

Politics and protest in the Spanish Anarchist movement: Libertarian women in early twentieth-century Barcelona

Rachel Hadfield

The strength of the Anarchist movement in Spain in comparison with that of other European countries and with other labour movements within Spain itself has been the subject of much debate over recent years. With few exceptions, the historiography dealing with the movement has mostly concentrated on an analysis of the Anarchist trade-union - *Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (CNT)* – which has resulted in explanations of the strength of Anarchism in Spain being limited to this particular area of labour history.¹ The Anarchist movement in Spain, and particularly in Barcelona, did not, however, limit itself to the domain of trade-union action. Indeed, for many workers in Barcelona, Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism could best be described as a way of life that permeated beyond the male-dominated trade unions and brought together both sexes of the city's proletariat. This was particularly evident in the participation and activities of the worker's centres, the *ateneus llibertaris* (literally, libertarian athenaeums). This article consequently focuses upon the *ateneus* in Barcelona, and their role in increasing the politicisation and mobilisation of women within the Anarchist movement during the pre-civil war Second Republic (1931-1936). In doing so it is hoped to demonstrate that the strength of Anarchism relied not only on the trade unions, but also on the strong cultural tradition to be found within the movement that brought together both male and female libertarians in their fight for revolution.

Speculation has centred upon the various reasons for the lack of female attraction to the trade unions.² This absence may be contrasted with female agency in the local community, the *barri*, and at home. Within these spaces, the dominant ideals that defined their role as mother, wife, or daughter provided a source of empowerment and gave women greater control over life within them. Though the male may have been perceived as head of the household, the economic provider, a woman's role in Spain was intrinsically linked to her position as a wife, mother and nurturer. Women had control over the household budget and also had the greater say in matters relating to the home. For example, Sara Berenguer related in an interview how her father was forbidden to even speak of his Anarchist activities at home since her mother did not hold with his ideas despite the fact that he was an active member of the Anarchist movement outside of the home.³ Her mother also won the battle to send her five children to their first communion, which, given the atheist nature of Anarchism and its vilification of the church, demonstrates the considerable influence which women could yield both in the home, and in other areas considered to be the female domain.⁴

While the majority of women were unwilling to join the union and take part in union-organised action, many were willing to take to the streets in protest should their family's well being come under threat. For example, as a result of war-time inflation and the attendant increased cost of living, the month of January 1918 saw a series of protests and attacks on shops by women which lasted for almost three weeks, causing martial law to be declared in the city. They entered factories and workshops and incited many female employees to cease working and join their struggle to lower the prices of all essential goods. At one point during the riots over half the female workforce, some 23,500 women, refused to work.⁵ It appears that a mob of several hundred enraged women was still a force to be reckoned with, even in an industrialised Barcelona that had become used to organised protest in the form of strikes. This was recognised at the time by the Anarchist feminist, Lucía Sánchez Saornil (who later

went on to become a founding member of the *Mujeres Libres* organisation), who wrote ‘a women’s demonstration is often more effective, and the forces of public order often hesitate when dealing with them’.⁶ Furthermore, women often obtained their desired goal, at least for a limited time, as in the case of the January 1918 protests when prices were lowered, albeit only temporarily. In the Barcelona rent strikes of the early 1930s the police were frequently sent in to evict those who refused to pay the extortionate rent on their accommodation. However, they were normally met by large numbers of women, and even some children who would crowd around the flat in question making access impossible. The police would then often give up on their mission since they were averse to using force where women were involved.

Several interesting questions arise, therefore, when we come to consider the role of women in the *ateneus llibertaris*. These were community-based establishments, yet ones that had an inextricable link with the trade unions. *Ateneus* had existed in Spain since the mid-1800s. The first of their kind were normally of a middle-class, Liberal or Catholic nature with the best known probably being the *Ateneo de Madrid* in the capital. Several of them were created by the middle and upper classes in Barcelona as cultural establishments in order to provide an education for the city’s workers. By the early 1900s, however, the working-classes had begun to realise that there was a need to sever these ties with the dominant classes within the city and create their own cultural and educational establishments. To begin with they were shared by Socialists, Anarchists, Radicals and Republicans alike although during the 1910s several *ateneus* were set up to cater purely for the Anarchist movement such as the *Ateneu Sindicalista*, situated in the working-class fifth district, and the *Ateneu Llibertari de Sants*. By the 1930s the number of these Anarchist establishments to be found in Barcelona (and indeed the rest of Catalonia) had grown dramatically with virtually every neighbourhood in the city having its own *ateneu*. Set up primarily as educational establishments for both adults and children, they also performed various other functions that normally included an excursionist group, library, women’s group, theatre, choir and orchestral groupings, co-operative, and often an affinity group linked to the trade unions which organised political action. In this respect, we can question whether women perceived the *ateneus* as a further part of their community domain, or on the other hand, as an arm of the unions.⁷ If the former is taken to be the case, then the *ateneus* should have afforded the women of the *barri* the perfect opportunity to strengthen their social networks and establish themselves more firmly within the community. If the latter were true, these centres would have been a further male-dominated establishment from which women felt, and often were, excluded. It may be argued, however, that in the case of the *ateneus*, the situation was not so clear cut as in the male-dominated trade unions, or in the female-populated market place. Indeed, gender relations within the *ateneus*, and the Anarchist movement as a whole, benefited from their unique position of being halfway between these two domains.

Even so, one of the main problems when it came to women’s freedom to attend the *ateneus* seems to lie not in the conduct of *ateneus* members themselves, but in the treatment they received at home. Strong family ties prevented many female members of the Catalan working classes from exerting their independence in this area. Even in the households of Anarchist activists, the female, whether it was a wife, sister or daughter was often expected to stay at home and keep house, while the men attended the union or *ateneu*. Frequently, even in the most open and tolerant households where women were permitted to attend, it seems that they were still not considered able enough to look after themselves in these establishments. For example, Concha Pérez (an Anarchist activist in the 1930s), related how, upon her family moving to the *Les Corts* district of Barcelona, she immediately set out to find and become a member of the nearest *ateneu*, only to be joined by her brothers and even

her mother, who went, not for cultural or educational reasons, but purely to keep a watchful eye on her somewhat rebellious daughter.⁸

Nevertheless, the number of varying activities available in these establishments together with their position in the local community seems to have attracted numerous women. As Concha Pérez noted in an interview, 'there were almost as many women there as there were men'.⁹ Unfortunately, she did add that negative attitudes towards women were found amongst the older men there. However, according to Concha, amongst the new generation of Anarchists (who were responsible for the setting up of many of Barcelona's *ateneus*), such prejudices did not apply and she spoke happily of her time in the *ateneus* that she attended and of the relations between the two sexes within them.¹⁰ It would appear, therefore, that women were accepted into these establishments if they chose to go, and if they were then able to do so. Concha noted that within the *ateneus* 'they were treated as people, not like a woman, but as a person'.¹¹ A remark that also reveals the perception of women as being intrinsically linked with the home. Outside of this domain, though, it seems that it was possible for this male attitude to change. What this suggests, therefore, is that if women took it upon themselves to organise meetings, excursions and other events, or simply took an active role in the *ateneus*, they could be accepted as equals to their male counterparts.

Nuance is required here, however, for male/female relations were not so encompassing that the perception held of women was to change completely. For example, Concha related an incident that occurred when she and a group of female friends from the *ateneu* decided to take it upon themselves to go to the brothels of Barcelona and convince the prostitutes of the ills of their chosen profession. However, upon being thrown out of one establishment by an infuriated Madame, the location of their 'crusade' was changed to a *cabaret*. Upon entering, they spotted a male companion from the *ateneu* who invited them to join him at his table along with the women who worked there, (certain establishments such as the one in question were infamous in Barcelona for the sexual services the female staff provided). According to Concha, they spent several hours exchanging opinions, stories and jokes. The women from the *ateneu* left, now slightly unsure of the highly moralistic beliefs they had formerly held on the women who exercised the "world's oldest profession". This episode is revealing of the double standards apparent within the Anarchist movement, which, despite the efforts of many women (and some men), and the rhetoric of many men promoting sexual equality, still existed, not just in the *ateneus*, but throughout the movement as a whole. A glance at the Anarchist press of the period reveals an ongoing debate on the role of women in society and the dichotomy between the male and female perceptions of just how this role was to be defined. An example of the patriarchal attitude of the CNT during the Second Republic can be seen in the following exert from this "call to arms", released on the 9th December 1933 on the occasion of the attempted revolutionary take-over in Aragón: 'To the people: The CNT and the FAI summon you to armed insurrection(...) We are going to achieve libertarian communism(...) The women in their homes. The worker at his job'.¹²

Unlike Concha, Sara Berenguer, believes that the *ateneus* were for the 'elite' of the movement which corresponds to the thought of Anna Monjo who argues in her thesis that the strength of the movement was found within a core group of activists.¹³ Concha Pérez can be included within this category, though it should be noted that when it comes to anarcho-syndicalist activists, the majority of them were male. Nevertheless, given that several oral testimonies and other evidence show that a significant number of women attended the *ateneus*, we must treat this argument with some suspicion.¹⁴ It seems to have been up to the women themselves to define their role within these establishments (as indeed in other areas of life within the Anarchist and anarco-syndicalist movement). Those who were already active in other areas, who already had contacts within the trade unions, in their

neighbourhood etc., would have fitted into, and been accepted into the *ateneus* with a lot more ease than the *compañeras* of trade union members who were accustomed to remaining at home while their partners attended union meetings, or went to the *ateneus*. Even so, Catalan working-class women were able to open a door to the Anarchist movement through their experience within the *ateneus*; an experience which provided a significant contrast to that within the patriarchal CNT.

The *ateneus* represented a link with the community that was unparalleled within the unions and in this way offered a more attractive option. This was particularly the case for those who chose not to join the unions for fear of job dismissal and the loss of much-needed wages. For those working women who were members of the unions, the *ateneus* were a further way to immerse themselves into an Anarchist culture, to which other women had been drawn. This connection would have been especially important for two groups of women in particular: firstly, for those younger women who would spend only a few years at work before forming their own household, consequently having less opportunity to form strong links with their work colleagues; and secondly, for those in areas of employment such as domestic service who found it hard to form any kind of networks with other workers. Admittedly, it could be postulated that these communal networks were already in place. What is certainly the case, however, is that these networks would have been further strengthened and consolidated by the solidarity produced within the *ateneus*. As a community establishment that was open to all, it was possible for women to attend with their children. In fact, it was not uncommon for excursions and evenings to be organised with young children in mind, thereby permitting the attendance of both parents. This is a crucial factor with regards to facilitating the participation of women in the *ateneus* and possibly the greatest influence on the attendance of women with families. Attendance at an *ateneu* was, for women, a means of forming a greater political consciousness and militancy that they did not obtain from the trade unions, nor from their position as mother and homemaker.

In this aspect, of particular importance were the numerous groupings or clubs formed by women within these establishments. One particularly salient group in Barcelona was the *Grupo de Acción Feminina* (Women's Action Group) of the *Agrupación Cultural Faros*, one of the main *ateneus* in Barcelona. The Group was formed in April 1931 due to the great need to provide education for the 'proletarian woman' and had as its aim the active promotion of women's emancipation.¹⁵ The group frequently featured in the anarcho-syndicalist daily *Solidaridad Obrera*, often in articles relating to the cultural activities that the group organised (theatrical evenings, concerts, poetry readings etc.). Activities were not, however, restricted to artistic and cultural events. In April 1933, its members organised a rally, attended by over 5,000 people, many of them women,¹⁶ in protest against the death penalty, and in particular against the impending execution of forty-two workers from the Catalan town of Terrassa, who, in the opinion of the Anarchists, had been unfairly sentenced to death.¹⁷ This rally can tell us much about the attitudes and actions of women in the *ateneus*. Primarily, that these women, who had previously confined themselves mostly to communal uprisings, were now entering into a more openly political act of protest against the state system. This was a form of action that had merely been sporadically considered when undertaken by a trade union, and which now contrasted with the organisation of such an event by the women themselves.¹⁸ The crucial element at this juncture was the motive for the rally. The execution of the forty-two workers, probably all male, was linked to the woman's role as homemaker, wife, daughter or sister, hence the remark of one of the (male) speakers, describing those women present as 'champions of love and human fraternity'.¹⁹ A comment that can also be seen to be perpetuating the commonly held perception of the working-class woman by the Anarchist movement. Dolors Marín notes that the role of a female relative or

partner of an Anarchist militant frequently revolved around keeping the home going whilst he was arrested and jailed, and running to and from the prisons with letters, food parcels etc., whilst also petitioning the authorities for his release.²⁰ In this context, we can interpret this rally as an extension of this female role. Even so, this extension is important since it is revealing of the modernisation of female protest, a modernisation that can be linked to female membership of the *ateneus*. Whereas their previous protest had been limited to the realm of participation, as was the case in January 1918, they were now *organising* along lines similar to those followed in the trade unions. However, a further important factor to consider is that the majority of speakers at the rally were male, the only female presence noted amongst the male voices being that of the well known Anarchist intellectual Federica Montseny. Therefore, while these women were encroaching on what was a male-dominated arena, they were still following the trade-union "tradition" of having little, or no, female participation at the most prominent levels, in this case the most prominent level being that of speaker.

Given these events, we can see the *ateneus* as institutions that enabled these women to progress from neighbourhood uprisings, to a different ground of protest. It should be noted, though, that this was not quite the case in the arena of union-organised action, which, considering the original role of the *ateneus* themselves, as educational and cultural establishments, is not to be expected. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that throughout the course of the Second Republic, the women of Barcelona's labour movement were becoming increasingly aware of the political situation and more willing to take part in highly politicised action. On the 21st June 1936, on the eve of Civil War and revolution in Spain, a large rally took place in Barcelona which had been organised by the *Agrupación Cultural Feminina* (Women's Cultural Grouping), in order to promote women's emancipation and to protest against the impending war and fascism in general. At this meeting, the female speakers outnumbered their male counterparts by two to one, and included Rosario Dulcet, a member of the grouping, as well as Federica Montseny. The *Agrupación* was set up by a nucleus of women who knew each other through the *ateneus* and the unions, and who would often meet to discuss the woman's position in Spain.

Although these activities undertaken by women were usually exclusively female, male/female relations were also strengthened in the *ateneus*. Perhaps the increased contact with men, in an environment where they were treated more as equals, and could openly discuss the changing political, social and economic situation of the time, goes some way in explaining the increased awareness of women in these areas, together with their greater politicisation throughout the Second Republic, and in the period leading up to the Civil War. The excursionist group *Sol y Vida*, of the *Ateneu Racionalista del Clot*, for example, would join up with similar groups from *ateneus* of other districts and spend days in the mountains around Barcelona, or on its beaches in the summer. The express purpose of these excursions, while not being for political discussion or for the diffusion of Anarchist propaganda or ideology, often had this effect. Conversations would frequently revert to discussion of Anarchist principles, and a reading from a book would provoke discussion on the subject's implication to the Anarchist movement. Concha Pérez talks of attending such outings with members of her local *ateneu* and refers to the person of Maria Guñoa, who would frequently initiate discussions between them.²¹ Given that both men and women were involved in these excursions, the fact that a woman initiated many of these debates demonstrates the differing gender relationships to be found in the *ateneus* in comparison to the trade unions or in the home, and the acceptance of women, at least by the majority, as equals. The fact that life within the *ateneus* was intended to mirror a post-revolutionary society may have influenced attitudes within these establishments. While the Anarchist movement worked to establish this

alternative culture within the *ateneus*, life outside was still tainted by the ruling classes and the dominant ideology of the Catalan bourgeoisie. Thus, while dominant ideals, including those on the role of men and women in society, may have prevailed outside of the *ateneus*, once the men and women of the Anarchist movement found themselves within their ambit, an individual's attitude towards, and perception of, the other sex changed.

The Anarchist women's movement that developed within the *ateneus* contrasts with that described by the feminist historian Mary Nash.²² She argues that Spanish feminism should not be perceived as a 'homogenous movement', nor solely be 'defined from the liberal perspective of the struggle for women's political rights',²³ but instead highlights the importance of the nationalist movements in Spain which, according to Nash, influenced the development of women's feminism in several regions. She remarks that 'the development of the women's movement in Catalonia was primarily articulated through its adherence to the nationalist cause',²⁴ as opposed to the Spanish feminism of the early twentieth century which was a strong defender of the central state. She correctly recognises the importance of examining the Spanish feminist movement as a heterogeneous entity, and applies criteria other than those that are typically used to define bourgeois feminism to other women's movements. However, in describing the Catalan feminist movement as 'nationalist', Nash is being as erroneous as those who would consider the entire Spanish feminist movement as one homogenous whole.

One of the defining features of Anarchism is its negation of all territorial boundaries; its internationalism and its anti-statism. Consequently, it immediately seems mistaken to connect the Anarchist feminist movement with that of the Catalan nationalist one. Even so, Nash argues that the women of the Anarchist movement did not 'overtly identify with a feminist cause, although feminist consciousness permeated some of their social mobilisation and collective action'.²⁵ This argument, although perhaps relevant to the social protests undertaken by many libertarian women on the streets of Barcelona and elsewhere in Catalonia, collapses after we have considered the case of the women's groups in the *ateneus*. Particularly the groups of the younger women, who, from the very outset stated their mission as obtaining equal rights for women, and became increasingly politicised through their involvement with these establishments. Their demands grew, as did those of the Catalan women's movement described by Nash, but it was not the nationalist movement of the region which precipitated this, and it is dangerous to qualify the Anarchist women's movement as non-feminist simply because of its small size or the fact that it stood outside and away from the main-stream nationalist feminism found in Catalonia.²⁶

Therefore, we can conclude that while these women were far from active in the trade unions, their social and political activity in other areas went some way to compensate for their lack of industrial action. Though many women, even some of those with links to the Anarchist movement, may have found it difficult, due to family pressure, to attend the *ateneus*, we can state that for those who did the experience brought them closer to the movement and to their peers, both male and female. Of special significance, is the gradual development of the protest action these women took, from street demonstrations to organised meetings, that had more in common with those of the trade unions than they did with community-planned protest. Mary Nash has argued that feminism in Catalonia developed due to its links to the Catalan nationalist movement. However, what was occurring in the *ateneus* was the development of an alternative Anarchist feminism. These establishments gave women the ability to form groups that openly demanded greater equality for their own sex, and the ability to set out to achieve this.

The enduring question of Spanish labour history is that of 'why Anarchism?' In examining the role of women in the Anarchist movement and in particularly in the *ateneus*

we can go some way to explain why this movement became so strong in Spain. Though the male Anarchist attitude towards women in the first third of the twentieth century was a far cry from that demanded and beseeched by these women, and their treatment of the female sex far from equal, in many areas the *ateneus* provided an arena that permitted greater equality, understanding, and participation between the two sexes in the Anarchist goal of social revolution. Therefore the inclusion in the *ateneus* of women, the solidarity formed between them, and the links forged and strengthened within their walls, goes some way in explaining the strength of the Anarchist movement within Spain and Catalonia. The foundation of *Mujeres Libres* in early 1936, along with the role of women during the Spanish Civil War is often cited as the turning point in Spanish, and working class, feminism and also in the politicisation of proletarian women. However, what this article has hopefully demonstrated is that, within the Anarchist movement and particularly within the *ateneus*, equality and emancipation for women was demanded, and to a certain extent, achieved much earlier. Furthermore the increasing politicisation found amongst the women who attended these establishments pathed the way for their later participation in the Civil War, and the fight against the Nationalists and all that they represented.

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1. See Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists. The Heroic Years, 1868-1936*, (Edinburgh, 1998); Robert W. Kern, *Red Years Black Years. A Political History of Spanish Anarchism 1911-1937*, (Philadelphia, 1978); John Brademas, *Anarcosindicalismo y Revolución en España (1930-1937)*, (Barcelona, 1974) as examples of studies that concentrate, exclusively, or in the main, on the CNT and give little or no thought to the cultural and educational facets of Anarchism in Spain. Furthermore, in centring their arguments on the male-dominated trade unions their studies ignore the role that women played within the libertarian movement. More recent studies in this area have begun to address this imbalance, although many of them have taken as their topic of study the period of the Civil War and the organisation of *Mujeres Libres* (Free Women), for example, Martha A. Acklesburg, *Free Women of Spain. Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women*, (Indianapolis, 1991); Mary Nash, *'Mujeres Libres'. España 1936-1939*, (Barcelona, 1975), thus the study of the participation of women in the Anarchist movement in pre-civil war Spain remains almost virgin territory.
 2. For details concerning female participation, and for the various explanations of their non-participation, see for example the first chapter in Albert Balcells, *Trabajo Industrial y Organización Obrera en la Catalonia Contemporánea (1900-1936)*, (Barcelona, 1974); Rosa Maria Capel Martínez, *El trabajo y la educación de la mujer en España (1900-1930)*, (Madrid, 1982), pp.199-211 and Angel Smith, 'Social conflict and trade-union organisation in the Catalan textile industry, 1890-1914', *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 3 (1991), pp.331-376 who give details on female participation (and non-participation) in the trade unions.
 3. The daughter of an anarcho-syndicalist activist, who also became active within Anarchist circles herself towards the end of the Second Republic and during the Civil War.
 4. Interview with Sara Berenguer, 22/11/2000.
 5. *El Liberal*, 23/1/1918.
 6. Lucía Sánchez Saornil, 'La cuestión femenina en nuestros medios', in *Solidaridad Obrera*, 2/10/1935.
 7. Pamela Radcliff, *From Mobilization to Civil War. The Politics of Polarization in the Spanish City of Gijón, 1900-1937*, (Cambridge, 1996) p.51, states that the "trade union, the ateneo or the tertulia" were the domain of the men of the Anarchist movement.
 8. Interview with Concha Pérez, 13/1/2000. However, it must be noted that the attitude of her family did not prevent Concha from becoming an active member of several *ateneus* in Barcelona.
 9. Interview with Concha Pérez, 13/1/2000.
 10. Concha was not a woman to take sexist behaviour lightly, even at a time when the dominant social norms dictated the woman's position as being in the home. For this reason she left her parents house at the age of seventeen, a highly unusual act in 1930s Spain, despairing of her parents' sexist attitudes and their expectations that she should aid her mother with the housework while her father and brother sat by and did nothing. Interview with Concha Pérez, 30/10/2000.
 11. Interview with Concha Pérez, 13/1/2000.
 12. J. Brademas, *Anarcosindicalismo y Revolución en España (1930-1937)*, (Barcelona, 1974), pp.114-115. Cited in Seidman, *Workers Against Work. Labor in Paris and Barcelona During the Popular Fronts*,

- (Berkely, 1991), p.63. Sharif Gemie, in 'Anarchism and Feminism: a Historical Survey', *Women's History Review*, Vol.5, (1996, 3), p.432, presents the cogent argument that the "structural problem in the integration of feminist ideals and discourse" was partly due to "the nature of the counter communities which formed the basis of Anarchist political culture. The desire to assert the power, the morality and the potentially universal nature of certain communities led Anarchists to shy away from confronting oppressive patriarchy in their family structures and sexual moralities. Within the logic of Anarchist politics it made more sense to stress the solidity, the 'total' nature of these bodies, and to point to their potential as alternative forces of rule."
13. See Anna Monjo Omedes, 'La CNT durant la II República: líders, militants, afiliats', Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Barcelona, Department of Contemporary History, 1993.
 14. Photographic evidence is also available showing the many women and children who attended the ateneus and ateneu-organised excursions. See for example those held in the Centro de Documentación Histórico-Social of the Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular in Barcelona and the private collection of Concha Pérez.
 15. See *Solidaridad Obrera*, 25/4/1931 for more details.
 16. *Solidaridad Obrera*, 18/4/1933.
 17. The forty-two workers had been arrested fourteen months earlier after protesting against the deportation of fellow workers to the Spanish Sahara. There had been protest movements across Spain against this action, but all other workers who had subsequently been arrested had later been released. After the Judge recommended the death sentence in his concluding remarks a torrent of support appeared in *Solidaridad Obrera* with articles appearing almost every day on the subject for several weeks afterwards, often with comparisons to the execution of Francisco Ferrer i Guardia in 1909. The rally organised by the Agrupación was the second of its kind and followed one held four days earlier in Tarrasa which had been organised by the Transport and Electricity Unions. This points to the importance of the rally as a landmark in the changing attitudes of women towards organised protest since its organisers were following the example set by the aforementioned unions days earlier, forsaking street protest for a planned rally.
 18. An exception to this rule can be found in the large numbers of women who participated in the anarcho-syndicalist CNT organised rent strike of 1931. However, it is worth noting that there was also ateneu support of this strike, and furthermore, that the subject matter of the protest would evidently have attracted large numbers of women.
 19. *Solidaridad Obrera*, 18/4/1933.
 20. Dolors Marín, *Per la llibertat a conèixer, al coneixement de la llibertat. L'adquisició de cultura en la tradició llibertària catalana durant la dictadura de Primo de Rivera i la Segona República Espanyola*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Barcelona, 1995, p.126.
 21. Interview with Concha Pérez, 13/1/2000.
 22. Mary Nash, 'Political Culture, Catalan Nationalism, and the Women's Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Spain' in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 19, No. 1/2 (1996), pp.45-54.
 23. *ibid.*, p.45.
 24. *ibid.*, p.48.
 25. *ibid.*
 26. Thus, while Nash uses the example of a group of middle-class Catalan women who published a letter in *L'Opinió*, the paper of the left-wing Catalanist Party, the ERC, stating that they wished to be recognised as individuals, with the same rights as men, and not just in the role of mother, the Anarchist, Lucia Sánchez Saornil wrote numerous articles in *Solidaridad Obrera* demanding the recognition of women as individuals and not just in their maternal role. See Nash, p.51 and *Solidaridad Obrera*, 26/9/1935; 2/10/1935.