The Commonality of Enemies: Carlism and anarchism in modern Spain, 1868-1937

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ABSTRACT

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Carlism and anarchism were revolutionary social movements that acquired significant popular support during the most intensive period of modernization in Spain (mid 19th to mid 20th centuries). It was noted but not well explored by contemporaries and historians that these enemies were similar in their hostility towards modernization and in their intense idealism. This thesis compares the two movements in order to determine the nature of their commonality and what this suggests about ideological enemies. A range of sources were consulted, including scholarship on modern Spain, biographical information on individuals who converted from Carlism to anarchism and contemporary print media. It was concluded that they were produced by the same destabilizing processes of disentailment and industrialization, which drew the working classes towards proposals that would have otherwise seemed implausibly utopian. The thesis further suggests that they were uniquely idealistic, in that they put moral integrity before the success of their cause.

Keywords: Modern Spain; Carlism; anarchism; social movements; populism; modernization; land reform; enemy other; ideology; utopianism.
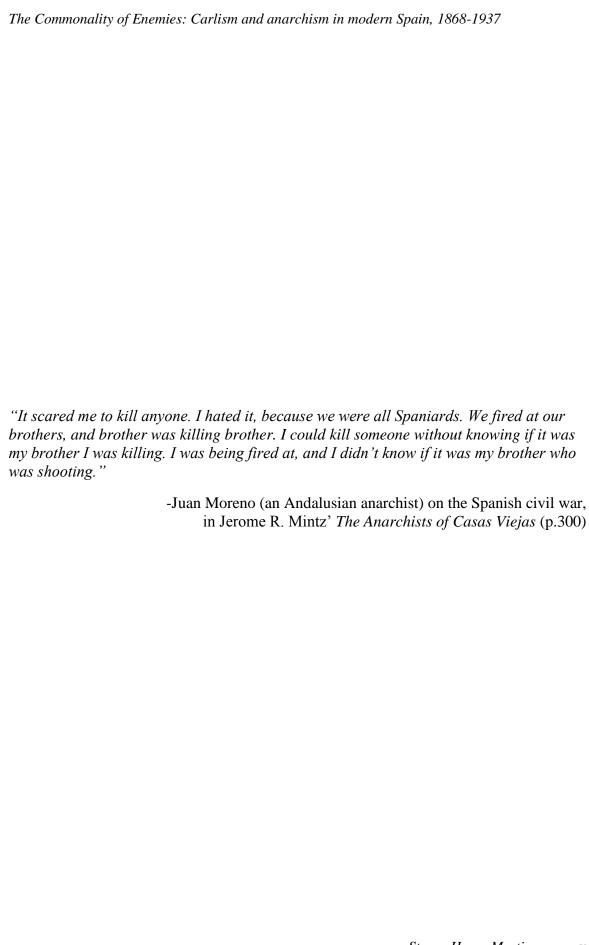
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Contents

"It scared me to kill anyone. I hated it, because we were all Spaniards. We fired at our brothers, and brother was killing brother. I could kill someone without knowing if it was my brother I was killing. I was being fired at, and I didn't know if it was my brother who was shooting."

-Juan Moreno (an Andalusian anarchist) on the Spanish civil war, in Jerome R. Mintz' *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* (p.300)

1 Introduction: The commonality of enemies

Historians of modern Spain have long noted a commonality between the contemporary revolutionary social movements of Carlism and anarchism. It is a surprising observation because it would be difficult to find in Europe two social movements more antagonistic to one another. Carlism was originally an insurrectionary, mainly volunteer army who fought in support of their namesake Carlos V against the monarchy of Isabel II during the First Carlist War (1833-1840). Over time it accumulated the qualities of a modern social movement: Carlists idealized a Catholic monarchy and the return to a way of life based on a pre-modern moral code, conceived of as an "*igualitarismo jerárquico,*" according to historian Javier Ugarte Tellería.[1]

Anarchism was introduced to Spain in 1868, a form of libertarian socialism that sought the eradication of the institution of the state and opposed the authoritarianism of the Marxists in the First International. Anarchists believed that the destruction of all political and social hierarchies was a prerequisite to the construction of a secular culture based on reason and science, and a *nuevo mundo* based on radical interpretations of liberty and equality. "The Idea" (as it was known) was embraced by a growing number of Spaniards already engaged in labor battles and political uprisings.

Revolutionary social movements like these were an important development in 19th and 20th century European life; they offered discontented working class populations an entirely new kind of society based on their particular ideological principles. They tended

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[1] "hierarchic egalitarianism." Javier Ugarte Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1998), 12.

to be left wing, radical democratic or socialist visions, although on occasion they could be conservative. A growing proportion of working class populations especially were attracted to increasingly radical solutions as the capitalist regimes of Europe largely abandoned them to exploitation within the new industrialized economies. In Spain, failed attempts at reform of the liberal order in the mid-19th century gave way to the popularity of revolutionary ideas among the working masses. But while the masses may have been uprooted and exploited by the industrial enterprise, their labor was essential for its continued development. This made them a powerful and volatile force.

The upheavals and uncertainties of the modern age in Spain produced a number of acute social and political crises: historian Jordi Canal defined the 19th and early 20th centuries as a "low-intensity civil war."[2] The "war" was between the dominant powers of Spanish society and the working classes, between large landowners (such as the *latifundistas* in the south) and landless peasants, between urban workers and their capitalist employers, between Catholics and secularists, and between the centralized state in Madrid and regional forces that demanded political autonomy.

From 1868 until 1937 Carlists and anarchists worked to overthrow the state while paying little attention to each other, except on some occasions to point out the lunacy and

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[2] Jordi Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas: Una Historia Politica Del Carlismo, 1876-1939* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006), 26. Elsewhere, Canal elaborates, "Spain lived and suffered, for the greater part of the 19th century, the effects of a long civil war, discontinuous but persistent, in which alternated periods of open combat, attempted insurrections, exiles and phases of tranquility more apparent than real." *"España vivió y sufrió, durante la mayor parte del siglo XIX, los efectos de una larga guerra civil, discontinua pero persistante, en la que se alternaban periodos de combate abierto, conatos insurrectionales, exilios y etapas de tranquilidad más aparentes que reales."* Jordi Canal, "La Guerra Civil en el Siglo XIX (España, Portugal, Francia e Italia)," in *"Violencias Fratricidas," Carlistas y Liberales en el siglo XIX,* Jornadas del Estudio del Carlismo Actas 24-25 septiembre 2008 (Estella: Gobinero de Navarra 2009), 193.

immorality of the other's beliefs. As civil strife increased in intensity after the First World War, anarchists and Carlists, (among socialists and republicans and conservatives and others) engaged in violent battles against each other. After almost seventy years of mutual condemnation and antagonism, Carlists and anarchists found themselves on opposing sides in the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). The one appeared in the accounts of the other most often as vague, faceless combatants, full of malice and lacking in common decency. The other was beyond redemption, so committed to serving an evil cause that they had become caricatures of human beings, an intrinsic threat to a happy future. Above all, each wanted to build what the other needed to destroy to create a happy world, to resolve the injustices of the present and avert an apocalyptic future.

Despite fundamental divisions they did have fundamental similarities, which have never been fully explored. The novelist and *falangista* Rafael García Serrano, quoted in Ronald Fraser's classic oral history of the Spanish Civil War, *Blood of Spain*, mentioned in passing that he thought Carlism had "certain affinities with anarcho-syndicalism" without explaining what he meant.[3] What could such intransigent enemies have in *affinity*? What do these commonalities tell us about anarchism and Carlism? While no comprehensive comparison of anarchism and Carlism has been made until now, previous discussions of their commonalities have focused either on their shared origins in the Christian culture of Spain, or have defined them as a form of Luddism practiced by peasants attempting to preserve their traditional way of life.

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[3] Ronald Fraser, *Blood of Spain: An Oral History of the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 319.

Both connections are important but they tend to obscure other, equally important considerations. First, they were responses to and products of the process of secularization, modernization and the introduction of capitalism taking place all over Europe: one was a rejection of modernity (Carlism) and the other a co-optation of modernity (anarchism). Even saying this leaves a lot of ambiguity, a lot of shared terrain. Carlists co-opted modern means and ideas as necessary evils, such as participation in elections, while the absolutism of anarchists could at times make them as intolerant and coercive as any fundamentalist. The transformations of socio-economic life under political liberalism and capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries also created the conditions for Carlism and anarchism to become social movements: they did not just articulate the interests and moral convictions of the working masses within modernizing society, the transformations of modernity drove the evolution of their ideas, culturally, materially and politically. They were products of modernity as much as they resisted its forms.

The second consideration is that more than being populist movements, Carlism and anarchism were *heroic* movements: their discourses and their aesthetics advocated integrity over survival, destruction over surrender (at least in principle). Carlism and anarchism espoused goals that transcended the values of modernist society because the adherents were moralists rather than politicians or pragmatic advocates. Their morality was different than the morality of say, Catholics or socialists - it was chivalrous, a code of conduct that fused their personal and political behavior. They were willing to lose in the long run if it meant behaving in an ideologically moral way in the present. The society they wanted to implement was a mythological one: when they spoke of the past they spoke of martyrs, when they spoke of the future, they described feelings: for anarchists,

the revolution was *dreamlike* and for Carlists the feeling of an ideal world was *nostalgic*.[4]

The utopia of the anarchists and the Carlists offered ephemeral achievements like

happiness and spiritual health over the material kind promised by Communists or liberals;

their proposed new societies were strikingly similar in this respect.[5] As heroic

movements, they counted on personal courage rather than strategy for their victories, and

as defenders of *the people* they relied on their moralist credentials. Because they relied on

a decentralized popular base of support (both movements were composed of locally-

formed groups), the morality of the movements had to remain authentic, maintained by

being practiced in an uncompromising spirit in personal and political life.

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[4] During the first months of the Spanish civil war in 1936, these feelings were notable on both sides. Abel Paz, who as a CNT youth witnessed the anarchist revolution in Barcelona in its first days, described the feeling in these terms: "It is characteristic of every revolution that it confers on those involved a sense that they are flying, living in a vertiginous dream. Without that feeling, there is no liberation in a spiritual sense. Our nascent revolution united all the fears and desires that we had suppressed for so many years of our lives, all our abstract but passionately held convictions; and from this there sprang the practical application that was to make our dream come true." Abel Paz, *The Spanish Civil War*. Trans. David Britt (Paris: Editions Hazan, 1997), 27. At the same time, in Pamplona, Carlists were experiencing equally powerful feelings: "What we see in those July days in Pamplona was not, otherwise, a simple state of mind, a mere attitude to life; it was a worldview structured perfectly (as very basic as it would be seen from the point of view at the end of the century) with its ideology, it's symbolic structures and rituals and its finely developed methods of mobilization. They could imagine themselves in the Navarrese capital as one big family in which the peaceful and cordial relations of close community prevailed (what they were in fact is another matter); adopted into the imaginings of the past around this fictitious image was that it was affectionate and warm, full of colourful figures and amicable moments, stocked with comfortable connotations, turning their attitude to life into a disposition of nostalgia." *"lo que hemos visto en los días de julio en Pamplona, no era, por lo demás, una simple disposición de ánimo, una mera actitud ante la vida; era una cosmovisión perfectamente estructurada (por muy elemental que pueda parecer desde la perspectiva de finales de siglo), con su ideario, su aparato simbólico y ritual y sus formas de movilización perfectamente desarolladas. Podían en la capital navarra imaginarse a si mismos como una gran familia en la que prevalecían las relaciones plácidas y cordiales de la buena vecindad (otra cosa distinta es que lo fueran); podía el pasado haber tomado en su imaginación ese contorno ficticio que lo hacía entrañable y cálido, lleno de figuras coloristas y situaciones amables, cargadas de connotaciones acogedoras, hasta convertir su actitud ante la vida en una disposición nostálgica..."* Javier Ugarte Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente,* 230.

[5] José Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español (1868-1910),* 1st ed. (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1976), 315-316.

Carlism and anarchism, as a consequence of these similarities, share many ideological attributes. They were both anti-political, fundamentally opposed to liberal democracy and the machinations of politicians; one as a defense of religious monarchism, the other as a champion of utopian socialism. Both ideologies valorized the institution of local political autonomy. The anarchists believed in a bottom-up model of decision-making and power distribution that would guarantee a worker's paradise, and the Carlists valued local autonomy as part of a structure that encouraged and protected a traditionalist way of life. Carlists claimed that Spanish kings were obliged to guarantee their *fueros* – medieval rights (or rather privileges) to regional political autonomy, which they perceived as the basis of a social contract. Finally, they were both utopian rather than materialist movements: José Álvarez Junco contends that an important commonality between anarchism and Christianity is that they are both essentialist - meaning and authority emanate from objective, unchanging sources – God for Christians, the human being for anarchists. In this they differ from the materialism of Marxism and liberalism.[6]

This dissertation is intended to be a general study of the two movements over a broad sweep historically and geographically from a 1868 when anarchism was introduced to Spain, until they were both subsumed by wartime authorities in 1937 (more on this later), to establish a larger theme of commonality between ideological enemies. Unfortunately this means devoting less consideration to specific cases which might produce interesting information about the relationships between the two movements, such as Aragon in the years of the Second Republic, where Carlists and anarchists lived as neighbors. Julian Casanova, for example, writes about anarchism in Aragon, on which he

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[6] Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español,* 34-35.

is the foremost expert, but he does not address points of connection with Carlism.[7] On the other hand, I am aware that addressing the issue too broadly comes with the danger of making inaccurate generalizations: the Carlists of Navarre were not the Carlists of Catalonia, just as the anarchists of the 1870s were not the anarchists of the 1930s, but in order to compare the movements as contemporaries, it is necessary to survey them over the entirety of their mutual existence.

1.1 Context

At the heart of the comparison of Carlism and anarchism is the issue of how both urban and rural working classes, as well as poor peasants, were changed by and responded to the processes of modernization. Through it, the worker lost his or her rooted place in a pre-modern order, transformed into a unit of labor that was compelled to move to wherever there was work. The peasants saw their worldview challenged by changes that threatened their culture and stability. Yet both groups also gained a new freedom of movement and a wage they could use as they wished. As they became more exploited they also became more autonomous, agents of their own destinies. The very forces which destroyed their world were giving them powers they never had before.

Modernization refers to several material, social and political processes which in conjunction take a society from an agrarian state to an industrial-capitalist state. The first process is the industrialization of the economy, what Eric Hobsbawm called "the most

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[7] Julian Casanova, "Anarchism and Revolution in the Spanish Civil War: The Case of Aragon," *European History Quarterly*, Volume 17 (1987): 423-451.

fundamental transformation of human life in the history of the world."[8] Industrialization itself is part of a larger project of mechanizing the productive and social processes of society. Mechanization extends to all spheres of life, not just technological improvements like the transformation of transport by the railway and the steamship, but the standardization of societal functions like public education and central bureaucracies. The second process involves the liberalization of society and in particular the liberalizing of the three big factors of production required for capitalism: land, money and labor. The feudal structure of property became a capitalist structure; land previously entailed to the Church, the crown or the seigneur, now became transferable and private. The movement of money and hence, investment, became more fluid thanks to the reform of the banking system,[9] and the feudal system of labour was transformed by the dissolution of the seigniorial system in agriculture and the guild system in manufacturing. In its place, wage labor and mass production made the labour force increasingly mobile and fluctuating.[10] Culturally, liberalization meant the secularization of the state, recognition of the rights of the individual in relation to the state, and the expansion of public education, literacy and a free press. To create this new world, modernization destroyed much of the slow changing

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[8] Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (Suffolk: Penguin, 1968), 13.

[9] Spain did not establish the *peseta* as a national currency until 1874, and the first nationwide system of bank branches was not established until 1885. Joan Ramón Rosés, Julio Martínez-Galarraga, Daniel A. Tirado, "The upswing of regional income inequality in Spain (1860–1930)," *Explorations in Economic History,* No. 47 (2010), 246.

[10] Recent research into the question of the standard of living of working people during the period of late industrialization of Spain has produced some useful data concerning the well-being of Basque industrial workers in Bilbao during the interwar period. Juan Carlos Rojo Cagigal and Stefan Houpt conclude that material well being did not improve for them in terms of real wages during the late phase of industrialization, and lived at a level close to deprivation, which in times of duress, such as a sudden rise in prices or a bad winter, could do severe physical and economic damage to the population. Their precarious position meant that the family unit itself was fragile, the number of abandoned children rose during economic crises and fell during periods of improving wages. See, "Hunger in Hell's Kitchen. Family Living Conditions during Spanish Industrialization. The Bilbao Estuary, 1914-1935," *Working Papers in Economic History*, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Departamento de Historia Económica e Instituciones (May 2011).

and tradition-based pre-modern society, enough to upend the lives of much of the working poor.

From the 1870s until the turn of the century, the capitalization and industrialization of Spain intensified. In that time span, most of its major towns became linked to the national railway system, while the population nearly doubled over the course of the century and great numbers emigrated from the country to the cities (of the two biggest cities, Barcelona, grew fourfold during the 19th century, and Madrid's population tripled).[11] Industrial production expanded, especially in the northeastern region of Catalonia and the Basque provinces, and iron, steel and coal production grew rapidly.[12]

But industrialization was only part of the process of modernization. Another was the rapid transformation of the old agrarian society, a process that drove a large portion of the working population (including poor farmers) from rural communities to the cities or new sites of industry, like the mining towns of Asturias and the Basque country. The main driver was a key feature of capitalist development – the commoditization of land in the 19th century, freeing it up for intensified production. Disentailment of the extensive land assets of the Catholic Church was at first the focus of governments, seeking to find ways to pay off the national debt and to avoid the collapse of the state. The disentailment laws of the government of Juan Álvarez Mendizábal in 1836 and 1837, in the midst of the

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[11] Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 117. Spain's population growth over the 19th century (10 million in 1797 to 18 million in 1900) was comparable to that of Great Britain, and much greater than that of France.

[12] Richard Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain,* 119. Coal mining, so essential to the industrial project, a particularly dramatic example, went from 450,000 tons in 1865 to 4.3 million tons in 1913. Steel production more than doubled from 1900-1913. These figures illustrate the staggering explosion of material production in this period and thus how the physical world of human construction and activity was transforming at a literally exponential rate.

First Carlist War, closed almost all of Spain's state-funded religious orders (with the exception of those engaged in charity or public education) and made available most of the land belonging to the Catholic Church for public sale.[13]

In 1855, the sale of entailed lands was expanded to include all state, church and municipal land holdings, including common lands, meadows and forests that had served the needs of the peasantry. While it took the remainder of the century to actually sell off the land, the result was the absorption of nearly all of this land by large and small landowners, leaving the peasantry with neither their old resources nor new capital.[14] In conjunction with a rapidly growing population, the weight of an increasing tax burden falling to the peasants and the frustration of peasant hopes for land and economic justice, the effect of the disentailment process was to create a persistent crisis in the lives of the masses of the poor and the landless.[15]

The dissolution of a stable and traditional society produced a society in which the working classes in crowded cities and destitute farming communities were exploited as

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[13] Not only would this help pay off the debt, but it was hoped that farmer-peasants, especially in the south, would end up with some of this land for cultivation, and create a new order of small property owners and middle class workers. Instead, a tiny proportion of the land went to workers and peasants – predictably the lion's share went to already wealthy landowners, including enterprising members of the aristocracy. See Josep Fontana, "La Desamortización de Mendizábal y sus Antecedentes," in *Historia agraria de la España contemporánea*, eds. Angel García Sanz y Ramon Garrabou (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1985), 220.

[14] It was exceedingly rare that the working poor, who made up the vast majority of the population and were the most in need of land and capital, benefitted from disentailment, rather, it only served to strengthen the existing system of economic inequality. Adrian Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 77.

[15] Josep Fontana argues that this was a failure to treat disentailment as a means to creating social stability, rather than wealth or agricultural productivity. Had the peasants in the south possessed something worth preserving, they would have supported the established order rather than worked against it. Fontana, "La Desamortización de Mendizábal y sus Antecedentes," 240.

labor under the new capitalist paradigm and suffered poor living conditions.[16] This created immense hostility among the working classes towards the state and economic elites, resulting in varied responses, from emigration to the cities to localized uprisings, land seizures, and mass support for radical politicians.[17] After the chaos and violence of the "republican experiment" of 1868-1874, as this problem was in the making, the bourgeoisie as a political culture became conservative, and turned its enmity towards the discontented working classes, aligning themselves with the aristocracy.[18] The indifference and repressive actions of 19th century governments exacerbated the problem, and both the new order of liberalism and the old orders of tradition (e.g. the Catholic Church's support of these regimes) became discredited in the eyes of the working classes.[19]

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[16] Agricultural workers' wages had been in fluctuating decline since the 18th century, and especially after 1868 were depressed, only to reach the level they had been at in the 18th century by the year 1900. A.M. Bernal, *La lucha por la tierra en la crisis del antiguo régimen* (Madrid: Taurus, 1979), 412.

[17] Over the course of the 19th century peasant discontent can be observed to drift towards ever more radical solutions in Andalusia. The first stage, legal campaigning, gives way to support for republicanism after 1840 and much more radical tactics. The repression of seizures of land by peasants by the supposedly radical government in 1869 marked the beginning of a third period of support for extra-political solutions, namely, the revolutionary ideas of anarchism and socialism. See Demetrio Castro Alfín, "Anarquismo y jornaleros en la Andalucía del siglo XIX," in *Anarquismo y movimiento jornalero en Andalucía*, eds. Eduardo Sevilla Guzmán y Karl Heisel (Córdoba: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 1988), 54-58.

[18] This is the view of Eduardo Sevilla-Guzman, expressed in *La evolucion del campesinado en España* (Badalona: Ediciones península, 1979), 71.

[19] Ramón Rodríguez Aguilera argues that in Andalusia, "the Andalusian masses, rural and urban, were abandoning the influence of the sermon not due to the positive effects of an enlightened, scientific and political spirit, but because of the profound social and even religious indifference of the Catholic agrarian bourgeoisie and the colonizing ecclesiastic authorities, for their two-faced morality and their abysmal social distance." *"las masas andaluzas, rurales y urbanas, fueron escapando al influjo de los sermones no por efecto positivo del espíritu ilustrado, científico y político, sino por la profunda insensibilidad social y hasta religiosa de la burguesía agraria catolica y de las autoridades eclesiásticas colonizadoras, por su doble moral y por su abismal distancia social."* See "Sobre el trasfondo cultural y las consecuencias políticas del problema social-agrario de Andalucía, o de las dificultades del ser andaluz," in *Anarquismo y movimiento jornalero en Andalucía*, eds. Eduardo Sevilla Guzmán y Karl Heisel (Córdoba: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 1988), 69.

The experience of modernity was different depending, of course, on one's position and vantage point in society. Those drawn to Carlism and anarchism experienced modernization as a force that profaned what they regarded as good and sacred.[20] For the Carlists, who mostly came from the northeast, from small, tight-knit agrarian communities in a close relationship to their Catholic Church, modernization was a process that had come to destroy that way of life, and impose a hollow and amoral order. Modernity represented the end of their world, and Carlism became at once an articulation of their dismay and a formula for restoration.

Anarchists drew their believers from an entirely different place – indeed, the regionalism of the two movements is striking. Anarchists were strong in the most industrialized areas – the factories and slums of big cities, especially in the northeast, where urban workers were often refugees from the collapsed rural economies of the poor in other parts of Spain. The other source of anarchist strength were the landless peasants of Western Andalusia, where, (unlike the agrarian communities of the northeast), there were few small, independent farmers. There, just a few landowners dominated economic and political life and they violently suppressed worker discontent.[21] Anarchism echoed the experiences and desires of the exploited worker and peasant, who had been severed from any sense of community or meaning in relation to the state. Uprooted and exploited

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[20] Karl Marx described the process with great eloquence in *The Communist Manifesto*: "All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind." *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: Norton, 1848), 58.

[21] Demographic growth in the second half of the 19th century made the already bad agrarian problem worse. At the same time, a very long economic "depressive wave" for the Andalusian peasant between 1865-1910 coincided with the selling off of common lands. This growth created a much larger population of destitute labourers and created hospitable conditions for political violence and explosions of popular unrest. Bernal, *La lucha por la tierra en la crisis del antiguo régimen*, 393.

under the regime of industrial capitalism, it was they who had been "profaned" by modernity, and the literal reverence for the individual worker is a distinguishing feature of anarchism. At the same time, the liberalization of social life, the great creation of possibility in modernity, opened the way for a fundamental re-imagining of society that would seem plausible to the masses of the working poor.

1.2 Social Movements

In this modernizing period, Carlism and anarchism took on the form of *social movements,* a form of mass political participation peculiar to the last three hundred years (or, it could be argued, to the entire span of modernity). A social movement, defined by social scientist Charles Tilly, is an organization of several methods of popular political action that exist in other contexts, e.g. grassroots pressure on formal politics, martyrdom or propaganda campaigns. Prior to the 18th century, these types of social action had not existed as coordinated efforts towards a specific goal. These coordinated efforts were pursued by a network of organizations operating autonomously, such as movements that had both a political wing and a paramilitary wing – Fascists, Communists and even Socialists are examples. A social movement can make many types of demands, from reform of a particular policy to total revolution, but it is defined by its coordination of action towards specific goals.[22]

Anarchism and Carlism as social movements would not have existed prior to the introduction of the liberal state as coherent, widespread networks with specific (revolutionary) political goals, but the transformations of industrialization and

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[22] Charles Tilly, *Social Movements 1768-2004* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers: Boulder, 2004), 6.

capitalization in Spain liberalized and expanded political institutions (like the Cortes) and social institutions (like the print media) that permitted new forms of social action. Tilly suggests that social movements are found in democratic as well as anti-democratic societies, but where there is democratization social movements will likely follow. Social movements require some basic forms of public space to operate – Tilly points out the essential importance of the right to assemble, for instance. In addition, new movements require old precedents, inferring they require the political space to preserve and transmit ideological inheritances over time so that the movement can develop. While these institutions developed in Spain imperfectly (have they ever, anywhere developed perfectly?), along with material and economic changes, they helped to provide a mass basis for complex social movements.[23]

While there is no clear connection between the fluctuation of these movements' sizes and fortunes and the relative political freedom or "democratization" in Spain, they do respond to and change according to the behavior and structure of the regime of the day. For instance, each movement became rebellious during the instability and political fracturing of the post-First World War years, only to contract in size and activity during the repressive and temporarily prosperous dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), when both Carlism and the anarchosyndicalist *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT) were declared illegal as political organizations. Tilly's definitions will be used to measure the way anarchism and Carlism behaved in relation to each other, to the Spanish state, and will help to identify them as products unique to the era of modernization.

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[23] Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005), 192.

A note should be made regarding the use of the term "*the People*," which will occasionally be put in italics in the body of this thesis. This is done to demarcate the habit of taking the masses as an idealized whole, who possess a common will and desire known to the claimant. It is a mystification that allows an individual or an ideological group to believe they can speak for the majority. It is used in a mildly sardonic spirit as the author believes this is an impossible feat, but was taken very seriously at the time. Specifying it as a term, it is hoped, will help identify those moments when ideologues and the masses are not as interchangeable as they are sometimes perceived.

1.3 Historiography

When the connection between Carlism and anarchism has been noted in the past, the question has typically been treated as an interesting footnote or tributary of some other issue. The Spanish philosopher Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), who had a soft spot for the chivalrous spirit of Carlism but seems to have been repulsed by anarchism, thought that at its heart there was a great deal of anarchism in Carlism, and in particular they shared a desire for a localized freedom but also ideological unity.[24]

In 1937, while the Spanish civil war was in progress, anti-Stalinist sociologist Franz Borkenau argued "Anarchism *is* a religious movement... Anarchism does not believe in the creation of a new world through the improvement of the material conditions

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[24] Unamuno's appreciation for anarchism was that it was a wild dream that only ended up destructive in practice. He calls it a "satanic idea" – but at the same time uses "anarchism" to describe a transcendent reality that overlaps with Christian ideals: "I dreamed of the spiritual realm, that of the holy anarchy of brotherhood made soul from soul, in the future century, when 'tyranny will be buried in the abysses and the reign of the Kingdom of the new Earth will be,' that of Christ." "*Soñaba en el reino espiritual, el de la santa anarquía de la fraternidad hecha alma del alma, en el siglo futuro, cuando «se sepultará la tiranía en los abismos y el reino de la tierra nueva será» de los de Cristo.*" Miguel de Unamuno, *Ensayos* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1916), 173.

of the lower classes, but in the creation of a new world out of the moral resurrection of those classes which have not yet been contaminated by the spirit of mammon and greed."[25] Borkenau linked anarchism to Carlism more specifically, suggesting that they, among most Spanish social movements of the time, had a characteristic dislike of "the industrial stage of Western progress."[26] While Borkenau observed first-hand the behavior and attitudes of the anarchists in the 1930s, and saw something unusually religious in their radicalism, his assessment was reflective of the poor generalizations made about Spain's historical development in that era. Adrian Shubert has argued that Spain was not radically different in its industrial development from the rest of Europe, nor that it deviated from a standard formula for development. Being somewhat slower in development than the dominant economic powers, however, contributed to a myth about a Spanish cultural resistance to "Western progress."[27] What may have appeared as a generalized Spanish hostility to industrialization may have been the particular means of resistance of the average citizen to extraordinary upheaval.

Gerald Brenan, in his influential work *The Spanish Labyrinth* (1943*),* in trying to make sense of the Spanish Civil War and the movements that took part in it, suggested that anarchism represented the spirit of the Protestant Reformation Spain never had. Its anti-clericalism is the fury of the heretic, rather than the deviant. "[T]he anger of the Spanish Anarchists against the Church is the anger of an intensely religious people who feel they have been deserted and deceived." Anarchism represented a new interpretation of New Testament radicalism, the "social principles of equality, voluntary poverty and

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[25] Franz Borkenau, *The Spanish Cockpit* (London: Faber & Faber, 1937), 22.
[26] Borkenau, *The Spanish Cockpit,* 23.
[27] Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain,* 10.

brotherly love."[28] Brenan linked anarchism to Carlism by suggesting that both were anachronisms in the modern world but "whereas the Anarchists were endeavoring to create a new world, the Carlists wished to force Spain back into the narrow framework of the past."[29] He further argued that Carlist and anarchist recourse to violence was rather similar, from forms of terrorism to the philosophical "principle of action" – that it was more honourable to fight than to debate.

In the 1970s, the American socialist Murray Bookchin made an explicit comparison of Carlism to rural anarchism in *The Spanish Anarchists*. Bookchin argued that both were rooted in the *pueblo*, the peasant village, and both reflected its values, such as veneration of the local community or the dignity of the individual. Bookchin suggested that "it would be interesting in this respect to compare Andalusian anarchism with another peasant movement, the Carlists of the northern mountains..." and agreed with Brenan that, "it would be difficult to conceive of more divergent world outlooks than those of the two peasant movements. One turned towards the past, the other towards the future."[30]

More commonly, historians have focused on the question of anarchism's roots as a form of radical Christianity with no connection to Carlism, and there is even less mention of anarchism within studies of Carlism. The thesis that anarchism was, under the trappings of modernity, a religious movement driven by the moral vision of the New Testament, while not groundless, has distorted the picture of the anarchist movement for a

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[28] Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, *2nd ed.* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 191.
[29] Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth,* 214.
[30] Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists* (New York: Free Life Editions, 1977), 109.

long time. The influential historians that purveyed this explication of anarchism derived their ideas from the work of Juan Díaz del Moral, who studied *campesino* unrest in his native Cordoba at the turn of the 20th century. In *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas* (1929), Díaz del Moral compared the rebels and the righteous *obreros conscientes* (conscious workers) to the converts of a new religion, and the analogy stuck. Writing in the 1970s, Temma Kaplan found that the comparison went back even further, but it was Díaz del Moral's usage that was influential for the historical tradition. Kaplan herself argued that science education and humanism "replace a supernatural Catholic universe,"[31] and their anarchist rituals such as "infant initiation into anarchism... If the practice seems religious, a secular baptism, it is because the anarchists adopted the old forms to teach the new and demonstrate their rejection of the old ways."[32] Anarchist allusions to Christian ideas and morals are for Kaplan means of transforming culture by appropriating existing and powerful common meanings.

Also in the 1970s, Eric Hobsbawm, working from the research of Brenan, Borkenau, and the like, depicted rural anarchism in terms of an empirical theory of political evolution. Anarchism was a modification of peasant rebellion. Political action such as "revolutionary outbreaks," occurred in connection to physical factors, such as periods of economic strife or food scarcity.[33] Hobsbawm defined the anarchist uprising at

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[31] Temma E. Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia 1868-1903* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977), 90.
[32] Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia*, 211.
[33] E.J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (London: Pelican Books, 1972), 79.

Casas Viejas in 1933, for example, from a Marxist perspective, as "utopian, millenarian, apocalyptic."[34]

More recently, Jerome R. Mintz, in his study of the uprising, challenged Hobsbawm's generalizations of the Casas Viejas anarchists, arguing that Hobsbawm had not thoroughly explored the people and conditions of Casas Viejas and understood them only through the preconceived lens of an evolutionary model (Marxist) of political change. Mintz demonstrated that the anarchists were acting strategically but were inexperienced and insufficiently educated, creating the appearance of naivety and recklessness. The anarchists of Casas Viejas are an excellent example of the complex and contradictory relationship of the movement to the subject of Christianity and religion generally. At any rate, the relationship between anarchism and Catholicism, or Carlism and Catholicism, for that matter, is outside the scope of this thesis and has been more thoroughly explored elsewhere.[35]

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[34] Quoted in Jerome R. Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 272.

[35] See *Izquierda obrera y religión en España,* eds. Julio de la Cueva y Feliciano Montero (Universidad de Alcalá, 2012) or José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1987).

1.4 Sources

For this thesis, I have employed a combination of primary and secondary sources, and have kept an even balance of sources that concentrate on anarchism or Carlism – a comparative history can be easily skewed by exploring too well one aspect to the detriment of the other. Three texts in particular provided the essential historical foundation: José Álvarez Junco's 1976 work *La ideología política del anarquismo español (1868-1910)* offers a detailed study of anarchism's structure and perspectives, and is as complete an authority on Spanish anarchist thought as any of the more partisan histories, without their sympathies and prejudices. Jordi Canal's *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas: Una Historia Politica Del Carlismo, 1876-1939*, (2006), reliably covers the rebuilding of Carlism after their defeat in the last Carlist war, and Adrian Shubert's *A Social History of Modern Spain* (2003) provides a general understanding of the country in that age; Shubert's work is all the more valuable for providing an analytical framework of Spanish development which avoids treating Spain as an exotic case among Western European nations.

For primary sources I have tried to find and use firsthand accounts and interviews when possible, both of principal players within the two movements but equally important of rank-and-file members who can provide insight into what it meant to take part in them (e.g. founding anarchist Anselmo Lorenzo's autobiographical *El Proletariado Militante* (1901) or the letters of the Mainz brothers, two rank and file soldiers in the Carlist militia during the Spanish Civil War, in *Cartas de dos hermanos navarros requetés en 1937*, ed. Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui, (2005).

Because there are so few references to interactions and perceptions of the other in the literature, and so few autobiographical sources have put these down on record, I have relied on a few newspapers where such events and opinions might be found. Particularly the anarchosyndicalist *Solidaridad Obrera*, the Barcelona based journal of the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*, established in 1907; and the *Revista Blanca,* a monthly anarchist journal with a more theoretical and cultural focus, established in 1895, which attracted anarchist and non-anarchist intellectuals alike. On the Carlist side, the Integrist (ultra-conservative Carlists) newspaper *El Siglo Futuro*, established in 1875, is of great value for ascertaining the views of dedicated Carlists and their sympathizers (such as prominent members of the Catholic clergy who wrote opinion pieces for them). A few other contemporary newspapers were referred to for information about events involving the two movements, such as *ABC, La Vanguardia*, *La Voz* and *El Sol*. Finally, research into the archives of the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona revealed a few interesting scraps of information about anarchism, especially from the early 20th century, which I have incorporated as supporting evidence in the body of this work.

1.5 Summary

It has been difficult to decide whether to approach the commonality of Carlism and anarchism on a chronological or a thematic basis. Taking the subject thematically creates the problem of jumping around the timeline and risks conflating the attitudes and structures of one era (and its constituents) with another. On the other hand, looking at the question chronologically means that the significance of some of the overarching similarities can be easily lost in accounting for the variations between generations.

A thematic approach has been chosen on the basis that this is a general study of their ideological and structural commonalities and this should remain the focus given the limits of a master's thesis. Sensitivity will be accorded to the changes which Carlism and anarchism undergo during the 60 years in which they became popular movements among the masses, while demonstrating how their commonalities spanned that time.

The first chapter will consider the movements as products of modernity: how they responded to that process, how they gathered strength as populist movements, how modernization shaped their organizational structures and their relationships to religion. The second chapter will consider Carlism and anarchism as moralistic ideologies, and as anti-political and utopian movements. The chapter will include a discussion of the similar role populism played in their histories. The third chapter will look at how the two movements interacted, what they thought of each other and cases of individuals who spanned the ideological and social divides between Carlism and anarchism. In this chapter the question of otherness, specifically the relationship between enemies, will be explored, and how this relationship is more permeable and ambiguous than a cursory examination would show.

2 Carlism & anarchism in the age of modernity

Before embarking on an exploration of the commonalities between Carlism and anarchism, it is worth emphasizing how contrasting the values and cultures of the two movements were. To begin with, Carlism's response to the crisis of modernity was to call for a return to the past, when tradition provided a stable and meaningful society. Anarchism's response was to co-opt the processes of modernity, to destroy the old oppressive structures of tradition, in order to make way for a new society. Carlism was a hierarchical movement and anarchism was anti-authoritarian. Carlists believed social harmony could be achieved by applying fixed social and economic identities to individuals, therefore everyone would have dignity through a respected role. Hierarchies were present in every facet of Carlist life, from the family (where the woman remained a subject of her husband, in contrast to the anarchist belief in the absolute equality of the sexes), to history (Carlists believed in the debt they owed to their ancestors, especially the veterans and martyrs of the three Carlist wars). Anarchists distrusted all forms of hierarchy and believed sovereignty emanated from the individual and the egalitarian community. Moreover, a core tenet of anarchism was faith in spontaneous action, which "signified a primordial faith in *the People*, as much in the justice of its grievances as in its instincts for political action, without the need for leaders or fixed programs."[36] Their central organizations in the beginning were intended only as means of coordinating the activities of workers' organizations, not as a means of directing the movement.

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[36] Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español*, 377, *"significa primordialmente fe en el pueblo, tanto en la justicia de sus reivindicaciones como en sus modos instintivos de acción política, sin necesidad de dirigentes ni programas definidos."*

Anarchism advocated the equality of women while Carlism was patriarchal, and not only because they were traditionalists: Carlism was built around its history as an insurrectionary army, and it was men who were expected to make up that army.[37] Interestingly, for both anarchists and Carlists, the status of women was intrinsic to the status of the family. The ideal of the *hogar*, the home hearth, to Carlists was tied to motherhood. Their view of women was tied up in their sense of nostalgia, in an idealized view of the past in which women were obedient and virtuous. The patriarchal nature of Carlism was so fundamental that women often considered themselves Carlists to honour their fathers.[38] If Carlism sought to preserve the family and subsequently, the traditional role of women, anarchism sought to destroy it. According to Anselmo Lorenzo it was important to destroy the institution of the family, which was tied to the other bad institutions of religion and property: "we don't want private property and we want to abolish the proprietary rights of the father, because with its disappearance will go your adulterous, despotic and antisocial family also, replacing it with a family based in love, equality and in free association."[39] Creating a *nuevo mundo* meant liberating family from the father, and woman from the family.

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[37] There is a remarkable Carlist hero story, however, that sounds more like something that would have happened in the anarchist movement: Francisca Guarch Folch, from Castellfort (Castelleón), daughter of a veteran of the first Carlist war, was a young woman of 16 when the last Carlist war broke out in 1872. Thrilled by the letters of her brother fighting at the front, she ran away from home to join the "sainted cause." Cutting her hair short and dressing as a young man, she approached a Carlist army at Ampurdán and volunteered. She quickly won admiration as a tough and dedicated soldier who fought "like a lion," winning a medal for valor in combat in 1873. She was eventually discovered and returned to her father, but she was apparently heartbroken for being forced to leave the war. See Jorge de Pinares, *La heroína de Castellfort,* Edició facsímil (Castellfort: Associació Cultural de Castellfort, 2001).

[38] Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 239.

[39] "…*queremos que la propiedad no sea individual y que la propiedad del padre desaparezca, para que desaparezca también vuestra familia adúltera, despótica y antisocial, dejando el puesto a la familia basada en el amor, en la igualdad y en el libre contrato.*" Anselmo Lorenzo, *El Proletariado Militante,* vol.1 (1901) (Biblioteca Virtual Antorcha, 2008), 242.

Carlism was Catholic, anarchism was secularist. Anarchists were willing to accept personal religious belief as long as it was kept a private matter, but the Catholic Church, which supported the state, had to be purged from society in order for the masses to become aware of their condition of subjugation by the ruling classes. Anarchists were participants at many anti-clerical riots in the 20th century and some of the movement's propagandists were responsible for encouraging anti-clerical violence. For the great majority of rank-and-file Carlists, Catholicism was the essential value for which they fought, far more than their allegiance to a pretender-king. The political struggle over the Church's role in the Spanish state during the 19th century led to the dismantling of much of its material power and some of the more repressive laws regarding free speech and education. This incensed Catholic traditionalist sensibilities and legitimated the Carlists as a movement of the "oppressed," even if their demand was that the Church not just play a role in public and cultural life, but dominate it to the exclusion of all others. Their hostility towards all forms of non-Catholic belief meant that anti-clerical violence did not just give them good cause to see themselves on the defensive against an aggressor, but it gave them good cause to declare war against everything they already hated.

Finally, although opposed to centralizing political power, Carlists were nationalists while anarchists were internationalists. Carlists accepted regionalism to a certain degree but any talk of separatism caused great indignation, from the leadership to the basic nationalism of the ordinary Carlist, and they often had great difficulty in distinguishing one category of their enemies from the others.[40] For the Carlists, authority

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[40] According to a Navarrese *Requeté* fighting in the Basque town of Ondarroa in 1937 in a letter to his parents: "So all this riffraff are cowards and scoundrels. God wants that soon we'll sweep them up and

of the state served God's objectives. Anarchists believed the state was a fiction created by those in power, and nationalism a way of tricking the working classes into submitting to the will of the state, believing they had a familial bond with the "motherland." Internationalism meant solidarity with working classes all over the world, that they had greater fraternity than their ethnic or national ties. When a worker joined the CNT, the little booklet of statutes they received informed them, "Your nation is the world, your family is Humanity."[41]

2.1 An overview of Carlism

Carlism began as a rebellion against the monarchy of Isabel II on behalf of her uncle, the pretender Carlos V, who promised to defend their *fueros*. The ascendancy of Isabel II also represented the triumph of a liberal order that Carlos V opposed, an order seen as impious and oppressive to many Catholics.[42] Carlist forces waged a bloody, protracted but losing battle against the Spanish regular army from 1833 until the capitulation of Don Carlos in 1840. Their losses inspired a new tradition of mourning for their martyrs and the idealization of a pious king, despite the fact that the war ended with

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leave no trace of these repugnant communist-separatists and everyone who opposes this glorious movement!" *"Así son de cobardes y canallas toda esta gentuza ¡que Dios quiera que pronto nos toque el barrerlos y no dejar ni muestra de tan repugnante comunismo-separatismo y de todos los que van contra este glorioso movimiento!"* José Cemborain Mainz, 30 enero 1937, in *Cartas de dos hermanos navarros requetés en 1937*, ed. Ángel García-Sanz Marcotegui, Príncipe de Viana, Año nº 66, Nº 235 (2005), 484.

[41] *"Tu patria es el mundo, tu familia, la Humanidad."* CNT Estatutos Valencia 1920 – Biblioteca de Catalunya Arx 847/I, 8. Reg. Arx. 13625

[42] A few years before in 1820, for example, King Ferdinand VII was forced by a military uprising to accept a constitutional and liberal governing order with anti-clerical attitudes. Royalist bands in the north and northeast of Spain rose up in opposition, composed of similar Catholic and traditionalist *guerrillas.* But hostilities went beyond political combat and appear to be deeply cultural and social as well. In 1834 rumors that friars had caused a recent Cholera epidemic by poisoning the water supply of Madrid were convincing enough to inspire a mob to burn monasteries and murder between 50 to 100 members of the clergy. In the summer of the next year there were anticlerical riots in several cities characterized as well by church burnings and the murder of friars. These took place a little after the new government had abolished the Jesuits and the last remaining vestiges of the Inquisition. See Stanley Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 82-83.

a general pardon of the insurgents (the *Acuerdo de Vergara*). Thanks to the Carlist

pretenders, who persisted in their claims to the Spanish throne decade after decade, the

tradition became a martial and rebellious Catholic culture that accumulated the qualities

of an ideological movement. An enduring oral tradition of Carlist martyrs and sufferings

grew into the folk traditions of small landholders communities in the North and North-

east of Spain, stories of the dedicated military commander Zumalacárregui or the ruthless

Cabrera, "the Tiger of the Maestrazgo," or fighting priests like El Cura Merino and Santa

Cruz. These figures loomed large in Carlist tradition and often had much greater

emotional significance to ordinary Carlists than the pretender-king himself.[43]

This founding event would be built upon by subsequent Carlist defeats throughout

the nineteenth century, including the War of the Early Risers from 1846-1849 (a second,

much more futile, attempt to win the throne for the Carlist pretender), and the Third

Carlist War from 1871-1874, when regions of popular Carlism (spanning parts of Castile,

Aragon and Catalonia to their strongholds in the Basque provinces), overthrew the

authority of the Spanish state. They controlled the countryside and many medium and

small towns, but not the capitals: according to Jaime Ignacio del Burgo, in the Basque

provinces particularly, they had established "an authentic State endowed with a very

effective organization."[44] Carlists were by then no longer merely the supporters of the

true Catholic monarch, they were a community who regarded themselves as perpetually

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[43] Martin Blinkhorn, *Carlism and Crisis in Spain: 1931 – 1939.* Cambridge University Press: London (1975), p.37.
[44] Jaime Ignacio del Burgo, "El Agónico final del Carlismo," *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Político*, No. 31 (Julio/Septiembre 2011), 179.

on the defensive from an encroaching liberal state. Fusing traditionalism with the political radicalism of modernity, Carlism had come to represent an ideal Catholic society.

The Third Carlist War was followed by a period of relative passivity and contraction of Carlist strength. Its influence outside of Vasco-Navarre deteriorated. The Carlist leadership turned from the policy of insurrection towards political participation in the Cortes, although this, they promised themselves and their rank-and-file, was only strategy. Subsequently, the years of the Cánovas Restoration (1875-1923) saw the splintering of the Carlist movement into many factions, threatening to make Carlism as a coherent movement obsolete. Many Basque Catholics drifted towards ethnic nationalism and the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* (PNV), founded in 1895. Conservative Catholics moved towards the corrupted Restoration parliamentary system led by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo and the breakaway neo-Catholic political party of Alejandro Pidal. The traditionalism of the popular Carlist leader Cándido Nocedal was so extreme and absolutist that he and his followers were expelled by Carlos VII in 1888, producing the Integrist faction. This made them in a literal sense *Carlists* no longer and they emphasized "the social reign of Jesus Christ" over the reign of the pretender.[45] Finally, in 1919 a quarrel between the Carlists' influential and modernizing philosopher Juan Vázquez de Mella and the pretender Don Jaime created a split between *mellistas* and *jaimistas*.[46]

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[45] Blinkhorn, *Carlism and Crisis in Spain,* 10.

[46] MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000), 12. As fragmented as it was, these factions demonstrate Carlism's adaptability: it evolved modernist ideological branches and institutions, such as those proposed by Mella. Victor Pradera's influential 1935 book *El Estado Nuevo*, is a good example of this. He argued for a corporatist state that elaborated on the ideas of Mella, especially in the reduction of the importance of the monarch himself – there should be less Carlos in Carlism. The

In attempting to adapt to modern conditions after their military defeat in the Third
Carlist War, the Carlist hierarchy reorganized their social and paramilitary institutions
along lines similar to contemporary social movements; for instance, established support
wings that would mobilize the entire population, not just the men, forming the *Margaritas*
(the women's organization) and the *Pelayos* (the youth wing). Perhaps most importantly
they created a militia, the *Requetés,* around 1912, which would serve as the basis for a
new Carlist army. It was during this stage that the *círculos tradicionalistas* (local party
chapters) became the base unit of Carlism and played a vital role in sustaining the
movement. The *círculos* acted as places of discussion and solidarity, similar to the *casas
del pueblo* for communities on the Left.

The Cánovas-made Restoration became increasingly unstable in the 20th century,
challenged by democrats, the revolutionary Left and far less dramatically from the Right.
The increasing prevalence of anti-clericalism in Spain served to re-invigorate Carlism and
make it more appealing to Catholics outside the tradition-forged centers of its strength in
Vasco-Navarre and rural Catalonia. The month after the declaration of the Republic in
April 1931, there were more anti-clerical riots, followed by a new constitution that
curtailed the remaining powers of the Catholic Church and took public education out of
religious hands. As the Republic became increasingly unstable and political and religious
conflict grew more radical, the numbers of the movement swelled. Carlists were
convinced that the hated Republic was the opening act for a "red" revolution that must

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legitimacy of the monarch was not a matter of Divine Right, but depended on the sanction of the Church
and the regions of Spain – the king could be a representative of the nation.

surely follow. Although at first the leadership tried a policy of pursuing its goals through the parliament, some Carlists unofficially sought a way to overthrow it. In August 1932, with many on the conservative and Catholic side of politics already outraged by the progressive and secular policies of the new government, some Carlists participated in General Sanjurjo's failed *pronunciamento* against the Republic. In that same year the creation of the *Comunión Tradicionalista* from the fundamentalist Catholic parties healed many of the divisions within the movement, and the *Requeté* became the armed wing of the *Comunión*.

The Carlists supported the National Front in the elections of 1936, more from fear of increasing anti-clericalism and "red" revolution rather than enthusiasm for the policies of the republican right, whom they regarded as ineffectual and insufficiently uncompromising.[47] In the weeks leading up to the July 19 military uprising, Carlist leader Fal Conde was in negotiations with General Mola, the coup's main organiser, over the role the Carlists would play in the uprising and the form the new government would take. Although Conde did not get what he wanted, at the last minute he agreed to take part in the uprising, arguing that the Carlists could not sit out a battle in defense of Spain and the Catholic religion. In the months between the election of the Popular Front in February 1936 and the military coup in July, clerical buildings were burned on a much more

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[47] Carlists sometimes referred to National Front as the "the counterrevolutionary bloc," in their propaganda, emphasizing that voting was a conditional measure to prevent an imminent revolution. Long before the coup took place, Catholics were thinking in terms of a crusade. To encourage people to vote, the bishop of Barcelona, Doctor Irurita, "led the first pastoral exhortation to his flock, rousing them to pray with insistence to win victory for the fighters who raise high the Cross against the Anti-Christian Revolution." *"dirigio la primera exhortacion pastoral a sus fieles, excitandoles orar con insistencia para lograr el triunfo de los combatientes que levantan en alto la Cruz contra la Revolución anticristiana."* Doctor Irurita, "La Contienda de Estos Dias," *El Siglo Futuro*, 4 febrero 1936, 6.

frequent scale, and the *Requeté* could boast a paramilitary force of 30,000 and a general membership of possibly three quarters of a million by the beginning of the civil war.[48]

The *Requeté* played a prominent role in the civil war, especially in the Northeast, helping to win the Basque country, Navarre and most of Aragon, and threatening Madrid in the last days of July 1936. But the armies that won the war came not from the North but from the South: the Army of Africa, armed by Italians and Germans, and commanded by a last-minute plotter, General Francisco Franco. His subsequent manoeuvring to neutralize his political rivals led to the fall of Fal Conde from power and the absorption of the Carlists, (along with the other factions of the Nationalist side) into a single political party, the *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista* (FET y de las JONS) in April 1937.

This effectively ended Carlism's autonomy as a social movement, although it would be granted a great deal of authority in Franco's Spain. Most Carlists, fighting in the trenches or struggling at the homefront, did not understand the significance of these changes at first and the inherent hierarchical nature of Carlism precluded any articulate resistance to being subordinated to the authority of the Nationalist government. Interestingly enough, only a month later in May 1937, the anarchists would also lose their potency as a social movement as part of a similar maneuver to centralize political power by the Communist-backed Republican government in Valencia.

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[48] For paramilitary numbers see Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas,* 46; for *Comunión* numbers see Blinkhorn, *Carlism & Crisis in Spain,* 133.

2.2 An overview of anarchism

Anarchism came to Spain through Mikhail Bakunin's envoy Giuseppe Fanelli in 1868, who spoke to small groups first in Madrid and then in Barcelona. Although Fanelli did not speak Spanish and his message was communicated through an interpreter, his sincerity (and the ideas) won several immediate converts. However, the basic ideas of anarchism – revolution against tyranny, social equality, social justice, were already part of the experience of the Spanish masses. Anarchism attracted radical republicans who were battling for the Spanish underclasses, such as Rafael Pérez del Álamo who eventually moved closer to socialism and had led a republican Andalusian uprising in 1861. Only a few years before in 1857, a workers' uprising that began in Seville spread to the town of El Arahal where workers proclaimed 'the Republic,' with the cry "kill the rich!" and burned the property registry. Leftist radicals were the driving force behind campaigns that culminated in the revolution of 1868, *"en la que el campesinado de toda España toma un papel activo buscando solucionar el problema de la propiedad de la tierra."*[49] When anarchism arrived in the second half of the 19th century, it was adopted by a working class imbued with a growing populist-democratic tradition. A good example of this was the anarchist hero Fermín Salvochea, who was not an anarchist at all until late in his career (about 1873). Despite coming from a family of privilege, Salvochea was a dedicated fighter on behalf of the oppressed workers of Andalusia, living an austere and principled life. From the 1860s until the 1890s Salvochea was at the head of many insurrections and subversive plots, and in prison for almost as much time as he was out. He was considered a hero among the poor of his hometown Cádiz, and the calm and

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[49] "in which the peasantry of all Spain took an active role in seeking to resolve the problem of rights to the land." Sevilla-Guzman, *La evolución del campesinado en España*, 74.

endurance with which he suffered punishments was admired even by his enemies. When he died in 1907 it is said that upwards of 50,000 people attended his burial.

Anarchism spread rapidly – by June 1870 a regional branch of the socialist First International had been founded in Barcelona (the *Federación de la Regional Española*) with a declared membership of 10,000.[50] While the International proclaimed a united socialist message, the Spanish Federation was dominated by anarchists and anarchist ideas. Just as quickly, the movement contracted to 1,800 by January of 1871. This was the beginning of a cycle of rapid expansion followed by contraction that would characterize Spanish anarchism's history.

The first wave was made up mostly of small craftsmen, middle-class professionals and intellectuals. Workers and peasants (*campesinos*) were the targets of anarchist proselytizing. While the Federation attracted the small numbers of the industrial proletariat from its strongholds it major cities like Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid, its popularity in the Southern countryside would be explosive. In 1872 the Spanish International claimed 28,000 members in Andalusia, mostly in the western part of the region, where anarchist ideas of access to small land property readily connected with local peasant's aspirations, suppressed by the liberal state, to distribute the existing large estates. After the overthrow of the First Republic in 1874, the "Internationalists" were hunted and suppressed by the government of Francisco Serrano.

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[50] Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*, 68. He estimates that this represented a significant portion of Catalonia's class, perhaps as much as 9% of the total. Whether or not this is a precise accounting, it is fair to say that the Federation attracted a mass following extremely fast.

A second stage of anarchist development began in the 1880s, coinciding with the relative political stability of the Cánovas Restoration and the intensification of industrialization. While some attempted popular uprisings (like Jerez in 1892) tried to build a national syndicate of unions, small groups or individuals operating clandestinely tried to bring about the revolution through lone wolf acts of terror against prominent symbols. As a tactic, terrorism was an international phenomenon used by many revolutionary movements, responsible for the assassination of heads of state or leading politicians in Portugal, Italy, France, Russia, Austro-Hungary and the United States. Terrorism came to be associated primarily with anarchists, arguably its most prolific practitioners. Anarchists carried out a number of assassination attempts against Spanish elites, including Prime Minister Cánovas himself in 1897, Prime Minister Canalejas in 1912, Prime Minister Eduardo Dato in 1922, and the Archbishop Soldevila of Zaragoza in 1923 (and nearly succeed in killing King Alfonso XII and XIII). For their part, state authorities and others who considered themselves the enemies of revolution embraced the chance to define the anarchist movement entirely by its terrorist fringes. In Andalusia, authorities used the existence of a phantom terrorist organization called *La Mano Negra* as a justification for widespread and arbitrary arrests, harassment, abuses, torture and even the killing of activists and workers.[51]

Another anarchist type were the individualists or *incontrolados*, often less interested in building a new world than in tearing down the old one. The ideas of 19th

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[51] Juan Díaz del Moral argues that the years just prior to the brutal repression justified by the threat of *La Mano Negra*, the early 1880s, constituted a very interesting moment for the anarchist movement. At that juncture it was well coordinated and vibrant and it was possibly anarchism's great moment of possibility and solidarity, when it could have developed in very different directions. The repression interrupted that development. *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1929), 130.

century individualism and nihilism influenced a version of anarchism that emphasized the freedom of the individual from all forms of authority. Some interpreted this to be an invitation to do violence to achieve their own ends and encouraged a culture of *pistolerismo* in the movement.[52] For others, those who did not (or could not) read philosophy, anarchism was understood as a mystical power of individualism capable of producing a utopia spontaneously and uncompromisingly.

The defining moment of this period was the *Tragic Week* in Barcelona in 1909.[53] Despite being a popular revolt directed against the economic and military abuses of the state, the event was characterized by widespread burning of Catholic edifices. Three clergy were killed, one possibly by accident, but there were a number of additional assaults on priests. The first large-scale attack on religious images took place in 1909 as well.[54] Although the initial incidents at Barcelona's port were spontaneous, anarchists

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[52] The categorization of *incontrolados* blurred the distinction between renegade anarchists acting outside moral norms of the movement and opportunists claiming to be anarchists in order to justify or cover vendetta killings or acts of banditry. This was a frequent, if unquantifiable, occurrence in the street fighting between anarchists and authorities in pre-civil war Spain and during the civil war when affiliation with the movement was for a time the only recognized symbol of authority. See Chris Ealham, «De la cima al abismo»: Las contradicciones entre el individualismo y el colectivismo en el anarquismo español, in *La Republica asediada*, ed. Paul Preston, (Ediciones Península, 1999), 147-174.

[53] The name given to it by mainstream newspapers and as it is understood in historical literature, but veterans of the event often referred to it as "The Week of Glory," a great moment in the revolutionary history of Spain. The government had called up troops to fight rebel tribes who were raiding Spanish mines in Morocco, one of their last remaining colonies. Disaffection with the state and colonial military adventures, (in this case when conscripted men, often married, were called to fight), was running high in Barcelona, setting off a general strike that was quickly exacerbated by blundering politicians into a week-long uprising.

[54] Joan Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain 1875-1912* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 291. Icons of Christ, Mary and the saints were mutilated and often decapitated. The exhumation of the bodies of monks and nuns took place on a number of occasions, with crowds looking on. Rebels put on sacred vestments and mocked the rites, hamming it up for the camera. There were stories of workmen dancing in the streets with the bodies, but this was exaggerated from a single incident involving a "simple-minded coalman" who did so with the body a Hieronymite nun and who was executed when the state held prosecutions in the aftermath of the uprising. This was Ramon Clemente Garcia, convicted of putting up a barricade during the uprising but three others were convicted

were behind the call to a general strike and were certainly a driving force in the workers'

resistance that followed the government's effort to retake control of the city.

By the 20th century, the mainstream of the anarchist movement had become

syndicalist; this was the doctrine that the union local was the foundation of a worker's

society and the basic unit of revolution. Through the mechanism of a federation,

anarchists believed that the unions could launch a general strike that would force a

showdown with the state and destroy the illusion of its necessity. From its inception the

anarchist movement participated in a series of attempts to create a national federation of

workers, before founding the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* in 1910. The CNT was

a national representative body of Spanish trade unionists that was not explicitly anarchist

until 1919. It was declared illegal by the government of King Alfonso XIII almost

immediately after it was founded, but was granted legal status in 1914, becoming the

central force of the movement.

The founding of the CNT marks a third stage in the history of the anarchist

movement, the transition to a much larger, more organized social movement. Only

workers could join the organization, because only they could participate in a general

strike.[55] In 1918 the Confederation attempted to expand by sending agitators all over

Spain, to the most remote regions of the country. The proselytizers were often arrested or

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along with him and sentenced to prison terms. Only Garcia was accused of committing an act of desecration and only he was executed.

[55] The statutes of the CNT offer a glimpse into what it meant to join: the Confederation's first task was to, "prepare the way for their [the workers] complete emancipation in the future, thanks to the conquest of the means of production and consumption, withheld unjustly from us by the bourgeoisie." *"…prepara el camino para su completa emancipación en la futura, merced a la conquista de los medios de producción y de consumo, detentados indebitamente por la burguesía."* CNT Estatutos Valencia 1920 – Biblioteca de Catalunya Arx 847/I, 8. Reg. Arx. 13625

otherwise barred by local authorities, but the effort was effective and CNT locals began appearing in increasing numbers in the countryside.[56]

Industrial transformation of the urban economy, combined with the collapse of the traditional economy of the country, led to mass immigration to the cities in increasing numbers throughout the nineteenth century. Barcelona was the most striking example, doubling in population between 1900 and 1936 from five hundred thousand to a million people, most of whom were emigrating from Valencia, Murcia, Aragon and Andalusia. Many of these people occupied new slums on the outskirts of the city, barrios that would be characterized as "seething" with discontent and deprivation by the time of the Second Republic and with some of the lowest literacy rates and highest infant mortality rates in Western Europe in the 1930s.[57] Anarchism in the cities was not just a political movement, in many ways it was a bond that pulled rootless people together: many of the leaders came from poor and working class backgrounds (e.g. Ángel Pestaña was the orphaned son of a migrant labourer, Buenaventura Durruti had been in union struggles since he was a boy).

From about 1919 to 1923 anarchists and trade unionists fought an almost daily gun battle in the streets of Barcelona with the henchmen of Catalan industrialists and the police forces of the state. The anarchists understood this as a form of persecution; their

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[56] José Pierats, *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* (London: Freedom Press, 1990), 30.

[57] Chris Ealham, "Anarchism and Illegality in Barcelona, 1931-7." *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Jul., 1995): 142. The FAI in particular had strong ties in these barrios, according to Ealham, and credit for the anarchists' readiness to suppress the Barcelona coup of July 19 1936 by the Nationalist rebels can in part be given to the poor who begged for scraps from the army barracks' kitchen in the months before the coup, and passed information they heard there on to the anarchists.

stand against exploitation had led capitalist tyrants to assassinations and harassment. In 1927, under the repression of the de Primo de Rivera dictatorship, the *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (FAI) was created. The FAI was the clandestine revolutionary wing of the CNT, consisting of those who wanted an uncompromising commitment to armed revolution and sought to prevent the CNT from becoming "reformist." They were, ideologically, the descendents of the founders of *Tierra y Libertad* – hard line anarco-communists – and were also a paramilitary force (about 30,000 members in 1935, proportional to that of the *Requetés*) that played a key role in making anarchist militias effective in stopping the coup in 1936.

The founding of the Republic in 1931 caused a near-immediate split within the ranks of the CNT: the *faístas* rejected co-operating with or endorsing the Republic, while the *treintistas* argued that the Republic should be supported as long as co-operation advanced the condition of the working classes. The *faístas* had the *treintistas* expelled from the CNT for the duration of the Republic, which undermined the effectiveness of the CNT as a political force despite their large numbers.

The years of the Republic were also the period of anarchism's greatest expansion. Rejecting the possibility of participating in a liberal-democratic system (at least in theory, because many CNT affiliates voted for left-wing parties), CNT anarchists concentrated on labour strikes and attempted to organize uprisings that would lead to the revolutionary moment. The non-hierarchical nature of the movement, however, made a co-ordinated uprising difficult. In October 1934 an attempt at a nation-wide uprising against what was seen as a proto-fascist right wing government failed except in the province of Asturias,

where for a few weeks mine workers (a UGT-CNT alliance) controlled parts of the region. The rebels persecuted clergy and capitalists. The government's repression of the Asturian rebels was even more violent, with thousands killed, and 30,000 workers imprisoned.[58]

The first year of the civil war was arguably the apex of the Spanish anarchist movement. Its participation in suppressing the uprising was a critical factor in the survival of the Republic and momentarily made the anarchists heroes. In some regions, they were the dominant armed power. In Catalonia the *Generalitat* (the regional government) offered the CNT political control, but they refused on the principle that the state was inherently corrupt. Instead the anarchists "made the revolution" in the regions they controlled; in Catalonia especially, but also in parts of Aragon, Castile, Andalusia and Valencia. Never before or since has anarchism been practiced on the scale that it was in Spain during that year. By May 1937, the Republican government of Largo Caballero, in cooperation with the Soviet-backed Spanish Communists, decided to end anarchist control in Catalonia and, after sending the Assault Guards take over the anarchist-held telephone exchange in Barcelona by arms, forced them to cede power after several days of fighting. From then on, although they participated in the Republican government and continued to fight the Nationalists, the movement was a shell of its former self, steadily losing both its political and military potency. Like Carlism, it was never again a social movement with a mass following with the potential to overthrow a state.

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[58] George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert, *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in Context 1931-1939* (New York: Longman, 1995), 86.

2.3 The mass production of revolutionaries: industrialization and land reform

The Carlists and the anarchists accumulated their popular bases by articulating ideas and values that resonated with the daily experience of the masses they appealed to. The great transformations of modernism destroyed or devalued old social, psychological and political loyalties which left the normally apolitical worker open to a radical re-interpretation of society – and thus to a revolutionary ideology.[59] Socioeconomic life determined how hospitable certain regions could be to different ideologies.[60] Carlism and anarchism grew along geographic lines defined by provinces because "[Provinces were] communities integrated in social networks that went beyond the immediate environment of the province and stretched to Madrid, from the power that gave them control of local life, to condition and take part in national life. A reality with its press, its own economy, its elite circles, their cultures and traditions."[61]

Neither Carlism (despite its hierarchic nature), or anarchism was imposed from above; indeed, their existence depended upon their appeal to a popular base and their revolutionary natures made them enemies of the state. They were rooted in ordinary people's lives that could survive periods of state repression, in a set of values that

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[59] Gino Germani describes this process as "social mobilization" and defines it as "the excess (in degree, extent or form) of group participation in relation to the level considered normal by the old society." In other words, the apolitical masses are made political. *Authoritarianism, Fascism and National Populism* (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1978), 20.

[60] Rural society, although declining in population in the 19th and 20th centuries, made up the majority of the Spanish population and defined its culture. The northeast, (Catalonia, the Levant and the Basque provinces) was composed mainly of small tenant farmers, not wealthy but independent. In the south, extremely large landholdings owned by a small class of owners dominated (*latifundia*) the great mass of poor rentier farmers and landless laborers. Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain*, 81.

[61] *"Comunidades integradas en redes sociales que iban más allá del entorno más inmediato de la provincia y se prolongaban hacia Madrid, desde el poder que les daba su control de la vida local, para condicionar y ser parte de la vida nacional. Una realidad con su prensa, su economía propia, sus círculos de élite, sus culturas y tradiciones locales."* Javier Ugarte, "El carlismo hacia los años treinta del siglo xx. Un fenómeno señal," *Ayer*. No.38, (2000), 171.

distinguished their autonomy not just from the state, but distinguished themselves from the dehumanizing processes of modern life: commoditization of things like land and work that were previously fixed in a cultural sense. In turn, this made other ideologies seem inherently antagonistic to them, another aspect of the same destructive force.[62]

Carlism was embraced by the independent peasant farmers and rural tradesmen of the northeast, inspired by the pretenders' promise to defend Catholic dominance in society and to restore the *fueros* progressively revoked by centralizing, liberal regimes. The *fueros* were closely associated with the tradition of regional autonomy in places like Aragon, Catalonia, Navarre and the Basque provinces. Not coincidentally, the original base of Carlist support came from the northeast: the Basque provinces, Navarre, Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, a stronghold in Madrid and pockets of support in the rest of Spain. When the pretender Carlos VII capitulated in 1876, the movement underwent a contraction of its popular support and influence, not necessarily because they had lost a war: Carlist identity was built around valiant defeat. The movement contracted in popular support because the Carlist leadership had renounced armed revolt to achieve their goals, and by co-operating with the government of Alfonso XII, they joined what the rank-and-file regarded as the enemy (given that it was this government that extinguished the last of the *fueros*, it is a wonder Carlism survived at all as a popular movement).[63]

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[62] Julián Casanova makes an excellent point concerning how this ideological territoriality comes about: "Without wishing to generalize too much, it is possible to recognize as a constant of rural existence that the intense community life, the inter-family solidarity of rich and poor, and the reciprocal control exercised by villagers over one another constituted major obstacles to the penetration of ideologies which predicated the division of the community." "Anarchism and Revolution in the Spanish Civil War: The Case of Aragon," 425-426.

[63] Their survival must be credited to a significant degree to the importance of inheritance and tradition in the Carlist ideology, something that will be elaborated upon later in the chapter.

As the industrial economy grew (such as iron mining in the north, and manufacturing in major cities like Barcelona), the cities grew demographically and economically at the expense of the country. The Madoz legislation of 1855 began a process of selling off the rest of clerical lands and municipal lands, leading to the enclosure of common lands. Distentailment undermined the livelihoods of the most vulnerable of peasant farmers. It was after this development that Carlism became more than a defender of faith and *fueros*, but of a *"modo de vivir."* The working class began a mass exodus from the country to the city and from poor regions to wealthy ones. The way of life tied to Carlism contracted, and with it, its base of support. In Catalonia in the late nineteenth century the population practically doubled thanks to waves of immigration from destitute areas of Spain, with workers seeking work in the factories of the cities, (in addition there was internal immigration from country to city within Catalonia). The result was the decline of the popular base of Carlism and the rise of Catalan nationalism, radical republicanism, and above all, anarchism.

The increasing momentum of the secularist and anti-clerical movements in the twentieth century produced a great deal of hostile rhetoric, from demagogues like the politician Alejandro Lerroux, to outbursts of anticlerical violence. Increasingly belligerent rhetoric from the Carlist pretenders' circle improved Lerroux's appeal, and the abdication of Alfonso XIII in 1931 (opening the door to the possibility of an alternative monarch) only made them bolder. Fears of a "red" revolution in the divisive days of the Republic

drove the not-inconsiderable numbers of the conservative and Catholic proletariat into the

Carlist camp.[64]

Like Carlism, anarchism's popularity was as highly concentrated in certain

regions. Within only a few years of Fanelli's visit to Spain in 1868, anarchism became a

popular movement in the cities and towns of Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, the capital

Madrid and in Andalusia, (where it had its strongest rural support). Cycles of expansion

and contraction of the movement's popularity were related to periods of state suppression

rather than policy changes, although heavy-handed tactics, such as assassinations and

bombings, or the scathing absolutism of the militant wing of the anarchist movement like

the FAI, drove away many otherwise sympathetic individuals.[65]

While many dispossessed *campesinos* moved to nearby urban centers, many

hundreds of thousands fled their provinces and converged on booming industrial cities

like Barcelona, where anarchism was deeply intertwined with the urban working class,

developing disciplined union militants and their own revolutionary institutions.[66] Catalan

cities in particular did not absorb these internal immigrants well: few of them spoke

Catalan, they were indifferent and often hostile to religion, and were attracted neither to

regional nationalism nor xenophobic Carlism. Anarchism, on the other hand, appealed

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[64] Carlism also grew rapidly in Andalusia after 1910, likely due to Catholic reaction to anti-clericalism (hostility towards the Church was very strong there), but also in no small part to efforts to develop a social Catholicism that appealed to workers. See Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas,* 44.

[65] Juan Díaz del Moral asserted that terrorism destroyed anarchism's popularity in Europe, *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas*, 123.

[66] In Catalonia, there is an identifiable contrast between greater support for individualism and *pistolerismo* among anarchists in urban centres like Barcelona where unemployment was high and socioeconomic conditions unstable, and provincial unions being more moderate and coherent organizations, "based on more economically stable sectors of the workforce," see Ealham, "Anarchism and Illegality in Barcelona, 1931-7," 138.

directly to them and echoed their experience as human beings stripped of their place in the world, useful to society only as exploited labor.[67]

Southern anarchism was different than northeastern anarchism: there, peasant uprisings were more inclined to use New Testament analogy and religious language. Over time secular rationalism and agnosticism began to "wear out" religious tradition in Andalusia, where the Church had openly sided with the state and the landowners who were responsible for the oppression and exploitation of the *jornaleros* (landless workers) and whose explosive population growth had not kept up with work or wages. By the turn of the century western Andalusian society was polarised between the self-isolating "big" families and the numberless masses, "the herd of men" created by the capitalist transformation of society.[68]

Underlying economic and cultural layers, the geography of Catholicism played an influential role in the growth of both movements. As the Church gradually lost much of its power and wealth in Spain over the course of the 19th century, (e.g. through legislation which reduced funding for religious orders and the disentailment of church lands), there was a corresponding decline in mass attendance generally.[69] William J. Callahan points out the widespread decline in Catholic belief was "well advanced" at the midpoint of the 19th century. Regionally, contrasts of belief and non-belief appeared "between districts

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[67] Herr, *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain,* 129.

[68] *"manadas de hombres."* Ramón Rodriguez Aguilera, "Sobre el trasfondo cultural y las consecuencias políticas del problema social-agrario de Andalucia, o de las dificultades del ser andaluz," 70.

[69] William J. Callahan, "Was Spain Catholic?" *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Invierno 1984): 164-165.

experiencing economic change and peasant areas where traditional levels of observance appeared stable."[70]

In the rural areas of northeastern Spain, the Church had an intimate role within the community: parishes were smaller in the north than in the south (priests in Navarre were elected by the community rather than appointed by the administration).[71] The tenant farmer economy remained stable in the Basque country and Navarre, enabling the Church to avoid taking sides in conflicts between the rich (usually important supporters of the Church) and the poor. The opposite was the case in Andalusia where the popularity of the Catholic Church had evaporated by the 20th century: the church and the priest were still part of life in all but the smallest villages, but they were often seen on the side of the state and local elites, creating deep divisions.[72]

The Church was also weaker in cities than it was in the country, which likely had much to do with the cosmopolitanism of city life, the intermingling of many different types of people, compared with the insular and slow-changing world of the rural

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[70] Barcelona is an interesting case for our purposes: it was a Carlist stronghold until the late 19th century, when it became the anarchist stronghold. Josep Gatell, a 19th century Catalan priest quoted by Callahan, believed that in 1850 Barcelona was "'a Christian town' in which 'factories closed a half-hour before the celebration of the last Mass during which our churches were filled with men in their workers' shirts.' But 'the day arrived when this people, which until then appeared Catholic, abandoned religious practices little by little.'" The connection of the industrialization of Barcelona to the decline in Catholic observance among factory workers is illustrative of how workers lost the values that would have made Carlism appealing, and lost them because of their economic condition, which anarchism articulated. *Ibid*.

[71] MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism*, 4.

[72] Carlism took root in Andalusia after 1931. It was led by its youth groups rather than *círculos*, its stronghold was in Seville rather than the countryside, and the movement there was far more sympathetic to socialist ideas and values than in the north. Martin Blinkhorn suggests that this boom was "not the renaissance but the birth of Carlism in Andalusia, where every local organization shone as proof of the energy and competence of Fal Conde and his lieutenants." In short, this was modernized Carlism for the industrial age, a revolutionary-proletarian form of Catholicism and demonstrates that Carlism had only taken to Andalusia when it had found a demographic that would support it. Blinkhorn, *Carlism and Crisis in Spain*, 139.

community. The demography of cities also contributed to this problem: a single parish in a *barrio* in Barcelona could minister to more people than lived in a dozen parishes in the countryside, which tended to alienate the community from the church, especially if the Church was seen to side with local elites over the interests of the working poor. It must also be considered that the underexplored subject of clerical abuse against members of the community could have been widespread enough to nourish the mass hostility to the Church, especially against the Jesuits, whose dominance over childhood education is depicted in many anecdotal accounts as violent and repressive.[73] There is a rough correlation between the nature of the relationship between clergy and community and the relative strength of anarchism or Carlism. Anarchism has a tendency to appear in regions hostile to religion.[74]

Carlism and anarchism both demonstrate a clear regionalism that remained roughly consistent over time. Only the introduction of rival ideologies (i.e. more appealing ideas or values) or radical changes in the means of existence changed their geographic strength. The mode of life in one region was the major factor in determining the kind of radicalism that could flourish there. In addition political suppression of the movements could reduce their influence only for the duration of the suppression – they tended to bounce back if given the freedom, suggesting that their support had deep roots among the masses, ones that could weather long periods of public invisibility.

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[73] Andalusian campesinos, referring to the dark history between clergy and the community, said of local monks "this breed of men has to be eliminated." Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 76. Priests were somewhat more respected than regular clergy.
[74] Callahan, *Was Spain Catholic?* 168.

2.4 The structure of revolutionary social movements

Carlism and anarchism were more than insurrectionary forces, they were diffuse social movements that employed a complex array of tactics to build the movement and a new society in anticipation of the day when they took power. They fluctuated between episodes of what Tilly calls "lethal conflict" – violent campaigns between two intra-state parties – and episodes of "contentious politics" when movements make claims that conflict with the interests of others. Tilly identifies four processes that nurture the formation of social movements within states: war, parliamentization, capitalization and proletarianization.[75] What he is describing, in other words, are the processes of modernization in the 19th century. Modernization increases the complexity and number of relationships between citizens through the proliferation of new technologies, from the mass production of material goods to the improvement of transport and communications, which in turn grants the average individual greater autonomy of action and belief.

Carlism entered the second half of the 19th century a traditionalist, pre-modern movement and adapted its forms and values to modern conditions, and so Carlism was one of the only nineteenth century right wing militant movements to survive into the twentieth.[76] Anarchism was born of modernity, in many ways it took on many of the classic ideas of liberalism – individual freedom, equality, the common good – in defense of the working classes. What follows is a description of how Carlism and anarchism were

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[75] According to Tilly, mobilization and payment for war (recruiting, drafting, taxation, disentailment, etc.) increases government activity in the affairs of the ordinary citizen. Parliamentization put populations in closer contact with politicians and increased their investment in political decisions. Capitalization increased the influence of merchants and financiers on politics, which diversified the loci of political power in society. Proletarianization frees workers from their fixed ties to employers, landlords, seigneural lords, etc. and this permits them to enter political life on their own terms. Tilly, *Social Movements*, 27.
[76] Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 98.

structured, and how those structures were products of the type of communities that supported them.

2.4.1 Carlist organization

After the defeat of 1876 and the dissolution of the Carlist army, there was no organization which represented the popular will of the movement until 1896. Moderate Carlists joined the new parliamentary monarchy within Alejandro Pidal's political party, focusing more on Catholic unity. As stated above, others were drawn to Basque and Catalan autonomist movements. Around the same time, Cándido Nocedal's ultra-Catholic and conservative Integrist movement split with the Carlist pretender in 1888, drawing off many from the *Comunión Católico-Monárquica,* (the Carlist political party).

At the top of the movement was the pretender-king of the moment and his immediate circle, made up of powerful and prominent Carlists, often aristocrats but they could also be able men drawn from the middle class (such as Fal Conde). The pretender appointed a chief representative (*Jefe delegado*) who directed the policies and organization of the movement that lay within the pretenders' influence (which was most of it, especially the militarized wing). The Carlist pretender frequently lived abroad, leaving the work to his circle and the level of his involvement varied a great deal with his attitude and capacities.

Carlism functioned with a "double sovereignty" by a constitutional monarch that promised to protect regional autonomy, contrasted against a social sovereignty, imposed

from within through the family and culture.[77] The representative could reasonably claim

to be the only legitimate authority on questions of Carlist policy (so long as the pretender

was amenable) but he lacked a fixed organization that could carry out his declarations.

This was left instead to a complex network of personal connections based on egalitarian-

hierarchic relationships.[78] On one hand, divisions in the movement revealed how

precarious the pretender's authority could be: modernizing and corporatist Carlists like

Juan Vázquez de Mella (who split with the pretender in 1919) and Victor Pradera rejected

the narrow ideas of the pretender; on the other hand, the Integrists criticized Don Jaime

(the pretender from 1909-1931) for being too liberal.

Nocedal's successor, the Marquis de Cerralbo, laid the foundations for a more

expansionist Carlism, developing an aggressive press and a national political apparatus at

a crucial moment in the movement's history, when it might have remained structurally

archaic. His goal was to modernize the movement and make it appealing to outsiders,

without losing its narrow vision, "*Intransigencia en los principios y transigencia en las

formas.*"[79] In 1896 he founded the *círculos tradicionalistas*, local chapters with meeting

halls equivalent to *centros obreros* of working-class unions. The *círculos* acted as social

centers and mediums of propaganda, and became the seedbeds of the *Requeté* that would

be born a decade later.

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[77] del Burgo, 181.

[78] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente*, 106. "Egalitarian" in the sense of a common fraternity of belief and allegiance, "hierarchy" in the sense of submitting to traditional sources of social status, e.g. family name, social prominence. Wealth and power did not by themselves necessarily confer a high status: social pressure and tradition reinforced the informal authority of these networks.

[79] "Intransigent in principles, malleable in forms," Quoted in Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 122.

It may be that in the period between the defeat of 1876 and Cerralbo's reform of the movement, characterized by internal confusion and division, that the main institution holding the popular base of Carlism together was its most anarchic: bonds of family, community and values. The concept of Carlism as "*La gran familia,*" comes from this period: to espouse the ideals of the movement meant to become part of a larger community of solidarity and cooperation. The rigid social norms of conventional family and austere Catholicism, in addition to the submission to (legitimate) authorities, formed the basis for an *"igualitarismo moral o jerárquico."*[80]

Popular Carlism held together in these lean years as a heritage handed down by one generation to the next, a social and cultural identity. Carlism was passed down through the blood, and true education did not take place in schools, but was given by father to son through stories of martyrdom and chivalry.[81] The family was the essential unit of the movement, the ideology sustained and crafted through stories told around the household fire (*hogar*). The *círculos* (local chapters) became the foundation for a future Carlist society. The concepts of *familia* (family) and *communion tradicionalista* (traditionalist community) were the basis for ideal institutions: the *círculos* were therefore conceived of as political *hogares*, replicating the family structure.[82] At this level Carlists

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[80] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente*, 35. In Carlist culture, social structure and community bonds were blurred with ideology (14), in much the same way that anarchism promoted local community over political structures imposed from above.

[81] MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism*, 63.

[82] "The Carlist *círculos* are the hearth of the great Traditionalist family; the president the father of all the members, the veterans of past wars the grandfathers, the older brothers the members of mature age, and the youth are the *requeté*, the boys and little people of the house. They talk to each other with true democratic equality, without distinction by age, social position or category, even with brotherly care; and from here rises a union solid and compact, and from such union comes strength." "*Los Círculos carlistas son el hogar de la gran familia tradicionalista; el president el padre de todos los socios, los veteranos de las pasadas guerras los abuelos, hermanos mayores los socios de edad madura, y la juventud, el* requeté*, los*

appropriated liberal concepts such as popular representation and made them their own, speaking in terms of representing a "true" democracy, even declaring themselves on the side of the workers despite their hostility to nearly all workers' advocacy groups.[83]

When the civil war began, most rank-and-file Carlists found out about their expected role only when the call went out for volunteers to fight "the reds." Fal Conde, the pretender's representative since 1934, and a small number of Carlist elites had been busy secretly negotiating the Carlist role in the coup with General Mola. At the last moment they agreed to a scheme that would have the *Requeté* support the coup, rather than requiring the coup to support Carlist goals. Juan Ugarte Tellería gives a vivid account of how the call-out took place, emanating from the cities to the towns, Catholic volunteers flooding the provincial capitals within a day or two, ready to go to war, believing in a quick victory. The call spread by word of mouth, local elites getting the message and passing it on to the *círculos*. Rural towns often received a messenger who came by car (itself an unusual event) and in many cases the church bells were rung to rouse the community. Many of the recruits were not strictly-speaking ardent Carlists: a great number were devout Catholics who volunteered because they felt compelled to "stick up for God," or because they succumbed to overwhelming social pressure not to be seen as a coward or a traitor.[84]

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chicuelos y gente menuda de la casa. Tratanse unos a otros con verdadera lisura democrática, sin distinción de edades, posición social y categorías, más aún, con fratenal cariño; y aquí surge la unión solida y compacta, y de la unión proced la fuerza."* Quoted from a lecture given at a Valencia *círculo* in 1896 in Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 264.

[83] Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 115.

[84] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente*, 124. Tellería emphasizes that it was community bonds more than social pressure that drew men to the Carlist army, and that even the *Requeté* organization in Pamplona and Vitoria was loose, informal, without a clear hierarchy, (106).

2.4.2 Anarchist organization

From the movement's inception, anarchists attempted to organize local chapters of their national organizations, each one in practice autonomous in decision making from the central authority. This caused profound difficulties when attempting to coordinate national actions, but to their credit it also ensured the integrity of the principle of egalitarian relationships within the movement. Anarchists acted according to their own consciences, for better and for worse.

Although the movement advocated a decentralized national structure of local associations, anarchists persisted in trying to create a national representative organization that could coordinate activity and eventually, a revolution. They were nearly always designed as non-aligned workers' advocacy organizations but were dominated by anarchists and socialists. The attendance at the congresses of these organizations cannot be taken as a precise representation of the overall strength of the movement, but they do reflect the level of engagement at any given moment. They can also give us some idea of the minimum size of the movement: in 1870, The *Federación de la Regional Española* (FRE) started at 10,000 members, crashed, then rose to 70,000 in 1874 before falling into extinction.[85]

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[85] *"la FRE estaba compuesta por 190 federaciones locales y 349 secciones (sindicatos), estando en constitución otras 135 feraciones locales y 183 secciones más. El número total de afiliados rondaba los 70.000."* This cycle was repeated in the 1880s with the new organization *Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española* (FTRE) and in the early 1900s with the *Federación de Sociedades de Resistencia de la Región Española* (FSORE), each with roughly the same numbers. From 1904-1910 *Solidaridad Obrera* was somewhat less successful in terms of numbers than its predecessors, but it did establish the basis for the creation of the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT) in 1910. See "1870: Federación Regional Española," *CNT Federación Local de Madrid, Historia de la CNT*, Accessed August 29 2013 http://madrid.cnt.es/historia/la-federacion-regional-espanola/

Organized anarchism, as discussed above, crystallized with the CNT after 1910, and would fluctuate between half a million to a million members until the coup of 1936. Their successful armed opposition to the Nationalist coup briefly made them heroes in the Republic, as well as one of the dominant political forces in many parts of Republican Spain. As a result their numbers swelled to roughly 2 million, although many workers joined the CNT (or the UGT) in order to get work or just to acquire some protection from political suspicion (this was true on both sides, on the Nationalist side Carlist and Falangist numbers also expanded for these reasons). Anarchist intransigence in cooperating with the other factions of the Republic, their ineffectiveness in winning military objectives, the loss of several key leaders in the early months of the war and their suppression by the Communist-backed Republic in the spring of 1937 led to a permanent decline in their numbers.

But workers' institutions were only the most conventional aspect of the movement. Clandestine groups and tactics were part of Spanish anarchism since its inception. In the aftermath of the Paris Commune in the summer of 1871, fearful Spanish authorities detained and harassed anarchists, sending the leadership of the *Federación de la Regional Española* into hiding. In 1873, after the bloody anarchist-led uprising at Alcoy (Alicante), state repression was so violent that the FRE was encouraged to develop clandestine networks for maintaining the organization, and even make their own violent reprisals.[86] Anarchist terrorism of the late 19th century and early 20th centuries was based on small cells operating independently, as were the *pistoleros* and urban bandits (engaged

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[86] Clara E. Lida, "Hacia la clandestinidad anarquista. De la Comuna de Paris a Alcoy, 1871-1874," *Historia Social*, No. 46 (2003): 61-62.

in "revolutionary expropriations") of the First World War period, who organized themselves in autonomous "affinity groups."[87]

Like the *Requeté*, the anarchist mustering of forces that followed news of the July 1936 coup was an informal call to arms carried out at the level of the local group rather than a central headquarters. Volunteers converged on *centros obreros* or known militant union branches of the CNT, like the woodworkers' union in Barcelona. Unlike the Carlists, anarchists were not integrated within military units under regular army command (Fal Conde had tried to bargain for this but Mola had adamantly rejected the proposal), but were organized from within according to faction and union. Anarchist units (columns or centurias) set off independently, with little coordination, for the front – to Zaragoza and Aragon, Santander and Asturias in the north, Málaga in the south. Later, other anarchist columns from Valencia and Catalonia made their way to Madrid.

Within these units, commanding officers could not treat soldiers as subordinates, and tactical military decision had to be voted on by the entire unit. Anarchists were convinced that in order to be successful, the fighting spirit of the workers must not be crushed by the dehumanizing tendencies of regimentation, hierarchy and coercion. But by 1937 even dedicated anarchist leaders like Cipriano Mera and Federica Montseny had come to accept that the democratic nature of the militias was not only inefficient, it was

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[87] Ealham argues that the revolutionary-inspired robberies and shootings in Barcelona had everything to do with the impoverished socioeconomic conditions of workers. As one Anarchist, who had been placed on an employers' blacklist, put it: "Give that society had declared war on me, I declared war on society." Ealham, "Anarchism and Illegality in Barcelona, 1931-7," 143.

enabling militiamen to abandon their positions on a whim, or reject carrying out crucial orders.[88]

Like Carlism, within the anarchist movement personal bonds of affinity and interdependence were the glue that held the movement together when central organizations collapsed or contracted. The character of these bonds was defined by what Carlists would call the *comunidad moral* and the anarchists would identify as the principles of solidarity and spontaneity. Anarchist faith in spontaneity was an organizing principle: the belief that the natural force of moral conviction could unite the masses. Imposed structures were artificial forms of cooperation; moral conviction was authentic and natural. The Carlist belief in the power of tradition and the glue of religious faith held a similar kind of promise that in the absence of political institutions, these natural forces would sweep through the community, generating a much stronger social harmony.

These ideals, offered in antithetical ways by conservative Carlism and radical anarchism, were not compelling merely because it was high sounding rhetoric; the ideals reflected the basic experience of the masses themselves. Tradition and religious faith did provide a natural social cohesion in Carlist communities, as did solidarity and spontaneity in anarchist ones – just not in the way the members of these movements believed. Such faith could not overcome human fallibilities or every material limitation they faced. In

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[88] Robert J. Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War, Vol.1* (Basingstoke: Janus Publishing Company Limited, 1999), 257. Part of the problem was that Anarchist militants had been veterans of battles with the state for a long time before the civil war, in uprisings like Asturias in 1934 and in many a violent general strike. These battles were termed "revolutionary gymnastics" by *faísta* Juan García Oliver during the Republic, preparations for the final showdown with the state, and it took a great deal of time and defeat before the realization was brought home that conventional warfare required fundamentally different strategies than street fighting or general strikes.

addition, believers of both movements failed to realize that far from rising up in the hearts of all good people, "natural" moralities had to be forced onto those who dissented, a rather larger proportion of the population, one might suggest the very masses the movements claimed to represent.

2.5 The role of religion

Catholicism was not just a religious belief but an integral part of the state, an institution that worked to unify and homogenize the people of Spain. Catholicism was a means of imposing a regulated social environment, of selecting behaviors and ideas for promotion or exclusion. Carlism and anarchism were produced from within that social context and developed in relation to Catholicism as a social institution. In addition, the idea of the spiritual is a universal idea, not one that is exclusive to Christianity. It is present in all cultures and religious feeling is a fundamental component of the social structure. This is important for two reasons: anarchism, in some ways, has a Christian morality, there are subtle and overt resemblances to a radical interpretation of the New Testament. But this connection can obscure the secularist and atheistic beliefs of many anarchists, both urban and rural. Anarchists constructed a spiritual sense that belonged more to the expanded horizons of thought in modernity than to Christianity. [89] The second point is that Carlism was an ultra-Catholic movement in the sense that religion preserved

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[89] The influential anarchosyndicalist Salvador Seguí described anarchism's nature in the following almost mystical terms: "Anarchism is not an ideal that is immediately realized. It limits nothing. By its spiritual extension, it is infinite. By its implementation, it is not fixed by place or time. In the social order of ideas, men will never come to dominate it..." These remarks are from notes taken by comrades during a speech given in the prison of Castillo de la Mola on New Year's eve, 1920. Salvador Seguí, *Anarquismo y Sindicalismo*. Barcelona (1923). Biblioteca de Catalunya. Arx. 847/II. Reg. Arx. 13625

tradition and identity. Carlist religious ideas were narrow, exclusionary and taught

obedience to tradition, not ideals of spiritual contemplation and self-reflection.

Javier Ugarte describes Catholicism as practiced by Carlists in its more positive

and human light:

> The common people continued to live in a religiously rooted world, in a world of
> liturgical routines and prodigious deeds, of miraculous cures and punitive storms
> due to the sins of the world. Above all they organized pilgrimages to Rome, were
> held hundreds and thousands of Marian apparitions, and made devotions to those
> such as the Sacred Heart (a picture on the door of each house) and recovered other
> devotions (such as San Francisco Javier, Felipe Neri or Santa Teresa de Jesús.)[90]

It is a picture of traditional life carried on through the chain of generations, a

belief that was strongly held as much because it was inherited than for being a

contemplated conviction. The spiritual sense of Carlism was of a God that had fixed rules

prescribed to human beings, and by submission to those rules one could live in the glow

of simplified virtue. The radical exhortations of the Gospel were taken as mystical rather

than social revelation, something only God and his saints could practice.

Anarchism was unequivocally atheist, a descendant of Enlightenment radicalism,

but many of its first converts saw in it the virtuous ardour of the New Testament. In their

rhetoric they made a fundamental distinction between the Catholic Church and the person

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[90]*"La gente sencilla siguió viviendo en un mundo religioso de raíz, en un mundo de rutinas litúrgicas y de hechos prodigioso, de curaciones milagrosas y tempestades punitivas ante los pecados del mundo. Sobre todo ello se organizaron peregrinaciones a Roma, se celebraron centenarios y milenarios de apariciones marianas, se extendieron devociones como las del Sagrado Corazón (una imagen en la puerta de cada casa) y se recuperaron otras devociones (como la de San Francisco Javier, Felipe Neri o Santa Teresa de Jesús)."* Javier Ugarte, "El carlismo hacia los años treinta del siglo xx. Un fenómeno señal," 172.

and teachings of Jesus Christ, whom they often claimed as one of their own,[91] and characterized the Church as traitors to the "evangelical Christ."[92] They were influenced by the Christian culture they had inherited and in which they were culturally immersed. They communicated the ideas of anarchism through the vocabulary of commonly understood concepts, drawing from and re-interpreting (modernizing) the radical morality of the Sermon on the Mount for their own time. Nonetheless, this must be understood within the context of the deep hostility to religion generally and the Catholic Church especially. Anarchists discussed Catholicism in tones of contempt in part because they were horrified that anyone could believe the things the Church, (to them a transparently hypocritical institution), taught.[93]

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[91] Jerome R. Mintz, investigated at some length the relationships between the anarchists and Christianity in his study of Casas Viejas. The anarchosyndicalist Jose Monroy said "The anarchist orators, and not the priest, explained what happened to Christ. The orators would not tell the story of Christ, but they would make references to it. What I know of Christianity I know from them, not from the priests" (67). Mintz believes that despite hostility between anarchists and clergy, on a personal level relations were "friendly and cordial" (71). Moreover, Mintz makes the point that there were two histories at Casas Viejas concerning religion: "the written histories of the well born and the oral traditions of the campesinos" (74). The campesinos' folk traditions contained darker and considerably more subversive material than written history, including tales of parasitic, lecherous and even murderous monks, or the claim by the anarchist Pelele that his father used to converse with a priest who secretly confessed his atheism to him, saying "Nothing exists except living beings, land, sun, moon, and vital stars. We [priests] are like riders checking a horse by the reins. We are nothing more than a brake on humanity" (74).

[92] Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español* , 208.

[93] The prominent anarchist journal *La Revista Blanca*, published an article that argued: "Freedom to man from the clutches of exploitation; destroy all yokes, all tyranny and privilege; proclaim the abolition of classes and social hierarchies; and, when no vestige remains of actual *moral positivism* [i.e. religion, according to the article], when religious morality sinks never to rise with all its terrible retinue of unnatural sophistry, then will all the corruption, crimes, violations and social ills disappear that form the dark and punishable plot of the present degradation in which we are helplessly mired, covered in mud and emitting pus." *"Libertad al hombre de las garras de la explotación; destruid todo yugo, toda tiranía y privilegio; proclamad la abolición de clases y jerarquías sociales; y, cuando ni vestigio quede de la actual moral positiva, cuando la moral religiosa se hunda para jamás levantarse con todo su aterrador cortejo de sofismas antinaturales, entonces desaparecerán todas las corrupciones, crímenes, infamias y deméritos sociales que forman la trama tenebrosa y punible de la presente degradación en que nos revolcamos impotentes, cubiertos de lodo y destilando pus."* Donato Luben "La Moral Positiva," *La Revista Blanca*, 15 noviembre 1900, p.298. Luben wrote many anti-religious articles for the anarchist press, enough to be considered representative of anarchist feeling by Álvarez Junco, (*La ideología política del anarquismo español,* 209).

What confuses the issue is that at times they did speak of a spiritual nature, a relatively unexplored but essential aspect of Spanish anarchism. While they may have drawn from the morality of the biblical Christ, who cast merchants from the temple and lived among the poor, anarchists described a unifying spirit that emanated from nature, not divinity, a religion of humanism and solidarity. Even so, anarchists did not always shed their spiritual claims even as the religious basis of Spanish culture declined in the 20th century. Salvador Seguí spoke of the "radiant spirituality" (*espiritual irradiada*) of anarchism that endowed syndicalism with meaning.[94] Anarchism was the most noble idea created by human beings, the key to economic *and* spiritual liberation. There is such a thing as anarchist faith, but it is a faith to be accorded to the goodness of other human beings, not to fate or gods: "Do not believe in mankind, in the way that believing in men means the mortgaging of your autonomy, but believe in each one of yourselves."[95]

Some anarchists echo the evangelizing temperament of religion in their declaration of secular faith in man. The anarchist Fermín P. Menéndez, writing from prison in Zaragoza in 1936, raved against the iniquities of the "ignoramuses" and the "malicious" enemies of anarchism, and how blind they were to the "authentic human spirituality" that vibrated among them.[96] Many anarchists, like the Andalusian José

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[94] Seguí, *Anarquismo y Sindicalismo*, 5.

[95] "*No creais en los hombres, en cuanto creer en los hombres significara hipoteca de vuestra voluntad, pero creed en cada uno de vosotros...*" *Ibid,* 15.

[96] "The ignorant and the wicked, yes, are those who look at us with iniquitous aversion. The ignoramuses, their small-mindedness, their deplorable destitution, prevents them from realizing the authentic human spirituality that vibrates in those of us who propagate and desire to expand ecumenically." "*Los ignorantes y los malvados, si, son quienes nos miran con aversión inicua. Los ignorantes, porque su cerrilismo, su deplorable inopia, les impide darse cuenta de la auténtica espiritualidad humanísima que vibra en lo que propugnamos y queremos expandir ecuménicamente.*" Fermín P. Menéndez, "La espiritualidad de nuestra propaganda," *Solidaridad Obrera,* 4 enero 1936, 2.

Suárez, were deists, (even though others made a careful effort to distinguish anarchist spiritual from deism). Suárez believed that,

> Man, the sun, the seas are mysteries. I believe in a God that is above all things –
> that made the world, the sun, whatever you wish. But this God who puts people in
> hell and who talks – that I don't believe in. There is something great I don't
> understand, something undefinable – a great thing we call God.[97]

The commonalities between Carlism and anarchism have much to do with the twin nature of Catholicism as a religious institution and a sociopolitical institution. As violent and insurrectionary movements, neither Carlism nor anarchism were supported by the Church; even when at odds with the state the Church purposefully avoided appearing subversive to it. A significant portion of the ecclesiastical hierarchy supported Carlism in an unofficial if ill-concealed way however; many prominent clergy wrote for Carlist publications and spoke at Carlist events. During the civil war every Carlist unit had a priest (who performed mass for the men before battle) and a Cristo-Rey banner.

But as a tacit supporter of the state and order, the Church itself could at times be condemned by Carlists, sometimes for the same reasons if not the same hostility as anarchists condemned them, on grounds of hypocrisy. Ronald Fraser reports that some *Requeté* soldiers in the civil war held anti-clerical attitudes, and his interviewee Antonio Izu claimed that a Navarrese communist could be more religious than a priest in less pious parts of Spain.[98] Too much can be made of this point, (such criticism was not

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[97] Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 66.

[98] Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 125. Hostility to the sometimes anti-social and high-handed attitudes of members of the clerical orders, in addition to the Church' open support of the state in conflicts with the working class, was not isolated to social radicals and atheists. Jordi Canal argues that Navarre was unlike other Carlist strongholds in that priests were voted in by their constituents, instead of being assigned by the Church, making the relationship between Church and community much more egalitarian and intimate. Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 101.

common on the part of Carlists), but it does provide an example of the ideological

ambiguities that existed along the social borderlines of the two movements.

3 Heroic movements

Carlism and anarchism were given shape by the forces of modernization, even their revolutionary goals were products of that age of crisis and possibility, but their ideas were in other ways transcended the economic and social interests of their time. They were not interested in the traditional uses of political power or the production of material wealth; they were interested in establishing a moral order in defiance of the amorality of modern progress. By overturning the modern state, they believed they could co-opt the process of modernity and shift the trajectory of human civilization, and they believed they could do this by establishing an insular society centered on the community.

The transcendent moralities of Carlism and anarchism were opposed in some ways, but in others they were similar: they valued personal bravery ahead of pragmatic strategy or diplomacy, they both held 'intellectualism' in contempt and regarded it as the antithesis of action, and they both put morality before victory. Fatalism is a notable quality in both movements, possibly due to the unlikely prospect of their final victory.[99] Modern Carlism and anarchism did not just believe in a distant, ideal future, they believed

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[99] Carlism's history as a valiant resistance to the liberal regime is based on glorious defeats, and anarchists were not assured of the inevitability of their own success. MacClancy records that veteran Carlists spoke of looking forward to being killed in battle, that it would make a "good death," *The Decline of Carlism*, (20). According to a religious devotional booklet issued to *Requetés* in the first year of the civil war, the soldier could take pride knowing that *"Tu heroísm, tu aceptación del martirio junta en uno los ideales de Dios y patria."* "Your heroism, your acceptance of martyrdom, unites the ideals of God and nation." Anon., *Devocionario del Requeté*. Comunión Tradicionalista: Burgos (1936), accessed from http://www.requetes.com/devocionario.html November 25 2013, 2. Anarchists consoled themselves (like Carlists) that the objective truth of their ideals would survive to be victorious one day, even if they themselves did not. Even the CNT anthem, *"A las barricadas,"* while invoking triumph, begins with a strange idea of how to inspire confidence, unless they were addressing the doubts of the rank-and-file:

Negras tormentas agitan los aires,	Black storms agitate the winds
nubes oscuras nos impiden ver;	Dark clouds won't allow us to see
aunque nos espere el dolor y la muerte,	Though pain and death may await us,
contra el enemigo nos llama el deber.	Against the enemy by duty we are called.

in applying those ideals in the present. It could be said that some of these shared

principles: personal honor, community solidarity, suspicion of intellectualism, even

fatalism, are the values of the ordinarily apolitical working masses and the peasantry.

Carlism and anarchism became more attractive to these groups when they had become

politicized by the economic and social upheavals of modernity; both movements

conferred a sense of dignity and noble purpose when they must have felt most devalued

and socially insecure.

In this sense I call the movements *heroic*, self appointed defenders of a

defenseless *People* who acted according to a moral code. These moralities defied the

mechanization, the anonymity and the atomization of modern life because they were

accorded a value greater than material advantage. The moral principle was worth dying

for. The morality of Carlism and anarchism came from their relationship to the masses of

the working poor. To live according to a rigid and idealistic standard of morality was to

be worthy of popular legitimacy, in the eyes of the masses as well as to themselves. It is

not a religious or even a particularly ideological kind of morality, it is a morality based on

playing a heroic role.

This chapter will examine some aspects of their heroic values – the utopianism of

Carlism and anarchism, their rejection of politics and their emphasis on local political

autonomy. Following this will be a discussion of their shared populism and the dynamics

between the ideological core and the masses that supported them with varying degrees of

investment.

3.1 Utopianism

Both movements used the term negatively: To be utopian was to be impractical, a dreamer, likely a fanatic. Both movements denied their ideology was utopian, but were emphatic that competing ideologies were. Take for instance an (as yet unidentified) anarchist A. López Vivanco, writing in the CNT newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* in 1936 on the importance of propaganda, *"debemos de demostrar que nuestras ideas no son una utopía, sino una posibilidad perfectamente realizable. Son muchos los trabajadores que aceptan nuestras ideas, pero no actúan a favor de ellas, porque creen que no es posible convertirlas en hechos palpables."*[100] Carlists took an almost identical defensive posture towards the utopian label. Twenty years before in the Carlist/Integrist paper *El Siglo Futuro,* an editorial asserted that *"...el Integrismo no es imposible, no es una utopía, ni nuestros propósitos una locura… indudable en lo porvenir si logramos sean restaurados, porque las mismas causas producen los mismos efectos."*[101]

Carlists were certain that everyone on the Left, not just anarchists, were utopians. Carlist propaganda took to this theme repeatedly; in 1890, *El Siglo Futuro* carried a front page column that put the matter as bluntly as possible: *"El anarquismo es una barbaridad. Y el socialismo otra."*[102] The article concludes (after lumping in liberalism as well) with the wisdom of Bismarck on the eternal problem of class antagonism in society:

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[100] "we must demonstrate that our ideas are not utopian, but a possibility that is perfectly realizable. There are many workers that accept our ideas, but do not act in support of them, because they believe that it is not possible to translate them into substantial terms." "Del Momento: Sabadell," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 4 marzo 1936, 6.

[101] "Integrism is not impossible, it is not a utopia, neither do we propose a kind of lunacy… we have no doubts in the future if we are restored to power, because same causes produce the same effects." "Contra el regimen parliamentario: Los Integristas," *El Siglo Futuro*, 19 enero 1917, 1.

[102] "Anarchism is a barbarity. And socialism as well." "Los Procedimientos Democraticos," *El Siglo Futuro,* 3 mayo 1890, 1.

"'Querer resolver esta cuestión, es lo mismo que tratar de resolver el problemas de la cuadratura del círculo. Esta es una utopía que no se convertirá en realidad hasta el día en que todos los hombres sean ángeles.'"[103]

If we take the word utopia to mean a perfect society,[104] then both movements were utopian: they promised a perfected society to themselves and to anyone who would listen. Therein lies the paradox: the intellectuals and theorists in both movements understood that promises of utopia sounded unrealistic enough to use it in the pejorative, but were convinced that their respective ideologies were realistically capable of producing a social structure that would solve *all* of the great problems of human society. Indeed, they believed they were the only ones who could. More to the point, Carlists and anarchists were viewed as utopians by many contemporaries, by liberals and by socialists: PSOE (*Partido Socialista Obrero Española*) politician Luis Araquistain (serving in the Republican government in 1932) wrote in *El Sol* that "one part of the working class is sick with desperation and with utopia, with a thousand-year-old oppression and lack of education fostered by the dominant classes, neurotic from violence and anarchist fables... Old carlism and just as old anarchism; here are the two historical illnesses that Spain has to be cured of."[105]

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[103] "'To try to solve this issue is the same as trying to solve the problem of squaring the circle. This is a utopia that will not translate into reality until the day when all men are angels.'" *Ibid*.

[104] *"un sueño de perfección social,"* "a dream of social perfection," the term used by Estrella López Keller, in a discussion of the utopian dreams of Europe in the modern age. In the 19th century confidence in human potential and faith in Progress were great enough to make the construction of perfect societies plausible. In the 20th century, on the other hand, there is a sharp inversion in currents of European thought: utopia becomes naive, utopian becomes equated with dystopian. See Estrella López Keller, "Distopía: Otro final de la utopia," *Reis,* No. 55 (Jul. - Sep., 1991): 8.

[105]*"una parte de la clase obrera enferma de desesperación y de utopía, de opresión milenaria y de incultura formentada por las clases dominadoras, neurótica de violencia y de mitos anárquicos... El viejo carlismo y*

The utopianism of Carlism and anarchism is indicative of a deeper attitude of absolutism which manifested itself in complicated ways. José Álvarez Junco suggests that anarchism has elements of utopianism without necessarily being utopian, although the distinction is very fine. Álvarez Junco contends that if by "utopia" one means a "perfect social organization," then anarchism is not utopian, but if one refers to a way of life that is ideal, or the rational deductions of the basic principles of an ideal society, then anarchism has utopian elements.[106] Elaborating upon this, Álvarez Junco compares five characteristics of modernist utopianism against Spanish anarchism. By applying them to Carlism as well, the exercise produces some interesting observations. The five characteristics are: 1. Utopia is a rational construct; 2. Utopias are "rigid schemes"; 3. They are derived from, and based on the City, the "ideal polis" of antiquity; 4. They often promote the reign of the machine (*el reinado de la máquina*), freedom from drudgery through the problem-solving power provided by machines (Rousseau notwithstanding), and 5. Modern utopias (as opposed to ancient utopias) emphasize human equality and the destruction of hierarchies and alienated labour.[107]

First, utopia is a rational construction of society (as opposed to one of instinct or emotions). Anarchism's future society is based on just this promise of rational construction, with the caveat that spontaneity and instinct are important qualities in

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el ya también viejo anarquismo; he ahí las dos enfermedades históricas de que ha de curarse España." Luis Araquistain, "España ante el mundo: Una Politica de Explicacion," *El Sol*, 27 enero 1932, 1.

[106] Álvarez Junco, I think, is recognizing that unlike the archetypical utopian fantasy, anarchism could function and be effective, and deferred to reasoned argument in ways that religious fanaticism does not. All true, but anarchism promised to produce an ideal society, which is by definition a utopian attitude, and anarchists sincerely believed that their ideology could, alone, produce a society without any fundamental social or material ills.

[107] Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español*, 312-314.

anarchist society. Of course, what is claimed to be rational is often no more than a value judgement: Carlists also believed that their ideal society was based on rational principles, but it was not rationalist. Carlist rhetoric employed terms like *lógica ordinaria* and *racional* when describing a society based on God and Catholic unity – in this they seem to take 'rational' to mean "good sense" – but they claimed that the rationalism of the atheist and the liberal was a senseless and unstable system of thought. An article in *El Siglo Futuro* in 1876 asserted:

> We have seen the moral concepts they have made in the Protestant and rationalist sects: the last word of modern progress on this point, is to erase the distinction between good and evil, the just and the unjust, and going further still, to invert these terms, calling good evil and evil good, right by iniquity and by force, and obstinacy, inflexibility and intolerance to the unconquerable firmness of the Right.[108]

Carlism produced some very idealist interpretations as the movement developed in the 20th century. Nocedal's Spanish Integrist faction, for instance, was extremely conservative, but subscribed to an idea of an ideal society, a theocratic state defined as "the Social Reign of Jesus Christ." Juan Vázquez de Mella (1861-1928), envisioned a corporatist society that did away with the need for a modern state. There would be elections and a Cortes, something downright despicable to many Carlists, but these would be elected on the basis of "orders" rather than the common population. Society would be united by the Catholic faith. Mella seems to have attempted a fusion of Carlism and Marxism by arguing that society would evolve from capitalism to socialism, but then would evolve from socialism to Catholicism. Like the *Integristas*, Mella and his followers also broke with the pretender in 1919 for being too cozy with liberals.

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[108] "*Ya hemos visto lo que se hacen los conceptos morales en las sectas protestantes y racionalistas: la última palabra del progreso moderno en este punto, es borrar la distinción entre el bien y el mal, lo justo y lo injusto, y yendo más allá todavía, invertir estos términos, llamando bien al mal y mal al bien, derecho á la iniquidad y á la fuerza, y obstinación, inmovilidad é intolerancia á la firmeza incontrastable del derecho.*" "La Unidad Religiosa, Articulo X," *El Siglo Futuro,* 2 marzo 1876, 2.

Carlist Traditionalism was later articulated in Victor Pradera's 1935 book *El Estado Nuevo,* which argued for a corporatist society that elaborated on the ideas of Mella, especially in the reduction of the importance of the monarch himself. The legitimacy of the monarch was not a matter of Divine Right, but depended on the sanction of the Church and the regions of Spain – the king was a representative of the nation.[109] A growing minority in Carlism rejected the state altogether and interpreted the claim to *fueros* to require the rejection of a government imposed from the top down.

Álvarez Junco's second characteristic, that utopias are "rigid schemes," in which changing the details is forbidden, is one of utopianism's hegemonic attributes. According to him, anarchism's libertarian character preserves its ideal society from such a tyrannical design. Dogmatism, however, is not a characteristic exclusive to this or that ideology, it is rather a habit of thought. The uncompromising imposition of orthodoxy is a possibility in all social movements, and even the most overbearing dogmas can be ignored in favour of pragmatic policies. Anarchism displays an oppressive, dogmatic tendency in several ways, most vividly in its' record of anti-clerical violence and its hostility to compromise. Álvarez Junco says astutely that this is reflective of the *"despotismo que la razón siempre pretende ejercer sobre la realidad."*[110]

"Rigid schemes" could be applied equally to the role faith played in the Carlist movement. Faith in God was a time-tested means of determining what was good from

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[109] Blinkhorn, *Carlism and Crisis in Spain*, 148-149.

[110] "[the] despotism that reason always attempts to exert over reality," Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español,* 313.

bad, even when reality did not agree with faith's conclusions. On the other hand, the Carlist movement demonstrated surprising variation: Carlists were willing to at least participate in parliamentarianism if necessary, and the corporatist designs of de Mella and Pradera demonstrate an ideological flexibility. Perhaps it might be best said that social movements are not cults, and their utopianism was porous compared to the narrow orthodoxies of fanaticism.

The third characteristic Álvarez Junco takes from Lewis Mumford: utopia is a modern version of the ideal city of antiquity, a closed society. Anarchism does not fit this role well – they consistently promoted the notion of a worldwide revolution and universal brotherhood, and this was a goal shared by a great number of political idealisms of that era. Carlism modeled their ideal society on a closed society, bound together by "catholic unity" – a concept Carlists frequently returned to. Carlists may have prescribed a Catholic utopia as the solution to the ills of humanity and found common cause with other Catholics and monarchists outside their borders, but their ideal society was a closed one: anyone that was ideologically different was considered an outsider.

The fourth characteristic is the assumption that a future society will resolve its economic problems through technological innovation and machine production. The elimination of material want creates the basis for a society without the need for the exploitation of human labour. Álvarez Junco rightly points out that anarchists are the "perfect inheritors of the utopian tradition" in this sense.[111] Anarchists took science and the principle of experimentation as sources of truth; the proliferation of scientific

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[111] *Ibid.*

discoveries in their age affirmed a vision of a march of progress in which all human problems would one day be solved. Fermín Salvochea, the Andalusian anarchist, speculated that one day science would overcome even the basic problem of death (once unfettered by an Anarchist society): "and maybe one day, knowing the principle of life and the laws that govern the growth and decay of organisms, they [the sciences] will achieve the means to prevent death with the same ease by which today they are able divert a bolt of lightning; thus achieving immortality through science the supreme desire of humanity through all of history."[112]

Human liberation through science and technology was not an appealing notion to Carlists, although they were not always against it either. True human liberation began after death, in heaven (or elsewhere). Carlists had few qualms about enjoying the benefits of modern technologies, and as Spain transformed over the course of the 19th century, Carlist ideas also changed to allow for the scientific and social benefits that accompanied modernity.[113]

The fifth and last characteristic, modern utopia's emphasis on human equality and ending exploitative labor, are unquestionably principles embraced by anarchists. Carlism, on the other hand, is an ideology founded on the principle that there exists a natural

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[112] Quoted in Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español,* 316. *"y tal vez un día en que, conocido el principio de la vida y las leyes que rigen el crecimiento y decaimiento de los organismos, se consiga evitar la muerte con la misma facilitad con que hoy se evita le caída de un rayo; llegando así a la inmortalidad por la ciencia, aspiración suprema de la humanidad en todos las períodos de la historia."* As incredible as the idea sounds, it is reflective of the times Salvochea lived in rather than merely the product of a fantastic imagination. The modern world was filled with realized impossibilities, science has a mystique even today that it will eventually be capable of solving what are seemingly insurmountable problems, in the late 19th century this mystique was arguably greater.
[113] Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 23.

hierarchy, and that adhesion to this hierarchy breeds harmony. This was understood in terms of their *"igualitarismo jerárquico"* – dividing the population into moral categories ahead of social or economic ones.[114] Carlists did not see hierarchy and labour as being intrinsically exploitative or oppressive as the anarchists believed.

By the time of the First World War, Carlists had begun developing a social Catholicism that would appeal to workers and the poor, going so far as to create Catholic trade unions in competition with the unions of the Left. Largely these were half-hearted attempts by elites and the Carlist leadership to win the masses over to their political programs. They were growing both in enthusiasm and sophistication right up until the outbreak of civil war, however, and we will never know for sure where that current was headed or how authentic it really was thanks to the absorption of their movement by the Franco regime.

The radical form of Carlism tended to be fostered by newer Carlists; Catholic workers repulsed by left-wing radicals' anti-clericalism or other reasons, but particularly by the youth wing of the movement, centered around the *Agrupación Escolar Tradicionalista* (AET) and its propaganda. These new forms of Carlism, alternately humoured and suppressed by the leadership, were more likely to regard human equality and the dignity of the worker as positive values and not the conceits of liberalism and atheism, and made efforts to fuse the positive implications of hierarchy and tradition with

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[114] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente*, 12.

the demands for rights and pay made by the restive working class, supporting the contention that Carlism was transformed by modernization into a social movement.[115]

Álvarez Junco's characteristics of utopianism are not definitive but they do help to produce a more subtle representation of the utopian qualities of anarchism and Carlism. Anarchism fits the description of a utopian ideology much more closely than Carlism. Carlism has features associated with utopianism, but these developed later in the movement's history, coinciding with the growth of anarchism. As López Keller wrote, "utopias are not born in a vacuum" – they are products of their time, their happy visions constructed from realities in the world around them.[116] Carlism accumulated these qualities as it entered a different historical stage while anarchism was born of that stage of mass politics and economic upheaval. Even then, Carlists were often opposed to utopian solutions: for some (like the Count de Rodezno in the 1930s), the movement was a pragmatic concern, about installing a legitimate king on the throne.[117]

The second point worth revisiting is that both movements share a dedication to building a world based on moral principle rather than political or economic advantage. Their societies would not be held together by the genius of particular institutions, although some worked on this problem. Ultimately, the glue would be a kind of faith – faith in Catholicism in the case of Carlism, and faith in the innate goodness/sovereignty

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[115] The journal of the AET sometimes carried polemics which sounded anarchist, or at least on the side of the poor in the class struggle: young and radical Carlists called for a Carlist version of socialist revolution, carried out by "genuine representatives of the people, not with well-heeled politicians," (*a.e.t.*, 13 Abril 1934, quoted in Blinkhorn, *Carlism and Crisis in Spain*, 173) and of going "up to the palaces that the powerful may atone for the misery of the starving" (*a.e.t.*, 25 Mayo 1934, Ibid.).

[116] López Keller, "Distopía: Otro final de la utopia," 12.

[117] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente,* 279.

of human beings once made free in the case of anarchism. The belief in a spontaneously occurring social perfection is what made them utopian in similar ways.[118]

3.2 Anti-politics and the purity of violence

Carlism and anarchism condemned the state as a governing institution, rejected democracy as a fraud and claimed that parliamentary negotiation and debate by their nature cultivated corruption and deceit, and they did so with equal vehemence and moral indignation. Each movement believed that democracy and parliaments, no matter how appealing they might appear in principle, were in reality facades behind which forces of (red/Masonic/religious/capitalist) fanaticism and tyranny were conspiring to take power – at the very least, the gates were opened by naive and arrogant leaders. Parliaments were too far removed from the hearts of *the people*, the fields or the shop floor, to ever authentically represent them. What some Carlists declared could be easily taken for an anarchist saying: "We don't join parties and want only peace, justice and wellbeing."[119]

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[118] There is however, an interesting tributary to this point: some among the Falange attempted to cast their movement as a hybrid between Anarchism and Carlism, as the real inheritor of their mantle at the end of the civil war. Apparently both movements signified the same kind of chivalry for some: "Carlism and anarchism have today been drained of living generosity, despite the isolated generosity of its men. Its shells are ossified in the road, in whose cavity writhe worms and adventurers. National Syndicalism gathers up the banner soaked in the grief of the anarchists – the oriflama [author's note: a legendary pennant carried into battle by monks] of a justice won desperately, and of a popular and profound emotion in Spain – and the insurrectional and patriotic temper of the *boinas rojas*. Those presences are no longer current, but dreams of dreams gone. We have left their deep fanaticism and enthusiasm of the faction. If you ask us where we come from: look at our red and black flag. Because it has been witness to a past both revolutionary and national." "*Carlismo y anarquismo están exhaustos hoy de generosidad fecundante, a pesar de la aislada generosidad de sus hombres. Son caparazones anquilosados en medio del camino, en cuya oquedad pululan los vermes y los aventureros. El nacional sindicalismo recoge el gallardete empapado de luto de los ácratas -la oriflama de una justicia exigentísima, y de una emoción popular y profunda de España- y la temperatura insurreccional y patriótica de las boinas rojas. Aquellas ya no son presencias actuales, sino sueños de sueños idos. Nos han dejado su fanatismo hondo y su entusiasmo por la facción. Si nos preguntáis de dónde venimos: mirad nuestra bandera roja y negra. Porque ha sido testigo de un pasado revolucionario y nacional.*" Juan Aparicio, "Negro y Rojo," *JONS*. Madrid: Editora Nacional (1939), 210.

[119] Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 131.

The key to understanding the distrust of Carlists and anarchists is that they believed that politics could not be conducted separately from other aspects of their lives, an attitude derived from their heroic outlook on morality and conduct. How one made a living, how one conducted oneself in personal life, was morally indistinguishable from how one governed. This was a concept not unique to them – the politicization of personal life is at the core of communist and fascist movements, for example. What made Carlists and anarchists different is that their moral politics would not be imposed by a state, but would emanate from below, from a community-based moral order.

The absolute rejection of parliaments and a central state was not without some valid basis in experience. The catastrophe of the First Republic (1873-1874) had seen the supposedly representative government of the people violently put down two populist uprisings (the Cantonalist rebellion and the Third Carlist attempt to install a pretender in power). The parliamentary order of the Cánovas Restoration which followed was characterized as a fixed system of two parties – a liberal and a conservative – that took turns in power and claimed legitimacy through rigged elections.[120] During the Second Republic political tensions were so high between Right and Left that when one side was in power the other could barely bring themselves to acknowledge their right to govern

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[120] According to Richard Herr, "Unfortunately the political underpinning of the Restoration monarchy belied its respectable surface. The *turno pacifico* depended on a refinement of the system of controlled elections which originated under Isabel II... After 1890 under universal suffrage peasants and landless workers, many of them illiterate, voted the elected deputies were often Madrid lawyers or bureaucrats who had no connection with the district they represented and little contact with life outside the capital. Since they supported the established groups, *caciquismo* allowed the parties to rotate without threatening the system. Democracy, as in many Western countries at the end of the century, including the United States in its larger cities, had become a travesty of its ideal and a way to keep an organized group in power," *An Historical Essay on Modern Spain*, 115-116.

(that and they tended to release those imprisoned as enemies of the state by the previous regime).

To claim parliaments were a sham was not merely the indignant rhetoric of an ideological core, it was a part of the daily experience of the working class, who had seen it work only to serve the interests of those who exploited them. The state, Right or Left, seemed to side with the elite of capitalists or liberals. As municipal lands were sold off after the passage of the Madoz law in 1855 until the turn of the century, the rural commons was slowly taken over either by the rich or at least the well-to-do peasants. *Caciquismo*, the control of elections by local strongmen (particularly during the decades of the Cánovas Restoration), ensured not just that the democratic arrangement worked for the very powerful, but that it could not work for the vast majority of ordinary Spaniards. Not all of these people turned to Carlism or anarchism, of course, but both movements grew strong as an *alternative* to the state. In this sense what Carlists and anarchists shared was animosity to the liberal-democratic state.[121]

Furthermore, Carlists and anarchists were at times suppressed simultaneously by state authorities during periods of instability as the two most likely groups to attempt an armed revolt. Both were banned under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in the 1920s (although Carlists were not persecuted, the anarchists were thoroughly and brutally suppressed). In the summer of 1933, the government ordered mass arrests after the

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[121] Carlists were not necessarily against capitalism, but its excesses, which they preferred to call the inevitable consequences of liberalism. Even the later, proletarian-oriented Carlist movement of the 1920s and 30s sought to purify capitalism of its liberal framework through Catholic morality. Blinkhorn, *Carlism and Crisis in Spain*, 171.

discovery of an "anarchist-monarchist" plot to overthrow the Republic.[122] *La Voz* reported

that Carlists, anarchists and fascists were targeted, although the anarchists appear to have

gotten the worst of it.[123] The governments of the Spain were as distrustful of Carlism and

anarchism as the movements were of the state.

Although they rejected politics in principle and practice, there were factions in

both movements who participated in electoral politics from time to time, while making

clear they did not recognize the legitimacy of the system in which they participated.

Carlists participated in the Restoration Cortes, more to advance the interests of

Catholicism than a Carlist society, *per se*: Alejandro Pidal's neo-Catholic party attracted

many Carlists, and it suggests that the constituents of a social movement pick and choose

which values are non-negotiable depending on the circumstances. Before and during the

Second Republic, Carlism endorsed electoral politics as part of a policy of

"accidentalism" – that any path to their goal of a Carlist monarchy, whether through

revolt or through elections, was a means to an end.

As far back as 1870, anarchists debated whether to compromise on this

fundamental point. [124] During the Second Republic, anarchosyndicalist moderates like

Ángel Pestaña and Frederico Urales urged those in the movement to support the Republic

as long as it was a means to make gains for the working class in the short run. By not

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[122] Helmut Rudiger, *The Revolutionary Movement in Spain by M.Dashar* (New York: Libertarian Publishing Society, 1934), 10.

[123] 24 julio 1933, "En torno a un supuesto complot," *La Voz*, 12.

[124] José Álvarez Junco discusses the public quarrel between the Murcian politician and writer Fernando Garrido and the majority in the Federación de la Regional Española in 1870, in which Garrido argues against the declared principle of the FRE not to participate in bourgeois politics under any circumstances (*La ideología política del anarquismo español,* 404-405). In cases of dispute the side arguing for participation in democracy was always in the minority and often alienated from the movement.

participating in politics, according to Pestaña, anarchists were essentially ceding power to

capitalists in one vital sphere of society.[125] Even still, Carlists and anarchists were quick

to point out the futility of voting even when they were encouraging it, lest their supporters

get the wrong idea.

While Carlists imagined capturing a state and bending it through a just monarchy

to their anti-state ideals, anarchism was fundamentally anti-state: it was difficult to make

plausible an explanation for cooperation with what they viewed as the source of tyranny.

In addition, propaganda linked together the concepts of democracy, war, brainwashing,

religion and all forms of vice as forces of capitalism, which itself was nothing more than

an evolution of feudalism and imperialism. In a 1920s booklet of teachings on the

"powers of capitalism" from Tarragona (resembling very much an evangelical Christian

tract) the artist explains to us that among capitalism's products – such as prostitution,

(*carne en venta),* alcoholism, poor education and the distraction of sports ("the future race

of human beings will have very tiny heads and giant lower extremities..."), – politics and

voting were just as much a vice and a crime against the people.[126]

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[125] "after many years propaganda activity in the syndical sphere, I realized that my efforts bore little fruit, and that, limiting the activity of the working classes to economic struggle, failure to engage in politics was working at cross purposes, it had been handed over entirely to the capitalist class." *"después de muchos anos de activa propaganda en al terreno sindical, me daba cuenta de la infecundidad de mis esfuerzos, ya que, limitada la acción de las clases trabajadoras a la lucha económica, el no intervenir en la política daba lugar a que esta discurriese por caminos contrarios, puesto que quedaba encomendada por completo a la clase capitalista."* Ángel Pestaña, interviewed by Jose Ojeda in, "Hablando con Angel Pestaña," *La Libertad*, 11 enero 1935, 5.

[126] "*la futura raza humana tendrá la cabeza muy chiquitina y las extremidades inferiores muy grandes...* " Elsewhere, the pamphlet informs us "Politics is the power of sleight of hand, swindling and illusion. Naturally the public does not see the tricks, although it is known already that without them the swindle isn't possible. When you go to the theatre to enjoy yourself for a little while and you leave disillusioned, it is because the magician shows you nothing new. The only one enjoying himself is the illusionist because he stays in the public's lodgings." *"La política es un poder de juegos de manos, juegos de escamoteo y de ilusión. Naturalmente que el publico no vé las trampas, aunque ya sabe que sin ellas no es posible el escamoteo. Acude el* teatro *para divertirse un rato y sale desilusionado porque el ilusionista no presenta*

The other side of their rejection of politics was what historian Colin Winston called, "a quasi-mystical defense of violence as a great uplifting force," in reference to Carlists, but this characteristic was equally true of anarchists.[127] To accept politics and negotiation was to betray one's values, but armed conflict was a more principled and effective way of achieving their goals. Carlism's identity was constructed through its history of armed combat, cemented by the solemn veneration of martyrs. Violence was a mantle they inherited from their fathers: the "mystical and martial disposition" of the Carlists of Navarre, for instance, meant that even in the sordid modern world, *"the Carlist Requeté is the incarnation of the Spanish knight of old."*[128] The Carlist leadership that renounced violence after the defeat of Carlos VII in 1876 and turned to politics had to struggle to recover a large popular base. Meanwhile, small insurrections would be tried by rank-and-file Carlists who were committed to armed resistance, such as an unimpressive uprising at Badalona in 1900, known as the Octubrada, but these were pointedly left unendorsed by the pretender.

Increasing anti-clericalism in rhetoric and violence in the opening years of the 20th century inspired Carlists to renewed belligerence. Their propaganda emphasized that violent action was a matter of defense: of the *patria*, of tradition, of a Spanish way of life. Carlists spoke in terms of a revolution to restore order from the barbarous liberals and

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nada nuevo. El único que se divierte es el ilusionista porque se queda con los cuartos del público." Ramón Segarra, *Los Poderes del Capitalismo.* Biblioteca Acracia, Tarragona, 1923 – Biblioteca de Catalunya Arx 847/I, 38. Reg. Arx. 13625.

[127] Colin M. Winston, "The Proletarian Carlist Road to Fascism: Sindicalismo Libre," *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol. 17, No. 4 (Oct 1982): 560.

[128] *"el requeté Carlista es la encarnación del antiguo caballero español."* Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente*, 258.

socialists who had co-opted Spain. The newly formed *Requeté* undertook military training of its members, but it also developed as a urban guerrilla force that took on just about everyone on the Left who wanted to battle it out in the streets, and in the Basque country they even battled with nationalists.[129]

In practice, favouring morality over pragmatism in an era of mechanization and mass mobilization demonstrated just how far Carlists and anarchists would go to honour their anti-modern morality. Jeremy MacClancy claims that there was more stress on individual effort rather than strategy in the Carlist ranks during the civil war; in one case some were willing to go into battle against tanks on horseback.[130] The anarchist attitude to battle in the civil war was nearly identical. Personal bravery was more valued than caution and determination more likely to bring victory than strategy and organization. Sometimes their recklessness could be blamed on naivety or idealism, but daring in battle was a quality that went back to the *pistolerismo* in the streets of Barcelona, and the principles of acceptable robbery and assassination.

A dramatic example of this was the anarchists' role in the suppression of the July 1936 coup in Barcelona. The last of the military rebels remained in the Atarazanas barracks which was unsuccessfully stormed by a small group of anarchists and cost many lives, including that of Francisco Ascaso, one of the movement's most prominent leaders. A group of *Guardia Civil* had arrived and offered to help take the barracks, but Buenaventura Durruti replied, "We thank you, but there are enough of us to take

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[129] Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 39.
[130] MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism*, 26.

Atarazanas..." A POUM militant pleaded with Durruti, "Don't be stupid, they're *guardia civil*, let them attack first..." But for the anarchists, the honour of capturing the barracks themselves outweighed any strategic considerations.[131]

Although the Carlist and anarchist bases of support were generally of different compositions, they both represented populations whose daily experience put them in opposition to the state. Few political movements were as intrinsically anti-state as Carlism and anarchism, a position which made them popular in times of economic crisis and/or civil conflict. Being anti-political was a product of their ideas, but it was also a product of their sense of heroism, of being primarily moral movements in opposition to the utilitarian notions of progress of the modern age. Violence as a more direct route to political success was embraced as a more honest and a nobler means than politics.

3.3 Political autonomy

Political autonomy could mean many things, depending on where and how you lived. It meant communal decision making around social and economic matters. The idea of a moral community meant that the structure and legitimacy of the community is not based on law but on relationships: for anarchists this was universal brotherhood, (*companerismo*), natural equality and inherent freedom of the individual ("man is born free..."). For Carlism, the moral community was bound by faith, noble hierarchy and the family. Autonomy as a governing principle was not unique to either Carlism or anarchism (the Socialists worked towards it with the same enthusiasm and conviction, for example); it was a widespread sentiment that existed in many rural communities across Spain, from

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[131] Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 110.

Extremadura to Catalonia. Until the railroads connected the villages to the established network of provincial capitals, many of the more remote and insignificant communities had lived in a state of *de facto* autonomy for a long time.

Modernization for these places in one sense meant new technologies like sewing machines and electricity, but more insidious to their way of life modernization meant appropriations, bureaucratization, taxmen, garrisons of the *Guardia Civil*, and so on. Autonomy was not just a value but a known reality in diverse conditions in the rural north and south. Peasant uprisings were often spontaneous, locally directed and focused on land claims or reprisals for unfair treatment by local *caciques* or *Guardia Civil*. Carlism and anarchism articulated this experience with a well-defined ideological shape, and in that sense the ideologies were moulded by the modern working classes of Spain. If their messages had not articulated their daily experience, they would have failed as popular movements.

Autonomy was an ideal state where true happiness and prosperity could develop unhindered. The autonomous community could be counted upon to be a moral community, one that would base its decisions on what was best for the common good, not the sinful/tyrannical desires of immoral men. Their morality would overcome all forms of human vice that plagued society under liberalism. Carlism and anarchism, if nothing else, had impressive ambitions. The catch was that they envisioned moral communities, behaving according to a set of ideological principles: autonomy meant that the community had the power to govern itself, but only within the limits of their respective ideologies.

The powerful mystique of the local community, the village, the region, was an unquantifiable value. Its governance was hermetic, deriving from community solidarity and tradition rather than the laws and policies of outsiders. The Carlist community had to be shielded from impositions made by capitalism or the authorities in Madrid. The other side of this coin was the awareness of isolation, of being cut off from desirable goods and services such as education, health, food or modern clothes, that society offered and that were not necessarily bad or corrupting.

Carlism was also defined by its claim to *fueros*. These were ancient rights guaranteed by the King of Spain going back to the 13th century and the organization of the state after the Reconquest from the Muslims; the *fueros* represented a contract between the new central authority and localities undertaking the work of re-settling Spain. Apparently the most significant *fueros* after those of the Basques was that of Aragon (partially abolished in the 16th century and totally in 1707), and had a remarkable formula for acknowledging the coronation; a *Justicia* of the Aragonese would declare that, "We, each of whom is singly as good as you, and who, united, are more powerful than you, make you our King on condition that you respect our fueros; if not, NO!"[132]

For the Basques, Vasco-Navarre retained their *fueros* into the 19th century, permitting them to function in effect as an independent kingdom within Spain. An important reason for Basque support of Carlism in the first Carlist war had to do with being stripped of their *fueros* after the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, and Carlos V's

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[132] Strong, "The Fueros of Northern Spain,"323. This is an anecdotal piece of evidence and cannot be confirmed but comes from a minister of Philip II and gives an idea of the Aragonese attitude, at the least.

promise to re-instate them. The *fueros* guaranteed them political and financial autonomy.

In the Basque provinces political power resided in a general assembly and every Basque

of "pure blood" was given the status of nobleman. They did not have to serve in the army,

billet Spanish troops, and there was no presence of royal authority within their

territory.[133] Other notable features enshrined in the Basque *fueros* were freedom of

pasturage and movement for all members of the general community, the right to self-

defense against anyone, (including king or priest) and exemption from taxation (with the

exception of a relatively cheap annual gift to the Spanish king).[134]

The ideal of *fueros* was therefore the principle of self-government and federation.

As long as the Carlist pretender championed the *fueros*, the movement had cohesion. The

development of Basque separatism after 1876 created considerable divisions in the Carlist

movement: regional autonomy was one thing, but there was nothing more despised than

separatism among nationalist Carlists. It was the National Front's hostility to Basque

autonomy that tipped the Basque nationalists towards siding with the Republic in the civil

war (a conflict in which most Basques fought for Franco). For Basque nationalists, this

meant making common cause with the ostensible anti-Catholic hordes of the Republic,

and with them the Anarchists, who were fighting the Nationalists (among whom were the

Carlists) and who in places such as Aragon (but not in the Basque Country) established

what they must have viewed as irreligious, tyrannical communes. "We were between the

devil and the deep blue sea. It was absurd, tragic – we had more in common with the

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[133] James Roche, "The Outlook for Carlism," *The North American Review*, Vol. 168, No. 511 (Jun., 1899): 741.

[134] Wm. T. Strong, "The Fueros of Northern Spain," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Jun., 1893): 328.

Carlists who were attacking us than with the people we suddenly found ourselves in

alliance with," was the view of the Basque Nationalist party *Partido Nacionalista Vasco*

(PNV) member Juan Manuel Epalza.[135] Carlist forces entering the Basque provinces

appear to have felt somewhat conflicted about their role. They were allied with groups

they felt little sympathy for, like the Falange, against fellow Catholics.[136]

Autonomous communities were hardly the invention of Carlists and anarchists

(the Cantonalist War in 1873 was triggered by the declaration of municipal autonomy

from the First Republic by several cities under "radical" republican movements) but they

were its boldest advocates. As Spanish governments (like elsewhere in Europe) tried to

expand and centralize the control of the state over national life in the 19th and 20th

century, there are instances of a number of brief uprisings or periods of stateless rule in

defiance of the "legitimate" rule of the state. In the years following the abdication of

Isabella II, many Carlist regions acted effectively as autonomous zones (from about 1871

to 1874).[137] In the opening stages of the Spanish Civil War (the first half of 1936), Vasco-

Navarre functioned essentially as a proto-Carlist state. The Nationalist army was the

nominal power, but at a municipal level Carlism was the dominant network of social

organization. Sporadic workers' and peasants' uprisings could result in the expulsion of

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[135] Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 191.

[136] An example of the contradictions the *Requeté* experienced occupying Basque territory: in Guernica is the *Guernikako Arbola* ("the Tree of Guernica" in the Basque language), an oak tree said to be the place under which public meetings were traditionally held. This particular tree is the place where the kings of Spain (or, strictly according to Carlist lore, the "Outcast kings") swore to uphold the *fueros* of the Basques. When the Nationalists entered Guernica, the Navarrese *Requeté* Jamie del Burgo Torres heard rumors the ultra-Nationalist Falange wanted to cut it down. He ordered an armed Carlist guard to surround the tree out of respect for the Basques. Del Burgo also claims to have gotten into a fistfight with a Nationalist colonel who told him the aerial bombing campaign that destroyed Guernica should happen all over the Basque country and Catalonia. Del Burgo responded with, "¡¡Y con tu puta madre!!" Manuel Martorell, "Del Burgo y el árbol de Gernika," *El Mundo,* 31 Octubre 2005.

[137] Jame Ignacio del Burgo, "El Agónico final del Carlismo," 179.

state authorities for a few days or a few weeks: many of these were anarchist-inspired or

anarchist-led, such as Barcelona during the *Tragic Week* in 1909, the 1891 uprising at

Jerez led by Fermín Salvochea, which the leaders thought would start a national anarchist

revolution, and three anarchist-driven attempts (1932, 1933 and 1934) to ignite the

workers' revolution during the Second Republic.

Anarchist ideals of autonomy came from a point of view antithetical to that of

Carlism: the tradition *the people* had inherited was one of tyranny, not autonomy. Self-

determination must be claimed as a right that had nothing to do with kings or regionalities

or blood. It derived from a reasoned argument that a human being was a sovereign entity

entitled to make his or her own decisions, and that coercion was not a legitimate basis for

a social order. The source of political power was the individual, followed by the local

collective or the union local. Unlike Carlism, anarchists were indifferent or hostile to

federalism. The anarchist (FAI) newspaper *Tierra y Libertad*, known for its fiery

editorials, defined in 1916 Catalan autonomy versus anarchist autonomy:

> …hypothetically if you came one day to constitute a Catalan government, your "autonomy" would transform into a tyranny as great as those of the other States and in nothing would you be different than the despicable social organization of the dominant bourgeoisie... Autonomy, which is the "freedom to govern ourselves" and as much an AFFIRMATION of the liberty of the individual, not the equivalent of "the way of other governments"; it is the NEGATION of all government, otherwise there is no autonomy, nor can it be created.[138]

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[138] *"…en caso supuesto de que llegarais un día a constituir un Gobierno catalán, vuestra "autonomía" se traduciría en una tiranía tan grande como la de los demás Estados y que en nada se diferenciaría de la odiosa organización social de la burguesía dominante… La Autonomía, que es la "libertad de gobernarse por sí mismo" y por lo tanto la AFIRMACION de la libertad del individuo, equivale a la no "existencia de otros que gobiernen"; es la NEGACION de todo Gobierno, de lo contrario no hay, no puede haber autonomía."* 14 junio 1916, No 305, *Tierra y Libertad,* "La Autonomia y El Proletario," reproduced in Joan Zambrana, *El Anarquismo organizado en los orígenes de la CNT: Tierra y Libertad 1910-1919*, Equipo Cedall (Mayo 2009), 793.

Even though the anarchists' goal was to bring a new morality to the people of Spain, the aggressive individualism and egalitarianism in the above quote is echoed in the Aragonese declaration regarding their *fueros* discussed earlier. The culture of autonomy facilitated by the tradition of the *fueros* was something that affected not just Carlist regions of Spain, but ones that later became anarchist. On the other hand, anarchist belief in the autonomy of the individual bears no resemblance to Carlism's emphasis on an inherited obligation to submit to a traditional identity.

In the first weeks of the civil war, in the period in which there was a vacuum of state authority in the territories of both movements (far more acute and lasting in Republican areas than in Nationalist ones), their ideals in application did not fully match the rhetoric. In anarchist controlled regions like Catalonia, the movement attempted to fight the war and install its revolution without deviating from its principles. Factories were taken over by workers, farming villages were collectivized, and militia columns were formed by individual unions and set out for the front on their own accord. There were significant failures: disorganized militias fought ineffective battles despite their personal bravery, many collectivisations were forced on the unwilling, and those perceived to be bourgeois were often intimidated or assaulted. The lack of central coordination meant confusion and disorganization, and yet anarchist society was built and functioned in a state of civil war for a year, an accomplishment not all societies at war can claim.[139]

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[139] Ronald Fraser covers this question of collectivizations in *Blood of Spain*, 351-373, including the massacre of 30 peasants who resisted collectivization in La Fatarella del Ebro in Catalonia.

Carlist regions were under control of the army in the first months of the civil war, but at the local level they controlled their own communities, until General Franco had achieved dominance within the Nationalist camp. Carlists did very little to resist this, concerning themselves with defeating the "reds." Carlists set about creating "moral communities," that governed themselves, with their own interior decision-making institutions. Even in the heart of Carlist country, Navarre, ideological blocs of republicans, socialists and Catholics were not allied by political convictions as much as they were by loyalties, friendships and family ties.[140] The content and the structure were very different, but they both put a high value on personal relationships, and placed moral values ahead of material interests.

Anarchist dominance, lacking organized governance and relying on the spontaneous contributions of the people through the unions and its political organizations (its only policing force being the anti-fascist militias), produced an autonomous zone in which brutality against the perceived enemies of the movement went unchecked. Almost 7,000 clergy were murdered in the civil war, mostly by bands of armed "uncontrollables" (according to republican propaganda) or revolutionary local committees that believed it was necessary to kill the priest to begin the revolution.[141] Much of the blame for these atrocities, however, is put at the feet of the FAI and the CNT. The anarchist leadership

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[140] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente*, 14-16.

[141] The following exchange took place between historian Quintin Aldea and a Spanish parishioner after the war:

> 'I killed, among others, Father Domingo, at Alcafiiz [Aragon].'
> 'Dear me! And why did you kill him?'
> 'It's quite simple. Because he was a priest.'
> 'But then, did Father Domingo meddle in politics or have personal enemies?'
> 'No sir, Father Domingo was a very good man. But we had to kill all the priests.' Quoted in Julio De la Cueva, "Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution: On Atrocities against the Clergy during the Spanish Civil War," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Jul., 1998): 361.

did not order nor condone the killing of clergy, but they did nothing to stop it, and years of angry and hateful propaganda towards the Catholic faith produced perfect conditions for persecution. Julio de la Cueva called the atmosphere in which the atrocities were carried out as "a stage of 'no rules' preceding the establishment of the new principles regulating the society of the millennium,"[142] partly a natural situation in a sudden civil war, but also fostered by Anarchist policies themselves; "a stage of no rules" was the foundation of a new society not based on coercion or ignorance.

Carlist hatred for republicans, separatists and "reds," was equally intense, and vendettas were carried out by individuals and military units in the name of the cause. *Requeté* squads in captured territory were responsible for a great number of prisoner executions, purging society in their own way just as the anarchists did. For both anarchists and Carlists (and for nearly all of the ideological factions in the civil war, for that matter), the first step in establishing the moral community was eliminating all those ideologically opposed to it.[143]

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[142] De la Cueva, "Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution," 364.

[143] Anarchists, however, did believe that redemption was possible and that not all those ideologically opposed needed to be killed. Ronald Fraser recounts the monarchist Joan Mestres' experience of being rescued by a *faísta* from execution in Barcelona at the beginning of the Civil War. After being arrested and taken to the gaol, Mestres was claimed by an FAI militant and taken to the headquarters of the CNT woodworkers' union, one of the most militant in the movement. The *faísta* knew his parents, who were working class and lived in a poor barrio. The militant spoke to the union president, arguing Mestres' "only sin was religion." Mestres tells us, "The president looked at me. 'Get up on this table,' he said. Hesitantly I climbed up. 'Silence,' shouted the president. The noise, the people milling about, the confusion that had met me when we first came in, immediately stilled. The president began to address them as though he were holding a political meeting. 'This man didn't take up arms against the people. We believe he should be given a chance to live. A chance to purify his life, rid himself of his mistaken religious beliefs.' The crowd shouted agreement, turning immediately to other matters. Ignored, I got down from the table and went out, 'free'..." Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 474.

Anarchists and Carlists were both part of and worked towards the creation of

moral communities, as opposed to communities of interest or law. They both asserted that

the local community and personal bonds were the basic unit of political organization, and

that the community must be self-governing, with an idealized overarching structure, a

king or a confederation, ensuring their autonomy. Finally, moral communities were to be

made up of morally correct persons (Catholics or workers), with a fair amount of moral

ambiguity concerning what to do with individuals who did not fit that description.

3.4 The role of populism

Populism is a term that can take on many meanings and often contradictory

ones.[144] To reduce it to a manageable topic is no easy task. Take the following definition

of populism as an ideology (from academics Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell):

> [populism is] an ideology which pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a
> set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are together depicted as depriving (or
> attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity,
> identity and voice.[145]

What should be immediately obvious is that most (if not all) ideologies fit this

definition; even the most elitist political sentiments are predicated on the assumption that

their ideal society would be in the best interests of *the people*, and their opponents would

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[144] Ernesto Laclau's influential *On Populist Reason.* Verso (2005), posits that populism is a phenomenon that occurs when social claims on the state are frustrated by "institutional channels" and the claimants instead make common cause with one another. Their causes are then taken up or co-opted by leaders against the regime. But this theory does not account for variations in populist politics, such as populist movements that support states (e.g. patriotic movements), or that populist movements can sometimes make claims that are not related to the state (e.g. religious revival movements) or in our case, movements who were uninterested in having their claims satisfied by "institutional channels." Benjamin Arditi writes a helpful essay for understanding Laclau: "Populism is Hegemony is Politics? On Ernesto Laclau's *On Populist Reason*," *Constellations*. Volume 17, No 3, 2010, 488-497.

[145] Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell in *Twenty First Century Populism: The Spectre of Western European Democracy, 1*[st] *ed.*, eds. Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 3.

be either foreigners or deceivers leading *the people* down the path to tyranny. For that reason this definition underlines how arbitrary the claim to be populist is, and what it really means. But when we talk of populist movements, we are referring to social movements that called upon and drew their members from the masses, the working poor that made up the vast majority of the population of a given society and tend to be apolitical or at least normally unengaged, who only become concerned with politics when their livelihoods are destabilized. Populism then, for the purposes of this thesis, refers to a relationship between the ideological core of a movement and the masses, regardless of the content of the ideology or the type of claims the movement makes.

The nature of this relationship is that 1) a populist movement is one that can authentically claim the support of a significant proportion of a given population and 2) the masses are exhorted by the ideological core to assert their sovereignty directly, over and beyond elections or other centralizing mechanisms. What distinguished Carlism and anarchism from other ideologies and movements of Spanish politics was that they were the two largest revolutionary movements in the country that sustained them over time, usually in open warfare against the state. In their own ways, each tapped into the experience of certain segments of the population (besieged traditionalists and rootless laborers) by articulating a utopian vision constructed around their values, a vision made plausible by their stated dedication to moral conduct, i.e. a heroic sense. Their sense of their own heroism gave them popular credibility.

Carlist populism was all the more unusual for its veneration of hierarchy and aristocracy. This led to a clumsy synthesis in theory and in practice. While Carlists spoke

nostalgically of the brotherly camaraderie in their *círculos*, the rank-and-file found

themselves easily used and discarded by the leadership.[146] Working class Carlists were

invested in a way of life which could be capitalized on by the pretender. When Don

Carlos praised his often-persecuted supporters among the humble farmers of Spain by

claiming that the poverty of Carlist families was a new title of nobility,[147] he may or may

not have been doing some good public relations work but for many *Requetés* and rural

Carlists, "the king was a distant figurehead, someone to shout for at massed gatherings of

the faithful, and not much more."[148]

Antonio Izu, (whom Ronald Fraser identifies as a "Carlist peasant"), held a very

populist conception of Carlism that reflects how the experience of everyday life

contradicts any ideological view of the world. Many Carlists believed they were so

because "it was in the blood." According to Fraser, "The rich and the intelligentsia didn't

belong; Carlism was a popular movement."[149] Izu claimed that Carlists sought a king who

was one of them, more like a villager than an aristocrat; some among the *Requetés* said, "I

want a king who will drink from the wineskin with me." But despite these egalitarian

sentiments, the Carlist movement was built around the respect for traditional hierarchies,

which for anarchists was just another way of valorizing submission to authority. When

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[146] Dolores Baleztena, a Catholic nurse working in a Pamplona hospital, saw many examples of the attitudes of the common soldiers of the *Requeté*: "The poorer the home, the greater the sacrifice, it seemed to me. If communism had triumphed, these anonymous heroes would have lost nothing; indeed, materially they would have gained... But spiritually, he would have lost everything, and it was for this – to defend his religious beliefs, his ideals – that he had gone to war." She was interviewed in Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 311-312.

[147] Jordi Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 70.

[148] MacClancy, *The Decline of Carlism*, 72.

[149] Fraser, *Blood of* Spain, 123. Izu claimed that his father, a fervent believer, was "a bit of an anarchist at heart," and wanted everyone above the rank of sergeant in the army be swept out as a parasite. See pages 123-125 for Izu's commentary.

the modernizing Mellists and the conservative Integrists rejoined the *Comunión Tradicionalista* during the Second Republic, they submitted to the pretender's authority, not vice-versa. When the Carlists were absorbed into a single political party, along with the detested Falange and lost their autonomy, they did not resist as the anarchists did a month later but went along, somewhat confused and disappointed (ironically, after laying down their arms, the anarchists also did this for the remainder of the war, when it seemed equally necessary).

Anarchist populism was considerably more straightforward, but it too had its inconsistencies. Ideologically synonymous with the ideal of popular sovereignty – faith in the absolute rule of *the people* – anarchism gained a popular base of support by virtue of its emphasis on direct action and the formation of community bonds over organizational ones. Adherents to anarchism were encouraged to get out and proselytize to the workers and the poor, develop workers' centers and revolutionary cells, initiate strikes and protests. The anti-politics of the movement, which distinguished it from other left wing movements in Spain, cut it off from one source of leverage and further compelled anarchists to seek support by engaging in "less talk and more action."[150] The meaning of the term "propaganda by the deed," was that one action against the state was worth a thousand pamphlets in winning the hearts of the working class. When industrial workers struggled against the coercion and exploitation of the capitalist system in the brutal labor battles of that era, anarchism won its fraternity to the working class for its commitment and its militancy.

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[150] Quoted in Julián Casanova, *Anarchism, the Republic, and the Civil War in Spain, 1931-1939*, trans. Andrew Dowling and Graham Pollok (New York: Routledge, 2005), 36.

Anarchists, however, could hold a narrow view of how popular sovereignty could be exercised, in a way which undermined their populist credentials. Since its founding, the movement had been a mixture of millenarian radicals and moderate gradualists. This contradiction led to the movement's most destructive divisions in 1932 when the *faístas* forced the moderates out of the CNT.[151] In spite of their goal of creating a society based on solidarity and autonomy, disagreements in policy played out with ferocious hostility within the movement.

The narrowness of the anarchist vision was most bleakly manifested during the civil war, when in CNT dominated regions the revolution was made by workers and militants. Making the revolution meant collectivizing industry, seizing the assets of the propertied classes, and communalizing village life. The results were mixed: in some cases revolutionary control worked well and working people won social dignity and economic equality. But in other ways, revolutionary control meant sometimes being coerced into collectivizing one's village or one's trade and submitting to the authority of local

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[151] The animosity between the two factions was as great as it was because the stakes were so high: the policy of one faction would result in the failure of the anarchist cause, so the other believed. Consider this passage from the *treintista* manifesto, published in 1931, criticizing the FAI: "We want a revolution born from a deep feeling of the people, such as that which today is being forged, and not the revolution they offer us, that they pretend to carry out with a few individuals. If they brought it about, as they claim to want, they would fatally become dictators the day after their triumph… The Confederation is a revolutionary organization, not an organization that cultivates the savage cry, the riot, that has a culture of violence, of making revolution for revolution's sake." *"Queremos una revolución nacida de un hondo sentir del pueblo, como la que hoy se está forjando, y no una revolución que se nos ofrece, que pretenden traer unos cuantos individuos, que si a ella llegaran, llámense como quieran, fatalmente se convertirían en dictadores al día siguiente de su triunfo… La Confederación es una organización revolucionaria, no una organización que cultiva la algarada, el motín, que tenga el culto ce la violencia, de la revolución por la revolución."* El Manifiesto Treintista (Barcelona, agosto 1931).

assemblies, often run by an informal elite of anarchists and socialists.[152] Making the

revolution was also taken to mean execution of those suspected of being against the

revolution, by groups of armed young men acting on their own, unrestrained by the Anti-

Fascist administration. Like Carlism, concepts like liberty and equality applied only to

very specific social and economic arrangements. Anything outside of that vision,

regardless if the purveyors were peasants or owners, was taken as barbaric and immoral.

The heroic outlook of Carlism and anarchism was fundamentally populist, not just

in rhetoric but in application. Modernization had created a rapidly growing working class

whose members were progressively losing any position of worth outside of their use-

value as laborers: the loss of their roots in the land, in a community, or in a heritage. The

morality of anarchism and Carlism was not just an anachronism or a throwback to pre-

modern values, it was a declaration of values in defiance of the dehumanizing scale of

economic worth within the capitalist-industrial style of modernity. Carlists and anarchists

had to prove the value of these transcendent moralities by living them even if it meant

defeat or destruction, *especially* if it meant defeat or destruction, in acts of sacrifice, in

impractical valour in combat or by imposing the moral community without waiting for

the revolution to come, in a thousand other ways that distinguished anarchism and

Carlism as heroic movements, and made them authentic opponents of the catastrophic

transformations for the poor and working classes brought about by modernization.

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[152] Often the members of a local community banded together against all armed factions that passed through their village as they "conquered" Spain. In Alloza (Aragon) the village committee was made up in equal parts of left wingers and right wingers, so depending on what army showed up, one half could represent the town as allies while protecting the other half, see Fraser, *Blood of Spain*, 358.

4.0 The dynamics between Carlism and anarchism

Given the antipathy between anarchism and Carlism, there are few points of direct interaction and of those, most tend to be hostile. This chapter will begin by covering the question of how the members of one movement perceived the other, followed by a discussion of how the two movements were connected, first through individuals, then more general associations. For this purpose, the chapter will explain how individuals and communities came to adhere to one social movement or another. In addition, some examples have been chosen that give a general idea of the experience of being a participant in these social movements.

4.1 The perception of the enemy other

It does not appear that the members of either movement understood much about the other. This is all the more surprising given the prominence of the movements in Spanish history and how familiar they were in the cultural lexicon. The Carlist wars were a defining characteristic of the 19th century while anarchist-inspired uprisings and labour battles constituted a major characteristic of the 20th. Some of the ignorance was likely due to the sparse presence of one movement in a region where the other dominated. The small number of anarchists in Navarre would have challenged the experiences of few Carlists. Carlism had almost no presence in the Andalusian countryside, leaving it outside the experience of anarchists there. In Northern rural areas where Carlism was strong, anarchist presence was simply non-existent. In large cities like Barcelona, where the anarchists dominated, animosity prevented friendly interactions and likely created an environment of self-imposed segregation.

What might be the most compelling reason for their lack of interest in each other was that they had bigger fish to fry: for Carlism, the apparent forces of liberalism and secularism, for anarchists, the apparent forces of capitalism and religion. Even during the Second Republic, when both movements were arming and gaining in militant strength, when Carlism appeared at its most menacing since 1876 and anarchists were driving local and nationwide uprisings on a path to revolution, they were far more concerned with the menace of the state and elites. The Carlists' primary concern was anti-clericalism and the imminence of a soviet-style dictatorship, a "red" revolution brought about by the morally ambivalent liberal and secular policies of the democratic order. Anarchism often portrayed the tyranny of the state by three figures: the banker, the general and the cleric – thus fascism and democracy were merely the two faces of capitalism, which employed Catholicism as a means of thought control.[153]

Despite being at opposite extremes of the political spectrum, anarchists and Carlists often tended to lump the other with a generalized collection of enemies. In part this served to affirm that everyone on the Left or the Right were essentially the same and would ultimately produce the same kind of tyranny. They rarely demonstrated the awareness that Communists and anarchists were antagonists rather than allies, just as

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[153] Gonzalo Álvarez Chillada describes some of the terminology and concepts that were used by anarchists, including the somewhat more moderate *treintistas*, to tie fascism (including Nazism) to Catholicism (and Christians generally) as a way of defining the Spanish right during the Republic, and despite their rejection of democracy, were not above accusing Catholics of menacing the Republic and capable of armed revolution against it. See "Movimiento Libertario y Religión durante la II República (1931-1936)," *Izquierda obrera y religión en España,* eds. Julio de la Cueva y Feliciano Montero (Universidad de Alcalá, 2012), 110-111.

Carlists and Falangists disliked each other and held little in common besides a common enemy.[154]

Perhaps more to the point, lumping Left or Right permitted each group to identify the state with extremist movements and enabled them to hold the state accountable for the actions of those extremists. Carlist propaganda argued, from the first years of anarchism's arrival in Spain, that it was a product of liberalism. The Bishop of Cartagena, writing in *El Siglo Futuro* in 1889, argued,

> What does it matter that the liberals protest, condemn, anathematize socialist and radicalist doctrines, that they excommunicate those that support them, that they deny them fire and water, that they do not concede to them the dignity, for them glorious, of being liberals, that they stigmatize them with infamous epithets, if socialism, anarchism and radicalism are nothing but the logical evolutions of Liberalism, and the supporters of these dangerous systems are the liberals that are the most logical and consequently, the most respected, the most liberal in the end?[155]

The vagueness of their descriptions corresponds to dismissiveness in their propaganda. Certainly they were familiar with the other, but were so uninterested that there are only a few scattered references. When they do refer to each other, it is as

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[154] "Comrade," used as an insult among Carlists, implying the subject was a communist, was in frequent use as a positive term among Falangists. Members of the two movements got into frequent conflicts during the Spanish civil war, especially after their unification in FET y de las JONS, perhaps inspiring this Carlist song:

> *"San José era requeté*
> *y la Virgen, margarita;*
> *el niño Jesús, pelayo*
> *y la burro, falangista."* Quoted in Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas,* 346.

[155] *"¿Qué importa que los liberales protesten, condenen, anatematicen las doctrinas socialistas y radicales; que excomulguen a los que las sostienen, que les nieguen el fuego y el agua, que no les concedan el dictado, para ellos glorioso, de liberales, que les estigmaticen con epítetos infamantes, si el socialismo, anarquismo y radicalismo no son sino evoluciones lógicas del Liberalismo, y los sostenedores de aquellos peligrosos sistemas son los liberales más lógicos y consecuentes, los más dignos, las más liberales en fin?"* Dr. Thomas Bryan y Livermore, "Carta Pastoral," *El Siglo Futuro,* 5 junio 1889, 6.

dangerous fools (at the best of times) too incapable of moral thought to even bother

considering them eligible for conversion or bargaining. Moreover, there is little attempt to

describe the worldview of the other. The idea of understanding their enemies had little

priority among their moral concerns, especially as violent reprisals began escalating after

1917 between Left and Right.

Their mutually dismissive attitude was a product of viewing the world through an

ideological bubble that had been constructed and reinforced through the bonds of

community and loyalty to the movement – an ideological bubble that gave them their

identity, what sociologist George Herbert Mead called "the generalized other."[156] The

security and affirmation provided by the community encourages its members not just to

adhere to fundamental ideological orthodoxies, but to avoid empathizing with or

contemplating contradictory points of view. The members of one movement are

compelled to be deliberately ignorant of the ideas of the other even while claiming to be

able to deconstruct their ideology. In addition, members of the ideological community

generate a dichotomy with their own views being virtuous and accurate while the views

of their adversaries are regarded as intrinsically immoral and deluded, even when those

views overlap.[157]

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[156] "The generalized other" is the sum behavioral and ideological norms of the community one associates oneself with (or the assumption of what the community norm is). George Herbert Mead, "Play, the Game, and the Generalized Other", Section 20 in *Mind Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist,* Edited by Charles W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1934), 152-164.

[157] This process is termed "moral exclusion" in the field of psychology: "those within the community perceive their own group as more moral, honest, peaceful, virtuous, and obedient than outgroup members. The outgroup's perceived moral failings justify utilitarian, selfmaximizing decisions that dispense with concerns about their well-being. Consequently, conflict with those within the moral community takes a different form than conflict with those outside it. With those inside, conflict is the regulated competition of equals, conducted according to rules of fair play, such **as** a duel or a bidding war; with those outside, conflict is an unregulated, no-holds-barred power struggle among unequals, such as

Carlists shared with most of the Spanish Right the habit of grouping in the anarchists with "the reds," who, as tensions increased in the years leading up to the civil war, came to be regarded less and less as true Spaniards. "Reds" had become corrupted by foreign ideas, or were themselves foreigners. Jeremy MacClancy had the impression that Carlists in the civil war viewed their opponents as "extraterrestrial" and demonic.[158] The Catholic clergy, which exerted a strong influence on Carlist thought, often encouraged a dehumanizing perception of the enemy, using the language of social hygiene popular in that era, defining ideologies like, "regionalism, socialism, syndicalism and communism," as "exotic diseases carried by the new barbarians."[159]

Early on Carlists expressed the view that anarchism was a form of demagoguery that inverted morality. In 1880 *El Siglo Futuro* published an unsigned polemic that made an uncommon attempt to define anarchism, which offers some insight into Carlist perception. The article begins by arguing that permitting the anarchists to meet, or exist in any form, is like permitting a band of thieves to plot a robbery in public. There is also an attempt to explain some of the subtleties of anarchism, making a distinction between a "*nihilista*" faction and an "*anarquista*" faction. There is some confusion over what these factions desire – both seek the complete destruction of social organization, but *nihilistas*

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guerrilla warfare." See Susan Opotow, "Moral Exclusion and Injustice: An Introduction," *Journal of Social Issues* Vol. 46, No. I, (1990): 6.

[158] MacClancy lists a number of Carlist epithets used to define the reds: "Possessors of "an African hate," these, "hapless illiterates," "poisoned" by travelling marxist speakers, were "selfish," "envious," "vengeful," "vindictive," and "rancorous." "Satanic subversives," they could not love because they had no love of God; they had no God... In one incident, when the Reds had been repulsed after breaking through Carlist lines for half an hour, the chaplain held Mass at the front in order "to purify with the Blood of the Lamb and the collective sacrifice of the *requetés*, the land trodden by the horde," *The Decline of Carlism,* 23.

[159] Callahan, "Was Spain Catholic?" 178.

differ in that they would like to save some institutions for the new society, while

anarquistas favour total destruction.[160] It is to be wondered what sources the writer was

drawing from to generate this imaginary version of anarchism, all the more striking for its

efforts at distinguishing anarchists into schools of thought, rather than the usual portrayal

of a simple menacing horde.

Unfortunately the attempt to understand the inner workings of anarchism ends

there – the rest of the article admits that there is nothing comparable to the madness of

anarchism but Satanism; "between it and Satanism, it is very difficult to find a distinction

worth making.*"*[161] Consequently (according to *El Siglo Futuro*), anarchism is also closely

related to liberalism, and liberalism, Pope Pius IX (1792-1878) was quoted to have said,

was invented to destroy Jesus and the Church. Ultimately, "all liberalism is essentially

anarchism."[162]

By the time Carlism had sufficiently modernized in the early 20th century, there

were strains within the ultraconservative Catholic movement that held an admiration for

anarchism and even a fair degree of comprehension of what they stood for. In 1933 the

newspaper *La Unión* made a comparison of the two movements, making the implausible

but significant claim that "if the Syndicalists only believed in God, they would be

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[160] "It seems then, Nihilism limits itself to being an agent, an instrument of destruction, while anarchism, more ambitiously, wants to be no mere instrument, but the spirit of destruction." *"Parece, pues, como si el Nihilismo se limitase á ser agente, instrumento de destrucción, mientras el anarquismo mas, ambicioso, quiere ser, no ya meramente instrumento, sino el génio de la destrucción."* "El Anarquismo," *El Siglo Futuro,* 18 junio 1880, 1.

[161] *"entre esto y el Satanismo, es y a muy difícil hallar la diferencia que pueda haber..." Ibid*.

[162] *"todo liberalismo es esencialmente anarquista." Ibid*.

Traditionalists for life."[163] Anarchist knowledge of Carlism was appreciably greater, and

the anarchist view of Carlism could at times be more sophisticated, although not by much.

While during the Republic anarchists often lumped in Carlists with their enemies under a

general label such as "fascist," some appreciated Carlism's history as a revolutionary

movement. There was a subtle practice of comparing the state's treatment of the anarchist

movement to the way it had dealt with Carlism, pointing out the relative leniency granted

to Carlists. This tradition has deep roots. At the turn of the century anarchists Soledad

Gustavo and Frederico Urales (parents of future anarchist leader Federica Montseny)

argued that anarchism as an idea cannot be condemned because of crimes committed in

its name, just as the "much more horrible" crimes committed by Carlists in their wars

does not negate their political and religious ideas.[164] On the eve of the civil war,

Solidaridad Obrera made mention of the amnesty Carlists received in 1873 after openly

rebelling against the liberal state compared to the harsh prison terms and (almost all)

extrajudicial executions applied to the Asturian rebels in 1934.[165] After the civil war

began and Carlists became a declared enemy, anarchist propaganda claimed that Carlist

heroes were all monsters.[166]

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[163] *La Unión,* 5 & 29 Julio 1933*,* quoted in Blinkhorn*, Carlism and Crisis in Spain,* 174. To explain this attitude, there were radical Carlists who adopted the syndicalist model and others who understood concepts like equality, autonomy and social justice in ways that drew from the same well of popular values.

[164] "La cuestión social en el Ateneo de Madrid," *La Revista Blanca*, 1 junio 1902, 710. More than one column penned by Urales treats Carlism and Anarchism as two among many different ideological perspectives, at times arguing underneath it all they are all people with a common enemy in the state.

[165] "Al Pueblo," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 22 febrero 1936, 2.

[166] "Zumalacárregui, Cura Merino, Cabrera, Cura Santa Cruz; insurrectionaries, murderers and criminals of the most vile stuff! Do they not agonize, do they not tremble, there in the tomb, your skeletons of fear and dread, to see the monstrosities committed by the generals Franco, Quiepo de Llano, Mola and Cabanellas? All the outrages, all the cruelties, of those tragic and sad days of the Carlist war, pale in comparison with the deeds of the barbarians, who today pretend to "save" Spain." *"¡Zumalacárregui, Cura Merino, Cabrera, Cura Santa Cruz; insurrectos, asesinos y criminales de la más vil estofa! ¿No se estremecen, no tiemblan, allá en la tumba, vuestras osamentas, de miedo y de pavor, al ver las monstruosidades cometidas por los generalotes Franco, Quiepo de Llano, Mola y Cabanellas? Todos los*

Nonetheless, anarchists lumped Carlism in with the rest of their right wing adversaries by regarding it as a brand of unthinking religious fanaticism, an ideology of killing and dying for the Catholic faith. Carlism was an antiquated and obsolete idea, separated from anarchism, according to the anarchist leader Anselmo Lorenzo (1841-1914), by the "inflexible logic of the law of progress."[167] Religion was thus a key, unbridgeable issue that differentiated both movements since their origins until the Civil War.

Anarchists were far more preoccupied with the power of the Catholic Church than with what they perceived as its servile foot soldiers. In part this may have been because while anarchism was taking root and developing in Spain from the late 1870s on, the Carlist movement had renounced armed rebellion and contracted as a popular movement. Carlism as a belligerent movement would have been known mainly through the folk tales of the Carlist wars. Moreover, when Carlism was reborn as an armed movement in the *Requetés* and in the street battles fought against political rivals beginning in the 1910s, it does not appear to have held a special concern for the anarchist movement.

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desmanes, todas las crueldades, de aquellos trágicos y tristes días de la guerra carlista, resultan pálidos comparados con las hazañas de los barbaros, que hoy pretendían "salvar" a España." "Trallazos," *Solidaridad Obrera,* 5 agosto 1936, 3.

[167] "…since Carlism, representing the only competing dynasty, has fallen so far behind that it would hardly be possible in a society like that of the last century, which divides us, more than the passage of time, by the inflexible logic of the law of progress," *"…ya que el carlismo, representación de la única dinastía competidora, ha quedado tan rezagado que apenas sería posible en una sociedad como la del siglo pasado, del cual nos separa, más que el plazo transcurrido, la inflexible lógica de la ley del progreso,"* Anselmo Lorenzo, "Manifiesto," *La Revista Blanca*, 15 septiembre 1901, 184.

In the tense months leading to the civil war, in light of increasingly violent rhetoric against the clergy, some anarchists made the interesting claim that they were more human than Christians, putting as an example of this humanity the rather preposterous argument that they did not take "the least vengeance" after General Sanjurjo's uprising at Seville in 1932.[168] Less-than-human was a charge that had special power when applied to the regular clergy, the object of most anti-clerical violence in those years. During the civil war, the anarchist press portrayed the movement's militias as humane and chivalrous, in contrast to the slavish and brutal Nationalists, of which the Carlists were merely one more faction. Carlists made precisely this sort of claim once the civil war began: but the roles were logically inverted. *Requetés* were noble warriors who did not participate in the killing of prisoners, while anarchists and the like were savage in their brutality. The common feature of war propaganda, that the monstrosity of the enemy's ideology was of far greater importance than their humanity, required no encouragement from the leadership – it was often assumed.

Carlism's self-appointed role as defender of the faith made it relatively indistinguishable from the Church, yet anarchists continued to pay the movement little notice compared to their hostility to fascism, capitalism or Alfonsist monarchism. Anarchist propaganda often fed anti-clerical hostility by portraying priests as predatory animals, which blurred into the Carlist movement. During the civil war, *Solidaridad Obrera* referred to the hero-priests (or criminal bandits) of Carlist tradition, like Merino, "hyenas in cassocks."[169] This same article reveals a historical view of Carlism from the

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[168] "«El Debate», y la amnistía a los presos sociales," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 19 enero 1936, 8.
[169] "Historia de la emancipación en España y en el mundo," *Solidaridad Obrera,* 26 agosto 1936, 2.

anarchist perspective; "the Carlists came back to life in time to oppose the first European-wide general strike in 1902 in Barcelona, and was there to persecute and terrorize the worker's movement at every important moment from then on."

It was the struggle between Catholicism and secularism that more than anything else shaped the viewpoints of Carlism and anarchism towards each other. The diminishing power of the Church since the 19th century inspired Carlists to feel persecuted and besieged. The explosion of anti-clerical violence during the Second Republic, in addition to the secularizing policies of the Republican Left, was more than enough to affirm for Carlists the dangerous and "Satanic" nature of secular society, including the passionately anti-clerical anarchist movement.[170] Not only did the new Republic erode "traditional" – i.e. Catholic – Spanish society by introducing female suffrage, civil marriage and divorce, but articles 26 and 27 of the new Constitution legislated the public defunding of Church institutions and forbidding the Church from involvement in public education.

Anarchists believed that despite the liberal state's history of reducing the power of the Church, it existed in a symbiotic relationship with it. What seemed like a profound reduction for Carlists was for anarchists not much more than a cosmetic adjustment to a ubiquitous social force: the Catholic faith was one of the pillars of capitalist tyranny that

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[170] The founder of Opus Dei, Josemaria Escriva, recalls being menaced regularly during the Second Republic, claiming to have been stoned several times, and on one occasion threatened in the street: "on his way back from the cemetery, a bricklayer came at him shouting, "A cockroach! Stamp on it!" John Coverdale, "1931-1932: The Second Spanish Republic and Spanish anticlericalism," *Documentation: The Early Years of Opus Dei*. Accessed August 1 2013 from http://www.josemariaescriva.info/article/documentation-1931-19323a-the-second-spanish-republic-and-spanish-anticlericalism#Spanish%20anti-clericalism

taught the exploited to submit to the exploiter. Each outburst of anti-clerical violence, perhaps regrettable, was a response to the oppression people suffered by the clergy or as a result of the Church's urging. Those accused of anti-clerical violence were claimed by anarchists to be *incontrolados* or unjustly-treated scapegoats. The execution of Francisco Ferrer in 1909 for Barcelona's *Tragic Week* rioting was blamed largely on the Church, who despised Ferrer for his subversive associations and his *Escuela Moderna*, a new type of childhood education that encouraged free thinking and secularism and posed a direct challenge to the Chuch's monopoly over education.[171] The secularizing policies of the Second Republic polarized society but they never went far enough for anarchists – Catholicism still maintained a powerful regressive influence over the Spanish people. It stood in the way of justice and it undermined peasants' and workers' struggles.

Carlists and anarchists did not concern themselves with the other as often as their ideological conflicts might suggest but still held firm opinions that those ideologies were deluded and destructive. Their views of the other were ill-informed caricatures that, in periods of increased hostilities, became dehumanizing images that allowed them to dismiss the claims of the other without posing a moral quandary to themselves. Anarchists were sometimes more knowledgeable of Carlism than vice-versa, and occasionally members of each movement toyed with the idea that the other was made up of decent people, but none of this was strongly conceived. They tended to view each other as small aspects of larger enemies and institutions – anarchism within liberalism, Carlism within Catholicism. Finally, Carlists and anarchists were affected by a general enmity

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[171] Carlists were held to be complicit by some anarchists in Ferrer's conviction and execution: they testified against Ferrer at his trial which was considered internationally to have been an illegitimate proceedings. See José Pierats, *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution,* 26.

between Right and Left that increased in intensity and hatred until its culmination in the civil war.

4.2 Individuals who bridged the divide

Within a limited survey there appears to be an interesting but insufficiently considered phenomenon of sons of respectable Carlist families converting to anarchism and becoming some of its most dedicated militants. There are many reasons why an individual might become convinced by anarchism (anarchists came from diverse backgrounds) and certainly a handful of cases does not make a trend, but the pattern is interesting for two reasons: they reveal much about how individuals bridged the divide between the movements, and secondly, only two cases of an anarchist converting to Carlism was uncovered in the same span of research, begging the question why so many in one direction and not the other?

While there are a number of high profile and well documented cases of Carlists converting to anarchism, less is known about the individuals who converted from anarchism to Carlism. Anselmo Lorenzo recorded the case of Nicolás Alonso Marselau, a not insignificant figure in the anarchist movement in the early 1870s, who disappeared from anarchist circles only to turn up during the Third Carlist war reconciling with the Church at a ceremony attended by Don Carlos himself. But it is important to note that Marselau returned to Carlism rather than being newly converted to it.[172]

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[172] Lorenzo, *El Proletariado Militante,* 201.

There is also mention of a Traditionalist meeting in *El Siglo Futuro* in 1935 in which a syndicalist, an anarchist and a communist testified as to the journey to "perdition" via the romantic and exciting-sounding socialist doctrines, before seeing the light and coming over to the *Comunión*.[173] There is unfortunately little detail about their lives but a great deal about their feelings of redemption, making it impossible to ascertain their relationships to the two movements.

Why were there a disproportional number of known cases of conversion from Carlism to anarchism? A number of explanations are possible, even the simple fact that anarchism was a young movement and Carlism an old one. The legitimacy of Catholicism and monarchism as governing principles was in overall decline in the period under consideration here. The Carlist movement did not take an active interest in proselytizing its ideas until very late in the 19th century and even then its efforts were often half-hearted. Anarchism, on the other hand, was built on and around the concept of spreading the message to *the people*, which likely made it more available and welcoming to those who encountered it. A not unimportant factor to consider is that anarchism promoted an unconditional concept of equality that was very appealing in an age when many working class people were demanding an end to their economic and social exploitation, something which Carlism, despite its populism, never addressed convincingly. But whether

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[173] The ex-anarchist Timoteo Nadal told the assembled faithful about his view of the differences in these terms: "His speech was an explanation concerning the traditionalist doctrine and the anarchist, demonstrating how absurd and slightly fearful was the latter, that one comes to serve even crime and infuses hate in our fellows to achieve its aims, in contrast to our movement, that is only interested in goodness and love of our neighbor, all of which is encapsulated in the first word of our motto: GOD." "*Su discurso fué una explanación sobrela doctrina tradicionalista y la anarquista, demostrando lo absurda y poco aprensiva que es esta última, que se llega a servir hasta del crimen e infunde el odio hacia nuestros semejantes para conseguir sus propósitos, en contraste con la nuestra, que sólo se preocupa del bienestar y del amor a nuestro prójimo, todo lo cual está compendiado en la primera palabra de nuestro lema: DIOS.*" Maro, "Burriana: Velada Memorable," *El Siglo Futuro*, 27 febrero 1935, 3.

anarchists converted to Carlism or vice versa, the question of conversion is a largely unexplored terrain.

4.2.1 Tomás González Morago

One of the first converts to Fanelli's translated anarchist message in 1868 was the madrileño Tomás González Morago (?-1885), whose father was a "fervent Catholic and an enthusiastic Carlist."[174] Morago was already a dedicated republican of the "individualist" type long before adopting Mikhail Bakunin's idea of anarchism, and so did not make a strict transition from Carlism to anarchism.

He was a gifted public speaker and organizer. He was hostile to Marxism and any form of authoritarianism, even within his own movement. Anselmo Lorenzo describes him as a permanent contradiction of great activity or great apathy, two states between which Morago fluctuated depending on whether he was swept up by his idealism or his skepticism. He "emancipated himself completely" from the political ideas of his father but had a harder struggle with his religious ideas: wondering whether it was his excessive intelligence rather than his will that led him to "error," Morago approached the renowned Bishop Claret for guidance. The bishop attempted to persuade Morago back to the Church by appealing to his ambition rather than his faith, suggesting he could go far in the Church hierarchy with such intelligence. Morago rose up and responded (intriguingly) with words from the Gospels before leaving: "*¡Apártate, Satanás, me eres escándalo!*"[175] This apparently ended Morago's relationship with the Church.

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[174] "*…católico ferviente y entusiasta carlista.*" Lorenzo, *El Proletariado Militante*, 20.
[175] "Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me." Lorenzo, *El Proletariado Militante*, 21.

4.2.2 Santiago Salvador

Santiago Salvador Franch (1862-1894) was an anarchist who committed the notorious Liceo theatre bombing in Barcelona in 1893. Salvador was born into a Carlist family from the tiny village of Castelserás in Lower Aragon. His Carlist father had fallen into poverty after squandering his endowed wealth and ended up a convicted criminal, eventually killed by Civil Guardsmen while trying to flee a chain gang. Given a devout Christian education by his mother, Salvador witnessed his father repeatedly abuse his mother, which led him to try to kill him with a revolver at the age of thirteen.

Salvador's family had a number of other dark stories, among which was an uncle who hung himself after making confession, and a great-uncle who shot himself at the age of 33, claiming in his suicide note that he should not live past the age of Jesus Christ. At the age of 16 Salvador travelled to Barcelona where he was introduced to anarchist ideals and was won over, although his conversion apparently inspired only a nobler justification for a string of robberies he soon carried out, forcing him to return to Aragon to lay low in 1893. Hunted there by the Civil Guard for another series of robberies he returned to Barcelona. In November he carried out the Liceo bombing, attempting to detonate two Orsini bombs (only one exploded) during a production of *William Tell* to a packed house of Catalonia's affluent society, killing 22 and wounding 35.[176]

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[176] Orsini bombs are shrapnel bombs, using them in a crowded theatre would ensure widespread mutilations and suffering.

Salvador's stated motivation was the refusal of the authorities to turn over the body of Paulino Pallás, executed for the attempted assassination of the military governor of Catalonia, Arsenio Martínez-Campos. According to his wife, Salvador returned home after the attack and raved that Pallás had been avenged (Pallás had warned that "A terrible revenge will be wrought").[177] At his trial, Salvador asserted that he was indifferent to how many people were killed by his bombs; his interest was in creating terror as a way of hastening the destruction of bourgeois society.[178]

Despite his criminal background, Salvador appears to have been a sincere if lunatic disciple of anarchism. He attempted to kill himself to avoid capture, but did not shoot at the police, believing they bore no guilt. In prison he expressed remorse, even agony, for the pain he had caused but not for doing his duty. He claimed to have converted back to the Catholic faith while in prison thanks to an influential Jesuit Father Goberna, which won him the support of some Barcelona Catholics. On the day of his execution, however, Salvador revealed that he had been lying about his conversion, crying out "*¡Viva la Anarquía!*" and "*¡Viva la revolución social!*" explaining to his clerical supporters that he had faked conversion only to win the best treatment possible. According to a detailed account in *La Vanguardia*, Salvador told his wife during their last visit, who pleaded with him to take the Catholic rites, that "*La anarquía es lo que más amo en el mundo, la anarquía es mi vida.*"[179]

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[177] Quoted in José Alvarez Junco, *The Emergence of Mass Politics in Spain: Populist Demagoguery and Republican Culture, 1890-1910* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2002), 56.

[178] "Un día en la memoria de Barcelona," *La Vanguardia,* 11 junio 1990.

[179] "Anarchism is what I love most in the world, anarchism is my life," "Santiago Salvador en capilla," *La Vanguardia*, 21 noviembre 1894, 2.

4.2.3 Ramón del Valle-Inclán

The great novelist (1866-1936), born in Galicia, came from what he claimed was a "deeply" Carlist family, which gave his lineage a heroic lustre.[180] His father had aristocratic blood but had fallen destitute, struggling to maintain a large house on a coast guard's salary. Some biographers speculate that Valle-Inclán's part in a poor aristocratic family would have left him an outsider in the working class town of his youth.[181]

He appreciated both Carlism and anarchism as "sincere fanaticisms" of the rural poor, as genuinely populist, in contrast to unromantic and calculated liberalism. Settling in Madrid in 1895, he led a bohemian lifestyle, noticeable for his long hair and beard, and missing an arm he lost in a duel against a fellow writer. His aesthetic was iconoclastic, paradoxical and audacious; the dictator Primo de Rivera, called him a "distinguished writer and extravagant citizen."

It was Valle-Inclán's disposition for mixing fact and fantasy, for making a theatre out of life, and no less for mixing opposites (such as an admiration for religious ceremony despite his agnosticism) that might in part explain his attraction to Carlism, then later anarchism. Between 1902 and 1905 he wrote his famous *Sonatas*, four short novellas in which the hero is a Carlist aristocrat, the Marqués del Bradomín. He adhered to the Carlist movement between 1908 and 1911, even standing as a candidate for the Carlists in

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[180] Margarita Santos Zas, "El Carlismo de Valle-Inclán: Balance crítico," *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1987): 340.

[181] "...young Ramón and his brothers must have grown up like the young dandies of the town, quite sheltered and withdrawn from the commonness and vulgarity of street youngsters so as to keep up the assumed social superiority of the family." Zahareas, Anthony N., ed. *Ramón del Valle-Inclán: An Appraisal of His Life and Works* (New York: Las Americas Publishing Co, 1968), 3.

the 1910 elections. His interest was an eccentric one, given the conformity and

conservative values of the movement. Although he concurred with Carlist ideas about

local autonomy over political centralization, defense of traditional, rural culture and not

least, the romanticising of Carlism's chivalrous and tragic past, Valle-Inclán largely

invented the rest of what he defined as Carlism to reflect his personal views. Some

literary critics argue his interest was largely an "aristocratic" and aesthetic decision, not a

seriously political one.[182]

He split with the movement during the First World War: when Carlists supported

the German side, Valle-Inclán announced his support for the French, famously visiting

the front lines in 1916 at the request of the French government. His eyewitness

experience of the brutality of modern warfare and the incompetence of bourgeois

administration provoked a deep concern with the fate of Spain as it was being

transformed by liberalism. He soon thereafter came to appreciate if not fully embrace

radical philosophies of Communism and Fascism.

It might be said he liked anarchist ideas rather than being a full-fledged anarchist:

his radicalism leaned towards Leninism. He supported anarchism most strongly under the

dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, portraying them in his novels as dedicated idealists (such

as *Luces de bohemia*). In *Bazas de espadas*, first published as a series in the newspaper *El

Sol* between 1930-1932, Valle-Inclán portrayed Mikhail Bakunin and Fermín Salvochea

as sincere and principled revolutionaries, contrasted with a corrupt aristocracy and

uncontrollable extremists. If not active politically for anarchism, he spanned the divide

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[182] Santos Zas, "El Carlismo de Valle-Inclán: Balance crítico," 339.

between Carlism and anarchism philosophically and spiritually, by depicting the emotional populism and idealist sensibility they had in common.

4.2.4 Pedro Luis de Gálvez

Gálvez, (b. Málaga 1882-1940), a militant anarchist and well-known poet, executed by the Franco government in 1940 at Madrid for various crimes against the Nationalist side, was the son of a Carlist general who served in the uprising of 1872-1876. Gálvez had a contentious upbringing: his father enrolled him in the Jesuitical Seminary of Málaga, in the hope of training him for a respectable profession, against which Gálvez rebelled. Climbing the walls of the Seminary and making his escape, he was caught and returned to his father's home by the Civil Guard, and subsequently expelled by the Seminary.

By the age of 16 Gálvez was demonstrating not just a rebellious and artistic nature but a lecherous one, thrown out of a Madrid art school for manhandling the nude models. Fleeing home after a period in a correctional school, Gálvez fell in with a theatrical company where he was given a small role in a play entitled "*Servicio obligatorio*." His father heard about Gálvez's new profession and where the play was to be performed. His father apparently turned up at the performance and in the course of his son's performance, leapt up onto the stage wielding a cane and struck Gálvez in front of a shocked audience. In fear of his father, Gálvez was later asked to leave the theatre company.[183] He travelled to Paris and immersed himself in bohemian culture, returning to Spain with radical ideas.

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[183] Jesús Gálvez Yagüe, introduction to *Tres novelas breves de 1910,* by Pedro Luis de Gálvez (Diputación Provincial de Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, 1996), 29.

In 1905 Gálvez, at the age of 23, was proselytizing anarchism in various parts of Andalusia. In the small mining village of Pueblonuevo del Terrible, he expounded the beauty and truth of anarchism to the amusement of the impoverished workers at a public meeting. Gálvez called the king "the biggest idiot in the kingdom" (*el mayor cretino del reino*) which got him arrested by the *Guardia Civil*. He gained fame after winning a literary contest while in prison for insulting the king, and by the 1920s was prominent among Madrid's literary scene, known as an anarchosyndicalist author.[184]

A militant anarchist in the 20s, he drifted away from the movement during the years of the Second Republic, but enlisted in the CNT when the civil war broke out. Gálvez did not flee Spain at the end of the civil war, believing he had nothing to fear from the Nationalists, but was arrested when Madrid fell. He was sentenced to death and executed by firing squad April 20 1940, accused of many crimes including Marxist conspiracy and the murder of monks.

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[184] Gálvez wrote propagandist poems for the cover of *Nosotros*, the FAI newspaper, during the civil war. One he published in 1938 gives a sense of his anarchist beliefs:

"A Francisco Ferrer"

El mismo plomo que tu cuerpo hería	The same lead that wounded your body
se quiso hacer justicia catalana,	wants to make Catalonian justice
y rebota a la estepa castelana	and beat back the Castillian steppe
para abatir la infame monarquía.	To bring down the infamous monarchy.
No está seca tu sangre todavía.	Not all of your blood is dry.
Tu nombre vive en la memoria humana:	Your name lives in the memory of humanity:
Su roja luz envolverá mañana	It's red light covers tomorrow
el limpio amanecer de la Anarquiá...	the clean dawn of Anarchy...
Arma la más terrible manejaste,	The most terrible weapon you wielded
que no es la bomba que dispara ciega:	was not the bomb that shoots blindness:
fué la "Escuela Moderna" que fundaste.	It was the "Modern School" that you founded.
Y, en tu negra y helado sepultura,	And, in your black and frozen grave,
grita una voz que hasta nosotros llegar[sic]	cries a voice that calls to us
"¡La cadena del Pueblo es la incultura!"	"The chain of the People is ignorance!"

13 octubre 1938, *Nosotros*, 1.

4.2.5 Isaac Puente Amestoy

Isaac Puente (1896-1936) was a militant Basque anarchist, a key member of the

FAI in the 1930s who authored an important theoretical text on anarcho-communism for

the *faísta* movement ("*El comunismo libertario y otras proclamaciones insurrecionales*")

and helped coordinate uprisings in Aragon in 1933. Born in Biscay, Puente was the son of

a Carlist, Lucas Puente García, who had fought in the Third Carlist War as an *alférez*

(equivalent to a second lieutenant) and had fled over the border to France with the rest of

the defeated army in 1876.

The son's upbringing was within a well-to-do and apparently happy and close

family; his father returned to Spain some months later and by 1882 had become a

pharmacist, settled down with seven children. There was little to suggest his later

transformation into a revolutionary: he acquired his baccalaureate at the age of 17 in

Vitoria at the Jesuit College of Orduña and then went on to medical school, taking up a

practice first in Cirueña (Logroño) and then in Maeztu (Álava) in 1919. Some time between

1921 and 1922 he encountered the small Vitoria anarchist movement. According to his

daughter Meri Puente "*primero fue carlista, pero después algunos obreros de la CNT que*

estaban por Maeztu construyendo el ferrocarril vasco navarro Vitoria-Estella, convencieron

a Isaac de sus ideas y se paso al lado anarquista."[185] Daniel Orille, one of the workers

Meri Puente speaks of, recounts the story that it was on a particular Sunday that Puente

spent time listening to the rhetoric of the CNT workers and promised them he would

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[185] "He was first a Carlist, but later some CNT workers, who were in Maetzu building the Vasco-Navarre railway from Vitoria to Estella, convinced Isaac of their ideas and he joined the Anarchist side," Quoted in Francisco Fernandez de Mendiola, *Isaac Puente: El médico anarquista* (Tafalla: Txalaparta, 2007), 74.

come to one of their meetings the following Wednesday. He created a stir when he arrived because the hat he was wearing caused him to be mistaken for a policeman.[186]

We know that he was disenchanted by his Jesuit education, regarding it as repressive, dogmatic and ineffective, inspiring a later interest in liberalizing education, a favourite theme of the anarchists in general. He wrote numerous articles (often under the pseudonym "A Country Doctor") concerning medical health and "naturalism" (as a counter-philosophy to the repressive attitudes of bourgeois society), and had a particular interest in sexual health. He was also an outspoken supporter of feminism, advocating such measures as legal and accessible abortions and contraception.

Puente was captured by the Nationalists early in the civil war in Vitoria and was summarily executed in early September 1936. Stories vary on how Puente died, but according to some who were jailed with him, he was taken off by a band of *Requetés*, led by Bruno Ruiz de Apodaca (who had a reputation for brutality) and shot on the side of the road near Pancorbo (about halfway between Burgos and Vitoria).[187] So far, there is no way to confirm such stories, and it has the ring of mythologizing to it, but in any case it is certain that Puente suffered the same anonymous fate as tens of thousands of others did in the war.

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[186] Mendiola, *El médico anarquista*, 20.
[187] Mendiola, *El médico anarquista*, 43.

4.2.6 Juan Ferrer i Farriol

Although never a Carlist, Juan Ferrer i Farriol (1896-1978), was a Catalán anarchist who came from a family "where anarchists rubbed shoulders with Carlists."[188] Born in Igualada, he was part of the CNT there from an early age, joining the organization in 1911. We know that some of his close comrades in the CNT had been friends of his since childhood. A tanner, Ferrer was involved in several strikes and helped unionize women workers in 1913. Later on he contributed to the anarchist press (often through several different pseudonyms) and played important roles in the administration of Igualada when it was under anarchist domination during the civil war. He survived the war and continued to work within the CNT in exile in France.

Igualada, Ferrer's home and the place he worked and fought in most intimately, had long traditions of anarchist and Carlist activity: while Igualada contributed its men to the pretender's side in the Carlist wars, Igualada workers participated in strikes as early as 1855 and Ferrer's own tanners' union had joined the AIT in 1871. While the worker's movement caused some hostility and fear in the local traditionalist community, a sympathy movement composed of "radical Carlist workers organized a Catholic union whose paper, *El Sindicalista* sparred with the moderate Carlist *Llibertat*."[189] Ferrer, for his part, was a mix of moderate and absolutist, attempting to reunite the *treintistas* and the *faístas* in the 1930s, but also regarded electoral politics as stupid and the entrance of anarchists into the Popular Front government in 1937 as treason to the cause. Ferrer held

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[188] Miguel Iñiguez, "Juan Ferrer i Farriol," *A Historical Encyclopaedia of Spanish Anarchism*, trans. Paul Sharkey (Fundación de Estudios Libertarios Anselmo Lorenzo: Madrid, 2001), 14.
[189] Winston, "The Proletarian Carlist Road to Fascism," 582.

the typical anarchist view of religion as one of the three evil social institutions, along with capitalism and the army.

4.2.7 Carles Fontserè Carrió

Carrió (b. Barcelona 1916-2007) was a Catalán graphic artist who made posters for the Popular Front during the civil war. He was raised in a bourgeois home, his father was a militant Carlist (devoted enough to name his son after the pretender Carlos VII) and Carrió was given a Jesuit education. His first work was published in conservative magazines like *Reacción.* In 1932 he was involved in electoral politics, supporting the Catalán Right. But not long after, by the age of 20, he had turned anarchist, and there was an additional, more visceral reason for Carrió's change of ideology: his father ran off with another woman, causing him to consider the hypocrisy of conservative morality.

As a teenager, he drifted away from Carlism through the leftist politics of his artistic influences and comrades. During the civil war he was responsible for some of the striking propaganda art that papered the streets of the Republican zone, particularly one for the FAI, of a peasant raising his sickle before the red and black flag of the anarchists. He joined the International Brigades, but in 1938 his family history would come back to haunt him: denounced by a member of the Teachers' Union in Barcelona, Fontserè was detained by the Political Commissar of the Brigades and, given his Carlist roots, sentenced to death. The sentence was later commuted.[190]

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[190] Cary Nelson, *Shouts from the Wall: Posters and Photographs Brought Home from the Spanish Civil War by American Volunteers* (Waltham: Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives, 1996), 29.

4.2.8 Summary of individual cases

These cases, constituting only a handful of anecdotal examples, nonetheless tell us a few things about the relationship between Carlism and anarchism. The first and most basic observation is that Carlists who became anarchists came from diverse backgrounds: rich and poor, happy and unhappy, from diverse parts of Spain. Neither class nor culture was necessarily a factor in predisposing someone to move from one movement to the other.

As to what they had in common, most of them had contentious and often abusive relationships with their Carlist fathers. Many received a Jesuit education which they regarded as harsh and dogmatic enough to encourage their decision to reject the Catholic faith. In many cases, they adopted anarchism around the time of young adulthood after falling in with a community of radicals and/or bohemians, at an age when they were establishing an autonomous identity from their parents. They appear to be touched more by their personal experiences with anarchism than with ideological literature or political action. Exposure to the anarchist community seemed to be a prerequisite for conversion, and thus why the greater number of cases centered around the anarchist stronghold of Barcelona.

What can be suggested here, in terms of interpretation, is that anarchism held an attraction for young Carlists who for one reason or another felt dispossessed from their Carlist roots or more broadly, were outcast from their communities, either through eccentricity or scandal. Many of them were artists or intellectuals, which would suggest that they were likely to be set apart from their peers, and at the least it suggests they were

endowed with an imagination capable of making a leap from one ideology to its opposite.

Obviously this transformation was rare, and young Carlists were not converting en masse

to anarchism, but as previously pointed out, young Carlists in the age of mass politics of

the early 20th century, like those in the *Agrupación de Estudiantes Tradicionalistas*

(AET), were incorporating ideas about egalitarianism, autonomy and wealth

redistribution that linked the old values of Carlism to the new ones of anarchism.

From these short character sketches, it does not appear that those who converted

from Carlism to anarchism in the 20th century did so because they saw in anarchism a

rejuvenation of the idealism of the New Testament. That appears to be more applicable to

those in the 19th century like Morago, perhaps when a moral and ideological vocabulary

of radicalism distinct from that of religion had yet to become fully articulate.

4.3 Interactions between Carlists and anarchists

Among the few recorded instances of interaction are mainly accounts of violence

or persecution. Despite being ideological nemeses in many respects, Carlists and

anarchists did not often target each other specifically. As discussed above, their primary

concern was the state and the capitalist regime, not what they perceived to be its

misguided stooges.

During the Third Carlist uprising, the official anarchist line was anti-militarist and

urged a boycott of military service, viewing all sides in the conflict as equally exploitative

of the working class. Accused by republicans of being themselves reactionaries, the

Federación de la Regional Española (FRE), then an associate of the International

Workingmen's Association (IWA), issued this statement:

> We are not Carlists, nor Alfonsists, neither are we for sale for the gold of reaction. We are revolutionary workers who hate not just political tyranny, but also economic. To fight Carlists and Alfonsists and all the other reactionaries, together we can do more than all the organizations in which men will go to fight like a meek flock of sheep.[191]

Given that they viewed anarchism as an extreme outcome of liberalism, during

the civil war Carlists used anarchism as a bogeyman that would come to power should

the Carlists be defeated. Integrists like Nocedal had already argued that the country

would have to choose between Carlos and petrol, an allusion to anarchist terrorism.

Carlists and other conservatives had their suspicions of anarchism affirmed after small

but bloody strike led by a schoolteacher turned anarchist that ended in the slaying of

police and the mayor in the Valencia town of Alcoy in 1873. Horror stories of the

workers parading the heads of the mayor and the police around town on poles were

accompanied by the violent rhetoric of fake anarchist newspapers under the First

Republic's liberal censorship policy.[192]

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[191] *"No somos carlistas, ni alfonsinos, ni vendidos al oro de la reacción. Somos obreros revolucionarios que no sólo odiamos las tiranías políticas, sino también las económicas. Para combatir a carlistas y alfonsinos y a todos los reaccionarios, todos juntos podemos más que todas las organizaciones en que los hombres van a combatir como manso rebaño de corderos."* "1870: Federación Regional Española," *CNT Federación Local de Madrid, Historia de la CNT*, accessed August 29 2013 http://madrid.cnt.es/historia/la-federacion-regional-espanola/

[192] Some historians, like Gerald Brenan, believed that some particularly vicious "anarchist" papers were faked by Carlists to blacken anarchism's reputation. From *Los Descamisados*: "We, the disinherited, the pariahs, the helots, the plebs, the dregs, the scum, the filth of society: we who have no feelings, no education, no shame declare that we have reached the depths of misery and that the hour of our triumph is at hand.... War on the Rich! War on the Powerful! War on Society!........ Anarchy is our only formula. Everything for everyone, from power to women.... But first there must be a terrible, an extraordinary blood bath." Brenan, *Spanish Labyrinth*, 154-155. But later scholarship has shown that extreme newspapers like *Los Descamisados* or *El Petrolero* were the responsibility of an eccentric anarchist named Perillán Buxó, whose intentions were irony and humor. Pedro Gómez Aparicio,*Historia del periodismo español. II. De la revolución de septiembre al desastre colonial* (Madrid: Editoria Nacional, 1971), 647.

During the early years of the 20th century the Carlist movement became more alarmed and combative to the threat posed to tradition by secularization and class warfare. The *Comité de Defensa Social*, established by "Catholic lawyers, essentially old-time Carlists" was formed in 1907 to combat secular education and workers' organizations and protect religious privilege.[193] Groups of armed Carlist youth were deployed at election time to preserve the "purity" of the vote.

During the *Tragic Week,* the convent burnings were carried out by mobs or small groups, sometimes led by anarchists, declaring themselves the new masters of the city, with the cry "Long live anarchy."[194] Many Barcelona Carlists witnessed the anti-clerical violence from their windows and the event inspired greater militancy in the movement, attracting many otherwise politically neutral Catholics. There was only one case, however, of Carlists defending clerical property: Carlists with their offices next to a church stood guard over it, killing or wounding three men.[195]

As much as they may have been against anarchist ideals, Carlists adopted many of the same means and values of their time: they too had to appeal to the experiences and interests of ordinary working class Spaniards. In 1910, while the anarchists were busy organizing the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*, in Bilbao Carlists formed their first workers' syndicate out of the local *círculo*. Although never on the same scale as the movements on the Left, the UGT and the CNT, they had formed a national federation by

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[193] Ullman, *The Tragic Week,* 74.

[194] Ullman, *The Tragic Week*, 229.

[195] Two days later a Carlist youth who was believed to have been one of the defenders of the church, was "dragged along the Paralelo to a horrible death." Ullman, *The Tragic Week,* 263.

1912, whose statutes in 1919 declared for "the unity of the workers against the capitalist system, in complete autonomy."[196] The Viscayan community of quasi-socialist Carlists even cooperated with their compatriot anarchists and socialists: for example, in 1916 they coordinated a general strike with the local UGT and CNT, protesting rising prices.[197]

4.3.1 Barcelona 1917-1923: the Sindicatos Libres & the CNT

Class warfare reached a level of greater intensity following the First World War. Spain had experienced a sudden and sharp boom to the economy thanks to an increase in demand for Spanish goods in war-torn Europe, but this had diminished in the last years of the war. Furthermore, during the war years prices rose but salaries lagged far behind. In conjunction with this, working class radicalism had become more coherent and aggressive with the successful development and popularity of syndicalist unions like the CNT. The working class was further emboldened by the distant and confusing news about the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, which for the first time brought a Communist revolutionary group to power. The Bolsheviks were careful to embellish the involvement of the masses and in those early years, many leftists of all stripes, from anarchists to democratic socialists, were enthusiastic about this unknown quantity. Capitalists and conservatives dreaded at the prospect of a worldwide epidemic of revolutions inspired by Lenin.[198]

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[196] Carlos Clemente, *El Carlismo en el novecientos español: (1876-1936)* (Madrid: Huerga Y Fierro Editores, 1999), 69.

[197] Clemente, *El Carlismo en el novecientos español*, 70.

[198] According to Spanish historian Rafael Cruz: *"La revolución de octubre de 1917 en Rusia se representará de manera inmediata como el modelo revolucionario del siglo xx, y la construcción del régimen bolchevique dio pie a imaginar Rusia como un mundo diferente. Ante esas dos imágenes se produjeron fuertes reaciónes: por un lado, de rechazo y miedo al establecimiento de un régimen similar que pudiera instalarse en otro país y en cualquier momento; y por otro, de admiración y entusiasmo hacia un ejemplo*

In 1917, the CNT had demonstrated its increasing power by coordinating a general strike in Spain (effective mainly in Barcelona). In 1919 they won significant concessions in a violent strike against the *La Canadiense* power plant and its national membership was 700,000, larger than any proletarian organization in Spain. 1919 was also the year the CNT formally adopted anarchosyndicalism as its guiding principle, meaning that it was an overtly revolutionary organization. Anarchism had established itself as a major force in Spanish politics.

Industrial and commercial interests had always pressured governments to suppress union radicalism but now they stepped up their own clandestine efforts to intimidate and assassinate activists – hiring mercenaries, encouraging the small right wing unions (mainly of their own creation) to violence and forming the *Federación Patronal* (Owner's Association) to organize opposition to the *Sindicatos Ùnicos*. The result was the brief era of *pistolerismo*, mainly but not isolated to Barcelona, (but violence in Bilbao was proportionally high) in which robbery and violence increasingly became the preferred method of waging class war.[199] From 1917 to 1922, 1,200 to 1,400 attempted

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real de un objetivo que trataba de imitarse." "The October 1917 revolution in Russia immediately became the model for 20th century revolutions, and the construction of the bolshevik regime gave way to imagine Russia as a different world. These two images produced strong reactions: on one side, of revulsion and fear of the establishment of a similar regime that could be installed in another country at any moment; and on the other side, of admiration and enthusiasm for a real example of a goal that they tried to imitate." Rafael Cruz, *En el nombre del pueblo: República, rebelión y guerra en la España de 1936* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 2006), 17.

[199] Stanley G. Payne, "Political Violence during the Spanish Second Republic," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 25, No. 2/3 (May - Jun., 1990): 270.

assassinations took place in Barcelona alone, hundreds of which were successful.[200] It was within this context that about a hundred Carlists formed the *Sindicatos Libres* (SL) in Barcelona on October 10th 1919. Their first secretary was Ramón Sales, a young man who had been a member of the Mercantile Syndicate of the CNT despite being a Carlist, but became disturbed by the increasing dominance of anarchosyndicalism in that union.[201] Moreover, Sales was a *Requeté,* the newly created paramilitary wing which for the last decade had been engaged in a street war with anyone on the Left, including republicans, in Bilbao and Barcelona.

The purpose of the "Free Syndicates" was to defend workers' rights while opposing the anarchosyndicalists. The Carlist pretender of the day, Don Jaime, was even made an honorary member of the syndicate, perhaps the greatest contradiction in this story of contradictions. While not explicitly a Carlist organization, the movement played a fundamental role in its early development, but soon they declared themselves apolitical and became more focused on winning over the proletariat than obeying the Carlist party line.[202] They participated in strikes and boycotts (amid the array of workers' weapons), but also idealized violence as noble and heroic in the same way as the anarchist movement did, which encouraged the membership to engage in and provoke gunfights and assassinations, mainly against the CNT.[203]

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[200] See Pierats, *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution,* 32, for an assessment of differing figures.
[201] Winston, "The Proletarian Carlist Road to Fascism," 562.
[202] Canal, *Banderas Blancas, Boinas Rojas*, 40.
[203] Not as large as the CNT, the SL was not insignificant, claiming 150,000 members in 1921-22, and 200,000 by the end of the decade, *Ibid.*

Despite the murderousness of their interactions on the streets, the *Sindicatos Libres* in some respects espoused very anarchist-sounding goals, which they outlined in an early manifesto: resistance to the absorption of all social and economic power by the state, the abolition of capitalism, the affirmation of economic equality and the provision of materials for "each man and his family" (an interesting patrician twist on the liberal concept of human equality), as long as they perform work that benefits society.[204] The very existence of the *Sindicatos Libres* was received uncomfortably by the existing Catholic unions, who already had difficulty attracting workers, given their transparent allegiance to employers and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

More than just ideological affinities, Carlists and anarchists flirted with developing strategic and social ties through the CNT and the *Sindicatos Libres*: the Madrid newspaper *ABC* reported in 1922 that a "significant" representative of the *Sindicatos Libres* visited the prominent moderate anarchist Ángel Pestaña in Modelo Prison to discuss the possibility of merging all the Syndicates of Barcelona into one union. *ABC* asked Sales about this possibility, and while he denied knowledge of the meeting, he said that Pestaña was evolving (presumably this was a compliment), and would be welcome in the *Sindicatos Libres* if he could abide by its principles, but he understood that such negotiations took time and would not happen quickly.[205] This was a striking development given that Pestaña had been the victim of two assassination attempts

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[204] Clemente, *El Carlismo en el novecientos español*, 68.

[205] e.g. *"Pestaña-ha dicho-va evolucionando, y cada vez abandona mas los extremismos y se acomoda a la realidad; pero yo entiendo que esta fusión posible es obra del tiempo, y no resultado de una gestión de momento."* For Sales to define Pestaña as "evolving" is surprising: at this time the anarchist was at his most emphatically anti-political and hardline. He would later "evolve" to a more nuanced and moderate position. By the 1930s he was negotiating the legalization of the CNT with the very right wing (and Carlist-linked) General Emilio Mola. *ABC (edición mañana)*, 25 enero 1922, 14.

by right-wing gunmen in 1920 and 1921, in which he was seriously wounded. Nothing came of these overtures, but it does indicate a certain but blurred willingness by some members of both movements to negotiate with and respect the other.

The imposition of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in 1923 sent the CNT underground and largely ended the cycle of violence in the streets (for the time being). The *Sindicatos Libres,* on the other hand, did well under the dictatorship: the brutal Martínez Anido, military governor of Barcelona from 1920-1922, who employed the *Sindicatos Libres* in his war against the CNT and was responsible for the persecution of many union activists, was made head of the organization in 1923, driving out the Carlists en masse (with some exceptions, like Ramón Sales).

4.3.2 The Second Republic and the Civil War

Although the fall of the Primo de Rivera regime in 1930 meant for the moment the end of repression of Carlists and anarchists, the Republic was not welcomed by either movement. But with their hiatus from public life now over their energies were unleashed and many Catholics flocked to join the *Comunión Tradicionalista* and many more workers to the CNT.

Carlists and anarchists' only real interest in the Republic was when it was going to fall to their forces or the forces of their enemies, and this could play out in confusing ways. In January of 1933 the anarchist movement made its second ineffective attempt at overthrowing the state with a nationwide uprising that was carried out by only a few local groups here and there. In the Basque town of Labastida (Álava), there existed the rare

confluence of a strong anarchist presence and a strong Carlist presence. When the

anarchists attempted the uprising, they were careful to declare that theirs was a very

general revolution and they had nothing against anyone in the town in particular.[206] The

Labastida Carlists, however, hearing that the anarchists had attacked the garrison of the

Guardia Civil, saw this as a prelude to an attack on the Church, and in the aftermath

became much more anxious and prepared for combat. In subsequent months antagonisms

between the two groups became more menacing and curiously, childish.[207] However,

what Javier Ugarte Tellería finds most striking about this town was the day-to-day

peaceful coexistence, because above all they were interconnected as families with long

histories.

Once the civil war began, interactions between Carlists and anarchists were

reduced mainly to combat on the front lines, especially in Aragón where the *Requeté*

played a major role in capturing the province and the capital Zaragoza, which had a

strong anarchist presence. In the first year of battle, the revolutionary militias of the

anarchists and the *Requeté* would meet on the Aragon front, briefly in Seville and most

dramatically and lasting in the defense of Madrid. On the Carlist side, anarchists were no

different than any of the other "*rojos*" and anarchists regarded Carlists as barbaric and

fanatical, a primitive type.[208]

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[206] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente,* 26-27. Tellería suggests that the uprising was atypically gentle compared with other communities divided between conservatives and radicals, and perhaps in the case of Labastida anarchism was a *moral* and antiauthoritarian revolution before it was an economic one, which would presumably threaten the traditional economy.

[207] Tellería, *La nueva Covadonga Insurgente*, 122-123. The Carlists attempted to mock the May Day celebrations in Labstida in 1936, including getting in their way by playing soccer in the street, and referred to the anarchists as "the others."

[208] "This situation of civil war, provoked by the indulgent and exploitative [señoritismo – roughly "seigneurism"], that refuses to perish, has its initiative directly in the barbarity and cruelty of fanatical

In the rear-guard members of the two movements were involved in arresting, detaining and executing those perceived to be on the opposing end of the ideological spectrum. The leadership of both movements (especially the pro-Carlist clergy, such as Cardinal Gomá) officially denounced and discouraged arbitrary execution as immoral, but did very little to prevent the executions from occurring, and punishment was a rarity.[209] Military necessity was a sufficiently compelling justification to convince many combatants to carry out arbitrary executions, but in addition the constant dehumanization of the other generated a sense of determination to do the dirty work required to make a new Spain.

There was a perverse sense of moral superiority around these mass executions: for example, 50 leftists were executed in Pamplona by a group made up of Falangists and Carlists after being permitted to confess. Some of the Carlists then went to join a procession celebrating the feast of the Assumption that was making its way to mass.[210] They were part of the tens of thousands of Republicans that were executed in Carlist

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Carlism of the last century." "*Esta situación de guerra civil, provocada por el señoritismo holgazán y explotador, que se niega a perecer, tiene sus iniciales directas en la barbarie y crueldad del carlismo fanático del pasado siglo.*" "Historia de la Emancipacion [sic] social en España y en el Mundo," *Solidaridad Obrera*, 26 agosto 1936, 2.

[209] But unofficially such violence was encouraged, and on the Nationalist side, sometimes given holy benediction, quite publicly. According to Julián Casanova, "For the church and its most prominent leaders, the violence committed in the territory controlled by the insurgents was justified, necessary and provoked by the anticlericalism that prevailed on the other side. "Violence is not done in the service of anarchy, but lawfully for the purpose of order, the Nation and Religion," declared Rigoberto Domenech, archbishop of Zaragoza, rushing to justify the slaughter that was underway in the city." *"Para la Iglesia y sus cabezas más visible, la violencia ejercida en el territorio controlado por los insurgentes era justa, necesaria y obligada por el anticlericalismo que imperaba en el bando contrario. «La violencia no se hace en servicio de la anarquía, sino lícitamente en beneficio del orden, la Patria y la Religión», declaro a comienzos de agosto de 1936 Rigoberto Domenech, arzobispo de Zaragoza, apresurándose a justificar la matanza que se había puesto en marcha en esa ciudad."* Julián Casanova, "Primera Parte: Rebelión y Revolución," in *Víctimas de la Guerra Civil*, co. Santos Juliá (Madrid: Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 1999), 112-113.

[210] José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy*, 113.

areas, where often no resistance to the military rising had occurred. Conversely, the mass killing of clergy on the Republican side in the first months of the war (nearly 7,000 through the span of the war, with about half that in the first months) took place for the most part in areas dominated by the CNT-FAI, as part of a campaign by "uncontrollables" to cleanse society of treacherous and oppressive forces.[211] Very few of those priests had anything to do with the rising.

Interactions between Carlists and anarchists tended to follow political circumstances: in the 19th century they did not come into conflict directly, but they did use the other as convenient propaganda warning of what the nation could become if it fell into the hands of the Right or Left. The increasing intensity of class warfare and social instability in the 20th century encouraged the formation of paramilitary-style forces within both movements, who did engage in frequent urban combat by the time of the First World War, until the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera made it sufficiently difficult for them to do so. The years of the Republic were marked by violence directed within renewed energy against the state and those seen as representatives of the state (e.g. clergy, secularists).

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[211] José Luis Ledesma, "Enemigos Seculares: La Violencia Anticlerical (1936-1939)," in *Izquierda obrera y religión en España,* eds. Julio de la Cueva y Feliciano Montero (Universidad de Alcalá, 2012), 235.

5 Conclusion

Spanish governments over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries failed to address the destitution and exploitation of the peasantry in the southern *latufundia* and the growing urban working classes of the center and the northeast. Instead, discontent was met with repression and the majority of the country's working population was excluded from any real control over their society or their own lives, at least until the troubled and fateful period of the Second Republic. In the Vasco-Navarre region the Basques suffered the loss of regional autonomy and feared the prospect of the secular, dehumanizing aspects of modernization transforming their world. The neglected "agrarian question" of land reform, which festered in Spain in its own particular way for over a century, created the basis of anarchist support. The preservation of a relatively unchanged agrarian society in the northeast created the basis for a conservative and defensive, ideology, while the menacing forces of modernization – industrialism, secularism and capitalism – generated the support for a radical solution in Carlism.

The paradox was that Carlism and anarchism as social movements were made possible by those modernizing forces. They went from being simple revolutionary movements to complex social movements with arrays of specialized organizations, almost microcosms of states, in the late 19th century when material and social conditions did not just enable but encouraged such formations. The working classes were increasingly driven out of their rural communities for the factory or the city or the mine, for new kinds of mechanized work in an amoral system that dehumanized the labourer. At the same

moment, new technologies and social structures were making working men and women much more autonomous and influential than ever before. Charles Tilly speaks of processes like parliamentization and capitalization as key components that made social movements possible, but technological and material changes had an equally important impact on the liberation of ordinary people: the development of a cheap and free press, a national railway system that made such events as national congresses of workers feasible and successful, not to mention the pistol and the Orsini bomb.

The material conditions in which people lived had an enormous impact on their political ideas, but the content of their ideas mattered too. The material and cultural innovation of modernity made Carlism and anarchism social movements with mass followings, but Carlists and anarchists made modern Spain as much as they were made by it. What their commonality as modern movements demonstrates is that they were not simply outraged peasants rebelling against a modern order in the name of a primitive religious or community life: they were inventive alternatives to the model of modernization imposed from above by liberals and capitalists. In short, they were not rebelling against modernity, they wanted to interpret it in the interests of those who were being harmed by its implementation. What was most interesting about their alternative interpretations of modernity is that, despite having antithetical ideas about justice and truth, they both emphasized an uncompromising commitment to a moral standard, even at the risk of losing the cause.

Furthermore, examining the structural and contextual forces for the development of these two movements can cause one to forget that human agency has an enormous impact on how historical circumstances unfold. Anarchism and Carlism grew because intelligent and (perhaps more importantly) dedicated individuals embraced it and drove it forward – Carlism would have been a very different movement without the reforms of the Marquis de Cerralbo; anarchism would developed differently if not for the like of Fermín Salvochea.[212] The core ideals of anarchism – liberty, equality, mutual dependence, and independence from the state, were compelling ideas in their own right, especially when promoted by charismatic individuals. Carlism was the same, but for different reasons. It appealed to a noble sense, the veneration of heritage and a moral code untainted by the new values of liberal Spain. Its narrow interpretation of Catholicism could be put aside when it appealed in simple terms to dedication to virtue and charity.

Each movement's sense of heroism, the sacrifice and risk of defeat for a moral principle, was intrinsic to the content of their ideologies. In calling them heroic I hope to elicit a sense of the basic decency that ordinary Carlists and anarchists believed in, fought and died for. Their dedication, to rebel against the most powerful forces in the country in the desire to create a moral community, without compromise on that point and without clever tricks, made them compelling to ordinary people when they were seemingly

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[212] After his death in 1907, the figure of Salvochea, who had struggled much and was victorious in little in life, loomed large in Spanish culture. He appeared as an admirable character in several novels and inspired many people. Even *El Siglo Futuro* complained that the anarchist press treated him "like an ascetic, an apostle, a hero, a saint…" (1 octubre 1907, front page). A few years after his death, José Olmo, the leader of an anarchist movement in the small municipality of Medina Sidonia (Cádiz), who had been jailed (not for the first time) for his activities was being interrogated and was asked for his name. Olmo, perhaps apocryphically, replied "My name is Fermín Salvochea," - an answer which apparently instigated a severe beating from the guards. Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 29.

abandoned by the state to the predations of capital and tyranny. It was a reciprocal relationship: with little power (the Carlists) or no power (the anarchists) within the state, moral purity was one of their few sources of real strength.

Although Carlism and anarchism were antithetical in ideology and were rooted in very different communities, they were not simply afraid of each other. Instead, they were generally dismissive and contemptuous of the other. Over 60 years of co-existence in Spain before the civil war, there were very few instances of clashes between them, most of these coming in the terse years of the 1920s and 1930s, when the crisis of industrial and agrarian exploitation was on the verge of a general explosion. They were far more concerned with the struggle against the state, regardless whether a particular regime was more favourable to their ideas or not.

From the available evidence it appears that Carlism and anarchism were culturally entrenched in particular economic and political communities. It is now impossible to say, but Carlism was making inroads with the urban proletariat in cities like Seville and Barcelona thanks to a new emphasis on workers' rights, and may have possessed a capacity to attract workers in significant numbers. But Carlism's narrow values and veneration of heritage made them much more exclusive than anarchism and made it difficult to attract liberal-minded individuals. In addition, (as we have seen), individuals who were ostracized or otherwise alienated from their traditional community, whether they were the black sheep of a Carlist family, or a small enclave of industrial workers in a

Basque town, were the type to convert to anarchism, and over time fell away from Carlism.

Carlists and anarchists were capable of co-existing in times and places of economic and political stability despite their animosities. Eruptions of violence and persecution occur within the context of larger catastrophes, economic depression or civil war. In these times, their disposition to treat the other as an enemy increased. The perception of the other as a threat, an enemy, distorted the reality and the humanity of that other, but from their point of view they were making as realistic and ethical an assessment as they were able. The more hostile that the other becomes, the more the distorted picture becomes reality. What they did not see in each other was their shared desire for an ideal society that would manifest truth and justice, that such profound divergences of belief could not possibly share a basic decency at root.

The perception of an enemy other is inherently distorted because an enemy is by definition a threat. It is difficult and often unwise to empathize with or concur with someone who poses a threat. But beyond this, the enemy other can be conjured out of the absolutism of one's own ideology. Carlists and anarchists envisioned flawless social utopias where the constituents behaved without deviation according to an ideal moral code. Incapable of accepting that corruption, conflict, suffering and ignorance were realities of human life that could not be abolished by the imposition of a moral order, Carlists and anarchists instead believed that their ideological opponents must be the

source of all that would undermine the perfection of their utopia. The more deeply the anarchist or the Carlist believed in the perfection of their ideas, the more the different beliefs of others became dangerous. The ambiguities of reality itself threaten to undermine their ideals. And ultimately, each side, in viewing the other as an intransigent threat, became themselves more threatening, and in the devastating Spanish civil war proved the other correct about the danger they posed.

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