

head of police was also changed. The Subsecretario de la Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros, Morote was sent to Barcelona, arriving the same day, to enter negotiations between the strike committee and the representatives of La Canadenca. Despite the initial reticence and obstructiveness of the latter at the first meetings held on the 15th and 16th (which provoked further manifestations of solidarity such as that of the typographers), agreement was reached at the meeting held on 17 March, and details were published the next day.

#### Victory for the working class movement

The agreement represented an all-round victory for the strikers. The conditions included the readmission of all strikers and personnel dismissed from La Canadenca, with a promise that there would be no reprisals by the company, the acceptance of the union by the company, a scaled wage increase payment in part for February and in total for March, although the fifteen days of holidays were to be suppressed that year in order to make up the lost work, the eight hour day and the payment of full wages in the event of accident.<sup>(26)</sup> The Government representative promised that those arrested in connection with the strike and who had no charge against them would be set free at once while the cases of those subject to military jurisdiction would be dealt with as soon as possible.

The workers' side however reserved acceptance of the agreement until it had been approved by the majority of the workers. With the permission of the authorities a meeting, presided by Simó Piera of the Sindicat de la Construcció was held at the Teatre del Bosc in Gràcia, on the evening of 18 March, but so many turned up that it proved impossible to hold, being adjourned until the following evening to the bullring of Les Arenes.<sup>(27)</sup> The greater part of the prisoners had been set free and occupied the ring itself, to an ovation from the other 20,000 workers present. Piera, referring to them in his speech stated that the strike

committee had met with the company and the government representative in order to obtain their release and that their presence at the meeting showed the success of the talks. Referring to the strike at the Canadencia itself, he stated that, since the workers' demands had been met, a return to work should take place the next day.

There were protests from among the crowd that no return to work should take place until all those imprisoned were set free. The protests continued after the speech by Díaz of the Federació Regional, and during that of Francisco Miranda who spoke in the name of the prisoners and demanded that full confidence should be shown in the Committee and its actions and that the strikers should return to work the following day. Finally Salvador Seguí spoke against a crescendo of protest, demanding that those present either accept the return to work giving a time limit of 72 hours in which all those who remained in prison should be freed or that those present at the meeting march immediately on Montjuich to free the prisoners and by this action begin a revolution. Clearly the latter alternative was not viable - a march of unarmed men against the army fortress of Montjuich, with the army clearly not on the side of the workers would have resulted in a massacre. Furthermore the strikers of Barcelona were alone in the whole of the Spanish state. No coordination existed with other forces in other areas and a revolutionary insurrection would be as easily isolated as the Setmana Tràgica of ten years earlier. Seguí's demand was met by a perplexed silence which he broke by asking if those present had confidence in the strike committee, and following an affirmative answer, if the return to work was agreed. The resulting 'Yes' paid tribute to the qualities of orator which Seguí was developing in his rise to power within the C.N.T. The meeting then ended in complete order. (28)

On the 20th the Civil Governor published an official note referring to the militarized workers, (29) which raised the Estado de Guerra and

passed over to normal jurisdiction the cases of all those arrested during the period of the strike and who had not committed any crime. The same day normal working was resumed in the electricity, water and tram companies, though not in the gas companies who refused to take on the full number of workers, claiming that this was impossible, because of breakdowns in some of the machinery, failures in certain pipes and the cooling of the ovens. The Civil Governor had to intervene in the negotiations, persuading both sides to accept that the workers should take turns at the available work, thereby giving work to all. (30)

The strike of La Canadencia had shown an impressive degree of organization by the new syndicalist movement which had been born with the Solidaridad Obrera in 1907 and achieved a definitive organisation in 1918 at the Congrès de Sants. Whereas the revolutionary general strike of 1917 had lasted only three days and resulted in a resounding defeat and many arrests, the strike of La Canadencia had lasted forty-four days and had been a total success for the workers, not only in the electricity industries, but also for the carters, the tram workers, and the typographers. Nor were the benefits restricted only to those who had been on strike; the eight hour day had already been granted to the construction workers on 11 March and on 3 April would be granted to all workers in Spain from 1 October by the Romanones government. A demand of the Spanish and Catalan working class movement since the 1890's had therefore been won. Furthermore it had been won in a relatively peaceful fashion, showing the refusal of the Barcelona workers to accept the tactics of anarchist terrorism.

However there was still a potential point of conflict, the continued imprisonment of those who had not been released to attend the meeting on the 19th. It became increasingly obvious that the authorities were not going to free them before Monday 24th, the day set by Seguí at the meeting of Les Arenes. Rumours of a further strike were current in all Barcelona on Sunday 23rd, though no specific instructions were issued by the C.N.T.,

## THE GENERAL STRIKE, MARCH-APRIL 1919

Success for the working class movement on the first day

On Monday, 24 March work began as usual with the transport system and the port functioning normally. After eight o'clock the rumours were intense that another general strike had been ordered, rumours which were confirmed by the arrival of delegates from the Syndicates, giving orders to the factory representatives to withdraw all labour at midday. When the management of the tram company learned of this they immediately sent instructions that the trams be retired from service, so that when the electricity was turned off at midday there were practically no trams on the streets.

Most of the workers in the city and its industrial belt and in the port left their work during the morning, though many volunteered to stay on and finish work where necessary to avoid the spoiling of materials or the abrupt cutting off of continuous processes. The withdrawal of the trams and the electricity shut-down at midday made the strike virtually complete. The shops which normally closed between 1.00 p.m. and 3.00 p.m. closed their shutters for the duration, being joined by those which normally stayed open at midday. By two o'clock the strike had taken complete effect. By four o'clock the authorities had held a Junta and agreed that the Civil Governor should hand over to the Military Governor and that the Estado de Guerra be declared in the whole province. (31)

An immediate show of force was made, the troops placing four field guns in the Paral.lel, another two in the Plaça d'Espanya, two machine guns and a section of infantry near the market of Sant Antoni. A company of Cazadores took up positions in front of the tram sheds in the Ronda de Sant Pau. Various machine guns and artillery were installed in the Plaça de Catalunya and the public were only permitted to use the pavements

around the edge of the Plaça. Other military forces were installed at strategic points in the industrial belt. The shops were obliged to open their shutters.

Later that evening the Captain General published a bando after meeting with the other authorities. Among its provisions were the establishment of what was virtually a curfew (street doors to be closed from 9.00 p.m., no-one except the agents of the authorities to be on the streets after 11.00 p.m.), and the opening of all industrial and commercial establishments during working hours. At a meeting with journalists afterwards the Captain General gave an assurance that any action by strikers against any workplace or shop would be severely and instantly put down. The necessary force for carrying such actions would not come solely from the army. At the meeting of the authorities it had been agreed to strengthen the Somatent and to give it wide scope for action. (32)

#### The Somatent intervenes

This revival of the former rural militia was not the 'sobtat i anacronic ressorgiment' which Balcells has termed it. (33) The Somatent had practically disappeared in the city of Barcelona itself, though vestiges survived in some of the outlying areas. The reorganization of this militia shows that there were sections of the middle classes who were preoccupied with the growth of the working class movement; in crisis situations they would no longer show passive support for certain working class demands, or merely await as passive spectators the outcome of a confrontation between workers and the authorities, particularly when these crises were the result of demands for improvements in working class conditions. In 1909 these groups remained on the sidelines at first, and the Somatent was too moribund to intervene. However, once the strike had taken on an anticlerical aspect with attacks on religious property these groups had rallied against the strikers.

The mysterious pacos or franctiradors who had sniped at the troops in the closing days of the Setmana Tràgica were generally believed not to come from the strikers, but rather from these middle-class groups, as an attempt to influence the authorities and troops towards exercising greater repression. It was these same groups towards whom the famous cry Delateu! of the Veu de Catalunya was addressed after the 1909 strike, inviting them to denounce those who had participated in the strike and revolt to the authorities.<sup>(34)</sup> In 1917 there had been collaboration between republican members of the middle classes and the workers' movement, but generalised middle class opposition was again expressed in the re-emergence of the pacos .

By 1919 the growing strength of the working class movement, the economic pressures on the middle classes and their growing political awareness, led them to define their interests in opposition to those of the working classes and persuaded them to play a co-ordinated role in maintaining public order. The new regulations of the Somatent were issued on 22 January 1919, that is before the strike of the Canadenca, which indicates that the revival was not a snap measure dreamed up during the strike; rather it was the culmination of a process of consciousness undergone by the Barcelona middle classes and their identification of their interests with those of the authorities, at the level of law and order.<sup>(35)</sup> What was later to result difficult for them was the maintenance of their nationalist policies within this relationship.<sup>(36)</sup>

The new regulations included provisions for the organization of the force on a territorial basis by municipal districts.<sup>(37)</sup> The districts as a whole were commanded by a Jefe de Partido who was in direct liaison with the highest authority, the Comandante General del Instituto. The Jefe de Partido had as his immediate subaltern a Sub Cabo. In each municipal district there was a Cabo de Distrito who was advised by an Army official designated by the Captain General. Underneath him he had a Sub Cabo who

stood in for him in cases of illness, absence etc. The municipal district was divided into the zones or demarcations which the Cabo de Distrito thought convenient and in each of these there was a Cabo de Barrio who had at his orders as many Sub Cabos as were necessary. The Cabo de Barrio, jointly with the Cabo de Distrito also appointed a member to be the Jefe de Grupo in each street. Individual membership was open to any citizen proposed by the Cabo de Distrito and accepted by the Comandancia General, after taking his personal and moral qualities into account. The member of the Somatent was classified as belonging to one or three categories: limited to the defence of his own house, contributing to the defence of his barrio or forming part of the Ronda Volante of the District. (38) At any sign of trouble the Somatent was to be ready in their houses:

El Somaten de la ciudad de Barcelona debe levantarse:

1. Al ordenarlo por el conducto de sus jefes naturales el Excmo. Sr. Capitán General de Cataluña.
2. Al ser declarado el estado de guerra, salvo orden expresa en contrario comunicada por los jefes militares delegados, en cuyo caso quedaran exclusivamente a las órdenes del Jefe de la zona.
3. Al producirse en cualquier lugar de Barcelona un acto revolucionario, se constituirán en sus casas a los fines del caso 1 señalado en su división de clases, o para esperar órdenes para los clases 2 y 3.

En los dos primeros casos, los somatenes actuaran de acuerdo y en la forma que dispongan sus jefes. En el último no será preciso el anterior requisito, y para prevenirlo deben estar convenidos los somatenes de cada calle y barrio con sus mas próximos vecinos, para repeler en el primer momento toda agresión, defendiéndose desde sus casas con decisión y energía, y procurando ponerse en contacto inmediatamente con sus jefes respectivos y con los de las fuerzas que actuen en la demarcacion.

Los somatenes, en las circunstancias dichas anteriormente, deberán impedir a toda costa la formación de grupos, empleando las armas para disolverlos, y haciendose fuertes en lugares estratégicos para dar lugar a la llegada de las tropas u otras fuerzas legales a cuya acción colaborarán decidamente. (39)

During the next few days the Somatent was to play an important role in the course of events, putting some 8,000 men on the streets.

The strike crumbles

Because Tuesday 25th was a holiday the strike was not so noticeable and the citizens were out strolling 'sin temor de ningún clase'.<sup>(40)</sup> The same day the Government suspended the constitutional guarantees in the whole of Spain. Troops were sent to Barcelona from Lleida and a battalion of Cazadores arrived from Olot.

On the 26th the Somatent acting with the army, under the orders of the Captain General, made shopkeepers open up their shops, forcing the doors of those who did not obey. Commercial activity could hardly restart however, since the assistants were on strike. Those shops where not even the owner could be found, were placed under the supervision of the Somatent. The banks were also forced to open and the staff were made to go in. An employee of the Credit Lyonnais who opposed this was arrested and taken to Montjuich. The bars and hairdressers were also open, but with only the owners working.

The funeral service was also restored under compulsion that morning, with coffins being delivered to those who had sent in a demand for one, and with corpses being taken to the Cemetery in the carriages of the Casa de Caritat as in normal times.

During the day the whole city had a quiet aspect with no disturbances being noted. Nonetheless the cruiser España and the destroyer Osado anchored in the port that morning, reinforcing the show of force of the government.<sup>(41)</sup>

That same morning a commission of strikers handed in a demand to the Civil Governor, offering a return to work if the Government would give a wide ranging amnesty when it thought convenient. Montañés answered that the authorities could make no concession which could be interpreted



as a sign of weakness. This hard line was maintained during the rest of the strike with numerous arrests being carried out. On the 26th itself several syndicalists taking part in a clandestine meeting in the c/. Hospital were arrested. Later in the day eight cyclists, messengers for the syndicates, were arrested. (42)

On the 27th no fewer than three strike committees of the C.N.T. were arrested. By the end of the week on the 29th the number of those detained had reached 91. (43)

Parallel with the arrests went a policy of encouraging a return to work by both licit and illicit means. On the morning of the 28th the rumour was put about that the workers' delegates had given orders that a return to work would take place that morning, and although it was said later that no such orders had been given, the shop assistants returned to work that day, opening the shops and thereby restoring a semblance of normality to the streets and the centre.

A meeting of patrons at the Foment de Treball Nacional on the morning of the 28th resolved to pay the week's wages to the strikers in accordance with the number of days worked. On the morning of the 29th the Captain-General published a bando regulating the payment and stating that when less than two days had been worked no payment would be made. In consequence many workers did not bother to collect their pay and many of those who had turned up to collect it left immediately on being told of the bando. No incidents were reported however.

On the 29th the bar staff went back to work. The streets therefore recovered another aspect of normality with the bars open, and their tables placed outside.

Because the 30th was a Sunday there was less animation on the streets.

The show of force in the centre by the military was reduced. That evening the theatres and cinemas opened, though attendance was small because as Solano puts it 'el público no conoció los programas'.<sup>(44)</sup> The curfew was put back to midnight that night. Despite these measures however the arrests of syndicalists continued.

Monday 31 March marked the beginning of the second week of the strike. Almost all the commercial establishments were working normally and a few factories opened. The Gas, Electricity and Water managements, after a joint meeting with the Captain General gave a time limit of 48 hours for their workers to resume work. At the port various workers presented themselves for work, as did some hundred coalhandlers but were told that no work could be resumed without the permission of the Captain General. A search carried out that evening at the house of the secretary of the Sindicat de Curtits, Miguel Burgos, at Las Once Casas on the road to Horta, led to an incident in which he was shot and badly wounded. The president of the Junta del Carters, with two companions was arrested on his arrival from Madrid.<sup>(45)</sup>

The following morning the postmen who wished to return to work were told that they could not be admitted, and that they had to fill in an instancia. By 10.00 a.m. most of them had done so and were then told that they would be called if needed. The continued drift back to work went on with some five hundred workers from the workshop of the Compañía de los Ferrocarriles del Norte returning. Meanwhile the 200 delegates of the Syndicates who formed the strike committee were arrested during a meeting in the c/. Amalia and taken to Montjuich.

On the morning of 2 April, the further return to normality was emphasized by two events, the renewal of work by the barbers and hairdressers and more importantly by the resumption of the tram service. The trams remained in circulation until 9.00 p.m. The residents of the barri de La Salut,

in order to restore communications between their neighbourhood and the centre, voluntarily cleared the lines all the way to the Plaça de Catalunya.

Those delegates who had been detained the previous day were set free, apart from four who remained under arrest. The same day the Government, in a note in the Boletín Oficial suspended all trade union activity, prohibiting the collection of dues and the payment of strike pay or benefits. (46)

On the 3rd the return to work took on a greater momentum because of two events. The first, at local level, was the arrest of Angel Pestaña, Director of Solidaridad Obrera and considered to be the true organizer of the strike. (47) The second, at national level, was the publication by the Romanones government of the decree establishing the eight hour day and the forty-eight hour week thereby granting one of the chief demands of the Spanish and Catalan workers since the beginning of the century.

These events, not unnaturally had the effect of driving numbers of workers back on the 4th. During the morning the tram service functioned normally and the operatives of La Energía Eléctrica went back to work. However the dismissal of the delegates of the syndicates in both these enterprises brought the workers out again at midday.

On the 5th the postmen called off their strike. The number of strikers returning to work increased on this day and the military precautions which had been in force since the declaration of the Estado de Guerra were visibly reduced. The trams went back to work.

On Sunday 6th, the management of the Tram Company placed a notice in the Boletín Oficial announcing that those employees who had not returned to work by midday on the 7th would be understood to have left their posts.

On the 7th there was an even greater tendency towards normality. Despite the fact that the bosses had fixed this date as the one to open the doors of the workplaces and that the Confederació Regional del Treball had suggested a return to work, the return was not complete, with significant sectors such as the construction and the metalworkers still out. Both the tram workers and the employees of La Canadenca went back. But on the 8th there was little change apart from the return to work of the employees of the Hispano Suiza and La España Industrial. Because of the tranquil aspect of the city the greater part of the troops retired to barracks. (48)

#### The formation of the Federación Patronal de Barcelona

On the 9th a new factor entered into the complex interplay of the social and political struggle in Barcelona. The employers, in a series of meetings - as Pla y Armengol observed, (49) there was definitely one law for the bosses and another for the workers as far as meetings were concerned - constituted the Federación Patronal de Barcelona. This action represented the organization of the owners of capital within the city into a potent body capable of facing up the workers' organization. It paralleled the organizational process which had already taken place within the working class. The first act of the Federación was to publish a demand that all the strikers still out return to work on Thursday the 10th in the same conditions as those of before the strike, and that in those establishments where work was not renewed on that date then it would be suspended. (50) In other words use was to be made of a tactic already tried in this strike in the case of the dock workers and the postmen, and which would be a powerful tool for workers and bosses in the coming four years, the lock out. It was further stated that when an individual worker did not return to work by the 12th, then he or she would be sacked and another worker taken on.

On the 10th there was a general return to work, the Captain General's resume of the day was as follows:

Se han abierto las fábricas y los talleres de la Federación Patronal, habiendo acudido la mayoría de los obreros. Como era de esperar, hubo divergencias entre patronos y obreros y estos se retiraron en algunas obras. También hubo coacciones, por lo cual han sido detenidos varios individuos. Se trabaja en algunas de las obras boycooteados, pero no en todas. Las divergencias mayores, entre patronos y obreros han sido en el ramo del transito rodado. (51)

On the 11th the situation was unchanged. No progress had been made in the conflict within the construction sector, where the workers who had returned to work on the previous day stopped work. The limit of twenty-four hours given by the Patronal for the renewal of work in this sector was therefore extended to forty-eight, in the hope that the workers would call off their boycott of certain of the enterprises within the industry and return to work.

The Captain General published an order in the Boletín Oficial, regulating the payment of wages for the week and brought out the troops from the barracks on Saturday, occupying 'militarmente' the industrial areas of the city in order to quash any disturbances. The day was quiet, however, apart from a riot at the market at Collblanch where prices of some articles in heavy demand had been raised. (52)

On Monday 14th both the workers of the construction industry and the carters remained on strike and these would not be resolved until 21 April.

#### The Patronal and the Military bring down the Government

On the same day a further event occurred which was to seal the process of identification of interests between the Barcelona Patronal and the military, which had been taking shape throughout their responses to the strike of the workers and which was to mark strongly the course of social

and industrial relations within Barcelona for the next decade, losing importance only during the brief republican period in the thirties and coming back in full strength after the Civil War. This event was the simultaneous resignation of Montañés and Doval and their precipitate return to Madrid by train. The following day the Romanones government resigned.

The explanation of the affair was well covered up at the time; the popular version given by Solano would seem to be the most accurate, namely that differences between the military and civil authorities over the handling of the strike led to the military obliging the civil authorities to resign.<sup>(53)</sup> What Solano does not add is that the Federación Patronal had consistently supported the Captain General and had encouraged him to attack the Civil Governor and to stand up against the Government. For the Catalan industrialists this alliance with the anti-separatist military meant the relegation of their Catalanism to second place, in order to maintain their economic and social preeminence through the use of the military force of the centralized state.

The Lliga, in contradiction to this policy, would become increasingly verbally aggressive in demanding autonomy for Catalonia. For the military the new alliance represented the possibility for greater intrusion in state affairs and in politics which would culminate in the uncontested coup d'etat of Primo de Rivera and the establishment of the first dictatorship of the twentieth century in Spain. In Barcelona the military would play a crucial part in repressing the working class movement and in its ultimate failure. Their actions will be summarised in Chapter 10 but before dealing with this it would be useful to look at another area where the movement failed to gain the initiative - education - and to consider the effects that this failure had on working class consciousness.

## CHAPTER 9

## WORKING CLASS EDUCATION IN BARCELONA 1910-23. A DEFEAT

## INTRODUCTION

As was shown in Chapter 1, educational provision in Barcelona at the beginning of the period under study was very deficient, due to the financial and administrative inability of the central Government. The educational programme of the government schools was clerically influenced and had shown little evolution during the period of the Restauracion. The local authorities were allowed only very limited powers in the educational field (which was later to be a serious impediment to the programmes of educational reform of the political parties of Barcelona) and the deficiencies were made up by church and private enterprise. Although the latter included some experimental private schools, as well as the schools of the working class movement and of the political parties which drew their clientele from that class, the weight of these was relatively small, and the majority of the schools in this sector were extremely conservative, both in methods and in aims. With regard to the education of adults the situation was even worse both in the provision of opportunities and in the courses offered, which were inappropriate to the needs of students and their employers.

This situation was displeasing to all the social and political groups in Catalonia and Barcelona, with the exception of the extreme right integralists, represented in the party structure by the Comité de Defensa Social and the Carlists. However the Lliga, the different Republican parties, and the working class movement all had different views on what education was for and in consequence, how it should be organized and what pedagogical methods should be employed. All these groups attempted to put their ideas into practice according to the possibilities open to

them, and the important achievements of the Lliga, acting through the Diputació and Mancomunitat, and the Town Hall, have tended to overshadow the views and achievements of the other parties, as well as the very real efforts of the working class movement in the same period. As regards the latter the myth created around Francesc Ferrer has resulted, even in recent historical studies, in a very unilateral view of working class educational innovations in the early twentieth century. Such versions, received through the works of historians and commentators in the period immediately following the years under study went unrevised during the greater part of the Francoist period and only began to suffer criticism recently. During the last years of the regime and the first years of the transition to parliamentary democracy, Catalan educationalists, looking for different pedagogical models to those of the dictatorship, began to analyze earlier educational experiences - those of the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Republican, and the Civil War periods. (1)

Of the earlier experiences the one which is of most interest here is that of the working class movement in the years 1910-23. Firstly however it will be necessary to take the 'perspectiva dinámica' approach advocated by Tuñón, which was mentioned in the Introduction and which has been consistently adopted in earlier chapters, and to examine the official educational efforts made by the political parties acting through the institutions of local government, analyzing their main features and the ideological bases of the different proposals and achievements, in order to see what solutions the parties offered to the lack of educational opportunity of the working class, before going on to look at working class education itself.

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE TOWN HALL, 1900-1915

Real reforms in the field of education by the Town Hall did not take



place until the Lliga won control of the Consistori in 1915 and was able to dictate its policies, resulting in the formation of the Commissió de Cultura which will be examined below. While the political debate on the formation of the Commissió gives evidence of the attitudes of the different parties involved, it is also necessary to examine the period before the Lliga victory, when the Catalan Republicans and the Radicals exercised municipal hegemony, and in particular, to examine the controversy over the Pressupost Extraordinari de Cultura of 1908. Although this project lies outside the chronological span of this study, and although, for reasons discussed below, it remained strictly a project, its study gives a good idea of the educational proposals of the Catalan Republicans and of the ideas underlining the varied objections of their opponents.

#### The Pressupost Extraordinari de Cultura

This project has never been seriously examined in any of the established historical studies of this period and it is only recently that it has been the subject of monographic analysis.<sup>(2)</sup> Its origin lay in the Pressupost de la Reforma which had been elaborated by the municipal commission - the Commissió Municipal de Reformes i Obres - appointed to reform the municipal administration and so enable it to finance the construction of the Via Laietana, which, as described in the Introduction, was one of the three main roads running down to the sea in the Cerdà plan, and as such, was the main feature of the redevelopment of the old town. One of the changes brought about by this commission was the reconversion of the municipal debt resulting in a surplus of two million pesetas. The Consistori decided that this money should be used in a project of educational reform for Barcelona, and asked the Commissió to undertake a study.

The Commissió delegated the task of elaborating the pedagogical reform

to a small ponència formed from members of the Commissió. The majority force in the Consistori, the Unió Republicana, was represented on the Ponencia by Layret, Bastardes and Marsà, and the Regionalist minority by Pere Rahola, a moderate Catalanist, and Puig i Alfonso, a convinced Catholic. The ponència was aided in its work by two officials of Republican persuasion, Pere Corominas and Lluís Zulueta, both of whom, as was seen in Chapter 3, were to play an important part in the ensuing development of Catalan republicanism.

The specific recommendations of the ponència for spending the two million pessesets were obviously limited by the size of the sum of money available. The basic project called for the creation of an Institut de Cultura Popular, which would be linked with four age-streamed primary schools (escoles graduades) with four supporting popular libraries. There were to be a whole range of supporting activities and institutions such as educational visits, summer camps, canteens and sports fields.

The ponència discussed three main problems of educational reform: the use of Catalan in the education of Barcelona schoolchildren, the co-education of the sexes, and whether education in the city should be lay or religious. The decisions taken on all three aspects aroused considerable political opposition and the mayor, Sanllehy, refused to sanction part of the Pressupost, despite the approval given by the Consistori of the project.

The recommendations of the ponència were that, even though Barcelona was a bilingual city, education should be in Catalan, and children from an exclusively Castilian speaking background should receive special accelerated courses to allow them to fit into the new system. This measure has been interpreted as an attempt by progressive educationalists to end the marginalization of the Catalan speaking popular classes in a cultural system where the literary forms were almost

exclusively in Castilian and where even primary education was carried out in the same language.<sup>(3)</sup> Correct as this interpretation is it only covers part of the reasons of the proposers of such a reform; it is necessary therefore to outline the reasons of the parties which supported or opposed this aspect of the project. For the Catalan Republicans, the Pressupost obviously reflected their wish to define their educational policy in relation to the proposals of the Radical Republicans and the Escuela Moderna of Ferrer, whose proposals the former had adopted during a period, until the assassination attempt of Mateu Morral in 1906. There were obvious differences in the content of the education which the Catalan Republicans proposed vis-a-vis that of the Radicals and the Escuela Moderna but these were mainly of degree. As for the form of education there were few distinguishing features between these different rational projects, except for the language to be employed. Ferrer had never tried to teach in Catalan, although it was his first language, preferring the more universal Castilian, whereas the Republicans proposed that all teaching should take place in Catalan. This insistence also served to emphasize the different nature of Catalonia within Spain and gave the Catalan Republicans a defining trait which, moreover, served as a bastion against infiltration by an all-Spanish Republican party, such as the later attempt of the Reformists of Melquíades Alvarez in 1913. The main point of including this recommendation in the Pressupost was to incorporate a new element - the hitherto unrepresented popular classes - into the cultural structures and political values of the new Catalonia from which they were largely excluded by virtue of their high rate of illiteracy. It could be reasonably hoped that these groups, on their past record, would be Republicanist and hence would support the Catalan Republicans.

A similar intention was reflected in the initial support of the Lliga for the scheme. However there was strong criticism from within the

party of the lay measures and the project of co-education of the sexes contained in the Pressupost. The clergy, who were after all the allies of the Lliga, and the ideologists behind much of the party's Catalanism, ably exploited this criticism and pressurised many of the Lliga Councillors into expressing opposition to the scheme, so that a majority of them voted against these proposals in the end, when the Party allowed its members to vote according to their conscience. Significantly, once the 5th Base referring to religious neutrality was suspended by Sanllehy, these dissenting members returned wholeheartedly to the defence of the project.

The Radical Republicans who applauded the lay proposals of the Pressupost were however also inclined to see the proposal that education should be carried out in Catalan as one for increasing the clientele of the Catalan Republicans and therefore opposed this proposal. They feared that the application of the measure would result in their losing control of the substantial immigration population which made up a great part of their voting strength in Barcelona, and presented it as an attempt to marginalize this sector, creating a sub-population which would be prevented at the individual level from obtaining social advancement in a Catalan dominated society, and at the social level prevented from even understanding the language of their oppressors.

The opposition to the Pressupost was composed then of the somewhat incongruous alliance of Catholics, Lliga and Radical Republicans. The weight of the campaign was carried by the clerical elements, who mounted a strong campaign to get the project declared unconstitutional, and, when this failed, created a virtual clerical counter-project through the presentation of an amendment to the Pressupost which affected all its educational measures, advocating traditional lines of religious education and the separation of the sexes. The amendment was discussed at the extraordinary session of the Consistori on 10 April 1908, and was

rejected in an atmosphere of complete calm, while the Pressuppost was approved in its totality. The bases were then voted one by one in the extraordinary session of 24 April, which lasted until 4.00 a.m. and were all approved, despite opposition to some of them and a certain amount of passion in the debate.

Once those who opposed the project had lost in the Consistori they then moved to a tactic which they had repeatedly announced during the campaign, that of persuading the mayor to suspend all or part of the project. They organized a series of visits to his office by the benpensants, the right-thinking members of society, as well as a considerable amount of ecclesiastical pressure. Those in favour of the Pressuppost held a meeting at the home of the Republican, Vallés i Ribot, to decide what counter-tactic they should employ, and reached the conclusion that the matter had now become one of municipal autonomy since the Pressuppost had the approval of the Consistori and was therefore unalterable and untouchable; therefore it would be degrading to visit the mayor. On 5 May Sanllehy published an extensive note, suspending the 5th Base of the Pressuppost referring to religious neutrality, arguing that it was unconstitutional and outside the competence of the Ajuntament, and that he was interpreting the wishes of the greater part of the people of Barcelona. He then left the town for a period, alleging reasons of health.

Albert Bastardes i Sampere, a Catalan Republican and a supporter of the Pressuppost stood in for Sanllehy, in his capacity of Batlle Accidental. His first task was to call the joint meeting of Regidors and Contribuents Mayors to approve the Pressuppost, a necessary legal requirement for all proposals which affected the municipal finances. This meeting was scheduled for 9 May. On 7 May, before the scheduled ordinary meeting of the Consistori, Bastardes received a delegation of Catalan Republican deputies protesting against the decision of Sanllehy,

and at the meeting itself a motion of censure moved by Layret was approved. The importance of this vote has not been sufficiently emphasized, as Perez points out.<sup>(4)</sup> It represented the assertion of municipal authority exercised by elected councillors against the mayor, who was imposed by the Ministro del Interior with royal consent. Furthermore the vote, though not unanimous, was 90% in favour of the motion of censure, showing that a solidaritat municipal still existed, even though the parliamentary coalition of Solidaritat Catalana was foundering.

At the joint meeting of 9 May, the Pressupost was approved, and was therefore passed to the Diputació, which was required to confirm projects approved by the Town Hall. At a meeting of this body on 13 May a vote was taken on a motion protesting against the action of Sanllehy, but a proposal to send a delegation to Bastardes to protest against the suspension of the 5th Base was rejected. Despite the great public protest meeting at the Tivoli theatre on 17 May, the Diputació took no further action. Neither did Sanllehy, who should have resigned since he had manifestly lost the confidence of the Consistori, and nor did the Government which should have sacked him. The return of Sanllehy to public life on 27 May brought about an immediate public demonstration, organized by the Republican Pous i Pages, outside Sanllehy's house, at which some 500 persons whistled and hooted, dispersing only after repeated charges by mounted police. Although the object of the hostility was not present (he was attending the showing of 'Raffles' at the Eldorado Theatre), he resigned three days later, being tacitly replaced by Bastardes. The Ajuntament, in the motion of censure against Sanllehy had declared that it would not tolerate any further mayor imposed by royal order, and the government preferred not to press the issue, leaving Bastardes as interim mayor until the renewal of the Consistori in July 1909, without formally recognising him and on condition that no conflict with the Government was provoked by the Republicans.<sup>(5)</sup>

The discussion of the Pressupost in the Diputació proceeded extremely slowly, with many objections and amendments, and it was finally suspended on 25 February 1909 by the Civil Governor Ossorio y Gallardo, without protest by the Ajuntament. The failure of the Pressupost represented then the failure of the Catalan Republicans to impose their particular educational policy on the Town Hall, and their later failure to obtain electoral support would prevent them from promoting any such measure in future. It would be the Lliga who would make the running in future, once the Party had gained an undisputed majority in the Town Hall, from 1915 onwards. But before this the Radical Republicans were to gain power in May 1909, and their policies must now be outlined.

#### The educational policy of the Radical Republicans in the Town Hall

When they were still far from gaining power in the Town Hall the Republicans of Lerroux had already shown a willingness to use the provision of education as a means to secure an electoral clientele. During their initial period within the Unión Republicana, they had promoted the organization of schools within the centres affiliated to the party, the Fraternidades, Centros Republicanos, etc., though there was no overall organization of these and no attempt made by the party to lay down provisions on educational programmes, text books, methods of teaching, etc.

In 1903 Lerroux began a schools campaign based on expanding the schools run under the auspices of the party and on giving a rational education on Ferrerist lines within these schools. The Escuela Moderna of Ferrer will be examined in detail below; for the moment it is sufficient to note that in it the child received a non-coercive, rational education, the political bases of which were anti-clericalism, anti-bellicism and Republicanism. Lerroux and Ferrer were friends and political allies, the former received money from the latter, and in return defended Ferrer

and rationalist teaching. Both believed in an imminent Republican revolution and conspired together to bring it about.

There were 16 schools of the Unión Republicana in 1905, serving some 2,000 pupils, counting day and night schools.<sup>(6)</sup> In some of these the text books published by the Escuela Moderna were used. However the repression which followed the attempt at regicide of the former teacher at the Escuela Moderna, Mateu Morral, which it was claimed was organized by Ferrer with the hidden aid of Lerroux, began a process by which the Lerrouxist Republicans began to withdraw from association with Ferrer. Although they had consciously flaunted the banner of rationalism in the 'épouver le bourgeois' style which won them many working class votes, they were very affected by the campaign against rational education which reached its height in the second half of 1906 and whole of 1907. The fear that the party and its local organizations could suffer repression led to the withdrawal of Escuela Moderna material from their schools and a search for different teaching methods began.

The new educational policy that was evolved was almost wholly determined by one man, Hermenegildo Giner de los Rios, Don Gildo as he was known to his followers. His brother, Francisco, was one of the founders of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza in Madrid in 1875. Hermenegildo also had strong links with the Instituto, and was in effect its first secretary, although the job was nominally held by someone else for the first two years after its creation. In all his later work he was to show a marked preference for Instituto ideas. Returning to secondary education in 1881, he passed through the Institutes of Guadalajara, Zamora and Alicante, before arriving in Barcelona in 1898 as Catedrático de Filosofía. As a teacher he seems to have been paternalistic, though benevolent, and exceptionally competent. Politically he was associated with Lerroux from the earliest days of the latter in Barcelona, and given his non-Catalan background it is perhaps not surprising that he was not attracted into the



Solidaritat Catalana. Nonetheless, and in spite of his defence of Castilian in education, he never suffered the same opprobium as Lerroux earned from his opponents, due perhaps to his reputation for incorruptibility. He never accepted any of the political appointments offered to him by Moret and Romanones (as a Republican he would not work for the monarchy) and he restricted his actions to the municipality of Barcelona. Even after his retirement to Granada and Madrid in 1918, he remained officially a resident of Barcelona. (7)

There was little real scope for real innovation in the years when the Lerrouxists controlled the Town Hall. The failure of the Pressupost Extraordinari de Cultura on the very point which the Lerrouxists were most in agreement with - the neutrality of education with regard to religion - and the climate of repression which followed the Setmana Tràgica discouraged the party from making fundamental changes, and this tendency was worsened by the belief of the Radicals that only the advent of the Republic would bring real change.

This relative lack of action by which to judge the educational policy of the Radicals, and the generally low level of theoretical debate which they maintained on all subjects, would make it hard to give any information at all on their policy were it not for two texts of Giner, one setting out a series of bases for education in Radical schools in party centres, written in 1910 and presented at the Congreso de la Democracia Radical de Cataluña, and the other, on the bases for education in Spain, presented at the Congreso Nacional de la Libertad in Barcelona in 1912. The Radical Republican Party made both the texts its own when they were adopted in 1913 by the Commission charged with organizing a Patronato for the party's schools. (8)

These texts are a series of orientations along the general lines favoured by the Institución Libre. They advocated the organization of education

by the state and the public authorities and the complete professionalization of the personnel involved through proper previous training, rounded off by summer schools and grants for study abroad. The school itself would be complemented by supporting services such as libraries, sports facilities, canteens, etc.

Politically the state school would be neutral, inclining neither to right or left, keeping out of the 'ardiente campaña de partidos políticos que amenazan poco menos que con la guerra civil si llega a invadir el ambiente de la verdadera libertad los ámbitos de la escuela pública.'<sup>(9)</sup> This same neutrality was extended to religion; the state school should not be confessional but neither should it be anti-religious, respecting the individual conscience and leaving it to the family to direct the child's beliefs.

On these main aspects of general educational policy Giner showed himself to be opposed to the basic proposals of the Ferrer project; on strictly pedagogical matters there was a certain concordance between the two educationalists on the need for the co-education of the sexes, age-streaming, the integrated education of the mind and body with an important role assigned to games and forms of corporal expression such as the dance, and the abolition of prizes and punishments. However these features were common among the advanced educationalists of the day; Ferrer had come to know them during his years in France, while Giner had taken them from the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza.

Finally it remains to signal the importance which Giner attached to hygiene and health care in schools. He advocated the provision of open air schools (which were also an inexpensive answer to the problem of providing more schools), physical education, swimming and daily showers.

The basic educational programme of the Radicals, after a brief flirtation with Ferrerism, was, therefore, virtually that of the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza. During the short period that they were in charge of the Town Hall they were unable to make the changes necessary to bring this programme about, and restricted their actions to increasing the number of municipal schools and providing facilities for summer camps.<sup>(10)</sup> How far their failure to make change influenced their electoral failure is difficult to establish without a much deeper analysis both of educational needs, local demands and local votes than is possible here.

The Lliga did not gain control of the Town Hall until 1915 and it was only in 1916 that they began to take decisive actions, which drew upon the experience in other organizations of government in Catalonia, the Diputació (later Mancomunitat). It will now be necessary to look at Lliga educational policy in these organizations before going on to municipal education after 1916.

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE DIPUTACIO DE BARCELONA AND THE MANCOMUNITAT DE CATALUNYA

It was pointed out in the Introduction that the Lliga Regionalista, after its electoral victory in 1901, began to evolve a project for the transformation of Barcelona and Catalonia, which would begin to take shape within the possibilities offered by the formal conquest of power in the organs of local government, beginning with the Diputació, where the electoral base of the Lliga was the most important force. However it did not merely seek a simple formal exercise of local power, accompanied by elementary measures for the maintenance of order in the productive system. The project was instead the creation of a modern industrial city and its hinterland, in which the Lliga would be the hegemonic influence and from which it could make a bid for hegemony in

the whole Spanish peninsula. It was pointed out that this project involved changing the general conditions of production in the city, and included new definitions and uses of urban property and land, as well as the creation of a series of instruments such as the Mancomunitat, in order to maintain bourgeois hegemony, and the elaboration of a new cultural policy to the same end. This new cultural policy was markedly conservative; it was not aimed at solving in any way the problems of mass education. Rather it was intended to form an adequate number of skilled workers for Catalan industry, as well as the new administrators of the next generation, through the provision of specialized institutions and their necessary infrastructure.

These new specialized institutions were founded by exploiting the possibilities offered by the existing laws regulating local administration and specified the responsibilities and the possible services which local corporations could provide. However there was no possibility of changing the structures of primary and secondary education, and the experience of the Diputació and Mancomunitat in these fields was limited to setting up certain pilot schemes and to teacher-training. Neither could the Regionalists bring about any change in the university.

In regard to the general education of those who would go on to the specialized schools, the future administrators and technicians, there arose a certain contradiction because these pupils also had to obtain their general education in official schools, where there was generally little sympathy for catalanism and where the Catalan language was never used as a medium of expression.

The only solution for the Lliga would have been a number of private schools for this clientele and while there were some attempts at this such as the Col. legi Mont d'Or, there was a lack of suitable educationalists to administer such schools, let alone the investors to provide the finance. (11)

A partial solution was found through the protection of church schools by the Lliga, an alliance already prefigured in the Lliga response to the lay proposals of the Pressupost de Cultura. However the Regionalists did not share the criteria of the integrist thinkers who wanted a church dominated state. Rather, given the inadequacy of financial means for the creation of more schools and the fact that the Church already had these, the Lliga was in favour of a harmonious collaboration between Church and State by which the authorities would retain control of the general content of the syllabus while the Church would carry out the teaching. Thus the Lliga would determine the essential elements which it wanted to see taught while the Church would supervise the form of teaching and would supply the moral formation of the pupils. (12)

Church teaching in Spain was distinguished by a number of features which did not disagree with the social and educational policies of the Lliga. It was typically hierarchic and based on classism and sexual discrimination. (13) Within this system the poor and women had little chance of obtaining an education and the Lliga was not disposed to change this in any way, apart from giving women some opportunities for technical education which will be described below.

As regards the ideological content of the educational system advocated by the Lliga, its aim was that the working classes and the menestralia should be integrated ideologically with the middle classes through teaching the values of civisme, by which children would be given a greater consciousness of their duties towards society and of the necessity of civic virtue. In other words it was an attempt to create a consensus of shared middle class values. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the church and national schools used coercive methods to this end, hierarchizing the class structure and distancing the teacher from the pupils. The new emphasis of the progressive educationalists linked to the Lliga was to use softer, more persuasive pedagogical methods, through

which the child would learn the rules and norms of adult society and become:

... col. laboradors intel. ligents de la riquesa nacional, bons ciutadans capaços de sentir els aventatges i l'encís de la vida col. lectiva ja en la família, ja en les institucions corporatives, ja en les reunions d'esplai, en les reunions d'espectacles, festes de sentit popular, religiós, commemoratives o culturals.<sup>(14)</sup>

They would then be prepared to:

... contribuir al bon regiment de la ciutat, ja de la nació, mitjaçant el sentit i coneixement dels interessos col. lectius posats pel damunt de tot egoïsme que pogués actuar en greuge de la solidaritat de tots els estaments i perjudici del comú.<sup>(15)</sup>

### The work of the Diputació and Mancomunitat in elementary education

The new pedagogical methods in the field of elementary education were elaborated and publicized through a series of different experiences. The greater part of the work was done by the Consell de Pedagogia whose aims were the study of new movements in education in order to apply them to the schools of the Diputació, to advise the Diputació on the creation of new schools and to carry out inspection duties and suggest reforms.<sup>(16)</sup>

The most important advance in educational method which the Consell studied was the Montessori method of teaching. This was introduced into Spain by Joan Palau i Vera, who went to Rome in 1913 to study the new techniques of Doctora Montessori, returning to Barcelona the same year to apply the method in two schools, one of them private, the Col. legi Mont d'Or, and the other belonging to the Diputació, the Casa de Maternitat.<sup>(17)</sup>

In 1914 the Consell paid grants to six teachers to go to Rome to study the new method and introduce it in Catalonia, and by 1915 there were 12 centres in Catalonia where the Montessori method was practised, four of them in Barcelona. A special Montessori school, the Escola Montessori, was in construction in the city and was brought into use in 1916, under the direction of the Italian, Doctora Anna Macheroni, one of Montessori's favourite disciples. Experiments were carried out in this school to

extend the use of the method from the nursery age groups to which Montessori herself had previously confined it, to older children up to the age of eleven or twelve.

During the same year of 1916 Doctora Montessori herself, in recognition of the interest shown in her work in Barcelona and Catalonia, came to Barcelona to hold the Third International Montessori course there. It was a three month course from February to May which meant that the schoolteachers who wished to attend would need paid holidays. The Ministry of Education in Madrid refused to allow teachers from the national schools to attend, and it was only after an energetic protest by the Catalan deputies and senators that the national teachers from Catalonia were given permission to attend. Montessori, after seeing the work of Anna Macheroni, decided to use her method with older children, a tribute to the advanced nature of the work being carried out in Barcelona.

Outside Barcelona the Mancomunitat created a further four pilot-schools for educational experiment, one in each of the four provinces under its control, in an attempt to integrate teaching outside Barcelona into the advances of the capital.<sup>(18)</sup>

This interest in divulging new methods in education was extended through the Escoles d'Estiu, the summer schools for teachers which were held annually from 1914 onwards during the school holidays. On the first course there were 197 teachers, a success which was not repeated until 1922. The course was organized by Eladi Homs, a member of the Consell and covered three themes, the Montessori method, handicrafts and artwork. From 1915-1923 it was directed by Alexander Galí, secretary to the Consell, who gave it a more professional character, increasing its length to a month, and covering general courses which were designed to complete the technical education of teachers, especially in fields like

biology and chemistry, as well as more specialized courses, and including visits to cultural institutions for those teachers from outside Barcelona.

In order to publicize to the maximum the educational advantages derived from the pilot-schools and the summer schools the Consell began, from 1915 onwards, to send a free magazine, the Quaderns d'Estudi to all teachers every three months. From 1922 a fortnightly Butlletí dels Mestres was sent out free to all teachers. Finally a series of cheap pocket size editions of school books, the Biblioteca Minerva, was begun in 1916. (19)

Within the field of primary education then the efforts of the Diputació and Mancomunitat were largely of an avant-garde, experimental nature, conceived of as pilot schemes and in no way designed to resolve the problems of the sector in Barcelona, as the Radical Party pointed out in an article in El Progreso at the time of the Third International Montessori course. The article criticized the Mancomunitat's educational policy from the point of view of the small number of persons involved, contrasting this with the numbers of children who had no possibility of receiving any schooling. (20)

#### The achievement of the Diputació and Mancomunitat in technical and professional education

Much greater efforts were made in this field because of the need of Catalan industry of skilled workers and technicians, and it is the one which historians have usually commented on. It was virtually a new field since technical and professional education simply did not exist in the nineteenth century. On 1 June 1900 the Ministro de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, García Alix published a Royal Order which specified norms for technical education. Prat de la Riba asked a local industrialist, Josep Barret to draw up a plan for technical instruction in Catalonia



which could be submitted to the authorities. (21)

Barret had travelled abroad and was especially influenced by the technical education which he had seen in the United States, especially the 'half-time day' system and his resulting plan was based on these foreign experiences. It was accused in official sectors of being too catalanist and received no official or economic help. Prat de la Riba and Barret kept up the pressure however, and in 1904 founded a Patronat de l'Escola Industrial. In 1906 the Diputació bought the building of Can Battló in the Esquerra de l'Eixample, where it was hoped to instal the various technical schools which it wished to run, giving the new institution the name of the Universitat Industrial although it later became known as the Escola Industrial. The installation took some time because each school had to be equipped before its definitive inauguration with libraries, laboratories, workshops and other complementary buildings. The first school which opened was the Secció de Filatures de l'Escola d'Indústries Textils.

The Escola Industrial followed the Barret plan of 1900 and the facilities which it provided made it a model institution, quite different in its time from other such institutions in Spain. Until 1920 it had no director, being run by the Patronat, aided by a secretary. (22) New schools were constantly created, including the Escola de Directors de Blanqueig, Tintoreria, Estampació i Acabats in 1913, which although it was regarded as an annex to the Escola d'Indústries Textils, maintained an independent existence until 1920 when the two were amalgamated. In the same year of 1913 the Escola de Teneria was opened. In 1915 the Institut de Química Aplicada was created, along with the Laboratori d'Estudis Superiors de Química. This was well equipped and served not only for theoretical and practical teaching, but also offered a problem-solving service to manufacturers in the chemical industry. Finally, in 1917 the Escola de Directors d'Indústries Eléctriques was founded, completing the

range of technical schools of the Escola Industrial serving the basic industries of Catalonia - textiles, chemicals, electricity production and electrical goods, and leather.

These technical schools were complemented by the Escola del Treball, set up on the same site.<sup>(23)</sup> This school was developed from the former Escola d'Arts i Oficis of the Diputació which had been founded in 1868 for the education of workmen and foremen. The growing specialization within industry led to the creation of different sections such as those of Maquines de Vapor, Teixits, Electricitat, etc. The Diputació, following the guidelines of the Memòria by Josep Puig i Cadalfalch, President of the Commissió d'Instrucció Pública de la Diputació, decided to undertake a complete reorganization. These guidelines were basically concerned with giving workers a greater practical specialization within industry, as well as a wider socio-political knowledge within the general Lliga vision. In this way it perfectly expressed the social policy of the Diputació and Mancomunitat. The number of students in the school was kept small, and practical work was emphasized more than theoretical work during the period when Barret was director. Following his assassination in 1918, his successor, the socialist Campalans, increased the number of students and introduced more theoretical work. The school was composed of various sections and from 1918 had a specialized library. A diploma was awarded at the end of the course and if a worker had passed all courses his matriculation fee was returned.<sup>(24)</sup> From 1919 a new section, the Secció Preparatòria under Pau Vila was set up, which all students had to pass through before going on to their specialization, and which was intended to raise their cultural level. On the same lines there were various complementary activities, including the Lectures literàries, cursets i conferències, which were held from 1918, in July and August on Saturday evenings from six to seven. The talks, on worthy themes, were given by distinguished men of letters and were free to all

pupils of the school. An Institut d'Alumnes i ex-Alumnes was founded in 1918 and organized festivals, sports and talks. It published a magazine from April 1920 which gave information on labour problems and technical advances. (25)

The statistics in Table 9-1 show that the number of students attending the Escola de Treball was very small in relation to the numbers of the working class which were cited in Chapter 1, bearing out the contention that such schools were only founded to provide specialized cadres for industry, and, despite the efforts of Campalans were not intended to cater for large numbers of students.

Finally it remains to point out that various technical schools outside Barcelona - the Escoles Locals de Comerç - were approved in 1916 and set up in 1917, in Tarragona, Lleida, Reus and Sabadell, in order to decentralize technical education in Catalonia, following the tendency of the Lliga in this period.

#### The achievement of the Diputació and Mancomunitat in commercial and administrative education

Within Catalonia there had always been an excellent tradition of private commercial schools and the Diputació and Mancomunitat saw no need to interfere with these. Changes were made only to the few schools which belonged to the Diputació in this field. The Escuela Provincial del Corte, which had led a languid existence since becoming dependent on the Diputació in 1883, had its name changed to the Escola del Tall, before the Mancomunitat created from it the Escola de la Moda in 1915. It was largely patronised by society women however. The Escola Superior dels Bells Oficis was founded in 1914 to counteract the falling standards of artesans, and such subjects as book-binding, ceramics, gardening etc. were taught there. (26)

Within the field of administration both the Diputació and the Mancomunitat undertook urgent efforts to train the administrators which were needed to carry out the new organization of Barcelona and Catalonia according to the Lliga project. To this end the Diputació held various Setmanes Municipals, and the Mancomunitat organized the Escola d'Administració Local in 1914, where the students studied accounting, law, Spanish administrative law, statistics, etc. (27)

#### Education for women

By the date of the period under study the Catalan ruling classes were beginning to accept that their wives and daughters could go out to work, and indeed, in an industrializing society could perform useful tasks. However women were not expected to take part in traditionally male occupations and certainly could not aspire to the work of direction and decision making which were reserved for the male elite. (28)

Thus the vocational schools opened by the Mancomunitat were for precisely those jobs which women traditionally held as helpers and assistants to men. They included the Escola Superior de Bibliotecàries founded in 1915, in order to train the librarians needed to work in the popular libraries. The number of pupils who passed through it each year averaged 25-30. (29) The other school, the Escola d'Infermeres, was created in 1918, and never became as important as the Escola de Bibliotecàries, since nursing was a duty traditionally undertaken by nuns.

#### The efforts of the Diputació and Mancomunitat in the fields of popular and high culture

It is in these fields that the socio-political views of the Lliga are most clearly seen.

It can be readily understood that since neither the Diputació or the Mancomunitat could administer primary education their efforts in this field were restricted to the role of experimentation described earlier. But a possible way round this would have been the creation of institutions for cultural extension, which could also cater for adults and thereby do something to reduce illiteracy. Within this field there were practically no initiatives beyond the creation of a network of libraries in all the educational institutions belonging to the Mancomunitat, as well as popular libraries in many parts of Catalonia. It has been observed that these represented a relative achievement within this field since the creation of libraries meant the provision of a purpose-built building and the buying of books.<sup>(30)</sup> But most of the libraries were very small and little used.

With regard to museums, an agreement was reached as early as 1907 between the Ajuntament de Barcelona, the Diputació and the Academia Provincial de Belles Artes, to set up a Junta de Museus, and in 1915 the Mancomunitat created a Servei de Conservació, at the service of the Junta but linked to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.<sup>(31)</sup>

Finally the Institut d'Educació General perhaps serves as a small example of the exiguousness of the efforts of the Diputació in the field of popular culture. This Institut was a project of Prat de la Riba, approved by the Mancomunitat in 1914. Prat seems to have counted, without success, on Domenec Martí i Julià to run it. Instead it only began to function in 1918 under a Committee - the Comité d'Educació General - formed by Jaume Bofill i Matas, Ramon Rucabado and Eugeni d'Ors. The aims of the Institut were basically those of civism and hygiene and it was to be the instigator of campaigns to improve the moral and physical state of the people, educating them in personal and community hygiene and giving information on child-bearing and puericulture, thus reflecting the concern among analysts of Catalan, and especially Barcelona

social reality, at the low birth rate and high infant mortality. The effectiveness of the Institut was low, however, because it had no financial assignation, and it quietly came to an end a year later.

The high culture of Catalanism was however very well served by the policies of the Diputació and the Mancomunitat, responding to the need to provide facilities for research into the reality of Catalonia and the factors which differentiated it from the rest of Spain, and to promote a Catalan culture emphasizing the separate nature of the area. There was also a conscious attempt to bring the best in European culture and especially science to Catalonia, reflecting the view of the rest of Spain as backward and Catalonia as innovative and avant-garde.

The oldest of all the institutions in this field was the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, founded by the Diputació in 1907. The Reglament of this institution stated in its first article that it would have as objective '...la superior investigació científica de tots els elements de la cultura catalana'. The first section to be set in operation was the Secció Històrico-arquelogica, followed in 1911 by the Secció Filologica and that of Ciències.

From 1907 on the Institut began to publish an Anuari summarising the main activities and findings of the different sections during the year, and collective works such as dictionaries of Catalan and the celebrated Normes Ortografiques which fixed the language in its present form. The science section published works introducing the latest concepts of European science into Catalonia, as well as a series of collections on Catalan science.

Finally, from 1915 onwards the Institut began a practice which it has followed to this day, the annual awards of prizes, to promote the literary arts and research. (32)

The other two important works in this field were the foundation of the Museu Social in 1908 and the Biblioteca de Catalunya in 1912. The work of the Museu Social has already been described in Chapter 1; in summary the idea came from Ramon Albó in 1907, who suggested to the Diputació that it set up a Museu Social on the style of those which, following the traditionalist ideas of Le Play, were being created in several countries of Europe. The idea won approval and was forwarded to the Ajuntament which also expressed agreement. A joint committee was therefore set up to carry out the project and in 1908 its constitution was agreed. The Museu finally opened in 1910; it was basically an institution for bringing to public attention the problems of the Barcelona working class, in a heavily paternalistic, social catholic fashion. It contained a Secretariat Popular where any problems related with work, economics, legislation, etc., could be resolved gratis, and a permanent exhibition of Economia Social. It also had a specialized library and mounted occasional exhibitions on themes such as El Treball a Domicili, which were discussed in Chapter 1. The statistics of consultations and those of the number of visitors to the permanent exhibition show that after an initial burst of interest, numbers fell away rapidly. (33)

The Biblioteca de Catalunya has been seen as putting one of the most appreciated instruments of culture - the book - within reach of all. It is true that statistics from its early years show an appreciable number of readers, but how many of these would have been from the working class? It would seem much more likely that they were students from the University, seeking an alternative to the overcrowded University Library. (34)

The main force behind the Biblioteca de Catalunya was the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, which deposited its own library there, and had the satisfaction of seeing the collections grow rapidly, with many voluntary donations, among them Prat de la Riba.

The other activities of the local authorities in this field were the

endowing of a Chair of Catalan Language at the University of Barcelona in 1912, whose first occupant was, not unnaturally, Pompeu Fabra, the author of the Normes Orthografiques. Secondly the Cursos Monogràfics d'Alts Estudis i d'Intercanvi were organized by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and twelve were held in the period between 1915 and 1923.

They were for highly selected pupils and were directed by foreign and Catalan specialists, among them Calmette, Einstein, Montessori, Poincaré, Eugeni d'Ors, Nicolau d'Olwer, etc. (35)

In conclusion, the achievement of the Lliga within the educational field in the Diputació and Mancomunitat was limited by the legal difficulties within which it had to work. Within the field of primary education their programme was strictly small scale and avant-garde, whereas there was a much greater emphasis placed on technical and professional education where the legal restraints were much less, and where the aim of the Lliga was to create the conditions for the formulation of a Catalan high culture as well as the formation of small numbers of skilled cadres of technicians and administrators at the service of Catalan industry.

#### THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE LLIGA IN THE TOWN HALL. THE COMISSIÓ DE CULTURA

The Lliga completed its bid for power in all the local institutions in Barcelona with its victory in the municipal elections of November 1915. It immediately began the reorganization of the municipality in order to further the aims of the party, just as it had done in the Diputació and the Mancomunitat. One of the elements created in the new organization was the Comissió de Cultura, which had responsibility for the educational institutions run by the Municipality.

The proposal to form a Comissió de Cultura was put forward in January



1916, in a Regionalist motion proposing the reform of the Commissions de Treball, both permanent and special, of the Ajuntament. Although the permanent Commissions were to be the same as before - Governació, Hisenda and Foment - it was proposed to add a fourth - Cultura which would have responsibilities for:

...lo relativo a las Escuelas Nacionales; Grupos Escolares y su construcción; Escuelas de Artes: Escuela de Música; Escuela de Ciegos, sordomudos y anormales; Escuela de Labores para la Mujer y de Corte; Fomento de instituciones culturales; Bibliotecas, Exposiciones, Archivo y sus publicaciones; Bellas Artes.(36)

Previously all these responsibilities had come under the Commissió de Governació-Negociació de Beneficencia, Instrucció Pública i Sanitat, and the proposal to create a special commission to administer them shows how highly the Lliga valued cultural institutions in its ideological programme. The Republicans and Radicals were quick to point out that the creation of the Commissió obeyed the policy of the Lliga of getting all the centres of education under its control. As Giner de los Rios accused:

...los regionalistas querían fundar una Comisión de Cultura que, en el fondo, viniera a ser el confesionario para dirigir las inteligencias, para hacer esa alma catalana a su manera, que era incompatible con la manera de ser de los radicales.(37)

After a difficult debate it was agreed that the Commissió should be a special commission, rather than a permanent one, and should have only seven members against the sixteen of a permanent commission. There would be Radical representation on the Commissió and the Radicals took part in it in order to oppose the Lliga on any political changes they might make.

After an initial year of functioning the Commissió created an Asesoría-Técnica to advise and aid it in its tasks. It was therefore evolving into a municipal counterpart of the Consell de Pedagogia of the Mancomunitat, which, as was seen earlier was responsible for the educational institutions of that body. The Commissió itself defined its

role as complementary to that of the Consell:

Poca cosa guanyarien en les futures lluites industrials si les classes directores s'haguessin format en els millors centres tècnics que suara hem instal·lat a Catalunya i en canvi els nostres futurs artesans no vinguessin preparats des de l'Escola primària, per a col. laborar amb preparació tècnica suficient en la obra econòmica per aquells elements iniciada. Per això deu procurar - se que la instrucció primària de les escoles públiques quedi enllaçada de tal manera amb les altres institucions d'ensenyança secundària, que les unes siguin el complement de les altres, per a arribar, per medi d'aquesta educació de nostres classes populars, a la formació integral de les mateixes. (38)

The primary task of the Commissió de Cultura was the elementary formation of the working class of Barcelona. In this task the chief requisite was the creation of new schools to cover the educational needs of the whole population of the city, and especially the immigrant population, which the Commissió estimated at 40% of the city total. The new schools were to be hygienic, fit for the use of the latest educational methods, able to draw on the services of complementary institutions, and it was hoped that the Ajuntament could win more autonomy from the central government in the matter of the subjects to be taught.

None of these aims was new; almost all of them had been expressed by the Republicans before (though the Radicals did not believe in regional control of education, believing that qualifications awarded by educational institutions should be state validated). What was innovatory however was that while the Republicans had expressed a wish for reform, and had made some piecemeal changes, the Commissió was an attempt to comprehensively change the primary educational system of Barcelona in coordinated fashion.

Thus, in June 1917, a Pla General was approved by the Consistori, explaining the need for the new schools and justifying the aims cited above. The new schools were to be age-streamed primaries, and, since such schools were costly, only a few large ones could be built. It was decided that no school should be more than a kilometre away from its

pupils and some effort went into co-ordinating a plan for the location of the schools which combined the demand for education in certain areas with the availability of municipal buildings following the one-kilometre criterion. Despite the approval of the plan by the Consistori and the considerable efforts of the Commissió, only two schools were completed before the Dictadura of Primo de Rivera suspended the works in progress. (39)

The Commissió de Cultura managed to obtain a concession from the central government in 1922 by which it was allowed to run the new schools through a Patronat. Although the constitution of the Patronat had to be modelled on certain similar institutions in Madrid, it had the advantage of allowing the Patronat to choose the teachers for the schools. Even before this date the Commissió had involved itself in the running of the schools, as is shown by their decision to encourage the use of Catalan within the schools.

The Commissió was also responsible for various special schools, among them the two Montessori schools of the Ajuntament, and the open air schools - of which it created two more, the famous Escola del Mar in the Barceloneta and one in Guinardó, as well as expanding the already established Escola del Bosc. (40) It also reorganised the Escola Municipal de Cecs, Sord-Muts i Deficients, dividing it into three Special Schools, each equipped with research sections which undertook anthropological, psychological and educational investigations. These sections were linked to the teaching work of the school and the teachers themselves had to collaborate with them and write a monograph on their research.

This labour of integrated organization was also extended to the school canteens, kindergartens, circulating libraries, summer camps and sea-bathing facilities. (41) The former Escoles Municipales de Artes and the Escola municipal de Labors i Oficis de la Dona were also reorganized. (42)

Although it showed considerable vitality the Commissió de Cultura did little to solve the educational problem of the working classes in Barcelona. Its aim was firstly to provide skilled workers for Catalan industry, as well as to carry out small scale educational experiments and to investigate the education of the handicapped. This bias towards elitism and avant-gardism was offset by the attempt to socialize working class children into the values of civisme, but even provision towards this end was sketchy as was shown in the school campaign of Sants in 1918, when, to the disgust of local anarchists, there were demonstrations demanding that a new school be built in the area.<sup>(43)</sup>

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Rafael Shaw found that Spanish workers in general had strong criticisms of the church-dominated governmental education and wanted better opportunities for their children.<sup>(44)</sup> In Catalonia this critical stance was widespread because of the deficiencies of the state system and the unwillingness of the dominant groups in the local corporations to do anything about it. However the criticism was not restricted solely to deficiencies; like the Lliga which also regarded education as a revolutionary force, and attempted to change its content to take in the new values of civisme, so the Catalan working class movement, through the C.N.T. and Solidaridad Obrera, criticised the content of the education offered and wanted to change it. In this it contrasted with the Socialist movements whose principal aspiration was to place its members in the key posts of the educational structure, and to make that structure more effective and take it to more of the population.

#### ANTECEDENTS: THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT AND EDUCATION

Education was one of the main concerns of the anarchist movement in Spain and Catalonia from its beginnings for two reasons. Firstly because of

its importance in propagating the ideal, recognised as much more relevant than the other forms of 'propaganda del hecho', the isolated violence of assassinations and bombings. Secondly because of the belief of the anarchists that social change would not come about mechanically but rather through human intervention. In consequence every anarchist had to be ready to participate in the revolutionary process and for this had to have carried out his or her own 'interior revolution' before aspiring to change society. Through critical reading and through debate the anarchist could acquire more knowledge of the defects of the existing order and become more rebellious against it in all aspects of his life. Then he or she could carry out propaganda through the deed by helping others to greater awareness through increasing their cultural level. The greater the number of persons conscious of the need to change society, the greater the chance that a revolutionary change might demolish or transform the existing structures.

Furthermore the action of teaching also had its lessons for the anarchist. The relations between teacher and pupil were a paradigm of those in the future society between the citizen and the institutions which had to guide his life.

For these reasons the anarchist movement held that the expansion of ideas was a revolutionary instrument and expressed a great interest in education.<sup>(45)</sup> Even before the First International there had been propaganda for 'enseñanza integral' and the International itself had echoed this demand in the Congresses of Lausanne and Brussels. The Congreso de Zaragoza in 1872 declared the importance of education for the emancipation of the proletariat, in a dictamen on 'enseñanza integral' written by the Bakunist, Trinidad Soriano.<sup>(46)</sup> As Alvarez Junco has pointed out, 'enseñanza integral', uniting theory and practice was a demand which marked the qualitative change in education in the nineteenth century, away from the task of polishing the thought of a small elite to

that of producing the workers of an industrialized society. As such it was not a demand unique to anarchism. The same author goes on to elaborate other traits of anarchist educational thought in this period. He systematizes it around five main points - education should be integral, libertarian, rational (i.e. scientific and lay), should show respect for the child and should be egalitarian and revolutionary.<sup>(47)</sup> Some of these aspects were to be found in other movements and, from the 1880's onwards anarchist interest in educational experiences in Catalonia became associated with the lay school movement, which in turn developed into the Ferrerist version of rationalism, the Escuela Moderna.

#### ANTECEDENTS: THE LAY SCHOOL MOVEMENT AND THE ESCUELA MODERNA

Because of the circumstances of his death, and the posterior creation of a myth about him, the figure and achievement of Francesc Ferrer i Guardia has tended to overshadow the thought and achievement of his predecessors. However, by comparing the above summary of previous anarchist thought on education with that of Ferrer, and by comparing his thought and methods with those of his contemporaries it will be seen that he was less of an innovator than the myth made him out.

The lay school movement in Spain began in the latter part of the nineteenth century, with small foci in Barcelona and Madrid (the Instituto Libre de Enseñanza). In Barcelona the movement had two main currents, one moderate and cautious in the social and political fields, the other committed to social reform.

The first, which dated from the 1880's was headed by Bartolome Gabarró i Borrás, a former Escolapian. Disillusioned with the Catholic faith he began to propagate lay schools with the support of those introducers of European rationality into Spain, the Masons. The second current had deeper roots, arising as it did, from the former working class casinos

and cultural centres of the nineteenth century (such as the Ateneo Catalan de la Clase Obrera de Barcelona).<sup>(48)</sup> The schools of this movement were largely supported by the Librepensadors and Republicans such as Lluís i Pujals in La Tramontana, as well as by the working class societies of the Bakuninist Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española, and received through them the whole anarchist tradition of education which was examined above.<sup>(49)</sup>

Despite the opposition of the Church these schools developed to some extent in Catalonia. During the period 1882-1896 some seventy lay schools were founded, although the number dropped sharply in the widespread government repression which followed the Montjuïc trials.<sup>(50)</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century these two movements were fused into one in the person of Francesc Ferrer i Guardia and his creation, the Escuela Moderna. The figure and work of Ferrer has been widely discussed and interpreted, though as Pere Solà and José Alvarez Junco observe, the debate has usually been ideological, focussing only on the life, example and competence of Ferrer, rather than examining the concrete circumstances in which he worked, and evaluating the importance of his project in the light of these.<sup>(51)</sup> It is not the intention here to go into these at length; the interest of Ferrer for this thesis lies in his influence over the working class educational movement and it is only necessary to undertake a short description of his work and the ideological bases which underlay it.

Ferrer was born in Allela in 1859, the son of a small landowner, catholic and monarchic. At fifteen he began work in a shop in Barcelona and became a supporter of Pi i Margall, as well as involved in Freemasonry. He then became an inspector on the railway line from Barcelona to Cerbère on the frontier with Spain, in which capacity he acted as a messenger for the Republicans of Ruiz Zorilla, at that time exiled in Paris. He became

involved in the Zorrillist plot of General Villacampa in 1886, and fled into exile in France. There he earned his living at diverse activities before establishing himself as a teacher of Spanish, even gaining modest fame after writing a manual L'Espagnol Pratique.

In France he naturally associated with the interconnected world of republicans, freethinkers and anarchists, as well as continuing his career in Masonry. The impact on him of these experiences and of the movements in French political life during the period evidently caused him to lose faith in insurrectionist republicanism. He came to believe that it was necessary to form a new mentality through educational action which would then be able to undertake the necessary revolution leading to a Republic, and eventually to anarchism. This revolution would be undertaken by the revolutionary syndicates who would cause the collapse of capitalism with a revolutionary general strike, and so allow the new mentality to take over. These were the two fundamental features of Ferrer's thought, and he set about materializing them in Barcelona on his return in 1901, using a certain amount of capital which had been left to him by one of the pupils to whom he had previously taught Spanish, Mlle. Meunier. (52)

The Escuela Moderna was opened in September 1901. It was situated in c/. Bailen, in the Dreta de l'Eixample of Barcelona. Its thirty pupils (twelve girls and eighteen boys) were mainly drawn from the Barcelona petty bourgeoisie, such as the children of the Republican University teacher Odon de Buen. It was directed by Ferrer, aided by the French freethinker, Clemencia Jacquinet, who was later to diverge from him.

The basis of the programme was that the education given to the children should escape from the dogmatic religious and patriotic-military model of the nineteenth century, finding its inspiration instead in science (i.e. the positivistic, optimistic science of the late nineteenth century with



all its important discoveries). It was therefore a rational programme of lay education, against the state, anti-authoritarian, and scientifically based. This science had to be at the service of true human and social necessities, i.e. at the service of natural reason instead of at the service of artificial reason, that of capital and the bourgeoisie. From this belief in reason came the name racionalista which has been applied to the Ferrer movement ever since, although it belongs to the wider range of educational experiences of this nature in Europe which Ferrer was drawing upon.

A second feature of Ferrerism was the insistence of the founder on co-education, both of girls and boys and of rich and poor. The separation of the sexes was one of the most evident features of the nineteenth century educational system in Spain and Ferrer insisted that the human being was made up of both male and female and the two should therefore be taught together in the educational process. He explained that the co-education of the classes was necessary because the children of the rich who only went to private schools learned there how to maintain their advantages, while a school created specifically for the poor which was faithful to revolutionary principles could only end by teaching the children hatred for the rich. The solution then was the co-education of the classes so that both together could, through their new mentality, make the revolution. Payment at the school was therefore according to the means of the family so that children of the poor would not be excluded.

Ferrer placed importance on a child-centred education, in the sense that it was necessary to allow the child to develop spontaneously, rather than force upon him or her an education designed to reinforce the existing status quo. To this end he suppressed exams, prizes and punishments in the school and placed great emphasis upon the importance of play. Play would eventually develop into work, i.e. 'la actividad manual e intelectual que culmina en la realización de obras en las que el niño-hombre se

reconoce.' Work would thus be non-alienating, as it would become in the future society.

This programme demanded a well equipped school and the description given of it by Pere Solà reveals it to have been exceptional for its time, with its physics and chemistry laboratory, its mineral, botanical and zoological collections and its magic lantern. (53)

Parents were also involved in the life of the school, particularly through the Sunday lectures, which were deliberately held on that day as part of the lay credo of the school. As the first lectures were not particularly satisfactory (their presenters either did not know enough or failed to link them with the other lectures in the series), Ferrer made an agreement with two University lecturers, Odon de Buen and Andrés Martínez Vargas to give regular Sunday lectures. His idea was to create a 'Universidad Popular' within the Escuela Moderna, to which anyone would have access, not just parents and pupils.

To publicize his work Ferrer edited a magazine, the Boletín de la Escuela Moderna, and created a publishing house for textbooks. (54) By 1906 there were some fifty branches of the Escuela Moderna in the Province of Barcelona, as well as some in Valencia and Andalusia. In the same year Ferrer held a get together of the Escuelas Racionales on Good Friday, with children representing some seventy schools from the Escuela Moderna movement and other associated schools. (55) Such an insult on a day of mourning for Catholics would not be easily forgotten. (56)

In 1906 Ferrer was implicated in the attempted regicide by Mateu Morral and imprisoned for a time; although he was acquitted he had to close the Escuela Moderna and go abroad for a while. Many of the rationalist schools closed during the period of repression which followed the assassination attempt. Ferrer spent his first weeks abroad in

Amélie-les-Bains, where he wrote the first version of La Escuela Moderna, the book which summarised his educational philosophy, and which was only published after his death by his admirers. At the suggestion of Briand, a personal friend from his exile days, Ferrer then went to Belgium and set in motion his project of a Ligue Internationale pour l'Education Rationnelle de l'Enfance, to advance the cause of rationalist education throughout the world and in this way establish the bases for future peace between nations. As a parallel effort he began a new magazine, L'École Renovée which was an international equivalent of the Boletín de l'Escuela Moderna. Returning to Catalonia in late 1907 he was able to reopen the Escuela Moderna, although he took no active part in it, retiring to the family farm at Mas Germinal, near Alella, to study. Although he played no part whatsoever in the events of July 1909, he was arrested and tried as leader of the revolt, being executed by firing squad in October, 1909.

Despite some reticences and criticisms of Ferrer from certain sectors within the anarchist movement, his influence had been very great and even after his death, influential propagandists like Anselmo Lorenzo who had worked with him remained faithful to his memory and the principles of the Escuela Moderna. However the evolution of Ferrerism came to a halt with the Setmana Tràgica and the subsequent execution of Ferrer. (57)

Immediately following the Setmana Tràgica all the lay schools of Barcelona and its province were closed by the Civil Governor appointed by the Maura government to replace Ossorio y Gallardo. In protest against these closures which affected the lay schools maintained by the Republican party and by the Radicals, an important campaign was carried out during the winter of 1909-10, mainly by the Republican organizations, defending their neutral schools by denying that they had anything to do with Ferrerism. On 3 February 1910 the newly appointed Liberal administration of Moret published a Royal Order permitting the reopening

of lay schools under certain conditions and those of moderate tendencies appear to have reopened immediately, although few of those associated with Ferrer did so. (58)

The period around the first anniversary of the death of Ferrer saw, not unnaturally, a great propaganda effort. The Asociación de Profesores Laicos Racionalistas, of which Ferrer had been the first president, mounted a campaign of acts dedicated to his memory, in which delegates to the Primer Congreso Librepensador Español being held in Barcelona at the Palau de Belles Artes, took part. (59) This campaign and the articles which were published in the anarchist press with the motive of the anniversary, marked the beginnings of the conversion of Ferrer into a myth. José Salvat, writing in Solidaridad Obrera addressed himself to the 'fiera católico-jesuítica' which had killed the 'inmortal maestro Francisco Ferrer Guardia', claiming that:

...creiais vosotros que muerto Ferrer moria su pensamiento? !!ah, no!! os habéis equivocado por completo...hoy, día 13 de octubre, el primer aniversario de su muerte, todo el mundo se acuerde de él...Ferrer murió materialmente, si, pero moralmente existe; le habéis matado el cuerpo pero vive su alma, que es su obra: mas ésta germinará en el cerebro de nuestros hijos, y ellos, dándole vida, le harán eterna: la cual, una vez desarrollada, aplastará todos los obstáculos que se opongan a su paso, porque ella está encarnada con las leyes naturales, madres de la Ciencia y del Progreso. Asi, pues, confiando en el porvenir, donde los hombres nuevos harán justicia, levanto mi voz enérgicamente y con toda la fuerza de mis pulmones grito: Ferrer ha muerto, si; ! viva la Escuela Moderna! (60)

Despite this affirmation and the later efforts of former friends and associates of Ferrer who began the publication of his works, and despite the propagandizing efforts of Anselmo Lorenzo, the Escuela Moderna movement did not survive. Lacking a comprehensive educational theory, deprived of its leader, deserted by the Republican and Radical movements, it degenerated into individual enterprises, without any connection between each other, strongly criticised for backward teaching methods. By 1916 a writer in Solidaridad Obrera could claim:

Todos sabemos que el fusilar a Ferrer se quiso fusilar a la Escuela Moderna. ¿Lo han conseguido?...Para nosotros si. La Escuela Moderna no es hoy el pensamiento de Ferrer. Nosotros hemos tratado con algunos maestros racionalistas y nos hemos dado vergüenza de que hombres tales sean los destinados a educar en armonía con la razón; algunos los pegan a los niños. ¿Que cabe pensar de esto?... (61)

#### BEYOND THE ANTECEDENTS: THE BARCELONA WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT AND EDUCATION

The disappearance of Ferrerism and the abandonment of the principles of the Escuela Moderna by the Republicans and Radicals meant that the main effort in rationalist education would come, in future from the working class movement and it is therefore necessary to examine the debates on education which took place within the C.N.T., both within the pages of Solidaridad Obrera, and in the different Congresses which took place in the period under study, as well as the concrete realizations of the educational policy of the movement.

The debates were not centred on the need for rationalist education since this was accepted as progressive without question; rather there were differences of emphasis on the value of education in transforming society. As Olivé Serret has pointed out, one very clear difference in view is shown in the different mast-heads of Solidaridad Obrera in its first and second periods. In the first period the drawing under the title shows angelical figures using a lever marked 'Solidaridad Obrera' which rests on a block marked 'Cultura' to move the globe of the world. (At a meeting in 1917 in favour of rationalist education, Professor Badia implicitly referred to this masthead when he stated that '...Arquimedes dijo; "Dadme un punto de apoyo y haré rodar el mundo", lo que dio lugar a que Nietzsche diera "Dadme la escuela y transformaré el mundo"'. (62) Here education is seen in the light of the nineteenth century anarchist tradition and in the view of Ferrer i Guardia, as the most important means of social transformation. In the masthead of the second epoch, workers

support a lever which again is marked 'Solidaridad Obrera', and with it are pushing a huge stone block marked 'Capital' over the edge of a precipice. Figures representing the supporters and hangers-on of capital - priests, soldiers and bosses - are seen literally hanging on to the block of capital. No longer then, is the 'Solidaridad Obrera' exclusively supported by culture; it now relies solely on the strength of the workers.<sup>(63)</sup> Education for the nascent C.N.T. was only one of the means by which social change would be brought about, though admittedly an important one, as it prefigured many of the other means and so had to be under the control of the syndicates. Consequently demands for more rational education, in schools run by the syndicates, would be expressed at the Congresses of Belles Artes and Sants. The growing belief that the syndicate would play a decisive role in organising production in the new society that would arise after the revolution led to demands for the professional training of workers, not so that they could advance individually within their profession, as was reasoned at Belles Artes, rather so that the Syndicate could count on enough properly qualified workers to assume its new tasks.

Related to the demand for more schools and training was the debate over the role of intellectuals within the working class movement. The fear was expressed that intellectuals had no real vinculation with the advancement of the working class and could easily gain, through their own abilities and through the deferential respect of the workers, leadership attributes. The solution, as Seguí proposed, was for the rational schoolteachers to organize themselves corporatively.

#### The debate on education at the Congrès de Belles Artes

The related problems of propaganda and education were discussed at the third session of this Congress, in the discussion on the 4th, 6th and 10th themes of the Congress. The 4th and 6th referred to the problems

of establishing and sustaining a syndicalist newspaper which would be the organ of the Confederation, and practical problems of propaganda. The 10th dealt with the need to establish schools within the syndicates and the practical ways by which this could be done. (64) The complete text is as follows:

Tema 10º: Necesidad de establecer escuelas dentro de los Sindicatos Obreros. Manera práctica de llevarlo a efecto.

DICTAMEN: La Comisión se muestra en un todo conforme con que las Sociedades o Federaciones locales aborden la fundación inmediata de escuelas para educación de los trabajadores. Como método de enseñanza creemos más práctico que las escuelas estén inspiradas en la divulgación racional de los conocimientos científicos y en la aplicación de la enseñanza técnico-profesional, para hacer de los alumnos obreros a la vez que hombres despojados de todos los prejuicios y defensores de sus derechos, trabajadores aptos para conquistar dignamente en la actual sociedad el salario preciso a satisfacer sus más perentorias necesidades. Por tanto, a fin de realizar estos deseos, se encarece de las colectividades aludidas en el primer párrafo, que se impongan cuotas extraordinarias para hacer posible la creación de escuelas merced al propio esfuerzo de la clase trabajadora organizada. -P. Sierra Alvarez. -Tomas Sala. -Juan Satorra. -Juan Rovira. (65)

The view of education expressed here is clearly purely syndicalist - there is a need to educate the workers rationally, in the fields of science and technology, so that they will lose outdated prejudices and gain the necessary qualifications to earn a decent salary. A wider view of the role of education in the working class movement was expressed in the debate of the 5th session on the 8th theme which was:

Tema 8º. La emancipación de los trabajadores ha de ser obra de los trabajadores mismos. ¿Cuál es la única y verdadera interpretación que debe darse a esta frase? (66)

The dictamen which was probably written by the interesting worker - intellectual Tomas Herreros, editor of Tierra y Libertad, expresses the anarchist view that the emancipation of the workers would be brought about by the workers themselves:

!Fuera engaños! !Fuera tutelas! Haga explosión la verdad en todos los cerebros y sépase de una vez para siempre que el trabajador no debe esperar nada de nadie, sino de el mismo. (67)

The dictamen went on to state that, although there are men capable of assuming the cause of the workers, nonetheless they could not belong to the working class since it was not possible for those who did not belong to the working class to have a deep interest in the emancipation of that class. It is fitting that:

...haya quienes anhelan desaparezca del mundo la opresión y la miseria. Pero lo que no cabe es que sea verdad que haya quienes intenten emancipar a los trabajadores presentándose como tutores y procuradores de ellos.

The emancipation of the worker is the immediate result of his moral emancipation and he cannot achieve it if he is morally enslaved by someone else. '...y esclavo es el que no piensa por sí, ni obra espontáneamente con arreglo a su ratiocinio y por su esfuerzo directo.' This emancipation was also economic, though even the greater part of the workers known as intellectuals were subject to the same exploitation as the manual workers. From among these were recruited those who climbed to privileged positions, the politicians and 'vividores de toda especie', and in consequence this group did not have an interest in changing the status quo:

Los obreros intelectuales que a un ideal individual de encumbramiento sustituyan el de emancipación colectiva pueden naturalmente formar en las filas de los manuales contribuyendo a la emancipación moral de los trabajadores con su inteligencia, pero siempre teniendo entendido que, pues la emancipación de los trabajadores ha de ser obra de los trabajadores mismos, ellos no han de figurar entre nosotros como nuestros emancipadores |underlined in original| ni a ellos hemos de confiar nuestra emancipación que ha de ser - tiene que ser - nuestra propia obra.

This dictamen can be read at different levels, for example as a veiled attack on Lerroux and the Republicans, and did not deal specifically with education. Nonetheless the critique of intellectual workers aroused an interesting debate on the definition of these and their role within the syndicates. The first objection came from Canto of the Tejedores de Alcoy, who claimed that the intellectual workers were more exploited than those who worked on the land or in workshops. Herreros, defending the



dictamen, then changed the ground of the debate by claiming that many intellectual workers only carried out a negative task, completely opposed to the interests of the manual workers. Duran, a Socialist from Sitges demanded that the dictamen be rejected since intellectuals could also be considered as workers, the same as those who worked with their hands; there ought not to exist 'división ni categoría entre asalariados'. He pointed out that the U.G.T. maintained an association of rationalist teachers who carried out a fruitful labour for the working class. Negre, future general secretary of the C.N.T. defending the dictamen, agreed that intellectuals should be considered as workers, but should be kept at the margin of the syndicates since their interests were not the same. Their intellectual abilities could be used but any interference by them in syndicate affairs should be rejected. The argument again turned to Canto, who stated that those who served as 'funcionarios' in bourgeois institutions should not be considered workers, while those who worked from their study or library for the intellectual improvement of the workers should be so considered. Herreros then finished the discussion by claiming that there were intellectuals dedicated to helping the worker, but once they advanced socially they lost their interest. Rather than accept the dictamen the meeting approved a 'proposicion incidental' to substitute it, which was proposed by Sierra Alvarez, Navarro, Corominas and Ciuro:

El Congreso declara que la emancipación de los trabajadores sera obra de los trabajadores mismos, Por tanto reconoce que los sindicatos que integran la Federacion Nacional solo pueden estar constituidos por los obreros que conquistan su jornal en las empresas o industrias que explotan la burguesia o el Estado. No obstante, y como aclaración a lo anterior, debe considerarse exentos de esta clasificación a aquellos obreros que por su trabajo pueden perjudicar directamente a la organizacion sindical. (68)

The nascent C.N.T. then, was in favour of rationalist education for its members. This was a necessary prerequisite for the emancipation of the working class. However it had to be within the hands of the workers themselves, inside the syndicates. The state and the established

private schools were thus rejected as class-based. In their wish to create specific institutions of their own the Genetistas were influenced by the French C.G.T., in which Pelloutier and Griffuelhes, inspired by Kropotkin, had proposed a similar project. In this the C.N.T. differed completely from the Socialists who saw no need to change the schools of the state and the bourgeoisie, placing their faith in making them more efficient, and providing them with more teachers along with some reforms in the content of the teaching.<sup>(69)</sup> Moreover, despite the 'proposición incidental' there existed that distrust of intellectuals that was typical of the anarcho-syndicalists until the Civil War. They were to be tolerated within the movement as long as they did not try to convert themselves into leaders. At the same time such intellectuals were necessary to run the schools financed by the syndicates and this dual view of intellectuals was to persist until the creation of the anarcho-syndicalist dominated C.E.N.U. (Consell de l'Escola Nova Unificada) during the Civil War. Finally the importance of technical education was stressed, but not as a pre-requisite for changing society, rather as an instrument for individual advancement.

#### Practical results of the Congrès de Belles Artes

The demand for the creation of schools was maintained in the following years, although the clandestine period of the C.N.T. and the subsequent non-publication of Solidaridad Obrera have resulted in a lack of data. By 1917, when the plans of the Commissió de Cultura for the construction of schools brought the issue of school provision to public attention there was a renewed campaign in Solidaridad Obrera by rationalist teachers linked to the working class movement.

Thus the speakers at a Mitin pro-Racionalista in the Ateneo Racionalista de Sants in February 1917 lamented the current state of the Rationalist Movement and demanded that other Syndicates aid those that supported

Rationalist schools, so that these could both multiply and have a more prosperous existence. In a direct rejection of the policies of the Mancomunitat and the Ajuntament, warnings were issued against 'una enseñaanza a lo Montessori o de otros pedagogos' because the facts did not always measure up to the descriptions. (70)

This meeting and the statement that some syndicates already supported Rationalist schools shows that the recommendation of the Congrès de Belles Artes in favour of the foundation of schools within the syndicates had not been forgotten. The only school whose existence at this date is documented - La Escuela Luz - had been founded in the Ateneo Racionalista de Sants itself and counted on the support of various syndicates as will be detailed below. While there may have been other educational experiences which, for lack of sources, have disappeared without trace, there seems to have been difficulties in increasing the numbers of such schools.

Part of the problem lay in the lack of capable rationalist teachers as a writer in Solidaridad Obrera pointed out in an article on the need for more rationalist schools in the old centre. A reply to his article recognised that 'hace falta probar la bondad de nuestras palabras si queremos conquistar adeptos'. Many rationalist teachers had failed to live up to the principles they held, and this had discredited the movement. (71)

Part of the problem also lay in the refusal of some rationalist teachers to work with the syndicates, either from motives of ideological or educational purity, or because, as will be seen in the case of the school of the textile syndicate, La Constancia, too close an association of school with syndicate often led to the closure of the former whenever the latter was closed in periods of repression.

Continuing the discussion Emilio V. Santolaria, in an article entitled 'Fundamos Escuelas' acknowledged that:

Contados son los elementos verdaderos conocedores de la educación racionalista y por ser pocos, debemos agrupar los para que dirijen la obra que los hombres emancipados tienen el deber de realizar por encima de todos los personalismos y tendencias que se manifiesten en la nuestra propaganda. (72)

However he did not even mention the role that the syndicates could play in founding schools, proposing instead that the cultural groups and ateneos of Barcelona should join together in a Federation, to unify initiatives and means for the creation of schools. In an interesting echo of the work of the Comissio de Cultura and its Asesoria Tecnica he proposed that this Federation could be directed by an administrative-technical Commission, responsible for founding new schools in those '..barriadas mas necesarios (sic) por su densidad obrera'.

Antonia Maymon, writing in the same month in Solidaridad Obrera, in reply to an earlier article which has not been preserved, by someone called Suñé, defined the only true education as rationalist:

...que ni es sindicalista, ni socialista, ni anarquista, sinó simplemente racionalista, pues por muy buenos y puros que sean los ideales del profesor, no debe hacer de la escuela un centro de propaganda. (73)

While many syndicalists and anarchists might come from the rationalist schools, these could not belong to either movement. The debate as to whether the school should have a directly propagandistic action on its pupils or whether it should be ideologically neutral was expressed in the two realizations of schools founded by the syndicates within this period for which there are records.

The number of schools founded must have been small, and our knowledge of them is hampered by both a lack of direct sources and of contemporary reports. The most important of them was the Escuela Racionalista Luz,

which, as has been seen, was under the auspices of the Ateneu Racionalista de Sants, situated first in c/. Vallespir, 12 (where the Congrès de Sants of the C.N.T. was held), and later in c/. Alcolea, 80, in the same neighbourhood. The date when this school was founded is not known; however it was functioning fully in January 1917, according to a report by Solidaridad Obrera, in which the following syndicates were named as financial supporters: 'ebanizadores de piano, agricultores, carpinteros y ebanistas, fundidores de hierro, albañils de Gràcia, vidrieros La Única, Arte Fabril 'La Constancia' y cilindradors.'<sup>(74)</sup>

The head of the school was a rationalist teacher, Joan Roige. Of the two main sources on Roigé, Pere Foix and Joan del Pi, neither have much to say about his pedagogical abilities, though Foix mentions Sunday afternoon sessions open to all at the school, at which previously announced themes were debated, in the best style of Ferrer's Sunday university.<sup>(75)</sup> Pere Solà has been able to obtain two accounts from former pupils (one of whom later became helper to Roigé), and these give a clear idea of his teaching. The school was basically poor - the Syndicates which maintained it, despite the large numbers of members they represented, were unable to command large sums of money from them and Roigé went poor during the whole period of the school's existence.<sup>(76)</sup>

The resources of this school were nowhere near those of the Escola Natura of Clot, which was founded at the end of 1917 by the textile union 'La Constancia' and which will be examined below. There were some 70 pupils in the day school, divided into two groups, nursery children and children over nursery age but under fourteen. Coeducation of the sexes, but not age-streaming was therefore the general rule. In keeping with the lack of financial resources only a minimum of textbooks could be provided (mainly from the Escuela Moderna series) and oral methods were employed instead. Roigé insisted on basic standards in reading and writing, and these were practised by demanding from the pupil a written summary of the

events or the debate of the previous day. His aim however was not so much the instruction of the pupil as his or her formation. To this end pupils were trained in the arts of oratory and debate and took part in discussions on social themes. Classes were held at night from 7.00 to 9.30 p.m. for adults, at which they could learn to read and write, again through the technique of holding debates on social issues followed by written reports from the pupils. (77)

Within the generally poor intellectual framework of working class education in Barcelona, Roigé represented a genuine innovatory force, while his school was one of the few practical realizations within the field. A second noteworthy effort was the Escola Natura of Clot - Sant Martí, known locally as La Farigola, and this school was, in many ways, opposed to that of Roigé.

It was inaugurated on 2 January 1918 and was financed by the Sindicato 'La Constancia' del Arte Fabril. The school was in the Syndicate headquarters in passeig Municipi, 12-14, though it seems to have maintained itself separate from the syndicate. (78) Shortly after its inauguration a report by the internationalist and pacifist Fortunée Barthe appeared in Solidaridad Obrera and this is reproduced in Appendix 9.1 for its value as a unique description of a working class school of the period. It was spacious, airy and well-lit. On the walls there were maps and posters on scientific subjects, and above them were written axioms, some in Castilian and some in Catalan. The latter, to judge by his complaints, seem to have offended the internationalist. Further oral evidence is available on this school, as well as a letter from a former militant of La Constancia, one of the founders of the school, correcting the published version of the oral evidence. The picture of the teaching methods and the objectives which emerges shows the differences between this school and that of Roigé. (79)

Firstly there were several trained teachers, as well as others undergoing teacher training. (One of the aims of the school seems to have been to give instruction to teachers and some fifteen passed through it before 1936.<sup>(80)</sup> The children were grouped into three sections; nursery and post-nursery sections each with a teacher, and older children with two teachers. The subjects taught were more technical in nature than those of Roigé's school, and included the natural sciences, mathematics and geography. The school was well provided with teaching aids, which later included a real skeleton, bought in 1925 for 300 pesetas, a not inconsiderable sum. There was much less emphasis in classes on the social issues which were taught in Roigé's school, while there was encouragement for the plastic arts, especially dancing, and of singing (and not necessarily of syndicalist songs). The school also undertook a fair number of excursions, to relatively far off destinations. A summer camp was held every year which was financed in part with money from theatrical and musical festivals held in the school throughout the year.

Finally there was an evening school for adults every night between 7.00 and 9.00 p.m., at which subjects such as French, Esperanto, Typewriting and Bookbinding were taught.<sup>(81)</sup> The impression then, is of a much better financed and equipped school, with wider aims and possibilities than those of combating illiteracy only. At the same time it had none of the pretensions of Roigé of awakening the consciousness of the pupils, being determinedly neutral, and rationalist only in so far as it refused any supernatural explanations of events. It was however tolerant of religious belief and there was none of the fire-raising anti-clericalism of some of the rationalists. The only evidence of any fanaticism was the general repugnance against bullfighting which Puig Elías had fomented throughout the school.<sup>(82)</sup>

The debate on education at the Congrès de Sants

The foundation of the two schools described above is evidence of the continuing desire of the members of the syndicates to provide educational facilities for themselves and their children. This same concern would be shown at the Congrès and in the series of articles on the tasks for the Congrès which appeared in Solidaridad Obrera in the days preceding its celebration. Thus the issue of 26 June contained demands for rationalist schools within the syndicates in order to morally emancipate humanity.<sup>(83)</sup> Observing that with the simplification of the syndical organization which would be caused through the adoption of the sindicat unic, it was now urgent to found schools. Enrique Rueda of the Lampareros, made out a case for education, pointing out that neither individualism nor syndicalism could bring about social change by themselves. Only when the people had education could this be achieved.<sup>(84)</sup>

On the 27th an article reprinted from Tierra y Libertad contained various suggestions to congressists on how to conduct the congress and reminded them of the revolutionary aims to be pursued. Although the Congress had to take decisions on economic matters, it should also discuss matters of education:

...para que sea completa su tarea debe también discutir cuestiones de orden moral, de educación, un poco también de problemas intelectuales. Cuando el proletariado que estará representado en el Congreso haya elevado sus concepciones morales e intelectuales, educándose, estará cercana la hora en que pueda imponer sus principios económicos, porque todos en síntesis, son un mismo problema: el problema social. Ninguno de sus aspectos tendrá solución satisfactoria en tanto que no sean todos resueltos.<sup>(85)</sup>

Rossart (Federación local de Barcelona) in the number of the 28th accused the majority of those belonging to the syndicates of being ignorant and unconscious of their state:

...en su mediocridad de pensar, creen que los creen que los acuerdos que se tomen han de poseer en sí la virtud de transformar nuestra sociedad tiranía a pesar de la indiferencia de la



multitud tímida e ignorante de la finalidad que se persigue en la organización de los trabajadores.

A excepción de un solo tema, todos los demás, con todo y ser esenciales, tienen un interés secundario, toda vez que para llevarlos a la práctica se basan en la fuerza desarrollada por los Sindicatos y en la conciencia de los individuos. Y, sin embargo, nuestras organizaciones son mezquinas y son débiles porque la mayoría integrante, la generalidad de los individuos, son inconscientes, ignorantes....

Por eso opinábamos que sólo un tema es primordial resolver, y sin el cual es imposible la realización de nuestra emancipación moral y económica: la necesidad de escuelas, la necesidad de llevar a esos seres rutinarios, a esas mentes atrofiadas, la savia del saber se impone como cuestión primordial sin lo cual imposible será llegar a la meta a pesar de los sacrificios y de las víctimas.

En casi todos los Congresos se plantea la cuestión de las escuelas, se choca contra la ignorancia de la multitud, y en todos ellos nos hemos limitado a abstractos discursos, a proposiciones más abstractas todavía, y ayer como hoy seguimos unos encaramados en las alturas del ideal y otros vegetando miserablemente; separados diferenciados enormemente e imponentes por la poca cohesión, para elevar a la práctica las hasta hoy teorías de emancipación económica.

En este Congreso volvemos a insistir sobre la necesidad de culturizarnos, de despertar en los cerebros de la multitud el afán de saber, ¿Sabremos resolver esta vez tan delicada cuestión? Manos a la obra y a procurarlo. (86)

Various temes were presented at the Congrès relating to the problems of education discussed in these articles of Solidaridad Obrera and these were dealt with in the dictamen of the 4th ponencia which was asked to answer the question:

Reconocida la enseñanza racionalista ¿basta recomendar simple y particularmente a los sindicatos obreros el sostenimiento de escuelas, o debe buscarse una fórmula que, bajo los auspicios de la Confederación Regional Catalana, mancomune con carácter general la acción educativa de los sindicatos para que mutua y materialmente se ayuden en la fundación de escuelas, sostenimiento de las mismas y aún el fomento del profesorado libre y apto? (87)

In the answer to the dictamen it was acknowledged that the awakening of individual consciousness through the divulgation of science and social questions was the basis of the work of the syndicates towards economic and social liberation.

Despite the difficulties caused by its lack of sufficient technical

preparation the ponencia was able to put forward an experimental plan for the foundation in Barcelona of five unitary schools (in which all age groups were mixed) and one which was age-streamed which would be attached to an Ateneu. Barcelona was chosen because of the number of attempts at alternative schooling which had been carried out there, and because it was the most suitable place for such an experiment.

The plan demanded more of the syndicates than just moral collaboration; it would have to be financed by them since the schools would have to be free. Each of the five schools would require 6,000 pesetas a year (1,800 rent, 2,000 teaching materials and furnishings, 2,200 teacher's salary), while the streamed school would require a total of 19,800 pesetas (11,000 for its creation and rent, and 8,800 for the salaries of the teachers of the different grades). In total the cost in the first year would be 49,800 pesetas, and this would be halved in subsequent years. To meet such a sum the Federación local de Barcelona could levy a monthly quota of 0.20 pesetas per affiliate, which would result in an ample total of 84,000 pesetas a year.

Since several delegates wished to make observations on the dictamen it was agreed that the ponencia should retire with them for discussion to see if a common version of the dictamen could be elaborated for presentation to the Congrès. Meanwhile the delegates would discuss the 5th ponencia, on the need to unify the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.

On returning to the 4th ponencia, a new version of the dictamen containing the modifications introduced earlier was read, but failed to win approval. The Congrès therefore resorted to the device of having three speakers for and against the dictamen. None of those who spoke against had any criticism of rationalist education, or of the need for the syndicates to concern themselves in educational matters. Two of them felt that the financial burden involved was too onerous for the

syndicates. The third felt that the provision of schools should be the responsibility of the syndicates themselves and not that of the Comité Regional. Those in favour felt that the price to be paid was small and that all members of the syndicates would be glad to pay their quota towards it, even those who did not have children. After the various turns had been completed a member of the ponencia defended the dictamen, 'haciendo consideraciones importantes acerca de la enseñanza racionalista'. The speakers were then allowed to rectify their statements and some spoke to them again, emphasizing the difficulty of obtaining the necessary sums by subscription, and pointing out the difficulties which would be caused during times of strike. Another view was that it would be more convenient to create Centres de Cultura which could be backed by the Syndicates, but which could also benefit from individual contributions.

The Congrès then approved the dictamen and a motion to put up the membership quota by the required twenty centims. (88)

Final considerations on education were made by the delegate of the Societades Obreras de Reus, Pallejà, at the meeting of closure of the Congress. The fact that the Congrès had agreed to create schools showed that the C.N.T. was no longer an embryonic organization, concerned only with questions of hours and wages. It also understood that the solution did not lie in the provision of many new schools, but rather in the provision of a new education to counter state education which was only aimed at creating a mass of unthinking workers, machine-like in their unthinking service to the bourgeois state. Equally it would counter the effects of the higher schools for the liberal professions where pupils were taught not to serve humanity with their knowledge but to use their qualifications to better usurp the common patrimony. Women would have to involve themselves in the new education, since children learned from their mothers in the first years and if these did not pass

through the rationalist schools they would not escape the prejudices taught in others. (89)

The Congrès also dealt with the problem of the role of intellectuals within the labour movement in the discussion on the third session, Tema 47.

?Las entidades puramente ideológicas tienen derecho a intervenir directamente en asuntos escuela y exclusivamente obreros? Caso que la contestación fuese afirmativa, ?debe considerarse que dichas entidades puedan y deban trabajar al margen de las cuestiones proletarias? (90)

The ponencia was brief and stated that those entities which were not a grouping of workers or professionals in defence of their interests could not intervene directly in the affairs of the syndicates. However the Congrès viewed with sympathy those entities which had an 'ideal social' in line with that of the syndicates and worked for it at the side of these. An addition to the dictamen was proposed by Seguí, the representative of the Painters of Barcelona which read:

Habiendo los maestros racionalistas prestado mucho servicios a la clase proletaria y siendo un elemento necesario para la lucha por la emancipación, podrán intervenir directamente en las cuestiones de los sindicatos, siempre que se organicen corporativamente.

The dictamen and the addition were accepted by the Congrès. The divergent views on intellectuals expressed at the Congrès de Belles Artes had to a certain extent been corrected by Seguí's vision of the role of education within the syndicates and the need to group the rationalist teachers together within their own organization.

According to a note in Solidaridad Obrera the teachers did meet to form a syndicate, but nothing more is known of it. (91)

Despite the decisions taken at the Congrès de Sants no schools seem to have been created, nor do any more seem to have been created within the individual syndicates themselves. The long strikes of 1919, the growing

impact of terrorism on the organization of the C.N.T. and the individual syndicates and the long closure of the C.N.T. from 1921 to 1923 along with the imprisonment of the major leaders, followed by the parenthesis of the Dictatorship all combined to kill the project and to prevent any other from being carried out.

Declarations still continued to be made in favour of rationalist education, and Seguí pointed out the need for technical education within the syndicates, in an important speech in the Ateneo de Madrid in October 1919, which is partially reproduced in Appendix 9.2, in which he stated that the syndicates would have to be technically prepared to meet the tasks of running the economy after the revolution and to ensure that there would be workers capable of aiding in this task there would have to be technical schools within the syndicates.<sup>(92)</sup> As an example of such a school the Sindicato Unico del Metal organized an evening school, according to a note in Solidaridad Obrera; however the complaints at the Congreso Regional de Sindicatos de Levante of 1937 showed that nothing more had been done in this field.<sup>(93)</sup>

The Congreso de la Comedia in December 1919 also dealt with the problem of education and set up a Comité Pro-Enseñanza, the aim of which was the creation of a training college for teachers. Nothing more seems to have come of this project.

#### CONCLUSIONS: A WORKING CLASS DEFEAT

Despite the offer of education which the Lliga held out, the working class movement did not accept it. The reforms of the Lliga in this field have been shown to be directed at forming a new consciousness in Catalonia, as well as a limited number of specialized workers for Catalan industry. The demand of the working class movement as it expressed itself through the C.N.T. was for more education, and different education.

It inherited the anarchist tradition and the experience of the Escuela Moderna. Nonetheless the discussion within the C.N.T. and the debates at the Congresses which have been studied here had only a limited practical realization because of the economic difficulties involved in financing an alternative. As Peiró noted in a text written shortly after the coming of the Dictadura:

Lo que no se ha demostrado aún es la capacidad económica de los medios de la C.N.T. para realizar sus aspiraciones y propósitos en cuanto a la escuela hace referencia, y tenemos la profunda convicción de que esa capacidad no la tendrán jamás los sindicatos, como no tendrán jamás el necesario márgen para desenvolverse con las tranquilas y serenas atenciones que la escuela requiere.(94)

Other problems besides those of finance remained unresolved. The relationship of intellectuals to the working class movement had been defined by Seguí at the Congrès de Sants, but the syndicalization of the rationalist teachers had not become a reality. The problem of providing technical education, with its expensive infrastructure and long periods of training had hardly been discussed, let alone proposals elaborated for their solution.

Fundamentally the two sides on this battlefield were not evenly matched. There was no way in which the syndicates could provide an education which disposed of the same means as that provided by the Lliga, and the valiant attempts of the Escuela Luz or La Constançia were small when compared even to the Montessori school of the Ajuntament. Nonetheless the debate on education served as a useful means of propaganda and for providing a peg on which to hang an alternative world view, contraposed to that of the Lliga.

If the movement was not capable of providing its own schools, what was it then to do? Seguí, in his famous speech on anarchism and syndicalism in the Castle of La Mola in December 1920 had this to say:

El sindicalismo y el problema de la cultura.

Se nos presenta otra problema importantísimo que el proletariado debe resolver. ¡ El de la cultura.

?Que harán los trabajadores al día siguiente de la revolución con respecto a este problema? ?Que harán de los Ateneos, de las escuelas, de las bibliotecas, de los institutos profesionales, etc. los trabajadores?

La labor a realizar la encomienda el Sindicalismo a los grupos de afinidad, a los diferentes sectores de la inteligencia que integren nuestros Sindicatos.

Si la preparación, nuestra preparación es lo fecunda que deseamos y procuramos hoy sea, al día siguiente de la revolución, destruiremos, así, destruiremos, todo cuanto en el orden de la cultura nos pueda ser perjudicial.

Si destruimos Universidades, y destruimos Ateneos, en cuanto al aspecto moral que en este momento damos a la palabra, habremos realizado una obra fecunda contra la rutina imperante.

Hemos de crear nuestras Universidades y nuestros Ateneos. Si no podemos, si los acontecimientos nos sorprendieran, si no tuviéramos tiempo, nos aprovecharíamos de lo que hubiese realizado la burguesía en este sentido. Lo que si haremos, aún en último caso, es arrancar de cuajo lo malo, lo perverso y lo inútil. Utilizaríamos lo utilizable de la burguesía y entre tanto, realizaríamos definitivamente nuestra labor.

Esto haría el Sindicalismo en el problema de la cultura. Esto hará indiscutiblemente. (95)

Working class education might be realized the day after the revolution, but when Seguí spoke it had already been defeated in Barcelona. The Lliga with its policies had already mentalized the young and many adults in the values of civisme and this was to pay dividends in the period of social unrest to 1923.

## CHAPTER 10

## TOWARDS THE FINAL DEFEAT OF THE C.N.T. PROJECT.

## THE TRANSPORT STRIKE OF MAY-JULY 1923

## INTRODUCTION

Following the dismissal of Martínez Anido on 25 October 1922, against the wishes of the Barcelona Patronal, the way was open for the return to legality of the C.N.T. The syndicate had been much weakened since the strike of the Canadencia by the adverse economic situation and by the repression mounted by the Captains-General Milans de Bosch (May-August, 1919), Salvatierra (January-May, 1920) and Martínez Anido (November 1920-October 1922) and by the terrorism and counter-terrorism which had eliminated or dispersed many activists and alienated many members, causing them to enter the Sindicatos Libres.<sup>(1)</sup>

A certain recuperation in the economy was evident from early 1923 and the C.N.T. might well have been able to capitalize on a growth in wage-related strikes to re-organize in the workplace and restore its former hegemony. The Patronal was determined to avoid this possibility, by refusing to enter into any agreement at the workplace by which only workers who were members of the syndicate could be employed, and in those enterprises where the C.N.T. sought to re-establish its hold they attempted to break it by bringing in non-union labour. The early months of 1923 were a kind of constant sparring match between the two sides held against the background of recurrent terrorist assassinations, with the Somatent drilling and parading ostentatiously every weekend, the Patronal demanding more repression by the local authorities and the Lliga demanding autonomy for Catalonia. Already in October 1922 Pestaña had survived an assassination attempt. Taken to hospital in Manresa he observed that the gunmen were stationed outside the hospital while he was convalescent, waiting for him



to be discharged so that they could finish the job, and it took a parliamentary intervention to get the authorities to guarantee his safety. On 11 March 1923 as Salvador Seguí walked along the carrer de la Cadena on his way to a meeting, he was assassinated, almost certainly by gunmen from the Sindicato Libre. Two days after his death the C.N.T. declared a 24 hour general strike which was virtually total. No trams were sent out as a precautionary measure; given the impossibility of watching over all the lines of the now extensive tram network, and remembering the precedent of 1909 when the enforced circulation of the trams had converted what had initially begun as a pacific protest into a revolutionary insurrection, the Civil Governor ordered the tram companies to withdraw the services. (2)

Against this tense background the transport strike in Barcelona took place between May and July 1923. Although mentioned by Balcells, who described it as the most important strike in Barcelona since that of the Canadenca, it has not been treated at all by historians, and for that reason alone would merit analysis here. (3) But the strike was also deeply symbolic, representing the final clash between the two economico-political projects whose development has been described in this thesis. On the one hand the project of the Lliga, modified after 1917 from developing Barcelona as a power base for an assault on power in the Spanish state to that of seeking to develop Catalonia, with Barcelona as its cap i casal and the Lliga as master in its own house. On the other, the C.N.T., whose origins lay in the close solidarity of the Barcelona working class neighbourhoods. Organized on a model designed to retain the links engendered by that sense of solidarity, its project to represent the entire Spanish proletariat and prepare it to take over the means of production on the day of the revolution had been dashed by the vicious repression it had suffered. During this final clash the major tactical elements of the two projects which have been described in this thesis would be displayed; the insistence of the Lliga and the Patronal of maintaining urban transport

would result in the ultimate failure of the C.N.T. and the Sindicat Únic dels Transports to carry the tram drivers with them. The emphasis placed by the Lliga on civisme and its success in manipulating public opinion would defeat the attempts by the C.N.T. to control essential services and to regulate food supplies to the city. The growing reliance of the Patronal and the Lliga on the civil and military authorities of the state in the end broke the attempt by the C.N.T. to mobilize the entire Barcelona working class in a general strike.

#### THE OPENING PHASES OF THE STRIKE

As outlined above, the C.N.T. was attempting to reorganize in 1923 and a series of important strikes in the early months of the year marked the resistance of the industrialists to this process. The Patronal itself was in no doubt as to the significance of these disputes:

...Casi todas las huelgas que se han planteado en estos últimos meses tienen este origen común; negar al patrono el derecho a la libre contratación del personal, pues así, al instituirse el Sindicato como único organismo contractual en representación de los obreros, estos se veían obligados, de hecho, por la fuerza de la realidad a hallarse inscritos en él si querían trabajar...(4)

Thus the strikes of the glassmakers in January-February 1923, followed by those of the metalworkers and the workers excavating the tunnels for the Gran Metropolitana line between Plaça Catalunya and Liceu were, for both the C.N.T. and the Patronal, tests of strength. Interestingly the latter strike in particular was described as causing great damage to the city: an Exposició Internacional del Moble i Decoració dels Interiors was scheduled to be held on the Montjuïc site in May 1923 as a showpiece for those Catalan industries, and the suspension of the metro works was felt to be a poor advertisement for the city. This emphasis on Barcelona and on civic pride was to be used carefully by the Lliga during the course of the transport strike to manipulate public opinion in its favour.

Fears about a possible transport strike were first expressed in the news from Barcelona published in the Madrid paper, La Époqa of 6 March 1923, which described the resurgence of syndicalism in Barcelona and stated that transports were the first target of the C.N.T. However it would not be until May that this situation developed. In the intervening month the assassinations of Seguí and other C.N.T. figures provided the background against which the metro strike was played out. On 23 March the workers belonging to the Sindicat Únic had come out, in protest against the actions of a foreman, but those belonging to the Sindicato Libre had continued working.<sup>(5)</sup> The following day the Sindicato Libre complained of picketing and the employers announced that if a return to work was not arranged by the 28th, new personnel would be taken on. A workers' meeting on the 28th agreed, however, to continue with the strike, and the employers carried out their threat. On the 28th those members of the Sindicato Libre who reported to work were attacked, provoking an editorial in La Veu de Catalunya entitled 'La indefensió dels ciutadans', demanding the resignation of the Government as it was unable to guarantee security in Catalonia.<sup>(6)</sup> On the 30th the strikers published their demands; the reinstatement of the sacked workers, the removal of three foremen, and better working conditions. They did not, however, raise the issue of sole recognition of the Sindicat Únic, presumably because the events of the 28th had shown that they were not strong enough to challenge the evident strength of the Sindicato Libre in the enterprise.<sup>(7)</sup> The same day the company announced the total suspension of work, and three days later justified itself by complaining that while many of the workers were willing to come to a direct understanding with the enterprise, the Government could not guarantee the right to work.<sup>(8)</sup> On 5 April the strikers met at the Teatre Espanya. Piera, the main speaker, emphasized that the suspension of the works represented the fight of the enterprise against the Sindicat Únic. The government, through the office of the Delegación Regià, a body set up following the

Canadenca strike to mediate in disputes, convoked both sides to discussion; no agreement was reached and the strike continued.

The following day, on 6 April, there was a shoot-out between members of the Únic and the Libre in the District V, which led to protests by the Lliga, the Ateneu Enciclopèdico Popular, and the two unions involved.<sup>(9)</sup>

It was followed a week later by another on the 13th, again in District V. In this climate the Ateneu Enciclopèdico Popular, at a meeting held on 17 April, decided to mount a campaign under the title of 'Acció Civil Contra el Terrorisme', to campaign against the street violence that threatened the orderly life of the city and the resolution of social problems.<sup>(10)</sup> The first act of the campaign was to be a public meeting at the Teatre Nou on Sunday 22. That the campaign was to be broad based was shown in the list of speakers - Aguade of the Ateneu, Gorga of the Lliga dels Drets de l'Home, Llul of the Confederació Regional del Treball, Muntanya of the Esquerra Catalanista, Casal of the Centre Autonomà dels Dependents del Comerç i de la Industria, Maurín of the Partit Comunista de Catalunya, Campalans from the Agrupació Socialista de Catalunya and Pestaña of Solidaridad Obrera.<sup>(11)</sup> A further meeting was held on 4 May, again with speakers from a broad group, including a Freemason from the Gran Lògia Española.<sup>(12)</sup>

Against this background of conflict between the two rival syndicates, the metro workers decided, on 1 May to continue their strike. They were supported by their fellow workers digging the Transversal line, who agreed to pay a quota. The strike was to continue without change until 28 July, when the workers abandoned it.<sup>(13)</sup>

#### THE BEGINNING OF THE TRANSPORT STRIKE

On Monday, 7 May a strike of carters on the coal wharf began, ostensibly in protest against the taking on of workers to unload the coal boats who

were not members of the C.N.T. In fact the roots of the dispute went deeper, as was revealed later in the conflict. It was a protest against the bases signed between workers and employers in 1920, in which it had been agreed that a 60 hour week would be adopted. This time was calculated from the moment of first loading, and did not include the time spent by the workers in going to the stables, preparing horses and carts, and travelling out to the first loading point, and it was now the workers contention that such time should be included in the 60 hours.<sup>(14)</sup> The following day La Veu de Catalunya spoke of rumours that the Sindicat Únic dels Transports had ordered the strike and was ready to call out all the carters in Barcelona.<sup>(15)</sup>

Unloading at the wharf continued with non-union labour during the week and the coal was carried in carts driven by the employers and their families, despite threats of violence against them. At the weekend the Sindicat Únic dels Transports met and decided to continue the strike and to extend it to other sectors. Rumours spread that all wheeled traffic would be stopped the following day, including the refuse lorries, the taxis and the trams, and there was a generalized belief in the peripheral districts that there would be no trams on Monday 14 May.<sup>(16)</sup> The Civil Governor telephoned Madrid and demanded the intervention of the Delegación Regia.

In the event the taxis and trams worked as normal on the Monday, but the refuse collectors came out. The Civil Governor took a calm view of the situation, but as the strikes continued on the 15th and 16th, called a series of meetings with the local authorities and the parties involved on the 17th, and it was at these talks that the real reasons for the strike emerged.<sup>(17)</sup> On the same day the Transversal Metro works were suspended, because no carts were available to take away the excavated earth.

On the 17th, then, the conflict was established and beginning to have wider effects. The Civil Governor attempted to take over the task of the Delegación Regià, given the gravity of the situation, but the separate meetings he held with both sides on the 18th left him pessimistic as to the outcome. The employers gave the workers until the 22nd to return to work, but they refused to return until their demands were met. (18)

The Lliga directs protest against the strike

The withdrawal of the refuse collection rapidly led to the creation of enormous piles of rubbish in the streets. Whereas in the working class districts humorous notices appeared on some of these piles, in the Eixampla the middle classes responded by setting fire to them. This incipient protest led the Town Hall to begin treating the piles with quicklime, but the Civil Governor demanded on the 21st that the Town Hall should collect the refuse. The Mayor answered that if the Civil Governor could not guarantee the safety of its workers it could not attempt to send them out. (19)

The following day La Veu gave vent to the Lliga protest in an editorial entitled 'Els efectes de l'odi', stating that whereas some patriotic citizens were trying to promote the beauty and culture of the city, and attract international attention to its advances others showed an inexplicable hostility to their project, manifested in such activities as letting the rubbish pile up in the streets. It continued with a flowery description of civisme:

Realment per a poder solucionar amb eficàcia els problemes plantejats a Barcelona, a una ciutat d'intensa vida industrial i mercantil moderna, cal sentir, per damunt de tot, l'amor activa a la nostra urbs i conèixer les seves necessitats i els seus anhels. Cal portar al cervell i al cor la visió esplèndida, la visió magnífica, la visió intel·ligent i amoròsivola d'aquesta Barcelona, que és la capital de Catalunya. (20)

The same day the Civil Governor' announced that the Security Guards would collect rubbish from the next day.

The response of the Sindicat Únic was to order that no food be transported in carts and the following day the markets were not stocked. Thereafter it would only allow carts to bring in fresh food with its permission.

On the 23rd the Comité of the Exposició del Moble met and agreed that the opening of the exhibition, originally scheduled for 19 May, would now take place on 26 May, but complained that the aspect offered by the city was deplorable. The metro works were open to the sky and abandoned. Because of the rubbish everywhere, Barcelona would acquire a reputation as uninhabitable.<sup>(21)</sup> Clearing the refuse was a slow job, and on the 28th the streets were still full.

#### The Captain General intervenes

On 24 May the Captain General, Primo de Rivera, intervened and called the workers' delegates to a meeting. He offered as a solution to the strike the retention of the 60 hour week, but with a later starting time. The strike committee agreed to take this offer to a meeting of the strikers that evening in the Cine Bohemia, but it was rejected. At a later meeting on the 25th, however, it would be accepted.<sup>(22)</sup> Already on the 24th various factories were stopped for lack of materials and the trend continued over the following week.

On 25 May the bakers had to collect the flour they needed using lorries driven by army officers: the Sindicat Únic therefore told the workers not to load them and the loading had to be done by the bakers themselves and by soldiers.<sup>(23)</sup>

La Veü, in an editorial, decried the lack of authority in Barcelona and

blamed the Government for not providing security to the Town Hall workers so that they could carry out the task of clearing the refuse.<sup>(24)</sup> The Captain General, following the strikers' decision on the 25th to accept the change in hours, met with the employers on the 26th, but their response was that such a change was impractical because it would involve such far reaching changes for the working hours of the whole of industry in Barcelona. On the 28th the port authorities refused to change their hours.<sup>(25)</sup>

On the 29th it was rumoured that an Estado de Guerra would be declared; the Civil Governor booked a sleeper to Madrid, cancelled it, and finally went after being telephoned and dismissed. The Veu continued its theme of the lack of authority in the city by angrily complaining that there was now no authority but the Sindicat Únic, which that morning was rumoured to be considering the withdrawal of the tram service.<sup>(26)</sup>

On the 30th, Solidaridad Obrera, as if confirming the Veu's complaint, published a list of foodstuffs which might be imported into the city. Meanwhile the Catalan parliamentarians met with the municipal administration and agreed to send the Brigades Sanitàries of the Mancomunitat into Barcelona to help clear the streets. These brigades were intended for the small villages of Catalonia; nonetheless their use, protected heavily by Security Guards, was to allow the clearance of the piles of refuse by 22 June.

The Lliga meanwhile kept up the pressure on the authorities, by instigating a meeting of the foreign consuls in Barcelona to discuss the safety of visitors to the city. The manoeuvre was denounced the following day in the debate on the situation of the city in the Cortes. The Prime Minister, Guerra del Río, accused the Lliga of wanting an Estado de Guerra and provoking the sacking of the Civil Governor.<sup>(28)</sup>



In the city, although refuse collection had proceeded apace and some carts had even gone out without escort, there were mounting protests about the filth and smell, and some shops in the central streets closed.

The new Civil Governor, Barber, arrived on 3 June. On the same day a security guard was assassinated and on the 4th a refuse collector was murdered, and a carter employer, Ramon Franquesa was seriously wounded, dying the next day. On the 5th news was received of the assassination of Cardinal Soldevila in Zaragoza, reputedly by an anarchist action group in revenge for the death of Seguí. Although the Comité de Acció Civil contra el Terrorisme issued a manifesto against terrorism on the same day, the situation had deteriorated alarmingly in the public mind; the Veü de Catalunya on the 6th demanded that the government should intervene. 'Govern or let govern', it declared and threatened '...Si els governs de Madrid no saben defensar Barcelona, Barcelona mateixa se defensarà...'

On the 7th it announced that the burial of Franquesa, who had been a sub-corporal in the Somatent, would take place on Saturday and the funeral procession would be followed by the whole Somatent as a 'protesta magna de la ciutat ferida'. The evening edition of the same day demanded that all citizens should participate in this protest, commenting that 'Cal posar-se al costat de Barcelona o al costat dels que volen la ruïna de Barcelona'.

The attempt by the new Governor to settle the strike on the 7th failed because the employers did not turn up and on the 8th the strikers, at a meeting in El Globo, decided to continue the strike and not to visit the Civil Governor any more. (29)

On Saturday 9 June the burial of Franquesa took place, with a crowd of 5,000 in the funeral procession. The followers shouted slogans against

the Sindicat Únic and the Civil Governor and had to be called to order by the Captain General. At the graveside the slogans were repeated and Primo de Rivera had to struggle to impose order. (30)

On the 11th the Lliga continued its campaign to influence public opinion through an editorial in the evening edition of La Veü, attacking Solidaridad Obrera for being anti-catalan, because it had recommended a boycott of Catalan goods in the rest of Spain.

On the 14th a new editorial in La Veü identified the Lliga as having two enemies: the U.M.N. and those who were enemies of the city, who wanted to destroy established social conditions in Barcelona and Catalan society as a whole. Meanwhile increasing numbers of factories were closing for lack of materials, and the control of the Sindicat Únic over the supply of fresh food to the city was emphasized by the carts carrying posters with details of their contents.

The Lliga campaign continued on 15 June with an editorial pointing out that the Government had been unable to help Barcelona, even in the matter of guaranteeing the refuse collection, whereas the Mancomunitat had. On the 16th La Veü returned to the theme, denouncing the lack of government and calling for autonomy.

Meanwhile the Patronal had visited the Captain General on the evening of the 13th and taken fresh proposals for a solution of the strike. These called for a return to work on 18 June, but did not, however, contain any concession on working hours. The Captain General promised to study them and to bring them to the attention of the strike committee. The strike committee took them to a meeting of the workers on the 14th and they were turned down. (31)

The Lliga campaign did not go unheeded in Madrid: on the 17th both the Captain General and the Civil Governor were called to Madrid, leaving

the city in the hands of an interim governor, at the moment when the return to work demanded by the Patronal was due to take place.

Solidaridad Obrera demanded calm from the workers and denounced the action of the Patronal as designed to provoke the workers and cause the declaration of an Estado de Guerra.<sup>(31)</sup>

#### The weakening of the strike

On the 18th a thousand workers entered the port and began unloading the boats waiting there. There was no resistance on the part of the strike committee which was anxious to avoid confrontations with authority.

On the 19th 61 carts, whose drivers belonged to the Sindicato Libre went out, and on each working day after that, increasing numbers of carters returned to work.<sup>(33)</sup> The strikers met on the 20th and resolved to have nothing more to do with the Captain General, but to return to negotiating through the Civil Governor.<sup>(34)</sup>

In Madrid, the Government, alarmed at the involvement of Primo de Rivera, tried to force him to change his posting, but he refused and announced that he would return to his duties on 21 June. Barber, the Civil Governor, refused to accompany him and in the end it was Barber who resigned on the 21st, leaving Primo to return to Barcelona on the 22nd. He was met by applauding crowds at the railway station.<sup>(35)</sup>

The same day it was announced that the refuse collection was now back to normal and the Mancomunitat workers were to be withdrawn. Increasing numbers of workers were turning up to unload boats, and Solidaridad Obrera issued orders on the 22nd that workers were not to use materials transported without the Syndicate's approval. On Monday 25th work continued at the port, but factories in all parts of the city were forced to close down, either for lack of raw materials or because workers refused

to use materials which had been brought in. (36)

Over the weekend the Head of the Somatent, Bertràn i Musitù resigned in protest against the lack of government protection for the Force. On the Monday the police chief resigned; this further diminution in state authority in Barcelona was compounded by the failure in Madrid to find a new Civil Governor, since two of those approached refused the post and a further three candidates were vetoed by the Ministro de Gobernación. (37) On the 27th the Patronal published a pamphlet in Castilian, defending its actions during the course of the strike and refuting the claims that all it wanted was an Estado de Guerra, claiming instead that it was solely interested in the right to freely choose its workers. It concluded by saying that the authorities were not willing to stand up to the syndicates. (38)

Events over the next two days were to put the lie to this statement. On 27 June a new Civil Governor - Portela, a Galician - was appointed and he immediately set out for Barcelona. The new police chief arrived in Barcelona on 27 June and immediately reorganized the police force to cover all districts of the city efficiently. On the 28th the strike committee was arrested on charges of seditious behaviour and incitement to sedition on military orders. The new governor arrived on the 29th and immediately began negotiations with the Patronal to see if the strike could now be brought to an end. (39)

On the 29th La Veu de Catalunya carried on the Lliga campaign to manipulate public opinion through an editorial entitled 'Campanya contra Catalunya', denouncing the call of Solidaritat Obrera for a boycott of Catalan goods. It declared: 'Cap obrer catala fora capaç de declarar el bloqueig de la seva terra'.

On 3 July it followed up with another, 'L'Esperit de la Ciutat', which

described Barcelona as the urban symbol of Catalonia. Though surrounded by enemies it would not die, for Catalonia would save it.

Aquest es l'encís misteriós de Barcelona, capital de Catalunya. La Ciutat i la Pàtria. La Pàtria que es una vida. La Ciutat que es una idea. La Pàtria salvara la Ciutat com la Ciutat ha salvat la Pàtria. Catalunya salvara Barcelona com Barcelona ha salvat Catalunya. Le idea ha salvat la vida. La vida salvara la idea.'

#### The new strike committee intensifies the strike

On Sunday 1 July, the new strike committee called a meeting to assess the mood for a return to work, but it was not allowed to be held. The next day a message was published from those arrested, asking the strikers not to return to work. The new week therefore began on an uncertain note, but the impression among the authorities was that the strike was broken and the workers would drift back. On the Monday there were more workers at the docks - 1,368, and 132 carts - and on Tuesday the Patronal, in anticipation of the end of the strike, circulated a note asking all members to work out their transport needs in the first days of a return so that the maximum number of carts could be used most efficiently. Meanwhile the police continued making arrests and searching workers' centres.<sup>(40)</sup>

The response of the new strike committee was to call out the taxis and hirecars on Wednesday the 4th. These obeyed the instruction, but at a meeting on the 5th demanded that the solidarity asked of them should be extended to the whole 'art rodar' without distinctions. On the Thursday night the strike committee therefore demanded that the trams and buses strike as from the 6th. The call was obeyed without any disturbances. Following the method of 'paro por escalonamiento' as Solidaridad Obrera of that day put it, the Committee further proposed that the Ram de l'Alimentació come out in support of the strike. For starters, the fish sellers were instructed not to sell that day. The same day the workers of the Vulcano came out in solidarity, as did the construction workers at

the port, and it was rumoured that those engaged in unloading at the port might give up work because of the difficulties they were experiencing. On Saturday 7 July the workers who unloaded fish at the port stopped working. The stoppages had therefore intensified in a striking manner. (41)

The other city is stronger: the end of the strike

The authorities moved swiftly to meet the new challenge. On Sunday 8 July, trams were in circulation on lines 20, 21 and 27 all day until 10 p.m., driven by drivers in disagreement with the strike. There were protests from strikers and one worker was killed at the Gràcia tram-sheds. The press claimed that a majority of the tram-men wanted to work and one was quoted as saying 'Ja en tenim prou d'això de servir de joguina a quatre individus que no treballen' and the Governor promised to give them full protection. (42)

On Monday, after conversations with the Mayor and the Commissió de Mercats, the Governor announced that the fish sellers should return to their posts the following day, since they had a privileged concession, equivalent to a monopoly; if they did not open, their concessions would be withdrawn. The following day fish was on sale in all the markets, except for Hostafrancs, where a group of women had forced the fishmongers to close. The Governor had therefore been successful in the first step against a strike in the food industry. (43)

Following this, the Governor announced on Tuesday that carts bearing signs that they were carrying foodstuffs, as required by the strike committee, would not be allowed to circulate in the city, thereby attacking the Sindicat Únic's attempt to control the food supply to the city. The same day La Veu wrote on the psychological factor in strikes; its leader claimed that in all the recent strikes - glassworkers, metro workers, tramworkers, the working class organizations had lacked the

full adhesion of the Barcelona workers: 'Les masses obreres catalanes tenen un instint molt fí, qué no es sinò una manifestació estamental del seny étnic.' They knew, therefore that these strikes did not meet their real interests and, moreover, that they were part of a campaign against Catalonia, linked to the encouragement of the U.M.N. by Madrid. Thus the metro strike had been designed to stop any solution of the housing programme, and to ruin the Exposició del Moble. Fortunately the Catalan worker would not stand for it because: 'L'obrer català és abans català que obrer, car pot deixar d'esser obrer, pero no pot deixar d'esser català.' Those who had directed the transport strike had forgotten this psychological factor; and so they had lost the leadership of the masses. (44)

On Tuesday 10 July, the bakers were required to come out, but only a few abandoned work. More trams and carts were on the streets. That morning the Veu further editorialized against the blockade, but it had no need to further mobilize public opinion against the strikers, for the next morning the situation was clearly returning to normal; larger numbers of trams and carts were on the streets, fish supplies were normal, apart from the problem at Hostafrancs. (45)

On Wednesday 11 July the situation was reported to be virtually normal and that evening the tramworkers, at a meeting in the Iris Park Cinema, agreed to a full return to work.

The same evening the strike committee admitted defeat, in a note headed Confederación Nacional de Trabajo and signed by the committee. A delegation went to the Gobierno Civil and accepted the bases offered by the employers. The newspapers of 12 July carried details of the return to work.

## CONCLUSIONS

The defeat of the Transport strike showed that the C.N.T. had lost the initiative in Barcelona. The ill-judged repressions by the authorities and the wave of terrorism had left it disorganized and weak. The attempt to call out the refuse collectors had aroused the class instincts of the middle classes who had called for a more civic attitude. That this civisme had struck roots in the working classes is shown by their failure to support the strike totally. This represented the final victory of the Lliga project, paradoxically at a time when the Lliga itself was divided and weak politically.

But the middle classes had only won by allying themselves with the military and civil authorities. The path from July 1923 to September 1923 was from then on all downhill towards Primo's military coup.



## CONCLUSION

This thesis has studied the ways in which a particular working class in Spain, the proletariat of Barcelona, organized itself and fought in order to improve its material conditions of existence and to overcome the economic and political forces which created those living conditions. It has therefore been concerned with analyzing two projects; firstly that of the Lliga which shaped working class living conditions because it was concerned with improving the weak and uncompetitive Catalan industries in order to attain political power within Barcelona, Catalonia and the Spanish State. This project involved the modernization of Barcelona as a city in order to create new wealth through speculation and to increase the circulation of capital, and implied the destruction of the existing working class neighbourhoods, the revaluation of certain areas of the city, and the creation of new, peripheral districts of working class housing, linked to the centre through a modern transport system.

It is the contention in this thesis that the working class response was formed in reaction to the city created by the Lliga project. In the nineteenth century the working class neighbourhoods in the city centre and around the factories on the periphery had given rise to intense area based solidarity within the working class, and the initial phase of working class organization was based on this solidarity, through the creation of local craft syndicates. The changes in Catalan industry, especially those brought about by the First World War, and the pressures caused by changes in working class living conditions, especially those produced by the changes in transport and by the housing shortage, led to the adoption of a new form of organization, that of the Sindicato Unico. This grouped together all workers in an industrial location, reinforcing neighbourhood solidarity around the workplace, when such solidarity existed, and

substituting for it when it did not. The result was the creation of a decentralized yet coordinated working class movement, ideologically opposed to the Lliga, and indeed, because of its disillusion with the Republican parties, opposed to official politics.

The leaders within the movement attempted to extend the C.N.T. project to the whole of Spain, but were frustrated by the repression the movement suffered within its home base. The degree of coordination achieved in the strike of La Canadenca had led the Barcelona manufacturers to organize themselves to protect their interests, and to force their party, the Lliga, into a position of reliance upon the state authorities for the maintenance of order.

The repression exercised has not been examined here; rather the thesis has concentrated on a less spectacular process, that of education. It is contended that the failure of the working class movement to effectively neutralize the Lliga's educational policies was at least partially responsible for the hegemonic domination in the 1920's of the ideals of civisme of the latter, and allowed the Lliga to manipulate public opinion so as to isolate the C.N.T., and to confuse its members, as in the Transport strike of 1923.

This study has attempted to analyze the intellectual bases for working class organization and action during the period under study; this has not been possible at every stage of the process because many of the changes introduced were not the culmination of an organizational process whose steps have been preserved in written form, and oral evidence from the generation involved is no longer forthcoming. Much, therefore, has had to be inferred from a close study of working class action during strikes and through the study of the various Congresses of the movement, held during the period studied.

In the area of organization this thesis has concentrated on the issues surrounding the form of the syndicates and their interrelationships, and argued that the Sindicato Unico must not be seen as a centralized administrative device. In the field of ideas it has examined the apoliticism of the Catalan working class and its lack of dogmatism when seeking better relations with the U.G.T., despite being committed to direct action and against multiple-base syndicalism. It has detailed the position of women in Barcelona, and their major protest in 1918, as well as the declarations that they should be integrated into the syndicates. In the area of strike activity it has shown, through the close study of important strikes, how the style of protest changed. In the nineteenth century, the pattern was to try to cajole or force the authorities into remedying problems. In the early twentieth century civic disorder, especially when attempts were made to halt those hated symbols of the Lliga city, the trams, led to repression, and the failure of the protest. The solution was to unionize the tram workers and to paralyze the network through their union or through a strike affecting their power supply, thereby avoiding street disorder.

It was argued at the very beginning that the historical study of the Catalan and Barcelona working class is lacking. This study has attempted to remedy this, but, as always, has uncovered nearly as many questions as it answers. Suggestions for further work in this field might include more individual studies of neighbourhoods, and histories of womens' life and work in this period, of changes in Catalan industry occasioned by the electrification process and the high level of demand during the years 1915-1920, and of the social tension in the years 1919-1923 which led to the downfall of the C.N.T. project.

James Ronald Kelly

A neighbourhood approach to working class life and politics

in Barcelona, 1910-1923

Vol. 2, Notes and Appendices.

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## NOTES: INTRODUCTION

- (1) M. Tuñón de Lara, El movimiento obrero en la historia de España, Madrid, 1972. Pp. 367-739 cover the years 1900 to 1923. A. Balcells, El sindicalisme a Barcelona (1916-1923), B., 1965. A. Balcells, Trabajo industrial y organización obrera en la Cataluña contemporanea (1900-1936), B., 1974. X. Cuadrat, Socialismo y anarquismo en Cataluña (1899-1911). Los orígenes de la C.N.T., M., 1976. A. Lacomba, La crisis española de 1917. M., 1970. J. Romero Maura, La rosa de fuego, B., 1975. J.C. Ullman, The Tragic Week, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1968. A revised version in Spanish of this text, covering the years following the Setmana Tragica was published in Barcelona in 1971 under the title La Semana Trágica.

For a discussion of recent monographic literature on the working class movement in Spain see C. Martí, 'Panorama de los estudios monograficas recientes sobre el movimiento obrero espanol' in Movimiento obrero, política y literatura en la España contemporanea, ed. M. Tuñón de Lara and J.F. Botrel, M., 1974, pp. 27-52.

- (2) M. Tuñón de Lara, 'Notas', p. 14, in M. Nuñez de Arenas, Notas de historia del movimiento obrero espanol, 2nd ed., B., 1970.
- (3) According to P. Gabriel, 'El anarquismo espanol', p. 360 in G. Woodcock, El anarquismo, Historia de las ideas y movimientos libertarios, M., 1979, where he gives the following figures: in 1910 there were 4,220,326 persons employed in agriculture and 1,034,815 in manufacturing, mining and construction work.
- (4) See M. Izard, 'El proces industrialitzador' in Col.loqui d'Historiadors, B., 1974, p. 98 for a discussion of this problem.
- (5) F. Bonamusa, 'Notas de interpretación historica', p. 10, in Congreso de constitución de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (C.N.T.), B., 1976.
- (6) Gabriel, p. 358.
- (7) Tema 3 of the Primera Ponencia of this Congress discussed the need for a national organization to be named Confederacion General del Trabajo Espanola. See A. Bueso, Como fundamos la C.N.T., p. 16 for a description of the indecision of the delegates as to the name of the new organization, p. 32 for the Primera Ponencia and pp. 78-79 for the seventh session at which the name of Confederación was adopted.
- (8) See the commentaries on the Congress given by Bueso in Como fundamos la C.N.T., especially p. 55. (Bueso attended the Congress as an observer, and his brother, Joaquín, a socialist, took part as a delegate). To the end of his life Bueso defended the syndicalist ideals of the Congress.
- (9) Gabriel, p. 363.

- (10) Gabriel, p. 366, gives a figure for the C.N.T. of about 15,000 members. For the U.G.T. he quotes a total of 76,304 members in February 1916. Chapter 4 will discuss the membership of both organizations further.
- For a brief description of the contacts between the C.N.T. and U.G.T. see A. Bueso, Recuerdos de un cenetista, B., 1976, p. 94, note 1.
- (11) Gabriel, p. 364.
- (12) This strike is generally known by its Castillian name of La Canadiense outside Catalonia, and this practice has been adopted by most foreign historians. At a time when the Catalan language is being recuperated after the long Francoist repression it seems appropriate to restore the Catalan name used in Barcelona. The company derived its popular name, as will be seen later in this chapter, from the fact that it was an Anglo-Canadian holding.
- (13) F. Roca, Politica economica i territori a Catalunya 1901-1939, B., 1979, p. 20.
- (14) Roca, p. 18.
- (15) Roca, pp. 85-102.
- (16) A. Sutcliffe, Towards the planned city: Germany, Britain, the United States and France 1780-1914, Oxford, 1981, pp. 1-8 and A. Sutcliffe, ed., The rise of modern urban planning 1800-1914, London, 1980, pp. 1-10.
- (17) P. Vilà Dinares and L. Cassassas Simó, Barcelona i la seva rodalia al llarg dels temps, B., 1974, p. 467.
- (18) For an outline of these processes in London see G.S. Jones, Outcast London, Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 13. In pp. 159-178 this model is qualified in important respects. Commercial development as well as industrial development was responsible for raising land prices in the central area. Pp. 207-209 explain the lack of attractiveness of the suburbs to the inner London working classes, forcing them to put up with overcrowded housing nearer the centre rather than move out.
- (19) L. Claramunt i Furest, Lluita contra la febre tifoide a Catalunya, B. 1933, pp. 113-139.
- (20) J. Fabre and J.M. Huertas Clavería, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 5, L'Eixample i la Barcelona Vella, B., 1977, p. 182 mention the religious processions to protect the area of Sant Pere against the typhoid epidemic. For criticism of the authorities at the time of the influenza pandemic see Solidaridad Obrera, 30 September 1918, 4 October 1918, 21 October 1918, 23 October 1918.
- (21) Sutcliffe, Towards the planned city, p. 5.

- (22) J.M. de Nadal, Mi calle de 'Fernando', B., 1943, gives a description of this district and of life in it at the turn of the century.
- (23) On the movement of factories out of the walled city and into the peripheral zone see Vila Dinares and Cassassas, pp. 320-321, and C. Carreras i Verdaguer, Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona, B., 1980, pp. 54-56, and references in the appropriate volumes of Fabre and Huertas Clavería. The population statistics for Gracia are taken from Fabre and Huertas Clavería, Vol. 2, p. 11 and AE, 1905, p. 64. The description of Sant Martí as the Manchester of Spain and the quotation cited are from AE, 1905, p. 71. See also R. Grau and M. Lopez, 'Vells suburbis fora ciutat. Sant Martí, un Manchester local', in Serra d'Or, October 1973, pp. 19-25.
- (24) For an account of the attempts made by the Barcelona administration to aggregate the townships of the periphery to the city see Carreras Candi, Geografia general de Catalunya, Vol. 1, La Ciutat de Barcelona, B., n.d., p. 964, and Vila Dinares and Cassassas, pp. 371-372.
- (25) J. Nadal, El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España 1814-1913, B., 1975, pp. 194-204. Table 1, p. 196 'Indústria algodonera catalana; maquinas en activo' for details of mechanization. Also J. Benet and C. Marti, Barcelona a mitjan segle XIX, vol. 1, B., 1976, pp. 53-54.
- (26) Sutcliffe, Towards the planned city, pp. 47-48. In England the first general powers permitting municipal extension planning were contained in the Housing, Town Planning etc. Act of 1909. Before this date ad hoc Improvement Acts and the Building Regulations, coupled with adequate capital for residential building had ensured that English and Welsh towns and cities were no worse developed than their contemporary continental counterparts and were often much better.
- (27) I. Cerdà, Teoría general de la urbanización y aplicación de sus principios y doctrinas a la reforma y ensanche de Barcelona, M., 1867. A facsimile edition was published in Madrid in 1968. The literature in English on Cerda is not extensive; see B. Miller, 'Ildefonso Cerdà: an introduction', Architectural Association Quarterly, 1977, 9 (1), pp. 12-22. The literature in Spanish is more extensive: see the special issue of 2C, Construcción de la Ciudad, 1976, pp. 6-7, devoted to Cerdà's work on the centenary of his death, the catalogue edited by A. Soría for the exhibition in Barcelona and Madrid in 1976, entitled Cerdà 1876-1976, B., 1976, I. Solà-Morales, Los ensanches (1): el ensanche de Barcelona, B., 1978, and A. Soría, Ildefonso Cerdà; hacia una teoría general de la urbanización, M., 1978. In Catalan, O. Bohigas, Barcelona entre el plà Cerdà i el barraquisme, B., 1963, pp. 77-103. The lack of literature in English on Cerdà may explain why his work is not appreciated in this country. Yet until the publication of Stubbens' Der Stadtebau in 1893, Cerdà's work was the first comprehensive manual of town planning and indeed he was the first to use the concept.
- (28) Bohigas, p. 93, Roca, p. 20. See also Vila Dinares and Cassassas, pp. 327, 353, 367, and J.Ll. Marfany, 'Reflexions sobre modernisme i noucentisme', Els Marges, 1974 (1), pp. 49-71.



- (29) Bohigas, pp. 93-95 and Miller, p. 18.
- (30) Vila Dinares and Cassassas Simó, p. 392.
- (31) Roca, pp. 27-28.
- (32) P. Vilar, 'La vie industrielle dans la région de Barcelone' Annales de Géographie, XXXVIII, pp. 342-343.
- (33) On the importance of German town planning in this period, see P. Breitling, 'The role of the competition in the genesis of urban planning: Germany and Austria in the nineteenth century', in Sutcliffe, The rise of modern urban planning, and also Sutcliffe, Towards the planned city, p. 9.
- (34) On the Jaussely plan see the summary by P. Gener, 'El plan de Reforma y enlace de los pueblos agregados', in AE 1907, pp. 57-77, and the special number of La Ilustración Catalana, 1 January 1911, which is completely dedicated to the project. There are no modern studies of Jaussely and his work; see the article by C. Massana on Jaussely in GEC, Vol. 8, and Roca, pp. 22-23.
- (35) Montjuich, surmounted by the army fortress, belonged to the state. In popular consciousness it was associated with the Montjuich trials of 1894-1896 which had achieved world-wide notoriety because of allegations about the torture of anarchists held in the fortress. In 1909 its black image was to be reinforced by the execution of participants in the Setmana Trágica, including Francesc Ferrer. See V. Serge, Birth of our power, London, 1977, pp. 17-19. In 1919 some 3,000 strikers were detained there in connection with the Canadencia strike. A modern historical study is that of P. Voltes Bou, Historia de Montjuïc y su castillo, B., 1960, and a rather more impressionistic survey is that of J. Fabre, J.M. Huertas Claveria and J. Martí, El Montjuïc del segle XX, B. 1969.
- (36) Sutcliffe, Towards the planned city, p. 45.
- (37) See Roca, pp. 43 and 63. Extracts from Vidal i Guardiola's letters are given in F. Roca, 'Pensament economic i politica urbana. Barcelona, 1901-1939' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Barcelona, 1977), pp. 43-48. Principal articles by Vidal i Guardiola contributing to the debate on the Prussian model are: 'Alemania Weltmacht', La Catalunya, 21 December 1907, 'Alemania en el mundo', La Catalunya, 4 January 1908, 'Una visita a la Berliner Gewerkschaftshaus', La Catalunya, 8 February 1908, 'Prusia y Catalunya', La Catalunya, 27 March 1909. Raventos spoke in 1914 to the Joventut Nacionalista in Barcelona on his visit to Germany, and his talk is reproduced under the title of 'El capitalisme i les ciutats' in La Catalunya, 13 June 1914. Montoliu's book was published under the title of Las modernas ciudades y sus problemas a la luz de la Exposición de Construcción Cívica de Berlín, con un Apéndice sobre otros certámenes analogos, B., 1914.
- (38) Montoliu, pp. 10-13.

- (39) J. Maluquer i Nicolau, 'Gross-Barcelona', La Catalunya, March 1914, pp. 14-16 and April 1914, pp. 31-32. For the electoral victory of the Lliga in 1914 see below, Chapter 3.
- (40) Published under the same title, B., 1914.
- (41) Published in La Construcción, November 1916 - November 1918.
- (42) The Plano General would not be superseded until the Pla Comarcal of 1953. As a measure of the financial and political difficulties encountered in carrying out parts of the plan, the projected Cinturo de Ronda or ring road, was not completed until the 1960's.
- (43) On these early companies see J.L. Martín Rodríguez and J.M. Ollé Romeu, Orígenes de la industria eléctrica barcelonesa, B., 1961.
- (44) Pearson was born in Lovell, Massachusetts in 1858, and drowned with the Lusitania in 1915. There appears to be no biography in English; see the short entry by C. Massana in GEC, Vol. 11.
- (45) B. Roig Amat, Orígenes de la Barcelona Traction (conversaciones con Carles E. Montañés), Pamplona, 1970, p. 254.
- (46) P. Vilar, Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna, Vol. 1. Introducció. El medi natural, B., 1964, p. 368.
- (47) See the article on the Barcelona Traction by T. Pou i Viver in GEC, Vol. 3.
- (48) In an article in Nuevo Mundo, 18 September 1913, Ramiro de Maeztu, quoting the Catalan press of the period, warned of the danger of the colonisation of Catalonia by foreign capital. The company did raise Spanish capital once it was established in Spain, but this appears to have been a device for milking the profits and for speculating through depressing the share price by repeated suspensions of dividends and then using a different multinational holding to purchase the shares, which were then reissued at a higher price. This practice explains the multiplicity of holding companies which were set up and the transfer to SOFINA; so complicated did the legal status of the company become that in 1951, when it was wound up, the British, Belgian, Canadian and Spanish governments had to be brought together to disentangle its affairs. See La quiebra de Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Company Ltd. A propósito de un dictamen. Requerimiento notarial al Dr. D. Joaquín Garrigues Díaz-Cañabate, B., 1957, which describes the bankruptcy hearings. In another document connected with the same hearings, A. Andany accused the company of provoking the strike of 1919 in order to drive the share prices down; La quiebra de Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Company Ltd. A proposito de un dictamen. Cartas cruzadas entre D. Angel Andany y D. Jose Larraz, B., 1957.
- (49) Vilar, La vie industrielle, p. 358.
- (50) S. Roldán, J.L. García Delgado and J. Muñoz, La consolidación del capitalismo en España, Tomo 1, M., 1973, pp. 77-78.

- (51) M. Ardit, A. Balcells and N. Sales, Història dels Països Catalans de 1714 a 1975, B., 1980, P. 421.
- (52) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 10 and Ardit and others, p. 421.
- (53) On Foronda see the article by A. Arconada in the Enciclopedia Espasa, Suplemento 1961-1962.
- (54) J.P. McKay, Tramways and trolleys. The rise of urban mass transport in Europe, New Jersey, 1976, pp. 242-243. In 1904 the Barcelona Town Hall approved the project of Tranvias de Barcelona a San Andres y Extensiones for a line along the streets of Comerci, Pujades, Trafalgar to the Plaça Urquinaona, without taking into account that the Circunvalacion line, belonging to the company of Los Tranvias de Barcelona, ran along Pujades. Since the gauge of the latter was 1.44 metres and of the former 1 metre, the line could not be shared. The solution that was adopted was for Tranvias de Barcelona a San Andres to rent 217 metres of one rail belonging to Tranvias de Barcelona and put in a third rail. M. Riu and A. Castillo, Historia del transporte colectivo en Barcelona (1872-1959), B., 1959, p. 54.
- (55) The standard history of Foronda's role in integrating the Barcelona tram network is in Riu and Castillo, pp. 55-95.
- (56) On objections to steam trams in European cities see McKay, pp. 30-31. Riu and Castillo, chapters 1 and 2 cover horse-drawn and steam trams in Barcelona. The Horta episode is in the oral testimony of Felip Capdevila.
- (57) McKay, pp. 239-241.
- (58) McKay, p. 242. The examples from Barcelona come from Riu and Castillo, pp. 48-55.
- (59) Riu and Castillo, pp. 56-69.
- (60) Riu and Castillo, pp. 58-61. The use of sanctions was bitterly opposed by the working class movement in Barcelona. Thus in 1918, at the height of the agitation over the cost of basic items of subsistence, the Campana de Gràcia, 5 January 1918, commented sardonically on a wage increase to the tram workers:
- 'Torneu-me el ral, que no vui mes comèdia.  
La companyia dels Tranvies de Barcelona ha acordat mentre durin les actuals circumstàncies, concedir vint-i-cinc cèntims més de jornal a tots els seus operaris. Olé, ya generosa! Be, pues, que te'ls cobraras amb multes al mateix personal.'
- (61) On the inauguration of the Caja de Retiros, see AE 1913, pp. 662-664.
- (62) AE 1913, p. 80.
- (63) The figures for vehicles in 1913, 1917 and 1923 are from Riu and Castillo, pp. 80, 84 and 100 respectively. The details of the new

lines are taken from the table 'Electrificación de las líneas de tranvías antiguas y nuevas concesiones e inauguraciones desde 1899 a 1924' on pp. 94-96 of the same text. If the figure for 1913 is divided by the figure for the population of the city for that year taken from the AE 1914, it results in a figure of approximately 130 journeys per inhabitant during the year. This compares with the figures for average per capita usage given in McKay, pp. 193-194, for eight major cities in Britain in 1913 of 189 journeys, and the average figure for all German cities with a population over 200,000 of 137 in 1910. The British Consul reported in 1913 that the rapid extension of the tramway system to districts outside the centre had led to villas springing up in every district; Diplomatic and Consular Reports, 5181, August 1913.

- (64) Passenger figures for 1906 are from Riu and Castillo, p. 66. For 1912, AE 1912, p. 579. The 1917 estimate is from the special issue of La Esfera, May 1917, dedicated to Barcelona. The figures for 1918 and 1920 are from AE 1918-19-20, p. 574.
- (65) On the bus line from Plaça Trilla to Plaça Catalunya, see Riu and Castillo, pp. 61-63. Ibid. pp. 92-93 for the Compañía General de Autobuses and the reaction of Les Tramways de Barcelone.
- (66) E.J. Hobsbawm, 'Cities and insurrections', in Revolutionaries, Contemporary essays, London, 1973, pp. 220-233, has analyzed the vulnerability of tram services to disruption.
- (67) Riu and Castillo, pp. 88-89.
- (68) McKay, p. 241, makes the point that: '...the change from animate-powered (sic) transport of the age of walking cities and horse-drawn vehicles, including tramways, to inanimate, mechanized, mass-produced and mass-oriented public transportation has occurred only once. For Europe, that once was with electric streetcars. Thereafter urban public transportation has evolved with buses, high speed trains, express subways, etc... But it has not been revolutionized.'
- (69) The cuple is quoted in J.M. Vila, Quan el poder feia vacances, B., 1972.
- (70) The term 'burgés' was in current use in Catalonia in the nineteenth century to designate any capitalist entrepreneur. See the entry in the Diccionari Fabra, 11th ed., 1978.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 1

- (1) Fabre and Huertas Clavería, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 5, p. 31 and pp. 57-60.
- (2) M.M. Breitbart, 'Spanish anarchism: an introductory essay', Antipode, 1979, (10) 1, p. 64.
- (3) J. Olivés Puig, 'La conflictualidad urbana', Papers, Revista de Sociologia, 1974, 3, pp. 275-323, especially pp. 283-292, and the anarchist critique of the neighbourhood movement 'Lucha en barrios, lucha global', P'çalante, 1979, 6, pp. 6-15. Interestingly both make the same claim that neighbourhood protest movements are a kind of 'citizens' syndicate' (Olivés, p. 290, 'Lucha en barrios', p. 6).  
  
For a history of neighbourhood movements in Barcelona and elsewhere, see J. Borja, Qué son las Asociaciones de Vecinos, B., 1977.
- (4) For a comprehensive list of such studies to 1977, see L. Cassassas, Barcelona i l'espai urbà, B., 1977, pp. 145-146, where 28 titles are listed.
- (5) This debate can only be followed in the Barcelona press of recent years and in the bulletins published by the Neighbourhood Associations themselves. See also I Assemblea de les Associacions de Veïns de Catalunya, Desenvolupament, conclusions i cens, Manresa, 1979.
- (6) J. Fabre and J.M. Huertas Clavería, Tots els barris de Barcelona, 7 vols., B., 1976-1979. In the bibliographies to each volume the authors regularly cite their early newspaper articles. Vol. 7, pp. 351-357 express the authors' views on the formation of neighbourhoods.
- (7) See Cassassas, Barcelona i l'espai urbà for a list of these. The best among them are M. Tatjer, La Barceloneta del siglo XVIII al Plan de la Ribera, B., 1973, C. Carreras i Verdaguer, Hostafrancs, un barri de Barcelona, B., 1974, and J. Olivés Puig, 'Deteriorización urbana e inmigración en el barrio del casco antiguo de Barcelona: San Cugat del Rec', Revista de Geografía, 1969, 3, pp. 41-72.
- (8) R. Bonal and J. Costa, Sol urbà i classes socials, B., 1978, pp. 119-120 give a list of their studies of individual neighbourhoods.
- (9) J.R. Kelly and C. Carreras i Verdaguer, Sants en la formulació de propostes d'una organització municipal, B., 1979, p. 14.
- (10) T.S. Brindley and J.W. Raine 'Social area analysis and planning research', Urban studies, 1979, 16, p. 278. S. Keller, The urban neighbourhood. A sociological perspective, New York, 1968, p. 95.

- (11) For a map of these areas in Chicago, see A. Rossi, La arquitectura de la ciudad, 2nd ed., B., 1976, p. 103.
- (12) Keller, p. 142, Brindley and Raine, pp. 273-276, Rossi, pp. 105-107. The relevant texts of the Chicago School are R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, Introduction to the science of society, Chicago, 1921, R.E. Park, E.W. Burgess and R.D. McKenzie, The city, Chicago, 1925, and E.W. Burgess, The determination of gradients in the growth of the city, Chicago, 1927. On zoning according to function in Barcelona, see the comments in the AE, 1907, p. 59 'Mr. Jaussely ha sonado en Ciudades en que cada distrito y cada barrio, obedeciendo al principio de diferenciación, tuviese un caracter propio según a qué y a quienes estuviese destinado. Considera las Ciudades como organismos vivientes, que han de responder al caracter y destino futuro de cada pueblo...'.
- (13) W. Firey, 'Sentiment and symbolism as ecological variables', American Sociological Review, 1945, 10, pp. 140-148.
- (14) E.F. Shevky and W. Bell, Social area analysis: theory, illustrative application and computational procedures, Stamford, 1955, and E.F. Shevky and M. Williams, The social areas of Los Angeles, Berkeley, 1949. The 'constructs of social differentiation' were social rank, urbanization and segregation, and were derived from census data.
- (15) H.R. Alker, 'A typology of ecological fallacies' in M. Dogan and S. Rokkan, eds., Quantitative ecological analysis in the social sciences, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 69-86.
- (16) Examples of monographs include Bohigas, 1963, and M. de Sola-Morales and others, Barcelona, Remodelación capitalista o desarrollo urbano en el sector de la Ribera Oriental, B., 1974. Periodicals include 2C, Construcción de la Ciudad, Arquitectura bis, CAU-Construcción, Arquitectura, Urbanismo, and Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo.
- (17) On the debate around the Cerdà exhibition, see Cerdà. 1876-1976. On the 1929 Exhibition, see L'Avenç, extra 3, 1979 and CAU, 57, 1979.
- (18) The first Spanish edition of Rossi's La arquitectura de la ciudad was published in Barcelona in 1971. The original Italian edition was published as L'architettura della città, Padua, 1966.
- (19) Rossi, p. 87.
- (20) Rossi, p. 105.
- (21) C. Carreras i Verdaguer, Sants. Anàlisi del procés de producció de l'espai urbà de Barcelona, B., 1980, p. 8.
- (22) Ayuntamiento de Barcelona. Anuario estadístico de la ciudad de Barcelona, 1902-1917, 1918-1919-1920. Barcelona 1902-1923.

- (23) 'Barcelona. División Municipal, AE, 1902, pp. 48-68, and Rectificación de los límites y extensión del termino municipal, AE, 1904, p. 22.
- (24) C. Massana, 'Los "Anuarios estadísticos de la ciudad de Barcelona" (1902-1923) y el socialismo municipal', Cuadernos de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, 1972, 90, pp. 54-55. M. Tatjer Mir, 'El estudio del espacio interno barcelonés: fuentes estadísticas publicadas (1770-1970)', Revista de Geografía, 1972, (6) 2, pp. 269-299.
- (25) The little information available only raises further questions. See E.O. Raduà 'Un avance acerca del Padrón Sanitario de Barcelona', Medicina Social, 1913, p. 36, which gives a short history of the problems of the section, among them the loss of a part of its records.
- (26) E.O. Raduà, El moviment natural de la població de Barcelona. Any 1920, B., 1922, p. 18. In the prologue Raduà styles it the first official publication of the Institut, '...perqué sense oficialitat o també a través d'altres organismes que ja de temps utilitzen llurs serveis, han sigut ben nombrosos els estudis que havem publicat'. p. 17.
- (27) Raduà, of whom there is no biography, was active in municipal affairs. Apart from his position in the Cuerpo Medical, he was a member of the Junta Municipal de Primera Ensenanza, and participated in various study groups of the Museu Social. He was involved in the cooperative movement and in 1911 was editor of the magazine of the Federació Cooperativista, El Cooperador Cooperatista. He edited the medical publications Revista de Demografía Social and its successor Medicina Social.
- (28) M.A. Rovira Roses, 'El Museo Social (1909-1919) (unpublished tesi de llicenciatura, University of Barcelona, 1972), and Roca, Política econòmica i territori a Catalunya, 1901-1939, pp. 55-60.
- (29) R. Albó, La caridad, su acción y organización en Barcelona, B., 1901, enlarged and revised edition published as Barcelona caritativa, benéfica y social, 2 vols., B., 1914.
- (30) Boletín del Museo Social, B., 1910-1911, Butlletí del Museu Social, B., 1912-1919. Anuari d'estadística social de Catalunya, B., 1912-1915.
- (31) M. Escudé i Bartoli, Monografía estadística de las clases trabajadores de Barcelona, AE, 1917, pp. 538-593. Published separately in 1921 under the same title.
- (32) AE, 1910, p. 169.
- (33) Data exists for 1920 in AE, 1918-1919-1920, pp. 54-100, but it is classified by streets and would take impossibly long to elaborate.
- (34) Tatjer, La Barceloneta, pp. 35-53.

- (35) Fabre and Huertas Clavería, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 1, p. 31.
- (36) Data on the number of buildings used solely for industry, warehouses, etc., is given in the AE, 1912, p. 63, but does not reflect the real situation. Then, as now, few buildings in Barcelona were dedicated to a single exclusive purpose; in all but the Eixampla districts, most houses had a variety of residential and other tenants who carried out a range of activities in their workshops.
- (37) Escudé i Bartoli, 'La població de Barcelona' in Estudio, 76, April 1919, p. 30.
- (38) In Cataluña, 184, 186, 187, 188, 191, 194, 197 and 201, 1911.
- (39) 'Informe del Doctor L. Verdereau al debate "La mortalidad en Barcelona"', Cataluña, 184, 15 April 1911, pp. 227-229.
- (40) In Cataluña, 197, 15 July 1911, pp. 486-489.
- (41) Escudé i Bartoli, 'La población de Barcelona', p. 37.
- (42) Raduà, El moviment natural de la població, p. 18.
- (43) Raduà, El moviment natural de la població, p. 90.
- (44) Escudé i Bartoli, 'La población de Barcelona', p. 32.
- (45) Clasificación de los habitantes según el sexo, AE, 1913, p. 91.
- (46) Escudé i Bartoli, 'La población de Barcelona', p. 31.
- (47) 'L'obra constructiva de l'Ajuntament. Memòria relativa a la formació del Padró d'Habitants del terme municipal de Barcelona amb referència al 31 de desembre de 1930', Gasetta Municipal, May, 1932, p. 194.
- (48) Cataluña, 197, p. 488.
- (49) J. Alzina Caules, 'La población de Barcelona', Anales de Sociologia, 1966, pp. 108-117.
- (50) Ll. Recolons, La població de Catalunya, B. 1976, p. 14.
- (51) E.O. Raduà, 'La natalidad en Barcelona, 1910. (Avance demografico)', Medicina Social, 1911, pp. 58-61.
- (52) Radua, 'La natalidad en Barcelona, 1910', p. 59. The italics are the authors.
- (53) La natalidad por distritos, AE, 1910, p. 184.



- (54) The only data which is to be found on this question is in two works by Raduà, 'Dos palabras acerca la mortalidad hospitalaria en Barcelona' in Medicina Social, no 29, July 1913, and in Moviment natural de la població de Barcelona. In the former, after a brief explanation of the need to analyse hospital deaths, Raduà goes on to say that these are heterogeneous and can be divided into three groups, '...bien distintos según se trate de la población especial asilada, sujeta a la reglamentación y disciplina de una vida colectiva, a la población transeunte, es decir sin domicilio en la capital o de la que teniendolo termina sus días en hospitales y clinicas' [author's italics]. According to this classification he offers the following table, p. 66:

YEAR	D E A T H S			
	TOTAL	HOSPITAL POPULATION	TRANSIENTS	INHABITANTS OF THE CITY
1910	2,545	857	465	1,223
1911	2,612	790	502	1,320
1912	2,733	830	490	1,413

On p. 67 these figures are broken down by districts, but only for the three year period 1910-1912.

DISTRICT		DISTRICT	
I	234	VII	639
II	394	VIII	217
III	246	IX	118
IV	210	X	217
V	877	Military population and doubtful 287	
VI	517	TOTAL 3,956	

As percentages these figures show a close parallel with those quoted in the second work cited.

DISTRICT	1910-1912 (1)	1920 (2)
I	8.9	8.3
II	12.1	10.9
III	10.8	11.5
IV	6.8	5.7
V	17.9	18.2
VI	10.0	11.2
VII	9.4	8.9
VIII	5.7	7.9
IX	5.0	5.9
X	9.2	6.9

- (1) These percentages are of my own elaboration, based on the mortality figures, AE, 1910, p. 203, AE, 1911, p. 140, AE, 1912, p. 94.
- (2) Taken from Raduà, Moviment natural de la població, p. 86.

In conclusion, as Raduà says on p. 86 of Moviment natural de la població, if hospital deaths are not attributed to the district from which the dead person came, the effect is to make certain districts - the most unhealthy - seem healthier than they really are.

- (55) See the following articles by Raduà, 'La mortalidad infantil en Barcelona en 1912', Medicina Social, 1913, pp. 2-7, 'La mortalidad en Barcelona en 1913 (II)', Medicina Social, 1914, pp. 22-24, 'La entero-colitis', Medicina Social, 1914, p. 1, and 'La mortalidad en Barcelona en 1915', Medicina Social, 1916, pp. 13-16.
- (56) A. Balcells, Trabajo industrial, p. 94.
- (57) AE, 1912, p. 153 and AE, 1914, p. 52. The latter reproduces census data for 1910 which was not published in the AE, 1910.
- (58) AE, 1912, p. 153, AE, 1916, pp. 175-176.
- (59) AE, 1918-1919-1920, pp. 277-278.
- (60) B. de Riquer, 'Les eleccions de la Solidaritat Catalana a Barcelona', Recerques, 2, 1972, pp. 93-140.
- (61) These three main social classifications were first suggested by Riquer in 'Les eleccions'; the analysis here differs from his in that it is less reliant on social data and takes into account cultural factors, as well as wider influences on working class consciousness. It is updated to the period under study and the conclusions differ in the case of District V.
- (62) Tatjer, La Barceloneta, p. 18.
- (63) Domingo and others, 'Estructura urbana i anàlisi topològica' in Estudi previ a la remodelació de la Barceloneta, B., 1978, pp. 47-49. For details of the process by which vertical and horizontal concentration took place, Tatjer, La Barceloneta, pp. 58-68. A. del Castillo, La Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima, B., 1965, also gives information on the area, as well as on its dominant industries.
- (64) Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, p. 967.
- (65) Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, p. 969. For a general history of this area, F. Candel, Història de una parroquia, B., 1971.

- (66) For a description of the development of Poble Sec and La Fransa, Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, pp. 972-973. Cinemas and theatres, Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 4, pp. 113-119. 23 people died in the epidemic of bubonic plague in Barcelona in 1905, the majority in Poble Sec. It was brought into Spain in packets of cotton samples from Smyrna and Bombay; R. Bonal, El Districte II, B., 1970, p. 112.
- (67) Description of development of Hostafrancs. Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, pp. 975-976. See also Carreras i Verdaguer, Hostafrancs, pp. 82-87 for a description of the industries of Hostafrancs, burots, and entry of immigrants.
- (68) Radical tradition, Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 1, p. 211.
- (69) On Sants, see Carreras; Verdaguer, Sants. On the Espanya Industrial, La España Industrial, S.A., El libro del centenario, B. 1947. S. Aznar, Impresiones de un demócrata-cristiano, M., 1931, pp. 24-36, gives an eye-witness account of the factory in 1924, describing working conditions and wages. See also La España Industrial, Sociedad Anonima, Barcelona en su 82º aniversario, 1847-1929, B., 1929. Population figures from Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, p. 977. On the button factory in La Bordeta, F. Rahola y Tremols, 'Del Comerç y de la industria de Catalunya', in Carreras Candi, Vol. 1, p. 455, and the entry for La Bordeta, in GEC, Vol. 4.
- (70) Fomento de los intereses de Sans, Una voz que merece ser oída - la descentralización de Barcelona, B., 1914, is evidence of the continuing independent spirit of Sants and the peripheral townships nearly 20 years after the aggregation.
- (71) Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, pp. 978-982 for industrial decline and population figures. General history of Les Corts, J.M. Casaus, Les Corts, un poble perdut, un barri introbable, B., 1976.
- (72) Population figures, Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, p. 997. General history, M. Brasó, 'Panoramica histórico del barrio de Gràcia', in Barcelona, Divulgacion historica, B., 1945, pp. 69-82. Evidence of mixed nature of area in urban division and house design in M. de Sola-Morales, E. Bru, and E. Serra, 'Gràcia, diseño del suelo y forma urbana en los orígenes de la Barcelona moderna', Arquitectura bis, September 1976, pp. 20-32.
- (73) Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, pp. 988-989.
- (74) The revolt against the Quintes was a protest against conscription into the army. On events in Gràcia, see Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 2, pp. 14-15. The rebels sealed themselves inside the bell tower of Gracia, situated in the square in front of the Town Hall, and continually rang the bells to arouse the population; cannon eventually had to be used to silence them. The bell tower - the Campana de Gràcia - became a symbol of freedom after this incident, and gave its name to the celebrated Barcelona satirical magazine, La Campana de Gràcia, founded in 1871, and published in weekly batallades until 1934.

- (75) Carreras Candi, p. 1017 for data on Horta. I have collected five oral testimonies from women who worked as washerwomen in Horta in the years from 1910. (Oral evidence of T. Baguería, J. Botey, C. Bonet, J. Bonet, J. Puig Octavia).
- (76) Even new housing in Sant Andreu was of low level construction; R. Bonas i Miro, 'Modernisme a Sant Andreu', Serra d'Or, 1973, pp. 443-446.
- (77) Of all the neighbourhoods of Barcelona, Sant Andreu is the only one which possesses its own historical study, produced in the years under investigation here, though not published until after the end of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship; J. Clapes i Corbera, Fulles històriques de Sant Andreu de Palomar, 6 vols., B., 1930. See also R. Bonal and J. Costa, Sant Andreu de Palomar. Del municipi independent al barri actual. The oral testimony referring to the English in Sant Andreu is that of Josep Cararach. On Fabra i Coats, see the centenary booklet, Hilaturas de Fabra y Coats, Barcelona, 1844-1944, B., 1944. I have collected an oral testimony from Teresa Pla Espinas, who worked there from 1914. On conditions in the factory, there is an interesting booklet Memòria sobre las obras sociales en favor de la Compañía Anónima Hilaturas de Fabra y Coats, B., 1916.
- (78) Llibre d'Or del futbol català, B., 1928 and J. Garcia Castell, Història del futbol català, B., 1968, describe the role of foreigners in encouraging and promoting football in Catalonia. A complaint that football was proving so attractive by 1913 that it was drawing young people away from politics was made by E. Fité, Política Republicana, B., 1924, p. 136.
- (79) Population figures, Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, p. 1026. Industry, *ibid*, p. 1023. Market gardens between areas, Rahola, 'Del Comerç', p. 244.
- (80) Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 1, pp. 66-67.
- (81) Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, pp. 1029-1032. On the M.Z.A., *ibid*, p. 1029. Radical tradition, Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 1, p. 51. J. Valdour, L'ouvrier espagnol, Vol. 1, p. 319, Lille, 1919, for details of the Agrupación Obrera.
- (82) Mutual rivalry, El Clot and Poble Nou, Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 1, p. 26; Carreras Candi, Vol. 2, pp. 1027-1028. Use of names of Icària and Poble Nou, *ibid*, p. 1027.
- (83) Industries of Poble Nou; Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 1, pp. 80-84. R. Bonal and J. Costa, El Poble Nou l'any 1975, B., 1975, pp. 62-89. J.R. Arana, Can Girona: por el desván de los recuerdos, B., 1973, is a novel set in the 1920's, about the Ferrería Barcelonesa of the Girona family. See also J. Negre, El obrero y la ciudad, B., 1969.

- (84) G.A.T.E.P.A.C., 'El barrio chino de Barcelona', AC, 25, June 1937. Fabre and Huertas, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. 7, pp. 279-348. The origin of the name of this well known area of Barcelona is obscure; one theory is that it was taken up after a journalist alluded to the area as Barcelona's version of San Francisco's Chinatown.
- (85) See A. Marvaud, La question sociale en Espagne, Chapter 2, 'La condition du proletariat de l'industrie', where he deplores the lack of state statistics and the lack of rigour observed in those statistics which do exist due to the illwill of the local authorities and citizens and also to the insufficient training of those responsible for making the statistics: 'De manière generale, les statistiques officielles, eparpillées dans les cartons des differents ministeres, a Madrid, sont incomplètes et mal faites, et - ce qui est plus grave - elles sont loin de concorder toujours entre elles', p. 76. He does, however, state that useful new sources of information were coming into existence, such as the AE (see p. 88) and the Instituto de Reformas Sociales (see p. 77). J. Romero Maura, p. 129, comments on the lack of statistical information, and finds that whereas the Bourbons had introduced a French style centralised administration into Spain, they had not taken care to also introduce the Napoleonic formula for the systematic collection of data by the Prefects and local administrations. As for the Instituto de Reformas Sociales he believes that the information relating to Catalonia in the bulletin published by the Instituto was disproportionately small because of the weakness of the socialists in Catalonia.
- (86) These censuses are: Clasificación de los habitantes según su profesión, in AE, 1902, pp. 152-161. Censo obrero de 1905 in AE, 1905, pp. 599-606. El censo patronal y obrero [1919], in AE, 1917, pp. 500-501.
- (87) On these difficulties see also Escudé i Bartoli, Monografia estadística, AE, 1917, pp. 538-546. Among the difficulties were:
- (1) The effects of mechanization, multiplying the number of operations to be performed and subdividing work previously done by a single operative.
  - (2) The variety of nomenclature among the trades and professions in the big cities because of the division of labour which was dependent on the state of development of these, complicated by the lack of accuracy in popular language when referring to work, categories and denominations like worker, day worker (journalero), etc.
  - (3) The difficulties of classifying the unskilled when these were constantly changing jobs.
  - (4) The problem of who should be approached for information - the workers, great numbers of whom were illiterate, or the owner, often worried about giving information for fear that it might increase his taxes.
  - (5) The classification of womens' work, because of the resistance put forward by women to declaring any such work on their census form, for various reasons, the principal being that many worked only while they were single or because the work was not constant or was only regular over short periods.

- (88) A. Jutglar, L'era industrial a Espanya, B., 1962, p. 214.
- (89) A. Balcells, 'La Mujer obrera en la industria catalana durante el primer cuarto del siglo XX', Trabajo industrial, is the only historical survey. It draws heavily on the contemporary work by J. Elías Molins, La obrera en Cataluña, en las ciudades y en el campo, B., 1913. See also M.A. Capmany, El feminisme a Catalunya, B., 1973.
- (90) AE, 1905, pp. 597-606. AE, 1917, pp. 500-501.
- (91) Balcells, 'La mujer obrera', pp. 77-88. Roca, pp. 58-59.
- (92) J. Ruiz Castellà, 'Exposicio de treball a domicili', Butlletí del Museu Social, 1915, 35, pp. 43-51.
- (93) Roca, p. 59. Elías de Molins, p. 31.
- (94) Tuñón de Lara, El movimiento obrero, pp. 382-395, 464-478, 550-568, 675-681.
- (95) Information is to be found in: AE, 1905, pp. 607-615, Los salarios en Barcelona en 1905. AE, 1905, p.617-632, Comparación de los jornales en Barcelona en 1856 y 1905. AE, 1912, pp. 648-659, Los salarios en Barcelona. [Revision by the Museu Social of the data in the AE 1905]. AE, 1917, pp. 565-568, Tipos de salarios corrientes en Barcelona los años 1917-1918, según datos registrados por la oficina de Estadística de la 'Acción Popular'. P. de Prades, 'Els jornals i les subsistències' La Nació, 2 October 1915.
- (96) Cerdà, Vol. 2, p. 663.
- (97) J. Vicens Vives and M. Llorens, Industrials i Polítics del segle XIX, B., 1958, pp. 150-151. The regular diet of such a working class family consisted of salt cod, bread, potatoes, beans, eggs, olive oil and wine.
- (98) Jeph de Jespus in 'L'encariment de les subsistències', La Campana de Gracia, 1 October 1910, wrote: 'Mentres els jornals de l'obrer han millorat en deu anys al vol d'un deu per cent, la vida s'ha encarit en mes d'una tercera part...' Romero Maura, pp. 145-147 gives various figures for the rise in food prices up to 1910. Among the reasons he gives are the general world increases in food prices between 1896 and 1907 of 28% to which must be added the dearness of terrestrial and maritime communications, the policy of protection of the Government which prevented the import of cheap wheat, and what was more important, the high taxes on consumption in Barcelona (the consumos) and the organized rackets in the markets.
- (99) Memòria del Congreso Obrero Metalúrgico celebrado en el Palacio de Bellas Artes los días 12 y 13 de abril de 1914, B., 1914, pp. 16-17.

- (100) Prades does not give his sources for the construction of his table beyond saying that they are the product of 'dades oficials', which in the case of 1915, he had proved by personal observation in the markets. On checking the price table given in the AE, 1915 his list would seem to be quite correct. Pi y Sunyer, in a talk given in 1922, blamed the price increase of the war years on the greed of intermediaries and those who stock-piled, waiting for price increases. Stating that meat, fish and vegetable prices were very high, higher than in Madrid, despite the fact that Barcelona was a fishing port, surrounded by fertile growing areas, whereas Madrid was landlocked in the sterile and dry centre, he showed that the attempt by the Barcelona Town Hall to regularize the meat supply to the markets of the city by using a sole buyer at the centres of production (Regimén de la Unificación de Compras, Diciembre 1920) was sabotaged by the Gobierno Civil, which at the instigation of interested parties, first suspended the new system and then proceeded to carry out an imperfect unification which was monopolistic and expensive. A. Pi y Sunyer, A. El hambre de los pueblos, B., 1922, pp. 29-30.
- (101) Roca, pp. 103-108.
- (102) AE, 1917, p. 571.
- (103) AE, 1917, p. 592.
- (104) Vicens Vives and Llorens, p. 151.
- (105) Balcells, 'La Mujer obrera', p. 12.
- (106) On Montoliu, see Ictineu, diccionari de les ciències de la societat als Països Catalans (segles XVIII-XX), B., 1979, pp. 318-319. On the Societat Civica La Ciutat-Jardi, Roca, pp. 61-63.
- (107) Roca, pp. 63-65.
- (108) Roca, pp. 103-108.
- (109) The formation of a Sindicato de Inquilinos was first proposed at the Second Congress of Solidaridad Obrera in 1910 (see Chapter 4). The Union de Inquilinos was formally constituted in January 1918, (Solidaridad Obrera, 14 January 1918). It held meetings in the different areas of the city (Meeting in Gràcia, Solidaridad Obrera, 28 August 1918) and protested against rent rises and municipal taxes, *ibid*, 16 October 1918. It also intervèned in cases of eviction; Bueso, Como fundamos la C.N.T., p. 54.
- (110) AE, 1917, p. 572.
- (111) P. Casals 'La habitació obrera', La Nació, 2 October 1914, p. 6, and J. Aiguader i Miró, 'El problema de les barraques i dels rellogats', Butlletí del Sindicat de Metges de Catalunya, January, 1927, pp. 6-10.

- (112) This old description - Casc antic - in Catalan, covers the old walled city. Despite current attempts to create a tourist area there, under the title of Barri gòtic, the denomination of Casc antic is coming back into use (for example the recently founded neighbourhood association in the area uses it in its title - Associació de Veïns del Casc Antic.)
- (113) See the Introduction. Also, M. Lopez Guallar, 'Vivienda y segregación social en Barcelona 1772/1791', CAU, 19, May-June 1973, pp. 67-79.
- (114) Casals, p. 5.
- (115) AE, 1917, p. 573.
- (116) District VI contained a section of the old town, the neighbourhood of Sant Antoni.
- (117) Such as the Palau Güell in Comte de l'Assalt, one of the early works of the modernist architect, Antoni Gaudí. During the Setmana Tràgica protestors dumped the bodies of disinterred nuns in the doorway; Ullman, p. 456.
- (118) See the autobiographical novel by Rafael Vidiella, Los de Ayer, B., 1938, which describes his experience of sub-letting in the years 1910-1920, in pp. 91-103. Aiguader's experiences, which also date from the period under study here, but were published later, are to be found in his articles in the Butlletí del Sindicat de Metges de Catalunya in January, April, August and October 1927.
- (119) S. Tax Freeman, Neighbours. The social contract in a Castilian hamlet, Chicago, 1970, p. 147.
- (120) Thus Valdour found that the wife's sister also lodged with a Valencian family whom he stayed with in Sants, Valdour, Vol. 1, p. 228.
- (121) Seven pesetas (in advance) per month at Sants, including his washing, though he had to pay for the soap. He also mentions that, since the family he stayed with never used candles, preferring the cheaper oil lamp, he had also to pay for the candles he required. At El Clot he paid nine pesetas per month for a room which 'Je n'en ai encore jamais trouvé aussi parfaite'. Again, this rent included his washing. At further lodgings in Clot he paid two pesetas a week, washing included, for a shared room. Valdour, Vol. 1., p. 226-227, p. 279, p. 321-322. These prices compare favourably with the prices charged by pensions quoted later in this section.
- (122) Valdour, Vol. 1, p. 72.
- (123) Valdour, Vol. 1, p. 67.



- (124) Vidiella, Chapter IX, especially pp. 133-136.
- (125) M. Sans Orença, Els treballadors mercantils dins el moviment obrer català, B., 1970, pp. 54-56.
- (126) Aiguader, March 1927, p. 4. The underlining is my own.
- (127) Aiguader, March 1927, pp. 4-6.
- (128) Casals, p. 6.
- (129) AE, 1917, p. 573.
- (130) F. Pons i Freixa, Los adueros de Barcelona, B., 1929. Quotation from Casals, p. 5.
- (131) J. Valles i Pujals, Les Murdes barcelonines, La Veu de Catalunya, 17 October 1912.
- (132) Fishermen on the beach at Pekín, Valdour, Vol. 1, p. 26. Other occupations, Aiguader, April 1927, p. 4. Those without visible means were 'Captaires de solemnitat' according to Casals, p. 5, and he estimated their number at 10% in Pekín.
- (133) Aiguader, January 1927, p. 9.
- (134) Aiguader, May 1927, p. 6. To add to the difficulties of this couple, the woman was pregnant, and they were trying to find a house to use around the time of the birth '...a fi que la muller s'estalviï la vergonya de tenir un part a l'aire lliure'.
- (135) Aiguader, May 1927, p. 6-7 discusses rent charges for barraques and cites Pons i Freixa's claim about the revolver. On page 5 of the same article he talks about the water problem. In some areas the Ajuntament sent the water lorry twice a day but in others water had to be fetched from a neighbourhood well at a charge of four pesetas a month per barraca. Those who lived at the Font de la Mamella used the water from the font mentioned in the title, but it was not a spring, rather it was a hollow which filled up and '...on beuen els gossos i el bestiar, on renten la roba els veïns, i que, malgrat això, l'empren per a cuinar i beure'.
- (136) Casals, p. 5.
- (137) J. Roca Cladera and E. Díaz Perera, 'La Torrassa, un antecedent del barri-dormitori', L'Avenç, 28, June 1980, pp. 62-69.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 2

- (1) Ullman, pp. 259-277, S.G. Payne, Los militares y la política en la España contemporánea, Paris, 1968, pp. 89-105 discuss the causes of the revolt.
- (2) A. Nin, 'Un aniversario olvidado', Comunismo, 27 August 1933, pp. 69-71. The most representative text of the historians of the early Francoist period is that of E. Comín Colomer, La Semana Tragica de Barcelona, 2nd ed., M., 1956. On La Ciutat Cremada, directed by Antoni Ribas, see the article, 'La ciutat cremada' in Tiempo de Historia, 10, 1975, pp. 23-39.
- (3) Opposition to the war in Barcelona and Catalonia, J. Comaposada, La revolución de Barcelona, B., 1910, pp.5-6. P. Coromines, Diaris i records, Vol. 2., B., 1974, pp.72-73. See also Romero Maura, pp. 501-504, and Ullman, pp. 295-325. A point which served to excite the public was that the boats used, both in the embarkation for and return from Cuba, and in the embarkation for Melilla, were the same, belonging to the Catholic magnate, the Maqués de Comillas.
- (4) A. Fabra Ribas, La Semana Tragica. El caso Maura. El krausismo, M., 1975, p. 29 for quote relating to presentation of medallions to soldiers by society ladies. Ibid, pp. 31-32 for meeting in Terrassa. Text of protest motion at Terrassa, Ullman, p. 313.
- (5) The platform at the Terrassa meeting contained the Catalan socialist, Fabra Ribas, the pure anarchist, Mariano Castellote, and the anarcho-syndicalist propagandist, José Prat. It therefore contained representatives of all the active elements vying for Catalan working class support, and their alliance was warmly approved by the Barcelona workers. No doubt this influenced the decision of the Barcelona Socialists to agree to join in the organization of the General Strike for Monday, 26 July.
- (6) Decision of Socialists to join organization of strike, Fabra Ribas, pp. 32-36. Organization of strike, ibid, pp. 36-39, Romero Maura, pp. 507-509, Ullman, pp. 317-340.
- (7) Both Ossorio, the Civil Governor and Foronda, the director of the tram company, had announced on Sunday 25 that they would personally guarantee the continued circulation of the trams; Ullman, p. 339. On the Monday morning Foronda travelled all over the city in his car, in order to encourage the workers to keep at their posts. Comaposada, p. 8, spoke of the determination of Foronda to keep the trams moving.

'Pero pronto corrió la noticia de que circulaban los tranvías. La Comisión de Huelga había contado ya con ello. Sabía que Foronda, gerente de La Compañía de Tranvías de Barcelona, diputado maurista y amigo íntimo de Ossorio, no había de conformarse con el paro, y era de esperar que pondría los carruajes en circulación, como así lo hizo. Sabía además

la Comisión que no podía contar con la cooperación del personal de la Compañía, reclutado casi todo en el distrito de que es diputado cunero Foronda y refractario á la asociación, hasta el punto de haber sido inútiles cuantos trabajos se han hecho para reorganizar la Sociedad de Obreros de Tranvías, en un tiempo la más importante y batalladora de Barcelona y acaso de España. La última tentativa de reorganización costó cerca de un centenar de despedidos y algunas detenciones. Además, Ossorio se atrevió á decir á una comisión de obreros tranviarios que le visitó una vez, que mientras él estuviese en Barcelona los tranvías circularían siempre. Por todo ello, la Comisión de Huelga daba como cosa cierta que la mayor dificultad con que había de tropezar para hacer el paro total serían los tranvías.'

- (8) Ullman, pp. 351-352.
- (9) Ullman, pp. 177-178, 300, 324-325.
- (10) Antagonism of middle classes to the military governor, Ullman, p. 361 and p. 380. On the closure of shops, see A. Hurtado, Quaranta anys d'advocat. Història del meu temps. (1894-1930), B., 1968, p. 153.
- (11) Details of forces available: Romero Mauro, p. 510, and Ullman, pp. 359-361. The most important were the 700 Guardia Civil, because these were properly trained and willing to act to restore order. The 700 army officers and the 700 soldiers (sic) at their command were both of doubtful loyalty; Ullman claims that they had been in Catalonia for so long - six years or more - that they were inclined to fraternize. Many of the soldiers were Catalan in origin, and in any case were conscripts and could not be relied upon. Their loyalty was undermined by the actions of the protesters, who clapped and cheered the troops whenever they were brought into action, reserving their hostility for the Guardia Civil. There were 800 Guardias de Seguridad, though these were not trained in the use of firearms, 720 foot and 50 mounted Guardias Municipales and 200 Guardias Urbanas. There were only 600 horses available for all these forces.
- (12) Ullman, p. 363, cites the deputy, Eusebi Corominas, who stated that the instruction to citizens not to form groups on the streets had the effect of confining responsible citizens to their homes, leaving the streets clear for the strikers. The fear of being caught in an exchange of fire seems to have been the chief motivation for remaining indoors, however, and the failure of the Barcelona ruling classes to do anything to counteract this, such as bringing out newspapers, can be interpreted as a further refusal to cooperate with the military authorities. Also, as detailed below in the text, the lack of newspapers made it impossible for the protesters to find out their true position.
- (13) Romero Maura, p. 510.

- (14) Demonstration in Rambles: Ullman, pp. 367-368. The sight of the wounded protesters being taken up the Rambla on the way to the Hospital Clinic caused a great impression on the crowds. Importance of the refusal of many police officers and soldiers to support the authorities, *ibid*, p. 451.
- (15) Ullman, pp. 373-374 for the meeting of the newspaper editors. Isolation of Barcelona by the strike committee, Romero Maura p. 511. The strikers were either unaware of, or lacked the means to cut, the submarine cables to Mallorca and Marseilles which enabled the military and governmental representatives in Barcelona to maintain contact with Madrid.
- (16) Smear by La Cierva; Ullman, pp. 390-391, Romero Maura p. 512. At the battle of Barranco del Lobo there were 1,238 Spanish deaths, including the commanding General.
- (17) Romero Maura, p. 512 emphasizes the presence of the lumpen proletariat and the criminal element among the churchburners, whereas Ullman seems to hold the Radicals largely responsible, Ullman, pp. 394-397, though neither offers reliable sources. The argument here is that certain elements from both groups inevitably participated, but that their presence was not decisive. It was the lack of leadership from the Republican politicians whether Radical or Catalan, which brought about the burnings; but the burnings represented a political action by the Barcelona working class, a general protest, with, in most cases, more specific motives relating to the actions of the Catholic Church in each of those areas where churches, convents and monasteries were destroyed. In the same way the erection of barricades was a political act. It is not denied, however, that both actions were hopelessly anachronistic, belonging to a nineteenth century style of protest.
- (18) Ullman, p. 382.
- (19) The evidence that firing by the Marists took place at Poble Nou is based on their own evidence. Ullman, pp. 387-388. It seems that the news caused a great shock throughout the city.
- (20) Details of burnings; Ullman, pp. 385-503, and Romero Maura, p. 516.
- (21) Discussion of motives for church burnings, Ullman, pp. 585-598, Romero Maura, pp. 518-533. See also L'Avenç, 2, 1976, dedicated to the Setmana Tràgica.
- (22) Comaposada, p. 12.
- (23) For a description of life behind the barricades in District V, see Bueso, Recuerdos de un cenetista, pp. 38-45. See also M. Martinez: Cuenca, 'Memòries d'un murcià, militant obrer a Barcelona', Arreu, 2, 1976, pp. 31-35.
- (24) B. de Riquer, 'La crisis del primer tercio de siglo, 1900-1909', CAU, 19, 1972, p. 95.

- (25) A. Ossorio y Gallardo, Barcelona, Julio de 1909. (Declaración de un testigo). M., 1910, p.55.
- (26) 76 barricades were erected in Gracia; it took the army from 1.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. to reduce them using cannon, under the orders of a General. The troops had been called in by the Guardia Civil earlier in the day, but had been received with applause by the strikers and had left again, believing they had succeeded in restoring order. Ullman, pp. 417-419.
- (27) Events in Sant Andreu: Clapes, Vol. 4, pp. 109-125, Ullman, pp. 461-467. Sant Andreu was peaceful on the Tuesday; in view of this the authorities withdrew the Guardia Civil on the Wednesday and sent them to Barcelona. There was an attempt by the head of the Somatent in Sant Andreu to bring out the members of this rural militia, which was still active in Sant Andreu, but it aroused hostility, since its members were elderly, and because nobody wanted such an armed group in the streets. The Somatent were under no legal obligation to the army or to the civil forces, and this caused concern to the authorities, who were also worried that their arms might fall into the hands of the protesters. The head of the Somatent went into hiding for the rest of the week. In the absence of authority the revolt began on the Wednesday. Baró was able to obtain the arms of the Somatent and to construct barricades. For his part in the rebellion he was executed in Montjuich on 17 August 1909.
- (28) Ullman, pp. 496-497.
- (29) Ullman, pp. 382-484.
- (30) Ullman, p. 482.
- (31) Events in El Clot, Ullman, pp. 487-488. Case of Zurdo, *ibid*, pp. 460-461.
- (32) Ladera (pseud. M. de Lara). Fechas de sangre: dos sermanas de anarquía en España. Historia, domentarios y sucesos culminantes de la rebelion de 1909 y de la huelga general revolucionaria de 1917, M., 1917, pp. 47-49.
- (33) Ullman, pp. 403-405. Account of the meeting by an eyewitness, Hurtado, p. 156.
- (34) Ullman, pp. 421-424.
- (35) Cuadrat, pp. 394-395.
- (36) On the pacos see Ullman, pp. 484-486, 491-492. These snipers fired on the army from the roof-tops, but were not apprehended. Popular rumour said that they were members of the middle classes, alarmed at the events of the Setmana Tràgica, and trying to provoke the army into exercising greater repression. See Comaposada, p. 20. First trams, Ullman, p. 489.

- (37) In later years the Lliga was accused of publishing an editorial in the Veü de Catalunya, entitled Delateu! In fact the Lliga was rather more indirect in its approach. J. Benet, Maragall i la Setmana Tràgica, B., 1963, p. 87 discusses the attitude of the Lliga in the days following the Setmana Tràgica.
- (38) 1,725 persons were arrested in connection with the Setmana Tragica, and a further 2,000 fled to France. 154 schools in the province of Barcelona were closed. The constitutional guarantees were not restored until 10 November. For a personal account, by a working class leader, of the repression, see J. Negre, Recuerdos de un viejo militante, B., [1938], pp. 43-64.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 3

- (1) The elections to the Cortes of 1812 were based on the principle of indirect universal suffrage. The history of the suffrage in Spain is analysed and classified by M.M. Cuadrado in Elecciones y Partidos Políticos en España, (1868-1931), M., 1969, pp. 38-39.
- (2) J.M. Vallès, 'Sobre la sociologia electoral a Espanya: un balanç provisional', Estudis Electorals, 1, 1978, p. 15.
- (3) Such as Andrés Borrego, a 'Moderado', in his El Libro de las elecciones. Reseña histórica de las verificaciones durante los tres períodos del Régimen Constitucional (1810 a 1814; 1820 a 1823; 1834 a 1873.), M., 1875.
- (4) As in L.M. Pastor, Las elecciones, sus vicios. La influencia moral del Gobierno. Estadística de la misma y proyectos de reforma electoral. M., 1863. See also P. Zancada, Las elecciones legislativas en España, M., 1904. The classic work of denunciation of incorrect electoral practices is J. Costa, Oligarquía y caciquismo. M., 1903.
- (5) See the complaints to this effect by Equip de Sociologia Electoral, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, (J. Elias and others); 'Las Elecciones Franquistas en Barcelona', Historia 16. Extra II, 1977, p. 129, and in E. Salvador, 'Modernas tendencias de la sociologia electoral', in Perspectiva Social, 10, 1977, p. 9. The elections held during the Francoist period - municipal elections, procuradores, and the famous Referendums of 1947 and 1966 have however inspired a number of recent studies on the theme of 'Noncompetitive' elections, introduced into Spain by Guy Hermet and Alain Rouquie at a seminar, - Reunión Científico Política sobre 'Elecciones no-competitivas, semi-competitivas y la transición a los sistemas pluralistas competitivas' - organized by the Seminario de Derecho Político de la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid, Fundación Juan March, Madrid, and Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris, Madrid-Paris, May 1976. Such studies include that on the Francoist elections in Barcelona by the Equip de Sociologia Electoral cited above, and another work by the same group, Les eleccions municipals del 16 d'octubre de 1973 a Barcelona, Barcelona, 1975. Also the study by F.J. Vanaclocha, 'Las elecciones de representación familiar en las Cortes Españolas (1967-1974)', in Cuadernos del I.C.E., 1, 1977, p. 12-47, and M.A. Ruiz de Azúa, 'Las elecciones Franquistas', in Historia 16, Extra II, 1977, pp. 76-84.
- (6) E. Salvador, p. 9.
- (7) As Vallès, op. cit. p. 18, points out, there is no full bibliography available on elections in Spain. There is a short bibliography in M.V. Martín Uriz, Las elecciones en la historia. Notas sobre la historiografía electoral española. in Historia 16. Extra II, 1977, pp. 11-15. Among the monographs on the pre-war period are J.M. Gonzalez Casanova, Elecciones en Barcelona, 1931-1936, M., 1969; J. Tusell Gomez, Las elecciones del Frente Popular en España, M., 1971;

I. Molas, El sistema de partits a Catalunya, 1931-1936, B., 1972; J. Giron, 'Un estudio de sociologia electoral; la ciudad de Oviedo y su contorno en las elecciones generales de 1933', in M. Tuñón de Lara, (ed). Sociedad, Política y Cultura en la España de los siglos XIX y XX (III Coloquio de la Universidad de Pau), M., 1973; L. Aguiló Lúcia, Las elecciones en Valencia durante la II República, Valencia, 1974; M. Vilanova, Un estudio de geografía electoral: la provincia de Girona en Noviembre de 1932, in Revista de Geografía, (VIII), 1974, pp. 76-105; R.M. Capel, El sufragio femenino en la Segunda República Española. Granada, 1975; J. Giron, 'Asturias ante las elecciones de la II República', in Historia 16, Extra II, 1977, pp. 85-92. Among the studies on the period of the constitutional monarchy there is the general outline by Cuadrado. There is a general survey of the electoral progress of Catalan republicanism until 1923 by S. Alberti, El republicanisme català i la restauració monàrquica (1875-1923), B., 1972. I. Molas, Lliga Catalana, un estudi d'estasiologia. B., 1972, provides a survey of the growth of the Lliga Regionalista (later Catalana) with some analysis of election results in Barcelona 1900-1936. B. de Riquer has studied the elections of 1907 in Barcelona in 'Les eleccions de la Solidaritat Catalana a Barceloná', Recerques, 2, Barcelona, 1972, pp. 93-140. Outside Catalonia there are studies by A. Cillan Apalateguá, Soliologia electoral de Guipuzcoa 1900-1936, San Sebastian, 1975 and J. Tusell Gómez, Oligarquía y caciquismo en Andalucía 1890-1923, B., 1976.

- (8) The changes in the electoral system introduced by the II Republic are discussed in F. Hernández Lafuente, El sufragio en la II República, Historia 16, Extra II, 1977, pp. 93-100. The basic changes were introduced in the Decreto of 8 May 1931 and further modifications were carried out by the Ley Electoral of 27 July 1933. These changes were:
- 1) The enlargement of the electoral districts in an attempt to provide a better ratio of electors to deputies (the optimum figure suggested was one deputy to every 50,000 electors) and so reduce the power of caciques in small electoral districts.
  - 2) The reduction of the age of majority from 25 to 23.
  - 3) Recognition of the right of women to vote.
  - 4) The adoption in the whole country of the majority and minority system which had previously only operated in the circumscripciones electorales.
  - 5) The establishment of a minimum percentage of the vote which a winning party had to gain before it could be declared victorious. This was an attempt to encourage the formation of large parties and the minimum was put at 20% of the vote in 1931 and 40% in 1933. If no party achieved the minimum, new elections were held with the victor determined by simple majority.
- (9) Cuadrado, p. 759.
- (10) For a full description of the process see Censo electoral, AE, 1912, p. 113, and Rectificación del Censo electoral, AE, 1912, pp. 117-118.



- (11) Clasificación de los electores para Diputados a Cortes, del Distrito de Barcelona, de la provincia y de España, AE, 1912, pp. 114-115.
- (12) In the section of Instrucción the figure for those who could read and write is given as 101,709. When the total of electors analysed in this section is calculated it is found to be 3,000 lower than the number of electors. It would seem reasonable to assume that the figure for those who could read and write should be 104,709.
- (13) The figure given in the section Edades is 90,231 when it should manifestly be 9,321.
- (14) The clasification of Profesiones liberales includes for the city of Barcelona, 496 'Generales, jefes, oficiales del Ejército y Armada, contramestres, pilotos', and only 1 representative of 'Clases de tropa y marinos de guerra'. As well as the workers mentioned in the text the classification also included 'peones camineros', 'barrenderos y otros servicios de esta índole', the clergy, vets, doctors and bullfighters.
- (15) Censo electoral de 1915, AE, 1915, p. 152.
- (16) For a survey of the progress towards granting the vote to women in Spain see R.M. Capel Martinez, 'El derecho electoral femenino', Historia 16, Extra II, 1977, pp. 36-41, and the brief note on developments in Barcelona of M.A. Capmany, El feminisme a Catalunya, 1973, pp. 24-25. The question of votes for women did not arouse the controversy that occurred in other countries in Spain. The feminist movement was relatively late in developing there and had little influence until the thirties, because of the particular combination of influences in Spain on women at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Among these the most important were the lack of relative financial autonomy for women and the traditionalist, church-inspired education which women received. There was therefore no demand for the vote from the base, and the small numbers of the middle classes in Spain prevented these from exercising a leading role.
- (17) On electoral districts in Barcelona see División electoral, AE, 1912, p. 117.
- (18) On the voting system see P. Gabriel, 'Les eleccions municipals de 1931 a Palmá, in Lluc, January-February 1979, pp. 4-5. On the majority and minority rule see Molas, p. 48 and Albertí, p. 78.
- (19) The account of political developments in Barcelona, 1900-1910, which follows is based on Molas, especially pp. 47-86, Albertí, pp. 113-295, Riquer, 'Les eleccions' and La crisis del primer tercio de siglo, 1906-1909, CAU, 19, 1972, pp. 91-96, Lliga Catalana, Historia d'una política. Actuacions i documents de la Lliga Regionalista, 1901-1933, B., 1933, pp. 13-129, and J. Romero Maura, La rosa de Fuego, B., 1975.
- (20) Contemporaries like Hurtado, were more struck by the electoral success of the Lliga candidates, the Quatre Presidents in the elections to Cortes of 1901 and did not give the revision of the

census the importance it deserved. See Hurtado, pp. 43-61. Albertí points out its importance:

La centúria havia començat amb el famós sanejament del sufragi aconseguit a Barcelona des de les eleccions dels Quatre Presidents. Sabem que, a partir d'aleshores, les votacions a la capital resulten un reflex quasi total de la veritat. Les irregularitats són inexistents o bé molt petites i no influeixen sobre la distribució d'actes. Albertí, p. 153.

He returns to the same point on pp. 500-501. On the actions of the caciques in Barcelona before the clean up of the electoral register and the manner in which the Government managed elections see Hurtado, pp. 46-47. His description of the politicization of the electorate and the election campaign of 1901 is in the same chapter, 48-56 and there is a description of how the Lliga's interventors and the escamots of Lerroux's Republicans jointly supervised the election to avoid falsifications of the vote. On the falsifications of votes in general in Spain see M. Alcántara Saez, 'Antologia del pucherazo', in Historia 16, Extra II, 1977, pp. 16-17 and for Barcelona see Riquer, 'Les Eleccions', p. 94, note 1, and 'La crisis', p. 96, note 12.

- (21) Riquer, 'Les Eleccions', pp. 98-100, and Molas, pp. 70-78, discuss the composition of the Solidaritat.
- (22) Molas, gives this figure, p. 80.
- (23) Lliga Catalana, pp. 124-126 reproduces the note which was published on 6 October 1909. The three points are detailed on p. 125.
- (24) La Publicidad was still publishing and mounted a campaign for an amnesty. See Benet, pp. 93-96 for the campaign by El Correo Catalan and La Vanguardia against the campaign, which was seconded by La Veu de Catalunya.
- (25) See Hurtado, p. 165 for a description of the reaction in Europe to the execution of Ferrer. For a detailed description of the attitudes of the leaders of the Lliga see Benet, pp. 85-116.
- (26) When Coromines renounced his regidoria to stand for Deputy to Cortes his opponents mounted a dirty tricks campaign against him in Sant Andreu, which he estimated lost him 315 votes in the Cortes elections compared to the municipal elections. See 'Carta a un amic que em felicitava', in El Poble Català, 12 May 1910.
- (27) For a concise description of the process with a reproduction of the bases and constitution of the new party see Albertí, pp. 288-296.
- (28) The Federalist Programme of 1894 was elaborated by Pi i Margall as the programme of the Partit Republicà Democràtic Federal. It is reproduced in Albertí, pp. 89-96.
- (29) A typical complaint against the Radicals is that of Coromines, 'L'atac dels lerrouxistes contra la ciutat', in El Poble Català,

28th November 1910. Amadeu Hurtado, p. 185, cites a demonstration by his friend Eduard Calvet that the sums involved were relatively small, ascribing such abuses to 'Mals de crexança' of the city.

- (30) For the parliamentary attack on the Radicals see *Lliga Catalana* p. 148, and Albertí, pp. 319-320. The Conjunció Republicano-Socialista was an electoral alliance between Republicans and Socialists, agreed between the *Unió Republicana* and the P.S.O.E. on 7 November 1909. It led a languid existence, though its component parts varied from time to time. Up to that date its only success was to place Pablo Iglesias as Deputy for Madrid. See Albertí, pp. 314, 317 and 322.
- (31) Molas, p. 91.
- (32) See the note in *Lliga Catalana*, p. 155 and the article by Pere Coromines attacking the Candidatura Barcelonina in El Poble Català, 14 October 1911.
- (33) On the C.N.T. and abstentionism see Albertí, pp. 327-329 and Molas, p. 93.
- (34) Molas, p. 93.
- (35) Albertí, pp. 330-331. The elaboration of the *Mancomunitat* had been under way since May. See *Lliga Catalana*, pp. 149-151 for the process and pp. 152-154 for the speech made by Prat de la Riba on the occasion of presenting the bases to Canalejas.
- (36) Albertí, p. 342.
- (37) See Albertí, pp. 342-352 for a description of the formation of the Partido Republicano Reformista in Catalonia. The attraction which it held for certain U.F.N.R. members may also be attributed to the failure of the exclusively Catalan policy of the U.F.N.R. and the wish to participate in an all Spanish party. There is a list of the defecting Senators and Deputies on p. 352.
- (38) *Lliga Catalana*, p. 161.
- (39) On the pact see the view of the *Lliga* in *Lliga Catalana*, pp. 164-165 and Hurtado, pp. 232-233. The defence of the pact by Coromines is contained in 'Amb el cap ben alt a les vinents eleccions' in El Poble Català, 14 February 1914. In Diaris i Records de Pere Coromines, segon volum, De la Solidaritat al Catorze d'Abril, B., 1974, pp. 307-310, a campaign speech is reproduced in which he explains his reasons for supporting the pact, the most pressing being the need to make contact with the immigrant worker in Catalonia, until now left solely to the Radicals. Albertí, pp. 361-363 discusses the reasons for the Pact, and reproduces the Manifest de la Junta de Defensa Republicana which announced the alliance, pp. 363-366. On pp. 367-368 he discusses the immediate effects which the Pact had.
- (40) Among them were Claudi Ametlla, Antoni Rovira i Virgili and Ramon Noguera i Comet.

- (41) On Doctor Queraltó see Hurtado, p. 271.
- (42) Lliga Catalana also states that these diades were held to celebrate the electoral victory of the Lliga in the elections to Cortes of 1914.
- (43) See the Introduction for a discussion of the programme of the Mancomunitat as representing the modernisation plans of the Barcelona bourgeoisie.
- (44) Lliga Catalana, pp. 172-173.
- (45) The quote is from Molas, p. 104, as is the information on the pact proposed by the Maurists which is not mentioned in Lliga Catalana.
- (46) The manifesto is reproduced in Albertí, pp. 383-386.
- (47) Lliga Catalana, p. 176. Alba, as Ministro de Gobernación would organize and supervise the elections and could hence influence the results.
- (48) 'Per Catalunya i l'Espanya Gran' is reproduced in Lliga Catalana, pp. 176-186.
- (49) The existence of the pact was kept secret at first. See the note on p. 188 of Lliga Catalana, which cites Rovira i Virgili to this effect.
- (50) With regard to the participation of the Bloc in these elections Hurtado sarcastically comments in Hurtado, p. 270, '  

A Barcelona, la lluita principal havia d'ésser com sempre entre la Lliga i els lerrouxistes, i molt més d'ençà que la Unió Federal Nacionalista Republicana havia desaparegut com a força política. Però la vacant que anava a deixar aquest partit ja tenia pretendent. En la majoria de es grans ciutats hi sol haver un teatre o un cinema on fracàs en tots els empresaris, però que no està mai tancat perquè sempre surt algú que vol provar fortuna on els altres han tingut desgràcia. I en aquelles eleccions, la plaça perduda pels nacionalistes republicans era ocupada pel Bloc Republicà Autonomista...
- (51) Coromines seems to have left public life without regret; see 'La Lliço d'ahir' in El Poble Català, 10 August 1916, and the letter to Amadeu Vives, Retirada de la política reproduced in Coromines, 'Diaris i Records', Vol. 2, pp. 330-331.
- (52) Molas, p. 108 states that it was a dinner for 50,000 but such a gargantuan feast was beyond even the organizational powers of the Lliga, and the true figure of diners was 5,000. See Lliga Catalana, p. 195.
- (53) On the political proselytism of the Lliga in the Basque country and Galicia see Lliga Catalana, pp. 199-200. The campaign was begun in October and carried through to January. The choice of the Basque country was made for more than cultural reasons as in

the case of Galicia; Basque industry, despite its different organization and scale stood equally to lose by the Government's economic policies. The contacts were emphasized by a visit of Basque politicians in May 1917 to Barcelona. See Anuari de Catalunya, 1917, Barcelona, n.d. pp. 17-19. Efforts were also made to encourage pancatalanisme, and earlier in May 1917 a commission of Valencians visited Barcelona, repaying visits in December to Valencia by Barcelona politicians and intellectuals.

- (54) On the P.R.C. see Anuari de Catalunya, 1917, pp. 181-186 El Partit Republicà Català. Also the letter in Serra d'Or, No. 101, February 1968, p. 492, by Ramon Noguer i Comet. For a modern view, Albertí, pp. 403-406, and Ferrer, Layret, Barcelona, 1971, pp. 94-110.
- (55) Lliga Catalana, p. 237.
- (56) In ibid. the Lliga claimed "una victòria esclatent" in Barcelona and all Catalonia. In the succeeding lines on the same and the following page the claim is made that the same triumph occurred in the Basque country. See Molas, p. 121 for a list of Regionalist deputies elected outside Catalonia.
- (57) On the Setmana Gallega see Anuari de Catalunya, 1917, pp. 58-59, and Lliga Catalana, p. 238.
- (58) "...La política preconitzada per la Lliga Regionalista i que havia estat objecte de la campanya per l'Espanya Gran, va tenir un gran triomf a les Bascongades. En canvi, cal confessar que els resultats d'aquella intensíssima campanya electoral en les altres poblacions espanyoles van ésser bastant minsos." Lliga Catalana, p. 258.
- (59) See Cambó, F.A. Vuit mesos al Ministeri de Foment: ma gestió ministerial., B., 1919.
- (60) On Wilson's fourteen points see Hurtado, pp. 331-332. According to J.M. Poblet, El moviment autonomista a Catalunya dels anys 1918-1919, B., 1970, p. 7, such was the popularity of Wilson that streets were named after him in several towns in Catalonia.
- (61) For example, Wilson was made an honorary citizen of Barcelona in October 1918. Ibid, p. 8.
- (62) The most important part of this speech is reproduced in Lliga Catalana, pp. 278-280.
- (63) The Lliga was well disposed to take part in the extra-parliamentary commission and was disgusted by the attitude of the Republicans; the official history goes so far as to call the attitude of the Left 'traïció'. Lliga Catalana, p. 285.
- (64) In Albertí, p. 443.

- (65) Molas, p. 129. Albertí, p. 467.
- (66) See F. Madrid, Las ultimas veinticuatro horas de Francisco Layret, Buenos Aires, 1942 for a general description of the political and social panorama in Barcelona from 1918 to 1920 by an eye-witness, as well as an account of his murder. Also E.G. Solano, ?El ocaso del sindicalismo?, Barcelona, n.d. (written in 1922 but not published until 1933), pp. 7-35 for a description of the mandates of the various Civil Governors of the same period.
- (67) Molas, p. 130.
- (68) The electoral registers do not exist for earlier years either but were published in the various AE for the years 1910-1920. I have not found the data for 1921-1923 published anywhere and Isidre Molas, in conversation, confirmed that he too had had no luck in finding them. Electoral data of the thirties is kept in the deposít of the Barcelona Municipal Archive. There is no catalogue but in a visual inspection I found no anterior data there.
- (69) Molas, p. 132.
- (70) The document is reproduced in *Lliga Catalana*, pp. 312-315. See especially the last two paragraphs.
- (71) *Lliga Catalana*, p. 316 speaks of 'elements' but on p. 325 it is admitted that 'La Joventut de la Lliga Regionalista havia quedat desorganitzada amb motiu de l'escissió produïda pels elements que constituïren Acció Catalana. Els membres de la Junta Directiva, en la seva majoria, havien abandonat llurs càrrecs, i gairebé tots els seus elements havien deixat de pertànyer a la Lliga Regionalista...' Molas, p. 134 states that the blow to the Lliga had been extremely hard.
- (72) For these diades see *Lliga Catalana*, pp. 316-324 which reproduce the convocatòria, the Declaracions and Accords of the Assembly and parts of the speeches made by prohoms of the Lliga at the meeting.
- (73) *Lliga Catalana*, p. 326. The Picasso expedient was the investigation to find those responsible for the disaster of Annual in Morocco in which many lives had been lost and which had caused great public feeling. Rumour had it that the real responsibility lay with the king.
- (74) Molas, p. 134. 'La situació és progressivament caòtica. La falsa aparença democràtica havia de topar amb les contradiccions que l'enfonsarien. Sense base, la democràcia caciquista s'esfondraria enmig de les lluites entre les classes espanyoles, sense afectar, però, al predomini de l'oligarquia dins l'Estat.'
- (75) The speech is reproduced in *Lliga Catalana*, pp. 329-349.
- (76) Molas, p. 136.
- (77) *Lliga Catalana*, pp. 357-360.

- (78) In Lliga Catalana, pp. 361-362, it is stated that the leadership of the Lliga had nothing to do with the coup. Balcells, Cataluña contemporanea, p. 97 points out however that other elements of the party, through their connection with the Somatent, helped in the preparation of the coup.
- (79) In I. Molas, ed. Salvador Seguí, escrits. B.1975, pp. 10-14.
- (80) F. Urales, (pseud. Joan Montseny) '¿De quién fue Salvador Seguí?', La Revista Blanca, 15 March 1924.
- (81) F. Madrid, Las ultimas veinticuatro horas de Francisco Layret. Buenos Aires, 1942, pp. 35-37 and 53-56. P. Foix, P. Serra i Moret. Mèxic, 1957, p. 111, and Apòstols i Mercaders, Mèxic, 1957, pp. 56-57. Foix was a former non-anarchist cenetista, who joined Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya in the thirties.
- (82) Ferrer, Layret, pp. 200 and 203.
- (83) J. Ferrer, Simó Piera, perfil d'un sindicalista, B.1975, p. 113.
- (84) Layret was writing the letter when Company's wife arrived. It is reproduced in Ferrer, Layret, p. 201-202.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 4

- (1) See note (1), Introduction, for literature on anarcho-syndicalism and the working class movement in Spain. For Catalonia the best survey, though it only covers the period to 1910, is that of Cuadrat. A short version is that of Gabriel, in Woodcock. See also the entry 'Confederació Nacional del Treball', by Gabriel, GEC, Vol. 3. For the view that anarcho-syndicalism displaced interest in "official" politics, see Molas, p. 93 and Albertí, pp. 327-329.
- (2) Apoliticism of the Catalan working class in the nineteenth century; J. Termes, El movimiento Obrero en España. La primera Internacional (1864-1881), B., 1965, and Anarquismo y Sindicalismo en España. La I Internacional (1864-1881), B., 1972. Continuance of the tradition into the twentieth century, A. Balcells, 'El arraigo del anarquismo en Cataluña. Selección de artículos, (1926-1934)', Revista de Trabajo, 34, 1971, pp. 69-179, and Bonamusa, pp. 9-11. On anarchocommunism and anarchocollectivism, G.M. Lorenzo, Los anarquistas españoles y el poder, Paris, 1972, pp. 21-26. On the U.G.T. in Barcelona and the move to Madrid; Cuadrat, pp. 17-49.
- (3) Craft unions; Bueso, Como fundamos la C.N.T., p. 7. 1902 strike, Marvaud, p. 52. Cuadrat, pp. 51-104 for the strike itself, and pp. 105-119, 157-158, 168 for effects on working class movement.
- (4) Loss of credibility of anarchist groups, A. Lorenzo, prologue to J. Prat, La burguesía y el proletariado, (Apuntes sobre la lucha sindical), Valencia, 1910, pp. XII-XIII, Second edition, B., 1937. Bombing campaign, E. Jardí, La ciutat de les bombes. El terrorisme anarquista a Barcelona, B., 1964, pp. 45-53. J. Romero Maura, 'Terrorism and its impact on Spanish politics, 1904-1909'. Past and Present, 41, 1968, pp. 130-183. Ullman, pp. 177-188.
- (5) Cuadrat, pp. 159-163.
- (6) Cuadrat, pp. 165-168.
- (7) See Chapter 3 for the interclassist appeal of Solidaritat Catalana. The drawing described is reproduced in E. Olivé, La pedagogia obrerista de la imagen, B., 1978, p. 80.
- (8) Romero Maura, p. 469. Cuadrat, pp. 179-190.
- (9) On the Congreso Obrero de Cataluña, see Cuadrat, pp. 223-249. The author gives the figure of 122 societies on p. 229 after a meticulous comparison of the lists of societies represented which were published in different contemporary periodicals.
- (10) Cuadrat, pp. 230-231 discusses the decline in Socialist strength in Catalonia.



- (11) Cuadrat, pp. 243-244.
- (12) There are two editions of the minutes of the 1910 Congress, under the title of Congreso de Constitución de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (C.N.T.), (Toulouse, 1959 and B., 1976). The original in Solidaridad Obrera, 4 November 1910. Commentaries on the Congress by Bueso, Como fundamos la C.N.T., and Cuadrat, pp. 462-490.
- (13) Cuadrat, pp. 545-552 discusses the implications of the 1911 Congress. He gives the minutes of the Congress in pp. 621-670; they have also been published in Revista de Trabajo, 47, 1974, pp. 421-474.
- (14) Cuadrat's observation, p. 545, referring to the Congresses of 1910 and 1911, that: 'es necesario precisar que, más que de un momento determinado de constitución de la C.N.T., debemos hablar de un proceso constituyente, y de consolidación de la misma, desarrollado desde noviembre de 1910 hasta septiembre de 1911' (underlining by the author) seems to me to be equally valid for the whole period under study. The Congresses of 1910, 1911 and 1918 are three fixed points in this process, at which options were argued out and voted on, in debates which, however inadequately recorded, have been preserved to the present day. In the years between Congresses, the process has not been recorded because of the long suspensions of the working class newspapers. Some aspects of the constitutive process could be discovered by studying the available reports of the foundation of workers' societies, unions, etc., and of their actions in this period, but the detailed research in newspapers which this would involve is beyond the scope of the research carried out for this thesis. Given this situation, then, the only solution seems to be the one adopted here.
- (15) A. Lorenzo, preface to J. Prat, p. XIII.
- (16) Prat, p. 69.
- (17) M. Bookchin. The Spanish Anarchists. The heroic years, 1868-1936. New York, 1976, pp. 1-2.
- (18) For a short discussion on anarcho-syndicalism in Spain and France, see Cuadrat, pp. 168-178. On immigration by French workers, see Valdour, p. 119.
- (19) Already in 1904 Lorenzo had translated Emile Pouget, Les bases de syndicalisme, in La Huelga General; (Marvaud, p. 55). Among authors translated by Prat were Blanqui, Domela Nieuwenhuis, Fabbri, Faure, Gori, Grave, Hamon, Kropotkin, Leone and Malatesta.
- (20) Prat, pp. 37-38 for the change from syndicate to revolutionary organization. Citation from Errico Leone, p. 98. J. Negre, a C.N.T. leader who was prominent from 1910 to 1916, and was formed in the same period, gives definitions of these terms and explanations of their use in ?Qué es el sindicalismo?, B., 1919, pp. 25 and 30.

- (21) Marvaud, p. 57, Cuadrat, note 37, p. 172.
- (22) Originally published in El Rebelde, Madrid, 15, 31 March 1904. Reproduced in Cuadrat, pp. 593-594.
- (23) Article 4, in *ibid.*
- (24) Cuadrat, pp. 121,122. On the adverse conditions of 1905 and 1906, see M. Sastre y Sanna, Las huelgas en Barcelona y sus resultados durante el año 1905, B., 1906, p. 56 and Las huelgas en Barcelona y sus resultados durante el año 1906, B., 1907, pp. 93-103.
- (25) Cuadrat, p. 185.
- (26) The regulations are cited in *ibid.*, pp. 192-193.
- (27) Confederación Regional de Sociedades de Resistencia Solidaridad Obrera, Estatutos, B., 1909. Reproduced in Cuadrat, pp. 605-607.
- (28) Cuadrat, p. 351.
- (29) Benet, p. 85-91. Cuadrat, pp. 399-400.
- (30) An anthology of La Justicia Social has been published by M.D. Capdevila and R. Masgrau, La Justicia Social, B., 1979.
- (31) Cuadrat, pp. 425-429.
- (32) Cuadrat, pp. 434-437. Igualada was outside Barcelona province and was unaffected by the prohibitions in force there. At a time when the Barcelona working class newspapers were still closed after the Setmana Tragica, El Obrero Moderno became the main vehicle for the propagation of syndicalist views and for debate.
- (33) Capdevila and Masgrau, pp. 20-21.
- (34) Cuadrat, pp. 471-472.
- (35) Bueso, Como fundamos la C.N.T., p. 18.
- (36) Cuadrat, pp. 463-465, for the number of societies represented at the Congress. Number of workers represented; J. Prat, Orientaciones, B., 1916, pp. 7 and 11.
- (37) Congreso de constitución de la Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (C.N.T.), 1959, p. 18.
- (38) Debate and dictamens, *ibid*, pp. 18-20.

- (39) *Ibid*, p. 20. Negre's analysis coincides with the views of present day historians as was pointed out in Chapter 2.
- (40) *Ibid*, p. 23.
- (41) *Ibid*, pp. 30-31. Tema 7<sup>o</sup>, and pp. 31-37, Tema 9<sup>o</sup>.
- (42) On Bueso, see the testimony of his brother, Adolfo, in Recuerdos de un cenetista and the judgement of Cuadrat, pp. 513-516. Bueso was an outstanding leader, but died young in 1914.
- (43) Congreso de Constitución de la Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (C.N.T.), 1959, p. 30.
- (44) *Ibid*, p. 31.
- (45) *Ibid*, pp. 31-37.
- (46) *Ibid*, p. 36.
- (47) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 664-666.
- (48) Cuadrat, p. 545.
- (49) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 646-647.
- (50) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 638-639.
- (51) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 646-647.
- (52) This was Tema 1<sup>o</sup> of the 3rd Group of Temas, discussed in the 4th Session on the first day of the Congress. Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 655-657.
- (53) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 660-661.
- (54) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 663-664.
- (55) Quoted in Cuadrat, p. 664.
- (56) Cuadrat, p. 516.
- (57) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 650-651.
- (58) Quoted in Cuadrat, pp. 652-653.
- (59) Quoted in Cuadrat, p. 650.

- (60) M. Buenacasa, El movimiento obrero español, 1886-1926 (Historia y crítica), 2nd ed., Paris, 1966, p. 53 affirms that the C.N.T. returned to legality in the summer of 1914 with the legalization of the committee, and he has been followed by various historians. In fact, as Cuadrat points out, p. 586, the Catalan organization, which had begun to reorganize in 1913 and was suspended because of the textile strike, was again reorganized by the summer of 1914, but the national committee was not made legal until 1915.
- (61) Tuñón de Lara, El movimiento obrero: pp. 455-740 cover all aspects of the years under study here. For strikes, 1910-1915, see pp. 511-517; 1916-1920, pp. 587-616; 1921-1923, pp. 681-695. J.A. Roig i Fransitorra, La vaga obrera, B., 1971, Part V, pp. 125-191 covers strikes in Spain from 1800 to 1936, and Chapter 4, pp. 165-180 deals with strikes in Catalonia in the period 1911-1923. C. Massana, 'Vagues, cicles i política (1900-1936)', Recerques 11, 1981, pp. 81-105.
- (62) Massana, 'Vagues, cicles i política', p. 87.
- (63) G. Gurvitch, Declaration des droits sociaux, Paris, 1946, p. 152.
- (64) Seguí, Escrits, p. 40.
- (65) The basic data available is the series published by the Instituto de Reformas Sociales Estadística de las huelgas. Memoria del año 1910 [and 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921] M., as well as the posterior recopilation by the Ministerio de Trabajo, Estadística de las huelgas, M., 1931. For Barcelona the works of M. Sastre y Sanna; Las huelgas en Barcelona y sus resultados durante el año 1903 [and 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910-1914], B., and the tables given in the annual volumes of the AE have also been consulted, as has the 'Diario de las huelgas' given in E.G. Solano, ¿El Ocaso del sindicalismo?, B., 1922, pp. 36-61.
- (66) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Estadística de las huelgas, 1910, p. 8.
- (67) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Estadística de las huelgas, 1911, p. 7; 1913, p. 7; 1920, pp. 7-9.
- (68) Because the archives of the Instituto have been lost, it is no longer possible to discover exactly what attitudes the Barcelona authorities took.
- (69) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Estadística de las huelgas, 1911, pp. 7-8.
- (70) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Estadística de las huelgas, 1913, p. 7.
- (71) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Estadística de las huelgas, 1910, p. 8.

- (72) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Estadística de las huelgas, 1920, pp. 245-246. The same complaint is repeated three times in these two pages, in connection with difficulties in discovering the true extent of conflicts in any one area and their relative importance, and the extent of an individual strike in relation to the national situation in any industry.
- (73) Ibid, p. 7.
- (74) For these publications, see note (65). There is no biography of Sastra y Sanna. From the tenor of his writings it can be deduced that he was a social-Catholic, heavily influenced by the encyclical 'Rerum Novarum'. He was a member of various committees of the Museu Social.
- (75) Sastra y Sanna, 1910-1914, p. 334. AE, 1911, pp. 546-549.
- (76) Balcells, 'La mujer obrera', pp. 65-66. AE, 1914, pp. 613-614.
- (77) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 15.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 5

- (1) J.A. Lacomba, La crisis española de 1917, M., 1970, p. 37 makes the claim that there had been no differences between them since 1891.
- (2) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 17.
- (3) Ladera gives the bases of the agreement in pp. 189-190.

Primero. Que en vista del examen detenido y desapasionado que los firmantes de este documento han hecho de la situación actual y de las actuaciones de los gobernantes y del Parlamento; no encontrando, a pesar de sus buenos deseos, satisfechas las demandas formuladas por el último Congreso de la Unión General de Trabajadores y Asamblea de Valencia, y con el fin de obligar a las clases dominantes a aquellos cambios fundamentales de sistema que garanticen al pueblo el mínimo de las condiciones decorosas de vida y de desarrollo de sus actividades emancipadoras, se impone que el proletariado español emplee la huelga general, sin plazo definido de terminación, como el arma más poderosa que posee para reivindicar sus derechos.

Segundo. Que a partir de este momento, sin interrumpir su acción constante de reivindicaciones sociales, los organismos proletarios, de acuerdo con sus elementos directivos, procederán a la adopción de todas aquellas medidas que consideren adecuadas al éxito de la huelga general, hallándose preparados para el momento en que se haya de comenzar este movimiento.

Tercero. Que los abajo firmantes, debidamente autorizados por los organismos obreros que representan, y en virtud de los poderes que la han sido conferidos por la clase trabajadora, se consideran en el deber de realizar, en relación con las diversas secciones, todos los trabajos conducentes a organizar y encauzar debidamente el movimiento, así como también de determinar la fecha en que debe ponerse en práctica, teniendo en cuenta las condiciones más favorables para el triunfo de nuestros propósitos.

Madrid, 27 de marzo de 1917.

José Gómez Ossorio y Manuel Sendra, por la región de Galicia; Salvador Seguí y Angel Pestaña, por la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo y Asamblea de Valencia; Angel Lacort, por la Federación de Sociedades obreras de Zaragoza; Juan Barceló y Vicente Sánchez, por la región de Levante; Pedro Cabo, por la de Vizcaya; Manuel Llana e Isidro Acevedo, por la de Asturias; Remigio Cabello y Luis Lavín, por la de Castilla la Vieja; Florentino García, por la de Andalucía; y por el Comité nacional de la Unión general de trabajadores, Francisco Largo Caballero, Vicente Barrio, Daniel Anguiano, Julián Besteiro, Andrés Saborit, Eduardo Torralva, Modesto Aragonés, Manuel Cordero, Virginia Gonzáles y José Maeso.

- (4) On the crisis of 1817 there exist various versions in general studies, such as Balcells, El sindicalisme, pp. 15-39, Albertí, pp. 412-421. J. Peirats, La C.N.T. en la revolución española, I, 2nd ed., Paris,

1971, pp. 26-27 only mentions the events of the year in passing, apart from making the claim that the apoliticism of the C.N.T. was confirmed by them. There exists the monographic study by Lacomba, which is dedicated solely to the events of 1917. It should be read in conjunction with two recent interpretative accounts of the period which opens in 1917, those of M. Tuñón de Lara, '1917-1920: Una crisis institucional' in Tiempo de Historia, 16, May 1976, pp. 18-35, and E. Ucelay da Cal, 'Instàncies unitàries a Catalunya durant la crisi de la monarquia', in L'Avenç, 1, April 1977, pp. 35-43. In English see G. Meaker, The Revolutionary Left in Spain, Stanford, 1974, Chapter 3, 'The Spanish Revolution of 1917', which is a much richer and documented version than that given by G. Brenan, 'The Spanish Labyrinth', Cambridge, 1943, pp. 57-64. R. Kern, Red Years, Black Years, a political history of Spanish anarchism, Philadelphia, 1978, is chronologically and factually confused over the events of 1917, committing errors over the simplest data such as the date of publication of the Syndicalist programme. M. Bookchin, The Spanish Anarchists. The heroic years 1868-1936, New York, 1977, gives a version of the events of 1917 in pp. 165-168 which is based on secondary sources and adds no new interpretation of events. Of accounts by contemporaries there are the memoirs of Hurtado, pp. 285-316, Bueso, Recuerdos de un cenetista, pp. 75-95, those of Juan Ferrer in B. Porcel, La revuelta permanente, B., 1978, pp. 80-89, and R. Vidiella, 'La lluita de classes i la repressió a Barcelona del 1917 al 1923', in Nous Horitzons, 4, 1964, pp. 13-22, and also in M. Roig, Rafael Vidiella, l'aventura de la revolució, B., 1976, pp. 43-49. Victor Serge has left two pen pictures of the ambient within the working class movement in the period up to and including the Asamblea de Parlamentarios in July, in the novel Birth of our power, London, 1977, pp. 17-125, and in his Mémoires d'un révolutionnaire, 1901-1941, Paris, 1951, pp. 60-66. The contemporary accounts consulted have been those of M. Burgos y Mazo, Vida política española. Páginas históricas de 1917, B., 1917, and Buxadé, J. La bullanga misteriosa de 1917, B., 1917, Ladera, pp. 183-328, La huelga sangrienta de Barcelona-relato de los sucesos por un testigo presencial, revisado por la censura militar, B., 1917, and Renovación o Revolución? Historia política documentada de un período (junio-octubre 1917), La huelga general en Barcelona y Sabadell-Marcellino Domingo-Las Juntas de Defensa-El Movimiento de renovación - La protesta proletaria - Conclusión, B., 1917. This work is cited as being by Marcel.li Domingo in R. Lamberet, Mouvements ouvriers et socialistes, Chronologie et bibliographie, L'Espagne (1750-1936), Paris, 1953, p. 135, and all later authors seem to have followed her. But I have found no evidence that the work was by Domingo himself, though it is evidently written by a sympathiser.

- (5) As well as the texts cited above in the previous note which all give more or less complete histories of the Juntas de Defensa ranging from a few notes to the very complete version of Buxadé, there exists the version of their leader, given to a writer, in B. Márquez and J.M. Capo, Las Juntas militares de defensa, B., 1923.
- (6) Promotion by rigorous order of antiquity - the escala cerrada - was the norm in Artillería and Ingenieros. The discontent in these sectors was due more to financial reasons and the wish for technical improvements. See Lacomba, pp. III and 117-120.

- (7) See Márquez and Capo, pp. 41-42. Hurtado, pp. 287-288 observes that the King had to contemporize with the Juntas, which seemed to be politically neutral and professional organizations but which were 'com un mecanisme perillós que, amb tota la corda donada, no marxava encara, però que una sotragada podia d'un moment a l'altre posar en moviment amb conseqüències difícils de precisar'. It seems that the King was however initially against them (see Lacomba, p. 115, where he cites Romanones, Notes de una vida (1912-1931) to this effect) but came to tolerate them as Hurtado observes, and even approve of them as Victor Alba claims: 'En realidad, se trata de crear el armazón de un poder personal apoyado en el ejército y el rey no está ausente ni desconoce esta serie de maniobras de los cuartos de banderas'. In V. Alba, Historia de la segunda republica española, Mexico, 1960, p. 57. That the King wanted to maintain the army as his own had been demonstrated by his insistence at the age of 16 that he alone would name all his officers. The problem of favouritism was what made him break with the Juntas and, through the War Ministry order their dissolution, when Márquez presented the demand for promotion by the escala cerrada. See Albertí, p. 413.
- (8) This confidante was Mariano Foronda, head of the Compañía de Tranvías, and since 1915 a monarchist deputy. Meaker, p. 88, misspells his name.
- (9) Lacomba, p. 125 and 132-133.
- (10) Hurtado, p. 298 uses this word.
- (11) Brenan, pp. 63-64. Meaker, p. 70. Molas, pp. 178-181. Lacomba, pp. 209-212. For the conflict between Cambó and Alba, see J. Pabón, Cambó, I, B., 1952, pp. 444-480.
- (12) These two manifestoes by Prat represented his acceptance of the line of Cambó. Whereas Prat had argued for a more robust and strong Catalonia, Cambó stood for solving the Catalan problem through the renovation of Spain. 'Per Catalunya i l'Espanya Gran' is reproduced in Lliga Catalana, pp. 176-186. The manifesto of 14 June is reproduced in Lacomba, pp. 427-432.
- (13) For the genesis of the Asamblea de Parlamentarios see Lacomba, pp. 171-175. The Solidaritat Catalana which was analyzed in Chapter 3, was a coalition of all the Catalanist parties ranging from the Esquerra to the Carlins, whose main driving force was the Lliga. Lleroux and his Republicans remained outside. See Riquer, 'Les Eleccions de la Solidaritat Catalana', and, by the same author, 'La Solidaritat Catalana', in L'Avenç, Història dels Països Catalans, I, April 1977, pp. 26-34.
- (14) Figures of the numbers of Catalan parliamentarians present in the Asamblea of 5 July vary: according to Lacomba, Catalonia had 60 parliamentarians, of whom 44 were deputies and 16 senators, as well as a number of senadores vitalicios and senadores palatinos. Hurtado p. 300 states that all except 3 attended, while Pabon, citing Rovira i Virgili (who stated that there were 4 missing, but 3 had sent excuses) arrives at the conclusion that all came except one. Renovación o Revolución gives a list of 59 names in alphabetical order, pp. 150-151. Ladera also gives a figure of 59 on p. 234.



- (15) For further details see Lacomba, pp. 450-454, taken from the ABC of 6 and 7 July and El Mercantil Valenciano of 7 July; Renovación o Revolución, pp. 150-154; Ladera, pp. 234-237 gives a version which does not mention the proposition of Macia, and on pp. 237-238 gives extracts from the Barcelona press reports showing the attitude of the different papers to the Asamblea.
- (16) The Government note is reproduced in Lacomba, pp. 182-184. The statements by Domingo published in La Lucha, 9 July 1917.
- (17) Pabón, I, p. 509-510.
- (18) Hurtado, p. 301.
- (19) Ibid: 'Era un matx que des del primer moment apassionava el gran públic i que anava a acreditar una vegada més la innegable méstria de la Lliga en l'organització d'aquests grans espectacles'.
- (20) Lacomba, op. cit. p. 457, reproduces such a note and it is reprinted here as an example:

!Pueblo! Ha llegado la hora de tus reivindicaciones. La revolución ruge en tu seno. Siglos incontables de tiranía pesan sobre ti. Has sido siempre asesinado cuando has pedido más pan o más libertad. Tus hijas han sido violadas por tus verdugos, tus hijos han sido sacados de las cunas con las puntas de las bayonetas. Sobre tu cuerpo ensangrentado se han levantado altares y tronos. Sobre tus infinitos dolores tienen su festín los chacales burgueses.

!Pueblo! Ha llegado la hora de las grandes revanchas. Con botellas llenas de fosforo aniorfo, que puedes tomar de las droguerías, puedes quemar iglesias y conventos, cuarteles y casas burguesas, Registros de la Propiedad, Juzgados y Audiencias. Con cascos de hierro, llenos de clorato potásico, de ácido plérico y azufre, que también hay en las droguerías, puedes hacer volar en pedazos cárceles y presidios, y el cuerpo hecho trozos de guardias civiles, policías y militares graduados, y los no graduados si olvidan que son hijos del pueblo y siguen defendiendo a los tiranos. Con una pistola o un revolver, puedes atravesar el corazón de los burgueses y la garganta de las burguesas. Con un puñal puedes atravesar las entrañas de los lobeznos de la burguesía en sus doradas cunas.

!Pueblo! Hay que beber sangre de los tiranos en sus propias calaveras. Hay que elevar las llamas del incendio hasta el espacio infinito. Hay que matar la quinta generación de la burguesía. Hay que establecer el comunismo anarquista, dejando la tierra libre de fieras humanas. Pueblo !A la revolución!

- (21) Pabón, I, p. 510. The chief organizer of these strategems for the Lliga seems to have been Bertrán i Musitú (who during the Civil War would organize the Francoist spying agency in the South of France which kept watch on Catalonia). See the entry in GEC, Vol. 2.
- (22) Pabón, I, pp. 507-510.
- (23) For a reproduction of the letter of Cambó, see ibid., pp. 527-530.

- (24) Lacomba, p. 194.
- (25) Reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 462. The identity of the General in question is unknown, but could have been Primo de Rivera or Burguete. Whatever his identity the letter was evidently dictated by the Ministro de Gobernación. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
- (26) Pabon, I, p. 531. The document is reproduced in Lacomba, pp. 441-445.
- (27) For the version of events of Lacomba, see pp. 195 and 202. Hurtado's version in pp. 301-303.
- (28) This note is reproduced in Pabón, I, p. 513.
- (29) For a description of the public response to the spectacle of the Parliamentarians, see Hurtado, p. 302 and Lacomba, p. 200.
- (30) Lacomba, p. 201.
- (31) *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.
- (32) For a verbatim description of the Asamblea see Història d'una política, pp. 219-224. For the public reaction to the events of the day, see Hurtado, p. 302:
- Vist a distància, tot això sembla d'una ingenuïtat encantadora i costa d'entendre que fos cosa d'homes grans; però per als qui ens hi trobàvem, tenia certament un interès i una emoció que avui encara ens sembla explicable. Perquè, si no era la policia, era el públic el qui no sabia on es reunien els parlamentaris, i més que el desig d'assistir a l'Assemblea, ens omplia la jornada l'afany d'endevinar on i com els nostres homes aconseguirien de burlar les ordres del Govern que es deia que no volia deixar-los reunir. El cop mestre del brodat de la Lliga estava precisament a haver sabut provocar aquest estat d'ànim de la massa, tot allunyant - la del lloc de l'Assemblea per evitar els possibles desoris de la seva presència.
- (33) Lacomba, pp. 204-205.
- (34) For the manifesto see A. Rovira a Virgili, La crisi del régim, Crònica documentada dels darrers esdeveniments de la política espanyola. B., 1918, pp. 153-157.
- (35) This document is reproduced in Lacomba, p. 490-491.
- (36) For the decision to call the strike and its organization see *ibid.*, pp. 224-225 and Meaker, p. 79.
- (37) Lacomba, pp. 226-227. Meaker, p. 80.

- (38) According to Meaker, p. 80 the Socialist leaders felt that they needed to secure the support of the Army and that the left - bourgeois parties, while convinced of the need to rebel, were still not convinced that the moment was right. For the attitude of the C.N.T., see Lacomba, pp. 256-257.
- (39) Also quoted in Burgos y Mazo, pp. 78-83.
- (40) A. Pestaña, Lo que aprendí en la vida, M., 1933, pp. 62-63.
- (41) Meaker, p. 80. The date of the visit by Largo Caballero to Barcelona is not clear from his memoirs, Mis recuerdos, Cartas a un amigo, Mexico, 1976, pp. 48-49, nor in Pestaña's version in Lo que aprendí, pp. 59-61, though on p. 62 he refers to the visit by Pablo Iglesias as having occurred after the interview with Largo Caballero and not before as Meaker claims. I have followed the Meaker version, on the grounds that it would fit the chronology of events in Barcelona and Valencia.
- (42) For the Pestaña account see Lo que aprendí, pp. 59-61, and for Largo Caballero's version, see Mis recuerdos, pp. 48-50. Largo certainly seems to have had little understanding of the anarcho-syndicalists, as is shown by his pejorative comments on p. 49 about the vegetarian anarchists. He mentions no incidents during the meeting, however on the return he was surprised to see the syndicalists firing their revolvers into the air. 'En su autobiografía Angel Pestaña menciona este hecho y supone que yo creería que me asesinarían. En ninguno momento pensé semejante cosa. Lo que pensaba era en lo absurdo de tomar tantas precauciones para celebrar la reunion, en contraste con los disparos para llamar la atención de la policía.' p. 50.
- (43) For a history of the problems between the Sindicato and the Compania del Norte, see Lacomba, pp. 220-221.
- (44) See *ibid.*, pp. 229-230, especially footnote 33. The accusation against Marcel.li Domingo is in Largo Caballero, pp. 50-51, and he goes on to state that the Socialists tried to get the strike called off. As regards the problem of Government infiltration in the railway unions, it is, as Lacomba observes, a difficult problem. The main source of this version is Garcia Venero, II, pp. 165-166. In a footnote on p. 166 the author claims to have had the story at first hand from one of the politicians who participated in the events of 1917, Filiberto Villalobos of the Reformistas. The railwaymen's actions in July and August 1917 contain two elements which are difficult to explain, the first being the Valencia strike and the second the question as to why the railwaymen of the Madrid-Zaragoza-Alicante company and those of the Madrid-Caceres-Portugal company did not second the August general strike. In the last case it seems very clear that government agents did exercise pressure against the strike, but the Valencia case is by no means as clear. It may well have been due to an initiative on the part of the local republicans. But whether or not the government instigated the Valencia strike, it remains very clear that it used the consequences (the refusal of the company to re-employ the strike leaders) to provoke the August general strike.

- (45) For a description of the course of the strike see Lacomba, pp. 231-233.
- (46) *Ibid.*, pp. 233-236, and Meaker, p. 83.
- (47) Largo Caballero, pp. 51-52.
- (48) Meaker, pp. 83-84.
- (49) The terms of the order prohibited discussion of such subjects as the Juntas de Defensa, strikes, national neutrality, commentaries on the war etc. See the list given in El Noticiero Universal, Sunday, 12 August 1917.
- (50) Lacomba, pp. 242-243.
- (51) Published in La Lucha, 9 August 1917. It is reprinted in Domingo, M., ¿Que espera el rey?, M., 1930, pp. 25-31. This manifesto so irritated the military command that they went for Domingo during the August strike, and caused his arrest, even though he enjoyed parliamentary immunity.
- (52) For details of the organization of the Socialist strike committee see Lacomba, p. 249, which closely follows Garcia Venero, II, pp. 169-171. The manifesto is reproduced in both sources, Lacomba, pp. 251-253, and Garcia Venero, II, pp. 172-174.
- (53) R. Vidiella, 'La lluita de classes i la repressió a Barcelona del 1917 al 1923', pp. 13-22.
- (54) i.e. with the petty-bourgeois movements, but not with the Lliga. See Pestaña, Lo que aprendí, p. 63: 'Delegado por la organización como individuo de enlace entre los diversos elementos que podían intervenir, entré en relación con los separatistas del doctor Juliá, y con los catalanistas de Maciá, y con los republicanos de Marcelino Domingo'. Meaker draws on this account to say that Pestaña held discussions with Doctor Juliá of the Separatists (sic), p. 88, but this is extrapolating too far. There was no such party as the Separatists, and Pestaña uses the adjective to describe the line which the party involved, the Unió Catalanista, had been following since its turn to the left in 1915. And Pestaña could not have spoken with Dr. Martí i Juliá, because the latter had died in June 1917. There is no biography of Martí i Juliá, apart from that in the Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, Vol. 8.
- (55) For events outside Barcelona see Ladera, pp. 268-276 for Madrid, 300-306 for Bilbao and 316-328 for Asturias. Lacomba, pp. 269-271 describes the especially cruel repression in Asturias.
- (56) The government attempted to make propaganda by ridiculing the committee, stating that when the police entered the house where they were believed to be meeting, they found the members of the committee hiding under beds and in cupboards. See La Época, 15 August 1917, and A.B.C. 16 August 1917 for this version. It has often been repeated, especially by those of a different political persuasion.

(See for example how Joan Ferrer repeats it in Porcel, p. 88). Largo Caballero's own account, pp. 52-53, states that the committee were seated at table and dining when the police arrived, but that they managed to persuade the officers to allow them to finish their meal. Ladera states that he did not believe the government version, and that what happened was that the police, when they entered the house which was inhabited by a couple, they found the table set for seven persons. They therefore searched the house and found the strike committee standing in the adjoining room. Ladera, pp. 272-273. See also the complaint by the defender of Anguiano, Besteiro, Largo Caballero and Saborit, D. Ramon Arrante Girbau, at their Consejo de Guerra:

...no bastaba el intento de desacreditar a los cuatro senores que defiendo; era preciso colocarlos en el ridiculo, que es lo que mas lastima a los hombres maxime cuando no pueden dar un mentis a ciertos ataques.

En prueba de esto, hubo un alma poco noble, que se esconde en el misterio que propalo la noticia de su detencion adornandola con ciertos detalles falsos, en los que jugaban principal papel una tinaja, una cama, unos colchones y un armario..

...Los hombres verdaderamente honorables sentiran, como yo, asco y desprecio para la misteriosa a los misteriosas personas que han recurrido a la mentira para agraviar a seres indefensos.

P. 10, Huelga general de agosto de 1917. La Condena del Comite de Huelga. Acusación, defensa y sentencia del Consejo de Guerra. Mexico, n.d.

- (57) La Huelga Sangrienta de Barcelona, pp. 4-5; Renovación o revolución, pp. 22-24. This incident is not reported in Ladera.
- (58) Both incidents are reported in Renovación o revolución, p. 26. They are not mentioned in Modesto de Lara, or in La Huelga Sangrienta.
- (59) For a description of how the strike spread see Renovación o revolución, pp. 26-27. In the opinion of the author the attack on the trams during the night gave the strikers heart, and this helped them to make the strike absolute very quickly. In La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 5, there are details of the incident in Sants, and it is stated that this was the only factory which offered any resistance. Ladera, p. 278 states that the strikers did not have any trouble in spreading the strike and that the port was also closed. 'Aun cuando los huelguistas tenían que insistir poco, por lo general, en ser obedecidos, hubo alguna que otra colisión con la fuerza pública en algunos sitios, que obligaban a parar a los que no tenían ganas'.
- (60) See La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 5 for the closure of the commercial establishments. Renovación o revolución for the incidents in the Boquería. Ladera does not mention any action by the Guardia de Seguridad there, though he states that the strikers obliged the stall holders to abandon their stalls with the consequent 'alarma, caidas, sustos', p. 278.

- (61) On the attacks on the trams see La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 6, Ladera, pp. 178-179, Renovación o revolución, p. 27. Bueso, Recuerdos de un cenetista, p. 75 claims to have stopped trams and smashed their windows, at the head of the Juventud Socialista.
- (62) Renovación o revolución, p. 28, La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 9, state that flag signalling had to be practised during the whole afternoon, from the tower of the Cathedral.
- (63) The bando is reproduced in La Huelga Sangrienta, pp. 7-8.
- (64) For these incidents see Renovación o revolución, p. 30, Ladera, p. 230, La huelga Sangrienta, pp. 9-10.
- (65) Pabón, I, pp. 542-543 discusses the problems produced for the Asamblea de Parlamentarios by the strike and quotes Cambo's fears from the latter's own manuscript version of the events of the strike, 'Els fets d'agost'.
- (66) Pabón, *ibid.*, p. 545.
- (67) Renovación o revolución, p. 34.
- (68) La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 12.
- (69) Renovación o revolución, p. 34.
- (70) See Renovación o revolución, p. 35, for the attack on the police station. According to Ladera, p. 281, the fighting in District V acquired 'enormes proporciones'.
- (71) Renovación o revolución, p. 35, La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 13 for details of the death of the Guardia Civil in the carretera de Sants.
- (72) For the events in the Barceloneta see La Huelga Sangrienta, pp. 13-14, and Renovación o revolución, p. 37.
- (73) Ladera, pp. 282-283.
- (74) The most complete version of this incident is in Renovación o revolución, p. 36. Ladera, pp. 281-282 describes it as 'muy sangrienta'.
- (75) For the shooting see La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 13, and for the stationing of the torpedo boat, *ibid.*, p. 14.
- (76) The most complete version of the events leading to the death of Fernandez de Pablos is given in Renovación o revolución, pp. 38-40. Ladera, p. 282 and La Huelga Sangrienta, pp. 14-15 give only short references to the incident.

- (77) Renovación o revolución, pp. 40-41, gives details of these incidents.
- (78) Renovación o revolución, pp. 41-42, and Pabon, I, p. 543.
- (79) Renovación o revolución, p. 42.
- (80) Renovación o revolución, pp. 34-44, comments that those newspapers which had not been suspended by the government had been unable to publish that day because of the abnormal situation, causing greater alarm and confusion. In *ibid*, p. 37, it is noted that the telephone service, heavily used by official calls, did not answer requests for private calls. Cambó, according to Pabón, p. 544, was so desperate to find out news from the rest of Spain that he decided to send three friends to Madrid, Valencia and Zaragoza, 'para tener - Dios sabe cuándo - noticias de la situación'.
- (81) For attacks on the carts see Renovación o revolución, p. 45, and La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 17, Renovación o revolución, *ibid.*, states that the commodities on sale reached 'precios fabulosos sobre los ya altos a los que se cotizaban el día anterior'.
- (82) La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 17 gives details of the work of the troops in maintaining the tram service and the reactions of the strikers.
- (83) For details of the revolver fire and the phenomenon of the whistle see Renovación o revolución, pp. 47-49.
- (84) The bando is reproduced in La Huelga Sangrienta, pp. 18-19 and in Ladera, pp. 283-284. The opening of blinds in empty houses is reported in La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 17.
- (85) The names of streets in which barricades were erected are given in La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 20. Their demolition by force is reported in Renovación o revolución, p. 48.
- (86) Pabón, I, p. 544.
- (87) For the detention and subsequent treatment of Domingo see Renovación o revolución, pp. 50-60. The trick used to detain him was carried out by Police Inspector Verdes Soto. It consisted of arresting the fiance of a young woman who had, on several occasions, obtained references from Domingo through her friendship with one of his sisters. The young woman was told by the police that her fiance could be freed on the recommendation of a responsible person. The young woman therefore went to see Domingo's sister who, affected by her distress, promised her that she could see Domingo in the morning. The policemen who had been following her were therefore able to arrest Domingo when he kept the appointment with her. His detention was completely unconstitutional, given his condition of deputy in the Cortes.
- (88) On the arrests, see La Huelga Sangrienta, pp. 17 and 20.

- (89) This incident is reports in Ladera, p. 285, who qualifies those involved as 'gente de mal vivir'. Renovación a revolución, p. 49 says that they were from the 'bajos fondos'. It would seem that they were common delinquents. There was no sacking of shops during the Setmana Tragica, and this incident is the only one reported in the 1917 strike.
- (90) Ladera, p. 287, citing the report in La Vanguardia, 23 August 1917:
- Para ello requieren a todos los transeuntes y les obligan a trabajar en la destrucción de las barricades, quitando los adoquines y restituyéndolos a sus primitivos alvéolos, en el arroyo. La escena resulta animada; gran número de hombres de distinta edad y condición y con las más diversas indumentarias, desde el que, descalzo, sólo viste pantalón y camisa, hasta el mejor trajeado con camisa planchada, corte de lana y sombrero, forman unos la cadena que va traspasando los adoquines desde la barricada a los encargados de colocarlos para reconstituir el empedrado. Terminado la operación, desfilan las fuerzas, cruzan las piezas de artillería por los sitios en que se levantaba antes el emblema de la revuelta, y sólo quedan los grupos de curiosos, que comentan lo ocurrido, y los vecinos, que se muestran satisfechos de la desaparición del estorbo.
- (91) Renovación o revolución, p. 61.
- (92) Ibid., and Ladera, p. 286.
- (93) Renovación o revolución, p. 62 comments on the growing normalisation on this day.
- (94) On the court martial, see Renovación a revolución, p. 64-65. The arrest of Martorell caused enormous speculation, see Renovación o revolución, p. 65. On the appearance of Cambo and other members of the Lliga before the military judge, see Pabón, I, p. 544. I have not found a copy of the Boletín de la Revolución in any library in Barcelona.
- (95) The firing and construction of barricades is reported in Renovación o revolución, pp. 62-63 and in Ladera, pp. 289-290. On the use of cannon against barricades see *ibid.* The positioning of barricades close to sewer manholes is commented on in La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 20. On the significance of this see the account, no doubt somewhat picturesque of Joan Ferrer in Porcel, p. 88.
- Cuando aquella revolución, Aragó [Jaume Aragó, a friend of Joan Ferrer, and member of the strike committee] poseía un plano de las cloacas de Barcelona. Viene la artillería de montaña, ya que la pesada no podían introducirla por calles tan angostas, y Aragó dice: "Por aquí". Todos se meten por la boca de alcantarilla y salen tres calles más abajo, gritando "¡Viva la anarquía!" Llega la autoridad, y vuelta a desaparecer. Así se estuvieron cinco días, sin que les hicieran ninguna victima. Vidiella, who was also a member of the strike committee, doubted this version in his oral testimony, January 1980.
- (96) Renovación o revolución, p. 67.



- (97) La Huelga Sangrienta, p. 23 for the point about the customers.
- (98) This account of the return to normality is taken from La Huelga Sangrienta, pp. 24-25 and Renovación o revolución, pp. 68-69.
- (99) Both La Huelga Sangrienta, pp. 25-27 and Renovación o revolución, pp. 70-72, give the list of dead and wounded as supplied by the Town Hall. For comments on the origin of the name Setmana Comica, see Hurtado, p. 290.
- (100) Balcells, El sindicalisme, pp. 45-46; Lladonosa, pp. 40-44 give details of the repression.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 6

- (1) The effects of the First World War on Spain have already been noted in the Introduction and in the opening part of Chapter 5. To recapitulate, after the investment crisis during the first year of the war industry benefitted more than agriculture. Exports of manufactured goods increased because Spain became a supplier to the warring nations and because there was no competition in the Latin American markets. The home market also increased as foreign penetration fell. Spanish industry therefore expanded in capacity, fuelled by a massive increase in electricity generation. There was little reinvestment. Increased immigration to the cities took place. From 1917 inflation became widespread. These consequences are all signalled in the contemporary series of publications issued by the Instituto de Reformas Sociales; Resumen de las informaciones de los Inspectores del Trabajo acerca de las consecuencias sufridas por las industrias en España con motivo del actual estado de guerra, M., 1914; Informes de los Inspectores del Trabajo sobre la influencia de la guerra europea en las industrias españolas durante el año de 1915, M., 1916; Informes de los Inspectores de Trabajo sobre la influencia de la guerra europea en las industrias españolas durante el año de 1917-1918, vol. 1, M., 1918; En carecimiento de la vida durante la guerra. Precios de las subsistencias en España y en el extranjero 1914-1918, M., 1918; Información sobre emigración española a los países de Europa durante la guerra, M., 1919; and Movimiento de los precios al por menor en España durante la guerra y post-guerra 1914-1922, M., 1923. Similar observations are to be found in the works by J. Aguilera, 'La guerra europea y sus efectos en las industrias de Cataluña', Revista Nacional de Economía, 1, 1916, pp. 35-48, F. Bernis, Consecuencias económicas de la guerra, M., 1923, and M. Viada y Viada, La economía y las finanzas españolas en la post-guerra (1918-1923), B., 1924. For a modern analysis, see the rigorous study by S. Roldán, J.L. García Delgado, and J. Muñoz, La consolidación del capitalismo en España, 2 vols., M. 1974, Vol. 1, pp. 43-266, and the whole of Vol. 2.
- (2) Despite intensive enquiries I was unable to locate any survivor of the period who had participated in the womens' strike; later I discovered an account by Joan de Diego, the son of a ninety-year old participant, and member of the strike committee, in M. Roig, Els catalans als camps de concentració nazis, B., 1976, p. 29. R. Vidiella was an eyewitness of the strike and has left a fictionalised account in his novel Los de ayer, pp. 91-92, 120-122, and pp. 184-187. Contemporaries in the working class movement were aware of the importance of the strike - see, for example, the comments on it by Enrique Rueda, a leader of the metalworkers' syndicate, in his speech at the closing session of the Congrès de Sants; Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña, Memoria del Congreso celebrado en Barcelona los días 28, 29, 30 de junio y 1<sup>o</sup> de julio del año 1918, B., 1918, pp. 81-83. Despite this, the only modern account is that of Balcells, in 'La mujer obrera' pp. 50-51.
- (3) Balcells, 'La mujer obrera', p. 12 and p. 32.

- (4) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, La jornada de trabajo en la industria textil. Trabajos preparatorios del Reglamento para la aplicación del Real decreto de 24 de agosto de 1913, M., 1914, p. 408.
- (5) Ibid, p. 58.
- (6) J. Prat, A las mujeres, B., 1903, p. 4, makes these observations. See also, Tema 4<sup>o</sup> of the first Congress of the C.N.T., 1911, in Cuadrat, pp. 650-651. For a fictional portrait of the life of a xinxà (factory girl) in the years under study, see the novel by J. Miracle, 60 minuts, B., 1963.
- (7) Alvarez Junco, pp. 281-308, gives an interesting selection of such views.
- (8) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, La jornada de trabajo, pp. 454-503 gives an extensive account of the strike.
- (9) Thus at a meeting in Sabadell, the speakers included two women, the sisters Encarnació and Rosario Dulcet. (The latter was to play an important part in the 1918 strike, and became a respected militant in the C.N.T. The anarchist Hermos Plaja remembered participating in propaganda tours with her in the years 1916-1920 - oral testimony of H.Plaja, 1 August 1980). At the meeting on 8 August in the Casa del Pueblo, the most decided speakers were women. Ibid, pp. 464 and 470.
- (10) Balcells, 'La mujer obrera', p. 65.
- (11) Balcells, 'La mujer obrera', p. 31.
- (12) Instituto de Reformas Sociales, Estadística de las huelgas, 1915-1916, pp. 195-197. Balcells, 'La mujer obrera', pp. 68-69.
- (13) See 'Sindicatos representados en el Congreso Obrero de Barcelona con el nombre de los delegados y número de socios representados' in Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña, p. xxx, where this figure is given.
- (14) Solidaridad Obrera, 13 January 1918. For details of the rise in coal prices, see the table in Roldan, García Delgado, and Muñoz, vol. 2, p. 138. The index of wholesale prices of coal in Spain rose from a base of 100 in 1913, to 106 in 1914, 138 in 1915, 277 in 1916, 353 in 1917, to a high of 562 in 1918. In Barcelona the increases in prices to the end of 1916 were of the following order: coal mined in Asturias ('cribado'), 75 pesetas/ton in December 1915 and 147 pesetas/ton in December 1916. 'Menudos', also mined in Asturias, up from 33 pesetas/ton in December 1915 to 60 pesetas/ton in January 1916, and 120 pesetas in July 1916. Coal mined in Berga, near Barcelona rose from 35 pesetas to 150 pesetas in the same period. Ibid, p. 139. Coal exported from Cardiff to Barcelona rose from 35 pesetas/ton in 1914 to 484 pesetas/ton in 1918. Ibid, p. 140.

- (15) Protest to Civil Governor; La Veu de Catalunya, 2 January 1918, Morning. On 10 January 1918 the Compañía de Riegos y Fuerzas del Ebro, which had been forced by the high price of coal into decreasing production of electricity by one third, announced that it would restore the supply if users would pay the difference between the contracted price and the new price of production. It was assumed, the company said, that many manufacturers would do this, in order to avoid laying off workers and creating 'complications of a social character'. La Publicidad, 10 January 1918. References to the shortage of domestic coal, in La Veu de Catalunya, 3 January 1918, Evening, La Publicidad, 9 January 1918. Domestic coal was used for cooking as well as heating, so a shortage meant not only a lack of heat in the home, but also no means for cooking the potatoes, rice and pasta which were the staple diet of the working classes of Barcelona.
- (16) Prices of coal and of all basic goods were fixed in each locality by the Juntas Locales de Subsistencias, created by the Ley General de Subsistencias of 11 November 1916. The same law had made provision for central price fixing, but this had been a complete failure. The evolution of government policy in this field reflected the inability of the authorities to come to terms with the problem of price rises. The Ley de Subsistencias of 18 February 1915 allowed the government to annul import taxes, take measures to regulate transports, and to buy basic necessities and to resell them at a fixed price. Despite these powers the government restricted itself to changing import taxes and to preventing exports of food and raw materials. The inefficacy of this policy led to the law of 1916, which strengthened the 1915 law and gave the government the power to fix prices through the Junta Central de Subsistencias (composed of representatives of the producers and traders, and two workers' representatives) and the Juntas Locales de Subsistencias (which did not contain workers' representatives). The lack of impact of the Junta Central was such that it was suspended on 30 April 1917, and its powers divided amongst three government departments - Hacienda (imports and exports), Gobernación (supplies and prices within Spain), and Fomento (transport and the coal industry). The local Juntas were criticised for their lack of stability and incompetence. See Roldan, García Delgado and Muñoz, pp. 151-177. The price for coal in Barcelona in January 1918 was 3 pesetas for an arroba, or basket, according to the report of the incident in Sant Andreu, in La Veu de Catalunya, 10 January 1918, morning.
- (17) Incidents in Dressanes, La Publicidad, 10 January 1918; in Hospital, Dressanes, Sant Andreu and Barceloneta, La Veu de Catalunya, 12 January 1918, morning; attacks on coal carts, La Lucha, 14 January 1918; decision by merchants to halt transport of coal, La Veu de Catalunya, 16 January 1918, evening.
- (18) Bread prices had risen on 4 January 1918 (La Publicidad, 5 January 1918). All the newspapers carried details of attacks on bakers and other food shops during the period from 10 January 1918 to the imposition of censorship on 25 January 1918, and the number of references is too great to detail here.
- (19) Balcells, 'La Mujer obrera', p. 51.

- (20) Report of initial protest in La Veu de Catalunya, 11 January 1918, morning. Further details in interview of Amàlia Alegre by F. Barango-Solis in La Publicidad, 13 January 1918. See also the interview with Maria Marin, ex-Radical propagandist and teacher, and a neighbour of Amàlia Alegre, who claimed to be the real organizer of the strike, in La Publicidad, 18 January 1918.
- (21) La Veu de Catalunya, 11 January 1918, morning.
- (22) Demonstration in the entertainment zone, La Publicidad, 12 January 1918. There were ugly scenes with the spectators in some of them, notably in the famous Eden Concert. The female artistes jointed the womens' demonstrations without demur however. Bars de camareras were pick up points for covert prostitution; the camareras themselves were prostitutes, and they too joined the demonstration. The claim made by La Veu de Catalunya 12 January 1918, morning, that as soon as these groups of women from the demi-monde joined the protest, the genuine workers dropped out, is not echoed in any of the other newspapers, and could be attributed to class (and sex) prejudice on the part of this representative newspaper of the Lliga. The motives of the demonstrators in bringing out these socially marginalized women are unfortunately not known, and represent another of the fascinating features of this under-reported strike. Certainly there was no condemnation reported amongst the strikers of women who were prostitutes, nor of those women only one step up the ladder, the music hall artistes. The anarchist movement had a long history of opposition to the exploitation of women; but there is no evidence that attitudes consistent with this were expressed in Solidaridad Obrera during the course of the strike, apart from the report of the meeting organized by women themselves, on 20 January. Men were excluded by the women from all the demonstrations but it is not known if this was merely a tactical move to avoid repression by the authorities as was expressed when the university students tried to join in the protest, or whether it indicates that women in this strike took stock of themselves as oppressed in class terms and because of their sex.
- (23) Reports of demonstration on Saturday, La Veu de Catalunya, 13 January 1918. According to this report, the first commission to see the Governor told him that 'Que no volen que els homes es figuin en res i si es precis... les dones sortiran totes al carrer; i els homes es quedaran a casa'. Other report in La Publicidad, 13 January 1918. Editorial pointing out parallel with Setmana Tragica in same issue. Meeting of Junta de Subsistencias and demonstration on Sunday, La Publicidad, 14 January 1918.
- (24) Plans for demonstration by university students, La Lucha, 13 January 1918. Disapproval by Amàlia Alegre and others, La Lucha, 14 January 1918.
- (25) La Lucha, 14 January 1918.
- (26) Demonstration of Monday 14, and events at Gobierno Civil; La Lucha, 15 January 1918, Solidaridad Obrera, 15 January 1918, La Veu de Catalunya, 15 January 1918, Morning.

- (27) La Publicidad, 16 January 1918.
- (28) Reports of demonstrations on Tuesday 15 in La Publicidad, 16 January 1918, Solidaridad Obrera, 16 January 1918, and La Veu de Catalunya, 16 January 1918, morning. Report of men being excluded from demonstrations in La Veu de Catalunya.
- (29) Meeting in Ciutadella, La Lucha, 17 January 1918, La Publicidad 17 January 1918, Solidaridad Obrera 17 January 1918, and La Veu de Catalunya, 17 January 1918, morning.
- (30) Bravo Portillo was extremely unpopular in the working class movement for his activities against strikers and union leaders. It was rumoured also that he was venial. Pestaña mounted a campaign in Solidaridad Obrera in May and June 1918, and was able to publish documents proving that he passed messages to the German embassy, on the movements from the port of Spanish ships carrying war material for the allies; Solidaridad Obrera, 9 June 1918, and 10 June 1918. The Germans sent this information to their submarines, which then sank the ships. A sinking of this nature which had aroused great public emotion had occurred precisely in the opening days of the womens' strike when the steamer Joaquin Mumbrú had been lost with all hands off Barcelona, La Publicidad, 13 January 1918.

Bravo was dismissed in June for this espionage, but was reinstated only a few months later, because of influences exerted on his behalf. He then became involved in pistolerisme, and, after the murder of the union leader Pau Sabater, was himself assassinated, as he left from a visit to his mistress, on 5 September 1919.

There is an extremely unflattering fictional portrait in Vidiella, Los de ayer, and an equally unflattering but non-fictional account by one of Bravo's policemen, M. Casal Gomez, La Banda Negra. Origen y actuación de los pistoleros en Barcelona (1918-1921), 2nd ed., B. 1977. He was attacked strongly for his conduct during the womens' strike, by the Barcelona press. La Publicidad, 17 January 1918, compared him to a 'nuevo Hindenburg', and observed sardonically that '... esta, estos dias, acrecentando su popularidad'.

- (31) The fullest report of the meeting in the Globo Cautivo is in Solidaridad Obrera, 18 January 1918, and shorter accounts appear in the other newspapers.
- (32) According to the report in La Veu de Catalunya, Alegre was whistled and hissed at. Rosario Dolçet had been active at the time of the 1913 textile strike (see note (9)).
- (33) Strike figures in La Publicidad, 20 January 1918.
- (34) Account of visit of commission to Civil Governor; La Publicidad, 20 January 1918, La Veu de Catalunya, 20 January 1918, and Solidaridad Obrera, 20 January 1918. The different versions do not coincide; Solidaridad Obrera claims that Lola Ferrer was excluded from the first group, and headed the second, but it seems from the other accounts that she entered as a dissenting member of

the commission with Amàlia Alegre, and that the second commission arose spontaneously from among the crowd. Little is known about Lola Ferrer; she lived in Sant Andreu (Solidaridad Obrera, 23 January 1918), and was a mother (Solidaridad Obrera, 19 April 1918). Her speeches show her to have been exceptionally intelligent although she suffered from illiteracy, and capable of leading and inspiring protest by large groups.

- (35) Accounts of these two meetings in Solidaridad Obrera, 21 January 1918. The meeting in the Cine Montaña was firmly geared to broadening the strike; the presidential table was draped with a cloth on which the following slogan about rents was painted: 'Trabajadoras, es una infamia hacernos pagar los alquileres tan caros para vivir en barrios tristes, escaleras pestilentes y pisos sucios'. But note the phrase 'barrios tristes'. This broadening of issues was also evident in the speeches on prostitution and the oppression of women by men. Cinta Roigé, daughter of Joan Roigé, the celebrated rationalist teacher at the Ateneo Racionalista de Sants, made an especially interesting speech in which she emphasized that women could bring a special vision to the discussion of social issues, and could rescue men from the trap they had fallen into, of becoming cannon and voting fodder for politicians.
- (36) Failure of the tasa, La Publicidad, 22 January 1918. Paralization of industry in certain districts, Solidaridad Obrera, 22 January 1918. Ibid, for meeting in District V.
- (37) Meetings on Tuesday 22nd; Solidaridad Obrera, 23 January 1918.
- (38) Departure of Civil Governor; La Publicidad, 24 January 1918. Meeting near Monumental, Solidaridad Obrera, 24 January 1918. Description of Bravo Portillo in La Publicidad, 24 January 1918.
- (39) Meeting on Montjuich; Solidaridad Obrera, 25 January 1918. It was claimed that 8,000 women were present at the meeting.
- (40) The bando declaring the Estado de Guerra was published in La Publicidad, 26 January 1918. From 28 January both La Publicidad and La Veu de Catalunya published the figures issued by the military authorities of the numbers of factories still closed and of how many workers had returned the previous day. Solidaridad Obrera was closed, and did not re-appear until 14 April 1918.
- (41) Solidaridad Obrera, 19 April 1918.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 7

- (1) Balcells, El sindicalisme, pp. 47-59, Bookchin, p. 171, Lladonosa, pp. 141-152, C. Lorenzo, pp. 36-38, Meaker, pp. 149-154, Peirats, p. 27, Tuñón de Lara, El movimiento obrero, pp. 604-608. The significance of the Congres de Sants was not lost on contemporaries either; see Diaz del Moral, p. 173.
- (2) Cuadrat, p. 586.
- (3) Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña, Memoria del Congreso Regional celebrado en Barcelona el 28, 29, 30 de junio y 1 de julio de 1918, B., 1918, (hereafter referred to as C.R.T.).
- (4) The temes were published in Solidaridad Obrera, 26 June 1918.
- (5) There is no study of the effects these processed had on the organization of production. See however the article on 'Taylorisme' by C. Massana, in Ictineu, pp. 468-471.
- (6) Lladonosa, pp. 28-34.
- (7) Solidaridad Obrera, 30 January 1917.
- (8) Solidaridad Obrera, 20 February 1917.
- (9) Solidaridad Obrera, 5 March 1917.
- (10) Solidaridad Obrera, 19 May 1917.
- (11) Solidaridad Obrera, 28 June 1917.
- (12) See Solidaridad Obrera, 26 and 31 October 1917, 19, 20, 23, 24, 27 and 29 November 1917, 9 and 13 December 1917, 12, 19, 20 and 21 May 1918.
- (13) Solidaridad Obrera, 18 May 1918.
- (14) Solidaridad Obrera, 20 and 21 May 1918, 1, 15, 17 and 26 June 1918.
- (15) Solidaridad Obrera, 28 June 1918.
- (16) See the articles by Seguí, Buenacasa, Viadiu, Gil, Lola Ferrer, Rueda and Prat in Solidaridad Obrera, 26, 27 and 28 June 1918.
- (17) C.R.T., pp. XXX-XXV.
- (18) C.R.T., pp. 1-4.
- (19) C.R.T., p. 44.



- (20) Buenacasa, p. 249.
- (21) C.R.T., pp. 32-33.
- (22) C.R.T., p. 42. This reference, presumably to the International Workers of the World, illustrates an interesting area for further study, that of the international dissemination of syndicalist ideas by merchant seamen.
- (23) C.R.T., p. 45.
- (24) For the debate, C.R.T., pp. 9-14. The dictamen is on p. 12.
- (25) C.R.T., p. 16.
- (26) There were four identified Socialist delegates from these areas.
- (27) C.R.T., p. 57.
- (28) C.R.T., p. 58.
- (29) C.R.T., p. 20.
- (30) Lladonosa, pp. 95-101.
- (31) Balcells, El sindicalisme, pp. 53-54, Lladonosa, pp. 105-112 gives a list of the principal Sindicats Unics which were formed and the dates by which they became operational.
- (32) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 15.
- (33) The announcement of the suspension of relations with the U.G.T. in Solidaridad Obrera, 26 August 1918, stated that it was because of a demand by the latter that the Catalan syndicates should join the U.G.T. Although the U.G.T. Congress in October 1918 attempted to restore collaboration, relations worsened in early 1919, and the C.N.T. Congreso de la Comedia in Madrid, December 1919, called for the absorption of the U.G.T. by the C.N.T.
- (34) See Bueso, Recuerdos de un sindicalista, pp. 105-108.
- (35) AE statistics are lacking for 1917 and defective for 1919. The list of strikes in Spain from 1920 to 1922 in Solano, ?El ocaso del sindicalismo?, pp. 36-57, contains some unsystematic data for Barcelona.
- (36) Massana, p. 101.
- (37) Massana, p. 97.

## NOTES: CHAPTER 8

- (1) As stated in Introduction, note (12) the name by which the enterprise was known in Castillian was La Canadiense and most non-Catalan and Spanish historians have continued to baptise it in this way. But within Barcelona and Catalonia it is always referred to as La Canadenca. For a brief history of the enterprise see the article by J.M. Giralt d'Arquer in GEC, vol. 3. For the strike of La Canadenca the best contemporary source is undoubtedly Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 68-130. This is largely based on the news printed in the Diario de Barcelona of the period. In Martín Rodríguez and Olle Romeu, pp. 93-96 there is a version of the events of the strike based on the reports in El Diluvio. The version of M. Garcia Venero, in Historia de las Internacionales en España, Vol. II, M., 1957, pp. 277-281 deliberately does not go into detail, claiming that: 'La anecdotica de la huelga de la Canadiense y del paro general siguiente es poco valiosa'. Balcells gives a version that closely follows Solano, in El sindicalisme, pp. 67-91, and which confuses the chronology of the end of the strike. Baratech Alfonso, pp. 51-58 gives a right wing eyewitness account. For an account by a syndicalist participant, A. Pestaña 'La huelga de la Canadiense y el Sindicalismo'. Speech in the Ateneo Sindicalista, Madrid, 3 October 1919. Reproduced in España Nueva, 4 October 1919, Solano, pp. 162-182, and in A. Pestana, Trayectoria Sindicalista, M., 1974, pp. 376-392.

The account given in Meaker, pp. 158-168 closely follows Balcells and Baratech Alfonso's versions. The author shares the view of Balcells and Baratech that the April general strike could have been avoided and represented the C.N.T. over-reaching itself. Kern gives a completely distorted version in his Chapter 2, pp. 34-37, which is based on Balcells and R. Sanz, El Sindicalismo y la Política. Los "Solidarios" y "Nosotros", Toulouse, n.d. Sanz is hardly the most trustworthy source since he has the name of the Civil Governor wrong, calling him Ossorio y Gallardo (who was Civil Governor when the Setmana Tragica began), on p. 33. The mistake is echoed by Kern, p. 35. Bookchin, pp. 177-179, gives a brief description of the strike based on Balcells and Meaker.

- (2) This version is given in Solano, El Sindicalismo, p. 69. Kern, states, without giving a source, that the company had been forced to cut back production by a quarter in early January, a version which, if it is correct, has not been given by any other historian. He goes on to claim that these cutbacks had to be passed on to the staff in the form of wage cuts. On p. 36, he goes on to claim that an economic crisis was in progress and that the C.N.T., impelled by a hot-headed base, had picked the worst possible time for a fight. But as Balcells points out, pp. 147-148, the crisis did not arrive in Spain until 1920; the situation in 1919 was still one of boom because the industries of the warring nations had still not returned to their pre-war production.
- (3) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 69.

- (4) Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 71. Kern, p. 35, claims that he was a director and that violence became a daily feature of the strike.
- (5) See the report by Argente, Ministro de Abastecimientos, quoted in Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 72.
- (6) Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 71.
- (7) Kern, p. 34, believes that the members of La Fraternal were tram-men, instead of coachmen and cab-drivers, and that this was a sympathy strike. The workers demands are reprinted in Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 71-72, and from these it is evident that this was a strike for changes in conditions and wages. There are no references in the newspaper reports of the period to its being a solidarity strike. He believes the demands of the textile workers to have been completely unrealistic because of his mistaken view of the economic situation. From this he deduces that the C.N.T. was being pushed on a collision course from below, an assertion which he backs up with a quote from Buenacasa, pp. 78-79. The quote is taken from a section referring to the development of groups of gunmen within the C.N.T. and is taken completely out of context to be applied to a wholly different situation.
- (8) For a description of the decision to stop all work see Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 75-77.
- (9) Pestaña emphasizes the effect produced by the blackout: '... a las cuatro de la tarde ... Barcelona quedaba a oscuras. Comprenderéis el espectáculo de una población tan importante en que a las siete de la noche, no hay encendida una sola, luz y nadie puede circular. Aquello era algo así como el fin del mundo', p. 385.
- (10) Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 75. When questioned as to whether the workers would be militarized or not the Captain General replied that from now on they belonged to the state, without specifying further. The permission of the English ambassador had to be sought since the Canadenca was an Anglo-Canadian holding.
- (11) Ibid, pp. 76-77.
- (12) Ibid, p. 76. Solano also describes a curious scene, somewhat reminiscent of the Middle Ages: 'En la plaza de San Jaime, un ratero, aprovechándose de la oscuridad, sustrajo el reloj a un transeunte, dándose después a la fuga. La persecución del ratero por los guardias, que enarbolan sus antorchas encendidas, constituyó un curioso espectáculo'.
- (13) Ibid, p. 80.
- (14) Ibid, p. 78.
- (15) Ibid, p. 80.

- (16) The letter was copied in a manifesto of the Strike Committee which is reproduced in *ibid*, pp. 84-86. This interesting document gives the version of events which caused the strike according to the Committee, including the affirmation that when the strike broke out the Civil Governor had invited the Committee to come and see him. The Committee refused the invitation 'por la razón que no era al gobernador a quien se reclamaba, sino a la Compañía'.
- (17) These conditions are given in *ibid*, pp. 86-87.
- (18) The Government decree is reproduced in *ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
- (19) *Ibid*, p. 88. This seemingly inexplicable bombing - the Henrich works was not involved in any dispute nor did it have a bad record of labour relations - was, according to Hurtado, p. 365, because the works was in front of a centre of a rumoured clandestine German organisation which was disposed to repay the Catalan industries for their 'collaboration' in supplying the allies during the war. Nothing else is known of this group; in the newspaper accounts of the bomb explosion, no mention is made of them. Solano records the arrest of 200 foreigners holding a meeting in c/. Gravina, many of them Germans, but also some Russians and Austrians, and who had maps of Barcelona and its sewers, in *ibid*, p. 118. The greater part of those arrested were released the following day.
- (20) Ferrer and Piera, pp. 88-89. Amadeu Hurtado describes how the red censorship worked in La Publicidad, pp. 366-367, though he places the event at the beginning of the winter and after the conflict had ended:

Una nit del començament de l'hivern un jove obrer de la impremta de La Publicidad, ajudant de màquines, va entrar a veure el director portant a la mà la galerada d'un article de l'edició que s'estava preparant per a l'endemà, i amb un posat mig confós li deia que l'article no es podia publicar. El director, tot estranyat, li preguntà:

- Qui ho ha dit?

- Jo - li va respondre l'obrer.

- Deixeu, deixeu - replicà el director després de donar un cop d'ull al text -. No és cosa vostra. Ja ho dirà en tot cas la censura.

- Es que he vingut per dir - li que la censura sóc jo. Com a delegat del Sindicat Unic tinc l'ordre de revisar l'original i no deixar publicar res sobre les qüestions socials que no sigui a favor nostre.

Avisat per telèfon, vaig anar tot seguit al diari aquell jova em repetia la mateixa escena. Vaig procurar fer - li entendre que un diari imparcial com ha d'ésser el del gran públic hauria de plegar amb aquell sistema, i com que ell em responia, amb una certa agudesa, que no havíem pas plegat per la censura del Govern, jo em permetia de fer - li veure que, si es podia salvar una censura, era impossible salvar - ne a la vegada dues que fossin contradictòries. Però no hi havia res a fer, perquè es tractava del compliment d'una ordre terminant. Tot seguit vaig demanar que compareguessin uns representants de les diferents seccions de la impremta per exposar - los la gravetat del cas, i, tot i haver comprès que el text discutit era inofensiu, cap d'ells no es va atrevir a discrepar de l'opinió del delegat, el més modest de la casa, per no separar - se de les

directrius sindicals. L'article ve ésser retirat per no suspendre la sortida del diari, i passada la sorpresa, vam capejar el temporal com vam poder en les dies successius, posant a prova les nostres simpaties entre el personal.

- (21) The bando is reproduced in *ibid*, pp. 88-89.
- (22) Reproduced in *ibid*, p. 89.
- (23) P. Voltes Bou, p. 183, claims that 3,000 workers were interned in the castle in the days following the publication of the bando. Later that month Xenius (pseud. Eugeni d'Ors) asked: 'Per que us sorprenen tals o tals altres dificultats de mobilització. Ceccs. No veieu que volen operar sobre gent ja mobilitzada?' (my underlining). In 'Glosari - El miting d'anit passada' in La Veu de Catalunya, 20 March 1919.
- (24) Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 90. The soldats de quota were those who avoided compulsory military service by paying 1,000 pesetas a year to the state. This gave them the right to choose the regiment in which they would serve, and to serve a shorter period than ordinary soldiers. This system was introduced in 1912 by Canalejas and replaced the earlier one by which the well-off could avoid military service altogether by paying someone else to do it.
- (25) This sector of the population was already swinging against the Civil authorities. After the bomb explosion outside the Henrich Printing Works the Vanguardia of 9 March had published an article strongly attacking the Civil Governor and calling for his immediate sacking. *Ibid*, p. 88.
- (26) Morote was able to enter into negotiations with the Committee through the lawyer of the C.N.T., Del Rfo. The meetings were held in the Barcelona offices of the Instituto de Reformas Sociales. The details of the agreement were published in the newspapers the following day, the censura roja having been lifted for the occasion. The complete agreement is reproduced in *ibid*, pp. 92-93.
- (27) There is great confusion amongst the sources about the meeting in the Bosc theatre. The version given by Piera in Ferrer and Piera, pp. 78-79 gives the impression that the meeting was never held. According to Baratech, pp. 56-57, repeated by Meaker, p. 161, the meeting in the Bosc was relatively small and the intransigents among the syndicalists were able to persuade those present to reject the proposed settlement. Baratech was interested in proving the existence of hotheads; however Pestaña gives a similar version in his speech in the Ateneo Sindicalista of Madrid, 3 October 1919, in Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 174. A contemporary newspaper account in La Veu de Catalunya, 19 March 1919, confirms that a short meeting did take place, with Piera himself in the chair, and that the agreement was accepted, but that there was discussion as to whether work should be resumed before the release of the prisoners, and it was impossible to arrive at a decision, hence the adjournment of the meeting to a larger venue the following day.

- (28) The meeting of Les Arenes was amply described in the press of the day, and in Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 94-97. A modern version by Ferrer which uses the reports of La Veu de Catalunya is given in Ferrer and Piera, op. cit. pp. 90-93, and contains some observations by Piera, notably that there were at least 50,000 workers present, since not only the bullring, but the zone around it were full. The account given by Meaker, pp. 161-165, is taken from Baratech. The version given here is taken from Solano, El sindicalismo, and from the following newspapers: La Veu de Catalunya, 20 March 1919, El Diario de Barcelona, 20 March 1919, El Diluvio, 20 March 1919, and La Publicidad, 20 March 1919.
- Kern erroneously believes that the meeting of Les Arenes rejected the Government's terms. A majority, he claims, favoured holding out until all those jailed during the 44 day old strike were actually freed. He goes on to say that members of an ultra left faction acknowledged sometime later that this condition was really a pretext for defeating reformism and continuing the "revolution". (The inverted commas are his.) In evidence he cites three page references, one in Buenacasa, p. 96 and pp. 25 and 53 in Ricardo Sanz, El sindicalismo, and, although I have diligently searched these pages and re-read them several times, I find nothing in them to justify his claims.
- (29) Reproduced in Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 97.
- (30) Ibid, pp. 102-103.
- (31) This description of the process by which the strike took hold is taken from ibid, pp. 103-105 and from R. Pla y Armengol, Impresiones de la huelga general de Barcelona del 24 marzo al 7 de abril de 1919, B., 1930.
- (32) The reactions of the authorities to the strike are described in Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 105-106. The bando of the Captain General is reproduced on p. 106.
- (33) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 79.
- (34) A complex mythology has grown up around this article published by Ferran Agulló under the name of Pol in La Veu de Catalunya, 12 August 1909. The word 'Delateu!', as Benet points out, is not to be found in the wording of the article, but rather in its interpretation. Benet, p. 87, note 5. Whether precise wording or interpretation, it was denounced by the working class movement in 1909 and succeeding years.
- (35) In J.M. March, El Somatén, su origen y naturaleza, su historia y organización. La salvación de España, B., 1923, the primary obligation of the somatent is described as '... queda obligado a defender el orden social si éste se viere perturbado', p. 38.
- (36) Amadeu Hurtado, op. cit. speaks of the reformation of the Somatent and of the founding of the Federación Patronal, and makes the same observation:

'I per fi, aquella paradoxa que s'havia observat en els orígens del catalanisme polític entre l'esperit de transformació de totes les tradicions polítiques espanyoles i l'esperit de conservatisme social, desapareixia per a cedir la plaça a aquest segon sentiment, amb una màxima intransigència, fins a posar - se resoludament la burgesia a les ordres de les autoritats militars sense cap reserva per salvaguardar les conviccions nacionalistes.'

- (37) For the organization of the Somatent in Barcelona, see March, Chapter IV, Organización actual del Somatén, especially pp. 36-41, where the 'Instrucciones y Reglamentación para el Somatén de la Ciudad de Barcelona' of 22 January 1919 are reproduced.
- (38) March, p. 37-38.
- (39) Ibid, pp. 39-40.
- (40) Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 107. It should be noted that this day was not a Sunday as Balcells states, in El sindicalisme, p. 80, but a holiday.
- (41) This account is taken from Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 111-112. There had been a small incident earlier in the day when two carts, bringing vegetables into the city were stopped by strikers and made to turn round. However when they began the return journey they were stopped by a cavalry patrol, and escorted back into the city. The individuals who, moments before, had stopped the carts, were now nowhere to be seen.
- (42) Ibid, pp. 112-113.
- (43) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 80 (quoting Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 114).
- (44) Solano, El sindicalismo, p. 116.
- (45) These events, of the 30th-31st are to be found, in somewhat confused order in Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 116-118.
- (46) The note is reproduced in *ibid*, p. 119.
- (47) For a description of the arrest of Pestaña, see *ibid*, p. 121. Pestaña himself, in Lo que aprendí en la vida, Madrid, 1933, does not mention the incident, though he claimed in his speech to have been ill treated. See *La España Nueva*, 4 October 1919, p. 3.
- (48) For the events from the 1st to the 8th see Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 119-126.
- (49) Pla y Armengol, p. 49.

- (50) The demand was published in the Boletín Oficial, with the permission of the Captain General, and is reproduced in Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 126-127.
- (51) Ibid, p. 127.
- (52) Ibid, p. 128.
- (53) Ibid, p. 140.



## NOTES: CHAPTER 9

- (1) P. Sola, Las escuelas racionalistas en Cataluña (1909-1939), 2nd ed., B., 1976, p. 14, points out that the renewed interest in Ferrer came from students, educationalists and young workers.
- (2) For the official version of the project see Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, El Presupuesto Extraordinario de Cultura, B., 1908. There is an ample description of the Pressupost and the controversy it provoked in Ajuntament de Barcelona, Les construccions escolars, B., 1923, pp. 39-111.

In Un segle de vida catalana, Vol. II, in the IVth part which is dedicated to the years 1898-1930, the pages on education by A. Galí (pp. 1427-1434) do not contain any reference to the affair. The study by R. Alberdi, 'La formación profesional en Barcelona (desde la restauración a la dictadura) (1875-1923)', 4 vols., (unpublished doctoral dissertation University of Barcelona 1976, pp. 205-206 only mentions the Pressupost in passing. The studies of Ferrer, Layret, pp. 66-69, and Albertí, pp. 253-255 give short accounts of the affair. J. Mones, 'Les institucions escolars' (unpublished research work, Fundació Jaume Bofill, Barcelona, 1975), pp. 1075-1085 devotes more attention to the educational provisions of the Pressupost. The most complete monographic study is that of J. Matas i Tort, 'El Presupuesto de Cultura de 1908 del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona en el marco de la renovación escolar de Catalonia', (unpublished Tesi de llicenciatura, University of Barcelona, 1970). There is a short study by J. de Camps i Arboix, El Pressupost de Cultura. 1908. Problema d'actualitat. B., 1974.

Information on the role of Albert Bastardas is given in A. Perez i Bastardas, 'L'Ajuntament de Barcelona a primers de segle, 1904-1909. Albert Bastardas i Sempere, primer alcalde popular.' (unpublished Tesi de llicenciatura, University of Barcelona, 1979), pp. 205-236 and notes, pp. 241-246 and pp. 249-257.

- (3) M. Izard, El segle XIX. Burgesos i proletaris, B., 1978, pp. 98-99.
- (4) Perez, pp. 223-224.
- (5) Perez, pp. 249-253.
- (6) For this figure see Ullman, p. 180. By 1909, according to Romero Maura, p. 439, there were 'cerca de medio centenar' of schools, in which some 4,000 pupils received instruction.
- (7) There is no biography of Hermengildo Giner de los Rios. Despite his importance in Barcelona municipal history he is not mentioned in the GEC. For a short account see the introduction by B. Delgado to H. Giner de los Rios, Preceptos pedagogicas para el profesorado de las escuelas libres, neutrales o laicas de niños

- y niñas. Barcelona-Palma de Mallorca, 1979, pp. 7-16.  
For a description of his political theory and educational theory and practice, *ibid.* pp. 16-25.
- (8) Giner, pp. 33-34.
- (9) *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- (10) For a list of the main actions of the Radical Republicans in the Town Hall see Alberdi, Vol. I, pp. 207-208. The increase in the number of national schools was achieved by changing the category of some existing schools to that of national schools, thereby boosting the national school figure. The schools created by the Ajuntament were for special groups and included the Escuela Municipal del Bosque, on Montjuich, which was an open air school and the first of its kind in Spain, as well as the Escuelas Municipales de Artes in Districts V and VIII, and the Escuela Municipal de labores y oficios de la Mujer. There was also a certain interest in Montessori methods, leading to the setting up of the first Montessori school of Spain in Barcelona.
- (11) On the Col·legi Mont d'Or, see GEC, vol. 3.
- (12) Mones, pp. 1473-1489.
- (13) For a description by a contemporary of a church school, clearly pointing out these features, see P. Gual Villalbf, Memorias de un industrial de nuestra tiempo, B., n.d., pp. 25-27.
- (14) Ajuntament de Barcelona, Institucions d'ensenyament tecnic, B., 1922, p. 149. For a discussion of ideological objectives and progressive educational models in the educational policy of the Lliga, see Mones, Chap. XXXI, pp. 1490-1492.
- (15) Ajuntament de Barcelona, Institucions, p. 149.
- (16) The Consell de Pedagogia was created by the Commissió d'Instrucció Pública i Belles Artes de la Diputació on 1 June 1913 under the name of Consell d'Investigació Pedagògica. From 31 January 1916 it was known as the Consell de Pedagogia.
- (17) On Montessori see GEC, Vol. 9. On Palau i Vera see GEC, Vol. 10, J. Gali, 'L'obra realitzada per Prat de la Riba (des de la Presidencia de la Diputació i de la Mancomunitat', in E. Prat de la Riba, propulsor de la llengua i cultura (Articles i parlaments), B., 1971, pp. 276-277, and Mones, Chap. XXIV, p. 1170. Palau i Vera published a text on his experiences with the Montessori method: Un assaig d'aplicació del mètode Montessori a la Casa de Maternitat, B., 1919.
- (18) On all these aspects of the introduction of Montessori-inspired teaching in Barcelona, see Mones, pp. 1120-1124 and 1129-1131. The experience of the pilot school in Barcelona province, in Sant Llorenç Savall was described in an article in Revista de Pedagogia, 1932, pp. 307-312.

- (19) On the Escoles d'Estiu see Mones, 1124-1129. On Eladi Homs, GEC, Vol. 7. On Alexandre Gali, GEC, Vol. 6. For the Quaderns d'Estudi, Butlletti dels Mestres and the Biblioteca Minerva, see Mones, pp. 1131-1134. According to J. Gali, p. 250, 41 different titles were published.
- (20) El Progreso, 3 May 1916.
- (21) On Barret see J. Gali, pp. 230-231.
- (22) For a contemporary description with photographs of the Escola Industrial, Escola d'Indústries Textils, Escola de Blanqueig, Tintoreria, Estampació i Aprestos, Escola de Teneria, Laboratori d'Estudis Superiors de Química, Escola Superior d'Agricultura and their different methods of teaching and programmes, see Diputació de Barcelona, Guia de les Institucions científiques i d'ensenyança, B., 1916, pp. 143-171.

The Patronat was made up of the 'President de la Diputació Provincial, L'Alcalde Constitucional, els Presidents del Foment de Treball Nacional, Cambra de Comerç, Cambra Industrial, Societat Econòmica Barcelonesa d'Amics del País, Sindicat d'Exportadors, Associació d'Enginyers Industrials, el Director de l'Escola d'Enginyers Industrials i altres nomenats pel Govern'. Diputació de Barcelona, *ibid*, pp. 144-145. Some of the individual schools within the Escola Industrial had their own Patronats, and these were smaller but of similar composition to that of the Escola Industrial. None of them included pupil or worker representatives.

- (23) 'Dins el pla general de complement i articulació de l'ensenyament tècnic a Catalunya que orientava la creació de la Universitat Industrial, l'Escola del Treball era destinada al perfeccionament professional i a l'educació tècnica d'operaris i contramestres, aptes per secundar intel·ligentment als Directors d'Indústries, en les grans explotacions, i per modernitzar pel propi impuls el rutinarisme dels petits tallers...' in Mancomunitat de Catalunya, Escola de Treball. Déu anys d'acció escolar, 1913-1923. B., 1923, p. 3. This text is an excellent descriptive summary, well illustrated and with statistical tables of the development of the different schools within the Escola del Treball.
- (24) In 1923 the Library possessed some 3,000 volumes, the majority elementary works relating to the subjects taught at the school while the rest were general cultural works. In 1923 a collection of doctrinal and documental works of Sociology and Political economy were being assembled, '...on càpiguen, amb ample esperit, totes les crítiques'. *Ibid*, p. 41. The number of matriculation fees returned was roughly a third of all fees.
- (25) On the Secció Preparatoria see *ibid*, pp. 33-34 where the syllabus is outlined. On the Lectures literàries etc., see the list in p. 43, *ibid*. On p. 41 the function of these is described in the following terms: 'Amb aquestes activitats, l'Escola s'ha proposat oferir als seus alumnes, al costat dels mitjans necessaris per a llur "educació tecnològica" - perfeccionament de l'home com a objecte, com a mecanisme i vehicle - el camí de llur "educació humanista" - perfeccionament de l'home com a subjecte, com a

motor i voluntat-cercant la superació de l'uniformisme que l'especialització provica, amb l'exaltació de l'originalitat i del sentiment de la responsabilitat pròpia, despertant curiositats desinteressades i comunicant hàbits correctes de pensament'. On the Institut d'Alumnes i Ex-Alumnes, see *ibid*, pp. 45-46.

- (26) On the Escola de la Moda see *Diputació de Barcelona, Guia*, pp. 321-329 and Alberdi, vol. 2, pp. 96-105. The view that it was largely patronized by society women is in Mones, *Les Institucions*, chap. XXIV, p. 1150. On the Escola Superior de Bells Oficis, see *Diputació de Barcelona, Guia*, pp. 200-210.
- (27) For a contemporary vision of these activities see *Diputació de Barcelona, Guia*, pp. 315-321. For a modern account by a 'funcionari' which sets the problem of local administration within the general project of the Lliga see F. Artal, 'Els funcionaris a l'època de la Mancomunitat', in L'Avenç, 21, November 1979, pp. 75-76. On the importance of the Setmanes Municipales see Roca i Rosell, pp. 76-82.
- (28) Mones, pp. 1151-1153 discusses this issue. See also the comments by J. Gali, pp. 270-272. It goes without saying that working-class women had been working in Catalan industry since its beginnings. As Balcells points out women from the lower levels of the middle class had been employed in traditional activities such as sewing etc., but at home. Balcells, 'La mujer obrera', pp. 81-83. Increasing numbers of women from these sectors had come to find work in the new careers of shorthand and typing. See Capmany, pp. 65-93 for a discussion of attitudes to work by women during the years 1900-1925.
- (29) The decision of May 1915 to found a popular library in each municipality of Catalonia specified that the librarians would be women. See *Diputació de Barcelona, Guia*, p. 333. For the course and syllabus, *ibid*, pp. 333-336.
- (30) P. Pagés, *Política cultural de Prat de la Riba*, in *A l'avantguarda de l'educació*, B., 1972, pp. 131-132.
- (31) See *Diputació de Barcelona, Guia*, pp. 100-104 for the Junta de Museus. On the Servei de Conservació, *ibid*, pp. 87-88.
- (32) On the Institut d'Estudis Catalans see *GEC*, vol. 8. For the contemporary version, *Diputació de Barcelona, Guia*, pp. 13-16.
- (33) See note (30), Chapter 1 for references to the Museu Social.
- (34) For a description of the difficulties involved for students in the University Library see the complaints by Clapes in preface to his Fulles històriques de Sant Andreu de Palomar. On the Biblioteca de Catalunya see *GEC*, Vol. 2. For the statistics of the number of readers see the section dedicated to this in the AE for the years in question.

- (35) Diputacio de Barcelona. Guia, pp. 109-110. The number of students at these courses was kept very small indeed - 10 students - although when there was great demand an increase in the number allowed was considered.
- (36) Ajuntament Constitucional de Barcelona. Libro de Actas, 1916, folio 26, cited by Alberdi, vol. I, pp. 200-210.
- (37) Ibid, Folios 31-32.
- (38) Actuacio de la Comissió de Cultura 1917-1921, in AE 1918-1919-1920, p. 280. Ibid. The article goes on to comment on the distribution of this immigrant population throughout the city (pp. 283-284), pointing out that in District III, a barri of 'tradicció ciutadana' illiteracy was 23%, whereas in VI and X it was 49%.
- (39) See 'Memoria explicativa de la distribucio dels edificis escolars' in Ajuntament de Barcelona, Les construccions escolars, pp. 171-183. The two schools constructed were El Grup Escolar Baixeras in Via Laietana and the Grup Escolar 'La Farigola' in Vallcarca. Both were inaugurated in March, 1923. There were a further four in progress at that time.
- (40) The Montessori schools have already been discussed above. The Escola del Bosc had been founded by the Radicals in 1910. The Escola del Mar was founded in 1921. See Ajuntament de Barcelona, Comissió de Cultura, Escola del Mar, B., 1921. There is a modern study dedicated to this school and its head, Pere Verges, L'Escola del Mar i la renovació escolar a Catalunya by R. Saladrigas, B., 1974. The school in Guinardó was opened at the request of the local residents, see Ajuntament de Barcelona, Les Construccions escolars, p. 284.
- (41) Ibid, pp. 301-306 for the Escola Municipal de Cecs, Sant-Mutes i Deficients.
- (42) On the Escoles municipales de Artes see C. Pi i Suner, Per la cultura obrera. L'acció de les nostres escoles professionals, B., 1923, written by the former director of the Escola Municipal de Artes of Sants. For a modern study, Alberdi, vol. III, pp. 204-214. On the Escola Municipal de Labors i Oficis de la Dona, see ibid, pp. 216-222.
- (43) On the school campaign in Sants the only account is that of Huertas Claveria, and Fabre, Tots els barris de Barcelona, Vol. I, pp. 150. For contemporary newspaper references see La Veu de Catalunya, 9 January 1918, morning, and Solidaridad Obrera, 19 May 1918.
- (44) R. Shaw, Spain from within, London, 1910, pp. 15-16, 272, 276. Alvarez Junco, pp. 515-525. Also Y. Turin, La educación y la escuela en España, 1874-1902, M., 1967, pp. 167-175.

- (45) This dictamen is reproduced in A. Lorenzo, El proletariado militante, M., 1974, pp. 259-262.
- (46) Alvarez Junco, pp. 522-535.
- (47) On Gabarró, see GEC, Vol. 7, and P. Sola, Els Ateneus Obrers y la Cultura Popular a Catalunya, 1900-1939. L'Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular, Barcelona, 1978, p. 46.
- (48) Seminari d'Historia de l'Ensenyament, 'Escuela pública/provada' in Cuadernos de Pedagogía, 9, 1975, p. 22.
- (49) Sola, Las escuelas, p. 16.
- (50) Sola, Las escuelas, p. 18 remarks on the drop in the number of lay schools in the 1890's. The same author, in 'La Escuela y la educación en los medios anarquistas de Cataluña, 1909-1939', in Convivium, Filosofía, Psicología Humanidades, 44-45, 1976, p. 41, claims that from 1882 to 1896, 70 lay schools were founded in the 'zona de influencia de Barcelona', and infers that the real number must have been greater, alleging that the official statistics of the period do not reflect the lay school movement, since such a movement was not permitted by the Constitution of the Restoration Monarchy of 1876 (which was based on the Church-State Concordat of 1851).
- (51) P. Sola, 'Francesc Ferrer i Guardia y la Escuela Moderna', in Cuadernos de Pedagogía, 2, 1975, pp. 16-27. Reprinted in Sola, Las Escuelas, pp. 13-29. Alvarez Junco, pp. 539-540.
- (52) There is a certain amount of autobiography in F. Ferrer, La Escuela Moderna, Explicación y alcance de la enseñanza racionalista. B., n.d., re-edited in Montevideo in 1960 and again in Barcelona in 1978. The references given below come from the Montevideo edition. For contemporary accounts of the life of Ferrer see the favourable version of W. Archer, The life, trial and death of F. Ferrer, London, 1910, and the unfavourable versions of S. Canals, Los sucesos de España en Barcelona, 2 vols., M., 1910-1911, and C. Leroy, (pseud. J.A. Sánchez Gonzales, Los secretos del Anarquismo, Mexico, 1913. Ferrer's daughter, Sol, wrote a somewhat fictionalised version of her father's life, Le véritable Francisco Ferrer. D'après documents inédits. Paris, 1948. Modern accounts include Ullman, *passim*, and Romero Maura, *passim*. On the development of Ferrer's thought during his exile period, see Ferrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-14.

L'Espagnol Pratique, Paris, 1895 and 1897 was based on the Assimil method.

As a mason Ferrer, according to Sol Ferrer, arrived at grade 31, in Le Véritable Francisco Ferrer, p. 129. His contacts with Catalan masons were to be useful to him in setting up the Escuela Moderna. For example, the two lecturers most associated with the Sunday lectures in Barcelona, Odon de Buen and Martínez Vargas, were both prominent local masons.

On the two features of Ferrer's thought explained here, the belief in the formation of a new mentality through education is diffused

throughout the whole of La Escuela Moderna, esp. Chapter IV, 'Programa primitivo', pp. 25-28, Chapter IX, 'La Renovación de la Escuela', pp. 55-62. See also Romero Maura.

Ferrer's belief in the need for revolutionary action to bring about the revolution and then social change was expressed in the financial support which he gave to publications like La Huelga General, Romero Maura, p. 205, his connections with terrorists, *ibid.*, p. 244, and his involvement with Solidaridad Obrera, pp. 478-480. See also Constant, pp. 249-250 for the 'Plan Ferrer' to bring about the Republic by violent means. Ferrer, it should be noted, never abandoned the idea that the Republic was a necessary stage which the movement towards social emancipation had to pass through. On Madame Meunier, see Ferrer, La Escuela Moderna, pp. 5-10, for Ferrer's version of his relationship with her, and Constant, pp. 252-253, for a hostile version.

- (53) Sola, 'Francisco Ferrer', p. 23.
- (54) Ferrer had no particular love for textbooks in themselves, preferring the oral transmission of knowledge. As Sol Ferrer puts it: 'Ferrer croit beaucoup moins aux livres (du moins aux manuels vulgaires sur lesquels l'enfant s' "abrutit") qu'à l'impregnation directe. C'est tradition anarchiste.', in S. Ferrer, p. 112. On the Editorial see *ibid.*, pp. 121-123.
- (55) For the number of branches of the Escuela Moderna in Barcelona province in 1906, see Ullman, p. 180.
- (56) See S. Ferrer, pp. 134-135 for the get-together on Good Friday, which she describes as a 'festival de bravade'.
- (57) A. Rosell, El poder de la educación, Paris, 1944, pp. 10-21, on the reticences within in the Barcelona working class movement, and the criticism of his work.
- (58) On the closure of the lay schools after the Setmana Tràgica and the campaign for their reopening see P. Sola, Las escuelas, pp. 38-42. He cites figures of 122 schools and 16,000 pupils affected. On the reopening of the schools, *ibid.*, p. 53.
- (59) On the Asociación de Profesores Laicos Racionalistas and the Primer Congreso Librepensador Español, see *ibid.*, pp. 36-37 and 43-44.
- (60) Salvat, José, 'Viva la Escuela Moderna', 37, 21 October 1910.
- (61) Ramon, Diego. 'Ferrer'. Solidaridad Obrera, 367, 30 October 1916.
- (62) "Egior", 'Un mitfn pro-Racionalismo'. Solidaridad Obrera, 434, 6 February 1917.
- (63) Olivé Serret, pp. 78-79.

- (64) For the text of themes 4 and 6 see Congreso de Constitución de la Conferencia Nacional del Trabajo, B., 1976, p. 38.
- (65) *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
- (66) *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- (67) All the quotes from this dictamen and the succeeding debate are taken from *ibid.*, pp. 66-70. Adolfo Bueso considers that Herreros was present at the Congress as representative of the anarchist group, Tierra y Libertad, which edited the newspaper of the same name. See Bueso, A., Como fundamos la C.N.T., p. 51.
- (68) This resume and the quotes from the debate and proposición incidental are taken from *ibid.*, pp. 70-72.
- (69) Sola, Las Escuelas, p. 62, discusses this point briefly. The career of a socialist intellectual like Campalans, director of the Escola del Treball, is a perfect illustration.
- (70) This meeting has already been cited above in note (62).
- (71) F. Figuerola, Solidaridad Obrera, 675, December 1917. The reply by E. Gimbernat, 'Sobre pedagogía. ¿Algo? Quizás', in Solidaridad Obrera, 685, 14 December 1917.
- (72) Solidaridad Obrera, 690, 19 December 1917.
- (73) Sobre enseñanza, in Solidaridad Obrera, 702, 31 December 1917. Antonia Maymon belonged to the group Tierra y Libertad.
- (74) Escuela Racionalista 'Luz', in Solidaridad Obrera, 434, 7 December 1917.
- (75) Foix, Apostols i Mercaders, Quaranta anys de lluita social a Catalunya, México, 1957, pp. 31-39. Joan del Pi (pseud. Joan Ferrer i Fariol), Interpretació libertaria del moviment obrer català, no place of publication, 1946, pp. 10-11. See the GEC, vol. 10, for a brief biography of Roigé.
- (76) One of Sola's informants went with Roigé to the "14 Sindicatos Base de Barcelona, en demanda de subvenciones para la Escuela. El resultado fue nula o casi; Sindicatos importantes! solo daban cinco duros!". Sola, Las escuelas, p. 100. See also Foix, p. 39.
- (77) Sola, Las escuelas, pp. 100-102 reproduces the two testimonies he collected, from which some of the information on the Escuela Luz given here is taken.
- (78) Sola, Las Escuelas, p. 104. However a note in Solidaridad Obrera, 751, 8 May 1918, states that the Syndicate and School have been closed for a long time and are now being allowed to reopen.



- (79) Sola, Las Escuelas, pp. 103-111 for the oral evidence of former pupils of La Farigola. The letter from the former militant, Rafael Adell was first published in Cuadernos de Pedagogía, 29, May 1977, and it is reproduced in Sola, pp. 223-227.
- (80) Adell in ibid., pp. 224-225. It is not known who directed the school at its beginnings. According to Adell it seems to have had no director during the period of pistolerisme and it was only after this that Puig i Elias, who was to become closely involved with it, took over. Before Puig started in the school a teacher trainee had already started his training, though the Syndicate was unable to meet the financial burden and he had to give up. With Puig the task was undertaken seriously. On Puig see GEC, Vol. 10.
- (81) Adell, in Sola, Las Escuelas, p. 225.
- (82) Ibid., p. 111.
- (83) Gil, V. A los sindicatos adheridos al congreso regional. Solidaridad Obrera, 800, 26 June 1918.
- (84) Rueda, Enrique. 'Para el Congreso Regional', in Solidaridad Obrera, 800, 26 June 1918. Rueda affirmed that the Metalworkers Syndicate had already discussed this matter at their Congreso Regional in 1913. See Memoria del Congreso, pp. 14-18.
- (85) In Solidaridad Obrera, 801, 27 June 1918.
- (86) In Solidaridad Obrera, 802, 28 June 1918.
- (87) Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña. Memoria del Congreso celebrado en Barcelona los días 28, 29, 30 de junio y 1º de julio del año 1918, pp. 54-61 for the dictamen and the debate. Seguí presided, with Viadiu and Mestres as secretaries.
- (88) Sola, Las Escuelas, gives a brief resume of the debate but states that the Congress decided that the quota of 20 centims should be voluntary. There is however nothing in the text of the Memoria to suggest this, although the aclaración to an earlier proposición incidental which follows the debate may have confused him.
- (89) Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña. Memoria del Congreso, pp. 87-90.
- (90) Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- (91) Solidaridad Obrera, 994, 4 January 1919. According to Sola, Las Escuelas, pp. 185-187, the intellectual workers did not form a syndicate within the C.N.T. comparable to that of the F.E.T.E. (Federación de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza) of the U.G.T. until the foundation in 1937 of the Sindicato Único de la Enseñanza.

- (92) This speech is reproduced in Solano, El sindicalismo, pp. 224-231. It is translated into Catalan in S. Seguí, Escrits, B., 1975, pp. 44-52.
- (93) Solidaridad Obrera, 18 December 1933, for the classes in the Sindicato Unico del Metal. On the Congreso Regional de Sindicatos de Levante, see Sola, Las Escuelas, p. 81.
- (94) J. Peiró, Pensamiento de J. Peiró, 2a. ed. Mexico, 1959, pp. 73-74.
- (95) The whole speech is reproduced in Salvador Seguí. Su vida, su obra., Paris, 1960, pp. 79-87. The portion reproduced here is taken from pp. 85-86.

- (1) On the economic situation, see the contemporary works of Bernís, and Viada y Viada. For a modern summary, Balcells, El Sindicalisme, pp. 147-158. Ibid, pp. 91-141 for an account of the local and national governmental changes in the period 1919-1923, and the different policies pursued by the authorities during the period. For contemporary views, F. Madrid, Ocho meses y un día en el Gobierno Civil de Barcelona, Confesiones y testimonios, B.-M., 1932, and F.G. Solano ¿El Ocaso del sindicalismo? B., 1933. On terrorism, see the contemporary works by Casal Gomez; Comite Pro-Presos, Nuestro folleto: ideas y tragedia, Marresa, 1922; La Confederación Nacional del Trabajo a la opinión pública de España. A toda conciencia honrada. Manifestaciones y origen del terrorismo en las luchas sociales. Quiénes somos y adonde vamos. Alicante, n.d.; J.M. Farré Morego, Los atentados sociales en Espana, M., 1922; F. Madrid, Sangre en Ataranzas, B., n.d.; and A. Pestaña, Terrorismo en Barcelona, B., 1979. This turbulent period of Barcelona's history has left a number of novels; two excellent examples by contemporaries are those of J. Oller i Rabassa, Quan matàven pels carrers, B., 1930, and J.M. Vila, La ciutat malalta, B., 1956 and El poder feia vacances, B., 1964. A modern novel which is less descriptive and more analytical of the political and social processes, is that of E. Mendoza, La verdad sobre el caso Savolta, B., 1975. It has been filmed in a Spanish-French production which apparently sensationalises the issues. However the director and team responsible for the film on the Setmana Tràgica, "La Ciutat Cremada", have advanced plans for a new film dealing with the years 1916-1923. On the Sindicatos Libres the basic text is that of Baratech, but see also the modern article by C.M. Winston, 'A puntes para la historia de los Sindicatos Libres de Barcelona (1919-1923)', Estudios de Historia Social, 2/3, July-December 1977, pp. 119-140.
- (2) La Veu de Catalunya, 13 March 1923, evening.
- (3) Balcells, El sindicalisme, p. 158 (though the year is misprinted as 1922), Giralt, Balcells and Termes (1967), p. 100.
- (4) Federación Patronal de Barcelona, Breves consideraciones sobre la actual huelga de transportes, B., 1923, pp. 8-9.
- (5) La Veu de Catalunya, 23 March 1923, evening. Almost all the citations from contemporary newspapers referring to the course of this strike will be taken from this newspaper, as it contains the most detailed and consistent accounts, especially as it published two editions, morning and evening. Other newspapers consulted were La Vanguardia, El Diario de Barcelona, and the incomplete collection of Solidaridad Obrera for this period in the A.H.M.B.
- (6) La Veu de Catalunya, 29 March 1923, morning.
- (7) Ibid, 30 March 1923, evening.
- (8) Ibid, 1 April 1923, morning, and 4 April 1923, morning.

- (9) Ibid, 7 April 1923, evening.
- (10) Ibid, 14 April 1923, evening, 16 April 1923 evening.
- (11) Ibid, 20 April 1923, morning, and 23 April 1923, morning for the two lists of speakers.
- (12) Ibid, 4 May 1923, morning.
- (13) Ibid, 2 May 1923, evening.
- (14) Ibid, 8 May 1923, morning, for the initial news of the strike. On the real motive, 18 May 1923, morning.
- (15) Ibid, 8 May 1923, morning.
- (16) Ibid, 11 May 1923, evening, for the use of non-union labour. Meeting of Sindicat Unic dels Transports and rumours about paralysis of wheeled traffic, 15 May 1923, morning.
- (17) Ibid, 18 May 1923, morning.
- (18) Ibid, 19 May 1923, morning.
- (19) Ibid, 19 May 1923, evening.
- (20) Ibid, 22 May 1923, morning.
- (21) Ibid, 24 May 1923, morning.
- (22) Ibid, 24 May 1923, evening and 26 May 1923, morning.
- (23) Ibid, 25 May 1923, evening.
- (24) Ibid, 25 May 1923, evening.
- (25) Ibid, 26 May 1923, evening and 28 May 1923, evening.
- (26) Ibid, 29 May 1923, evening and 30 May 1923, morning.
- (27) Ibid, 30 May 1923, evening and 22 June 1923, morning.
- (28) Ibid, 2 June 1923, morning.
- (29) Ibid, 8 June 1923, morning and evening.
- (30) Ibid, 9 June 1923, evening. In an editorial it was stated that the funeral was a demonstration against the Government, a spontaneous symbol of Barcelona losing patience.