the feminine '*amiga*' here, as though she were defining friendship as a gender neutral intimacy unlike any heterosexual interaction.

Through Clara, the author implied that a man's perceptions of a woman should be de-gendered in order to make space for a platonic friendship to develop. She even reiterated a similar sentiment decades later in her memoir, in which she recalled 'I have had many friendships, for the most part with men. Why this? Since a very young age I felt distanced from the frivolity of sex. In those times, rare were the young women with whom one could have a somewhat deep conversation. Maybe because of that I found better understanding and resonance in masculine friendships'.[69] It was indeed the case that very many 'feminine' friendships were culturally different to 'masculine' friendships in this period. But what is most evident from Montseny's perspective here is that as a result, developing comradely friendships with anarchist men meant distancing her sense of self from her gender. The next sub-section further explores the frayed edges between heterosocial and heterosexual intimacies.

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[66] Rosalina Gutiérrez, 'Mujer Hermana Mía: ¡Escucha!', *Generación Consciente*, 1 October 1923, p. 72, cited in Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* p. 66.
[67] Such as: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, 13, Letter from Administrator to Celedonio Arribas, 14/5/1936.
[68] Montseny, *La Victoria,* pp. 41-43.
[69] Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 135.

Heterosocial friendship and homosocial friendship

The social mixing of men and women (or boys and girls) was governed by particular cultural norms in mainstream Spanish society. Middle-class girls were expected to steer clear of boys to preserve their delicate respectabilities; meanwhile working-class girls lacked much free time to play in the street with boys because they were expected to help their mothers with domestic chores whenever they were not at school or work.[70] Only in the early 1930s, under socialist Minister of Public Instruction Fernando de los Ríos, were mixed-gender schools introduced in Spain; and these were promptly banned once again when a right-wing coalition was elected in November 1933.[71] Men and women did receive co-education at university level, but by the 1930s still only less than 10% of university students in Spain were women.[72] Working women may have encountered men at work (although they were mostly employed in certain 'feminised' industries, such as textiles and tobacco, as well as nursing, teaching, secretarial work, and domestic service), but after work their public separation from men continued as they were not welcome in taverns.[73] Unlike men, who might play sport together, women (if they subscribed to hygienist ideas about the medical benefits of exercise) were supposed to do such activities modestly and discreetly: alone and in private.[74] The Second Republic's new Constitution granted women more rights to participate in public life, but women's sport remained marginal and separate.[75] Mixed gender sociability, then, with the exception of the annual local Catholic festivals which brought whole communities together, was largely reserved for courtship, including strolls, dances, and visits to the cinema or theatre.[76] As

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[70] On the latter, see for instance the testimony of Concha Pérez in Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* pp. 40-41.
[71] Aguado and Ramos, *La Modernización de España,* pp. 157-161.
[72] Consuelo Flecha García, 'Ganando espacios en la universidad española en la primera mitad del siglo XX', in *Comiendo el fruto prohibido: mujeres, ciencia y creación a través de la historia*, ed. by María Isabel del Val Valdivieso and Esther Martínez Quinteiro (Icaria, 2015), pp. 103-135 (p. 110).
[73] Aguado and Ramos, *La Modernización de España*, pp. 121-122, 144.
[74] Vallejo, 'La educación física de la mujer', p. 188.
[75] Cruz-Cámara, 'La representación de las deportistas', pp. 102, 106.
[76] And for many, only the first of these was affordable: Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* pp. 94-96.

Pamela Radcliff observed, in early-twentieth-century Gijón girls tended to join their mothers' networks while boys befriended their classmates.[77]

Anarchist spaces, such as the sociable neighbourhood *ateneos*, the FIJL (from 1932), and the co-educational rationalist schools were consequently enormously significant for the free opportunities they provided for men and women, boys and girls, to learn, converse, and play together. Indeed, Ferrer y Guardia called mixed-gender co-education 'the most important manifestation of rational teaching', and would routinely ask parents enrolling their sons whether they had daughters they might enrol too.[78] Furthermore, some naturist excursions to the countryside organised by the *ateneos* involved nudism where adults and children of all genders were present together, as has been noted in Chapter 1. This was the everyday socio-cultural context to which interwar anarchist discourse about friendship between people of different genders responded.

Discursive interventions and real-life encounters made anarchist women feel uncertain, at times, about whether they could freely and authentically befriend anarchist men heterosocially without finding their friendship eventually redefined to fulfil compulsory heterosexuality. This reflected wider moral panics in interwar Spain about, for instance, the urban 'modern girl' figure of the unmarried *modillista* (seamstress) who stereotypically pursued friendships with male university students, which had similar cultural echoes in other Western countries facing their own gendered crises of modernity.[79] Proudhon certainly did not believe that men and women could (or should) pursue friendship: 'all excessive frequentation with men, even if confined to simple conversation in salons, in academies, in bars, etc., is bad for the woman. It deflowers and insensibly corrupts'.[80] Anselmo Lorenzo was more confident that there could be a clear line between non-sexual and sexual interactions between a man and woman, defining very concretely, in a 1930 text for the *Escuela Moderna*, that 'conjugal love' required genital stimulation which represented the

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[77] Ibid., p. 91.
[78] Francisco Ferrer Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna.*
[79] Pattison, 'Eugenics and the modern woman on trial', p. 38.
[80] Proudhon, 'Women in Modern Times', p. 56.

transgression of 'the limits of friendship'.[81] Yet the boundary between friendship and this latter category was not always clear cut in the way Anselmo Lorenzo claimed, because one could fluidly transition to the other.

Indeed, writers such as Amparo Poch y Gascón challenged the idea that strict labels were necessary at all in interpersonal relationships.[82] Anarchist friendship, then, sat on an affective scale somewhere higher than abstract solidarity but not as intense as sexual excitement, but without a clearly defined boundary line. Moreover, Émile Armand, in his 1932 book *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, emphasised that friendship was the ideal basis for, and precursor to, romantic intimacy. He asserted that before becoming sexually intimate with a woman, a man should ensure that the two of them could be lasting intimate friends—defined as being free to confide in one another without fearing disapproval, which echoed the ideal of good friendship outlined in an earlier sub-section.[83] Ideal anarchist friendship, then, had frayed emotional edges. Along these frayed edges were feelings of kinship, as well as feelings of sexual or romantic attraction. Slippages into these forms of intimacy were possible, which ideally were liberating and conducive to romantic wellbeing, however persistent heteronormative discourse about why men and women opted to socialise would continue to undermine that liberation for women.

Women who became involved in anarchism needed to be able to befriend the male militants around them, if friendship was to be the ideal analogy for good comradeship. The possibilities and challenges of this were discussed in a 1935 back-and-forth in *Solidaridad Obrera* between Mariano Vázquez, who would soon become Secretary of the CNT, and Lucía Sánchez Saornil, who would soon found the *Mujeres Libres* anarchist women's organisation. Vázquez called upon anarchist men in spaces like *ateneos* and workplaces (where they might support women in attaining education and

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[81] Lorenzo, *Evolución Proletaria,* p. 238.

[82] She wrote about this in the *Mujeres Libres* magazine: Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras,* pp. 102-103.

[83] E. Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, trans. by Urbano Carrasco (Ediciones Mañana, 1932), p. 6. See also, in a rare convergence of belief between Armand and Montseny: Montseny, *La Victoria,* pp. 194-201.

coming round to anarchist ideas) to see each woman not as 'a female' but 'a sister', just as they see other men as 'brothers'.[84] He encouraged male readers to 'dominate the beast' inside of them by not pursuing sex in such scenarios, and added that if a man found it impossible to do so he should distance himself from women in anarchist propagandising settings altogether.[85]

As well as reinforcing logics of compulsory heterosexuality, his article reflected the language of kinship—as a de-sexualisation tool as well as an assertion of loyal and enduring intimacy—mentioned earlier in this chapter. Sánchez Saornil retorted that the solution to this problem was to target anarchist propagandising in such spaces not only at women but at men, because men unwilling to do the necessary mental work to become competent at promoting women's emancipation through anarchism were the root cause of the problem.[86] Her stance was reiterated in a follow-up article by María Luisa Cobos, who added that everyone has sexual impulses but it is up to all of us to not let these dominate us.[87]

This recurring problem in anarchists' heterosocial friendships was evident, too, in prolonged epistolary encounters between correspondents of different genders. During the Civil War, Sara Berenguer wrote friendly letters to militiamen to boost their morale while on the front line, but then one fell so in love with her that he showed up unexpectedly at her workplace.[88] A decade earlier, a man based in New York entered what seemingly began as an epistolary friendship with Federica Montseny in 1926, hoping she would see in him 'a fraternal and sincere friend, among whom understanding and correspondence is possible'.[89] In a later letter, however, he abandoned this unsexual 'fraternal' intimacy, likened to that between siblings, by professing that he was in love

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[84] M. R. Vázquez, 'La mujer, factor revolucionario', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 18 September 1935, p. 3
[85] Ibid.
[86] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 26 September 1935, p. 2; Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 2 October 1935, p. 2.
[87] María Luisa Cobos, 'A la mujer, no; a vosotros, proletarios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 8 October 1935, p. 3.
[88] Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* p. 118.
[89] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Antonio Estévez (New York) to Federica Montseny (Barcelona), 7/6/1926.

with Federica.[90]

Feminist scholar and activist bell hooks has theorised that 'Loving friendships provide us with a space to experience the joy of community in a relationship where we learn to process all our issues, to cope with differences and conflict while staying connected'.[91] Such a valuable non-sexual chosen family love between anarchist friends in interwar Spain did not, though, seem to have been possible if those friends identified with different genders. As Sánchez Saornil and Cobos wrote, significant shifts in men's navigation of emotional intimacy were still needed.

Gender demonstrably played a considerable role in upholding or dismantling the boundary between platonic or romantic affection. While friendships between anarchists of different genders had their doubters, friendships between anarchists of the same gender faced no such challenges. That was not, though, because women's friendships lacked the frayed edges and slippages seen in mixed-gender friendships. Quite the opposite. Histories of lesbianism have rightly 'put relationships between women in the scholarly agenda', and even looking beyond the clearly sexual there is much to examine about the intimate friendships women enjoyed with one another.[92]

Judith Butler, in their discussion of compulsory heterosexuality, asserted that 'there is not one femininity with which to identify, which is to say that femininity might offer itself an array of identificatory sites', and that at the same time 'it is hardly descriptive of the complex dynamic exchanges of lesbian and gay relationships to presume that homosexual identifications "mirror" or replicate one another'.[93] This rightfully challenges historians of female friendship to draw out the idiosyncratic and liminal subjectivity implicated in expressions of friendly affection between

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[90] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Antonio Estévez (New York) to Federica Montseny (Barcelona), 10/4/1926. On how historians might infer expressions of desire (or ambivalence) when we only have one side of an epistolary exchange in the archive, see: Hemmings, *Considering Emma Goldman*, pp. 35-36.
[91] hooks, *All About Love,* p. 133.
[92] Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 12.
[93] Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, p. 183.

women, where boundaries between erotic and non-erotic intimacy were culturally contingent. To examine early-twentieth-century anarchism one must also consider how 'free love' discourse encroached on seemingly non-sexual friendships. Connected to this was the question of how friendships between women supported or subverted heteronormative discourses surrounding courtship and romance.

The gendered body, as theorised by Elizabeth Grosz, is 'the threshold […] that hovers perilously and undecidably at the pivotal point of binary pairs [such as] the private or public, self or other', and, we might add, sexual or non-sexual.[94] To bring this into consideration with regard to friendships between women, we might point to Foucault, who has highlighted that historically women have enjoyed far greater quotidian access to one another's bodies than men have, such as by helping each other dress or brush their hair.[95] These practices have always been culturally specific. Serena Owusua Dankwa's study of female friendships in the postcolonial Global South points furthermore to the interplay between 'material and affective needs and desires', such as embodied intimate practices of sharing food, clothing, beds, or bath water, with friends, kin, or neighbours, for everyday survival.[96] Working-class women in socioeconomically deprived parts of Spain's industrialising cities in the 1920s and 1930s, likewise depended on this intimate communalism which brought women's bodies into closer proximity. Unemployment was rife throughout this period, especially in big cities like Barcelona and especially following the global economic crash in 1929, and there was little social safety net besides the generosity of one's neighbours.[97] Mutual-aid networks among women sustained everyday working-class life, from sharing resources for subsistence to providing 'emotional first aid' during crises.[98]

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[94] Grosz, *Volatile Bodies,* p. 23.
[95] Michel Foucault, *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth,* ed. by Paul Rabinow, trans. by Robert Hurley and others (The New Press, 1994), p. 139.
[96] Dankwa, *Knowing Women,* p. 21.
[97] Guillamón, *CNT Defense Committees,* pp. 32-34. See also Joaquina Dorado's recount of neighbourly solidarity in Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* p. 65.
[98] Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 100. See also: Radcliff, 'Elite Women Workers', pp. 88-89.

Chosen family configurations involving women were also sometimes already entwined with cultural traditions specific to Spain. Pamela Radcliff, in her study of working-class life in the northern city of Gijón, reveals that here women workers upheld their own version of the Medieval European tradition of 'godparenthood' that largely died out in other countries but persisted in southern Europe into the twentieth century.[99] Seamstresses and women who worked in tobacco factories celebrated an annual banquet in which they proclaimed one another to be 'godmothers', thereby connecting their blood families together.[100] As Radcliff notes, this ritual 'clearly signified some kind of transfer of the "formal state of friendship" to the workplace, where one's fellow workers were apparently being cast as extended family members'.[101] Importantly, this version of the tradition was only for godmothers, not godparents more broadly, and so 'it was a gendered assertion of community and friendship' which ritualised affective bonds between women through the lexicon of family which imbued those bonds with the promise of loyalty and permanence—as in evocations of 'fraternity'—as well as maternalistic guardianship.[102]

Moreover, oral testimonies indicate the temporal and spatial limitations shaping the friendships of women and girls in this period. For instance, one interviewee in Mercedes Vilanova's study recalled that she spent all her time either at work or at home supporting her mother with chores so she had no opportunity to socialise, and so her only friends were the girls she worked with.[103] They would read *La Novela Ideal* together at work whenever they had a spare moment.[104] When anarchists in Spain theorised about friendship, they did this with awareness of how the working classes already lived and the consequent everyday praxes of intimate friendship already happening.

An important context for slippage between concepts of platonic and romantic friendship in

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[99] Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 93.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles,* p. 169.
[104] Ibid.

anarchist political culture was the notoriety of anarchist 'free love'. As Chapter 6 will examine in greater depth, anarchist ideals of love allowed greater fluidity than mainstream discourse did but at the same time reinforced their own boundaries which included the pathologisation of homosexual desire. Of particular relevance was the anarchist notion of *'amor plural'* ('plural love'), whereby friends might be romantically or sexually intimate at different times with the same lover.[105] When someone wrote to the advice column of the anarchist magazine *La Revista Blanca* asking if a woman can fall for a man while knowing that her friend loved him too, the response—penned by one of its editors, the Montseny family—suggested that she consider the possibility of entering into a 'plural love' arrangement with them both.[106] It was important to communicate the nature of the bonds one felt with each individual; another entry later that year emphasised that fraternal friendship and sexual love 'are two distinct loves', the former involving less selflessness and sacrifice than the latter due to its comparative depth of feeling.[107] As anarchists believed that it was possible to fall in love multiple times in life (see Chapter 6), a more complex web of entanglements between romantic lovers and friendships became possible. The boundary between friendship and romantic or sexual intimacy—just like the boundary between friendship and kinship—had frayed edges, and gendered behaviours such as touch and verbal or scribal expressions of feeling navigated that frayed boundary.

Friendships between women in anarchist fiction added to this subaltern discourse, because sometimes they conveyed ambiguity about the precise emotional affections felt by the characters towards one another. Certain readers consuming these stories might have harnessed their

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[105] Émile Armand's advocacy for erotic friendship as the most fulfilling way of life, derived from Fourier's notion of a universal right to enjoyment, was disseminated internationally: Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 6, 24, 29, see also, Gaetano Manfredonia and Francis Ronsin, *Émile Armand and "la camaraderie amoureuse": Revolutionary sexualism and the struggle against jealousy* (2000), <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gaetano-manfredonia-francis-ronsin-emile-armand-and-la-camaraderie-amoureuse-revolutionary-sexu>, [accessed 8 January 2025]. On the widespread rejection and/or pathologisation of homosexuality in anarchist print media, see Chapter 6.
[106] 'Consultorio General', La *Revista Blanca*, 19 April 1934.
[107] 'Consultorio General', *La Revista Blanca,* 2 November 1934.

interpretive agency to experience, within the already subaltern emotional regime of anarchist political culture, further acts of emotional subversion in private. Take the aforementioned example of *Flora*, a late-1920s novella in the *La Novela Ideal* series. The eponymous protagonist first meets Margarita at music school, only to then be banned from seeing this new friend by her parents. When Flora runs away from her religious middle-class family she arrives at Margarita's doorstep. Upon this reunion, Flora (through the third-person narration) beholds Margarita's appearance: 'She was blonde, a golden blonde, which made brighter and more penetrating her sweet face that expressed the hidden kindness of her soul.'[108] Following historian of Sapphic anarchism, Charlotte Byrne, we might suggest that Margarita was possibly queer-coded via her unconventional attractiveness: 'She was not beautiful, but altogether, all her graces combined, they made her a pleasant figure'.[109] Not only do the two close friends embrace with a kiss (on one another's cheeks, presumably, in the Spanish tradition), but they remain 'for some moments entangled, without being able to articulate a word'.[110] The greeting closes with Margarita exclaiming that 'my lips cannot express how my heart felt the separation from, not my friend but my sister!'.[111]

One reading would be to take this sororal expression at face value as a desexualisation of the encounter, and attribute the tactile greeting to normative Spanish femininity. Margarita's narrative role in the story is, after all, to introduce Flora to the man whom she will eventually fall for. The female friend as a narrative device has been identified similarly in British Victorian novels, as a 'transmission mechanism' that ensured that marriage plots were pushed forward to their natural conclusion.[112] Moreover, this trope echoed the real-life phenomenon studied by historian of sexuality Hannah Charnock: that 'the form and meaning of teenage girls' heterosexuality was

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[108] Colomer, *Flora*, p. 9.
[109] Ibid. On literary stereotypes of sapphic characters as 'mannish' or 'monstrous' during this period in Spain, see: Charlotte Byrne, 'A queer problem: writing sapphic anarchism in Spanish Civil War fiction', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies,* 29.3 (2023), pp. 381-402 (pp. 390-392), doi:10.1080/14701847.2023.2282837.
[110] Colomer, *Flora*, p. 10.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Marcus, *Between Women,* p. 3.

shaped by their homosociality' because female friends would chat about their romantic encounters and thereby judge their own against others', invoking pride, envy, anxiety and excitement.[113]

Yet alternatively, a reader of *Flora* who personally identified with female characters who felt more than platonic friendship towards other women arguably could have found that same experience reflected in the story: the depth of one's appreciation for the other's beauty, their unusually extended intimate touch, the attention drawn to their own lips and heart. The novel's author might even have been drawing deliberately on a common trope in the controversially subversive New Women novels of the period: passionate friendships between women.[114] This 'slipperiness between the categories of love and friendship', in Sarah Horowitz's words, will be explored further in Chapter 6.[115]

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[113] Hannah Charnock, 'Teenage girls, female friendship and the making of the sexual revolution in England, 1950-1980', H*istorical Journal,* 63.4 (2020), pp. 1032-1053 (pp. 1033-1035), doi:10.1017/S0018246X19000396. See also: Jennings, *A Lesbian History*, p. 41.
[114] Jennings, *A Lesbian History*, p. 71.
[115] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 8.

Chapter 5: Friends

In the 1980s, Pierre Bourdieu theorised that 'the principle of all durable alliances and connections' is provided by 'processes of cooptation, friendship, love, association', the roots of which are 'experienced in the form of personal attraction or revulsion' as well as a sense of nearness.[1] Comradeship, being one such 'durable alliance', is accordingly constructed through spatial and emotional connections with other people, including friendships. Sociologists of social movements have indeed built upon Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus' by introducing the notion of an 'emotional habitus'—the way in which people relate emotions to each other according to the sense of how to act socially that they have developed through their interpersonal relations.[2] Departing from historian Alan Bray's study of pre-modern 'voluntary kinship' to draw on the modern LGBTQ+ concept of 'chosen family', this chapter examines the revolutionary potential of friendship in the lived experiences of anarchist women in interwar Spain.[3] It frames friendship as an affective bond which, although precarious, vulnerable, and ever in-construction itself, helped women to confront emotionally the much greater gendered precarity of conditional anarchist comradeship illustrated in Chapter 3. As a consequence of their closest friendships, in combination with their political beliefs, women remained persuaded to fight for the anarchist ideal, pursue anarchist womanhood, and continue committing to the movement through repression, revolution, and war.

Among the first historians to seriously address this matter was Sarah Horowitz, whose book *Friendship and Politics in Post-Revolutionary France* demonstrated the relevance of trust and distrust between friends to the successes and failures of that revolutionary project.[4] She

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[1] Bourdieu, 'What Makes a Social Class?', p. 5.
[2] Craig Calhoun, 'Putting Emotions in Their Place', in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements,* ed. by Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 45-57 (p. 53).
[3] Bray, *The Friend*, p. 104.
[4] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics*.

demonstrated that 'friendship […] helped the French state and the political class recover from the trauma of revolution' by healing affective bonds.[5] Historian of British radical politics Laura Forster has likewise called for friendship to receive attention from historians of social movements. She proposes that 'Finding friendships of the past can help to challenge big narratives that don't always make space for the nuances of intimate human connection, or for the affective nature of political engagement'.[6] In particular, Forster highlights an important corrective to traditional intellectual and social histories of activism: that 'political parties and political ideas alone are not what mobilise people—people live their politics, they make connections based on feelings of allegiance and solidarity, and therefore the emotional context and cultures around any kind of political programme is central to understanding the ideological commitments of its adherents'.[7] Chapter 5 will demonstrate that this was true of the anarchist movement in Spain between 1923 and 1939.

Historians of Spanish anarchism have paved the way for such an intervention. Chris Ealham, in his biography of José Peirats, set out to explore 'the affective ties of kinship, friendship, and community that cemented this movement'.[8] Chapter 5 expands on Ealham's rationale by unravelling affective experiences of friendships for a much wider cross section of the Spanish anarchist movement, as well as introducing a gendered perspective which interrogates the implications of these for the construction of anarchist womanhood as an identity entangled with processes of comradeship-building. Martha Ackelsberg highlighted in 1991 that recognition of the 'personal connections' holding together radical activism should be a new feminist direction in research, but did not discuss 'friendship' specifically.[9] Friendships were vital for bringing women (and men) into the movement, instrumental in keeping them there, and central to all manner of

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[5] Ibid., p. 3.
[6] Forster, 'Radical Friendship'.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ealham, *Living Anarchism,* p. 1.
[9] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain,* p. 166. The role of close personal bonds in labour movements has been pointed to, too, by: Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* and Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*. See also: Bantman, 'Jean Grave and French Anarchism', and Laursen, 'Anti-Colonialism, Terrorism and the "Politics of Friendship"', p. 58.

tensions intrinsic to comradeship-building in this period.[10]

Interwoven with its history of emotions perspective, the chapter additionally—to return to Bourdieu—examines the spatial component of comradeship-building, with a primary focus on the home and the libertarian *ateneos*.[11] These mixed-gender spaces brought to life anarchist principles of egalitarian sociability and the breakdown of social hierarchies. At the same time, sororal anarchist spaces such as meetings of women's groups helped anarchist women to emotionally handle the precarity of the comradeship extended to them by anarchist men. Chapter 5 will illustrate the contributions made by women, in particular, to the maintenance of all of these sociable spaces and the chosen family communities forged within them as 'emotional refuges' that strengthened comradeship-building.[12] The chapter thereby also builds upon the work of historian Javier Navarro who framed such spaces as sites for the construction of 'anarchist identity'; more than that, they were crucial sites for the making of anarchist womanhood.[13]

Routes to involvement in the anarchist movement

As highlighted by Katie Barclay and Laura Forster, history of emotions methodologies provide an important 'missing link' in understanding how and why individuals have been mobilised to participate in political movements.[14] Ideology plays a part, but this is rarely introduced to a person without any sort of interpersonal encounter, and ideology alone—while it might be enough to evoke abstract solidarity—is not sufficiently affective to cultivate an intimate sense of comradeship.[15] Friendships intermingle not only with other friendships but with family relations, and this—as well

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[10] Historical study of friendship should not unfairly romanticise it but recognise its potential to pull subjects in different directions: Anderson and Hutson, *Friendship's Shadows,* p. 1.
[11] See also: Laura Forster, 'The Paris Commune in London and the Spatial History of Ideas, 1871-1900,' *The Historical Journal*, 62.4 (2019), pp. 1021-1044 (p. 1026), doi:10.1017/S0018246X19000256.
[12] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 19.
[13] Navarro Navarro, *"El paraíso de la razón"*; Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura,* p. 18.
[14] Barclay, 'State of the Field', p. 465; Forster, 'Radical Friendship'.
[15] See Introduction.

as complicating the gender dynamics of one's interpersonal life—constitutes much of friendship's social strength.[16]

There are myriad testimonies from anarchist women who recall particular friendships, intertwined with other parts of their lives such as work and family, being instrumental in their first instances of participation in anarchist activism. Angelina Ferriz, who grew up in the Valencia region, first learned about anarchist ideas from the brother of one of her female friends. He already belonged to the CNT and FIJL; Angelina in turn joined both.[17] Amelia Jover, growing up elsewhere in the region, borrowed books from boys she knew closely, who were already involved in anarchism, and from this she went on to join the CNT.[18] In Barcelona, Concha Liaño socialised with the boys who lived opposite her, who were part of the JJLL, and it was through them that she joined an anarchist *ateneo*.[19] Elsewhere in the city, Pepita Carpena first got involved with the CNT when a group of members attended a dance that she frequented with her aunt, and they got talking.[20] Elena Samada Barroso, who had an itinerant childhood following her mother's theatre group, did not grow up an anarchist (even though her grandfather was involved in the movement), and only joined the CNT during the Civil War because it was necessary for her work, but then through collaborating with anarchists at the magazine *Umbral* and in SIA in Valencia her ideas developed; meanwhile she got to know FAI activists simply because her attic flat was above their locale.[21]

Lola Iturbe joined the CNT with her friend Conchita, whom she had first met when they applied for the same job in Barcelona.[22] A 'separate-spheres' model might predict that men joined the anarchist movement strategically through unionisation in workplaces whereas women joined the movement socially through their community networks, but it was far less clear cut; many working

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[16] Anderson and Hutson, *Friendship's Shadows,* p. 15.
[17] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000964, CD, Angelina Ferriz Aguilar.
[18] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000974, CD, track 154, Amelia Jover.
[19] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000978, CD, Concha Liaño (2007).
[20] Lorusso, *Mujeres en Lucha*, p. 39.
[21] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000971, CD, María Elena Samada Barroso.
[22] Fontanillas Borrás and Torres Planells, *Lola Iturbe Arizcuren*, p. 96.

class women joined the movement through workplaces just as men did. Moreover, to some extent anarchists of all genders entered the movement because of affective ties; workers were not only influenced by their material needs at work but also by their bonds with certain friends whom they worked alongside. Indeed, the 'private' bond between friends was an important emotional refuge for individuals who distrusted representatives of 'public' life such as politicians, law enforcers, or clergymen: a worldview for which anarchism promised the solutions.[23] Both in cases of anarcho-syndicalist affiliation, and in cases of extra-workplace participation in anarchist sociability, friendships were instrumental motivators and facilitators. This factor should be incorporated into work-centred explanations for anarchism's development in Spain, such as Temma Kaplan's suggestion that small grassroots groups of people who worked together formed the very first anarchist unions to protect their shared interests in the nineteenth century.[24]

New recruits to the anarchist movement could also include children who grew up making friends in anarchist *ateneos*. As historian Nathaniel Andrews has shown, albeit using evidence from Argentina, family gatherings coordinated by anarchist *ateneos* merged nuclear family units 'into a broader, "extended" anarchist family'.[25] This was substantiated for the Spanish context in the memoir of anarchist José Berruezo Silvente who described how the *ateneo* in his neighbourhood of Santa Coloma de Gramanet (Catalonia) put on dances to attract young people, public lectures with anarchist speakers, and theatre shows, as well as boasting a patio where the children of attendees played outdoors together.[26]

One child who grew up socialising in the Santa Coloma de Gramanet *ateneo* was Enric Casañas. In an oral-history interview, he recalled that he attended night classes there because he dropped out of school young to begin earning; meanwhile his younger brother went to the *ateneo*'s

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[23] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 19. This was implied, without specific reference to anarchism, in: Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 9.
[24] Kaplan, 'The Social Basis of Nineteenth-Century Andalusian Anarchism', pp. 59-61.
[25] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* p. 104. See Chapter 4 for more on the lecixon of family in the Spanish anarchist movement.
[26] Berruezo Silvente, *Por el sendero de mis recuerdos,* pp. 29, 31, 38, 52.

day school.[27] He affirmed that he attended many of the Sunday lectures there, which saw audiences of up to 300.[28] In his memory of this *ateneo*, he described it precisely as the local hub for sociability; it was the place where one went to meet friends.[29] The *ateneo*, then, was part of his route into the movement; his grandfather was a loyal attendee and his mother regularly bought the CNT daily *Solidaridad Obrera*, but the *ateneo* itself was likewise part of his anarchist youth.[30] It was for this reason that he commented on friendships in the interview: 'the revolution can be made every day, including in every moment, with your neighbourhood, with your friendships, with your own behaviour'.[31]

The FIJL performed a similar function of bringing young people together socially, as well as providing spaces for anarchist radicalisation where young people could develop friendships away from the supervisory eyes of their parents (rare for that time) who might have disapproved of their choice of friends.[32] Furthermore, during the Civil War it was not only urban *ateneos* which proliferated in Spain but also in rural communes anarchists instigated social facilities such as new schools, libraries and cultural centres.[33] Access to basic education could transform the social lives of friends; one oral testimony recalled for instance that when watching silent films at the cinema the one literate person in a group of family or friends would read aloud the subtitles for all to hear.[34] Literacy was a gateway to sociable cultural enjoyment.

Sites for communal eating likewise became instrumental in bringing new people into the anarchist movement.[35] As mentioned in Chapter 2, Lola Iturbe first became aware of anarchist ideas while dining with workers at her mother's guesthouse. Furthermore, in communes and collectivised

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[27] AHCB, Fonts Orals, Entrevista a Enric Casañas per Eulàlia Vega (15.090) REV. 2002.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain,* p. 63. As in the case of Concha Liaño: see third sub-section.
[33] Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, pp. 115-116.
[34] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles,* p. 80.
[35] On the affective significance of shared bodily experiences like eating together, especially among itinerant socialists in exile, see: Lewis, 'Intimate Politics of International Socialism', p. 260.

workplaces across Spain during the revolution and Civil War, communal dining rooms—available to those who preferred not to eat at home, and those who could not do so due to food shortages—became spaces where local people came to participate in the praxis of anarchist revolutionary values: sharing resources through a desire to do so, not because one was forced by an authoritarian form of communism.[36] Anarcho-naturist publications like *Estudios* also published advice about healthy diets (including but not limited to vegetarianism), thereby suggesting routes towards a specifically anarchist praxis of eating.[37]

Ateneos, the FIJL, and communal facilities, then, built on existing friendship networks enjoyed by women to bring them voluntarily into the movement for the first time. Intersecting with these, the other key space of sociability was the home: in many of the isolated examples above of women brought into the movement, entanglements of friendships with domestic family relations, as well as the proximity of individuals' homes to local anarchist meeting places, created the circumstances for women's integration into anarchist political culture.

As has been alluded to above, some anarchists did not necessarily need to be brought into the movement from outside because they were born to anarchist parents. Intergenerational transmission of ideologies and praxes was a particular strength of Spanish anarchism's political culture, with the aforementioned family-friendly spaces of anarchist *ateneos* as well as anarchist-leaning schools such as those in the tradition of Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia helping anarchist parents to maintain anarchist values among their children outside the home as well as within its walls.[38] It was, of course, neither inevitable that children of anarchists would pursue the same ideals as their parents nor inevitable that they would rebel against them. Daughters of anarchists constitute particularly

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[36] On communal dining halls, see: Peirats, *Los anarquistas*, pp. 149-168; Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, p. 461.
[37] This was mentioned in Chapter 1.
[38] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain,* pp. 59-60; Mintz, *Anarchism and Workers' Self-Management*, pp. 25-27.

poignant examples for understanding the relational construction of anarchist womanhood, because outside their immediate family lives their friendships contributed significantly to their sense of identity as anarchists as they grew up from girls to women.[39] We might take the friendship between Federica Montseny and Teresa Isgleas as a microhistorical case study: both were daughters of anarchist parents.

By the early 1930s Montseny had established herself as a prolific writer and public speaker, based in Barcelona. Meanwhile, she corresponded with Isgleas who lived up the coast in San Feliu de Guixols. Isgleas would have been around 17 or 18 years old; Montseny ten years her senior.[40] We may date the advent of their friendship to this period because in a 1933 letter Isgleas mentioned that she remembered Montseny's father well but was yet to meet her mother.[41] It is likely their fathers knew each other, as Isgleas's father, like Montseny's, was a well-known anarchist activist.[42] Alternatively, they could perhaps have met through Antonia Maymón, who entertained visits from Montseny, had a close publishing relationship with both the Montsenys' *La Revista Blanca* and *La Novela Ideal* and Francisco Isgleas's *Acción Social Obrera*, and taught in an anarchist-leaning rationalist school in San Feliu while Isgleas was school-aged.[43]

Montseny and Isgleas's letters represented the radical friendship between the two women not only through their content but in their very act of creation. As Dolores Martín Moruno has highlighted in her study of the letters of women embroiled in humanitarian work, writing letters

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[39] Schulman makes some thoughtful critiques on this phenomenon in the present day in: Sarah Schulman, *Conflict is Not Abuse: Overstating Harm, Community Responsibility, and the Duty of Repair* (Arsenal Pulp Press, 2016), pp. 200-205.
[40] Teresa Isgleas birth date: ANC, 288-Francesc Isgleas i Piernau-Flora Isgleas i Alsina-Enric Adroher i Pascual (Gironella), Caixa 1, 01.01.04, fol. 01, Fiche Individuelle d'État Civil; Federica Montseny birth date: Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 13.
[41] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 1/2/1933.
[42] Statement of Teresa's birth to Francisco Isgleas and Rosa Alsina: ANC, 288-Francesc Isgleas i Piernau-Flora Isgleas i Alsina-Enric Adroher i Pascual (Gironella), Caixa 1, 01.01.04, fol. 01, Fiche Individuelle d'État Civil. Miguel Iñiguez, 'Francisco Isgleas Piarnau' in *Ezbozo de una enciclopedia del anarquismo español* (Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, 2001), p. 309. See also: CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 1/2/1933.
[43] Iñiguez, 'Francisco Isgleas Piarnau', p. 309; Agulló Díaz and Molina Beneyto, *Antonia Maymón*, pp. 50-51.

was a coping strategy 'fundamental to the psychological survival of the [writers] themselves' whose emotional practice 'shaped a collective identity while producing a material culture that mobilised [...] solidarity'.[44] In other words, writing these letters to one another helped Isgleas and Montseny to understand their own identities as anarchist women.

Only a handful of Isgleas's letters to Montseny, and none of the replies, have reached the archive, but one can nonetheless learn much about the contributions this friendship made to their identity-making at the time as anarchist women.[45] The first archived letter from Isgleas to Montseny included a section about the former's feeling that 'my greatest desire is to fight to achieve a better tomorrow' and that she recognised the benefit of studying hard to have the right foundation for that struggle.[46] She evidently looked up to Montseny, who was now making something of herself, seeking her approval that through diligent study she would do so too. She closed with 'kisses from José and Flora [her siblings] and from me to your parents and you receive a loving kiss from your friend.'[47] Horowitz emphasises the importance of differentiating between epistolic conventions and authentic expressions of affection; in this case the clear intimate knowledge that the two women had about one another is sufficient to conclude that their friendship was genuine.[48]

In another letter her admiration for her 'dear friend Federica' was all the more evident as she proclaimed 'How I would love to go on propaganda [tours] like you!'[49] This feminine friendship served, for Isgleas, as a role model for her own anarchist womanhood. For Montseny, having a younger confidante who admired her activism served to bolster her self-esteem as an anarchist woman in male-dominated spaces; she recalls this precise feeling in the largely autobiographical

[44] Martín Moruno and Ordóñez Rodríguez, 'The nursing vocation', p. 487.
[45] Surprisingly Teresa does not feature in Federica's 1987 memoir, even though Federica wrote an obituary for Teresa's father only ten years prior. The obituary does not betray much intimacy with the deceased, so perhaps her decision to write it was strictly professional and their families had fallen out personally since the 1930s. *Espoir,* 6 March 1977, <https://www.estelnegre.org/documents/isgleas/isgleas.html> [accessed 5 January 2023].
[46] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 9/10/1932.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics*, p. 11.
[49] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 1/2/1933.

novel *La Indomable* in which the lead character Vida enjoys a similar friendship with Armonia.[50] Armonia was probably not based on Teresa herself as the book predates their letter-writing by a few years, but on comparable friendships with other younger women as Montseny entered her twenties. Nonetheless, this gives a sense of how Montseny interpreted these friendship dynamics. In turn, Montseny enjoyed a long-term friendship with older anarchist Maria Lacerda de Moura who was based in Brazil; they read each other's publications and extended warm support to one another over a period of many years.[51] To an extent, then, Montseny knew how it felt to be in Isgleas's position too.

Isgleas, in her letters to Montseny, also discussed her ideas about society and morality, using Montseny as a trustworthy sounding board for her own views, as well as a confidante who may be likely to sympathise with her interpretations of events that had moved her emotionally. In the first letter Isgleas shared some local gossip, weighing in with her views on sex before marriage (she thought it was only natural).[52] It had moved her that a woman in her town was being shamed by her parents and neighbours for it, and she saw Montseny as someone who would reinforce her thoughts and feelings.[53] In another letter, she emotively wrote of her impression of the massacre of anarchists in Casas Viejas in January 1933.[54] Elsewhere, when she wrote to Montseny that her father had been detained and her mother was worried, this was her reaching out to a friend whom she knew would

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[50] Federica Montseny, *La Indomable* (Impresos Costa, 1928), from p. 55.

[51] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from María Lacerda de Moura to Federica Montseny, 13/6/1925; Letter from María Lacerda de Moura to Federica Montseny, 15/9/1926; Letter from María Lacerda de Moura to Federica Montseny, 30/7/1927; Letter from María Lacerda de Moura to Federica Montseny, 8/3/1928.

[52] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 9/10/1932. Radcliff observes that gossip was a working-class cultural code of behaviour in this period: Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 93.

[53] This purpose of gossip was highlighted by Temma Kaplan, although without mention of emotions and with a misplaced presumption that only women engaged in this practice (men talked disparagingly about their peers too, although they would not have recognised it as feminine 'gossip'). Kaplan, 'Female Consciousness and Collective Action', p. 548.

[54] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 1/2/1933. The Assault Guard, a new police force for the Second Republic, set fire to the house of an anarchist where armed rebels had barricaded themselves in, and then shot those who ran away from the fire: Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain,* pp. 80-81; Casanova, *Spanish Republic and Civil War*, pp. 59-61.

be equally indignant as herself.[55] These letters, and their very creation, were thereby emotional 'refuges' for expressing her authentic emotional reactions to events, as well as constituting emotional 'resistances' against hegemonic emotional regimes in which it would have been expected that she feel righteous Catholic disgust or pity towards the sexually active young woman and anger or fear towards anarchists in response to their violent uprisings.[56]

Isgleas also recalled texts she had recently read, including one which celebrated the beauty of the teaching vocation, and one by Montseny herself in the newspaper *El Luchador*.[57] On the latter, she wrote that she identified with many of the ideas put forward and 'I too very much like Anarchism and its virtues but I have to read it again because it seems to me that I haven't completely understood it.'[58] Such an honest self-reflection showed that Isgleas's identification with anarchism was not a foregone conclusion predetermined by her family, but something she negotiated through active effort to read, learn, and interpret anarchist ideas. Again, this revealed the importance of friendship with Montseny to Isgleas's growing sense of self as an anarchist woman; someone who agreed with much of what anarchists had to say but needed to work on her own self-confidence as a woman in a society that doubted female intelligence and devalued women's education, as examined in Chapter 1. To Montseny, Isgleas served as a diligent reader who demonstrated the impact of her literary activism on recruiting young women to anarchism.

It seems this friendship was influential on Isgleas's decision to pursue the same ideal as her father; her ongoing commitment to anarchist values are alluded to in the few biographical details we have of her. She obtained a civil marriage (rather than church marriage) in 1938, which aligned

[55] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter fom Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 27/4/1933.
[56] Barclay, 'State of the Field', pp. 463-464; Rosón and Medina Domenech, 'Resistencias emocionales'; Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 55. On anger and fear/panic in response to anarchism: Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política,* p. 11.
[57] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter from Teresa Isgleas to Federica Montseny, 1/2/1933.
[58] Ibid.

with her critique of Catholic morality in that anecdote written to Montseny five years previously.[59] Furthermore, a refugee document from 1940 noted her profession as 'teacher', which suggests she may have indeed been inspired by that article she read in 1933 to follow in the footsteps of other anarchist women teachers in her circle such as Federica Montseny's mother or Antonia Maymón.[60]

In this paradigmatic case study, as well as in the examples outlined at the outset of this section, friendships were important in persuading women to buy into the promise of anarchist comradeship even despite long-held issues of sexism that continued to plague anarchist political culture. Once women joined the movement they would need to be convinced to stay involved in it, and be supported through the gendered precarity that they would continually encounter in the comradeship extended to them by men.

Chosen families and sustaining anarchist activism

It has been demonstrated in recent sociological research, such as Chiara Milan's 2023 study into refugee solidarity activism, that 'emotional bonds, enduring friendship, and personal ties [are] determining factors in keeping people involved in action, counterbalancing the strength of potentially demobilizing emotions such as rage, anger and powerlessness'.[61] Milan found that 'long-term affective bonds […] connect people and prove important for keeping them involved in action', constituting 'determining factors for individuals remaining active'.[62] The following sub-section will unravel further scenarios where friendships became important to the retention of anarchists within the movement. It will continue to centre the fact that group cultures can '[allow]

[59] ANC, 288-Francesc Isgleas i Piernau-Flora Isgleas i Alsina-Enric Adroher i Pascual (Gironella), Caixa 1, 01.01.06, fol.03, Certificación en Extracto de Inscripción de Matrimonio (Ministerio de Justicia, Registros Civiles), serie AF No.854542 [not the actual marriage certificate, but a later extract of it from 2 May 1984].
[60] ANC, 288-Francesc Isgleas i Piernau-Flora Isgleas i Alsina-Enric Adroher i Pascual (Gironella), Caixa 1, 01.01, fol.08, SERE (Servicio de Evacuación de Refugiados Españoles) Hoja de Afiliación, 3 June 1940.
[61] Milan, 'Emotions in Action', p. 827.
[62] This includes both bonds with refugees themselves, and bonds with other activists: Ibid., pp. 814-815.

people to form 'refuges' of feeling within systems where they were excluded'.[63] Anarchist social spaces provided a site for the construction of chosen families, for those whose own families were far away or whose families were unsympathetic to their activism. The relative emotional value of these chosen families motivated women to persevere in the mixed-gender anarchist movement—even if elsewhere they participated in sororal groups too—although their experiences of comradeship with men were persistently felt to be conditional and precarious.

Reflecting the first scenario above, of 'chosen family' being emotionally valued by anarchists whose families lived far away, the aforementioned Enric Casañas noted in his oral history interview that in the anarchist *ateneo* in Santa Coloma de Gramanet, all the public lectures and theatre shows were in Castillian Spanish rather than the local Catalan because so many of the working class in the town were migrants.[64] We can infer from this that the *ateneo* served as an important site for the construction of chosen family for people uprooted due to socioeconomic precarity that had pushed them to relocate far from home. Indeed, historian Chris Ealham has pointed to the particular appeal of anarchist union buildings (and by extension, presumably, affiliated *ateneos*) to unskilled migrant workers who arrived in Barcelona and sought practical help to find work and a home as well as a feeling of community.[65]

Representing a broader historical pattern, friendship networks have typically been emotionally and materially important to migrants, who may rely on these when resettling in an unfamiliar place, having been dissociated—sometimes forcibly severed—from their existing family and friendship

[63] Barclay, 'State of the Field', pp. 463-464. The term 'emotional refuge' is used too by Mercedes Arbaiza, following Rosenwein's aforementioned theory of 'emotional communities': Arbaiza Vilallonga, 'Cuerpo, emoción y política', p. 59.
[64] Entrevista a Enric Casañas. In 1930, 37.4% of people residing in the city of Barcelona had been born outside Catalonia, and the population of Santa Coloma de Gramanet in particular multiplied by seven between 1910 and 1930: Albert Balcells, 'La immigració i la política catalana durant la segona república', *Cercles*, 18 (2015), pp. 21-41 (pp. 22, 28), doi:unavailable.
[65] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* p. 43.

networks.[66] Pamela Radcliff refers to migration contained within a single region as a cause for 'demographic intimacy', in that migrants broadly share the same cultural identity; we might thereby understand migration between regions or nations as an affective dislocation from demographic intimacy.[67] Alternative forms of intimacy might be constructed to affectively compensate.

We should also examine Casañas's comment that the migrants he referred to were 'Murcians', from the south of Spain.[68] This generalisation hinted at a stereotype emboldened by Catalan writers in this period—including some eugenicists concerned with the defence of the so-called 'Catalan race'—that immigrants to their region were predisposed to anarchism due to being intellectually backward and uncivilised, unlike the respectable Catalan working class.[69] Casañas's narrative indicated that such views were so entrenched as to be internalised by some working-class anarchists born in Catalonia. Certainly, historians more recently, like Ealham and Rider, have shown that for the most part immigrant anarchists in Barcelona were radicalised after arrival, not least by the appalling conditions in which they found themselves living, not having necessarily brought anarchist tendencies into the city from the rural South.[70]

The intersection between Romani ethnic identity and anarchist political identity is relevant here too, given how both were stereotypically associated with migration and with living outside or against the state. To understand how this may have pertained to praxes of chosen family among anarchists, we might turn to the testimony of an anarchist woman from a Romani family: Casilda

[66] See: Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life*, pp. 133-134.
[67] She identifies this demographic intimacy in the city of Gijón (in Asturias): Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* pp. 74, 77.
[68] Because of this pejorative descriptor, one area of Barcelona was nicknamed 'Little Murcia': Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life*, p. 184. On the links to Catalan eugenics here, see: Cleminson, 'The Catalan Eugenics Society'. See also: Chapter 1.
[69] Entrevista a Enric Casañas per Eulàlia Vega; Balcells, 'La inmigració i la política catalán', pp. 35-36; Smith, *Red Barcelona,* p. 6. Since WWI, revolutionary violence against landowners had been especially heated in the rural south, while major industrial strikes and targeted violence between employers (via hired gunmen) and anarchist militants had been especially heated in Barcelona: Romero Salvadó, *Twentieth Century Spain,* pp .44-46.
[70] On housing crises, the growth of shanty towns, and rent strikes, see: Nick Rider, 'The new city and the anarchist movement in the early 1930s', in *Red Barcelona,* pp. 66-87; on rampant joblessness and precarious unskilled employment see: Chris Ealham, 'The crisis of organized labour: the battle for hegemony in the Barcelona workers' movement, 1930-6', in *Red Barcelona,* pp. 88-107 (especially p. 95).

Hernáez. Her mother had been raised by a Romani single mother, and Casilda recalled thus growing up with an innate sense of trust in strangers who were living itinerantly, such as draft-dodging runaways passing through the border town where she lived.[71] That same instinctive feeling towards certain people was likewise what she believed to be her motivation for falling in with anarchist peers (over communists, socialists, or others); in her own self-narrative she emphasises the sentimental, affective reasons for her political actions.[72] Historians María Sierra and Juan Pro point similarly to the 'elective family' (their term) that Mariano Vázquez, born into a Romani family, found among anarchist men while in prison, later motivating his entry into the movement.[73] Such acceptance was not guaranteed though, even among anti-authoritarians; renowned anarchist militant Juan García Oliver denigrated the memory of Vázquez in his memoir, superficially due to Vázquez's collaborationism during the Civil War but more profoundly because of his personal prejudice: 'there was something unmistakenly Gypsy about him'.[74]

This association—in Catalonia especially—between anarchism, Roma, and southern Spanish 'backwardness' had particular implications for anarchist women. As has been traced by David Berná, by the turn of the twentieth century Western culture depicted the Spanish *gitana* as 'amoral, sexualised and passionate', with the southern Spanish *gitana* being especially orientalised and exoticised.[75] Demonisation of anarchists, too, as has already been noted, focused on their sexual libertarianism, their apparent emotional dysregulation, and their defiance of bourgeois morality. We might infer, then, that pejorative discursive constructions of Spanish anarchists were gendered, in that they insinuated that anarchists embodied not only the broad anti-authoritarian and subaltern

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[71] Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Casilda Miliciana,* pp. 14, 21.
[72] Ibid., p. 20.
[73] María Sierra and Juan Pro, 'Gypsy Anarchism: Navigating Ethnic and Political Identities', *European History Quarterly*, 52.4 (2022), pp. 593-612 (p. 598), doi:10.1177/02656914221097011.
[74] For instance, he wrote that as a Catalan anarchist he found Vázquez's lack of family suspicious. Juan García Oliver, *El eco de los pasos* (Ruedo Ibérico, 1978), pp. 524, 469, cited in Sierra and Pro, 'Gypsy Anarchism', p. 602.
[75] David Berná Serna, 'Públicas, Brujas y Sumisas. La mujer gitana en los discursos de alterización identitaria europea hasta mediados del siglo XX', *Historia Social*, 93 (2019), pp. 33-50 (p. 47), doi:unavailable.

positionality of *lo gitano* but more precisely the orientalised feminine traits of the *gitana*. In reality, just as some anarchist individuals derided Romani identity, the political beliefs (or apathies) held by Roma were far more heterogenous than such stereotyping suggested.[76]

The paradigm of chosen family, with its sprawling webs of fraternal and intergenerational bonds, made space for this heterogeneity while still promising a reliable emotional refuge for those who felt maligned by popular disapproval, demonisation, and outright repression influenced by the hegemonic emotional regime.[77] Such a framing offers a new way of interpreting the emotional importance of facilitating 'collective joy' in anarchist gatherings, a phenomenon observed by Andrews in the Argentinian context, as well as noting the pertinence of gender to it.[78]

The emotional importance of the anarchist *ateneos* heightened considerably during the Civil War as they took on new cultural roles, coinciding with waves of mass internal migration as parts of the country fell in and out of fascist hands. The emotionality of these spaces is something we can glean by reading against the grain of the documentary evidence about the Vallecas (Madrid) *ateneos* published recently by local historian Francisco Jiménez Herrera.[79] The Puente de Vallecas *ateneo* moved into a requisitioned convent in order to obtain more space; whether the church triggered feelings of faith or resentment in an individual, it was certainly an affectively-charged space to attend.[80] In this new building the *ateneo* continued its educational and cultural activities while also shouldering new roles on behalf of the neighbourhood. It opened a cooperative where locals could obtain everyday goods, as well as a socialised canteen where they had the option of eating communally. It became the place where people brought clothes to be donated to the Front or

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[76] Rafael Buhigas*, Una reflexión sobre el anarquismo gitano* (Calumnia Edicions, 2023).
[77] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 19.
[78] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* pp. 235-240. He specifically noted that more evidence needs to be uncovered in regard to women's experiences of these phenomena: p. 255.
[79] Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos,* pp. 42, 44-45, 46.
[80] On perpetrators of anticlerical violence who did so out of devoted belief in God and discontent with the immoral actions of the clergy, see: María Thomas, 'Sacred Destruction? Anticlericalism, Iconoclasm and the Sacralization of Politics in Twentieth Century Spain', *European History Quarterly*, 47.3 (2017), pp. 490-508 (p. 498), doi:10.1177/0265691417701814; alternatively see the testimony of Casilda Hernáez Vargas who, being from an anti-religious family, found the constant praying at her Catholic school to be 'traumatic': Jimenez de Aberasturi, *Casilda Miliciana*, pp. 17-19.

to the destitute, and the place where empty properties were allocated to families left homeless by bombing raids. Most striking of all, it became the place where the corpses of *ateneo* members were brought if they died on nearby Fronts.

The *ateneo*, then, was providing support services to people who faced desperation to survive, who felt anxious about the welfare of militiamen and women on the front lines, and who were grieving the deaths of loved ones. Concurrently, there is evidence that at least one of the *ateneos* in Vallecas was used as a holding place for individuals taken prisoner by the anarchist 'Defence Commitees' in the name of social justice; these were therefore also spaces where weapons may have been drawn and physical violence perpetrated. Meanwhile, contrastingly, the Puente de Vallecas *ateneo* hosted the 'free unions' (secular, civil marriages) of anarchist couples, signed off by a member of the *ateneo* committee.[81] All of these were new uses for *ateneos* introduced in the wartime context; beyond cultivating mobilising emotions, the war altered the ways in which they provided 'refuges' to anarchists from emotional circumstances they faced in their lives—anxieties rooted in poverty, fear of violence, mourning for deaths on an unprecedented scale, romantic love forged in intense circumstances, or righteous determination to rid the locality of perceived hidden enemies.[82]

Spending increasing time with anarchist friends could also help one handle growing up in an anarchist family, where one might be taught feeling rules that demanded rejection of mainstream social rituals that ordinarily evoked collective joy.[83] María Bruguera raised this in an oral history interview: as a child from an anarchist family in a small rural town (Jerez de los Caballeros), she grew up feeling sad to be prevented from taking part in all the annual Catholic festivals that other children her age enjoyed.[84] When the FIJL was formed, she joined.[85] It offered an alternative space

[81] See Chapter 7 for more on this.
[82] Milan, 'Emotions in Action', pp. 817-818; Rosenwein, Emotional Communities, p. 19.
[83] Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364.
[84] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000962, CD, María Bruguera.
[85] Ibid.

where new rituals, about joy and community as much as honouring an ideal, could be built together. Historian Nathaniel Andrews has brought to light additional examples of anarchist festivals, banquets, commemorations, and soirées that were organised to replace events in the Catholic ritual calendar.[86] Following Jacobsson and Lindblom, in these spaces one's sense of social disappointment could be transformed into a sense of self-sacrificial moral superiority.[87] In combination with reading groups and the sharing of periodicals, which justified the movement's hostility towards the Church as an institution, these events could reshape participants' affective attachments in favour of persevering with anarchism.

Similar stories of anarchist spaces providing a feeling of belonging have been recounted by anarchists who moved to Spain from abroad, with the FIJL holding particular importance for young migrants both in cities and in rural Spain. Maruja Lara moved back to Granada in Spain as a teenager, having migrated away to Brazil and then Argentina with her family as a small child.[88] She had been educated in a secular school in Argentina, but Granada was very Catholic and reactionary.[89] In this context, she opted to socialise by attending public lectures and excursions with the FIJL.[90] Living such an itinerant childhood must have made it difficult to maintain friendships; the FIJL thus offered a chosen family where she could settle anew. Most importantly, it allowed her to grow up without pressure to conform to Catholic femininity, embodying instead a sense of identity as an anarchist woman.

Chosen family was furthermore important to anarchists who led itinerant lives as fugitives and those who travelled covertly to disseminate print or deliver conference tours. The notion of 'home' was especially important in these cases. It was an important site of Rosa Medina Domenech's

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[86] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* pp. 169-173.
[87] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 119-120.
[88] CDMH, FSS, Caja 36, SI,000913, DVD, Isabel Mesa & Maruja Lara.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

aforementioned 'silent emotional resistances' against hegemonic power forces.[91] In revolutionary hubs around the world, Brussels and Barcelona being two key examples in the transnational European context, there were households known to be welcoming hosts to itinerant anarchist fugitives. If the same travellers stopped by on multiple occasions, friendships grew between host and hosted. In Brussels, French anarchist Émilienne Morin lived with Spanish anarchist Buenaventura Durruti, as fugitives from the French and Spanish authorities. There they hosted other Spanish anarchists, including Francisco Ascaso—who was in a number of violent affinity groups (clandestine direct-action collectives) with Durruti over the years—and his partner Berthe Fabert, as well as socialising with Spanish anarchist fugitives Lola Iturbe and her partner Juanel and others from elsewhere in Europe.[92] In 1931 they moved to the newly democratic Spain.

Upon their return, Durruti and Ascaso, and presumably their partners too, stayed at the Montsenys' home in Barcelona.[93] Moreover, German anarchist Max Nettlau visited the Montsenys every spring since 1928.[94] The Montseny home additionally hosted anarchists Paul Reclus from France, Domingo Germinal from Cuba, Emma Goldman from the USA, Helmut Rüdiger and Augustín Souchy from Germany, and Camilo Berneri and Gigi Damiani from Italy.[95] Favours were returned, too; when Federica travelled to Seville and Granada on a propaganda tour, long-time family friend Francisco Crespo hosted her.[96] Such enduring friendships were forged not only in these transient domestic residencies but in other traumatic experiences of cohabitation such as imprisonment together after being arrested for political actions.[97]

Women's networks were just as essential as those of men when it came to identifying safe

[91] Rosón and Medina Domenech, 'Resistencias emocionales', pp. 421-422.
[92] Fontanillas Borrás and Torres Planells, *Lola Iturbe Arizcuren,* pp. 103-104.
[93] Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 61.
[94] Ibid., pp. 45, 81.
[95.] Ibid., pp. 83-84.
[96] Ibid., p. 71.
[97] Such as the close friendships between the Montseny, Claramunt and Saperas families since the 1890s, forged when members of all three were imprisoned during what was known as 'the Montjuïc trials': Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, p. 34.

places to reside away from the authorities' eye. When Federica Montseny travelled to Paris in 1933, she stayed with a friend of Juan García Oliver's partner Angelita Arellano.[98] During the 1934 Zaragoza insurrection, women not only went on strike and distributed weapons to the barricades but also organised the temporary evacuation of striking couples' children to Barcelona where they would be safer and better fed; Lola Iturbe took in one such evacuee.[99] Moreover, as noted in Chapter 2, the socially reproductive labour of hosting so many guests, often for long stretches and in traumatic life-or-death circumstances, fell predominantly on the woman of the house.[100]

Praxes of 'mutual aid' attributed political value to feelings of compassion and sympathy.[101] This was evident, for instance, in actions taken to support political prisoners. In Asturias, when a trainload of prisoners were transferred in early 1936, a crowd comprising mostly women flooded the streets in defiance and sang 'The Internationale'.[102] Similarly, when miners' anarchist militancy in Fígols (Catalonia) in 1932 inspired militancy in nearby areas, so many activists were arrested that the prisons overfilled which led the authorities to convert a ship into a detention centre, where anarchist women, including but not exclusively the loved ones of those imprisoned, hired boats to take food regularly to the prisoners and shout up to them to converse for their morale.[103] Anarchist women also appealed to each other for help when their partners were imprisoned. Antonia García Oliver wrote to Federica Montseny in January 1933 because her brother, Juan, had been arrested and she had written to Juan's partner but not received any reply.[104] She asked Montseny to try and find out if Juan was hurt; she hoped Montseny might be in a position to help her family.[105]

Lola Iturbe, in her semi-autobiographical book about Spain's anarchist women, recalled

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98. Montseny, *cuarenta años*, pp. 72-73.
99. Fontanillas Borrás and Torres Planells, *Lola Iturbe Arizcuren*, p. 47.
100 This was also the case in the French Revolution, as described in: Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 7.
101 On humanitarian compassion, see: Martín Moruno, 'Feeling humanitarianism'.
102 Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 300.
103. Montseny, *cuarenta años*, pp. 64-65. After much controversy, the ship later set sail and deported the prisoners: Casanova, *Spanish Republic and Civil War*, pp. 57-59. See also the story of Julia Hermosilla, who took food to anarchist men hiding out in caves: Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* p. 90.
104. CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 831, 2, Letter Antonia García Oliver to Federica Montseny, 11/1/1933.
105. Ibid.

another Lola in Barcelona who, during the 1920s dictatorship in which anarchism went clandestine, would run around Barcelona delivering aid money to prisoners and their families door to door.[106] Indeed, throughout the early twentieth century there was a whole network of women whose partners were CNT militants in and out of prison and exile, who were themselves less directly involved in violence yet indispensable to its ability to continue during periods of state repression.[107] As examined in Chapter 2, all of this was socially reproductive activism work, in that it made possible the continuation of productive direct action work by other anarchist men and women. It encapsulated ideal anarchist womanhood; it was care-led work that drew on, and reinforced, anarchism's politicisation of humanitarian emotions, which were well-suited to the archetypal maternal woman's skillset and interests. As Dolores Martín Moruno states, female compassion was not only a feeling, but a practice imbued with certain agency in relation to particular aims.[108] Itinerant friendships were thus not only forged between militants promoting their works or fleeing the law (almost always men) but their partners, daughters, or other family members, too.

Regarding the second aforementioned paradigm for the forging of chosen families, there are myriad testimonies which point to anarchists feeling rejected by loved ones outside the movement due to their incongruous beliefs. Jacobsson and Lindblom attest that 'activists may feel estranged as they find that they live in a different moral universe from that of mainstream people.'[109] Indeed, Spanish anarchist Amparo Poch y Gascón was estranged from her family and others in the Zaragoza community where she grew up because as an advocate for reproductive freedom they perceived her as a sinful abortionist.[110] Concha Liaño, aged twenty, moved in with her anarchist friend Soledad

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[106.] Lola Iturbe, *La mujer en la lucha social,* pp. 23-24.
[107.] Ibid., p. 198.
[108] Martín-Moruno, Edgar, and Leyder, 'Feminist perspectives on the history of humanitarian relief', pp. 6-8.
[109] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, p. 60.
[110] Rodrigo, *Una Mujer Libre,* pp. 46-47.

Estorach because her mother disapproved of her militancy.[111] Estrangement pushed one to seek closer connections with likeminded peers, thereby deepening anarchist friendships.

This was also an important component in processes of radicalisation, whereby some anarchists became embroiled in ever more extreme forms of activism (such as violence against political targets). Ricardo Sanz described in his memoir feeling social pressure to spend the little free time he had going to dances with male friends, considered in mainstream society to be an important part of enjoying one's youth.[112] Though typical for normative masculine sociability, such activities were frowned upon in anarchist discourse because they plied youths with alcohol and encouraged impulsive romantic flings—both major social woes.[113] On giving up this social life, Sanz made new friends with whom he went on to form a FAI affinity group to practise anarchist direct action; arguably, an alternative form of masculine expression to the one he left behind (even though women joined such groups too).[114] Both Poch y Gascón and Sanz had been isolated from normative society due to their moral values and gendered expressions of these.

Sanz's experience warrants, too, further examination of the role of friendship in anarchist revolutionary strategy. Friendship was the very operational mode of the FAI, founded in 1927: ephemeral affinity groups comprising a few people who were already intimate enough to trust one another.[115] They had to conspire to uphold a pretence that obscured their clandestine plans, which could include publishing and disseminating press, putting on lectures, organising excursions, maintaining a school, prisoner solidarity, or enacting violent direct action.[116] We might also consider how the inaugural FAI meeting came about. Although stories vary, according to recent historiography it took place in the home of an anarchist woman, Aurora López García, in Valencia. She hosted the delegates and cooked them a paella to make the occasion appear—to any police

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[111] Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, p. 181.
[112] Sanz, *El sindicalismo español,* p. 116. See also: Ealham, *Living Anarchism*, p. 32.
[113] Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución*, pp. 152-153.
[114] On women in the FAI, see for instance: Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado*, pp. 191-193.
[115] For a similar example, see: Lewis, 'Intimate Politics of International Socialism', p. 246.
[116] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* pp. 29-30.

informants—like an innocent celebration of the local July festival.[117] López stood out as a renowned anarchist orator in her own right, who also hosted Durruti in her home on another occasion and was close friends with anarchist teacher Antonia Maymón.[118] The circumstances of the FAI's very existence rested on this woman's use of feminine-coded domestic space where friends might typically socialise to facilitate clandestine political actions.

As discussed in Chapter 4, trust was essential to anarchist friendships where intimate knowledge was shared; Sanz recalled that his own affinity group purged itself on these lines.[119] Historian Murray Bookchin attributes the very endurance of the FAI to the friendships between its members; 'the intimacy shared by the faístas in each group made the movement very difficult for police agents to infiltrate'.[120] We might add political sociologist Eduardo Romanos's finding that by this same strategy of forming affinity groups between friends, the anarchist movement was able to revive itself in the 1960s after a twenty-year decline in exile.[121] Friendship, then, was embedded in anarchist revolutionary strategy. It was consequently significant that in 1937 the FAI National Congress proclaimed that 'affinity groups' were now annulled and all the organisation's activities from now on would be mediated through various tiers of local, provincial and regional groups.[122] This shift was arguably a symptom of an institutionalisation of the FAI as its influence waned, noted by activist and writer Stuart Christie, but there were still fail-safes in which legacies of the friendship model persevered, such as that new recruits had to be endorsed by existing members.[123]

Although the FAI did involve some women (as noted in Chapter 3), its emotional communities

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117. This is according to unpublished research by Vicent Ramada Balaguer: Francesc J. Hernàndez, 'Aurora López, l'anarquista discreta', *Levante*, 29 January 2017, <https://www.uv.es/fjhernan/breviculum/Aurora.pdf>, [accessed 1 October 2024]. It is mentioned in Stuart Christie's recent history of the FAI: Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!,* Chapter IV.
118. Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!*, Chapter IV.
119 Sanz, *El sindicalismo español,* p. 150.
120 Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p. xxviii.
121 Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism', p. 558.
122 IISH, CNT Papers, 52B.14, *Dictamen of the National Congress of the FAI in Valencia*, 4-7 July 1937.
123 It has been shown that *ateneos* in Madrid introduced this same requirement for endorsement prior to membership, during the Civil War: Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios*, p. 33. Christie, *¡Nosotros, los anarquistas!,* Introduction.

were founded on intimate masculine fraternity not unlike that among soldiers at war. Two further forms of anarchist organisation with similar gender dynamics were the aforementioned 'action groups' during the *pistolerismo* period (1917-1923), and the CNT 'defence committees' established to challenge state repression during the *bienio negro* (1934-1935), both of which comprised very small, clandestine groups of close confidantes.[124] Intense emotional struggles among those embroiled in military violence foment intimate friendships where mutual comfort might be found, and from those roots immense lifelong affection and commitment and sometimes even homoerotic desire can arise.[125] Although the FAI and the other groups mentioned were emphatically not military organisations, they replicated much of the emotional intensity through proximity to violence that military fraternity did. Therefore, we might derive that the men and women embroiled in FAI activities experienced especially emotionally intense friendships, and that the maintenance of those over time could become instrumental to the persistence of anarchist direct action.

It was not only the male-dominated FAI which formed groups based on existing friendships. Affinity groups had been used by people of all genders in Spain as a mode of resistance ever since the 1870s, including groups of housewives and cultural circles for reading the anarchist press.[126] Furthermore, the *Grupo Cultural Femenino*, the anarchist women's group in 1930s Barcelona which would later merge with *Mujeres Libres*, was similarly founded by a group of women who were already friends. Friends Apolonia de Castro, María Cerdán, and Soledad Estorach would meet at the union building where Apolonia and her partner worked as janitors, or at the home of Apolonia's sister Felisa and her partner, next door to Concha Liaño who was also a founder of the

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[124] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* pp. 16-18, 31. The so-called *pistolerismo* period was characterised by political violence and reprisals between employer-sponsored gunmen and anarchist militants. During what leftists term the *bienio negro* ('black biennium'), a right-wing coalition held the balance of power in Spain.
[125] See: Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), p. 12, and also Henry Brown, '"¡Vivan las tribus!": persecution, resistance and anarchist agency in the Popular Army during the Spanish Civil War (1936-9)', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American History*, 29.3 (2023), pp. 357-379, doi:10.1080/14701847.2023.2282836, although Brown's study is not centred specifically on friendship as a category of analysis like Martin's is.
[126] Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia,* p. 207. It has been argued that this form of organisation came to a standstill in the 1890s due to state terror, then revived later: Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 35.

group.[127] Their group expanded with the addition of Nicolasa Gutiérrez, Maruja Boadas, Elodia Pau, and others, and then later the group expanded again to include already well-known anarchists Aurea Cuadrado, Pilar Granjel and Libertad Ródenas.[128] Right from the moment the first shots were fired on 19th July 1936, Soledad Estorach, Apolonia de Castro, Felisa de Castro, and others from their *Grupo Cultural Femenino* were involved in building and defending the barricades through which the CNT-FAI, with the JJLL, took control of the strategic Casa Cambó in Barcelona.[129]

Close friendships feature heavily in anarchist women's accounts of experiences of living through the Spanish Civil War, where they maintained their commitment to activism work despite enormous obstacles. Jacobsson and Lindblom have highlighted that 'social movement activism is often taxing on the individual activists who must cope with the emotional costs that their activism involves.'[130] As well as the traumatic experiences of imprisonment, and desperate flight from it, that many anarchists faced in the preceding decades, the quotidian violence of the Civil War introduced additional 'emotional costs' that many anarchists in Spain had to 'cope' with. While the war certainly placed immense emotional pressure on all Spaniards, it is undeniable that known anarchists—as visceral political opponents not only of the rebels but also of many on the Republican side—were in particularly ever-present danger of injury or death.

Intimate lifelong friendships forged in wartime feature strongly in artifacts of memory like memoirs and oral testimonies. To give one example, Concha Liaño spoke very fondly of her 'comrade in arms' Soledad Estorach in an oral-history interview in 2007.[131] Working in the *Mujeres Libres* offices, Liaño was responsible for writing to local suburbs and towns to propagandise about *Mujeres Libres*.[132] Estorach, meanwhile, was in charge of raising funds to expand the organisation's

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[127] Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* p. 215; Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 124-125.
[128] Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* pp. 215-216.
[129.] Ibid.*,* p. 219. In fact, it was Concha Liaño who first gained entry to the building: Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 133-136.
[130] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism,* p. 55.
[131] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000978, CD, Concha Liaño (2007).
[132] Ibid.

work.[133] Liaño described how she and Soledad were brought together by their stoicism during bombing raids, steadfastly remaining at their desks while others in the *Mujeres Libres* office fled to shelters.[134] They clearly served an immense purpose to one another's emotional reckonings with the horrors of war. They were invested so much in their friendship that Liaño risked her life for Estorach. As the fascist rebels closed in on Barcelona, Liaño gathered her family, as well as Estorach's sister, and crossed the French border.[135] As known anarchists, it was not safe for them to remain in Barcelona. Yet when she realised Estorach had not yet left the city, and had instead gone to the Front to find her partner, Liaño left the others in France and returned to war-torn Spain determined to find her.[136] Faced with such intense odds, not only as survivors of war but as political targets forced to flee the incoming regime, their friendship was so intimate that Liaño was willing to sacrifice herself for Estorach.

The ludic everyday function of friendships in one's neighbourhood was crucial, too, especially when facing hardship. One of Mercedes Vilanova's oral history interviewees recalled that when the Civil War began, when she was 15, life in her neighbourhood was bearable because she had friends with whom she would play in the street, and if anyone's loved one was killed the neighbourhood would gather supportively at their family's side.[137] This could be all the more critical for anarchists, and especially for the emotional wellbeing of anarchist children. As Valeria Giacomoni—biographer of anarchist pedagogue Joan Puig Elías—has noted, children attending anarchist-affiliated schools tended to be the children of anarchists which meant that they felt very deeply affected by periods of oppression when their classmates' parents were facing imprisonment.[138] Such social experiences would have been profoundly impactful on children's

[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, p. 460.
[138] Giacomoni, *Joan Puig Elías*, p. 56. See also the testimonies of: CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000976, CD, Aurora Tejerina; Caja 38, SI,000978, CD, Carmen Bueno.

evolving political and social identities. Ritualisation, such as meeting regularly at the same place (like one's school), helps to build durable bonds with other believers in a particular cause or morality which helps one feel less alienated in spite of judgement faced from mainstream society.[139] Anarchist-affiliated schools, where it was expected that pupils' parents may face political persecution, would have been better equipped to handle that emotional stress and less likely to stigmatise the children for it because they upheld a shared subaltern emotional regime.[140] Moreover, a key principle of anarchist schools was the importance of fun; that children be given opportunities at school to play games with friends to feel moments of 'intense happiness' in everyday life.[141]

Close friendships, then, constituted a network of emotional refuges amounting to 'chosen families' among anarchists. As anarchism scholar Matt York wrote (drawing on Lori Gruen): 'through an entangled empathy we care about others because they are fundamentally part of our own agency.'[142] Just as Nathaniel Andrews has argued, the women who cared for the children of anarchists within anarchist schools constituted the heads of the 'great anarchist family' in which a collective sense of anarchist identity might be constructed.[143]

Navigating tensions between anarchist friends

Maintaining friendships with anarchists also placed serious emotional demands on a person: one had to continue abiding by the same values because love of the ideal was integral to love of one's anarchist friends; one had to follow through on promises of mutual aid because these could have significant impacts on the wider movement's success; and one had to make sure to never break

[139] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 69-71.
[140] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 55.
[141] Ferrer Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*.
[142] York, 'Revolutionary Love and Alter-globalisation', pp. 608-609.
[143] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* pp. 113-114, 135-136.

another's trust, even accidentally, because this could put one's friend in prison or worse.[144] Referring to tavern brawls provoked by political altercations (often between anarchists and socialists who were unwelcome in one another's local bars), Pamela Radcliff framed neighbourhood political violence as an expression of intimacy: 'a volatile intimacy that ran from rejection to solidarity, the flip side of the positive support that sustained community life'.[145] Comradeship, then, was a form of emotional intimacy that one must nurture in every small decision.

This could easily lead friends to positions where they had to navigate difficult emotional encounters with one another, not least because relationships could be multifaceted and therefore reshape themselves over time.[146] Anarchist friends faced an ever-present danger of being accused of corruption or egotistical stubbornness, prioritising one another over the 'people' overall.[147] This was particularly the case in decision-making, as gaining respect or notoriety in one's community, and maintaining a loyal presence in locales like *ateneos* or union buildings, was often the foremost way of being chosen as a delegate on committees.[148] This risked creating in-groups and out-groups, which would have opened an individual or a friend group to accusations of hypocrisy and betrayal of the ideal.[149] Sociologist James Jasper has observed that 'The same friendship […] that might draw individuals into a movement may also prevent them from broadening their loyalty to the entire group.' [150] When friendships broke down, other friendships could become even more important in compensating for those destabilising emotional experiences.

In the complicated history of relational tensions between Spanish anarchists, at one extreme

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[144] For an extreme example in fiction, see: Manolita Gutiérrez, *El Estigma*, La Novela Ideal, 306 (La Revista Blanca, 1932).
[145] Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* pp. 96-98. She adds that public altercations between women were common too, in social spaces such as markets that women tended to frequent: pp. 100-101.
[146] On recognising that friendships change over time, 'holding variable affective weight and meaning', see: Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press, 2014), p. 16.
[147] Horowitz, *Friendship and Politics,* p. 5.
[148] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City,* pp. 177-178.
[149] Eduardo Romanos demonstrated this in his study of Spanish anarchism-in-exile after the Civil War: Romanos, 'Emotions, Moral Batteries and High-Risk Activism', pp. 557.
[150] Jasper, 'Emotions and Social Movements', p. 291.

was Federico Urales (real name: Joan Montseny) who was notorious for his ability—and willingness—to make enemies. According to his daughter Federica, 'he was incapable of keeping quiet what he thought'.[151] The epitome of this was his column in *El Luchador* under the pseudonym Baturrillo (Little Stubborn Man), where he would air all his most provocative opinions.[152] Federica apparently learned from her father's example; in the prologue to the 1930 reprint of her novella *La Victoria* she wrote 'Since I was very small [...] I learned very early to judge my worth by the number and quality of my enemies'.[153] By putting her name out there as a writer, as her father did, she was able to cast her net wider to find 'valuable [...] international friendships' to compensate for all her enmities closer to home, outside her immediate family.[154]

At the other extreme, there were those like the most violent, macho *faístas* who competed to demonstrate the most profound personal ties with their comrades as well as the most intense and daredevil joint exploits.[155] Ideological quibbles would not have broken up these bonds forged in jointly perpetrated violence.[156] As Murray Bookchin describes it, 'Durruti's grief for the death of [fellow affinity group member] Francisco Ascaso revealed real love, not merely the friendship that stems from organisational collaboration'.[157] Most affective relationships between anarchists probably fitted somewhere between those two extremes. There were also those who had CNT membership and loosely identified as anarchists but were not very invested in the ideal.[158] Friendships between anarchists, then, varied in their degree of intimacy.

Friends who did collaborate in revolutionary activism work could find their friendships tested. One set of personal correspondence which reveals a moment of tension within an anarchist

[151] Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 60.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Montseny, *La Victoria*, p. 8.
[154] Ibid., p. 9.
[155] Bookchin, 'Introductory Essay', p. xxxvii.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Such as the mother of Carmen Roda, an anarchist who married a communist: IISH, Spanish Anarchists oral history collection, 173.10, Marina (daughter of Carmen Roda). See also: Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles*, p. 439.

friendship was that between *Mujeres Libres* co-founder Lucía Sánchez Saornil and Trinidad Urien who was based in San Sebastián. Lucía wrote to 'Trini' expressing 'affectionate memories', 'a hug from my sister', and 'a strong and fraternal hug from me'; evidently both the Sánchez Saornil sisters were close with her.[159] Upon being told by Lucía that she was finally getting her anarchist women's magazine *Mujeres Libres* up and running, Trini wrote to her with heartfelt congratulations.[160] She also expressed a little concern, though, that 'it seems you are afraid, of it failing'.[161] Lucía's original letter is not archived alongside, but it is evident she confided emotionally to Trini about this important moment in her experience of struggle as an anarchist woman.

When, therefore, only a couple of months later, Lucía learned that Trini had entrusted a packet of magazine copies to an allegedly reliable friend of hers who then failed to distribute them, Lucía was furious. She opened a letter to Trini with, 'It is indignation which is making me sit at the typewriter right now'.[162] She was angry at Trini, in particular, for having promised that he was a comrade, which implied that he would be dependable (embodying the anarchist ideal of friendship), when in actual fact he did nothing to aid the magazine's dissemination.[163] Lucía instructed Trini to take the packet from him and distribute the copies herself, giving them away for free to women who could not afford them if it came to that, and then report back.[164] Trini replied just two days later—revealing the urgency evoked by this anger from her friend—affirming that she would do just that.[165] This epistolic altercation demonstrated how what may have been a minor failure to fulfil a promise between friends could, when experienced by anarchist friends, escalate to a serious matter of undermining the movement and the ideal (here, not only anarchism, but the emancipation of women through anarchism too). Relying on one's friends was, in essence, the performance of

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[159] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol.143, Letter from Lucía to Trini, 14/6/1936.
[160] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol.144, Letter from Trini to Lucía Sanchez Saornil (n.d., likely April 1936).
[161] Ibid.
[162] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol.139, Letter from Lucía [presumably] to Trini Urien, 18/6/1936.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol.140, Letter from Trini to Lucía, 20/6/1936.

the anarchist principle of mutual aid; it was a test of praxis. Breakdowns in friendship could accordingly see one excluded from physical and figurative anarchist spaces of sociability where affective attachments to chosen family may have already been cultivated.[166]

To return to a theme from Chapter 4, probably the most difficult emotional experience of friendship that anarchist women faced, and the one which has drawn the most attention from feminist scholarship (albeit not through this analytical framework), was frustration when confronted by patriarchal and misogynistic attitudes from male anarchists. An article in *Mujeres Libres* summed up this experience. The writer described how difficult it was to grow up with parents who disapproved of her interest in libertarianism and tried to prohibit her from adopting a libertarian sexual morality instead of entering a marriage arranged for her.[167] She explained that to handle this barrier to their freedom women like her had to modify their behaviour in relation to their families, meanwhile becoming closer with anarchist-affiliated comrades where they might find solidarity.[168] This reflected the radicalising process of cultivating chosen families elaborated in the previous sub-section of this chapter. The writer concluded, however, that this did not securely resolve the issue because even anarchist men retained a 'hidden masculine vanity' which meant they too continued to hinder the liberation of the women in their own lives.[169]

This phenomenon was not unique to the anarchist movement in interwar Spain; it arose time and time again in workers' and social movements throughout the century and across various geographies.[170] Sociologist Rebecca Klatch has drawn attention to the destructive emotional impact

[166] See for instance the example of Diego Castello resigning from his membership of the Vallecas *ateneo* due to a fallout with friends there: Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos*, p. 33.
[167] Ilse, 'La doble lucha de la mujer', *Mujeres Libres,* 7, 1937, p. 7.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] On this phenomenon in Sweden see: Pálmadóttir, Johansson-Wilén and Schmitz, 'Collective identity, solidarity, and sisterhood', pp. 487-491. A similar phenomenon occurred among West German socialists in the 1960s and 70s: Eva Maleck-Lewy and Bernhard Maleck, 'The Women's Movement in East and West Germany,' in *1968: The World Transformed*, ed. by Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert and Detlef Junker (Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 373-396 (p. 380).

of this on movement cohesion.[171] Two factors make interwar Spanish anarchism a valuable case study to reinforce this wider picture: the relative prescience of their experience (this phenomenon is usually most associated with the global 1960s); and the emphasis on emotional, mental and sexual liberation and wellbeing that featured in interwar anarchist discourse more so than in other political cultures of its time. The remainder of this chapter will examine a single case study—the Clot neighbourhood in Barcelona in the 1920s and 1930s—to demonstrate the implications of this matter for the cultivation and breakdown of comradeship and the making of anarchist womanhood.

The Clot *ateneo* started life as a naturist group in the 1920s, only openly revealing its anarchist interests from the Second Republic onwards.[172] It was still operating into the Civil War, and was connected to all manner of anarchist projects—including ones run by women.[173] Indeed, Temma Kaplan has highlighted the Clot neighbourhood's long history of resistance by women workers.[174] The *ateneo* had an excursion group, called '*Sol y Vida*' ('Sun and Life'), which also published the *Ética* and *Iniciales* magazines. Adverts for the group's excursions appeared in anarchist newspapers.[175] As well as physical benefits to the body, these trips into nature also purported to develop social morality by bringing libertarian ideas to new people.[176] Some photographs, too, have reached the archive: photographs in *Iniciales* show that some in the *Sol y Vida* group were nudists, and unpublished photographs illustrate that dozens—on occasion hundreds—of individuals came together on *Sol y Vida* excursions to rural locations outside the urban metropolis of Barcelona from

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[171] She focused on the West German case: Rebecca E. Klatch, 'The Underside of Social Movements: The Effects of Destructive Affective Ties', *Qualitative Sociology*, 27.4 (2004), pp. 487-509 (p. 487), doi:10.1023/B:QUAS.0000049244.69218.9c.
[172] Giacomoni, *Joan Puig Elías,* pp. 65-66. A similar case was that of the libertarian *ateneo* in Vallecas (a working-class neighbourhood in Madrid), whose precursor first opened in the 1920s as an ambiguously named 'Ateneo of Social Outreach': Jiménez Herrera, *Los ateneos libertarios vallecanos*, p. 24.
[173] For instance, it hosted a fundraising afternoon of theatre, organised by three women, in 1937, and it collaborated with SIA in 1938 to host a fundraising festival organised by a group of women factory workers: *Gran Festival Benéfico* (Ateneo del Clot, 14 March 1937) (CDMH, PANFLETOS, 3097); CDMH, PS-MADRID, 1622, 4, fol. 1, Note written by the Organising Commission and stamped by the CNT Barcelona Metallurgy Union.
[174] Kaplan, 'Female Consciousness and Collective Action,' p. 555.
[175] For instance: *Solidaridad Obrera*, 20 April 1923, p.3.
[176] AEP, pamphlet: Juan Padreny, *Necesidad del Excursionismo* (Barcelona: Ateneo Libertario del Clot, Sección de Excursionismo "Sol y Vida", 1934).

swimming spots like beaches or rivers to mountains and forests.[177] The busiest gatherings arose when the Clot *ateneo* joined up with other *ateneos* in the area to give people young and old a chance to make new friends and facilitate wider strategic co-ordination.[178] It was therefore a melting pot for anarchists from different friendship groups.

Among its other functions, the *ateneo* was the meeting place of the Clot neighbourhood branch of the JJLL.[179] Its social spaces were attended by many of the women of the *Grupo Cultural Femenino* and later *Mujeres Libres*, as well as local Clot resident Federica Montseny and her family.[180] There was some tension between these groups.

On one hand, we have evidence of incidents of disrespect between members of the JJLL and *Mujeres Libres,* as well as discrimination against women at certain JJLL locales. At Sara Berenguer's local branch in Barcelona, ahead of certain JJLL meetings such as their Defence Committee only male members were told the details for attendance.[181] Berenguer, who is now known for her activism in *Mujeres Libres*, furthermore recalled in her memoir that she joined the organisation only when prominent members insisted that she stand as a delegate for the local branch, upon witnessing her vehemently defend a female speaker, Conchita Guillén, at a JJLL conference during which she was verbally derided by male attendees.[182] Guillén's presence as an orator was not far-fetched in Civil-War Spain either.[183] As a collective, the FIJL in 1937 did publish at least two circulars openly welcoming collaboration with *Mujeres Libres*, encouraging young

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[177] Such as *Iniciales*, 1933, 7; AEP, Ateneo del Clot photographs.
[178] Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta,* p. 269. On the activities of this *ateneo*, see also: Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 97-100.
[179] Anon., [Pamphlet] (JJLL in Clot, March 1937) (CDMH, PANFLETOS, 2210).
[180] Susanna Tavera, *Federica Montseny: La Indomable (1905-1994)* (Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2005), pp. 116-117; Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* p. 215. See also, photograph of Felisa de Castro, Apolonia de Castro, and Soledad Estorach, posing on a beach with Ateneo del Clot comrades, 1934, in IISH, Antònia Fontanillas Borràs Papers.
[181] Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* p. 101.
[182] Ibid., pp. 114-117.
[183] Besides nationally-known figures like Federica Montseny and the communist Dolores Ibarruri, anarchist women orators who spoke to mixed-gender audiences included Nita Nahuel, Concepción Liano, Rosa Baesa, Pilar Granjel, and Soledad Estorach who ran a radio campaign for *Mujeres Libres* and Sara Berenguer who gave speeches on behalf of SIA to soldiers and to audiences at fundraisers: Ibid., pp. 125-126, 207-208.

women to join it and including them in major ceremonial events.[184] Evidently, though, organisations' collective actions were not always mirrored by the behaviours of individual members, plus there may have been differences in the extent of misogynistic behaviour tolerated by the FAI-rooted Catalan JJLL compared to the CNT-rooted Iberian FIJL.

At the same time, there was some tension between *Mujeres Libres* and Federica Montseny. Montseny opposed any sort of institutionalised exclusion of men from women's lives, though supported in principle the creation of spaces for discussion that were not inclusive of men.[185] In fact in 1927 she wrote an article for *La Revista Blanca* in which she defended the idea that 'men have to remain at the margin of our discussions, when those exclusively concern the feminine problem. That is to say, when it is about determining the concerns, new modes, new forms of feminine moral and social existence.'[186] Her justification was that, if these conditions were not created, men would continue perpetrating a 'millenarian masculine intrusion in our mental privacy'—their points of view and interests would affect the direction of discussion at the expense of women's own autonomy to assert themselves.[187] Ultimately, though, *Mujeres Libres* tried over and over to persuade Montseny to contribute something to their magazine to little avail, because she had always been very vocal about her belief that formalised women's groups within the anarchist movement were divisive and unhelpful.[188]

In further pursuit of these points of tension, we might return to the home of Felisa de Castro and her partner, next door to the home of Concha Liaño, where the *Grupo Cultural Femenino* tended to gather in the Clot neighbourhood between 1934 and 1936. Another frequent caller to this

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[184] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 483, 11, fols. 2-3, FIJL circulars, Valencia, 9/11/1937, including Circular no. 9 of the Levant Regional Committee and Circular no. 19 of the FIJL National Committee.
[185] See Chapter 1.
[186] Federica Montseny, 'La mujer, problema del hombre', *La Revista Blanca,* 1 April 1927, pp. 656-659.
[187] Ibid.
[188] PS-MADRID, 432, 1, fol. 94, Letter from MMLL to Federica Montseny, 24/5/1936. It should be noted that Montseny eventually did give a talk at the *Mujeres Libres* locale, on the topic of 'Women in Peace and War': Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta,* p. 207. See also: Nash, *Defying Male Civilization,* p. 86.

sociable anarchist couple's house was Daniel Berbegal; it is possible all their paths crossed often.[189] What was significant about this social picture was the fact that in 1935 Berbegal gained notoriety for provoking a debate in the press about the involvement of women in the anarchist movement. In an article in the Barcelona-based periodical *Tierra y Libertad*, he wrote that women and men had the same minds and hearts, but men's comparative physical strength had motivated societies to become patriarchal, which in turn had led women to develop characteristics which made them inferior to men and therefore unfit to join the anarchist movement.[190] He described, seemingly based on his own experience, that the women involving themselves increasingly in anarchist spaces were not followers of the anarchist ideal but in fact nothing more than 'vulgar' women who had no interest in education and self-improvement but came fully made-up with an eye to flirting with the anarchist men.[191] The article painted these women as vapid and actively damaging to the movement, distracting good anarchist men from their revolutionary missions.[192] The men, apparently, were helpless and blameless victims in this scenario.

A response to Daniel appeared in *Tierra y Libertad* the following month, by the aforementioned San Sebastian-based friend of Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Trinidad Urien. In an article explicitly 'For comrade Berbegal', she explained that if women entered anarchist spaces only to be swept up as sexual conquests by the men there, then the blame for that lay with the men who had no interest in teaching the women, introducing them to anarchist ideas (beyond some warped narrative about 'free love'), or empowering to take on activism work.[193] These men would take the girls as girlfriends and then keep them at home in traditional roles, no more enlightened to anarchist ideas and moral principles than they were before.[194] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, in *Solidaridad Obrera* only

[189] Berenguer, *Entre el Sol y la Tormenta,* p. 215.
[190] Daniel Berbegal, 'La mujer en nuestros medios', *Tierra y Libertad*, 5 November 1935, p. 2.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Trinidad Urien, 'Con, de, en, por, si, sobre, tras, la mujer en el campo anarquista', *Tierra y Libertad*, 10 December 1935, p. 2.
[194] Ibid.

two months beforehand, had called out an anarchist man with whom she conversed at a conference; he had always been vocal about bringing women into the movement but when she asked him why his partner had not come along to the conference he had replied that she was busy at home taking care of his house and children.[195] Urien and Sánchez Saornil both argued, against the considerable opposition that they felt in everyday life, that it was those in positions of power—men—who had a duty to use their superior access to education to support the inclusion of women in the movement.

That Berbégal wrote that *Tierra y Libertad* article in 1935 prompts the question: how did he treat the women he encountered in sociable anarchist spaces like the home of Felisa de Castro? Perhaps he kept his thoughts to himself when face-to-face with anarchist women, such as those in the *Grupo Cultural Femenino*, or perhaps this article was a grasp for solidarity with other misogynistic anarchist men after being challenged by women like them. Perhaps this sociable home was largely segregated altogether, with women and men—friends of Felisa and her partner respectively—meeting there on separate occasions.

Certainly, the *Grupo Cultural Femenino* represented an emotional refuge for the construction of female friendships. It was underpinned by a 'reflective and processual' sense of anarchist sorority, in which women sought and found solidarity with other women not based on a pre-given common identity but a solidaristic recognition that they battled similar everyday gendered obstacles as anarchists.[196] Isabel González's enduring memory of *Mujeres Libres*, according to her oral testimony, was that it spurred women to be brave and not feel afraid during the Civil War.[197]

The Clot neighourhood, in which the *Grupo* largely operated, was home to individuals and friend groups who were heterogenous in their priorities and values. Not always living up to the

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[195] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 26 September 1935, p. 2.

[196] The thesis draws here on the definition of 'sisterhood' put forward in: Pálmadóttir, Johansson-Wilén and Schmitz, 'Collective identity, solidarity, and sisterhood', p. 483. See also: Marie Sandell, *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood Between the World Wars* (I. B. Tauris, 2015), p. 8.

[197] Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 198-199.

ideal of freely elective bonds between equals, friendships and the tensions between them were sites where anarchist comradeship was conditionally and therefore precariously constructed. Anarchists' most intimate 'chosen family' bonds served as emotional refuges for navigating that precarity.

This framing offers us a new account, grounded in the history of emotions, of the significance of the nationwide development between 1936 and 1939 of the *Mujeres Libres* organisation—beginning with a collaboration between a group of women in Madrid and the Clot-based *Grupo Cultural Femenino*. The Chapter thereby builds on Laura Vicente's characterisation of *Mujeres Libres* as 'networks of support, of experience, of emotions, of frustrations, of failures, of losses, of small moments of euphoria'.[198] It contextualises women's endurance in mixed-gender anarchist spaces in the face of sexism, where they contributed resiliently to the transformation of love.

[198] Vicente, *La revolución de las palabras,* pp. 245-247.

Part IV

Introduction

Part II has indicated that often couples contributed jointly to anarchist projects, and Part III has shown that affective bonds held together emotional refuges through which the movement persevered against internal division and outside hostility. Tying together these observations, it now remains to examine what anarchist couples meant, emotionally, to one another. Barclay and Holloway propose that historians should interrogate what 'love' signifies and has signified in the past, because it has not always been conceptualised in the same way.[1]

When historians discuss anarchist lovers, we usually turn our attention to discourses and praxes of *amor libre* ('free love'). In the 1920s and 1930s, free love represented many different behaviours with varying degrees of permissiveness, leading some anarchists—as Part IV illustrates—to repudiate the term while at the same time endorsing some praxes that others would have considered to come under its umbrella. At the same time, figures in other political movements employed 'free love' to describe a much less extensive reform of intimacy than that proposed by anarchism—some socialist sex-reformers used the term to denote only the separation of marriage and divorce from the state.[2] The *Dictamen* of the CNT's 1936 Zaragoza Congress 'proclaims free love', defining this as removing all regulation over loving relationships, offering children a collective safety net, and applying 'biological-eugenic principles' by teaching couples to 'produc[e] healthy and beautiful children'.[3]

Fundamentally, 'free love' came down to the anarchist principle that romantic and sexual intimacy—like all other parts of life—should be set free from oppressive forces. Chapter 6, inspired

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[1] Katie Barclay and Sally Holloway, 'Interrogating Romantic Love', *Cultural and Social History*, 17.3 (2020), pp. 271-277 (pp. 271-272), doi:10.1080/14780038.2019.1685839.
[2] Pattison, 'Eugenics and the modern woman on trial', p. 47.
[3] *Dictamen of the CNT National Congress in Zaragoza*.

by bell hooks' observation that 'all great movements for social justice in our society have strongly emphasized a love ethic', examines interwar Spanish anarchists' understandings of love, which synthesised Romanticism with rationalism and attributed love enormous revolutionary potential as a force for social harmony.[4] Drawing on Barclay and Holloway, Chapter 7 then explores 'how [love] felt; its association with gendered practices and power relationships; its relation to ideas of self, individuality and their collapse in 'the other'; and the role of love in the production of society.'[5]

Anarchism and sex in Spain have long attracted historians' attention, especially in regard to the movement's links to international (neo-)Malthusian, eugenic, sex-reform, and conscious maternity campaigns.[6] However, Spanish anarchists' notions and experiences of love constitute a newly emerging field of research. Alejandro Lora Medina, in an article which narrowed in on two anarchist magazines—*La Revista Blanca* and *Estudios*, pioneered the study of 'sentimental relationships' in Spanish anarchism, although his theoretical starting point lay not in the history of emotions but in the more established field of cultural history.[7] Part IV engages with the Emotional Turn and draws on a much wider variety of sources in order to explore not only the considerable breadth of transnational anarchist discourses surrounding romantic and sexual intimacy (Chapter 6) but also examples of anarchist lovers' lived experiences between 1923 and 1939 (Chapter 7).[8]

Lora Medina concluded that despite all their discussion of love and sexuality in print, anarchists in Spain continued to seek the same things as ever from their romantic and sexual partnerships.[9] Part IV challenges this narrative of continuity. Following patterns traced through Parts I, II and III already, the disconnect between the expectations evoked by anarchist ideals of love and couples'

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[4] hooks, *All About Love,* p. xix.
[5] Barclay and Holloway, 'Interrogating Romantic Love', p. 272.
[6] Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*; Masjuan, *La Ecología Humana;* Molero-Mesa, Jiménez-Lucena and Tabernero-Holgado, 'Neomalthusianismo y eugenesia'; Lora Medina, 'Sexualidad, desnudismo y moralidad'; Girón Sierra, 'Eugenesia y anarquismo'; Nash, 'Un/Contested Identities'.
[7] Lora Medina, 'El amor libre y las relaciones sentimentales', p. 583.
[8] Known also as the 'Affective Turn', this historiographical shift drew on the Cultural Turn's interest in the contingent construction of social relations (such as gender) and the Linguistic Turn's interest in the socio-cultural construction of meaning: Barrera and Sierra, 'Historia de las emociones', pp. 116-117.
[9] Lora Medina, 'El amor libre y las relaciones sentimentales', p. 613.

real lived experiences of romantic and sexual partnership cast a shadow over anarchists' interpersonal comradeship-building, because it complicated the construction of anarchist womanhood as a distinct identity from normative womanhood. For anarchist women, therefore, romantic and sexual relationships with other anarchists represented a challenging emotional rupture, not a comfortable site of emotional continuity.

Two themes dominated the role played by romantic and sexual love in the making of anarchist womanhood in this period. The first was that romantic and sexual intimacies spoke to the wider question in anarchist political culture of how self-determination should relate to collective accountability. Anarchist aspirations for the 'emancipation' of women rested on the concept of autonomy, but love required vulnerability. This was particularly relevant to women who loved or slept with men and thus needed their collaboration to make love 'free'; meanwhile the intersection of queer sexuality with anarchist womanhood presented other important questions of identity.

Relatedly, the second common theme was that, although men did collaborate to some extent in the re-shaping of romantic and sexual intimacy within anarchist political culture, it was ultimately women who carried out a disproportionately great share of the necessary social, mental and reproductive labour. This was partly because women had more to gain or lose in the transformation of sexual intimacy. But more significant was the fact that interwar anarchist discourse did not fundamentally re-conceive the influence of gender in love: echoing concepts introduced in Part II, it did not question many social divisions of labour, and it emotionally 'neutralised' eugenic reproductive worldviews which—across different ideological strands in interwar Spain (republicanism, socialism, anarchism, Catholicism)—used the idealisation of motherhood as a 'mobilising resource'.[10]

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[10] On emotional 'neutralisation' as activist strategy: Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism,* p. 116. On the centrality of motherhood in claims for women's rights across various ideologies: Blasco Herranz, 'Feminism and motherhood in the early twentieth century Spain', pp. 105-106.

Chapter 6: Love

A history of sex without intertwined analyses of the development of notions of love will always be incomplete.[1] A fundamental tenet of anarchism was the freedom to fall in love with anybody and the freedom to act on that love so long as it was reciprocated.[2] Anarchist political culture sought to cast off the influence of the state and Church over everyday life and this included re-shaping love in accordance with anarchist principles. Following Jean-Luis Guereña, Chapters 6 and 7 engage not only with the social history of anarchist sexuality but also its cultural history.[3]

The naming of emotions, as well as the practices surrounding their expression or suppression, their communication, and their affective contributions to interpersonal life, may feel natural but actually are culturally, socially and politically constructed and learned.[4] 'Love' may encompass social customs of falling in or out of love, ways in which love is performed in public, and how loving partnerships are situated in wider affective networks. As mentioned in Part III, Rosón and Medina Domenech have used the term 'emotional resistances' to denote the ways in which praxes surrounding the experience of emotion have been strategies for subaltern communities to resist hegemonic regimes.[5] The Spanish anarchist movement cultivated emotional communities apart from, yet also within, the hegemonic emotional regime of interwar Spain. Defining love and delineating appropriate praxes surrounding it, in turn shaped anarchists' embodied experiences of love which had the potential to constitute emotional resistances.[6]

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[1] Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy,* pp. 26, 34.
[2] This was stated, for example, by the French anarchist Jean Marestan in his: *El matrimonio, el amor libre y la libre maternidad* (La Protesta, n.d.), p. 28.
[3] Jean-Luis Guereña, 'La sexualidad en la España contemporánea (1800-1950). Introducción', *Hispania*, 64/3.218 (2004), pp. 869-896 (p. 833), doi:10.3989/hispania.2004.v64.i218.171.
[4] Barclay, 'State of the Field', p. 458.
[5] Rosón and Medina Domenech, 'Resistencias emocionales'.
[6] I draw here on Reddy's concept of 'emotives' (how the naming of emotions shapes the emotional experiences themselves): Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 105; and Sheer's concept of emotion-as-practice which explores how praxes surrounding emotion shape emotional experience: Monique Sheer, 'Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)?' *History and Theory*, 51.2 (2012), pp.193-220 (p.218), doi:10.1111/j.1468-2303.2012.00621.x.

Chapter 6 first sheds light on the synthesis of romanticism and rationalism in anarchist print culture's attempts to define ideal love, and then interrogates the gender dynamics of this. Methodologically speaking, sexual expertise—and by extension expertise about love—is an 'unruly' subject for the historian.[7] Low culture like the cheap short-stories in *La Novela Ideal*, public testimonies of 'ordinary' people such as those in advice columns, and couples' choice of wording of civil partnership certificates are all equally valuable sources as the many articles and essays by anarchists which drew on psychology and social theory to advance intellectual ideas about love.[8] Indeed, the early twentieth century was notable for its popularisation of discursive spaces like magazine advice columns where 'experiential forms of knowledge' were increasingly intertwining with intellectual-scientific knowledge about romantic and sexual intimacy.[9]

Romanticism and rationalism in the anarchist ideal of love

There was a complicated interrelationship between romanticism and rationalism in anarchist thought. On one hand, there was an enticing opportunity to idealise freedom in love and love in freedom: political cultures with roots in nineteenth-century liberalism, including anarchism, romanticised their struggles.[10] Before the nineteenth century, 'romantic' love had not yet been associated with intimate or sexual feelings towards a person; it had only signified forms of

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[7] Hannah Charnock, Sarah L. Jones and Ben Mechen, 'Sexpertise: Sexual Knowledge and the Public in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Social History of Medicine,* 36.4 (2024), pp. 585-591 (p. 591), doi:10.1093/shm/hkae014.
[8] Medina-Doménech, 'The Science of Love', p.178. Mónica García takes a very similar research approach in her study of sex under the later Franco regime: Mónica García Fernández, '"A Healthy Sex Life": Love, Marriage and Sexual Knowledge in Franco's Spain (1960–1975)', *Social History of Medicine*, 35.4 (2022), pp. 1334-1355, doi:10.1093/shm/hkab132.
[9] Tanya Evans, 'Knowledge and Experience: From 1750 to the 1960s', in *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body, 1500 to the Present,* ed. by Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher (Routledge, 2016), pp. 256-275 (pp. 262-263), doi:10.4324/9780203436868.
[10] Barclay and Holloway, 'Interrogating Romantic Love', p. 274. On Spain, see: Juan Pro Ruiz, 'Mujeres en un estado ideal: la utopía romántica del fourierismo y la historia de las emociones', *Rubrica Contemporánea*, 4.7 (2015), pp. 27-46, doi: unavailable.

expression specifically associated with the Romantic cultural-artistic movement.[11] In anarchist discourse surrounding romantic love which developed from the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, we can therefore see the legacies of cultural-artistic Romanticism. Anarchists reflected on nature, exalted beauty and passion, and portrayed loving relationships (including non-sexual love, in friendships and families) as emotional melodramas in popular novellas.

Concurrently, though, anarchism was rationalist: it sought to dismantle what it perceived to be false superstition peddled by the Catholic Church and replace religious explanations and moralities with secular, scientific ones by establishing alternative schools, facilitating alternative leisure activities, and developing an alternative ethic for intimate partnerships.[12] CNT committee debates, dominated by mostly male emotion entrepreneurs, as well as articles in periodicals penned by men, expressed disquiet that women—including the wives and daughters of good anarchists—seemed inherently susceptible to Catholic influence.[13] This sub-section will show that by synthesising Romanticism with rationalism, anarchist writers in the interwar period—including in actual fact very many women—developed altered interpretations of both intellectual movements which, taken together, constituted the development of a unique new ideal of love.

There had always been rational considerations in Spain's state-Catholic marriage model, including economic factors such as dowries and strategic opportunities for social mobility through one's partner. This marriage model, particularly in bourgeois families, came down to property (the husband's ownership of his wife and the settlement of both families' property) and hierarchy (aspirations to social mobility), both of which anarchist thought fundamentally opposed.[14] Thus, anarchist ideals of loving partnerships were influenced by alternative rational considerations.

The marriage model against which anarchists rallied was not monolithic through the interwar

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[11] Barclay and Holloway, 'Interrogating Romantic Love'.
[12] This reflected a synthesis, by the twentieth century, of what Pro identifies as distinct 'romantic' and 'scientific' socialist traditions in the mid-nineteenth century: Pro Ruiz, 'Mujeres en un estado ideal', p. 30.
[13] Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War,* p. 244; Un Obrero, 'Dignificación de la mujer'.
[14] Nash, *Mujer y Movimiento Obrero,* pp. 37-38.

period, though, because there was an important social-emotional shift taking place in Spain. As has been pointed to by Mónica García Fernández, the 1930s in Spain—due in no small part to the influence of legal campaigners such as Clara Campoamor, who succeeded in achieving the legalisation of divorce in 1932—saw a mainstream discursive shift towards 'companionate marriage'. Although the Church continued to resist it, marriage was now increasingly seen as a freely chosen union between two people to satisfy their emotional needs or desires; one which would be possible to dissolve in future if the couple no longer felt satisfied.[15] However, anarchist writers such as Soledad Gustavo had been arguing for decades that relationships genuinely forged on strong bonds of emotional intimacy and loving companionship stayed together by choice; there was no value at all in involving the law to compel a couple to stay together.[16] Even after the legalisation of divorce and its accompanying social-emotional shift to companionate marriage, therefore, anarchists continued to articulate alternative rational-romantic aspirations for lovers.

An especially useful place to look for evidence of how anarchists defined love and asserted its social significance is anarchist fiction, because stories indicate how love—via praxes of 'romance'—was modelled by anarchist writers. Conceptions of what romance looks like—how it is expressed verbally and nonverbally—are culturally contingent and they help us to identify when we are feeling love for someone or feeling loved by someone.[17] Probably reflecting historians' traditional methodological preference for empirical evidence, fiction has been understudied in the historiography of anarchism and sexuality.[18] Historians of sex and love would benefit from examining anarchist romance stories, though, because they operated as political fables by using

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[15] Mónica García Fernández, 'From National Catholicism to Romantic Love: The Politics of Love and Divorce in Franco's Spain' *Contemporary European History,* 31.1 (2022), pp. 2-14 (pp. 4-5), doi:10.1017/S0960777321000515.
[16] Soledad Gustavo, *La Sociedad Futura*.
[17] On the influence of popular novellas and theatre plays on romantic conduct, see: Cristina de Pedro Álvarez, 'Amor, emociones y masculinidad en el Madrid popular de entreguerras', *Arenal*, 24.2 (2017), pp. 539-557 (p. 549-550), doi:unavailable.
[18] Scholarship typically analyses this more as a work of literature than a historical source, including: Cruz-Cámara, *La Mujer Moderna*; Siguan Boehmer, *Literatura Popular Libertaria*; Soria, 'Anarchist Kiosk Literature'.

melodramatic stories of intrigue, struggle and romance to teach anarchist principles to a readership including and also extending beyond those who opted to consume theoretical texts, especially young people and women who were already the target audiences for *folletín* fiction.[19]

Declarations of love in novellas indicate how anarchist discourse constructed imaginaries of the 'romantic', and how these developed over time. Take the novella *Flora*, in which the eponymous lead—a violinist thrown out her family home for rejecting Christianity in favour of science—meets Ricardo—a poor composer using his art as a form of social protest. They produce a magnificent concert, Flora playing Ricardo's composition, and afterwards they declare their love: Ricardo cries '[…] dear Flora, you've known how to inspire me with the unfaltering kindness that you harbour in the depth of your heart, with the great treasure of your physical and moral beauty, and through the very art that you possess, which is that which I feel', and Flora replies: '[…] The fountain of musical thought that is found in your work, is love itself, in the form of melodies, and I express those melodies as I feel them, which is the very feeling that you envision. Feeling this way, we are but one inspiration, one soul in two bodies, love and art fuse us together', then they kiss.[20] This prose, exalting the beauty in art, was undoubtedly reminiscent of Romanticism, but it also reflected rationalist values. The allusion to Flora's 'moral beauty' and the social justice aspirations of their art communicated that their love came naturally due to their shared principles. The author depicted egalitarian gender dynamics too: both Flora and Ricardo are professionally accomplished and fulfilled, as mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis, and both are emotionally uninhibited which conveyed that being transparent about feeling love was compatible with ideal anarchist masculinity as well as ideal anarchist femininity.[21]

Depictions of love in the *La Novela Ideal* series of novellas altered upon the Civil War. A 1937 story called *El Señorito* by Margarita Amador signalled a retreat to the distinct male and female

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[19] Soria, 'Anarchist Kiosk Literature'.
[20] Colomer, *Flora*, pp. 30-32.
[21] The latter was evident in other *La Novela Ideal* stories too, such as: Juana Jacobina, *Llamas Redentoras*, La Novela Ideal*,* 402 (La Revista Blanca, 1934), pp. 26-27.

roles delineated by a new anarchist ideal of work in Spain. Characters Ismael and Sabela declare their love as follows: Ismael says '[…] I need you to fill my home with well-being and repose, I need to breathe in the scent of an industrious woman exuding freshly washed clothes and clean floors. But I also need you because I need you as a woman, you know?' and Sabela replies 'I too need you as a man, a man who caresses me, who rocks me, who kisses me and who squeezes me, a man who loves me', and they share a passionate kiss.[22] Here, romantic-sexual love is portrayed as something instinctively felt between a dominant, homeowning man and a domesticated woman, who meet each other's material and ergo sexual needs. This was seemingly motivated by the shift in anarchist discourse surrounding women and work explored in Chapter 2, particularly since Federica Montseny (whose family published the *La Novela Ideal* series) collaborated with the Republican government. Writers sought, within ever-shifting cultural contexts, to shape what was thought of as romantic and thereby influence readers' own experiences of love.[23]

The two stories also reflected a synthesis of Romanticism and rationality: verbose expressions of love in combination with emphases on exchanges of needs. Another place where anarchist sympathisers in Spain encountered analyses of love which synthesised Romanticism and rationality was in theoretical essays. In anarchist circles, throughout the 1920s and 1930s, French individualist anarchist Émile Armand was one of the biggest names in free-love discourse. His books *Amor Libre y Sexualismo Subversivo* ('Free Love and Subversive Sexuality', 1920s) and *Sexualismo Revolucionario* ('Revolutionary Sexuality', 1932), were translated and then widely advertised by Spanish anarchist publishing houses. In *Amor Libre*, Armand asserted that love should not be taken at face value as a universal human experience, but instead seen as an experience whose meaning, interpreted in infinite ways, is intersubjectively constructed: 'The experience of love knows no bounds. It varies from individual to individual.'[24] He suggested that 'love' could be perceived as

[22] Amador, *El Señorito*, pp. 21-22.
[23] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 105.
[24] E Armand, *Amor libre y sexualismo subversivo: Variaciones sobre la Voluptuosidad / La Procreación Voluntaria desde el punto de vista individualista* (Generación Consciente, c.1920s), p. 7.

present in all sorts of intimate relationships from short passionate flings to long-term companionships, writing: ‘They say that love is the satisfaction of a sexual need, an emotion, a sensation without thinking, and also a feeling arising from the spiritual need for an intimate and affectionate comradeship, and also a need for profound and persistent friendship. And in other cases even, on top of all this, [love can also be] a reciprocal act of will, whose consequences and development have been elevated with deceptive maturity.’[25] As well as illustrating the slipperiness between romantic love and love between friends (discussed in Chapter 5), this again synthesised signifiers of a romantic conception of love—‘without thinking’, ‘profound’, ‘a feeling’—with a rational conception of love that considered it to be motivated by the appropriate fulfilment of a ‘need’ and developed through an ‘act of will’.

Similarly, in a 1936 article drawing on physiology, ethics and psychology, F. Alba outlined the imaginary of love held by the anarchists producing the Barcelona-based magazine *Ética*: ‘it considers love, attributing it value in its own right, to be the most pure of expressions, the most elevated and sublime of all the emotions harboured by the human soul, born from friendship and controlled by the psychic faculties.’[26] Reference to ‘purity’ and the ‘sublime’ pointed to Romanticism, whereas the acknowledgement of psychology’s role in emotional experience was distinctly rationalist. The article continued by framing love as being shaped by both individual agency and social environments and being something one can remake rationally in alignment with ideologies and moralities without disregarding its ‘natural’ foundation.[27] To define love solely in romantic terms would be to deny agency to lovers by implying that they cannot help how they feel and therefore are powerless to act in their own interests.

At the root of synthesised rational-romantic imaginaries of love such as these was an

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[25] Ibid.. He reiterated this in *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, in a passage where he discusses all the ways love can feel, from solid, predictable and dependable to passionate, painful and short-lived: Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 106-107.
[26] F. Alba, ‘El instinto sexual, el amor y la psíquis’, *Ética*, 15 January 1936, pp. 84-85.
[27] Ibid.

underpinning conviction that both men and woman can naturally fall in love many times in life—to remain with one partner forever was not necessarily moral, healthy, or fulfilling.[28] To believe this, one had to believe in every person's agency to identify when they were feeling love. If we accept William Reddy's concept of 'emotives'—the idea that naming an emotion felt in the body is part of producing that emotion—then we can acknowledge that anarchists' efforts to re-shape the meaning of romantic and sexual love would have re-shaped their actual lived experiences of love.[29]

Unión libre ('free union') certificates indicate how anarchist couples perceived their own experiences of love and used specific language to express it.[30] *Uniones libres* were defined in different ways by different couples, having roots in traditional common-law marriages entered into by lower-class couples for centuries.[31] Anarchist memoirs and fiction sometimes used the phrase 'they united freely' ('*se unieron libremente*') as nothing more than a euphemism for two individuals officially considering themselves a couple. In other cases, anarchist couples underwent full civil ceremonies to formalise their union, and these were what produced *unión libre* certificates. The ceremonies were officiated by local branches of anarchist trade unions or by anarchist *ateneos* and were committed albeit reversible. These were practised for decades, as evidenced by *unión libre* announcements in anarchist newspapers, but gained particular popularity during the Second Republic after the legalisation of divorce and even more so during the unprecedented social upheaval of the Civil War.[32] There is also anecdotal evidence from one revolutionary collective during the war of *unión libre* ceremonies ending with a ceremonial shredding of the paperwork to represent the couple's freedom from state-social surveillance.[33]

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[28] This was stated unequivocally, for example, in 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 19 April 1934.
[29] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 105; Christian Bailey, 'The History of Emotions', *Contemporary European History*, 25.1 (2016), pp. 163-175 (p. 164), doi:10.1017/S0960777315000521.
[30] Katie Barclay argues that marriage certificates 'become the material conditions of the emotional experience of marital love.' Barclay, 'Emotions in the History of Emotions', p. 113.
[31] '*Unión libre*', in the legal field, is the Spanish term for common-law marriage.
[32] Andrews, *Anarchism in Everyday Life,* pp. 172-173. The increase in the number of free unions is discussed in Lora Medina, 'El amor libre y las relaciones sentimentales', pp. 606-607.
[33] This anecdote was from the town of Magdalena de Polpís in Castellón: Leval, *Cahiers de L'Humanisme Libertaire*, p. 159.

The editors of *La Revista Blanca* depicted these formal unions as the very definition of free love: when asked 'What does free love mean?' in their advice column, they responded 'To marry without the ties that oblige you to live always with the same man, whether or not you have lost the love that bonded you'.[34] The practice was controversial amongst anarchists in Spain, though. For instance, Lucía Sánchez Saornil condemned it in her Civil War essay collection *Horas de Revolución* because, she argued, civil marriage just like any other marriage was a sales contract in which the carnal relations of a couple were pornographically put on public display.[35] 'If the revolution is a reform of customs', she wrote, 'then let us begin here.'[36]

The exact text of *unión libre* certificates seem to have varied, which implies that couples—possibly in collaboration with the officiant or witnesses—designed the wording themselves. Therefore, these objects of material culture offer a window into anarchists' use of vocabulary to re-signify love.[37] One certificate from 1936 centred on a declaration that the couple '[…] desire to come together voluntarily and freely, through their most passionate bond of love which drives them, inspiring them in their mutual support both materially and morally in order to face life together.'[38] The adjective 'passionate' evoked Romanticism while the reference to 'facing life together' evoked a safe, stable partnership grounded in rational evaluation of both parties' needs. Another certificate from the same officiant the same year likewise reflected a synthesis of romantic and rationalist love, as it confirmed that '[there is] in this union no law except the law of nature and the free will of both parties.'[39] Nature evoked Romanticism while 'free will' conveyed thoughtful

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[34] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 March 1934.
[35] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, *Horas de Revolución* (Calumnia Edicions, 2019 [Mujeres Libres, 1937]), pp. 51-53.
[36] Ibid., p. 54.
[37] Reddy, The Navigation of Feeling, p. 105.
[38] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 990, 29, fol. 1, Acta de Unión Voluntaria y Anarquista, between Aquilina del Val Fraile and Salvador Jimenez Cervera, 28/12/1936. Mutual aid was also a theme in other examples of unión libre certificates such as: ANC1, 886, Local Federation of Barcelona Unions, Acta de Unión Libre, between Juan Jareño Ciberio and Enriqueta Roca Daiguas, 27/12/1936; ANC1, 886, Local Federation of Barcelona Unions, Acta de Unión Libre, between Antonio Morente Toribio and Dolores Baños Campoy, 4/12/1936.
[39] CDMH, PS-MADRID, 990, 29, fol. 2, Acta de Unión Voluntaria y Anarquista, between Elvira Falkowski and Epifanio Perez, 28/12/1936.

contractualism between the couple. Both these certificates also exemplified the way in which such romantic-rational re-conceptualisations of love incorporated further anarchist principles into couples' intimate lives: mutual aid in the first case, and a rejection of legal institutions in the second. This directly countered the advice literature promoted by the Church in this period, which argued that the love underpinning marriage should be 'a love ideal based on sacrifice' in which any unhappy party would be duty bound to endure lifelong suffering.[40] Anarchist romantic-rational frameworks for loving unions aspired to avoid that emotional outcome.

To explore writers' engagements with the gendered implications of this anarchist ideal of love, we might return to Federica Montseny's 1925 novella *La Victoria*, and in particular the letters to the author which succeeded its publication. In the novel, Clara becomes entwined with a series of romantic interests. However, by the end of the story she remains single, having rejected each potential partner, and considers herself victorious (albeit lonely) for doing so.[41] Her reasons for rejecting each man always centre around prolonged arguments about the meaning of love. Clara sees herself as a self-emancipated woman, and she foresees that any incursion on her autonomy in the context of romantic intimacy would diminish that.[42] She interprets experiences often associated with love—such as vulnerability, mutual support, and protectiveness—as threats to her hard-earned independence. None of the male protagonists can convince her that what she demands from a loving intimate relationship is impossible.[43] Frequently she appears vindicated in her principled rejection of these men by the patriarchal ways they later treat other intimate partners.[44] Montseny, the author, drew on her own lived experiences as a woman with strong anarchist ideals navigating the messy construction of love in her own life in order to explore the gender dynamics of ideal anarchist love

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[40] García Fernández, 'From National Catholicism to Romantic Love', p. 6.
[41] Montseny, *La Victoria*, pp. 219-220.
[42] Ibid., pp. 34-36.
[43] Ibid., pp. 73-74, 76-77, 84-86, 128-129.
[44] Ibid., pp. 68-69; Federica Montseny, *El Hijo de Clara* (La Revista Blanca, 1927), pp. 42-43.

through Clara.[45] By portraying Clara as vindicated, having escaped unfree relationships through her process of rigorous debate, Montseny endorsed that women and girls reading the novel employ similar criteria and strategies. Her novel highlighted the considerations that women in 1920s Spain had to, where possible, bear in mind to protect themselves when entering loving intimate partnerships with men. Equally, her novel called for men to step up and facilitate heterosexual partnerships that fairly balanced the interests of both parties.

Montseny did not underplay the emotional implications of Clara's highly rational approach to intimacy; Romanticism and rationalism were equally present in the prose. She emphasised the emotional toll on Clara as she develops deep romantic feelings for men she knows she must reject.[46] Ultimately, the moral of this novel was that the way in which we love is not predetermined or helpless, but grounded in socially constructed principles and values which anarchist political culture could (and should) re-shape. Clara's emotional difficulty navigating between romantic and rationalist experiences of love came not from the nature of love itself but from a disconnect between the love she sought and the love that men (even anarchist-sympathising men) in her society were offering. There was therefore a clear consideration of the role of gender in Montseny's ideal vision of what love in anarchist political culture might signify.

This began a conversation via letter-writing amongst anarchists in Spain on the topic of love, which became too a conversation also about gender. Montseny published some of the letters she received in response to *La Victoria* in her family's magazine, *La Revista Blanca,* and responded to them there on the page. She insisted this was not intended to promote her novel, but to defend her authorial decisions. In any case letters are not usually intended for public eyes, which makes these all the more extraordinary.[47]

The first letter came from Cirilo Viñolas, an older anarchist man, who commended the story

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[45] She alluded to taking inspiration from her real life in the construction of Clara in: Cirilo Viñolas and Federica Montseny, 'En defensa de Clara', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 April 1925, p. 17.
[46] Montseny, *La Victoria*, p. 112.
[47] Hemmings, *Considering Emma Goldman,* p. 31.

but took issue with Montseny's heroic depiction of Clara's lovelessness.[48] He wrote that the fact she 'abhors love' by the end of the book clashes with her passion for fighting for freedom, because to deny love is to deny life itself.[49] That Viñolas interpreted hesitancy in love as outright rejection of it, reflected his ignorance of what it was like to feel love while also feeling burdened by a patriarchal imbalance of power. Montseny responded by asserting that Clara never abhorred love, in fact, she imagined a love greater than any that existed in the society in which she lived: a love where women were free.[50]

A month later, another male reader penned a critique in *Vidrio*, the mouthpiece of the glassworkers' CNT union in Mataró (near Barcelona), accusing Clara's relationship with intimacy of being biologically abnormal.[51] Montseny retorted that these syndicalists must have not fully read the book, or else must have a poor grasp of anarchist ideas.[52] Clara was thought abnormal because she should have been overwhelmingly drawn to the men around her by her biological urge to be a mother. Montseny firmly rejected that view: she argued that love was about our own lives first and foremost, not the production of other lives, and likened motherhood to slavery (albeit slavery that most women voluntarily submitted to having been groomed for it their whole lives).[53] This echoed wider anarchist debates about how autonomous individuals might be liberated through the harmonious collective: in this case, whether a woman who did not readily comply with her (alleged) evolutionary reproductive role could reasonably justify that on grounds of autonomy. That Montseny's challenge to this critique was to question the author's comprehension of anarchist theory demonstrated that love was relevant to broader anarchist ideals of social organisation.

This ongoing letter-writing campaign in *La Revista Blanca* went on to destabilise androcentric constructions of anarchist theoretical discourse by giving platforms to the marginalised

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[48] Cirilo Viñolas was a writer for *Tierra y Libertad* in 1910-1911 when Montseny was only 5-6 years old.
[49] Viñolas and Montseny, 'En defensa de Clara'.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Federica Montseny, 'En defensa de Clara', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 May 1925, pp. 26-27.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

perspectives of anarchist women. Montseny corroborated her argument by recounting a conversation she had had with eminent anarchist Teresa Claramunt. Claramunt had apparently discussed *La Victoria* with two young women who admired the character of Clara but been disappointed in how often she cried over men. Claramunt had replied that this sensitivity was a healthy response to being let down by someone one hoped to love.[54] Not only did publishing this recount in *La Revista Blanca* corroborate Montseny's response to accusations of Clara being biologically 'abnormal', but it also reinforced Montseny's synthesised rational-romantic concept of how love can and should be reshaped within anarchist political culture.

Two months later *La Revista Blanca* published a review by the Andalusian Isabel Hortensia Pereira, an accomplished anarchist orator and writer who campaigned alongside her partner for the expansion of rationalist schooling.[55] She argued that the only deficiency readers might have reasonably identified in *La Victoria* is that Clara's rational approach to love seemed impartial and therefore unrealistic. But actually, Hortensia Pereira wrote, readers only interpreted it this way because they were so unaccustomed to women expressing political opinions openly that Clara's long dialogues about love and freedom felt jarring.[56] Accordingly, she contended that a separation of public life and private life was possible, such that anarchists could implement gender equality in their romantic and sexual relationships right then, even if wider society remained patriarchal until a full anarchist revolution took place.[57] In other words, the revolution could begin at home, in personal, everyday intimacy. Hortensia Pereira made evident the relevance of 'love', and its transformation within anarchist political culture, to the construction of an 'anarchist womanhood' as an identity. She painted Clara as an aspirational figure to anarchist women seeking to instil anarchist values in their own intimate relationships.[58]

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[54] Ibid.
[55] Prieto Borrego, 'Las mujeres en el anarquismo andaluz', pp. 58-59.
[56] Isabel Hortensia Pereira, 'En defensa de Clara', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 July 1925, pp. 1-3.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid. See also: Colomer, 'En defensa de Clara'.

Another review the following month stated even more explicitly that *La Victoria* was 'a symbol of female emancipation'.[59] These were the words of anarchist teacher and naturist Antonia Maymón, who argued that more than just accepting women like Clara, anarchist men should also aspire to emulate Clara themselves in terms of the moral values they brought to love.[60] Maymón's review expressed optimism that the publication of *La Victoria* might usher in a shift in the way anarchists approached love, as it had stimulated a vibrant discussion which might potentially influence real relationships—especially among young people.[61] She concluded with a statement that love is so 'great and sublime' that even though such a shift in mentality and practice within anarchist political culture may provoke conflictivity between men and women at first, it will eventually lead to 'harmonious, fair and rational' relations between them.[62] Maymón connected that models of what 'love' should feel like, in fiction and non-fiction, affected how individuals and couples identified and handled the emotionality of romantic and sexual intimacy. Anarchists' discursive constructions of anarchist womanhood in relation to free love had a reciprocal relationship with gendered praxes of intimacy between anarchist couples.

Camaradería amorosa* and *amor plural

Anarchists, as participants in a subaltern emotional regime, believed that they could and should have a say in the meaning that people attached to love, by reshaping how they identified their needs and sought to fulfil them.[63] An analogy used by the editors of *La Revista Blanca* in its advice column in 1934 sought to help readers to re-imagine love from a rational perspective: 'Love is like suits: they wear out with use. However, those made of better material last longer. Just as love lasts

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[59] Antonia Maymón, 'En defensa de Clara', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 August 1925, p. 1.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 55.

longer when it has penetrated our hearts more deeply, which can be made of worse or better material. And the same happens to men as happens to women. […] If one could change wife or husband like one can change clothes, our hearts would always be renewed and happy.'[64] While this premise was largely agreed upon across various anarchist publications, the detail of how it should be implemented remained contested, not least in regard to its gendered implications.

Émile Armand's '*camaradería amorosa*' ('loving comradeship') was the paradigmatic individualist-anarchist framework for romantic and sexual partnership in this period.[65] In *Sexualismo Revolucionario,* Armand described in detail how romantic-sexual relationships should be rationally negotiated like voluntary contracts of association ('*contratos de asociación*') to ensure that both parties had equal agency to meet their needs.[66] There were inevitably important gender dynamics to consider here.

Patriarchy was absent from Armand's contractual *camaradería amorosa*, however he rooted this absence not in women's emancipation but in a denial of systemic injustices perpetrated against women and a refusal to safeguard against gender inequity. He asserted that men and women shared equal blame for the sexual objectification of women, and argued that women's enslavement by unwanted pregnancy was not men's responsibility.[67] A generous interpretation might see this as encouragement for women to fight for emancipation, but this would overlook the many other omissions from Armand's picture of contemporary life in Spain such as professional and educational discrimination against women and girls. Armand furthermore rejected that women were more often sexual victims of men than vice versa, citing examples such as women who broke up with men, women who flirted without being open to a relationship, and that allegedly men were more likely than women to settle for intimacy with someone inferior to themselves.[68] While these

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[64] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 March 1934.
[65] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, p. 27.
[66] Ibid., p. 26. On how this fitted into broader anarchist contractualist theory see: Manfredonia and Ronsin, *Émile Armand.*
[67] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 5-6.
[68] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

instances might have made men victims of the heart, they were hardly comparable to the risks women disproportionately faced in partnerships—from intimate partner violence to undesired pregnancies and their embodied consequences.

Armand's vision of contractual love, then, took little account of anarchist women's needs and desires in heterosexual partnerships. It appeared oblivious to the hypocrisy of his patriarchal gaze and to existing Spanish anarchist theoretical work on love and mutual satisfaction, such as that of Ricardo Mella, who had emphasised that such love could not flourish in conditions of privilege, submission, or exploitation.[69] This was noticed at the time, too. When Armand had earlier penned his idea of *camaradería amorosa* in his French magazine *L'En-Dehors* in 1928, Federica Montseny wrote a scathing response piece in her parents' magazine *La Revista Blanca* which accused him of simply inventing 'a comfortable solution […] to satisfy his own sexual needs'.[70] Contested anarchist romantic-rationalist theories and praxes of love, then, could have great implications for the construction of anarchist womanhood.

Amor plural or *pluralidad amorosa* ('plural love' or 'amorous plurality') were the terms used by interwar anarchists in Spain and further afield in discourses pertaining to whether one could morally enjoy romantic or sexual intimacy with more than one partner.[71] A theory originating with the French individualist anarchist Han Ryner, Emile Armand discussed it in *Amor Libre y Sexualismo Subversivo* before developing it into his aforementioned contractualist theory of *camaradería amorosa* in *Sexualismo Revolucionario.* Meanwhile, further texts by Han Ryner and interventions in the Brazilian, French and Spanish anarchist press by Maria Lacerda de Moura upheld a conviction that one could fall in love multiple times and enjoy multiple sexual partners over a lifetime while rejecting Armand's extreme interpretation which advocated and indeed

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[69] Ricardo Mella, *Del amor: modo de acción y finalidad social* (1901), <https://es.anarchistlibraries.net/library/ricardo-mella-del-amor> [accessed 3 March 2024]
[70] Federica Montseny, 'Armandismo y Montseñismo', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 March 1928, pp. 591-592.
[71] Armand, *Amor Libre*, p. 30.

implemented in France the formation of amorous communes.[72]

According to Armand, it was morally justifiable for overlapping sexual relationships to last one day or many years.[73] *La Revista Blanca* was less permissive: one of its editors, Federico Urales, conceived the 'love' in 'free love' or 'plural love' to be a process that developed over time, by which logic momentary sexual encounters were immoral.[74] There were two facets to emotional experiences of *amor plural*: rejecting romantic jealousy (an immoral emotion), and shouldering the gendered burden of participating in this subaltern sexual culture while surrounded by a patriarchal hegemonic sexual culture which enforced severe emotional punishments on 'promiscuous' women.

María Lacerda de Moura argued across two articles in *Estudios* in 1934 that while Han Ryner's concept of *amor plural* celebrated profound loving connections enjoyed throughout one's life, Armand's transformation of *amor plural* into organised *camaradería amorosa* scaled back the experience of love to simple sexual satisfaction.[75] The most problematic outcome of this, according to Lacerda de Moura, was the lack of gender parity in pleasure—men were more easily sexually pleased than women and so men would almost always consent to *camaradería amorosa* more readily and enthusiastically.[76] In other words, this was an androcentric way of practising romantic intimacy that deprioritised women's desires.

Lacerda de Moura's critiques could be read through the contemporary biologically essentialist idea that women sought stability for childbearing while men sought to sow their seed (see the Vázquez article about men's inner 'beasts' in Chapter 4). That said, Lacerda de Moura spoke to widespread issues of the time: women's testimonies reveal the great extent to which *amor plural* in the interwar period was indeed—at the worst extremes—used as an excuse for misogyny,

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[72] Maria Lacerda de Moura, '¿Qué es el amor plural?' *Estudios*, April 1934, pp. 24-25; Maria Lacerda de Moura, 'El amor plural frente a la camaradería amorosa', *Estudios*, May 1934, pp. 22-23.
[73] Armand, *Amor Libre*, pp. 34-35.
[74] Federico Urales, 'La libertad en el amor', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 November 1925, pp. 8-10.
[75] Lacerda de Moura, '¿Qué es el amor plural?'; Lacerda de Moura, 'El amor plural frente a la camaradería amorosa'.
[76] Lacerda de Moura, 'El amor plural frente a la camaradería amorosa'.

exploitation, and the undermining of anarchist women's sense of belonging in the movement.

Armand stated clearly that he did not sanction sexual coercion or violence, nor remove tenderness and affection from partnerships.[77] Moreover, good praxis of *amor plural* was measured not the quantity of sexual partners but the quality of the experiences.[78] It did not give one a carte blanche to deprioritise the sexual freedom of other people, nor did identifying as an anarchist constitute a permanent state of consent-giving for sexual encounters.[79] Yet, these nuances were wilfully misinterpreted by anarchist men in Spain.

Sara Berenguer, in her memoir, recalled incidents where anarchist colleagues in the JJLL Revolutionary Committee where she worked challenged the legitimacy of her identity as an anarchist because of her unwillingness to consent to all sexual encounters that were proposed to her.[80] Similarly, in an oral-history interview, Pepita Carpena recalled that once in the JJLL a boy said to her 'You say you're a libertarian, but if I ask you to sleep with me I'm sure you'll say no'.[81] She replied that she'll sleep with whomever she wants, and she didn't want him.[82] It frustrated her so much that she left the JJLL and joined *Mujeres Libres* instead.[83] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, a year before she co-founded *Mujeres Libres*, had publicly decried the many conversations between men and women in anarchist sociable spaces that she had witnessed, whereby 'free love' would promptly be mentioned and then the woman would either: become the plaything of the man and drop out of the movement as a result; or feel unsettled by the encounter and so distance herself from anarchist spaces going forward. Only the most confident and unfaltering women persevered in anarchist spaces once put in such situations, she concluded.[84] Indeed, an article in the same

[77] Armand, *Amor Libre*, p. 13. For more on the issue of consent: Manfredonia and Ronsin, *Émile Armand.*
[78] Armand, *Amor Libre*, p. 14.
[79] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 13-14.
[80] Sara Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta,* p. 75.
[81] Lorusso, *Mujeres en lucha*, p. 45.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 30 October 1935, p. 2

newspaper by María Luisa Cobos had revealed that women who participated consistently in CNT locales were branded, by men, as 'elderly' (a euphemism for unattractive and infertile) or presumed to harbour some hidden physical deficiency.[85]

Thus, although the freedom of *amor plural* theoretically applied to both men and women, testimonies suggested that anarchist men in this period usually showed more enthusiasm for it.[86] In spite of this, there were anarchist women who showed curiosity about Rynerian *amor plural* and some who chose to implement the practice in their own lives (although Armand's commune-based practice was never widely adopted by anarchists in Spain). One such practitioner, according to her biographer, was Amparo Poch y Gascón.[87] Poch y Gascón, in the *Mujeres Libres* magazine, actively encouraged women to open their minds to participate in *amor plural* (although without strictly using the term). She wrote, 'Woman […] if you want to feel the renaissance of your soul and the singular grace of finding yourself, ascend the ladder of love […] Multiply your capacity to love.[88] She also emphasised that the most perfect partnership is one in which one is not totally absorbed by the other, and reminded readers that love does not give one the right to make another person an object of property.[89] There were also a small number of entries to the advice column of *La Revista Blanca* from women who showed curiosity about free love and sought to know more; this substantiates that the ideal did not uniquely appeal to men.[90]

La Revista Blanca likewise showed awareness of the gendered implications of adopting *amor plural* given that anarchism was a subaltern culture enveloped by a patriarchal hegemonic culture. One response by the editors in the magazine's advice column told a man that he should not be deterred from getting into a relationship with a woman who had a child with a previous partner—

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[85] María Luisa Cobos, 'A la mujer, no; a vosotros, proletarios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 8 October 1935, p. 3
[86] See also: Amparo Poch y Gascón, 'Elogio del amor libre', *Mujeres Libres*, 3, 1936, pp. 12-13.
[87] Rodrigo, *Una mujer libre,* p. 81.
[88] Poch y Gascón, 'Elogio del amor libre'.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Rosa Blanca, 'Consultorio General', *La Revista Blanca*, 18 May 1934; Dos lectoras de La Revista Blanca, 'Consultorio General', *La Revista Blanca*, 9 November 1934.

indeed they accused him of betraying a 'traditionalist spirit' by even raising the issue.[91] Another advice column response reiterated that many anarchist men still felt uncomfortable with the idea of being intimate with a woman who had had prior sexual partners.[92] The editors reminded such men that jealousy was a bourgeois sentiment (because of its proprietorial root), and pointed out that women have sexual needs just like men do even if they don't admit to it.[93] The stigmatisation of women's pleasure in Spain's hegemonic sexual culture in this period meant that the implementation of *amor plural* by anarchists would place gendered emotional burdens on women for whom this practice could well lead to social rejection.[94]

Amor plural developed from the principle that romantic jealousy was a consequence of considering one's partner to be one's property; thereby, anarchists re-conceived jealousy as an immoral emotion rather than a natural (neutral) one.[95] Armand described jealousy as the monopolisation of a person's sexual organs and emotions, which was just as deplorable as state domination over peoples and territories.[96] *La Revista Blanca*'s advice column furthermore commented that in anarchist society there was no such thing as adultery because in intimate partnerships women were no longer the property of men, nor vice versa.[97] Armand defined 'proprietary jealousy' as the emotionally charged conviction that one must prevent one's partner from exiting the relationship, and 'sensual jealousy' as the expectation that one's partner ceases all sexual relations with other people.[98] Worst of all, 'sentimental jealousies' arose as a desperate attempt to hold together relationships that were drifting apart as affection declined.[99] Jealousies always ended in resentment or even violence, rather than romantic revival.[100] Jealousy was not

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[91] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 29 March 1935.
[92] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 14 September 1934.
[93] Ibid.
[94] See Chapter 7.
[95] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 5-74. Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, p. 25. See also: Soledad Gustavo, *La Sociedad Futura*.
[96]Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 35-36.
[97] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 14 September 1934.
[98] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 36-37.
[99] Ibid., pp.36-37; Armand, *Amor Libre*, pp. 26-29.
[100] Armand, *Amor Libre*, pp. 26-29; Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, p. 34.

considered by anarchist writers, then, to be a legitimate component of the emotional experience of being in love. As Armand wrote in *Amor Libre y Sexualismo Subversivo*, it is a falsehood that jealousy is part and parcel of love; if you love somebody then you seek their happiness above all else.[101] *Amor plural* was a better way to handle the ebb and flow of emotional intimacy.

In *Sexualismo Revolucionario* Armand expressed his conviction that 'sensual and emotional abundance'—meaning the freedom to enjoy as many partnerships as was necessary to feel romantically and sexually satisfied—was the solution to eradicating jealousy from intimate relationships for good.[102] This echoed the commitment to emotional fulfilment intrinsic to the anarchist ideal of work, and directly challenged the mainstream emotional narratives pushed in popular media in countries, including Spain, where lifelong marriage was a social norm felt to be under threat due to the legalisation of divorce.[103]

Desirable characteristics in a lover

What one considers attractive in a partner is shaped to some extent by the way 'attractive' and 'unattractive' qualities are defined and modelled in the cultures in which one participates. One validates the compatibility of couples, and questions one's own incompatibilities, using yardsticks which are culturally contingent.[104] Given that anarchist conceptions of love synthesised a Romantic perception of individuals' natural impulses with a rationalist moral framework for partnership, it remains to be ascertained how anarchist discourses contributed to shaping anarchist women's sense of their own desirability and the traits that they sought in others in their romantic and sexual lives.

The freedom to choose one's partner freely, so long as nobody was manipulated or coerced,

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[101] Armand, *Amor Libre*, pp. 29.
[102] Ibid., p. 38.
[103] Hannah Charnock, ''A Million Little Bonds': Infidelity, Divorce and the Emotional Worlds of Marriage in British Women's Magazines of the 1930s', *Cultural and Social History*, 14.3 (2017), pp. 363-379 (pp. 363-365), doi:10.1080/14780038.2017.1314578.
[104] Bailey, 'The History of Emotions', p. 170.

was a cornerstone of the anarchist ideal of love.[105] Even so, anarchist print discourse in interwar Spain discussed the question of what one should find desirable in a lover, in accordance with qualities that were perceived to define a good anarchist. Due to interwar anarchism's preoccupation with the biological 'improvement' of the human race, there were certain considerations that participants in free love were expected to bear in mind—beyond the considerations in selecting good friends which have been examined in Chapter 4. These could include the gender of one's partner and their physical and personal characteristics: anarchist writers portrayed certain traits as attractive or unattractive, and a sense of social duty, grounded in evolutionary betterment, ascribed moral value or stigma to certain romantic pairings. Thereby, anarchist political culture rewarded certain expressions of desire and marginalised others.

When it came to the queer history of anarchist women in Spain in this period, there were two questions at play: anarchist treatment of 'homosexuality' in general, and the more specific question of women who loved or slept with women. In regard to the first of these, one of the most open-minded attitudes in the anarchist press was found in the writings of Émile Armand.[106] He asserted that there were two categories of homosexuality: the first was innate and congenital, and the second was an illness.[107] In both cases the law should have no role in individuals' sexual activities, and in the second case treatment should be offered without any accompanying punishment: homosexual relationships were no-one else's business.[108] Later he added that sexologists had demonstrated that physiologically and psychologically homosexual people were no different to heterosexual people.[109] He also cited works by Han Ryner and Gerardo de Lacaze-Duthiers who wrote in favour

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[105] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 11-12.
[106] On his 1931 pamphlet, *L'homosexualité, l'onanisme et les individualistes*, see: Manfredonia and Ronsin, *Émile Armand.*
[107] Armand, *Amor Libre*, p. 51.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 32, 95.

of total freedom to form relationships with any combination of genders.[110] To Armand, homosexuality reconciled unproblematically with free love because within this praxis sexual pleasure and procreation were both valid objectives.[111]

In the Barcelona-based magazine *Iniciales*, fellow French individualist André Lorulot expanded on Armand's concept of homosexuality, reflecting the increasing uptake of scientific terminology among rationalist writers theorising on the matter in the interwar period. He mirrored Armand's claim that homosexuality could be either innate or transient, and added that innate homosexuality was found in feminine men and masculine women (mentioned already in Chapter 1 as an idea developed by Spanish endocrinologist Gregorio Marañón among others), whereas transient homosexuality was a behaviour that occurred due to the absence of women in extraordinarily homosocial circumstances such as all-male prisons.[112] He claimed these latter men were still masculine because their homosexual behaviour had a normative power dynamic by which they sought to dominate their partner.[113] By contrast, he wrote, innately homosexual men were biologically not quite male (hormonally, or due to having a 'female brain in a male body') which meant they sought a conventionally masculine partner—and vice versa for innately homosexual women.[114] He cited sexologists Havelock Ellis, Dr Nazier, Magnus Hirschfeld and others to substantiate his ideas.[115]

In turn, anarchist doctor Félix Marti Ibáñez described a very similar framework for categorising same-sex attraction in the Valencia-based magazine *Estudios* three years later: he differentiated between congenital, innate 'homosexuality-inversion' and acquired 'homosexuality-perversion'.[116] Articles such as these reflected complex and ever-evolving processes in the sexological sciences in

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[110] Ibid., p. 95.
[111] Ibid., pp. 95-97.
[112] André Lorulot, 'Perversiones y desviaciones del instinto genital: el homosexualismo', *Iniciales*, 1932, 8, pp. 2-5.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid. See also: Glick, 'Marañón, Intersexuality', p. 127.
[115] Lorulot, 'Perversions y desviaciones'.
[116] Dr. Félix Martí Ibáñez, 'Consideraciones sobre el homosexualismo', *Estudios*, September 1935, pp. 3-5.

the early twentieth century which tried to figure out protocols for medically treating individuals of indeterminate sex in a way that would—as historian Cleminson put it—'guarantee functioning heterosexuality'.[117] In a follow-up article, Lorulot mirrored Armand's stance that homosexuality should not be punished nor stigmatised, citing Émile Zola as saying: 'We cannot condemn a hunchback from birth for the fact of being so. Why, then, should we condemn a man who behaves like a woman, if he has been born half woman?'[118]

Not all anarchist writers shared Armand, Martí Ibáñez, and Lorulot's relative open-mindedness towards queer relationships. The Montseny family and Doctor Javier Serrano who edited the advice column in *La Revista Blanca* concurred in a 1935 entry that there were two types of homosexuality, and this publication strongly advocated medical and social interventions for both. The first type was homosexuality from birth, which they conceived as an illness needing treatment, and the second was homosexuality as a vice, which they saw as needed moral correction.[119] Similarly, in 1932 Dr Amparo Poch wrote an article for the Valencian anarcho-naturist magazine *Orto* in which she challenged the fact that in some European newspapers at the time homosexual couples were increasingly accepted and celebrated.[120] She claimed that this was simply 'more comfortable than treating these unfortunate people, like the abnormals that they are', and pointed to efforts by Steinach and others to achieve the 'modification of inverts' (hormonal conversion therapies).[121] Although all these writers generally supported medical intervention in the lives of some homosexual people, they varied in the extent to which they felt it morally acceptable and necessary to stigmatise homosexual desire and those who felt it.

In his interventions for *Inciales*, Lorulot also specifically tackled the topic of women who loved

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[117] Cleminson, 'Medical Understandings of the Body', p. 81.
[118] Andre Lorulot, 'perversiones y desviaciones del instinto genital', *Iniciales*, 1932, 9, pp. 2-7.
[119] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 19 April 1935.
[120] Amparo Poch y Gascón, 'Panorama sexual', *Orto*, No.5, July 1932, p. 50.
[121] Ibid. Lorulot also pointed to contemporary 'cures' for homosexuality centred on cisheteronormative surgical intervention, trying to restore the 'abnormal' sex of the person to a definitive 'male' or 'female' state to re-balance their sexual orientation: Andre Lorulot, 'perversiones y desviaciones' (2).

women, whom he conceptualised differently to gay men. Lesbians, he wrote, could be categorised into 'real' lesbians, and 'vulgar' lesbians who were simply open to sexual intimacy from either sex.[122] The latter group, he wrote, often turn to lesbian intimacy as a result of disillusionment with men—such as being married to a violent man, or being engaged in sex work and tiring of the clientele.[123] He concluded by asserting that women who slept with women were less of a concern to the crisis of social 'degeneration' than men who slept with men.[124] Given that Poch y Gascón would become a close collaborator of Lucía Sánchez Saornil, one of the known lesbian women in the anarchist movement, it is possible that she too shared Lorulot's view that men who loved men, not women who loved women, were the real threats to humanity's social progress.[125]

By contrast, *La Revista Blanca* severely stigmatised women who slept with women. One article recalled a study about the rural lives of French women, pointing to three observations: that some young women masturbated with phallic vegetables, that homosexual intimacy was 'not rare' between unmarried women and girls, and that bestiality took place.[126] The three were mentioned in succession, as though they had equal roles to play in the alarming 'sexual degeneration' of rural society which was supposed to represent the most natural state of human life. Furthermore, in *La Revista Blanca*'s advice column, one response said 'The only thing that we repudiate because it repulses us are the sexual customs between two men or two women.'[127] This substantiated historian Cleminson's conclusion that for the most part the anarchist press from Europe to Latin America condemned same-sex desire (if it mentioned it at all) in this period.[128]

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[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Mary Nash has suggested that Amparo Poch was herself a lesbian but it is unclear what evidence supports this and it has not been corroborated in subsequent historical and biographical work: Nash, *Defying Male Civilization,* p. 92. Unfortunately we do not have any surviving testimony from either about their relationships. We also do not have any direct testimony from Sánchez in regard to her love life – we only have her poetry and the testimonies of other anarchists who knew her: Hermida, *Luchaban por un mundo nuevo,* pp. 61-67.
[126] C. Berneri, 'La vida sexual en los campos', trans. by Elizalde, *La Revista Blanca*, 15 April 1929, pp. 657-660. This perhaps was sourced from Émile Armand's *Le'En-Dehors* which Berneri wrote for.
[127] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 8 February 1935.
[128] Cleminson, 'Dr Félix Martí Ibáñez's "Considerations on Homosexuality"', p. 88.

The vast majority of the interwar Spanish movement's textual output was hetero-normative and thereby erased queer experiences, and, as Martha Ackelsberg has highlighted, this was usually implicit rather than explicit.[129] Novellas only ever featured heterosexual couples, sex advice literature never mentioned that prevention of pregnancy was irrelevant to homosexual couples, and efforts to problematise the gender dynamics of intimacy always centred on the plight of women in relationships with men.[130] The discursive construction of anarchist womanhood was underpinned by compulsory heterosexuality, even though this did not reflect the lived realities of plenty of anarchist women. In anarchist print media's discussions of sexology, sexual desires could be framed as moral or immoral emotions depending on to whom they affectively attached.[131]

In such a cultural context, it is difficult for historians to definitively encounter first-person lived experiences of anarchist women who loved women. One submission to *La Revista Blanca*'s advice column asked 'What conception would the editors of *La Revista Blanca* have towards a young woman who said that she was madly in love with another [young woman]?'[132] The response said that she should seek treatment for her apparent illness.[133] What we cannot know is whether the person who sent in the submission was the woman in question, or whether they were a heterosexual person who personally knew a woman who loved women (perhaps asking on her behalf, so that she did not have to risk outing herself), or whether they were simply a heterosexual person curious about the magazine's views on the matter. If the first was true, then this entry in the anarchist press represented a significant moment of introspection whereby a woman was trying to figure out how to reconcile her identity as a woman who loved women with her interest in (or even formal affiliation to) anarchist political culture. Acceptance of her sexual orientation would have been

[129] Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain,* pp. 27-28.
[130] Homosexual characters did appear elsewhere in Spanish kiosk fiction, such as in a 1932 novella in the *La Novela Proletaria* series (though it was not a positive portrayal): Alison Sinclair, *Sex and Society in Early Twentieth-Century Spain* (University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 75-79.
[131] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 5-74.
[132] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 18 October 1935.
[133] Ibid.

important to her ability to exist authentically in the movement because her intimacy with lovers comprised one fragment of her experience of anarchist comradeship.

Because of the potential for heterosexual lovers to produce children, one's choice of romantic or sexual partner was depicted in anarchist discourse to have implications far beyond the confines of one's own personal life. One's physical characteristics and moral character were both up for criticism. We might point to Emile Armand's *Amor Libre y Sexualismo Subversivo*, where he wrote that a person's moral alignment with anarchist values was the only thing one should consider when choosing a lover—superficial aspects such as physical appearance should not matter.[134] In his later book, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, he amended this stance to argue that any and all motives for feeling attracted to someone romantically or sexually were equally valid—from intellectual stimulation to physical appearance to personality and moral character.[135] Anarchist fiction modelled the traits that should be desirable in the selection of an ideal anarchist lover. Furthermore, anarcho-naturist magazines and articles pertaining to the emancipation of women were especially vocal in portraying physical characteristics and anarchist moral character as being closely entwined: maximising the potential of one's body was morally valued.[136]

In anarchist novellas, a person's morality was central to their portrayal as attractive or unattractive. To describe love interests' physical appearance was a hallmark of the romance genre, so unsurprisingly anarchist writers of novellas did engage with this; they wanted to meet the expectations of a typical romance fiction reader, because a large part of their aim was to use the novellas to impart anarchist moral teachings to young people (especially women and girls) who may not ordinarily choose to consume overtly political anarchist print. That being said, there were interventions in *La Novela Ideal* which questioned the relative importance of physical appearance.

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[134] Armand, *Amor Libre*, pp. 52-53.
[135] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 11-12.
[136] See the discussion of diet and exercise in Chapter 1.

For instance, in Cecilia García's *Mujeres*, the protagonist Miguel feels attracted to a Russian revolutionary exile whom he describes as 'an exceptional woman, endowed with great talent' but 'hidden within a body that was hardly given to inspiring passions'.[137] At the same time, he is attracted to a humble rural Spanish woman with 'magnificent legs' and great 'physical beauty' but few moral and intellectual prospects as someone destined to become 'vulgar, ignorant and obliging.'[138] By the end of the novella he remains unpartnered, because neither woman meets his expectations of both moral and physical attractiveness.[139]

A piece of advice given in *La Revista Blanca*'s advice column in 1933 was that the 'moral condition' of a man was the most important thing about him that a woman should ascertain before entering into a sexual partnership.[140] This advice was imparted to a single woman in her 30s, who was won over to *amor libre* by reading *La Novela Ideal* and now sought to apply it to her own life.[141] In terms of one's moral character, attributes portrayed as attractive in the *La Novela Ideal* series included being self-motivated to improve one's education, shared belief in anarchist social critiques, and appreciation for the natural, the healthy, and the unmaterialistic. In *El Señorito* by Margarita Amador, the protagonists Ismael and Sabela meet at a libertarian *ateneo* where they enjoy lively discussions about social theory and anti-capitalist justice.[142] In *Flora* by Joaquina Colomer, the protagonists Ricardo and Flora fall in love through their mutual passion for social struggle which they practise artistically as revolutionary musicians.[143] In *Llamas Redentoras* by Juana Jacobina, the female love interest Carlota initially tells the male love interest Agustín that she cannot love him because he is socioeconomically inferior to her, but by the end of the novella he convinces her that this does not matter and she agrees enthusiastically to follow his humbling and

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[137] Cecilia García, *Mujeres*, La Novela Ideal, 497 (La Revista Blanca, 1936), p. 15.
[138] Ibid., pp. 18, 21.
[139] Ibid., p. 30.
[140] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 7 December 1933.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Amador, *El Señorito*, pp. 20-21. For a very similar real-life example, see: Miguel Grau Caldu and Antonia Lisbona Celma, *Memorias Completas 1913-1991* (Virus Editorial, 1996), pp. 20-21, 36.
[143] Colomer, *Flora*, pp. 26-27.

egalitarian anarchist principles as they initiate their romance.[144] Models of compatibility in these fables elevated the importance of shared anarchist values to the amorous prospects of a couple.

Making sure to only become romantically and sexually involved with people with good moral character did not only involve finding someone sympathetic to the anarchist struggle. Choices of partner were also essential in the anarchists' project to halt 'human degeneration, physically and morally' and thereby achieve 'the perfection of our species'.[145] Good moral character, according to Sebastián Gomila in the anarcho-naturist magazine *Estudios*, could manifest in physical activities like athletics, good hygiene, and the avoidance of excess and vice.[146] Importantly, 'vice' was seen as including masturbation, which was believed by sexologists at the time to cause male sexual dysfunction as well as other chronic mental and intellectual conditions.[147] Eugenic texts like this one argued that by encouraging reproduction amongst people with these characteristics and discouraging reproduction among those lacking them, society would progress. Such hygienism, fuelled by high contemporary mother and child mortality rates, was not unique to anarchism but a worldview upheld in eugenic circles across the political spectrum.[148] Anarchist doctors often gave specific advice in this regard. They severely frowned upon indulgence in alcohol and opiates, with Amparo Poch y Gascón for instance claiming that partnering with somebody with these vices would likely lead to the conception of children with epilepsy or learning disabilities—children who were 'a useless and heavy burden for society'.[149] By partaking in vices, or sleeping with someone who did without using contraception, one was risking not only the lives of one's own potential children

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[144] Jacobina, *Llamas Redentoras*, pp. 8, 26, 27. For a similar riches to rags narrative, see: Carmen Perarnau, *Noble Corazón*, La Novela Ideal, 572 (La Revista Blanca, 1937).
[145] Sebastián Gomila, 'Las dos tendencias', *Estudios*, March 1929, pp. 2-3.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Turbutt, 'Sexual Revolution and the Spanish Anarchist Press', p. 354.
[148] Blasco Herranz, 'Feminism and motherhood in the early twentieth century Spain', p. 108. The example par excellence was Hildegart Rodríguez, a 'eugenic child' who went onto become a eugenic sex-reform campaigner herself from the age of 11 as well as a member of Spain's Socialist Youth organisation: Pattison, 'Eugenics and the modern woman on trial, pp. 44-46). Hildegart's written works were also advertised in the anarchist press.
[149] Poch y Gascón, *La vida sexual,* p. 29. This echoed the discourses on ideal individual embodiment of womanhood highlighted in Chapter 1.

but also apparently the prosperity of society as a whole.

Different degrees of eugenic messaging were found across the anarchist press, but what united these was the belief that gendered actions taken in one's romantic and sexual life would underpin the social regeneration of humanity central to the anarchist revolution.[150] This was a manifestation of what sociologists Jacobsson and Lindblom have called 'neutralisation': where activists construct counter-stereotypes about non-activists so as to emotionally reinforce their own deviant convictions.[151] By claiming that following anarchist principles would make one a contributor to the regeneration of the human race, this discourse implied that those who opposed anarchism perpetuated social decline; anarchist worldviews became the neutral stance while mainstream beliefs became abhorrent.

A major spokesperson for eugenics in Spain was Luis Huerta, whose books were published by anarchist publishing houses and advertised in anarchist magazines' bookselling pages. In a 1933 book, Huerta wrote that 'degeneration of the human race is an evident fact' and defined eugenics as the modification of 'the qualities of the race—physical or mental—of the future generations'.[152] There was variation in the measures anarchists suggested as part of this eugenic project, with corresponding variation in the gendering of eugenic roles. Overall, though, as historian Micaela Pattison has shown, due to their role in cultural consumption and in sexual encounters, women and girls were recognised in the interwar period as 'important targets for eugenics propaganda'.[153]

Antonia Maymón advocated that couples should follow naturist lifestyles ahead of producing children, so as to ensure that they themselves were 'healthy and purified organism[s]' that would produce physiologically apt children.[154] By contrast, she, wrote, the children of 'degenerate[s]' (such as smokers and drinkers) would suffer physical, intellectual and moral illnesses which would

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150. For anarchism and eugenics, see: Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*.
151 Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, p. 116.
152. Huerta, *Natalidad Controlada*, p. 23.
153 Pattison, 'Eugenics and the modern woman on trial', p. 35.
154. Antonia Maymón, 'Naturismo,' *La Revista Blanca*, no.60, 15 November, 1925, p. 21.

drive them to disease, criminality and madness.[155] On similar lines, a text by French anarchist and 'conscious maternity' campaigner Jeanne Humbert in the magazine *Iniciales* encouraged women to choose carefully with whom they procreated, so as to 'populate intelligently and, as such, more profitably for society'.[156] The outcome would be 'healthier, more beautiful, and better children […] capable of constructing a superior Humanity'.[157] Notably, it was women's choice of partner and not men's which allegedly mattered here.

Interventions in the Spanish anarchist press posited that natality should be controlled for a greater good that was measured according to subjective criteria such as 'health' or 'beauty' whose yardsticks could betray exclusionary or even discriminatory biases. As such, when Lola Iturbe wrote in a 1933 article that the children of sex workers 'reproduce the most inferior species', we might look to historians of LGBTQ+ history such as Piro Subrat who highlight that such expressions of disdain for sex workers by extension were disparaging those demographics most likely to rely on that work for income as well as all those who lived and worked in areas like Barcelona's '*Barrio Chino*'—including gender non-conforming 'travestis' and foreign migrants.[158]

More controversial than eugenics in anarchism was Malthusianism—the economic impetus for population control that gained a foothold in Spain at the turn of the century.[159] Certainly some proponents of eugenics were very vocal enemies of Malthusianism, but in Spanish anarchist discourse by the 1930s the two sets of aims were frequently synthesised.[160] This hybridisation was facilitated by the fact that anarchism specifically emphasised self-discipline as a necessary

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155. Ibid. She had already addressed this once before in the same magazine, in an article connecting naturism to 'the progressive march of humanity': Maymón, 'Anarquismo y naturismo'.
156. Juana Humbert, 'Maternidad consciente', *Iniciales,* 1933, 4, pp. 2, 15.
157. Ibid.
158. Kiralina, 'El comunismo anárquico libertará a la mujer', *Suplemento de Tierra y Libertad,* June 1933, p. 198. Piro Subrat, *Invertidos y Rompepatrias: Marxismo, Anarquismo y Desobedencia Sexual y de Género en el Estado Español (1868-1982)* (Editorial Imperdible, 2019), pp. 87-89. See also: Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex,* pp. 47-51.
159 The thesis uses 'Malthusianism' rather than 'Neo-Malthusianism', following the reasoning expounded in: Huerta, *Natalidad Controlada*, pp. 21-22.
160. See: Molero-Mesa, Jiménez-Lucena and Tabernero-Holgado, 'Neomalthusianismo y Eugenesia, pp. 118-119; Masjuan, *La Ecología Humana,* pp. 227-228; Navarro Navarro, 'Sexualidad, Reproducción y Cultura Obrera', pp. 8-9, and especially: Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*.

precondition for prefiguratively revolutionising society—in other words, part and parcel of autonomy was personal responsibility (including for the size and 'quality' of one's family). Anarchist political culture was tasked with modelling and supporting this self-discipline through educational means. As Álvaro Girón has noted, anarchist print discourse on issues of sex exemplified anarchist '*coacción moral*' (moral compulsion).[161]

Drawing on the eighteenth century demographical theory of Thomas Malthus, and integrating new developments in contraceptive science, Malthusians advocated for various methods to control birth rates.[162] In previous decades, Piotr Kropotkin had opposed Malthusians because they interpreted Darwinian evolutionary theory as evidence that life is an unavoidable battle between individuals.[163] Kropotkin returned to Darwin's work to instead emphasise that collaboration—that is, mutual aid, the basis of his anarchist social imaginary—was key to both individual survival and further evolutionary progress for the species.[164] However, by the 1920s and 1930s, in anarchist circles, Malthusianism was associated most of all with the argument that couples who could not afford more children, or couples whose living conditions were so dire that bringing up a child would be dangerous for all involved, should be encouraged to use contraception.[165] Given that in anarchist political culture 'eugenics' was less pronatalist than in other political spheres and instead focused on preventing certain births, it made sense that many writers conflated eugenic and Malthusian ideals in their discursive interventions.[166]

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[161] Girón-Sierra, 'Eugenesia y anarquismo', p. 100.
[162] On Malthus and Malthusianism: Huerta, *Natalidad Controlada*, pp. 15-16. Anarchists tended to frown on abstinence as a Malthusian technique, instead preferring contraception (and safe, regulated abortion but only as a last resort): Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 48-50. For a historical survey of the issue, see: Laura Sánchez Blanco, 'La liberación de las oprimidas. El neomalthusianismo y la maternidad consciente en el anarquismo femenino', *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, 8.2 (2021), pp. 19-40, doi:10.14516/ete.541.
[163] Morland, *Demanding the Impossible?,* pp. 130-132.
[164] Ibid. See also: Girón-Sierra, 'Eugenesia y anarquismo', p. 90.
[165] For instance, see: María Huot, 'Procreación y paro forzoso', *Iniciales,* 1932, 2, pp. 7-10. Use of contraception by anarchists will be discussed in depth in Chapter 7.
[166] This was also especially noticeable in texts like those of Marie Stopes (a British birth control campaigner) which promoted use of contraceptives in place of abortion (recognising the danger very desperate women placed themselves in) while at the same time espousing eugenic ideas of racial 'health': Dra Stopes, 'Propagar la anticoncepción es una necesidad urgente', *Iniciales*, 1933, 6, pp. 10-11.

However, while the eugenic premise that society was degenerating and careful procreation was needed to save the human race was largely accepted by anarchists, Malthusianism was more controversial because it inevitably placed the spotlight on the proletariat as the sector of society who most 'needed' to curtail their birth rates. Some argued that Malthusianism was a bourgeois ploy to diminish the proletarian revolutionary ranks, while others argued that encouraging the proletariat to have large families was the bourgeois ploy because it ensured a large enough workforce to be disposable and therefore poorly paid.[167]

Poch y Gascón argued that contraceptive education was especially important for people with inheritable illnesses who should be taught to never procreate, although her ideal preference would be the establishment of a system by which couples could obtain certificates testifying good health before beginning to have unprotected intercourse.[168] Sebastián Gomila had already suggested such a measure in a 1927 article in *Generación Consciente*.[169] Social progress was defined not as equipping society to care for people who were chronically ill or disabled since birth, but eliminating all incidence of those illnesses and disabilities through 'educational' efforts about good or bad moral choices of sexual partner. French anarchist Jeanne Humbert indeed issued a warning in that magazine's successor, *Estudios,* that 'eugenic measures' would become all the more necessary in a post-revolutionary society in which subsistence needs were met through socialised services, because such a society would inadvertently support the survival and reproduction of the 'unfit' as well as the 'fit', thereby worsening social 'degeneration'.[170]

The cultivation of 'moral character' was itself gendered: anarchist men were portrayed as

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[167.] Proponents of the first stance included the Montseny family: 'Consultorio General', *La Revista Blanca*, 19 April 1935. On the second stance, see for instance: N. Tarassov, *El proletariado ante el sexo (El derecho al aborto)* (Biblioteca Orto, 1932), pp. 12-13; María Huot, *La procreación voluntaria y el paro forzoso*, trans. by J. Elizalde (Ediciones Estudios, n.d.), pp. 14-15. See also: Girón-Sierra, 'Eugenesia y anarquismo', p. 96.
[168] Poch y Gascón, *La Vida Sexual*, p. 31.
[169] Sebastián Gomila, 'El pro y el contra', *Generación Consciente*, November 1927, pp.7-8.
[170] Jeanne Humbert, 'La mujer en la sociedad', *Estudios*, January 1930, pp.51-52.

inherently unruly, and anarchist women were supposed to be their mentors in self-restraint and moral integrity.[171] In *La Vida Sexual de la Mujer,* Amparo Poch y Gascón argued that the majority of men were not ready to be good husbands because their attitude and behaviour towards women left much to be desired.[172] In a book published by *Tierra y Libertad* in 1937, titled *A los Jóvenes* ('To the Young People'), Kropotkin called on young women to challenge the behaviour of their husbands and sons whenever they failed to live up to anarchist expectations—for example if they were not active in the movement and instead spent all their time between work and the pub.[173] Similarly, a 1935 article in *Solidaridad Obrera* urged, upon acknowledging that many women were enslaved to their husbands, that 'we need to join hands, [female] comrades […] to help the idealists [anarchist men] with the feeling of love and abnegation that by pure instinct we feel as women'.[174]

This last article triggered the ensuing Vázquez-Sánchez debate in *Solidaridad Obrera* (aforementioned in Chapter Five), in which Mariano Vázquez reiterated that the people to blame for oppression were not only the oppressors but the oppressed who failed to stand up to them; just as the First International called upon the proletariat to become their own liberators, 'guilt not only falls on the man for being a tyrant, but also it falls on the woman for conforming to being a slave'.[175] Lucía Sánchez Saornil replied with incredulity. Unlike the proletariat and bourgeoisie, she wrote, anarchist men and women were working towards the same goal, and furthermore 'how will you say to a [female] comrade "help me to carry this load", when she is not the one who controls her own

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[171] Meanwhile a new model of Catholic masculinity emerged, centred on pious self-restraint in contravention of the alleged sexual excesses of anticlerical leftists like the anarchists: Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, 'Gendering Catholicism in Late Modern Spanish History (1854–1923): Research Lines and Debates for a European Dialogue', *European History Quarterly*, 53.2 (2023): pp. 233-253 (p. 249), doi:10.1177/02656914231163093.
[172] Poch y Gascón, *La Vida Sexual,* pp. 32-33.
[173] P. Kropotkine[sic], *A los jóvenes*, Cuadernos de Educación Social (Ediciones Tierra y Libertad, 1937), pp. 30-31.
[174] R.P., 'Para tí, mujer', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 31 August 1935, p. 2. This claimed to be penned by a woman, but a later response in the same magazine seriously doubted that that was the case: Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 2 October 1935, p. 2.
[175] M. R. Vázquez, 'Por la elevación de la mujer', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 10 October 1935, p. 4.

feet nor her own hands?'[176] Sánchez Saornil was fighting back against what she, and many of her contemporaries, felt was a widespread disrespect towards women by anarchist men in domestic sites of intimacy—the subject of Chapter 7.

At the same time as many women were burdened with 'fixing' men's morality, many middle-class (mostly male) proponents of eugenics still harboured anxiety that working-class women—especially young women—were unprepared to handle the popularisation of scientific knowledge about sex.[177] Those anarchist sex-reform writers who did target their publications at women were concerned not only with women's reproductive role in social regeneration but with shaping the way in which anarchist womanhood might constitute an improvement upon the interwar Spanish 'modern girl'. Overall, then, anarchist ideals of good partnerships in which romantic-sexual love might be cultivated marginalised any choices of partner which violated compulsory heterosexuality. By the same token, this compulsory heterosexuality placed disproportionate burdens onto women whose partners were men.

[176] Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'Resumen al margen de la cuestión femenina', *Solidaridad Obrera*, 8 November 1935, p. 2
[177] Pattison, 'Eugenics and the modern woman on trial', pp. 53-54.

Chapter 7: Lovers

In a documentary reflecting back on her anarchist activism in the 1930s, Lola Iturbe recalled that the first time she ran a magazine kiosk a group of young women picked up a copy of an anarchist sex-education pamphlet and exclaimed 'The sexual freedom of our times!'[1] With hindsight, she remarked that 'that was the first time that anarchism took to the streets not as something violent but as something cultural'.[2]

This anecdote underlines the prominence of sexual intimacy in interwar anarchist political culture, both at the time and in historical memory.[3] The gender dynamic of such intimacy was therefore an important facet in anarchist women's experiences of comradeship in this period. The editors of anarchist magazine *La Revista Blanca* went as far as to write in 1934 that 'Romantic life […] has no fixed rules.'[4] Yet this was not strictly true. Sexual intimacy between anarchists was shaped, if not by 'rules', then by attempts to redefine the boundaries of social acceptability. The gender dynamic of these boundaries shifted over time as circumstances in Spain evolved.

When it came to feeling romantic love, the extent to which anarchist political culture's emotional regime could deviate from interwar Spain's hegemonic emotional regime was ever-constrained by the gender dynamics of anarchists' sexually intimate practices.[5] Rosa Medina Domenech states that love is central to the construction of gender; Chapter 7 demonstrates that the inverse is simultaneously true.[6]

The historical phenomenology of romantic and sexual love is difficult to evidence given the limitations inherent to the sources available to us. First-hand testimonies tend to come from

[1] Fontanillas Borrás and Torres Planells, *Lola Iturbe Arizcuren,* p. 16.
[2] Ibid.
[3] This has long been recognised by historians, for instance it is mentioned in: Nash, *Mujer y Movimiento Obrero,* p. 45.
[4] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 February 1934.
[5] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling,* p. 55.
[6] Medina-Doménech, 'The Science of Love', p. 179.

memoirs and oral history, produced decades after the fact, which may betray emotional shifts such as nostalgia upon a partner's passing or a decrease in discomfort when relaying sexual experiences once sex-positivity became more mainstream.[7] Triangulating such sources against one another, as well as putting them in conversation with underused grassroots testimonies about private life from the time—those preserved in anarchist magazines' advice columns—ameliorates these difficulties.

In a speech targeting women, several weeks into the Spanish Civil War, anarchist doctor and Director of Public Health in the Catalan Generalitat (the institution of self-government of Catalonia) Félix Martí Ibáñez proclaimed that he spent years telling women it was their 'amorous mission' and 'social duty' to 'create in men the conviction that they [women] are equal in life, work, and love'.[8] Echoing pre-war anarchist discourse discussed in Chapter 6, the onus was not on men to instigate self-improvement amongst themselves, but entirely on women to persuade the men around them that they were deserving of equality.[9] This doctor greatly misdiagnosed the problem. Chapter 7 illustrates that very many women did bring the anarchist revolution into their romantic relationships as much as they could, yet their emotional, social, reproductive and mental labour would never suffice to persuade anarchist men (for the most part) to pull the same weight.

Rosón and Medina Domenech's theory of 'emotional resistances' frames the private home as a key site for women's agency to resist oppressive structures, and many anarchist women did indeed prefigure revolutionary praxes through the ways that they handled their own sexual encounters and raised their children.[10] Women aided one another, but the men in their lives usually did not share in this resistance: many who fought together for social justice in the street neglected to build

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[7] Only from the 1970s onwards is it common to find historical sources that describe people's sexual practices. Evans, 'Knowledge and Experience', pp. 257-258.
[8] Félix Martí Ibáñez, 'Mensaje eugénico a la mujer' (August 1936), in Martí Ibáñez, *Obra: Diez meses de labor en sanidad y asistencia social* (Ediciones Tierra y Libertad, November 1937), p. 127.
[9] This was somewhat of a volte face from a 1935 article of his in *Estudios* which advised men in its final paragraph to treat their lovers with mutual respect, although even this text was predominantly dedicated to explaining Spanish men's enduring inability to see beyond immediate sexual gratification: Dr. Félix Martí Ibáñez, 'Carta a Buenos Aires: A don Rafael Hasan', *Estudios*, August 1935, pp. 11-13.
[10] Rosón and Medina Domenech, 'Resistencias emocionales', pp. 421-422.

anarchist comradeship with their lovers in private.[11]

Pleasure and shame in sexual intimacy between anarchists

The anarchist press in Spain—more so than other left-wing print—was very frank about sexual pleasure, intertwining its individualistic contribution towards self-fulfilment in life with its social value in the cultivation of emotional intimacy.[12] Anselmo Lorenzo pointed to sexual pleasure as the 'feeling' which led a loving relationship to go beyond the limits of friendship.[13] Echoing the Rynerian ideal of *amor plural* explored in Chapter 6, he added that, naturally, sexual passion once explored may be redirected towards another person.[14] In the anarchist ideal, sex was a transcendental experience connected not only to reproduction but to physical wellbeing.[15] As individual autonomy was a fundamental tenet of anarchist thought, bodily autonomy was central to anarchist discourse surrounding sexual intimacy: nobody but you had the right to decide how you used your body.[16] To most writers in the Spanish and French anarchist press, sex was not only worthwhile when it led to conception: instead, pleasure was an end in and of itself.[17] Some writers like Higinio Noja Ruiz did maintain that love was a response to a natural impulse to reproduce, but even he still considered this an argument in favour of abundant sexual activity.[18]

The possibility of feeling sexual pleasure was something many anarchist women in Spain likely discovered separately from any involvement in the movement. Tanya Evans has indicated that oral transmission of knowledge about sex was pivotal within the poorest groups in society who had little

[11] This was stated too in: CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000964, CD, Track 031, Ángelina Ferriz Aguilar.
[12] Gemie, 'Anarchism and Feminism', pp. 430-431.
[13] Lorenzo, *Evolución Proletaria,* p. 238.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Lora Medina, 'Sexualidad, Desnudismo y Moralidad', p. 825.
[16] For example, see: Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, p. 61.
[17] For instance: Armand, *Amor libre*, pp. 39, 76-77. This is what Giddens called 'plastic sexuality': Giddens, *The Transformation of Intimacy,* p. 2.
[18] H. Noja Ruiz, 'Alrededor del amor', *Estudios*, January 1930, pp. 24-26.

access to literacy, but this was not the only way to gain fragments of understanding about it.[19] Lola Iturbe recalled in her memoir, for example, that she learned about the mechanics of intercourse as a child from witnessing farm animals mating, and then learned about sexual pleasure as a teenager upon stumbling across erotic magazines in her employers' home-come-workshop.[20] What was significant about anarchism was its opposition to the Church's purity culture and association between non-procreative sex and sin, and its flagrant defiance of the state's attempts to police moral emotions around sexuality—exemplified in anti-obscenity bans against sex education materials.

Anarchist political culture moreover sought to channel individuals' potentially misguided fragments of knowledge about sex into more well-informed and fulfilling sexual behaviours between lovers which highly valued pleasure while also taking precautions against conception in circumstances considered unfavourable. Despite this apparent exaltation of pleasure and permissiveness, though, there were certain contexts in which anarchists sought to impose gendered boundaries on sexual desire and behaviour, and frank discussion of sex in the print media did not necessarily transpose to equitable emotional improvements in anarchist men and women's experiences of sexual intimacy.

Discourses and praxes surrounding sexual intimacy in anarchist political culture placed pleasure at the forefront, which inevitably impacted the construction of anarchist womanhood. Anarchist writers, including doctors, typically depicted sexual pleasure as an experience shared by all post-pubescent people regardless of gender, thereby subverting hegemonic sexual scripts of the insatiable husband and long-suffering wife. Amparo Poch y Gascón, in *La vida sexual de la mujer* ('The Sexual Life of the Woman', 1932), encouraged women to be vocal about their sexual desires with their partners, lamenting that for too long women 'were denied the natural right to satisfy the needs and desires of their bodies.'[21] Openness about sex was believed to serve women's own good

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[19] Evans, 'Knowledge and Experience', p. 258.
[20] Fontanillas Borrás and Torres Planells, *Lola Iturbe Arizcuren*, pp. 80, 93-94.
[21] Amparo Poch y Gascón, *La vida sexual,* pp. 42, 21.

health—anarchist doctors largely shared the conviction that abstinence caused physical and mental unwellness in people of all genders.[22]

A 1936 article in *La Revista Blanca* celebrated the influence of anarchism in liberating emotional experiences of sex from being something that felt ‘often mechanical, indifferent and even painful’.[23] This echoed Poch y Gascón's *La vida sexual de la mujer* which drew attention to the fact that intercourse was not supposed to feel painful for those with vaginas—indeed, one's hymen might be broken long before one's first sexual encounter, and any severe pain during sex should be recognised as abnormal and medically treated.[24] Poch y Gascón even challenged the popular orthodoxy perpetuated by men in the movement (see Chapter 6) that men had a superior libido. She suggested that this false assumption derived from the prioritisation of men's pleasure over women's and the fact that women who believed that deriving pleasure from sex made them shamefully sinful would hardly enjoy the experience.[25]

The anarchist sexual revolution was about liberating sexual pleasure by normalising it, thereby eradicating feelings of shame from the sexual realm. Men were ‘freed’ from sexual shame to a far greater extent than women, though. Anarchists' calls for improvement to women's sexual fulfilment were tied to agendas for social regeneration through collective moral accountability, with its emotional burden disproportionately shouldered by women. Jacobsson and Lindblom suggest that activists can do emotion work to transform feelings of shame into mobilising moral emotions like righteous anger, but here that transformation did not take place: instead, the ensuing feeling among shamed anarchist women was hesitancy or anger towards comrades.[26]

Poch y Gascón claimed that once women did away with internalised pressure to endure sex

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[22] On abstinence: Thiago Lemos Silva, ‘Las *bodas a la libertaria* bajo la mirada de Lucía Sánchez Saornil: crónica de una cobardía espiritual’, *Germinal*, 17 (2024), pp.131-140, doi:unavailable.
[23] J. Santana Calero, ‘La tragedia de los sexos,’ *La Revista Blanca*, 29 May, 1936, p. 438.
[24] Poch y Gascón, *La Vida Sexual,* pp. 43-44.
[25] Poch y Gascón*, La Vida Sexual,* p. 23.
[26] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, pp. 57-64.

only for procreation, this would remove all demand for sex workers, and similarly Émile Armand framed prostitution as a sacrifice made by a small proportion of women so that all other women could remain chaste and therefore not sin.[27] The elimination of sex work was tied to all manner of social ills identified in anarchist discourse: from venereal disease (allegedly spread most of all by sex workers) to single motherhood (which forced some women into sex work).[28] During the early months of the Civil War, *Mujeres Libres* made re-educating and re-training sex workers and victims of sex trafficking a key priority by designing 'liberatory' residential centres for them in Barcelona, but this abolitionary project was never able to come to fruition.[29] That these plans included moral re-education and residential supervision, on the presumption that involvement in prostitution damaged a woman's sense of morality, reflected the tension between individual self-determination and collective accountability at the heart of anarchist theories and praxes of liberation.

Another product of this tension was that anarchists disagreed about what constituted obscenity and therefore what types of media content were morally acceptable for public consumption. Émile Armand argued that removing all constraints around 'obscenity' would facilitate better sex education of young people who would no longer see nudity and sex as mysterious and salacious.[30] While from the Second Republic onwards anarchist publications like the Barcelona-based *Iniciales* subverted hegemonic conceptions of obscenity by publishing nude photographs, in May 1936 the libertarian *ateneo* in Elda (Alicante) returned an item from its regular delivery of the anarchist novella series *La Novela Libre* on the grounds that its cover was apparently 'pornographic'.[31] Once the Revolution and Civil War commenced in the summer of 1936, those anarchists who opposed obscenity took centre stage, re-shaping the anarchist principle of sexual autonomy (and by

[27] Ibid., p. 43; Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 51-53.
[28] This has been addressed by: Nash, *Mujer y Movimiento Obrero*, pp. 41-43.
[29] Anon., 'Liberatorios de prostitución', *Mujeres Libres*, 5, 1936, p. 6; Nash, *Mujer y Movimiento Obrero*, pp. 41-43; Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, pp. 163-165.
[30] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 54-59.
[31] CDMH, PS-BARCELONA, 809, 4. f. 23, Letter from Elda (Alicante) *Ateneo Libertario* to Comrades at *La Revista Blanca*, 29/5/1936.

extension, all bodily autonomy) in line with the wartime de-prioritisation of women's fulfilment.[32]

Félix Martí Ibáñez, anarchist and Director of Public Health in the Generalitat, published in his 1937 memoir that the 'inactivity' of refugee women, combined with their separation from their partners, their economic hardship, and the general heightened sexual instincts of wartime, was leading them to experience 'sexual disorders' (an allusion to lesbian attraction?) and fall into prostitution.[33] He recalled how his government department tackled this problem by removing refugee women from their individual homes and setting up communal *colonias* instead, where they could redirect their 'sexual energy' into something productive.[34] Whereas once women's sexual voraciousness compared to men's was in doubt, now women who had fled war and lost everything were derided as sexual threats.

At the Front, too, discourses about sex circulated by emotion entrepreneurs like Martí Ibáñez compounded the burdens felt by women whose wartime social position already felt increasingly precarious. Women's presence on front lines was blamed for the sexual voraciousness of male militiamen: only weeks into the war, Martí Ibáñez gave a speech accusing women of harming the war effort by going to the Front to 'excite the sensuality of the soldiers.'[35] Echoing a line expressed by influential political commentators across the Republican side, including feminist Clara Campoamor, he portrayed women's mobilisation at the Front as a naive expedition to earn money from sexual relations, when actually women overwhelmingly travelled to the Front in order to take up arms or carry out auxiliary tasks for the soldiers such as cooking, transport, or medical care.[36] His speech blamed women for 'exciting' the soldiers; not the soldiers for becoming 'excited'; women's mere existence in this masculine space was now portrayed as shamefully obscene.

This narrative furthermore obscured the reality that enticing propaganda images of the young

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[32] See Chapter 2.
[33] Martí Ibáñez, *Diez meses de labor,* p. 40.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Martí Ibáñez, 'Mensaje eugénico a la mujer', pp. 129-130.
[36] Martínez Ruz, *Milicianas*; Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Casilda Miliciana,* pp. 56-58.

and attractive *miliciana*, designed to seduce men into signing up to fight (as historian Mary Nash has suggested), were not styled by militiawomen themselves nor reflective of their actual appearances and demeanours.[37] Martí Ibáñez's speech also blamed women for the spread of venereal disease among soldiers, an excuse founded on gendered sexual shame which was soon harnessed to justify the withdrawal of all *milicianas* from the Front, as discussed in Chapter 2, even though in reality sex work and venereal disease were far more widespread at the rearguard among militiamen on leave.[38] In an oral-history interview, Casilda Hernáez recalled feeling furious that such a narrative about the *milicianas* was portrayed by middle-class men and women about women like her and her friends, one of whom was heartbreakingly taken prisoner while fighting at the Front all the while seemingly being regarded in public eyes as dirty and sexually promiscuous.[39]

Moreover, historian Ana Martínez Rus has shed light on testimonies of sexual abuse by men against women at the Front, so we cannot assume that all sexual contact there was even consensual. One woman, Antonia García, recalled that among the *milicianas* it was commonly said that 'the men [at the Front] are communists, socialists or anarchists from the waist up'.[40] The patriarchal view that women were to blame for society's sexual deficiencies aligned with mainstream political and scientific sexual discourses in Europe since the start of the 1920s.[41] It did nothing to subvert systemic sexual oppression like the anarchist ideal of love had once aspired to do. Such gendered constraints on sexual permissiveness led to an inequitable liberation of sexual intimacy, thereby hindering comradeship-building within romantic and sexual partnerships.

Such gendered interpretations of the liberation of sexual intimacy in anarchist political culture were reinforced, too, by the misogynistic sexualisation of anarchist women in mixed-gender anarchist locales; 'free love' apparently 'freed' women to be more sexually active than ever, to the

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[37] Nash, '"Milicianas" and Homefront Heroines', pp. 238-239.
[38] Martí Ibáñez, 'Mensaje eugénico a la mujer', pp. 131-132. Martínez Rus, *Milicianas*, p. 64.
[39] Jiménez de Aberasturi, *Casilda Miliciana*, pp. 58-59.
[40] Martínez Rus, *Milicianas*, p. 68.
[41] Simon Szreter, 'Introduction', *The hidden affliction: sexually transmitted infections and infertility in history* ed. by Szreter (University of Rochester, 2019), pp. 1-40 (p. 10).

benefit of heterosexual men. Lola Iturbe wrote in her periodical *Tierra y Libertad* during the Civil War that the libertarian *ateneos* were seeing an influx of new young women attendees, motivated by interest in anarchist ideas and enthusiasm to join the movement, but that these women rather than being welcomed as comrades were instead being snapped up as girlfriends, then wives and mothers, by young anarchist men.[42] 'When they [young men in *ateneos*] interact with a woman,' Iturbe wrote, 'they're more interested in her femaleness than her comradeship'.[43] In the article she encouraged any young women readers to persevere in the *ateneos* by getting even more involved: studying books, taking classes, participating in excursions, and continuing to self-realise without any need for a man.[44] Iturbe was observing the culmination of a long-standing obstacle to comradeship in anarchist spaces, as noted in Chapter 5.

That this problem pre-dated the war is further evident from the case of *La Revista Blanca*'s '*Fiesta del Amor*'. In June 1934, the doctor running *La Revista Blanca*'s advice column proposed the idea of organising a *Fiesta del Amor* ('Festival of Love') the following May Day (traditionally a day off for workers), in which excursions would be organised for young men and women who sought *uniones libres* instead of marriage and understood the anarchist principles of free love.[45] In the meantime, he said, he would publish in *La Revista Blanca* the contact details of any young men who wrote in seeking to date anarchist women.[46] This matchmaking column continued for several more issues of the magazine.[47] However, the following month Dr Klug called off his plans for the *Fiesta del Amor*. He lamented that too many young men were misunderstanding what free love looked like, and so too many young women were being disadvantaged by it.[48] 'The duty of

[42] Kyralina, 'A las mujeres de las Juventudes Anarquistas', *Tierra y Libertad*, 22 September 1933, p. 3.
[43] Ibid. It was reiterated by Carmen Mesa in an oral history interview that women were seen as a 'mujer' and not a 'compañera': CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000974, CD, Track 152: Carmen Mesa.
[44] Kyralina, 'Frente al fascismo'.
[45] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 22 June 1934; Dr Klug, 'Por la fiesta del amor libre', *La Revista Blanca,* 20 July 1934, pp. 572-573.
[46] 'Consultorio', 22 June 1934.
[47] The anarcho-naturist magazine *Iniciales* also had a matchmaking column, as has been studied by: Diez, *Utopia Sexual a la Premsa Anarquista,* pp. 52-53.
[48] Klug, 'Por la fiesta'.

anarchists is', he wrote, 'to make the youth understand the immense harm that one can do to a woman when she's taken only as a female. One should love a woman, and only once we love her a lot can we desire her. Only then can we give liberty to our sexual instinct.'[49]

He highlighted that the daughters of anarchists were especially vulnerable to poor experiences of free love because their parents gave them more freedom than young people in hegemonic society and they (and their male peers) did not yet have the maturity to make the most of that freedom.[50] He suggested that to solve this problem *La Revista Blanca* should extend the dating content of their advice column, support anarchist women's groups by publicising their activities in the magazine, and match-make young anarchist discreetly.[51] Indeed, following this last point, that very same issue printed the contact details of two young men who sought to 'correspond with a young woman in order to unite freely'.[52] The example of the *Fiesta del Amor* that never came to be illustrated that lethargy in men's mentality shifts pertaining to what the anarchist ideal of love should look like in their own lives was harming comradeship-building between anarchist women and men.

Pre-war discourse promised that anarchist women potentially had, in anarchist men, an alternative route towards experiencing romantic and sexual love in which they would feel much greater freedom than in mainstream society. An oral-history interview with Concha Liaño summarised the aspects of normative romantic partnerships which she sought to escape via involvement with anarchist men: in those days a woman was 'her husband's servant' and she had to ask his permission for everything as though she were a little child—for instance, Concha's cousin was prohibited by her husband from cutting her hair.[53] For Concha, joining the JJLL and later the *ateneo* in Clot (Barcelona) during the 1930s at least allowed her to find people who understood and

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[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Anon., '[Announcement]', *La Revista Blanca*, 20 July 1934, p. VI.
[53] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000978, CD, Concha Liaño (2007).

shared her defiance against this undignified and infantilising picture of romantic partnership.[54]

However, evidence provided thus far in this chapter demonstrates that the freedom in 'free love' was unequal within many heterosexual anarchist couples throughout the period between 1923 and 1939. When the Revolution came in 1936, emotion entrepreneurs like Martí Ibáñez forsook anarchism's equalising rational-romantic ideal of love, now prioritising women's collective moral accountability through sexual shame over their individual autonomy through sexual pleasure. This only served to echo sexual scripts of (im)purity pushed by the hegemonic emotional regime, resulting in incidents where sex workers expressed resentment towards anarchist propagandising.[55]

Nevertheless, many anarchist women supported one another to continue to persevere in bringing anarchist principles into their praxes of romantic and sexual love as much as they could, and there were two scenarios in which this especially came to the fore: when couples considered breaking up, and when couples considered making a home.

Women's disproportionate intimate labour to free love: breakups

The moral freedom to break up a relationship was inherent to the anarchist ideal of love. Émile Armand, aforementioned individualist proponent of *camaradería amorosa*, argued that lifelong monogamous relationships and polyamorous relationships were equally valuable.[56] Feeling attracted to multiple people for different reasons, and wanting to break up relationships in order to pursue those attractions, therefore did not carry any moral quandary—as he wrote in *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, sexual freedom did not mean freedom from the upset and pain of breakups.[57] Although wider discourses on the longevity of love were changing in Spain, in light of what became

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[54] Ibid.
[55] See Concha Liaño's account of leafleting for *Mujeres Libres* in Barcelona's *'Barrio Chino*': Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 211-212.
[56] Armand, *Amor Libre*, pp. 8-11.
[57] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 6-7.

the 1932 divorce law, the anarchist press was especially radical for its explicit justifications for relationships breaking up.

In his rubric of *camaradería amorosa*, Armand included that it was important to warn one's partner of one's intention to break up the relationship before following through, so that one's partner could put preparations in place.[58] The most important consideration was to avoid emotionally hurting any of one's partners: in the event of ending a relationship one must persuade one's partner that it was for the best and thereby ensure the decision felt mutual.[59] An example of this in practice may have been the arrangement of anarchists Antonio Puig, Teresa Montaner and Salvador Seguí. Puig and Montaner (a couple with two children) took in Seguí as a house guest, then the latter two began sleeping together.[60] When Montaner fell pregnant again it was unclear who the father was but Seguí was keen to be the father, so the three continued to live together—this time with Montaner and Seguí being a couple and Puig being a guest.[61] According to Federica Montseny, Puig was content with this arrangement which made it a successful example of *amor plural* in practice.[62] Of course, as an external party to their relationship Montseny may not have been privy to Puig's entire emotional world, plus the relative influence of Seguí in the anarchist movement at the time may have been an unmentioned factor in the outcome and its positive depiction in her memoir. What this anecdote does offer is an example of the emotionally complex lived experiences that anarchist ideals of love aspired to address.

Theoretical interventions by Armand and others may have emphasised that clear communication would make romantic and sexual partnerships straightforward and breakups largely painless, but the reality was that relationships between anarchists—just like relationships between any people—were very often messy, poorly defined and emotionally challenging. Anarchists'

[58] Ibid., pp. 80-83. See also: Armand, *Amor Libre*, p. 36.
[59] Ibid. pp. 34-36.
[60] Montseny, *cuarenta años*, p. 45.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.

memoirs are a fountain of anecdotes about romantic foibles which serve as testament to the difficulty of implementing strict frameworks like *amor plural* or *camaradería amorosa* in one's own multifaceted and emotionally invested intimate life. Federica Montseny fell in love with Germinal Esgleas while he was in prison; meanwhile, for two years, she was also seeing another man.[63] She neglected to formally break off this other relationship even once Esgleas was released, so it only came to an end when the man one day spotted Montseny and Esgleas walking arm in arm in public and realised that she had moved on.[64] At the same time, a woman in Esgleas's hometown was in love with him and she had the blessing of his mother. This emotional entanglement lasted several years, overlapping with the beginning of his relationship with Montseny, as he struggled to find the right way to break it off.[65]

The emotional complexity of *amor plural* was furthermore evidenced by the many romantic and sexual dilemmas submitted to the advice column of anarchist magazine *La Revista Blanca*, where the editors (most likely Federica Montseny but possibly also her parents) frequently advised inquirers to break up their own relationships or others'. In an answer to one question about initiating a breakup due to falling out of love, the magazine's response was that in genuinely free unions, 'no worry nor moral tyranny weighs on the couple, and with this ethical freedom, when one love ends another begins.'[66] In other words, breaking up in order to fall in love with someone else was the very definition of the 'freedom' in free love.

When a man and woman in their twenties submitted a question about whether they should start a relationship even though she was married, *La Revista Blanca* encouraged them to pursue the new romance by first confessing their love to the husband.[67] One man wrote in asking what he should

[63] Ibid., p. 49.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., p. 52.
[66] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 30 March 1934.
[67] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 1 January 1934. Another question and answer pertaining to extramarital affairs was: 'Consultorio', La *Revista Blanca*, 25 January 1934.

do about the fact he was in love with a woman who had a long-distance partner.[68] *La Revista Blanca* advised him to communicate his feelings to the woman and added that 'women in matters of love offer many surprises'.[69] In November 1934 two friends (women) wrote in to say that they had both ended up in similar situations. They had each fallen in love with two men at the same time: one with a 'spiritual, noble and simple' desire but no sexual desire, and the other vice versa.[70] They asked, 'Can a woman love two men at once?'.[71] The response reassured them that many other women, and men, have felt the same way, and that therefore their experience was quite normal.[72] The two women were advised to be open about how they felt, because the only way in which their dilemma would become immoral would be if they each entered into a relationship with one man while secretly loving the other.[73]

The following year a man wrote in asking what he should do if two women were in love with him.[74] The magazine's editors advised that he be open with the women about whether or not each of their feelings was reciprocated, and emphasised that he should not engage in sexual relations with both if he only loved one of them.[75] When turning down the love of one of the women, he should do so by convincing her of the many good men out there with whom she could find love in the future.[76] This approach arguably reflected to some extent Armand's ideal of *camaradería amorosa* which sought to transform breakups from selfish abandonments into mutually agreed ends to contracts. Furthermore, all these examples reflected the ideal of *amor plural*, which emphasised open and clear communication as the moral route to feeling romantic and sexual love.

The ideal of free love then, necessitated a very high degree of emotional self-awareness and

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[68] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 4 January 1935.
[69] Ibid.
[70] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca*, 9 September 1934.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca,* 19 July 1935.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

willingness to communicate unreservedly about one's romantic or sexual intentions. Boundary-setting is emotion work because it is about anticipating and managing the emotions of another person or people, and sociologists have shown that in intimate partnerships women typically do more of it than men do in both heterosexual and non-heterosexual contexts.[77] Given the position of anarchism's emotional regime, within but against patriarchy, to accomplish free love was especially complex for women.

Women were placed in two impossible positions. Firstly, many anarchist men felt uncomfortable with women who had had prior partners, yet women who turned down romantic propositions were made to feel like uncommitted anarchists—as the testimonies from women active in *ateneo* social life have already indicated. Secondly, women were expected to communicate their desires openly, yet doing this always presented a risk of being derided as obscene and thus complicit in social 'degeneration', as the previous sub-section has illustrated. These complexities made it unclear to women how to best initiate romantic or sexual intimacy if they wanted to continue to be extended comradeship. Consequently, this represented another emotional realm where comradeship came to feel precarious for many women.

One mode by which many anarchist lovers practised free love was, as aforementioned, through *uniones libres* ('free unions')—common-law ceremonies overseen by union representatives or members of an anarchist *ateneo*. These were hardly supported by all anarchists though: Amparo Poch y Gascón, for example, likened these ceremonies to conveyor belts in soulless marriage factories in a satirical article for the *Mujeres Libres* magazine.[78] Whether anarchist lovers undertook *unión libre* oaths or simply '*se unieron libremente*', opposition to the state-Catholic institution of socially pressured and legally binding lifelong marriage was central to anarchists' discursive

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[77] Debra Umberson, Mieke Beth Thomeer and Amy C. Lodge, 'Intimacy and Emotion Work in Lesbian, Gay, and Heterosexual Relationships', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 77.2 (2015), pp.542-556, doi:10.1111/jomf.12178.
[78] Amparo Poch, 'Proyecto para la creación de una fábrica de bodas en serie', *Mujeres Libres*, 7, 1937, p. 8.

convictions about what it meant to truly be in love. Federica Montseny described marriage as 'the grave of love', in 1927.[79] This reflected the views espoused by some bourgeois medical, political and legal campaigners for divorce at the time (who would later influence its 1932 legalisation), such as María Zambrano who asserted at the League of Social Education the following year that marriage conventions inhibited romantic love.[80]

However, there were gender-sensitive boundaries about when a breakup was considered appropriate in anarchist political culture, in acknowledgement of prevailing socio-economic norms of discrimination against women. In 1926, Federica Montseny likely drew on her own lived experience when she wrote in her column in *La Revista Blanca*: 'Ask any young female student, any who has lived communally with men […], whether she has put in practice the camaraderie of the sexes [another term for Armand's '*camaradería amorosa*'], and she will inform you, contentedly, indignantly or sceptically, according to her ideology and temperament, of the Don-Juan-esque nature of the men of the Hispanic race.'[81] Carefree and short-lived sexual intimacy was, then, frowned upon even by some self-professed individualist anarchists like Montseny, and this was recognised as an emotionally burdensome experience for women.

Consequently, although *La Revista Blanca*'s advice column validated the desires of men who wrote in asking if it was moral to intervene in happy relationships, the column also grappled with gendered difficulties inherent to the fact that at present anarchism existed as a subaltern culture within hegemonic Spanish society. When a man wrote in to express that he respected his partner as a person but was not physically attracted to her and was considering leaving her, *La Revista Blanca* advised him not to because of the child they had borne together: 'It is not good to leave women who have our children, in this society which does not shelter nor morally assist single mothers.'[82]

[79] Montseny, 'La mujer, problema del hombre', 1 April 1927, pp. 656-657.
[80] Glick, 'Sexual Reform', p. 70.
[81] Federica Montseny, 'La mujer, problema del hombre', *La Revista Blanca*, 15 December 1926, pp. 423-426.
[82] 'Consultorio', *La Revista Blanca,* 5 October 1934.

Plenty of anarchists in fact opted for traditional weddings, which illustrated how revolutionary transformations of love in Spanish culture during this period were for every individual potentially inextricably bound up with complex personal feelings about religious faith as well as compounding feelings of anxiety around romantic abandonment and the social stigma attached to it.

The oral-history testimony of one Spanish anarchist, María Oto, reflected this hesitancy: she recalled that she was never drawn to the free love idea in anarchism (or her perception of it at least) because a younger family member of hers had entered into a *unión libre* but then upon being widowed was left with nothing to her name because their partnership had had no official paper trail.[83] Another oral history interviewee revealed that she never married because she knew from the absence of her periods that she was infertile, and she had seen too many times how typical it was for men whose wives failed to bear children would then cheat on them and abandon them, leaving them socially disgraced.[84]

Related to this, Jean Marestan, a French anarchist whose books were distributed by the Spanish anarchist press, wrote that women faced considerable social stigma for living with a lover outside marriage, and therefore in the event of a breakup would likely find themselves entirely abandoned having been cast out of their families and communities.[85] He reasoned that in such circumstances, a man should see the principle of free love not as freedom to take many different partners but as an opportunity to freely choose a lover with whom he would willingly stay long-term.[86] These reflections indicated just how significant it was that many anarchist women did pursue the realisation of the anarchist ideal of love—as evidenced in the aforementioned increase in registered *uniones libres* over time. Such heavy emotional implications of these practices constituted further

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[83] IISH, Spanish Anarchists oral history collection, no.1-2: María Oto. See also: Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles,* p. 170. Once the Francoist regime took power, the legitimacy of civil partnerships conducted outside the Church was questioned in courtrooms, threatening parents' legal right to custody over their children: Anderson, *Age of Mass Child Removal*, p. 184.
[84] Vilanova, *Las mayorías invisibles,* p. 100.
[85] Marestan, *El matrimonio,* pp. 17-19.
[86] Ibid.

reasons, too, for women to forge chosen family networks with one another as emotional refuges from which they could more resolutely persevere in the face of social ostracisation.[87]

A 1927 article by Federica Montseny in *La Revista Blanca* distinguished between the present subaltern position of anarchist political culture and what romantic intimacy between anarchists could become in a post-revolutionary future. The pivotal difference, she wrote, would be the economic independence of women, which would intil in them feelings of self-fulfilment and self-esteem such that they could enter romantic relationships with men on an equal footing.[88] To achieve such an egalitarian praxis of love that was bound up with other revolutionary transformations of social-emotional life, men would have to distance themselves from the 'masculine' impulse for jealousy and 'ownership' over their partner.[89] In a post-revolutionary society like that, she imagined, couples would feel free to renew (or not) their love for one another over potentially many years, and one of the experiences that would renew romantic connections in such relationships would be creating a child together—this would now be a benefit, not a burden.[90]

Women's disproportionate intimate labour to free love: homemaking

The question of whether to conceive children and raise them in a romantic-sexual partnership situated in a private home, was inextricable from this dilemma. Both procreation and living arrangements were debated by anarchists, with emotional implications on women's romantic and sexual intimacies.

Luis Huerta's 1933 book *Birth Control* matched the overarching position of most anarchist writers in Spain: 'Everyone has the right to exercise sexuality. When that exercise might be a danger

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[87] Ealham, *Anarchism and the City*, p. 152; Navarro Navarro, *A la revolución por la cultura*, p. 326.
[88] Montseny, 'La mujer, problema del hombre', 15 April 1927, pp. 679-682. This was reiterated by Lucía Sánchez Saornil nearly a decade later in: Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', *Solidaridad Obrera*, no.1104, 30 October 1935, p. 2.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

to the race, social responsibility consists of avoiding pregnancy through a temporary or permanent method. It's not about having abstinent couples, but simply sterile couples, with transitory or definitive sterility.'[91] Sex-reform publications massively multiplied at the outset of the democratic Second Republic as doctors, lawyers, and others invested in sex-reform policy work were finally now able to enter politics and state censorship of periodicals diminished.[92] Indicating some of these professionals' agendas, an article in *Iniciales* called for prenuptial medical certificates to be introduced as a way to ensure couples knew each other were 'healthy' before procreating, and at the same time called for sex education to be rolled out to teach couples to not create 'numerous families' (families with very many children).[93] This constituted a manifestation of the tension between individual autonomy and collective accountability discussed in the first sub-section, and prefigured what would become during the Civil War a clear prioritisation of the latter over the former in the expectations placed on anarchist women in particular.

Spanish anarchist doctors' and writers' stances on this had led to some degree of affiliation between the movement and the World League for Sexual Reform since the late 1920s.[94] Anarchist doctor Isaac Puente was even named as a Spanish delegate to the League, although he later rebuked this invitation and criticised the League's 'bourgeois' composition.[95] Beginning in the 1920s and passing in 1931, new legislation introduced maternity leave in Spain for the first time, which reiterated that bourgeois professionals were attaining increasing influence over the intimate lives

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[91] Huerta, *Natalidad Controlada*, p. 36.

[92] Sinclair notes that books were actually not subject to the Primo de Rivera regime's strict censorship, only the periodical press, and that it was in fact entry into politics rather than any change in rules around book publishing that caused the rise in sex reform literature in 1930s Spain. Alison Sinclair, *Sex and Society in Early Twentieth-Century Spain* (University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 64.

[93.] Maria Burle, 'El certificado prenupcial', *Iniciales,* 1932, 3, pp. 3-4.

[94] The League was founded by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1928, and by its end in 1935 it had around 190,000 members worldwide. Ralf Dose, 'The World League for Sexual Reform: Some Possible Approaches,' *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 12.1 (2003), pp. 1-15 (pp. 1-3), doi:10.1353/sex.2003.0057.

[95] The purpose of the League and Isaac Puente's part in it was outlined in: Jeanne Humbert, 'La reforma sexual', *Estudios*, August 1929, pp. 28-29. Isaac Puente's criticism of the League was published in *Estudios* in 1932, and this incident has been highlighted by Richard Cleminson, '"Science and Sympathy" or "Sexual Subversion on a Human Basis"? Anarchists in Spain and the World League for Sexual Reform', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 12.1 (2003), pp. 110-121, doi:10.1353/sex.2003.0053.

of couples and using this to reinforce the gendered work of raising children for women only.[96]

Women shouldered most of the burden for this expectation to control fertility during sexual encounters, which represented a further obstacle to equitable comradeship between partners in anarchist couples. Spain's anarchist movement situated itself within a wider international campaign for 'conscious maternity', building on the legacy of the transatlantic Malthusian 'birth strike' movement in the first two decades of the century which was widely publicised, including in Spain through the 1904 pamphlet *Huelga de Vientres* ('Womb Strike') by Luis Bulffi, if not widely realised by the women it targeted.[97]

A interwar key text circulated by Spanish anarchist publishing houses was N. Tarassov's 'The Proletariat Before Sex', in which he outlined in great detail the preventative methods that those with penises and vaginas could use so that they would not have to turn to abortion.[98] However, recommendations of specific contraceptive methods in the anarchist press often forced women to shoulder the majority of the embodied and mental labour involved: for instance the Ogino method of menstrual tracking was widely recommended, and a serialised advice text by Marie Stopes in *Iniciales* attempted to dissuade readers from using condoms due to their allegedly unhealthy inhibition of skin-to-skin contact.[99] Indeed, *Iniciales* indirectly prompted readers to turn to vagina-centric methods like pessaries and douches by advertising these products in its pages while never advertising any condom brands, whereas other non-anarchist newspapers and magazines in Spain

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[96] Inmaculada Blasco Herranz, 'Género y reforma social en España: en torno a la elaboración del Seguro Obligatorio de Maternidad (1915-1929)', *Ayer*, 102.2 (2016), pp. 23-45, doi:unavailable.
[97] See: Tania Shew, 'Women's Suffrage, Political Economy, and the Transatlantic Birth Strike Movement, 1911–1920', *The Historical Journal*, 66 (2023), pp. 370-391, doi:10.1017/S0018246X22000334; Luis Bulffi, *Huelga de Veintres* (Salud y Fuerza, 1906 [1904]). This pamphlet achived a print-run of 50,000 in Spain: Girón-Sierra, 'Eugenesia y anarquismo', p. 91.
[98] Tarassov, *El proletariado ante el sexo,* pp. 23-25, 61-77.
[99] An advocate for menstrual tracking was Federica Montseny: 'Tribuna de Criterios Opuestos: Dos Palabras Sobre la Vasectomía,' *La Revista Blanca*, 29 November, 1935, pp. 1121-1122. Marie Stopes, 'Contraconceptivos', *Iniciales*, 1933, 8, pp. 3-5. In the advice column of *Estudios* magazine, Dr Roberto Remartínez likewise declared his opposition to using condoms in light of new research that suggested that vaginally receiving semen brought heath benefits to women: R. Remartínez, 'Preguntas y Respuestas', *Estudios*, No.145, September 1935, p. 28.

at the time did advertise condoms.[100]

Furthermore, because women had the most to lose by becoming pregnant unintentionally, the burden of becoming educated about contraception was disproportionately placed on them and not men. There were some exceptions, such as Julia Hermosilla's recollection that anarchist doctor Isaac Puente, a family friend, used to give condoms to her mother-in-law so that she would sell them at their local CNT locale.[101] Yet, Hermosilla also recalled that she herself was fitted with a vaginal contraceptive device, by Puente himself, as a consistent method to avoid pregnancy until she was ready.[102] Calls to action, like those mentioned above by Huerta and Tarassov, implied that women's freedom of maternity meant liberating themselves alone more so than collaborating alongside their partners to achieve liberation. Tarassov reiterated this by making an appeal to women, specifically, to spread the word about contraceptive methods 'in the workshops, in the shops, in the factories'—wherever they had the opportunity to talk with other women.[103]

To an extent this reflected that those with uteruses faced far more potential harm from unintended pregnancies than did those with whom they conceived. A section of Tarrasov's book was by French anarchist Nelly Roussel, who extolled the idea of 'freedom of maternity', emphasising that 'our wombs [...] belong to us' and that it's crucial that women like her be shown the methods to claim autonomy over conception.[104] Abortion was discussed in similar terms. Tarrasov lamented that although safe abortion procedures were medically possible, in the current legal climate abortion was only available in dangerous clandestine circumstances and therefore preventative methods were preferable.[105] Throughout the 1930s anarchist women like Amparo Poch

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[100] Jean-Luis Guereña, 'Elementos para una historia del preservativo en la España contemporánea', *Hispania*, 64/3.218 (2004), pp. 869-896 (p. 889), doi:10.3989/hispania.2004.v64.i218.171.
[101] Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias*, pp. 187-190.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Tarassov, *El proletariado ante el sexo*, p. 60.
[104] Ibid., pp. 57-58.
[105] Ibid., pp. 23-25. In Spain, those circumstances were that according to the 1928 Penal Code a pregnant person who caused themself to terminate their own pregnancy (on their own or by procuring an abortion) would be imprisoned for 2-4 years, and anyone involved in the termination of the pregnancy (such as a pharmacist, medic, or provider of abortifacients) would face both prison and a fine. 'Código Penal', *Gaceta de Madrid,* 13 September 1928, p.1498.

y Gascón and Lola Iturbe wrote compelling articles in favour of the legalisation of abortion.[106]

Although anarchist discourse about controlling fertility largely centred on preventing pregnancy, it also encouraged certain praxes for those couples who did seek to conceive.[107] First of all, it was crucial that children were brought into the world only out of a genuine desire to raise them, and not—as Dr Amparo Poch y Gascón lamented in the *Mujeres Libres* magazine—as a desperate measure to hold a loveless relationship together.[108] Regarding fertility, Poch y Gascón recommended leaving significant gaps between conceptions so as to spread the economic burden of childcare, and advised timing conception such that babies were not born in the summer because this season's climate in Spain was the most dangerous for newborns.[109] Anarchist doctor Roberto Remartínez recommended timing conception around spring or autumn, and claimed that the optimal time of day to conceive was morning or midday—when one has most energy.[110] He added that it is 'even better still' if couples copulate 'out in Nature'.[111] Much of this advice-giving was motivated by dedication among anarchist doctors to diminish the rate of infant mortality among socioeconomically disadvantaged communities.[112]

Advice-giving through the anarchist press and talks at anarchist *ateneos* remarkably transformed into implementation upon the 1936 Revolution: the Catalan Generalitat passed a series of 'eugenic' reforms. Anarchist doctors Félix Martí Ibáñez and Amparo Poch y Gascón were involved not only in the legislation connected to the December 1936 decree on the Artificial Interruption of Pregnancy (which legalised regulated abortion procedures in hospitals, clinics and

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[106] Kiralina [Lola Iturbe], 'Noli me tangere', *Tierra y Libertad*, 19, 15 May 1936, p. 2; Rodrigo, *Una Mujer Libre*, pp. 67-68.
[107] The fact that some women are naturally infertile since birth was rarely raised in the very abundant discourse on maternity in the anarchist press; one rare mention can be found in: Armand, *Amor libre,* p. 80.
[108] Poch y Gascón, 'Elogio del amor libre'.
[109] Poch y Gascón, *La Vida Sexual,* p. 42. Isaac Puente suggested leaving gaps of at least 3 years between each child: Un Médico Rural, 'La triste poesia del instinto', *Generación Consciente*, August 1928, pp. 265-266.
[110] Dr Roberto Remartínez, 'Algunas observaciones sobre el higiene de la reproducción,' *Estudios*, February 1929, pp. 1-2.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Including by Gregorio Marañón, who for this reason was seen as somewhat of a hero among middle-class Spanish women: Glick, 'Marañón, Intersexuality', p. 124.

health institutions), but also in the establishment of maternity and puericulture clinics to support those who did carry pregnancies to term.[113] Anarchist Minister of Health Federica Montseny was unable to garner sufficient interest from politicians to push this through across the whole Republican territory.[114] But in Catalonia these 'eugenic reforms' constituted an attempt to holistically overhaul the whole experience of parenthood so that more children might survive and thrive. Martí Ibáñez advertised the benefits of the December 1936 decree on abortion, and the plan to provide this procedure in specialist centres that also offered contraceptive care, in the sympathetic anarchist magazine *Estudios*. He emphasised that it served both eugenic and Malthusian purposes, as well as protecting the health and wellbeing of women.[115] Consequently, he framed the Reform as a further practice which could hasten the emotional transformation of sexual desire that had long been incorporated into the anarchist ideal of love (see Chapter 6).

In spite of this evident ambition to improve the lives of parents and children—especially those facing socioeconomic hardship—little effort was made to address the fact that within anarchist couples (just as in mainstream society) women were disproportionately burdened with the ongoing care of the children that were created by romantic or sexual partnerships, as well as the care of the home where they and their family lived.[116] Before the Civil War, suggestions that anarchist political culture should communalise childcare were repeatedly met with scepticism. Émile Armand and Anselmo Lorenzo advocated dissolution of family units in favour of communalised childcare but they were in the minority.[117] Luis Huerta, in an article on domestic life, recognised the impossible expectation placed on women to take care of a home and husband as well as raise a eugenically

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[113] These reforms have been studied at length by historians because they made Catalonia one of the first nations in the world to legalise abortion. Examples include: Nash, *Defying Male Civilization*, pp. 165-170; Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex*, p. 33; Masjuan, *La Ecología Humana,* pp. 417-419.
[114] Tavera, *Federica Montseny*, pp. 223-225.
[115]: Dr. Félix Martí Ibáñez, 'En torno a la reforma eugénica del aborto', *Estudios*, January 1937, pp. 11-12.
[116] Incorporation of men into domestic labour was never even a suggestion. Nash, *Mujer y Movimiento Obrero*, pp. 51-53.
[117] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, pp. 21-22; Lorenzo, *Evolución Proletaria*, pp. 241-245. On theirs being a minority view: Nash, *Mujer y Movimiento Obrero*, pp. 53-54.

high-quality child, but did not identify the communalisation of childcare as a potential solution.[118] The expectation to split one's time between contributing to the labour force, being active in anarchist social life (union meetings, *ateneos*, or humanitarian work for example), and acting as children's primary carers, placed a triple burden on mothers. This was even more heightened in periods of crisis when their partner was absent, as many women experienced during the war.[119]

In anarchist couples, the gendered responsibility of childcare and homemaking was all the more burdensome because anarchist men were constantly at risk of being arrested and imprisoned for long periods, forcing the mother of their children into a breadwinner role on top of her ordinary responsibilities. Testimonies from anarchists, such as Ricardo Sanz's memoir, demonstrate the enormous workload taken on by the female partners of imprisoned male anarchists, who would not only perform care work such as regularly visiting their partner in gaol to bring provisions and keep up their morale, but also balance childcare with earning extra income to support the whole family. Indeed, during one of his periods in prison, Sanz's partner Pepita gave birth and raised a newborn while providing for the whole family and visiting him with provisions two days every week.[120] From any people encountered outside the anarchist movement, these women also would have faced debilitating stigmatisation for being de facto single mothers.[121] Sociologies of social movement activism indicate that secure emotionally-affective bonds with other anarchists, including their partner, would have been essential to help these women overcome any feelings of moral estrangement and reinforce their decision to continue supporting anarchism.[122]

It was only during the Civil War, when men were mobilised for the Front and women were mobilised for the factories and other rearguard jobs that communal childcare facilities were widely

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[118] Luis Huerta, 'El hogar doméstico', *Estudios*, September 1929, pp. 25-26. He would reiterate the same points in his book: Huerta, *Natalidad Controlada*, pp. 39-40.
[119] Aguado and Ramos, *La Modernización de España,* p. 276.
[120] Sanz, *El sindicalismo español,* pp. 176-177.
[121] On this stigma, and the material costs to women in poverty because of it, see: Anderson, *Age of Mass Child Removal*, p. 105.
[122] Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism*, p. 60.

established—and even then these were usually either nurseries specifically for women attending classes at *Mujeres Libres*-run training centres or humanitarian establishments earmarked for the most destitute, who had to communicate their desperate circumstances, via their local CNT union, to the organisers.[123] Concha Liaño recalled in an oral-history interview that her *Mujeres Libres* colleague, Pilar Granjel, would leave her children at home so that she could conduct activism work—including running the *Casa de Maternidad* (Maternity Home) in Barcelona from June 1938 onwards—as well as commit to a job to make a living.[124] Concha, by contrast, was able to become one of the most dedicated linchpins of *Mujeres Libres* precisely because she did not have children.[125]

Inconclusive debates around the question of whether making a 'home' could reconcile with anarchism remained an obstacle to the conclusive resolution of this triple burden. At one extreme, individualist Émile Armand argued that making a home was not suitable for the majority of couples, because it required a very high level of compromise, mutual appreciation, transparency, and willingness to share suffering.[126] For most couples, he wrote, cohabitation ended up with both parties hiding parts of themselves from one another and therefore living a lie.[127] In *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, he took an even stronger stance against home-making, arguing that forming stable and domesticated families leads the individuality of each person to diminish until they no longer have any initiative of their own.[128] It was not only men who espoused this view: Lola Iturbe likewise penned a piece that claimed cohabitation was the 'cemetery' of a couple's individual freedoms, echoing Federica Montseny's earlier comment that marriage was the 'grave' of love.[129]

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[123] For example: CDMH, PS-MADRID, 150, 26, 12, CNT Sindicat Unic d'Oficis Varis to Consejo Regional de SIA Barcelona 16/5/1938; PS-MADRID, 150, 26, 21, Letter Consejo Regional de SIA de Cataluña to Consejo Local de SIA 11/8/1938. On a nursery being set up at the women's training centre (*Casal de la Dona Treballadora*) in Barcelona: Rodrigo, *Una mujer libre*, p. 201.
[124] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000978, CD, Concha Liaño (2007).
[125] Ibid. See also: Vega, *Pioneras y revolucionarias,* pp. 126-127.
[126] Armand, *Amor Libre,* pp. 23-24.
[127] Ibid., p. 12.
[128] Armand, *Sexualismo Revolucionario*, p. 18.
[129] Kyralina, 'A las mujeres'.

This ideological condemnation of homemaking did not offer solutions, though, to the gendered triple burden, as it did nothing to reform childcare practices. In fact, the task of raising an ideal anarchist child was becoming more demanding and time-consuming than ever. Information and advice about 'puericulture' abounded in the anarchist print media in the long lists of books advertised and distributed by anarchist publishing houses and in articles in magazines.[130] It reflected a broader cultural context in which reproduction and upbringing were increasingly medicalised, with the new Mandatory Maternity Insurance law passed in 1929 and implemented from 1931 not only providing maternity leave but also ensuring that medical professionals would be present before and during the birth to maintain good hygienic standards.[131] 'Modern' women, apparently distanced from their maternal instincts by the demands of modern life, were trusted less and less by professionals like doctors and lawyers to care for their own families through passed-down generational knowledge: sex advice as a genre exploded in this period, outside anarchist circles as well as within them.[132] The majority of these professionals, by far, were men, and men also held most pre-eminent positions in sex-reform campaigning organisations where—as argued by historian Alicia Marchand Fernández—they deployed a paternalistic masculinity grounded in their superior cultural capital to position themselves as advisors to women and working-class men.[133] Women were attributed autonomy by anarchist print discourse, yet not trusted to use it; this surely made for a complex relationship with their own reproductive health.

Men, on returning home from work, were not expected to occupy their time with this high-

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[130] For example: Dr. Marcel Prunier, 'El A.B.C. de la puericultura moderna', *Generación Consciente*, January 1927, pp. 17-21; Dr. Marcel Prunier, 'El A.B.C. de la puericultura moderna', *Generación Consciente*, February 1927, pp. 117-122; Advert, *Generación Consciente*, August 1927, p. 301.
[131] Blasco Herranz, 'Género y reforma social', pp.36-38. This trend of increasing state involvement in reproduction using scientific methhods had begun during the Enlightenment: Anderson, *Age of Mass Child Removal,* p. 20.
[132] See: Pattison, 'Eugenics and the modern woman on trial', pp. 53-54; Blasco Herranz, 'Género y reforma social', p. 39.
[133] Alicia Marchand Fernández, 'Medical anarchists and Masculine domination between 1872 and 1914: Masculine domination in transnational networks and masculinity models in the Spanish medical anarchists José García Viñas and Luis Bulffi', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 28.1 (2022), pp.5-15, doi:10.1080/14701847.2022.2052688.

quality modern childcare.[134] Women were believed to have a natural sense for motherhood, such that even those who found themselves unable to have children of their own would still be thought naturally suited to maternal roles elsewhere—as evident in their ubiquity in schools, in *colonias* for refugees, and in mutual aid childcare projects during crises.[135] In this sense, anarchist sex-reform and conscious maternity writers aligned with broader trends in Spanish 'social feminism', although rejecting social solutions that relied on a state or its institutions granting rights and freedoms to its subjects—that was, until the eugenic reforms passed during the Civil War.[136] Care of one's own and others' children was an iteration of the socially-reproductive labour thought most fulfilling to women, introduced in Chapter 2 and identified as a facilitator of 'chosen family' in Chapter 5.

There were few models of what it meant to be an anarchist man who brought revolutionary principles into his romantic and sexual life to transform the very meaning of love, whereas there was considerable discourse about how women should take on new responsibilities in this sphere of life to serve the collective prosperity and harmony of the human race. Although anarchist political culture in Spain may have made unprecedented effort (albeit to inconsistent extents) to incorporate women into movement's full repertoire of public activism work, there was little reciprocal interest from men, who dominated emotion entrepreneurship via discourse, in involving themselves more in the implementation of anarchism in the private sphere. It came back to the core idea that women were humanity's natural teachers, the figures best suited to caring for others' moral growth and development, even at their own expense in terms of time, labour, and emotional security.

This heteronormative construction of anarchist womanhood meant shouldering burdens that male lovers did not. It meant impossibly embodying both pleasure-led sexual permissiveness and

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[134] CDMH, FSS, Caja 38, SI,000978, CD, Concha Liaño (2007).

[135] Huerta, *Natalidad Controlada*, pp. 37-38. For examples, see Part II.

[136] On this trend in 'social feminism' see: Blasco Herranz, 'Feminism and Motherhood in the Early 20th Century Spain', pp. 115-123. On the controversy of government collaborationism within the anarchist movement, see Dolors Marín, *Ministros Anarquistas: La CNT en el gobierno de la II República (1936-1939)* (Debolsillo, 2005), pp. 36-43.

shame-led sexual self-restraint to extents that men were not expected to. For heterosexual women it meant having more to lose materially, socially, and emotionally upon a breakup and having to be more careful around fertility. It largely erased queer women's romantic and sexual experiences altogether. It meant being open to experiencing multiple relationships despite the pervasive gendered social stigma that came with that. And it meant striving to transform one's own and others' emotional experiences of loving and feeling loved while also subverting the normative stereotype of women's inherent irrational emotionality which underpinned the patriarchal societal hierarchy that anarchist social ideals rejected.

The social, emotional, and embodied labour necessary to bring the anarchist revolution out of the discursive realm and into real romantic and sexual partnerships was not equitably distributed. A pair of anarchist lovers may well be 'comrades' according to their *unión libre* certificate, but whether they both felt that to be true was another matter.

Conclusion

In 1923, Alexandra Kollontai developed the concept of 'love-comradeship', a configuration of 'warm emotions' expressed and felt by comrades to one another. She painted this as relevant not only in sexual contexts between men and women, but also in 'love-friendship' (distinguished by lack of sexual attraction) and in love for one's work, for the cause, and for the collective.[1] In sum, Kollontai's notion of love and comradeship touched all the intimate sites of identity-making (beyond just sexuality) addressed in the present thesis, substantiating the thesis's premise that comradeship is defined by intimacy and illustrating how the various spheres of interpersonal comradeship-building examined through its chapters have provided a richer, textured picture of anarchists' emotional lives.

That anarchists in Spain aspired to reimagine the very meaning of 'love', as explored in the last two chapters of the thesis, consequently reflected back, too, onto their concurrent aspirations to re-make friendship as an analogy for ideal comradeship, their construction of 'chosen family' networks, and their workplace praxes of mutualist collaboration. In their endeavours, frayed edges emerged between emotional experiences of intimacy; between romantic love and platonic love, between friendship and kinship, and between collaboration and comradeship. While identities were certainly fragmented, with one's sense of gender identity (for example) being processually felt and expressed differently in different interpersonal scenarios, slipperiness also developed between those fragments.[2]

Although anarchists did not use the term 'identity' between 1923 and 1939, they did recognise the importance of socially, culturally and emotionally constructing a sense of personhood in every individual through both individual agency and relational lived experience. Accordingly, the thesis,

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[1] Alexandra Kollontai, 'Make way for Winged Eros: A Letter to Working Youth', *Molodoya Gvardiya* (*Young Guard* magazine), no.3, 1923, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/kollonta/1923/winged-eros.htm> [accessed 3 March 2022].

[2] Horowitz describes 'slipperiness' between love and friendship specifically: *Friendship and Politics*, p. 8.

by placing 'sources of the intimate self' (including oral histories, memoirs, submissions to advice columns, and personal correspondence) into conversation with conventional document archives, and by analysing emotions-led anarchist fiction as well as the usual essays and newspapers, has brought new insight to the emotional history of anarchist identities, the gender history of anarchism, and the history of comradeship.[3]

The thesis took a further new innovative methodological approach by applying interdisciplinary theories of social movement activism to the history of anarchism in Spain. After interrogating the interplay between individual and relational identity-making in anarchism using concepts developed by sociologists O'Shaughnessy and Huddart Kennedy and historian Hernando Gonzalo (Part I), the thesis demonstrated that anarchists aspired to forge a new 'emotional community' as theorised by historian Rosenwein with new 'feeling rules' as theorised by sociologists Hochschild and Holthaus.[4] The movement's emotion entrepreneurs—mostly men—cultivated mobilising and moral emotions as theorised by sociologists Holthaus and Jacobsson and Lindblom (Part II).[5] The movement's practitioners of social reproduction—mostly women—transformed affective relationships in the longer term through the maintenance of chosen family networks as emotional refuges as theorised by Rosenwein and sociologist Milan (Part III).[6] Anarchists accordingly reimagined the very meaning of a fundamental human emotion—love—to revolutionise how it might be expressed and felt, as theorised by cultural anthropologists Reddy and Medina Domenech (Part IV).[7]

The thesis foregrounded the perspectives of women throughout its analyses of these forms of emotion work that underpinned Spanish anarchism, to deepen historical understandings of the

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[3] Sierra, 'Las fuentes del yo íntimo'.
[4] Hernando Gonzalo, 'Subordinación de Género', p. 4; O'Shaughnessy and Huddart Kennedy, 'Relational Activism', pp. 552-553. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions', pp. 842-843; Hochschild, *The Managed Heart*, pp. 56-63; Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', pp. 363-364.
[5] Holthaus, 'Feelings of (eco-) grief and sorrow', p. 354; Jacobsson and Lindblom, *Animal Rights Activism,* pp. 57-64.
[6] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 19; Milan, 'Emotions in Action', pp. 817-818.
[7] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 105; Medina-Doménech, 'The Science of Love', p. 179.

processes through which anarchists cultivated comradeship. Ever occupying the margins of Spanish anarchist comradeship, women could not take the label 'comrade' for granted because comradeship, from men, was usually extended to them precariously. Precarity was not only a material or social condition either, but a feeling: one which threatened women's secure sense of belonging to 'anarchist' identity. By framing comradeship as an emotionally intimate bond, and interrogating its gender dynamics across a comprehensive range of interpersonal settings, the thesis has offered a detailed and innovative account of why women participated in some spheres of anarchist activism more than others.

Since intimacy defined 'comradeship' (compared to 'solidarity'), the thesis set out to examine all realms of intimate life from kinship to work collaboration—thereby broadening that category of analysis beyond just sexuality. Whereas existing historical narratives of women's struggles in the Spanish anarchist movement either critique the apparent restrictiveness of the political roles they were able to play or stress that most women at the time deliberately leant into gender norms (such as motherhood), the thesis has revealed that what many anarchist women sought most consistently of all through various shifts in the distribution of productive and socially reproductive labour in anarchist activism from 1923 to 1939 was collaboration from men in their own liberation.[8] They certainly fought for their own agency as women, too, but the ideal of 'anarchist womanhood' intersected that goal with agendas for anarchist revolution shared with men.

Across all realms of emotionally intimate life, women never spurned male comradeship, yet it never arrived—at least not to an extent that it felt valued, dependable, and equalising.[9] Whenever feelings of precarity attached to anarchist comradeship worsened women invested more deeply in their most intimate personal bonds, and through this socially reproductive and emotional labour they led the cultivation of networks of 'chosen family' amongst anarchists in Spain and beyond.

[8] Jurado's study of *Mujeres Libres* (ergo focused only on 1936-1939) has been the only work to emphasise this before now: Jurado, *Lucharon contra la hidra del patriarcado*, p. 27.
[9] The qualities of ideal friendship, Spanish anarchism's analogy for ideal comradeship: see Chapter 4.

These constituted 'emotional refuges', not only from outside hostility but from rejection by peers within the movement. Sites for cultivating such bonds could include the much-studied *Mujeres Libres* group, as well as encounters in mixed-gender anarchist *ateneos*, schools and women's own homes. The thesis has conclusively shown for the first time that bonds forged in these spaces not only mobilised women into anarchist activism and the pursuit of anarchist morality in the short term, but in many cases proved instrumental in retaining them in the movement. Those bonds supported and helped them to persevere towards identifying with anarchist womanhood.

As Cristina de Pedro Álvarez wrote in 2017, 'the analysis of emotions helps [us] to reach a deeper understanding about the configuration of gender identities'.[10] The thesis achieves this by not only adopting an emotional lens and centring the perspectives of women, but by hanging its overall structure on an individual-relational framework for conceptualising identity-making and alternating its chapters between ideal and experience. This alternating focus has revealed that imaginaries upheld by (mostly male) emotion entrepreneurs about ideal affective relations between comrades were persistently—albeit conflictingly—patriarchal and, indeed, those very intentions were abandoned during Civil War (1936-1939). As a result, when it came to women's lived experiences of comradeship, the summer of 1936 to many represented a frustrating continuity rather than the revolutionary moment of liberation that had long been promised. *Mujeres Libres* and other smaller women's groups had been striving to overhaul the patriarchal gender dynamic of emotion entrepreneurship and its projected ideals, but by the summer of 1936 they were fighting a losing battle. Only a few months later, facing a new shift in emotion entrepreneurship that forsook entirely anarchists' pre-war emotional ideals for women such as workplace fulfilment and sexual pleasure, *Mujeres Libres* fell in line. It retained, though, its resolve to provide emotional refuge for women in the face of male-dominated spaces' deprioritisation of women's emancipation as a means and end of the revolution.

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[10] de Pedro Álvarez, 'Amor, emociones y masculinidad', p. 540.

This represents an emotionally-sensitive new interpretation of the important role of *Mujeres Libres* in the making of anarchist womanhood, and the centrality of the Civil War in Spain's gender history, as well as situating those two well-trodden topics of study into a longer explanatory framework that accounts for evolutions of anarchist ideals over time. Certainly, Spanish anarchist political culture's construction of an ideal of individual, embodied 'anarchist womanhood' (Part I) was ever-contested and in-construction between 1923 and 1939, as it intersected with so many facets of social life besides gender. The relational dimensions of discursive ideals of 'anarchist womanhood' were, likewise, entangled with conceptual ideals of work (Part II), friendship (Part III) and romantic love (Part IV) that bridged the unstable boundary between principles of autonomy and collective accountability in anarchist thought. Identifying with 'anarchist womanhood' should therefore have meant aspiring to become the ideal anarchist worker, friend, and lover.

However, the thesis's alternation of ideal with experience through its pairs of relational chapters has demonstrated the reality of what relational identity-making meant to anarchist women themselves, in their own words.[11] Within anarchist political culture throughout this period, anarchist womanhood was felt to mean persevering towards the revolutionary transformation of love, irrespective of any precarity one felt in the comradeship one was extended in return: and not just romantic love, but love for friends, kin, all one's comrades, and love for the cause.[12] Anarchist womanhood was struggled for by women who took on the triple burden of subsistence work, activism work, and domestic work (all at once), women who forged and maintained chosen family networks (providing emotional refuge for all in the movement), and women who implemented anarchist praxes in their homes (recognising that revolution should not only happen in the street). Some women identified with anarchism more than others, but comradeship was gendered for all.

[11] Accessed through their writings and oral testimonies.
[12] Kollontai, 'Make way for Winged Eros'.

The present thesis has not only shed new light on the lives of anarchist women and the gender history of anarchism more broadly, developing that achieved by existing studies centred on labour activism, women's groups (especially *Mujeres Libres*) and the Civil War, but it has also contributed in numerous ways—from its analysis of activism as a form of labour, to its exploration of friendship as a category of analysis—to opening new paths for the modern gender history of Spain as a whole. As such, the thesis's emotions-led and gender-sensitive research method could also be applied fruitfully to other labour histories beyond Spain, because it speaks to interdisciplinary international debates about the gendered roles emotion has played in the strengths and setbacks of social movement comradeships. A similarly designed study exploring the making of non-normative masculinities in social movements, too, would be beneficial for building a full gendered picture of comradeship.

The pertinence of the thesis to wider historiographical debates is further evidenced by the fact that, by explicitly aspiring to remake emotion, interwar anarchists in Spain anticipated the post-war international 'emotional turn' in European social movement activism to which Häberlen and Spinney have pointed.[13] Claire Langhamer has described WWII as an 'emotional watershed', out of which 'emerged a subtly different set of intimate relations embedded in, and expressive of, changed gender and social relations'.[14] We might imagine the Spanish Civil War as an unfulfilled 'emotional watershed' for Spain's own path through modern history.[15] Anarchists in Spain spent decades reconceiving emotional intimacies in ways that might, upon the 1936 Revolution, have dismantled hierarchies and re-defined what it meant to identify with womanhood or manhood in everyday life. That this story remained unfinished, due to anarchism's defeat in the Civil War and the ensuing forty-year Catholic-conservative dictatorship, has contributed to the endurance of the

[13] Häberlen and Spinney, 'Introduction', pp. 501-503.
[14] Claire Langhamer, *The English in Love: The intimate story of an emotional revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 9-11
[15] We might place this in dialogue with Pro's suggestion that Fourierist romanticism, an early-nineteenth-century antecedent for the Spanish anarchist movement (especially its revolutionary notion of love), constituted 'a change of emotional regime': Pro Ruiz, 'Mujeres en un estado ideal', p. 27.

anarchist woman-activist in the Spanish popular imagination, featuring in 1996 box office hit film '*Libertarias*' and countless public-facing history books.[16]

The emotional lives of Spain's anarchist women resonate because we are once again—arguably even more viscerally since the social isolation we endured during the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic—confronting the same question that they grappled with a hundred years ago: how might our interpersonal, quotidian, intimate actions be the key to truly transforming society for the better? 'Radical intimacy' and 'relationship anarchy' are just two of the more recent terms used to denote anti-capitalist, anti-institutional, and intersectional approaches to revolutionising interpersonal affective life, including but not limited to sex and sexuality. A recent Spanish political manifesto and essay collection titled *Anarquía Relacional* ('Relationship Anarchy') has achieved such interest that it has been translated into English for international readers.[17] Journalist Sophie K. Rosa has recently published a book, 'Radical Intimacy', having already begun to influence public discourses by running a digital anti-capitalist relationship advice column.[18] In the academic realm, historian Laura Forster has co-edited an upcoming 2025 book called *Friends in Common*, exploring friendship's history and consequent revolutionary potential across a range of geographies and chronologies.[19] While the anarchists examined in this thesis's chronological window made use of notions of family to describe their affective ecologies, these recent iterations of radical intimacy now theorise on looking beyond, or even abolishing, the primacy of the family.[20]

The thesis situated itself at its outset as representing—in its history of emotions methodology—a new path in Spanish anarchist history, one which was made possible only because of the effort of

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[16] On this post-civil war cultural transformation, see for example: García Fernández, 'Love, Marriage and Sexual Knowledge in Franco's Spain', pp. 1336-1338.
[17] Juan Carlos Pérez Cortés, *Anarquía Relacional: la revolución desde los vínculos* (La Oveja Roja, 2020), and: <https://anarquiarelacional.com/>. See also: Matt York, *Love and Revolution: A politics for the deep commons* (Manchester University Press, 2023).
[18] Sophie K. Rosa, *Radical Intimacy* (Pluto Press, 2023).
[19] Laura Forster and Joel White, *Friends in Common: Radical Friendship and Everyday Solidarities* (Pluto Press, forthcoming June 2025). On co-production between academia and activism, see also: Heckert, Jamie, and Richard Cleminson, 'Ethics, relationships and power: an introduction', in *Anarchism & sexuality: ethics, relationships and power*, ed. by Heckert and Cleminson (Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-22.
[20] See for instance: Schulman, *Conflict is Not Abuse,* p. 205.

previous scholars to close and move on from the early debates over anarchists' alleged irrationality and consequent emotionality. Having proposed this new path for future scholarship, it remains to indicate another important debate with which such scholarship now must contend: the feminist legitimacy of historicising women's emotions.

References to emotional mobilisation and commitment have been used to disparage women's activism, especially when that activism sought to liberate women from patriarchal oppression.[21] Historian of anarchist Emma Goldman, Clare Hemmings, reflected in 2018 that feminist historians are torn between 'wanting to celebrate Goldman's passion while simultaneously being wary of its overassociation with gendered and sexualised dismissals of women's thinking and action'.[22] Hemmings's resolution is to honour the emphasis that Goldman herself placed on emotion—especially 'passion'—as a force for revolutionary transformation: 'the motor for bringing a new world into being […] or else slip below the surface of capitalism's miserable tide'.[23]

Likewise, historians of anarchist women—or indeed socialist or communist women or other women embroiled in social activism, all of whom could fruitfully be subjects of a history of emotions approach—should investigate those women's own revolutionary conceptualisations of emotions and affects, ahead of exploring the phenomenological implications of these on social movements' gender relations.[24] This is the model that the present thesis has set out. Such an approach to the history of women in activism could also be applied to other national histories (or indeed transnational histories), for instance bringing a gender perspective to Trujillo Martínez's

[21] Hemmings, *Considering Emma Goldman*, p. 221. See also: Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta, 'Why Emotions Matter', p. 9.
[22] Hemmings, *Considering Emma Goldman*, p. 221.
[23] Ibid.
[24] An emotions-led study of women active in the extreme right-wing Falange in Spain has already been accomplished, serving as a further model of how to write such histories: Barrera, 'The Vanguard of the Sección Femenina'. See also: Arbaiza Vilallonga, 'Cuerpo, emoción y política'.

existing research into anarchism and emotion in Colombia or to Constance Bantman's research into the informal and intimate networks of French anarchists domestically and overseas.[25]

Another option for developing the thesis's research would be to follow its protagonists into the 1940s and beyond. Alba Martínez's recent book on the Spanish refugee women who fled over the French border to escape the repressive regime of General Franco illustrated that these women tended to see themselves and their refugee identity relationally, as the companions of refugee men, rather than as individual refugees in their own right.[26] An examination of anarchist women's intersecting identities not only as women and anarchists but also as refugees—or humanitarian actors supporting refugees—following again Almudena Hernando Gonzalo's concept of individual and relational identity-making processes, would be a valuable sequel to the thesis's research into the making of anarchist womanhood within Spain's borders between 1923 and 1939.

[25] Trujillo Martínez, 'The Crime of Barrocolorado'; - Bantman, 'Jean Grave and French Anarchism', p. 452; Bantman, *Jean Grave*.

[26] Alba Martínez Martínez, *Nosotras, las refugiadas. Género, identidades y experiencias de las españolas refugiadas en Francia (1939-1978)* (Comares, 2024).

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