

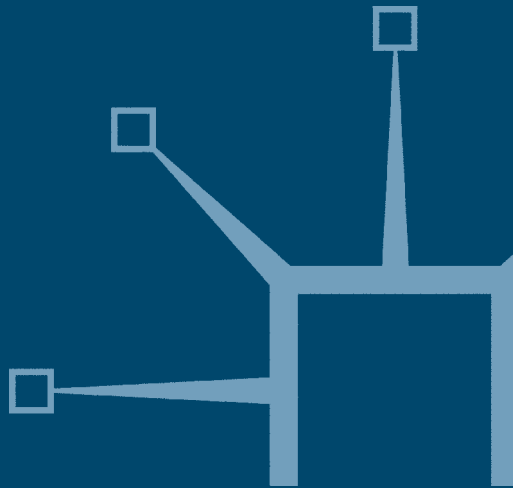
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# The Agony of Spanish Liberalism

From Revolution to Dictatorship 1913–23

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Edited by  
Francisco J. Romero Salvadó  
and Angel Smith



# The Agony of Spanish Liberalism

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# The Agony of Spanish Liberalism

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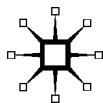
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# 5

## 'The Red Dawn' of the Andalusian Countryside: Peasant Protest during the 'Bolshevik Triennium', 1918–20

*Francisco Cobo Romero*

### What was the Andalusian 'Trienio Bolchevique'?

The years 1918–20 were fundamental in the modern history of the Andalusian peasant movement. The post-war economic dislocation and the rocketing prices of basic commodities brought about by Spain's neutrality during the First World War resulted in a dramatic deterioration in the living conditions of a vast legion of landless peasants (*jornaleros* or *braceros*)<sup>1</sup> from the south of the Iberian peninsula. In Andalusia, agrarian capitalism made giant strides with the gradual incorporation of small and medium-sized holdings into a market economy sustained by a large and impoverished labour force.<sup>2</sup> This made possible the rapid extension in contractual relationships between *jornaleros* and small landowners and sharecroppers resulting in higher numbers of disputes between these groups due to the post-war inflationary cycle. Furthermore, in a still poorly mechanized agricultural sector, the profits of the big landowners depended on the maintenance of extremely low salaries. Better pay demands from *jornaleros*, progressively more organized in trade unions, were therefore systematically refused.

Growing labour tensions, well illustrated by the explosion of strike activity during the years 1918–20, lent credence to the belief in the collapse of the 'old bourgeois world', fuelled by the Bolshevik Revolution and the sudden defeat of the Central Powers. Amidst a highly charged atmosphere infused with political proclamations announcing the 'definitive demise' of the 'liberal capitalist order', the Andalusian *jornaleros'* Socialist and Anarchist trade unions initiated a vast campaign of social agitation<sup>3</sup> that was to play a significant role in undermining



the foundations of the Restoration regime. The echoes of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the deep emotional impact produced by the expropriation of the land of the nobility and its subsequent handover to the Russian peasantry, awakened intense hopes and expectations amongst the *braceros*. Juan Díaz del Moral, a leading *agrarista*<sup>4</sup> and a direct witness of this period of labour mobilization dubbed it '*el trienio bolchevique*' ('the Bolshevik Triennium').<sup>5</sup>

The agrarian bourgeoisie and the rural oligarchy reacted with panic to the outbreak of the revolt and launched a virulent propaganda campaign in which the strike activity and the *jornaleros*' demands were equated with the symptoms of the feared social revolution.<sup>6</sup> From 1918 a powerful wave of social mobilization and popular protest engulfed practically all of Spain's southern provinces, hitting Jaén, Málaga and Sevilla with particular intensity. Although the agitation mainly sought to improve salaries and existing agrarian conditions, some *jornaleros*' trade union leaders, both Anarchists and Socialists, were carried away by the 'collective euphoria' and proclaimed the start of a genuine 'revolutionary red dawn'.<sup>7</sup> They believed that they were witnessing an 'awakening' that would not only end the hegemony of the hated landowners but would also establish a new moral, political and social order.<sup>8</sup> This 'new era' would lead to land redistribution, the formal recognition of the *jornaleros*' unions' collective bargaining rights and the establishment of labour contracts highly favourable to the interests of the peasantry.

### **Prologue: Agrarian modernization and peasant mobilization**

The Andalusian peasantry underwent significant transformations during the last years of the 19th century and the first of the 20th century. The de facto privatization of important tracts of land, hitherto of common use, prevented the rural population from obtaining those staple products that had previously been freely available to them.<sup>9</sup> This led to a greater dependence of small landowners and sharecroppers on the commercial power of the market, while condemning the *jornaleros* to survive only on the wages offered by their agrarian employers.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, the expansion in some labour-intensive crops, increasingly orientated towards market demand, allowed small landowners to increase their turnover.<sup>11</sup>

Hence, like many other regions of Southern and Western Europe, between the 1870s and 1930s Andalusian agriculture experienced a powerful reorientation towards the needs of the international markets.

This led to positive innovations: a greater specialization in those crops that offered better returns. The number of landowners who profited from the expansion of labour-intensive crops such as olives, grapes and fruits grew significantly, particularly in eastern Andalusia. These crops were highly adaptable to small agrarian enterprises and family-based peasant economies, and therefore spurred the growth in the number of small landowners and sharecroppers as well as *jornaleros*.<sup>12</sup> The urgency to harvest certain crops and the demand for an abundant labour force led small landowners and sharecroppers to hire *jornaleros* with increasing frequency and, consequently, to a rise in labour interactions.<sup>13</sup>

Spain's neutrality in the First World War provided the critical conditions, in nearly all of Andalusia, for an increase in strikes and conflicts aimed at obtaining improved wages and working conditions for the *jornaleros*.<sup>14</sup> This new focus on concrete demands led the reformist or gradualist principles held by the Socialists of the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers' Union – UGT) and the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party – PSOE) to become more appealing to many of the *jornaleros'* associations that had emerged at the start of the 20th century. This explains the unusually fast growth of Socialist organizations in the provinces of Córdoba, Jaén, Almería, Granada and Málaga during the years 1918–20.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, there were signs of glaring divisions within the peasantry as small sharecroppers began to adopt positions close to those defended by the big landowners, especially when it came to maximizing profits.

Parallel to the aforementioned process of agrarian and labour modernization, a profound reorganization of electoral and political participation took place in Andalusia. From the early 20th century, both Republicans and Socialists strove for a genuine democratization of local power.<sup>16</sup> They sought to cleanse municipal politics and to transform town halls into places responsive to the interests of poor peasants and *jornaleros*. In their attempt to mobilize rural society politically, the Socialists won the support of large numbers of these *jornaleros*. Their growing politicization awakened a corresponding interest in national politics amongst small landowners and sharecroppers in a context in which, in an increasingly commercialized agrarian economy, market prices often depended on state decisions in areas such as tariff barriers, regulation of wages, working hours and taxation.<sup>17</sup>

It was, above all, during the 'Bolshevik Triennium' when the final internal fracture of the Andalusian peasantry took place. Growing social tensions were reflected in the different attitudes adopted by the distinct sectors of the agrarian population. It was a decisive moment in

the politicization of the rural world as *jornaleros* joined trade unions in order to strengthen their bargaining power in the labour market and to obtain better wages to cope with the rising living costs and the mounting prices of staple products. Left-wing parties, particularly the PSOE, took advantage of the situation to tap into the hitherto largely spontaneous *jornaleros'* political mobilization. In turn, the growing political activism of the *jornaleros* stimulated small farmers and sharecroppers to follow suit, although they oscillated between backing political organizations of conservative, traditionalist or Catholic leanings, all dominated by the rich landowners.<sup>18</sup> All these issues will now be considered in greater detail.

### **The actors, the international context, the *Jornaleros'* new trade unionism and the allegorical building of the revolution**

#### **The impact of the First World War on the Spanish economy: The crisis of staple products**

The wave of rural strikes and social conflict during the years 1918–20 in Andalusia resulted from the extraordinary conditions brought about by Spain's neutrality during the First World War. Galloping inflation resulted in the deterioration of living standards due to the inability of wages to keep up with the rocketing prices of staple products. This highly inflationary situation facilitated the sudden transformation of existing social tensions into significantly greater and more intense labour struggles. Simultaneously, landowners gained massive profits from the high prices achieved by a large number of essential products, mainly due to the unprecedented external demand from the belligerent countries.<sup>19</sup>

Statistics on the social conflicts of the years 1918–20 show that most strike activity was over wages, followed by demands for substantial improvements in working conditions, for the official recognition of collective bargaining by the trade unions, and finally in solidarity with other workers' associations. The strike wave of 1918–20 made possible a significant increase in the average wages paid for agrarian labour, as can be seen in Table 5.1.

#### **The reorganization of the *Jornaleros'* trade union movement and the symbolic resurgence of strike activity**

The politics of mass mobilization gained momentum after the end of the First World War. This is well illustrated by the increasing number of demands put forward by various popular movements. At the same time,

Table 5.1 Agrarian salaries in Spain, 1910–26

Year	Average wages (pesetas/day)*	Index (1910 = 100)	% of variability
1910	1.96	100	–
1914	1.96	100	± 0.00
1915	2.19	112	+ 11.73
1916	2.34	119	+ 6.84
1918	3.09	157	+ 32.05
1919	4.53	231	+ 46.40
1920	4.97	253	+ 9.71
1921	4.90	250	– 1.40
1922	5.35	273	+ 9.18
1925	5.23	267	– 2.24
1926	5.12	261	– 2.10

Note: \* Average wages expressed in pesetas of the era.

Source: Miguel Ángel Gutiérrez Bringas, 'Un intento de reconstruir una variante del nivel de vida del campesinado: los salarios agrícolas en España, 1756–1935', in *Preactas del VIII Congreso de Historia Agraria*, (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1997), p. 77. My elaboration.

the political violence, radicalism and dehumanization of the enemy, generated by the tragic experience of mass slaughter that surrounded the First World War, led to support for a more revolutionary strategy by the Left.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, encouraged by the discrediting of the old pre-war liberal oligarchies, a protest wave – and deep social upheaval – engulfed a good deal of Europe.<sup>21</sup> Within these new parameters, the stability of the liberal order on which the traditional hegemony of the bourgeoisie had rested, was under serious threat.<sup>22</sup> During the second decade of the 20th century, and particularly following the end of the First World War, a sudden and vast cycle of protest erupted in most industrialized countries. In agrarian economies with a large presence of *jornaleros*, the creation of increasingly depersonalized large labour markets took place.<sup>23</sup> Such economies were marked by profound inequalities in the incomes of the different social groups, by the political domination exerted by the rich landowners' oligarchy and by the high degree of concentration of the land. While old contractual relations were breaking down, a new rich agrarian bourgeoisie emerged and market-based models of labour contracts came into place.<sup>24</sup> All these factors accelerated the establishment, amongst *jornaleros* and *braceros*, of permanent and well-structured unions.

In areas of Mediterranean agriculture characterized by a historic concentration of the land and the high numbers of landless workers, new models of Socialist and/or Anarchist trade unionism emerged. In

Italy, both the powerful Socialist agrarian leagues and the revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalists embraced formulas of combat against the employers that went far beyond the old-fashioned local strikes.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, new regulations in the labour market, hugely beneficial to the workers, appeared in some regions dominated by landed estates and very productive export-orientated agriculture such as the Mezzogiorno (Apulia and Campania), and the northern area of the Po Valley (Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy and the Piedmont). Amongst them, we should mention the *imponibile di manodopera* (the compulsory hiring of a specific number of rural workers) and the *collocamento di classe* (the fair distribution of employment opportunities amongst the *jornaleros* of each area). Some of these measures were adopted as their strike demands by the rural Socialist unions, and to a lesser extent by the Anarchists, in rural Andalusia from the beginning of the 20th century.

Within this new framework, the rural class struggle in Andalusia during the years 1918–1920 witnessed the sudden emergence of demands for the radical transformation of the capitalist order in the countryside. It largely responded to the echoes of the Bolshevik Revolution (with its land collectivization and redistribution amongst the peasantry), as well as to the radicalization of a revolutionary syndicalism characteristic of an agrarian capitalism with a strong *jornalero* element. It was the Anarchists in Andalusia who, above all, contributed to the combining of many of these revolutionary proposals, merging them with strikes and demands for reforms. In doing so, they believed that popular mobilization to obtain small gains constituted a genuine '*gimnasia sindicalista*'<sup>26</sup> to prepare the workers for the expected 'revolutionary general strike' that ultimately would give rise to a new social order based on the principles of collectivism, equality and fair distribution of the wealth generated by the land.<sup>27</sup>

The consolidation of all these concepts amongst rural Andalusian Anarchists was facilitated by their reception of the ideological principles and programme of 'revolutionary syndicalism', which had made its mark on the international trade union world since the start of the 20th century. The revolutionary syndicalist model contained a rich symbolic construction of the class struggle and the seizure of power in capitalist societies. At the same time, it recreated an idealized vision of the titanic struggle to destroy capitalism and the bourgeoisie founded on the deification of the working class, the sublimation of direct action,<sup>28</sup> and the hope for the revolutionary transformation of capitalism through the establishment of a new socio-moral order based on workers' control of a collectivized economy.<sup>29</sup>

## The political landscape: Opportunities and framework for collective action

### Growing political opportunities

The so-called Spanish 'crisis of neutrality' of the years 1914–18 accelerated the political difficulties of the traditional liberal elites. It resulted largely from the economic dislocation produced by the First World War, the reorientation of trade and the shortages of basic products. This led to rising strike activity, the heightening of social tensions and the occupation of the public space by the popular classes and their political and union representatives. Amidst a framework of political turmoil and distress, the anti-monarchist forces built up a seductive discourse that singled out 'the corrupt governments' of the 'decrepit' ruling order for all the evils suffered by the population. Consequently, left-wing forces (Republicans, Socialists and Anarchists) increased their mobilizing capacity and hence their opportunity to bring about political change.

New political opportunities resulted from the 'crisis' of 1917 and the governments' growing instability in the last period of the liberal state. The mounting discredit of the liberal governing class went hand in hand with the frontal rejection of the corrupt practices of Restoration Spain. In 1918, when the PSOE partially returned to its reformist tactics,<sup>30</sup> it launched a 'crusade' to bring morality to local politics and directed its efforts to fighting the political and electoral corruption ingrained in town halls and rural life.

For their part, encouraged by the radicalized class struggle, the Anarchists of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Labour Confederation – CNT) promoted a vast strike movement in industrialized Barcelona,<sup>31</sup> and in the southern areas with capitalist agriculture. Since the Congress of Sants (Barcelona, 28 June–1 July 1918), the Anarchists had embraced the tactics of revolutionary syndicalism and the general strike.<sup>32</sup> They also undertook an intense reorganization based on the adoption of the so-called *Sindicatos Únicos* (unions that embraced all those branches that belonged to the same industrial sector).

The parliamentary deadlock also facilitated the growth of political dissidence. The immediate result was the sharpening of political confrontation, the most perceptible consequence of which was the ritual identification of the anti-dynastic political culture as the embodiment of the generic interests of 'the people', while the representatives of the ruling order were identified with the mean interests of the old oligarchy and its notables.

## **New mobilization patterns and changing frameworks**

### *a) The Anarchist interpretation of revolution in the countryside*

From the 1880s, the Spanish Anarchists reconsidered their ideological programme and embraced the defence of collectivism and the joint ownership of the means of production in agriculture. Such a position was already in the process of being adopted at the famous 1881 congress in Barcelona that established the *Federación de Trabajadores de la Región Española* (Federation of Workers of the Spanish Region – FTRE). The following year at the FTRE's Sevilla congress, Spanish Anarchism broke with Proudhonian ideas – advocating the democratic takeover of the means of production by workers' communes – and adopted the more radical collectivist stance defended by Michael Bakunin. Simultaneously, the ancestral 'formula of [land] redistribution' was idealistically recreated. The ultimate dream was the construction of an idyllic future society based on a federation of independent peasants' collectives to be responsible for managing all the available resources.<sup>33</sup>

From the early 20th century, revolutionary syndicalist currents began to influence Andalusian Anarchism to a greater degree. Thus, intense propaganda campaigns during 1902 and 1903 contributed to the forging of a new union model better adapted to the expanding capitalist agrarian markets.<sup>34</sup> Through the use of a new discourse, the Anarchists managed to spread a symbolic and ritualized view of themselves as a crucial part of a vast front immersed in a brutal and merciless struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Indeed, the idealized image of the Andalusian peasantry contained surprisingly large numbers of quasi-religious, mythic and messianic elements.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, the Anarchists' forecast that the working class would be saved from the capitalist yoke became a powerful tool of social and union mobilization and agitation.<sup>36</sup> The assimilation by the Spanish Anarchists of rural insurrectionary tactics facilitated the intense upheaval experienced by the Andalusian peasantry during the years 1903–5 and after 1918.

It can thus be affirmed that from the beginning of the 20th century the Andalusian Anarchists embarked upon a process of adaptation, attempting, with greater or lesser success, to confront the changing nature of capitalist relations in the agrarian world and that of the agrarian labour markets. They abandoned the tactics of individual terrorism and propaganda by the deed and instead sought the constitution of stable, disciplined and well-rooted campaigns, with revolutionary syndicalism as their hegemonic strategy.<sup>37</sup>

They experienced impressive growth following the Córdoba congress of 17–20 April 1913, which set up the *Federación Nacional de Obreros*

Agricultores de España (Spanish Federation of Landworkers – FNOA). The FNOA, in which the Andalusian Anarchists took the lead, embraced revolutionary syndicalist ideals and counted amongst its ultimate objectives the establishment of an anarchist society, to be achieved by a 'revolutionary general strike'. The collective ownership of the land and the suppression of private property became basic tenants from the outset. 'The land for those who work it' was the maxim par excellence of rural Anarchist trade unionism. This final aspiration went hand in hand with the task of educating the peasantry. Furthermore, the struggle for small reforms was seen as a worthwhile practice that would strengthen the peasantry in its ethical and organizational preparation for the final clash against the bourgeoisie and agrarian capitalism.<sup>38</sup>

After the congress in Vilanova i la Geltrú (Barcelona) in 1916, the FNOA agreed that it should 'channel the propaganda campaign towards the achievement of wage rises and a reduction in the working day'. Even though the principal demand continued to be the handover of land to the peasants, they also pursued several additional goals: the illegalization of the labour of women and children below 14 years of age in the countryside, the lowering of the price of staple products, the establishment of a minimum wage (that, from 1918, was to be fixed by each workers' society according to the nature of the agrarian tasks in a given area), the extension of the Workplace Accidents Law from industry to the peasantry, the abolition of piecework and, finally, a reduction in the working day.<sup>39</sup> Embracing a programme of immediate reforms for agrarian workers, combined with their long-term objectives, proved to be a successful formula.

#### *b) The Socialists' discourse on the 'agrarian question'*

At the same time, the Socialists became leading protagonists in the political and union mobilization of the Andalusian *jornaleros*. From the early 20th century, the Spanish Socialists expressed a growing interest in recruiting activists amongst the peasantry. Nevertheless, their growth lagged behind the *jornaleros'* own spontaneous mobilization.<sup>40</sup> Left-wing parties and unions, and particularly the PSOE and the UGT, took advantage of the *jornaleros'* tendency to join trade unions to foster the political awareness of the agrarian workers. This facilitated their strategy of transforming the capitalist and liberal state through the democratization of town halls, local councils and even the national parliament.<sup>41</sup>

The Spanish Socialists adopted the analysis of the agrarian question dominant within Western European social democracy since the



end of the 19th century.<sup>42</sup> Like their European counterparts,<sup>43</sup> they explained the development and transformation of the agrarian sector from an evolutionary perspective. They believed that the rise of market capitalism in the countryside would reveal the superior efficiency and competitiveness of large mechanized estates. They therefore defended the economic superiority of large agrarian enterprises and were convinced that the expansion of agrarian capitalism would contribute to the concentration of land.<sup>44</sup> Large properties were considered beneficial since once socialism had seized power the large landed estates would be expropriated and subsequently handed over to poor peasants and *jornaleros*, who were the main target of the Socialists' message regarding the structural transformation of capitalist agriculture. They explained the backwardness of Spain's agriculture by referring to the dualism of *latifundio–minifundio*,<sup>45</sup> and blamed the big landed estates, which had been strengthened by the land disentailment of the 19th century, for the poor returns of the primary sector, stressing the absenteeism of the agrarian bourgeoisie, and the big landowners' lack of interest in the modernization of their properties. In sum, the *latifundismo* of the southern agrarian regions was seen as the ultimate cause for the backwardness of Spain's agriculture.<sup>46</sup>

Well-known *agraristas* committed to innovative projects of agrarian reform, such as Pascual Carrión,<sup>47</sup> or Socialist leaders such as Fernando de los Ríos<sup>48</sup> or Antoni Fabra i Ribas,<sup>49</sup> totally endorsed this interpretative paradigm. They all singled out the unfair land distribution, the labour-intensive nature of the big landed estates and the alleged apathy shown by the speculative bourgeoisie with regard to the adoption of modernizing techniques. Hence the Spanish Socialists aimed at the mobilization of the *jornaleros* to achieve the elimination of agrarian capitalism and its worst features: *latifundismo* and bourgeois absenteeism. In the meantime, they would pursue a number of demands that would improve the living conditions of the agrarian workers, such as the eight-hour working day, the minimum wage, the abolition of piecework and the enjoyment by agrarian workers of insurance benefits in case of unemployment or accidents and also for old age. Nevertheless, given the persistence of family-owned farms, the UGT-PSOE also proposed, as laid out in its agrarian programme of 1918, a large number of measures in order to appeal to that constituency.<sup>50</sup> During the early 20th century, rural Socialists (particularly in Andalusia) therefore pursued a reformist strategy that ultimately was expected to lead to the socialization of the land and the means of production (with the exception of small landowners), and the end of the capitalist landowning

regime.<sup>51</sup> The Socialists thus promoted a type of state-controlled agrarian reformism, combined with the formulation of new demands, strikes and the political mobilization of the *jornaleros*, to bring democracy to local politics.<sup>52</sup>

### The actual development of events

During the triennium of 1918–20 labour conflicts attained an unprecedented level of co-ordination and intensity in nearly all of Andalusia (see Table 5.2) but this was particularly so in the provinces of Córdoba, Jaén and Málaga. The short-term cause for this new 'cycle of protest' was the impact of the inflation provoked by the First World War (rising prices of basic commodities, stagnation of salaries, the widening gap between wages and cost of living, etc.).<sup>53</sup> Other social, cultural and political factors, however, need to be added. Anarchists, Socialists, Republicans and Regionalists were protagonists of intense propaganda campaigns in rural Andalusia from 1902–3. These campaigns gained momentum first during 1916–18 and then in 1919–20.<sup>54</sup> They spread a modernizing discourse, denouncing the agrarian oligarchy and its unchanged *caciquista* practices. They also painted an image of a selfish bourgeoisie, whose monopoly of wealth and power resulted in the misery and deprivation of the working population.

Despite the workers' demands being couched in reformist terms during the 'Bolshevik Triennium', the rural employers invariably responded with extreme harshness. The conflicts took place immediately before the start of the two crucial harvests: cereals and the collection of olives.<sup>55</sup> The *jornaleros'* unions demanded wage rises, the regulation of breaks in the working day, the abolition of piecework, the reduction in the

Table 5.2 Strikes registered in four Andalusian provinces, 1917–22

Provinces	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Córdoba	–	117	141	64	–	–
Granada	5	33	46	28	7	9
Jaén	9	37	69	73	8	5
Málaga	7	23	81	51	6	11
Total	21	210	337	216	21	25

Source: Ángeles González, 'La construcción de un mito. El trienio bolchevique en Andalucía', in Manuel González de Molina and Diego Caro Cancela (eds), *La utopía racional. Estudios sobre el movimiento obrero andaluz* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2001), pp. 175–219. My elaboration.

use of agricultural machinery and the restriction of the employment of 'foreigners' (workers coming from outside the locality of the employing landed estate). The employers reacted with the brutal persecution of the workers, the closing of their centres, the banning of demonstrations and the imprisonment of their leaders and propagandists.<sup>56</sup>

Córdoba and Jaén were especially important because of the intensity, symbolic character and number of conflicts. In the province of Córdoba, from June 1918, the employers' resistance to demands for improved labour contracts during the harvest triggered numerous strikes in the town of Castro del Río. These conflicts then spread to the other main towns of the province, worsening in July. Social upheaval increased with the constant demand for wage increases, employers' fulfilment of their traditional duty of feeding and lodging labourers, and rising petitions for measures to solve the issue of unemployment after the harvest. There were soon outbreaks of rural violence such as the burning of crops, pillaging and theft of cereals and livestock. From late October, a new cycle of peasant conflict spread across the province of Córdoba, marked particularly by the co-ordination of workers' demands, both among the different unions (Anarchists, Socialists or Republicans) and also between different regions.

Rising strike activity coincided with the organization of a congress in Castro del Río (Córdoba) between 25 and 27 October 1918. It was dominated by Anarcho-Syndicalists delegates, although there were also Republican representatives from 30 villages. Nearly all the delegates came from Córdoba, with a few from Sevilla and Jaén. During this crucial event agreement was reached on some general demands: better pay for harvesting the olives (wages of 5 pesetas), a reduction in the working day, longer breaks and the end of piecework.<sup>57</sup> Following these resolutions, new stoppages took place in large areas of the province of Córdoba, with 43 villages on strike in November and 17 disputes in December.<sup>58</sup>

The intensification and spread of the labour conflict from the autumn of 1918 provoked, as at the turn of the century, an intense debate in the regional and Madrid press on the increasingly grave 'Andalusian rural social problem'. As well as some leading politicians, distinguished members of the intellectual world such as José Ortega y Gasset, Pascual Carrión, Fabián Vidal, Julio Álvarez del Vayo and Blas Infante intervened. Meanwhile, the Conservative press wasted no time in creating a state of panic, stirred up by constant references to the Bolshevik Revolution. In early February 1919, the Instituto de Reformas Sociales<sup>59</sup> sent a commission to Córdoba to obtain first-hand reports on the attitudes of both

sides.<sup>60</sup> This commission gathered many witness statements from workers' as well as employers' associations. Its conclusion – that arbitration should be used for pending conflicts – was reached just when the first strike wave had already left its deepest imprint.

Spurred by the employers' intransigence towards the *jornaleros'* demands, a general strike was declared during the second half of May 1919, just before that year's harvest. This time the stoppage spread throughout the Guadalquivir valley, hitting the provinces of Córdoba, Jaén and Sevilla. In the province of Córdoba alone, over 30 towns responded to the strike call. The gravity of the situation provoked the declaration, on 29 May, of martial law in the province. The interior minister sent 20,000 troops headed by the general of the Civil Guard, Manuel de la Barrera. The army occupied the villages, closed the workers' centres and deported large numbers of leading militants.<sup>61</sup> The military's severe repression resulted in a tragic tally of many workers' leaders imprisoned, others beaten and some strikers killed.<sup>62</sup>

Despite the powerful governmental response, the employers' refusal to fulfil the agreements previously reached provoked the resumption of strike action throughout the summer in several provinces, particularly in Córdoba, where the stoppage again acquired a violent dimension. A striker shot dead the mayor of Moriles. Almost simultaneously, acts of sabotage were committed everywhere, including crop burning in places such as Espiel (where the estate 'El Plata' was destroyed), Villafranca (where the farmhouse 'La Posadilla' was wrecked), Almodóvar, Cabra, Posadas, Bujalance, Castro del Río and many more.<sup>63</sup> Demands from rural employers for decisive measures were heeded: implacable military intervention on behalf of landowners, arrests and deportation of workers' leaders, immediate closure of meeting places, censorship of their newspapers and troops used to help with the harvesting.

Events in Jaén, one of the provinces most deeply shaken by the strike wave of this period, are equally revealing. There was a significant increase in political and social conflict throughout 1918. The year began with a workers' gathering in the town of Linares which concluded with the demand for cheaper staple products and the summoning of a demonstration that was attended by 3,000 people.<sup>64</sup> Rural strikes took place in, amongst other towns, Villampordo and Mancha Real. There were demonstrations against *caciques'* and employers' abuses of power in Cambil, and similar events occurred in Jaén and Linares in July and August.

Events in 1919 were even more prolific in terms of social conflict. There were frequent meetings between workers and employers to discuss

labour contracts. They established the peasants' right to collective bargaining and the procedures by which employers could hire manpower. These results, which were only obtained with threats of strike action, caused fear amongst Jaén's landowning class. Thus the brutal repression against the most active militants that ensued in 1919–20 was marked by all types of coercive practices and the constant use of the police. Alarming messages from the landowners to the civil governor revealed their deeply ingrained fear at the spread and radicalization of the social conflict. The Bolshevik Revolution and the immense impact of the revolutionary changes taking place in the Russian countryside sparked a mood of euphoria and exaltation among the *jornaleros* that coloured the tense relations between them and employers during the years 1919 and 1920. The employers' reaction was not long in coming and disproportionate. From the spring of 1919, the civil governor decreed a number of harsh measures. Workers' centres were closed, the Socialist press was banned, workers' meeting places were under constant surveillance, and the Civil Guard was used to search for weapons. The repression served to exacerbate existing tensions. A new wave of strikes and disturbances began in May in Higuera de Arjona and soon spread to the towns of Arjona, Baeza, Lopera and Porcuna. In the latter two towns, numerous groups of *jornaleros* – 2,000 in Lopera – demanded pay increases and better labour contracts. The approaching summer cereal harvest increased the intensity of the conflict. There were strikes and labour disturbances in Lopera, Escañuela, Arjona and Mancha Real. In the latter two towns the employers responded by closing the workers' centres. Further clashes led to the burning of cornfields in Arjona, Lopera, Andújar, Las Casillas de Martos and Jabalquinto. A harvesting machine was deliberately wrecked in Higuera de Calatrava.<sup>65</sup> The start of the quiet season (after the summer) for agriculture provoked an increase in unemployment but did nothing to ease the employers' fears. A general strike took place in October in the provincial capital of Jaén.

In November, the Workers' Provincial Federation of Jaén (affiliated to the UGT) expressed its solidarity with the growing discomfort felt by workers in that province and protested on behalf of its nearly 20,000 members against the outrages committed against the workers' centres of Baeza, Porcuna and Mancha Real, as well as against the arrests and deportations of labour leaders. It was, however, the onset of the olive harvest when rural disturbances reached their height. The rising living costs and the employers' resolve to keep wages low provoked a proliferation of social unrest over nearly all the province. There were incidents and strikes in Lopera, Arjona, Arjonilla, Alcaudete, Mancha Real,

Jaén, Martos, Baeza, Torredelcampo and Torredonjimeno. Amidst this upheaval, the Workers' Provincial Federation backed a campaign for the suspension of piecework, the payment of a minimum wage of 5 pesetas for men and 2.50 for women and children.

Violent clashes between strikers and the Civil Guard soon took place. The rising tension provoked an enraged response from employers. In some cases, the repression was brutal. Workers were beaten in Cambil, Villacarrillo and Villanueva del Arzobispo; there were also beatings and arrests in Baeza and Arjona. In the middle of a general strike, there were violent clashes between the striking *jornaleros* and the Civil Guard, with 18 workers injured and a little girl killed in a shooting. The Civil Guard also used firepower in Porcuna where over 100 strikers were arrested. In Torredonjimeno, women participated in pickets against piecework. The Civil Guard stormed the workers' centre in Baeza creating havoc, while in Arcona an irate crowd set upon a couple of Civil Guards leading to a shoot-out.<sup>66</sup>

The wave of strikes began to decline in 1920. This year was also marked by a dramatic increase in the number of Socialists elected to Andalusian town halls – a total of 204 were returned in the municipal elections held in February of that year. They obtained 28 per cent of the votes in Jaén, gaining 68 councillors, and even managed to get the typographer José Morales Robles elected as mayor of the provincial capital.

### **Developments: The erosion of *Caciquismo* and the agrarian employers' corporate and authoritarian temptation**

The most obvious consequence of the wave of strikes that took place during the years 1918–20 was probably the rapid rise in the number of *jornaleros* joining agrarian Socialist or Anarchist trade unions. With regard to the Anarchist trade unions, following an intense propaganda campaign in rural areas, the number of workers affiliated to CNT unions rose from 3,623 in September 1918 to the amazing figure of 113,214 in December 1919.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, workers' and peasants' provincial federations affiliated to the UGT were formed in all the Andalusian provinces except for Huelva and Cádiz.<sup>68</sup> By the end of 1919, there were 68,596 *jornaleros* and peasants in Socialist organizations (a figure which fell to some 30,617 in 1920).<sup>69</sup> PSOE membership also underwent a significant increase, from 2,689 in 1917 to a total of 25,577 in 1919 (see Table 5.3).<sup>70</sup>

The growth in Socialist membership culminated with the holding of the Peasant Congress of Andalusia and Extremadura in October 1920 in the capital of Jaén. Steps were then taken – although ultimately

Table 5.3 Members of the Socialist and Anarchist unions in Andalusia, 1918–22

Province	UGT			CNT	
	1918 <sup>1</sup>	1920 <sup>2</sup>	1922 <sup>2</sup>	1918 <sup>1</sup>	1919 <sup>1</sup>
Almería	162	1,619	99	–	192
Cádiz	527	–	600	410	24,597
Córdoba	6,357	13,934	3,932	857	17,551
Granada	70	1,532	1,738	–	922
Huelva	30	–	–	340	3,093
Jaén	998	5,308	894	136	1,081
Málaga	413	6,910	3,689	640	24,597
Sevilla	105	1,314	693	1,240	36,154
Total	8,572	30,617	11,645	3,623	113,214

Notes: <sup>1</sup>Members belonging to all types of trades and branches of production. <sup>2</sup>Members belonging to the agrarian sector (*jornaleros* and poor peasants).

Sources: Antonio Bar, *La CNT en los años rojos. Del sindicalismo revolucionario al anarcosindicalismo, 1910–1926* (Madrid: Akal, 1981); Paloma Biglino, *El socialismo español y la cuestión agraria, 1890–1936* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo, 1986); Antonio María Calero, 'Movimiento obrero y sindicalismo', in Antonio Miguel Bernal (ed.), *Historia de Andalucía*, 8 (Barcelona: Planeta, 1983); and Ángeles González, 'La construcción de un mito. El trienio bolchevique en Andalucía', in Manuel González de Molina and Diego Caro Cancela (eds), *La utopía racional. Estudios sobre el movimiento obrero andaluz* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2001). My elaboration.

frustrated – to set up a Socialist *jornaleros'* national agrarian federation.<sup>71</sup> There was euphoria amongst the Socialist rank and file, especially since there had been a spectacular growth in the UGT's agrarian provincial federations in 1919 and 1920, mostly based in eastern Andalusia. Even though the creation of a national agrarian federation had to be postponed until 1930, due, amongst other reasons, to the plummeting membership suffered by the peasant movement from 1922, the Peasant Congress of October 1920 marked a watershed in the history of rural Socialist trade unionism.

Sixty delegates, representing 150 agrarian workers' societies and 67,000 members (25,000 of them from the two provinces from Extremadura) gathered in Jaén.<sup>72</sup> There are no reliable figures for the number of militants from each of the provinces represented at the congress: Córdoba, Granada, Jaén, Málaga, Cáceres and Badajoz. However, the high number of members in attendance shows the strength of the rural Socialist unions at that time.

The growing unionization of *jornaleros* and poor peasants in much of Andalusia went hand in hand with the growing politicization of the rural

population. Anarchists, reformist Socialists and Republicans enjoyed, during this hot period of social conflict (1918–20), a rare opportunity to spread their political principles. By linking the Restoration political order with the employers and the agrarian bourgeoisie, they could offer a bitterly negative view of the ruling regime. In sum, employers and right-wing dynastic politicians were blamed for sustaining the *caciquista* network that corrupted public municipal life and for their selfish backing of a crooked, undemocratic and unpopular political system devised precisely to defend the privileges of a minority of oligarchs and tycoons. The symbolic contrast between the working class and the culture of the employers amongst the southern *jornaleros* accompanied the intense rural conflict. In this way, the rural workers' growing interest in local politics and the struggle against 'the hated agrarian employers' was conveniently channelled towards political mobilization. The rhetoric used by the PSOE and the UGT was orientated towards the defence of specific political principles that demanded the cleansing of municipal life and the destruction of *caciquista* practices.

The support of the Socialist organizations for the strike wave in the Andalusian countryside during the so-called 'Bolshevik Triennium' not only helped them to recruit amongst the *jornaleros* but also to channel the tide of sympathy towards political goals. Indeed, it allowed them to increase their political representation in town halls and continue their commitment to uproot *caciquista* practices in local affairs.<sup>73</sup> The spectacular rise in electoral support for Socialist candidates in vast areas of Andalusia is indicated in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Socialist councillors elected in the eight Andalusian provinces, 1905–20

Province	1905	1909	1911	1915	1916	1917	1918	1920
Almería	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	6
Cádiz	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	14
Córdoba	–	1	2	5	3	5	3	37
Granada	–	–	5	–	–	1	1	25
Huelva	–	–	–	25	1	5	1	17
Jaén	1	2	4	10	9	12	6	68
Málaga	–	1	5	9	2	2	–	24
Sevilla	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	13
Andalusia	1	6	17	51	15	26	11	204
Spain	49	–	–	176	62	136	82	946

Source: Calero, 'Movimiento obrero y sindicalismo', p. 136.



Parallel to the distrust and rancour felt by many *jornaleros* and poor peasants towards the employers – and their traditional right-wing dynastic representatives –, the rural bourgeoisie and the big land-owners were determined to hold back the rising political power being acquired by the anti-dynastic political forces (Socialists, Republicans, Regionalists, etc.). Between 1918 and 1923 the old oligarchies and their political representatives increasingly resorted to all kinds of pseudo-legal chicanery and methods of coercion against their electoral rivals.<sup>74</sup>

During these years, practically all the Andalusian provinces experienced a litany of fraudulent and coercive actions carried out by the Monarchist forces. The general elections of 1919, for instance, saw massive irregularities. Also in this year the Socialists' vote grew at a formidable rate, resulting in the return of their first ever Andalusian deputy, Fernando de los Ríos, for Granada. Nevertheless, fraudulent practices occurred nearly everywhere, for example, from sunrise on election day the town of Linares in Jaén was occupied by the police, intimidation was rife and the purchase of votes took place. Several Socialist delegates were imprisoned and in Espeluy the electoral returns were filed before the votes had been cast. Similar violent activities to prevent electoral support for Socialist or Republican candidates were frequent in many areas of the province of Sevilla. Leading Socialists were arrested and held incommunicado on the eve of the vote in Puebla de Cazalla; the Civil Guard charged a leftist gathering in Cazalla de la Sierra; the workers' centres were closed in Écija and Cañada del Rosal; ballot boxes were smashed by gangs armed with clubs in Guadalcanal; and Republican sympathizers were searched and insulted at the door of an electoral college in Fuentes de Andalucía.<sup>75</sup>

The use of article 29 of the electoral law also became more frequent in the turbulent elections of 1919–23,<sup>76</sup> emphasizing the determination of the 'old *caciquista* networks' to deny the anti-dynastic candidates their lawful access to political representation. As an example, article 29 was applied in all the constituencies of Almería and Córdoba in 1923. As a result, in these elections – where attempts to prevent the people's electoral participation were at their most blatant – 45.8 per cent of the Andalusian electorate effectively lost their right to vote.<sup>77</sup>

Furthermore, the mobilization of the *jornaleros* and the growing electoral support acquired by the Socialists and Republicans caused turmoil and scepticism amongst employers and the rural bourgeoisie, with a large number of their leaders becoming increasingly detached from their traditional loyalty towards the normal channels of political

and parliamentary representation. Employers' corporative organizations sprang up everywhere. Twenty of them with 7,000 members were established between March and August 1919 in Jaén alone, and an Employers' Agrarian Federation was established in Córdoba following the general strike in May of that year.<sup>78</sup> In these circumstances a growing feeling of mistrust towards the ruling liberal oligarchic order spread amongst important sectors of the wealthy landed classes.<sup>79</sup> The unstoppable process of *jornalero* mobilization and the electoral progress of the anti-dynastic forces resulted in the devaluation and erosion of the governing class in the eyes of significant circles of the powerful rural bourgeoisie.

Finally, yet no less important, Andalusian rural employers increasingly adopted an independent strategy, outside the legal channels of self-defence, aimed at defending their interests. There was a tendency amongst the agrarian oligarchy to bypass the political and coercive instruments of parliamentary liberalism, deemed by them as redundant and ineffective. Thus, as in the rest of Europe during the inter-war years,<sup>80</sup> agrarian employers established armed citizens' militias (*guardias cívicas*). In this way, they expected to face down the growing social conflict, the rising political mobilization, and the revolutionary ideals embraced by *jornaleros* and working classes. In 1919, the most recalcitrant of the rural employers established a rifle association, the Sociedad de Tiro Nacional de Jaén.<sup>81</sup> And agrarian employers and the most combative young members of the rich rural bourgeoisie set up armed groups and Somatenes<sup>82</sup> in the provinces of Granada (1919), Málaga (1919) and Sevilla (1921).<sup>83</sup> The formation of armed groups in the service of rich landowners had especially serious consequences in the province of Córdoba, in places such as Puente Genil and Luque, where clashes between strikers and employers reached an unprecedented level of ferocity.

Leading figures from the rural bourgeoisie and large landed estates, such as Antonio Medina y Garvey in Sevilla, Count Tovar in Granada, the Marquis of Casa Domecq in Jerez de la Frontera and Count Guadalhorce in Málaga, headed the Andalusian sections of the Somatén from its early days. Recourse to these bourgeois militias indicates that the corporative and authoritarian flirtations of the rural employers, and their break with the Restoration regime, were signs of the general attitudes amongst the Andalusian agrarian oligarchy. This can be seen in the warm welcome with which the large associations representing the corporate interests of the rural employers received the seizure of power by General Miguel Primo de Rivera in much of rural Andalusia.<sup>84</sup>

## Notes

Translated by Francisco J. Romero Salvadó.

1. Translator's note: *Jornaleros* are those working for a fixed salary or *jornal*, and *braceros* are those working with their arms or *brazos*.
2. Manuel González de Molina and Miguel Gómez Oliver (eds), *Historia contemporánea de Andalucía. Nuevos contenidos para su estudio* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, 2000), pp. 233–7.
3. Juan Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1979), pp. 270–4.
4. Translator's note: *agrarista* refers to experts on agriculture from the worlds of politics, academia or the civil service. They believed the state should work for the improvement of agrarian conditions and productivity.
5. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones*, p. 265.
6. Instituto de Reformas Sociales, *Información sobre el problema agrario en la provincia de Córdoba* (Madrid: Sucesores de M. Minuesa, 1919), pp. 19, 95 and 98; José Luis Martín Ramos, *Historia de la UGT. Entre la revolución y el reformismo, 1914–1931* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2008), pp. 71–2.
7. Antonio María Calero, 'Movimiento obrero y sindicalismo', in Antonio Miguel Bernal (ed.), *Historia de Andalucía* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1983), 8, p. 149; Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones*, pp. 270–4.
8. Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, *The Foundations of Civil War: Revolution, Social Conflict and Reaction in Liberal Spain, 1916–1923* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 157.
9. Grupo de Estudios de Historia Rural, 'Más allá de la "propiedad perfecta". El proceso de privatización de los montes públicos españoles (1859–1926)', *Noticiero de Historia Agraria*, 8 (1994), pp. 99–152; Francisco Cobo Romero, Salvador Cruz Artacho and Manuel González de Molina, 'Privatización del monte y protesta campesina en Andalucía Oriental (1836–1920)', *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 65 (1992), pp. 253–302.
10. González de Molina and Gómez Oliver, *Historia contemporánea*, pp. 249–52.
11. Francisco Zambrana Pineda, *Crisis y modernización del olivar* (Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, 1987).
12. Francisco Cobo Romero, *Conflicto rural y violencia política. El largo camino hacia la dictadura. Jaén, 1917–1950* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1998), pp. 104–9; Francisco Cobo Romero and Manuel González de Molina, 'Obrerismo y fragmentación del campesinado en los orígenes de la Guerra Civil en Andalucía', in Manuel González de Molina and Diego Caro Cancela (eds), *La utopía racional. Estudios sobre el movimiento obrero andaluz* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2001), pp. 238–45.
13. Antonio López Estudillo, 'Los mercados de trabajo desde una perspectiva histórica: El trabajo asalariado agrario en la Andalucía Bética (la provincia de Córdoba)', *Revista Española de Estudios Agrosociales y Pesqueros*, 211/3 (2006), pp. 63–119.
14. José Rodríguez Labandeira, *El trabajo rural en España, 1876–1936* (Barcelona: Anthropos-Ministerio de Agricultura, 1991), pp. 206–9; González de Molina and Gómez Oliver, *Historia contemporánea*, pp. 258–9.

15. Calero, 'Movimiento obrero'; Manuel Tuñón de Lara, *Luchas obreras y campesinas en la Andalucía del Siglo XX. Jaén, 1917–1920, Sevilla, 1930–1932* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1978); Paloma Biglino, *El socialismo español y la cuestión agraria, 1890–1936* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo, 1986).
16. For the Republicans see Antonio López Estudillo, *Republicanism and anarquismo en Andalucía. Conflictividad social agraria y crisis finisecular, 1868–1900* (Córdoba: La Posada, 2001).
17. Francisco Cobo Romero, 'Labradores y granjeros ante las urnas. El comportamiento político del pequeño campesinado en la Europa Occidental de entreguerras', *Historia Agraria*, 38 (2006), pp. 47–73.
18. Ángeles González, 'La construcción de un mito. El trienio bolchevique en Andalucía', in Manuel González de Molina and Diego Caro Cancela (eds), *La utopía racional. Estudios sobre el movimiento obrero andaluz* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2001), pp. 204–5; Juan José Castillo, *Propietarios muy pobres. Sobre la subordinación política del pequeño campesino* (Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, 1979).
19. Albert Carreras and Xavier Tafunell, *Historia económica de la España contemporánea* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), pp. 223–34.
20. Geoff Eley, *Un mundo que ganar. Historia de la izquierda en Europa, 1850–2000* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003) pp. 157–64.
21. Charles S. Maier, *Recasting Bourgeois Europe: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 3–9; Martín Ramos, *Historia de la UGT*, pp. 63–71.
22. Eduardo González Calleja, *El máuser y el sufragio. Orden público, subversión y violencia política en la crisis de la Restauración, 1917–1931* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999), pp. 19–24.
23. Marcel Van der Linden and Wayne Thorpe, 'Auge y decadencia del sindicalismo revolucionario', *Historia Social*, 12 (1992), pp. 3–29.
24. See works by Frank M. Snowden: 'The City of the Sun: Red Cerignola, 1900–1915', in Ralph Gibson and Martin Blinkhorn (eds), *Landownership and Power in Modern Europe* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), pp. 199–215; *The Fascist Revolution in Tuscany 1919–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); and *Violence and Great Estates in the South of Italy, Apulia, 1900–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). See also Anthony L. Cardozo, 'Commercial Agriculture and the Crisis of Landed Power: Bologna, 1880–1930', in Gibson and Blinkhorn (eds), *Landownership*, pp. 181–98.
25. Renato Zangheri (ed.), *Lotte agrarie in Italia. La Federazione nazionale dei lavoratori della terra, 1901–1926* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1960).
26. Translator's note: *gimnasia sindicalista* was the constant flexing of muscles by the *sindicatos* (trade unions) by engaging in constant strike action. Anarchists, especially in the 1930s, talked more precisely of 'revolutionary gymnastics'.
27. José Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español, 1868–1910* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1991), pp. 547–73.
28. Translator's note: *Acción Directa* (Direct Action), embraced by revolutionary syndicalists, meant the struggle of the proletariat vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie without the mediation or the intervention of third parties, that is, the state.

29. Van der Linden and Thorpe, 'Auge y decadencia'.
30. Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, *España, 1914–1918. Entre la Guerra y la Revolución* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2002), p. 179.
31. Angel Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction: Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Spanish State, 1898–1923* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2007), pp. 245–9.
32. Antonio Bar, *La CNT en los años rojos. Del sindicalismo revolucionario al anarcosindicalismo, 1910–1926* (Madrid: Akal, 1981), pp. 543–50.
33. Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, pp. 355–68.
34. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones*, pp. 182–90; José Luis Gutiérrez Molina, 'De la utopía social al sindicalismo', in Antonio Miguel Bernal (ed.), *Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Liberal* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2006), p. 244.
35. Álvarez Junco, *La ideología política*, pp. 115–28.
36. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones*, pp. 168–72.
37. Jacques Maurice, *El anarquismo andaluz, una vez más* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2007), pp. 127–35.
38. Jacques Maurice, *El anarquismo andaluz. Campesinos y sindicalistas, 1868–1936* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1990), pp. 260–6.
39. Bar, *La CNT*, pp. 316–38.
40. Biglino, *El socialismo español*, pp. 47–51.
41. José Manuel Macarro, 'El socialismo en Andalucía', in Santos Juliá (ed.), *El socialismo en las nacionalidades y regiones* (Madrid: Fundación Pablo Iglesias, 1988), pp. 109–11.
42. Vladimir I. Lenin, *Desarrollo del capitalismo en Rusia* (Madrid: Ayuso, 1975); Eduardo Sevilla Guzmán, 'Los marcos teóricos del pensamiento social agrario', in Cristóbal Gómez Benito and Juan Jesús González Rodríguez (eds), *Agricultura y sociedad en la España contemporánea* (Madrid: Ministerio de Agricultura, 1997), pp. 25–69.
43. Gerolamo Gatti, *Le socialisme et l'agriculture* (Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1901); Karl Kautsky, *La politique agraire du Parti Socialiste* (Paris: V. Giard et E. Brière, 1903).
44. Salvador Cruz Artacho, 'El socialismo español y la cuestión agraria (1879–1923). Luces y sombras en el debate teórico y en la práctica sindical y política', *Ayer*, 54/2 (2004), p. 146.
45. Translator's note: *latifundios* or big landed estates and *minifundios* or tiny plots of land.
46. Artacho et al., 'El socialismo español', p. 148.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 111–15.
48. Fernando de los Ríos, 'Le problème agraire en Espagne', *Revue Internationale du Travail*, 11/6 (1925), pp. 877–901; Miguel Gómez Oliver and Manuel González de Molina, 'Fernando de los Ríos y la "cuestión agraria" en Andalucía', in Manuel Morales Muñoz (ed.), *Fernando de los Ríos y el socialismo andaluz* (Málaga: Diputación Provincial, 2001), pp. 75–108 and 'Fernando de los Ríos y la cuestión agraria', in Gregorio Cámara Villar (ed.), *Fernando de los Ríos y su tiempo* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2001), pp. 371–99.
49. Artacho et al., 'El socialismo español', p. 148.
50. Biglino, *El socialismo español*, pp. 167–77.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 171–3.
52. Artacho et al., 'El socialismo español', pp. 149–51.
53. Martín Ramos, *Historia de la UGT*, pp. 72–4.

54. Eloy Vaquero, *Del drama de Andalucía. Recuerdos de luchas rurales y ciudadanas* (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 1987), pp. 139–58.
55. Calero, 'Movimiento obrero', pp. 148–51.
56. Antonio Barragán Moriana, *Conflictividad social y desarticulación política en la provincia de Córdoba, 1918–1920* (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 1990), pp. 120–7; Tuñón de Lara, *Luchas obreras*, pp. 78–84; Calero, 'Movimiento obrero', p. 149.
57. Barragán Moriana, *Conflictividad social*, pp. 90–3; Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós, *El espartaquismo agrario y otros ensayos sobre la estructura económica y social de Andalucía* (Madrid: Ediciones de la Revista de Trabajo, 1978), pp. 183–5; Vaquero, *Del drama de Andalucía*, pp. 139–41.
58. Instituto de Reformas Sociales, *Información sobre*, pp. 11–14; Bernaldo de Quirós, *El espartaquismo agrario*, pp. 184–5; Barragán Moriana, *Conflictividad social*, p. 98.
59. Translator's note: The Instituto de Reformas Sociales was created in 1902 to advise on and promote social legislation. It was composed of 18 government nominees, 6 employers and 6 labour representatives.
60. Instituto de Reformas Sociales, *Información sobre*.
61. González Calleja, *El máuser y el sufragio*, pp. 43–4.
62. Barragán Moriana, *Conflictividad social*, pp. 118–22.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
64. Tuñón de Lara, *Luchas obreras*, p. 74.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–9.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 82–3.
67. Bar, *La CNT*, pp. 763–6.
68. González, 'La construcción de un mito', pp. 195–7.
69. Biglino, *El socialismo español*, pp. 194–5.
70. Diego Caro Cancela, *Los socialistas en la historia de Andalucía. La construcción del partido obrero en Andalucía, 1900–1936* (Cádiz: Fundación Pablo Iglesias, 2006), p. 120.
71. Luis Garrido González, *Riqueza y tragedia social. Historia de la clase obrera en la provincia de Jaén, 1820–1939* (Jaén: Diputación Provincial, 1990), 2, p. 158.
72. Tuñón de Lara, *Luchas obreras*, pp. 96–7.
73. Almudena Delgado Larios, '¿Problema agrario andaluz o cuestión nacional? El mito del Trienio Bolchevique en Andalucía (1918–1920)', *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 13 (1991), pp. 113–15.
74. Salvador Cruz Artacho, *Caciques y Campesinos. Poder político, modernización agraria y conflictividad rural en Granada, 1890–1923* (Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 1994), pp. 454–9.
75. Caro Cancela, *Los socialistas*, pp. 138–165; Tuñón de Lara, *Luchas obreras*, pp. 75–6.
76. This article included in the Electoral Law of 1907 conferred the automatic election of candidates in those constituencies where their number was equal to or less than the available places.
77. Barragán Moriana, *Conflictividad social*, p. 327; González de Molina, *Historia, Identidad y Construcción de la Ciudadanía. Por una relectura de la Historia Contemporánea de Andalucía* (Sevilla: Fundación Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2007), p. 36–8.

78. Mercedes Cabrera and Fernando del Rey Reguillo, *El poder de los empresarios. Política y economía en la España contemporánea, 1875–2000* (Madrid: Taurus, 2002), pp. 188–9.
79. González de Molina and Gómez Oliver, *Historia contemporánea*, pp. 290–2; Fernando del Rey, *Propietarios y patronos. La política de las organizaciones económicas en la España de la Restauración, 1914–1923* (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo, 1992), pp. 720–1.
80. Eduardo González Calleja and Fernando del Rey Reguillo, *La defensa armada contra la revolución. Una historia de las guardias cívicas en la España del siglo XX* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1995), pp. 21.
81. González Calleja, *El máuser y el sufragio*, p. 43; Rey Reguillo and González Calleja, p. 674.
82. An armed militia, originally from Catalonia, established to defend order and property against the leftist and revolutionary threat from the working classes.
83. Díaz del Moral, *Historia de las agitaciones*, p. 366; González Calleja and Rey Reguillo, *La defensa armada*, p. 148–51; Rey Reguillo, pp. 674–5.
84. González de Molina and Gómez Oliver, *Historia contemporánea*, pp. 292–3.