

UNIT 5.- FROM THE RESTORATION SYSTEM TO THE FAILURE OF PRIMO DE RIVERA'S DICTATORSHIP

THE RESTORATION

From the First Republic to the Restoration (Restauración).

The motivations of the Restauración have to be seen in the *Sexenio Democrático* - from the *Gloriosa Revolución* of 1868 to 1875, because neither the revolution of 1868, the democratic republic of Amadeo de Saboya or the federal republic changed the solid socio-economical bases of Isabel's Spain.

Together with the failure of the *Sexenio Democrático*, authoritarian rule spread in Europe and reached Spain. The international context was also a factor in the Spanish evolution of events. The army would have an important role during this period. For the army the events of the first republic surpassed their ideological horizon, what they were prepared to tolerate. The army was not to tolerate a repetition of the events in 1873.

In January 1874 the *pronunciamiento* of General Pavía dissolved the Cortes and established the government of General Serrano. He attempted to install an indefinite regime of a republic with a predominant president and a strong executive power that aimed to eradicate cantonalism.

From there, events accelerated. On December 1874 General Martinez Campos rose in Sagunto and proclaimed the restoration of the Bourbons under Alfonso XII. This event advanced the plans and perspectives of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, considered the architect and father of the Restoration system. He considered it essential to restore the monarchy as a system of government and as an underpinning institution for the political system. Although a representative monarchy, because there were elections, it would be a doctrinal version of it and not a real democratic version. However he would want some changes in relation to the past and this is why he did not want the restoration in the person of Isabel II but her son Alfonso XII. Cánovas del Castillo wrote the Manifesto of Sandhurst, signed by Alfonso XII, that was meant to be the symbol of the restoration of the king by making a program of his plans as a king.

Antonio Cánovas del Castillo wanted to finish with the era of *pronunciamientos* as a means for political change, and from 1872 was getting ready to seize power without military help through a restoration party. With that he pretended to have the army subordinated to the political system.

However, this evolution of events was accepted by the ruling classes and by the bourgeoisie and the Catholic Church.

- For the landowners. They sought a government committed to respecting the property system as the bases of the existing social order.

- The **bourgeoisie** wanted a strong government and were used to pacting, with estate groups. In the middle classes in general, the interest in order and security dominated, over republican feelings. The Catalan bourgeoisie accepted it in exchange for protectionism, by then closer to other former free-trade sectors.
- The popular classes were repressed after the crushing of the cantonal movement. Workers associations were prohibited and outlawed. In this way, the republican opposition was controlled.

The Constitution of 1876

From the *pronunciamiento* by Martínez Campos until the approval of the Constitution 18 months went by. This period was decisive for the establishment of the new regime. This was to be the longest-lasting constitution in the whole of Spanish constitutional history -up to 1923.

The socio-political order was to be very strong at a structural level and civil governments received concrete instructions for maintaining public order. In the new constitutional system there was a mixture between the maintenance of the interest of the ruling classes, as guarded in 1845 Constitution, and ideas and liberties coming from the 1869 Constitution. Sovereignty resided in the “*Cortes* with the king”, for which reason there is not a complete acknowledgement of popular sovereignty. In contrast, some individual freedoms from 1869 constitution are declared. It was very eclectic and ambiguous so that it could be interpreted in a very restrictive manner or in a more open manner, and expressed the consensus among wide strata of the political class. The Constitution recognised universal male suffrage from 1890. Until then suffrage was limited, a fact that particularly favoured landowners.

King, *Cortes* (that is, the parliament) and the government are fundamental to the Constitution. The king had the right to initiative and sanction with right of veto. He could appoint part of the senators and the president of the Senate, he could convene, cancel or close parliamentary sessions and could dissolve the parliament. The parliament could intervene in the succession of the crown and the regency when the king was underage. However, while the faculties of the crown over the parliament and in its legislative functions are well defined, the intervention of the *Cortes* on the crown is not, and neither is the role of the ministers between the *Cortes* and the king.

There were senators by right (*Grandes de España*), others for life, and others chosen by limited suffrage.

The political system: *caciquismo*

Cánovas del Castillo reached the conclusion that the only solution to get rid of the political agitation characteristic of 19th century Spain, with its *pronunciamientos* and revolutions, was to enunciate a political system in which the opposition could seize power by pacific means. This system was known as *turnismo*. This *turnismo* was based on the existence of two big parties, the conservative party, called Partido Liberal-

Conservador, with Cánovas as its leader, and a liberal party, called Partido Liberal-Fusionista, led by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. These parties had to accept the monarchy of Alfonso XII, and this is the reason why they were called dynastic parties. Both of them had to put together the biggest possible number of groups and factions. Both parties would take its turn in power (hence the name *turnismo*). In this way, the regime obtained stability, although republicans and Carlists were excluded from the system.



Magazine “La Flaca”. Satire of electoral fraud despite masculine universal suffrage, instored by Práxedes M. Sagasta in 1890. Sagasta is on top of the machine followed by *caciques*, manipulation of votes, hatchet men with clubs, army officials...

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8b/Laflaca_caciquismo.jpg

Of course, in order to achieve this it was necessary to depart from a non-democratic system, although it would appear to be so. The elections were pure formality, it would be a mixture of external respect for the parliamentary institutions and a cynical adulteration of its real essence. A parliament was elected, but through the *caciquismo* system and the pact between the two parties, the elections were always won by the initiating party. In a democratic system, the party that wins the elections appoints its government. In the Restoration system, the king appointed the government and afterwards there were elections for that party to obtain the majority. This is why the system had to rely on *caciquismo*.

Caciquismo has to be understood within the context of isolation and little communication within the country areas, very differentiated in Spain. The “caciques” were members of the local elite, which had as characteristic features that it was rooted to

the geographical, economical and social area; personal predominance in a closed society; and their function as mediators between the region and the estate through a political mechanism that reached the provincial governor. The “cacique’s” function was to control the elections and also, and this is important, to hand over to the political opponent when the circumstances required it, accepting a temporary transfer of power to his opponent. The “cacique” supported the Estate and political system in exchange for maintaining his local prerogatives.

This is why it is said that *caciquismo* was a symbiosis of modern and old needs. When in 1890 the parliamentary regime became democratic, the system would need to resort to these more to assure the result in the elections.

The cities would demonstrate more mobility and flexibility within the system, as it would be more difficult to control the votes by local chiefs and they would be pioneers of a more and more true suffrage. Rural areas would be much more controlled.

As mentioned before, the two big parties of the Restoration, the dynastic parties, were, the *Partido Liberal-Conservador* and the *Partido Liberal Fusionista*, known as conservatives and liberals. They were of course the only parties that ruled over this period. They were not modern mass parties, as we know them today. They were parties of notable men, this is, the meeting of several political leaders with their respective clienteles, their press and local support. Each politician led a faction. The mission of the leader was to maintain the different factions of the party united, and to balance the division of the benefits among them.

If a party lost its internal unity while in government, the king could retire his trust and call the opposition to appoint a new government and call for elections, through what it was known as “decreto de disolución” (dissolution decree). For this reason, the leader of the party had to be someone with enough charisma to be able to draw together all the factions. In the last quarter of the 19th century, Cánovas del Castillo and Sagasta were indisputable leaders, but after they died their parties suffered from internal divisions.

Phases

1st phase. 1876-1881. Conservative. This period was important for further developments. It is the period when the Constitution was written. The system was set up.

During this period some of the serious problems affecting stability were sorted out, i.e. the Carlist war.

2nd phase. 1881-1890. Consolidation of liberalism. The country is more solid and mature. The regime was consolidated despite the death of the king Alfonso XII (1885). In the 80s the partido Fusionista, led by Sagasta, reached power through an agreement between Cánovas del Castillo and Sagasta call “El Pacto de El Pardo”, which determined a peaceful political change. The Partido Fusionista was in power from 1881 to 1883 and from 1885 to 1890, during which there would be three governments led by Sagasta,

which would be called “Parlamento Largo”. Characteristics of the period: some political tolerance behind a situation of economic expansion; law of **jury trials** and male universal suffrage.

There was an attempt to abandon isolationism and an approximation to Europe, joining the Triple alliance.

During this period the Partido Liberal Fusionista joined together with other liberal-progressive factions in the Partido Liberal.

During this period there was a consolidation of the basis of the modern Spanish State. With the economic expansion the **bourgeoisie** and middle classes in general their education increased and they would be more interested in politics and social issues, which was to become later a contradiction and a threat to the regime.

3rd phase. 1890-1902. Crisis of the end of the century. The same political system continued with new politicians, and *turnismo* of liberal and conservative governments.

It is remarkable the influence of positivism at a philosophical level and in the mentalities, which would direct more and more criticism towards the system.

During this time a movement called *Regeneracionismo* (Regenerating movement) appeared. Joaquín Costa was its main leader. This movement pushed for the abandonment of fatalism and promoted a fight for the future. Its effects were not immediate. Costa’s ideas were up to some point assumed by most of the political parties from left to extreme right in the following years.

The economic expansion stopped with the economic crisis at the end of the century. Conflicts increased considerably, making visible the problems of peasants and industrial workers. There was an increase of demonstrations by trade unions and parties on the left. The social order that the Restoration aimed to achieve was threatened, as it was the conception of the State as moderate, doctrinaire and unitary. This last point was questioned by nationalism, particularly Catalan nationalism.

In 1895 the independence movement in Cuba and the Philippines started, which would conclude with the Spanish-American war and the loss of the colonies in 1898. The military defeat of Spain at the hands of the United States in July 1898 has always been a reference point in the collective memory of Spaniards. It goes far beyond the actual consequences – military, economic, colonial and political – of a disaster which, to anyone with a modicum of information, always seemed inevitable, given the extraordinary inequality between the opponents and the diplomatic isolation of Spain. In fact, historical writings of recent years agree that, apart from the enormous symbolic significance of the loss of the last colonies of a once-great empire, the effects of the war, both economic and political, were relatively limited. At the same time, one writer has pointed out that, faithful to a tradition common to the European political culture of the time, the date 1898 was used as a rhetorical device to increase awareness of the need for a profound political transformation.

An important generation received its name that year, the 98 generation which produced extraordinary intellectuals and artists: Azorin, Baroja, Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset, Zuloaga, Regoyos.

4rd. phase. 1902-1923. Despite being discredited the system continued to function. 1917 was to be an important date because of:



AL FRONTÓN CONDAL

—¿Qué se celebra aquí, que hay tanta gente?
 —El Banquet de la Victoria.
 —¿De la victoria? Ah, vaya, serán paisanos.

<http://www.fundaciofolchitorres.org/cucut/victoria.htm>

- In 1905, the magazine *Cu-cut* published the cartoon above, implying that the Spanish army only collected defeats –i.e. in the Moroccan war. Then, about 300 army officers from the Barcelona garrison assaulted the editorial office of *Cu-cut* and *La Veu de Catalunya*, in reality as an anti-Catalanist outbreak. The government did not punish the perpetrators and, instead, dictated the Law of Jurisdictions, according to which any spoken or written offence to the flag, the unity of the fatherland and army's honour was to be removed from civilian courts and dealt with by the military. As a response to this law, parties in Catalonia, excepting the dynastic parties and Lerroux's Radical Party, united in *Solidaritat Catalana* (Catalan Solidarity), which lasted until the Tragic Week in 1909.

- In 1910, from groups around *Solidaridad Obrera* (Workers Solidarity) the anarchist trade union CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo- National Confederation of Workers) was born in Barcelona. This union would have an important role in the Spanish workers' movement until the beginning of Franco's dictatorship.



CNT-AIT flag

[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/84/Bandera CNT-AIT.png](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/84/Bandera_CNT-AIT.png)

- There was an economic crisis following the end of World War I (see section on economy).
- The war in Morocco was a constant drain and the defeat in 1921 in the Annual battle caused one of the most important political crises of the Restoration period and undermined Alfonso XIII's monarchy.
- Junteros. Creation of the *Juntas militares de Defensa*. They appeared in Barcelona in November 1916 and had their first regulations in 1917. Factors: rising cost of living that reached the army, favouritism in the Royal Palace -*Palacio Real*, situation of the infantry, integrated by middle class people, difficulties for promotion by merits. The army was in a polarised situation, as despite having a big part of the budget this was unequally distributed, with a group of privileged military and another impoverished. On 1 June 1917 the Juntas issued an ultimatum to the government in which they demanded acknowledgement and liberation of the "junteros" imprisoned. The Juntas were dissolved in 1922.
- Bolshevik Biennium (1918-1920). Unrest, rebellion and strikes in Andalucía, agitation in Catalonia. In Catalonia the CNT was active with leaders such as Salvador Seguí (El Noi del Sucre-1923) and Angel Pestaña.

After the crisis of 1917 it was clear that the Restoration political system had collapsed. This was the crisis of *caciquismo*.

Economy

The economy in general followed the same guidelines as in the previous period. Despite some developments in demography, economics and culture, the **gap** with the rest of Europe was still remarkable, and was left behind by international geopolitics, like other economies in the Mediterranean region.

Agriculture continued to be the main economic sector. Traditional backward methods of production continued to be applied and landowners continued exploiting cheap rural labour or *jornaleros* within their landed estates. There were still appalling standards of living. The property land system did not change, dividing Spain between areas of landed estates or *latifundia*, particularly in Andalucia, Extremadura and some areas in Castile, smallholdings or *minifundia*, particularly in Galicia and some areas in Castile, and mid properties in the rest of Spain.

The competition of cereals –wheat- from the United States of America and other countries had an important crisis as a consequence. Therefore, Canovas del Castillo's government decreed a protectionist **tariff**, pressured by cereal growers landowners from Castile as much as by Catalan industrialists. This was the end of the free trade policy supported by landowners until then, and Spanish governments. This policy had allowed landowners to sell their raw materials, cereals, and buy industrial products from other countries. Liberal Spanish governments tended to apply free trade tariffs as part of their liberal policy but this fact led many times to conflict with Catalan industrialists –i.e. Espartero in 1842 or Figuerola's tariff in 1869. In the short term the new protectionist tariff was positive as it gave some stability to the country but in the long run it was negative as protectionism is meant to be transitional, otherwise it becomes corrupted and, in this case, obsolete traditional structures and production techniques were untouched with no innovation and based on maximum exploitation of very cheap labour. Tariffs also meant that Spain had much higher prices for food products than most of Europe.

On the other hand, Spanish wine was one of Spain's main exports until the 1880s. It was very important in several regions, like in Catalonia. As stated in the previous unit, wine growers, called *rabassaires*, were subject to *rabassa morta* contracts. From the 18th century there were tensions about the meaning of the tenancies within the *rabassa morta* contracts. The contract was supposed to last for the duration of the vine, and by using some techniques like grafting and other practices, this could mean generations. Owners – *Institut Agrícola de Sant Isidre*- wanted to reduce contracts to a **crop-sharing** tenancy. However, a plague coming from France, the *phylloxera*, the illness of the vine, isolated Spain from the 1880s but particularly in the 1890s.

After the phylloxera, the conflict broke out. There were crises in 1890, 1920 and 1934. The Civil Code of 1889 considered grafting and other common practices valid but limited the duration of the contract to 50 years. In 1893 peasants created their own union, the *Federació d'Obrers Agrícoles*, that preceded the *Unió de Rabassaires* (1920). At the end of the 19th century owners substituted the notarised contract by a verbal agreement to avoid giving *rabassaires* rights over the land and the possibility of the cultivators of **redeeming** the land (as happened in a Catalan perpetual contract: *emphytheusis*). By 1920 many *rabassaires* had lost what most had distinguished them in the past from other rural tenancies, that is, the security of a prolonged stay on the land they cultivated. The new American vines were resistant to the phylloxera but they lived less than the old Mediterranean vines.



"The phylloxera, a true gourmet, finds out the best vineyards and attaches itself to the best wines."

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Phylloxera_cartoon.png

Industry continued as in previous periods. Its base for the consumption industry was Catalonia, with a focus on textiles, organised in small and medium family companies.. Iron and steel industry continued developing in the Basque Country which consolidated in the 1880s, after assuring coal supplies from England and because it benefited from protectionist tariffs. Later in the century and at the beginning of the 20th century there was some investment in the chemical and electrical sectors in both areas.

During World War I, both, Catalan and Basque industries had a golden opportunity to put themselves forward in the world industry while Spain was neutral and the main industrial countries were at war. This was a period in which the Spanish industry increased its production and found new markets. Prices went up and industrialists, traders and other dealers made big sums of capital. Nevertheless, this was a lost opportunity, because the benefits were not invested in improving and modernising Spanish industry and reached a level more similar to those in Western Europe. The benefits were used for luxury expenses and speculation, at the expenses of the working classes, who saw their poor standard of living go still lower because their wages practically did not increase while prices did.

Primo De Rivera's Dictatorship

The declining authority and loss of political support of the Restoration system, with the two dynasty parties taking their turn in power and the control of the election by local caciques, ended up with the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera. This was a solution that pretended to avoid social unrest –of the kind of the Bolshevik Biennium 1917-19- and to ensure the interests of the rural and financial oligarchy.

General Primo de Rivera gained power by a coup d'etat, on September 13, 1923, and at first he ruled via the army through a Military Directory.

During Primo de Rivera's dictatorship the rural oligarchy controlled political power, the Basque bourgeoisie was integrated in the central government and power, and the Catalan bourgeoisie did not have political power but had accepted Restoration and dictatorship in exchange for protectionism and to avoid social unrest. The Free trade bourgeoisie were marginalized although they supported the coup d'etat.

Social peace was based on systematic repression and the "concord" with socialists. Economic prosperity was based on a policy of public work, although there was an important waste of public funds. The increasing interventionism troubled more and more the industrial Catalan bourgeoisie, who also were increasingly annoyed by anti-nationalists policies. On top of this, following Mussolini's economic policies, the dictatorship tried to limit competition through an obsolete corporatism and policies of extreme economic nationalism.

Military directory (1923-1925)

The first measures of the directory would be:

- Concentration of ministries in the person of Primo de Rivera,
- Call of the state of war in all the country,
- Constitutional guarantees are suspended,
- Substitution of civil governors by military governors in the provinces, the State is divided into military regions led by a Captain General
- Trials by jury are suppressed,
- Extension of the Catalan Somatén to all the state.
- In 1924 the "Unión Patriótica" was created, the single party and support of the dictatorial regime.
- Organisation of an administration system ranked from central, to provincial and municipal levels.
- Important monopolistic national companies were created during this period: *Compañía Telefónica Nacional de España* (1924), CAMPSA (1927). The most durable and important creation was the Hydraulic Confederations, in an attempt to rationalise the great river systems as a source of electrical power. The regime also benefited from favourable economic circumstances in Europe and the USA.

The main figures of the repression would be Martínez Anido and Arlegui.

The main problems would be:

- Public order and terrorism. Double policy of repression and seduction: Strong repression of communists and anarchists but permissive with the socialists.
- Catalan nationalism. La Lliga approaches Primo de Rivera hoping to have concessions for autonomy in Catalonia and public order. This approach is criticised

by Acció Catalana and nationalism becomes more radical. The army wants repression to sort out the “Catalan problem” and Estat Catala is declared illegal. Nationalists in exile related with anarchists and communists. Violent action groups appeared. In the end Catalan industrialist who supported the regime in exchange for protectionism, retired their support. In general, discontentment due to anti-nationalist measures by the military while Primo de Rivera is aloof to the problem.



Francesc Cambó –founder of Lliga Regionalista- and journalists in 1930
<http://www.artehistoria.jcyl.es/histesp/obras/19172.htm>

- Colonial crisis: Morocco. The war in Africa ended. He took advantage of this triumph to maintain himself in power but could not obtain support from the army and did not want elections. The African army would become a strong and autonomous instrument in the hands of the generals.

Civil Directory (1925-1929)

- Primo de Rivera retired the military from its political responsibilities and re-established a ministerial council under his presidency (technocrats from the “Unión Patriótica”).
- Economy: protectionism, Estate corporatism, public works, concession of monopolies to foreign capital and capitalists close to the power structure.

Primo de Rivera's dictatorship solved some of the multiple problems plaguing the country: he ended the war in Africa, developed local governments and presented an ambitious public works programme. However, the attempt to return to a constitutional

government by integrating a consultative National Assembly (1926) failed with the rejection of the Drafts of the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy (1929).

End of the dictatorship (1929-1930)

At the end of the dictatorship the opposition is stronger and stronger. Socialists started complaining and anarchists recovered new strength. The petit bourgeoisie was also unhappy and political unrest, workers unrest and so on is patent despite the repression.

This strength in the opposition to the dictatorship can be detected from the following facts:

- FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) was founded in 1927, and spread particularly in Catalonia and Aragon. Some of its members made unsuccessful attempts to kill Alfonso XIII.
- PSOE and UGT abandoned their neutrality.
- Low and middle bourgeoisie mobilised through students movement (1926).
- A political scene in which a *pronunciamiento* was intended and universities were on strike, made the king ask General Primo de Rivera to take the decision of resigning (30-1-1930). The king, Alfonso XIII called a newly appointed government.

SOURCES AND ACTIVITIES

The Restoration

The Political System

“Generalised electoral fraud characterised the *turnismo* system which took place in the context of a backward agrarian country. The key to electoral corruption were the *caciques*, in charge of handing out the electoral results previously agreed by the two party elites.

The *caciques* were rich and influential people within rural Spain (landowners, moneylenders, notaries, merchants...) who, following instructions from the Civil Governor in each province, rigged the elections. Governors had, at their turn, been informed by the Minister of the Interior about the results that “should” appear in their provinces, following the *encasillado* that had been agreed by political elites.

The methods used by *caciques* during elections were varied: violence and threats; exchange of votes for favours, or simply cheating by direct electoral fraud, which was known as *pucherazo* (election rigging)”.

Free translation from a excerpt in Historiasiglo20.org
<http://www.historiasiglo20.org/HE/11a-1.htm>

Activities:

1. Explain the system of electoral rigging –fraud- during the Restoration period: *caciquismo*, *encasillado*, *tupinadas*.
2. Describe the cartoon from *La Flaca* magazine. What does it represent? Why is Sagasta at the top of the engine machine?
3. Compare the Spanish Constitutions of 1869, 1873 and 1876.
4. What is *turnismo*? How did it work? Include the parties and their leaders as well as any differences you could see between them.
5. Create a chart with the periods of government of both dynastic parties in *turnismo* from 1875 to 1917, including the prime ministers names.
6. When did this political system start to be in crisis and why?
7. What is a *cacique*? What professions did they have? What was their power in rural communities?

The Modern School and The Tragic Week



http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7d/Escuela_Moderna.jpg

“When six years ago we were so pleased as we started up the Modern School in Barcelona, we emphasised that the teaching system would be rational and scientific.

Above all, we warned the public that, as reason and science are the antithesis of all dogma, we would not teach any religion in our school. We knew that this statement would bring about hatred from the priestly caste, and that we would be fought with the weapons that commonly use those that live out of deception and hypocrisy, abusing the power given by their congregation ignorance and by the government powers (...).

The general clamour brought about by the clerical press against the Modern School –and that could result in one year in prison- is for us a proof that we made the right decision in choosing the teaching method, and should give to all rationalists new encouragement to keep our work...”

Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia. Letter from the Modelo Prison in Barcelona, 1-5-1907.

“In the spring and summer of 1909, as labor antagonism in Barcelona mounted, so did pacifism. Spain's disastrous defeat in the Spanish-American War in 1898 had hammered deeper the wedge between rich and poor in the city (...).

When guerrillas in the Rif attacked the railroad leading from the lead mines to the port on July 5, 1909, killing four workers, the Spanish government **retaliated** by sending a column of soldiers to pursue the guerrillas and by reinforcing positions on nearby Mount Atalayan. The Spanish soldiers suffered enormous losses, and the minister of war decided to augment the troops with six more battalions, made up mostly of reservists from Barcelona. The embarkations of Catalan soldiers began on July 9 from Barcelona; by July 25, twenty-four thousand ill trained Spanish troops were facing about eight thousand guerrillas from the Rif. The conflict became known in

Barcelona as the Bankers' War. Such an unpopular military engagement, especially one that called primarily on poor married men, was bound to lead to strong opposition (...)
 Ever since the institution in 1885 of a rule that permitted an annual indemnity to be paid in lieu of military service, most prosperous people had managed to save their sons from the draft (...)
 A general strike, scheduled to last one day, was called for Monday, July 26, with the support of Socialists, anarcho-syndicalists, and Radicals (...)



Francesc Ferrer's execution

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/81/Ferrer_Tragic_Week.jpg

women played a crucial role in every aspect of the insurrection that erupted on July 26, 1909. Like other general strikes, Tragic Week was an assertion of community solidarity as well as of labor grievances, one in which poor women took an active part. Women joined men at 4:00 A.M. on the roads to the factories to urge all workers to stay home. Although many did report for work, women, wearing white bows symbolizing the strike, urged them to walk out. The factory owners, fearing violence, told workers to go home, thus assuring the success of the strike (...)

By 11:00 the next morning, the general strike had become an insurrection. The narrow cobblestone streets of the Parallel district, with its slums, factories, music halls, brothels, and the port, provided the ideal place for barricades, as well as the population to serve on them. Local men and women used **manhole covers** and the streets' **cobbles** to construct barriers against the troops, who were certain to attack and did (...)

During the night of Monday, July 26, and all day Tuesday, religious institutions burned throughout the city, especially in areas of Radical strength, with the convents especially hard hit. A long tradition of anticlericalism followed by nine years of anticlerical agitation by the Radicals and their demagogic leader Alejandro Lerroux had succeeded in focusing popular distress and wrath on the religious orders (...)

Evidence supporting additional popular grievances against nuns surfaced when the crowds invaded other convents. Working women who sewed garments and linen at home had long complained that the convent labor of nuns and their orphan and student wards undercut piece rates (...)

By Monday, August 2, the insurrection had petered out as more and more troops moved into the city. Before the task of mopping up could begin, working women of Clot–Saint Martin demanded the release of all prisoners taken as a result of the insurrection. But despite the women's threats to keep the factories closed until the amnesty was complete, workers returned to their jobs on Monday morning. Barcelona remained under martial law until November (...)

During the unrest of 1909, local women showed a strong sense of being neighborhood guerrillas, guardians of their communities. Enriqueta Sabater, for instance, known as "the Big One," cut down electric poles and telephone lines in the Parallel after directing the construction of barricades (...)

Both real and presumed rebels against authority in Barcelona were persecuted in the aftermath of Tragic Week. Four participants and one scapegoat—the libertarian and libertine educator Francisco Ferrer, who happened to be outside the city during the uprising—were executed, some within weeks of the uprising, Ferrer in November 1909.”

Temma Kaplan. *Red City, Blue Period. Social Movements in Picasso's Barcelona*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992.

Activities:

1. Read the letter by Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia. Which are the basic ideas? Why do you think the Church was against rationalist teaching? Why was no religion taught in the Modern School? Do you think any of these ideas could be applied to the current situation?
2. Look for information about the Modern School that Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia promoted.
3. Who was Antonio Maura and what was his role in this tragedy?
4. Do a text appreciation of Temma Kaplan's text on the Tragic Week in Barcelona.
5. What role did women play in the revolt?
6. Why do you think churches were attacked? Why were convents and nuns particularly hit?

Society during the Restoration. Barcelona “the Rose of Fire”.

“The Mancomunitat de Catalunya (a federation of the four provincial councils of Catalonia) carried out valuable work in the fields of culture, public education, social action and in building basic infrastructure. It strengthened the role of the Institute of Catalan Studies and the Library of Catalonia. It set up a network of libraries around the country and promoted museums and archaeological research. It built and improved schools for primary education and vocational and professional training. It boosted transport and economic infrastructure by building highways and wine co-operatives, and by expanding the electricity and phone networks. “

Museu d'Història de Catalunya

“With its stress on luxury objects, the show mentions but doesn't dwell on the fact that Barcelona back then was also called “the rose of fire” and the “city of bombs” for a reason. There were endless battles among anarchists, Stalinists and republicans, and waves of strikes, terrorist attacks and police reprisals (...)

The police forced confessions under torture and staged public executions by garrotting (...)

And during the late 1910s and early 1920s, Barcelona was the site of more than 800 terrorist assassinations, among them the killing of the Spanish prime minister by three Catalan anarchists, which led to a military coup that installed a dictatorship in Spain in 1923.

Apropos of all this, Nonell drew beggars huddling in shawls in the vein of Goya. Casas painted the garrotings. But it's telling that the arts in Barcelona thrived despite and amid all this chaos, and mostly with no special regard for it.

Instead, a succession of elite movements, nationalist and internationalist in inspiration, adopting names like Modernisme, Noucentisme and Vibracionismo, unfolded."

M. Kimmelman. "A Seaport Abuzz With Cultural Ferment". New York Times, 9-3-2007

"In Barcelona, as in many European cities in the late 1800s, population growth was due largely to migration from the countryside (...) By 1910... the proportion of Catalans had fallen to barely 66 percent, and the numbers diminished even further when Barcelona's industries expanded during the First World War (...).Of the approximately 156,000 people with regular employment outside domestic service in Barcelona in 1905, 139,000 people—of whom 93,000 were women and children—worked in clothing manufacturing and the textile mills (...) There were 742 textile factories in the city at the beginning of the twentieth century, and even industrial workers generally worked in shops with fewer than twenty-five employees (...)

In that period –1888-1939, the city became a testing ground for a variety of "isms," among them, anarcho-syndicalism, Catalan nationalism, and artistic *modernismo* . The heady mix sometimes exploded into urban civil war and at other times gelled into a sense of solidarity against the usually repressive central government of Spain.

The actors in this pageant were legion. They included Catalan nationalists and federalist republicans, Catholic reformers and anticlericals, anarcho-syndicalists and Socialists. Sharing the stage were artists like Pablo Picasso and Joan Miró; the cellist Pablo Casals; playwright Santiago Russinyol; the engineer, puppeteer, and promoter of medieval and folk arts Miquel Utrillo; the anarcho-syndicalists Salvador Seguí, Ángel Pestaña, and Teresa Claramunt; and women engaged in grassroots politics like Amàlia Alegre and Josefa Prieto. These and others shaped the culture of Barcelona politically and artistically. On many occasions campaigns were waged and alliances struck by the full range of Catalan society against the national government of Spain. At other times, the lines were drawn between Catalan nationalist industrialists, supported by the police, and members of the popular community, frequently led by the anarcho-syndicalists."

Temma Kaplan. *Red City, Blue Period. Social Movements in Picasso's Barcelona*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992.



Portrait of Teresa Claramunt, anarchist leader

“The main cause of woman’s backwardness is in the absurd principle of superiority that men attribute to themselves. Current society is constructed under this false base; therefore, the results had to be inevitably contrary of the common good. This gets spread until falling in the shameful extreme of dividing men in classes and sub-classes, being these endless, and it is due to the separation created by the clumsy effort of each person to abuse others. Once men cultivated sex antagonism, their spirit was poisoned, being despotic and tyrannical with their fellow men. They started with women for being easier, and later the wish to dominate has made them ferocious.”

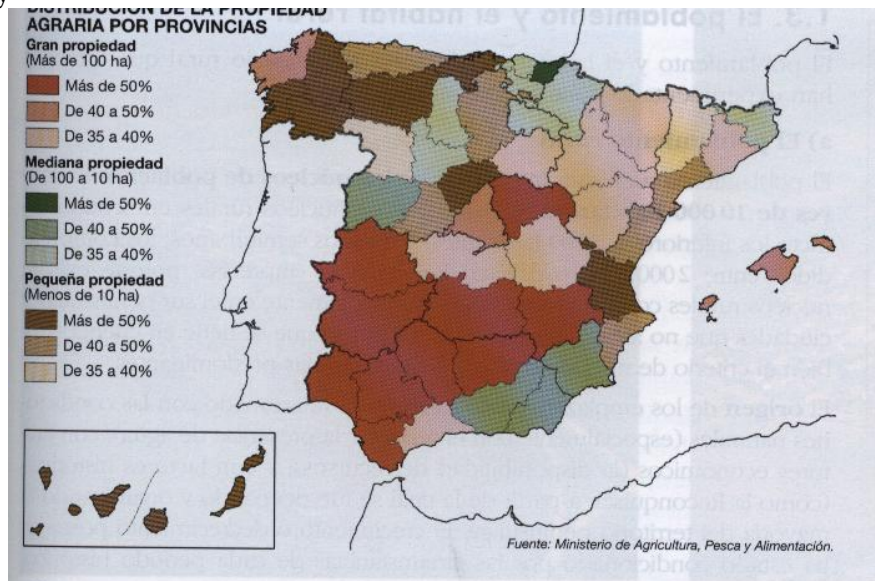
Translation of a text by Teresa Claramunt

<http://www.cnt.es/hospitalet/mujerHtml/articuloTeresaClaramunt.htm>

Activities:

1. What was the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya*? Explain what its main aims were, its main achievements and its limitations.
2. Explain the main events in political Catalan nationalism during the first third of the 20th century.
3. Relate the most significant social and political events in Spanish history from 1876 to 1931.
4. Find which Catalan political parties –some coming from federal republicans- existed in Catalonia from 1900 to 1930. Explain their evolution in their historical context and name some of their leaders.
5. What is the significance of 1898 and its consequences?
6. What is *Regeneracionismo*? Who was Joaquín Costa?
7. Describe the crisis of 1917 and its consequences.
8. Why was Barcelona called *the Rose of Fire* and *the City of Bombs*?
9. What was life in Barcelona like in the first third of the 20th century according to journalist M Kimmelman? And according to historian Temma Kaplan?
10. How do they both relate social issues to the development of the arts –Art Nouveau or Modernism, *Noucentisme*, painters such as Picasso or Joan Miró.
11. Lookfor information about Teresa Claramunt’s biography.
12. How did Teresa Claramunt see women’s situation in society?

Economy



Land Property in Spain

<http://www.iescasasviejas.net/salus/SALUS%20DOCUMENTOS/2BHGEHU/mapgraf/actiagraria.htm>

Activities:

1. Describe the map above and relate it to land property structure at the beginning of the 20th century.
2. Describe what large estates –latifundia- are and smallholdings –minifundia, where they are located and why in rural Spain.
3. What were the general conditions of agriculture in Spain during the first third of the 20th century?
4. What was the situation in Catalonia?
5. What is the phylloxera?
6. At what point of industrial development was Spain at the same period?
7. Why was World War I a lost opportunity for Spanish industry?

Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship

“...Well then, now we are going to take all responsibilities and we, or civilian men who represent our moral and doctrine, are going to be in charge of governing. Enough of weak rebelliousness, that does not remedy anything and harms the same or more discipline as this strong and virile rebellion into which we launch ourselves for Spain and the king. This is a man's movement: he who does not feel his fully developed masculinity, may he wait in a corner, without bothering us, for the good days that await the fatherland (...). (...) Assassinations of high-ranking members of the clergy, ex-governors, policemen, employers, foremen and workers; audacious and unpunished robberies; currency depreciation, (...) social indiscipline (...), unpunished communist propaganda, ungodliness and ignorance; (...) shameless separatist propaganda (...)”

Excerpt of Miguel Primo de Rivera's proclamation after the coup d'état, 13 September 1923

Primo de Rivera impone la Dictadura

► El general argumenta la necesidad de regenerar España.



El ejército en el poder: presidente Primo de Rivera, con medallas contra los anarquistas y el estalinismo

<http://www.xtec.es/~mzapata/Dictadur.jpg>

“... Primo came to power to put an end to disorder and to prevent an embarrassing report by a parliamentary commission causing discomfort to the king. However, as Captain-General of Barcelona and intimate of the Catalan textile barons, Primo was fully aware of the anarchist threat to them. Moreover, coming from a large landowning family in the south, he also had experience of the peasant risings of 1918-21. He was thus the ideal praetorian defender of the coalition of industrialists and landowners which had been consolidated during the great crisis of 1917. Initially, his dictatorship had two great advantages –a general revulsion against the chaos of the previous six years and an upturn in the European economy (...). A massive public works programme, which involved a significant modernising of Spanish capitalism and the building of a communications infrastructure that would bear fruit only thirty years later, gave the impression that liberty was traded in for prosperity.”

From: Paul Preston. *A Concise History of the Spanish Civil War*, p. 20.

Activities:

1. Explain causes and objectives of Primo de Rivera's coup d'état.
2. Describe the different periods of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.
3. Read the excerpt of Primo de Rivera's declaration after the coup d'état. Why do you think there is that exaltation of masculinity?
4. Primo de Rivera had a paternalist position regarding women. How did this and the text above conciliate with giving restricted rights of voting for women in city council elections? Look for information about this.
5. How does Paul Preston see the dictatorship period?
6. What was Primo de Rivera's background? What did he intend?
7. Comment on the economic policies of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.

8. What is the meaning of “gave the impression that liberty was traded in for prosperity”?