

'Visca Catalunya Lliure!' – Battles for Catalan Autonomy in the Ramblas in the Immediate Aftermath of World War One

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The short period from November 1918 to January 1919 marked a very distinct episode in the history of Catalan nationalism and in the history of Barcelona. The after-war years in the Catalan metropolis became known as *Pistolero* due to the bloody struggles between workers and entrepreneurs. The first months after the armistice, however, were dominated by the confrontations of Catalan nationalists and the police as well as radical proponents of the Spanish central state in Barcelona's main avenue, Las Ramblas. This article analyses these violent street protests for Catalan autonomy in a microhistorical perspective aiming for a better understanding of how these struggles emerged, why they reached such a radical dimension, and under which conditions they came to a sudden end in February 1919. Firstly, the socio-political developments are examined, arguing that Catalanism underwent a transformation from a cultural to a political movement at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century and that despite Spain's neutrality, the raise of nationalisms caused by the First World War also affected Catalonia. Secondly, the importance of the Ramblas as a stage of street protest in Barcelona is highlighted. Thirdly, the logics and the routines of these violent confrontations are analysed. Finally, it is demonstrated how the Canadiense strike in February 1919 immediately pushed the quest for Catalan autonomy completely into the background for several years. In general, this article contributes to both the history of Catalan nationalism as well as to the history of urban violence in contemporary Barcelona.

Keywords: Urban Violence, Catalonia, World War One, Nationalism, Street Protest

Introduction

Clashes between police and militant elements in a thousand-strong crowd of demonstrators transformed part of central Barcelona into a battleground late on Saturday as another day of pro-independence protests turned violent. Projectiles were fired, at least six people were hospitalized with injuries, and barricades were set alight after officers charged ranks of demonstrators – many young and masking their faces – who had amassed outside Spanish police headquarters. The violent standoff in the city’s tourist heartland offered stark evidence of the faultlines developing between hardline and conciliatory elements within the region’s independence movement. It lasted several hours before protesters dispersed through the city’s streets.¹

The report illustrates the intensity of the violent street fights between radicalized supporters of Catalan separatism and the police in October 2019. The protest had risen as a reaction to Spain’s Supreme Court sentencing several Catalan politicians to prison for their involvement in the independence bid two years earlier. So far, this had been the last violent climax in the struggle for Catalan independence.

A similar scenario located in the streets of Barcelona had taken place already more than hundred years ago. The rearrangement of Europe after the First World War had raised the hopes of Catalan nationalists for more autonomy. But when political negotiations had finally come to a dead end, they took their demands to the streets. Protesters regularly gathered to walk down the Ramblas, which was already back then Barcelona’s most central and most important avenue. By screaming slogans as ‘Visca Catalunya liure!’ (Long live free Catalonia) or ‘Mori Espanya!’ (Death to Spain), by singing the Catalan protest song *Els segadors* and by waving the Catalan flag ‘La Senyera’ they provoked a

violent reaction by the police as well as by radical supporters of the Spanish central state.

Given the fact that both the history of Catalan repression in the 20th century as well as Barcelona's history of violence in the decades preceding the Spanish Civil War are already well investigated, it is puzzling that the violent fights in the Ramblas in the immediate afterwar years have been rather neglected. Historical research on Catalan repression mainly focused on Primo de Rivera's and Franco's dictatorship.² Research on Barcelona's history of violence put emphasis on the anarchist terror attacks in the last decade of the 19th century, the *Pistolerismo*, i.e. the struggles between entrepreneurs and workers from 1919 to 1923, as well as the anarchist uprisings during the Second Spanish Republic.³

Despite Spain's neutrality in both World Wars, the Spanish-based historian Francisco Romero Salvadó emphasized the huge impact of the First World War on Spain.⁴ Recently, he published an article in which he focused on the immediate post-war months, arguing that they highlighted the crisis of the Spanish liberal regime which came to an end after Primo de Rivera's military coup in September 1923.⁵ While Romero Salvadó has convincingly analysed the political changes in Spain and Catalonia from a broader perspective, the objective of this article is to give a detailed micro-historical analysis of the bloody clashes in the Ramblas in the same period.

Firstly, the socio-political developments are highlighted which led to the intensification of this conflict. Secondly, it is examined why the Ramblas turned into the main battleground. Thirdly, a closer look on the events is taken to understand the logic and the routines of these violent confrontations. Finally, the question is addressed why these fights came to a sudden end in January 1919. In general, this article, by closely examining the fights in the Ramblas in the immediate post-war period,

contributes to both the history of Catalan nationalism as well as the history of urban violence in Barcelona.

‘Triumphant Catalonia will be great again!’ – The Transformation of Catalanism from Cultural to Political Movement

The Triumphant Catalonia will be rich and great again! Down to those people so swanky and big-headed. Good cut with the sickle, good cut with the sickle, defenders of the soil, good cut with the sickle! The time has come, reapers! The time has come to be alert! To be prepared when the next June will come, let's sharpen our tools well! May the enemy tremble seeing our banners. As we make the golden spikes fall, we saw the chains when the time has come!⁶

The lyrics originate from the Catalan song *Els Segadors* (The Reapers). It remembers the so-called ‘Reapers’ War’ which had started in 1640 as a local uprising of peasants in several regions of Catalonia against the stationing of Spanish troops during the Franco-Spanish War. In the course of the events, the *Generalitat*, the local Catalan parliament, declared independence from Spain to become a part of the French kingdom. The conflict came to an end in 1651, after most parts of Catalonia had been reconquered.⁷

At that time, Catalonia had been a part of Spain for almost two centuries. In 1469, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile married. By unifying their kingdoms, they laid the foundation of the modern Spanish central state. The king and his successors hardly ever interfered in Catalan's local rights. In consequence, Catalonia preserved a fair amount of autonomy and developed its own regional identity even further.⁸

This came to a sudden and radical end after the Spanish War of Succession. Catalonia supported Karl of Habsburg, but his rival Philipp of Anjou remained victorious. Barcelona was conquered in 1714 by Franco-Castilian troops. The day of defeat, 11 September, later turned into Catalonia's most important public holiday. Catalonia was punished with severe repressions.⁹

It took nearly one and a half centuries until Catalanism came to a revival. The time of *Renaixança* (rebirth) started with the publication of Bonaventura Aribau's poem *La Patria* (the Fatherland) in 1833, in which he praised his home-country and the Catalan language. During that time, however, Catalanism had no political implications but the aim to raise the popularity of Catalan culture.¹⁰

In this context, the text of *Els Segadors* was published for the first time by Manuel Milà i Fontanals in 1882.¹¹ Ten years later, Francesc Alió included the lyrics in his song book *Cançons populars catalanas* (Catalan folk songs). He added tunes to turn the text into a song and changed the refrain into more combative lyrics.¹² Alió's version had been performed at an official event in 1894 for the first time and was highly praised by the Catalan press afterwards.¹³

At the turn of the century, both the nature of Catalanism and the tone of the song changed radically. Catalanism turned from a purely cultural movement to a political one. One of the main reasons was the so-called 'Disaster of 1898'.¹⁴ In that year, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, the last remaining non-African colonies of the former empire were lost in a war with the USA.

It became obvious by then that Spain's status as one of the leading European imperial powers had gone forever. This led to a profound crisis which simultaneously caused serious doubts on the Restoration monarchy. The Catalan journalist and politician Claudi Ametlla wrote in

his memoirs that many Catalans became hostile to the government in Madrid at the end of the 19th century.¹⁵

Back then, Barcelona faced the first wave of working migrants. From 1887, the year before the First World Exhibition staged in Barcelona, to the beginning of the new century, the number of inhabitants grew from about two hundred seventy-two thousand to five hundred thirty-three thousand.¹⁶ Most of the people coming to Barcelona in search for work originated from rural areas of Catalonia or from other Catalan-speaking regions as Valencia or the Balearic Islands.¹⁷ Their integration was facilitated not only by the Catalan language but also by many local Catalan traditions which found its way into Barcelona's working-class culture. The most influential habits included the building of human towers, known as 'Castells', and a group dance called 'Sardana'. When the first wave of migrants arrived in Barcelona, both traditions were forcefully popularized by the Catalanists to illustrate the across-the-board character of their ideas.¹⁸

The integration of migrant workers in Barcelona into the Catalan culture was also facilitated by the fact that they hardly had any sympathy with the Spanish central state. In comparison to other nations, compulsory military service in Spain had no integrative function. On the contrary, the Spanish military was very unpopular in working class circles because in their view, it only served the causes of the upper class.¹⁹

The Spanish central state also failed to win the loyalty of the workers by means of social legislation. As the reports of the workplace inspectors illustrate, the compliance with labour laws was only sparsely supervised in the factories and violations were punished very mildly. Labour laws were especially ineffective in Catalonia as there were few state-run companies.²⁰

As a result, the *Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya* (Catalan regionalist league), a conservative right-wing party demanding more autonomy for Catalonia, became the leading power in Barcelona's urban politics at the beginning of the 20th century. It aimed for the mobilisation of public opinion to establish local institutions which could represent the interests of the Catalans much better than the government in Madrid. Their objectives should be realized peacefully via negotiations with the Spanish government.²¹

Nevertheless, supporters of the *Lliga Regionalista* became involved in violent clashes with proponents of the opposing Republican Party. Its leader, Alejandro Lerroux, wanted to modernize Spain by the establishment of a republican system and had polemicised in an aggressive tone against the conservatism and clericalism represented by the *Lliga*. The Republicans had chosen *La Marseillaise* as their hymn, while their political rivals favoured *Els segadors*. Lerroux himself openly polemicised against *Els Segadors* after it had caused several clashes between his followers and Catalan nationalists singing the song.²²

In its original version, *Els segadors* narrated the story of three reapers and a lady, rather evoking erotic than nationalist connotations.²³ In 1897, Emili Guanyavents, a poet who corresponded in socialist and anarchist circles, changed the lyrics and turned it into a protest song. In the same year, the Spanish government answered the wave of anarchist terror attacks in Barcelona with a severe repression which also affected Catalan newspapers as *La Reinaxença* (Rebirth) and *Lo Regionalista* (The Regionalist). In the resistance put up against these measures, singing *Els segadors* became a symbolic act, accompanied with shouts as 'Visca Catalunya!' (Long live Catalonia) and 'Lliure!' (Free!).²⁴

In Madrid, Spain's political elite began to realize the symbolic power of the song. In the Spanish parliament it was condemned as 'a hymn of hate, rage and destruction.'²⁵ The influential Madrilenian newspaper *El*

Heraldo de Madrid (Madrid's Herald) published an article on the song, calling it 'Catalanism's most efficient medium of propaganda'.²⁶ In 1899, for the first time, a group walking down the Ramblas singing *Els Segadors* provoked a confrontation with the police.²⁷ This form of protest would become frequent two decades later in the post-war months from November 1918 to January 1919. In order to understand why the authorities could not tolerate this, it is necessary to elaborate on the significance of the Ramblas as a stage for popular protest in contemporary Barcelona.

'To the Ramblas' – Staging Popular Protest in Contemporary Barcelona

A loud scream came out of their throats: "To the Ramblas!". According to the Catalans, any funeral, procession and demonstration of importance needed the green and likeable stage of their Via Sacra, the Ramblas. Powerful echoes of "To the Ramblas!". They started moving. The police deployed its units. The cavalry headed against the crowd and the horns rang out. This meant that the police had orders to start firing at the people after the slightest sign of disobedience. The crowd ignored the threat. "To the Ramblas!" They took the corpse as an ensign and brought it down the Calle de Balmes. When they arrived at the crossways to the Calle de Cortes, the chief of police finally gave the order to attack....and the horses of the policemen trampled over the workers, who ran away in all directions. [...] Whistles, throwing stones, caps that got lost during the hunt, entrance doors violently slammed to deny access to those who wanted to seek shelter in the houses nearby. And still one could hear the shouts "To the Ramblas!"²⁸

Comparable to other European cities, street protests in Barcelona emerged from religious processions and festive parades dating back to Early Modern times. These cultural practices improved the sense of community among the lower classes as both the nobility and the upper class usually stayed away from these festivities.²⁹ Generally speaking, until the second half of the 19th century, street protest had turned into a kind of political representation as a counterpart to the official public ceremonies such as the celebrations of the birthday of a member of the royal family.³⁰ In the following decades, popular resistance became an established form of collective action.³¹ As a way to express anger at the political or social conditions, mass rallies made a huge impact both on their actors as well as on the observers and posed a challenge to the authorities.³²

In Barcelona, the joint walk through the streets was rather a civic ritual until the last decade of the 19th century. Since most people were still illiterate, it gave them a feeling of power and community. By gathering together in public, people made clear that they shared the same values.³³ The transformation of this cultural practice to a form of resistance became obvious in 1890, when the first celebration of the May Days took place in Barcelona. Around twenty-five thousand people walked from the Plaça de Catalunya down the Ramblas to the office of the civil governor in order to demand the improvement of the working conditions. At the same time, radical anarchists also gathered in the Ramblas to call for a general strike, which resulted in a clash with the police.³⁴

The American historian Temma Kaplan has investigated the routes of the most important processions, parades, and demonstrations in Barcelona between 1808 and 1920. In accordance with the quote above, she highlighted the importance of the Ramblas as a stage of public representation and protest.³⁵ Kaplan reasoned that the Ramblas, located in the centre of the city, made up a connection between many public

meeting points of importance such as the market ‘Mercado de la Boqueria’, where housewives collected groceries, the Liceu theatre, in which the upper class gathered, and the Plaça Reial, where the civil governor resided.³⁶ On both sides of the Ramblas, one could find the best hotels, restaurants, cafés, and theatres in Barcelona. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Ramblas started to lose its exclusiveness and became a staging area of all classes of society.³⁷ The Ramblas stretch from the harbour to the Plaça de Catalunya. Already back then, this place was the symbolic centre of the city. The routes of trams and buses converged there, and the news of the day was exchanged.³⁸

The boulevard must have made a big impression. This is illustrated by the contemporary Catalan author Domènec de Bellmunt. In his book *Les Catacumbes de Barcelona* (Barcelona’s catacombs), published in 1930, he wrote: ‘The Ramblas are unique in Barcelona, maybe in the entire world. This avenue has dynamics, local grace, variety of colours, and different aspects, which made it difficult for the journalist to describe it in an objective, detailed and photographic way’.³⁹

Only Lerroix chose another boulevard for the manifestations of his party members and followers, namely the ‘Paral·lel’, connecting the harbour with the Plaça de Espanya. The boulevard was constructed in 1894 and quickly turned into Barcelona’s centre of night life. With its Flamenco spectacles, the ‘Paral·lel’ could be regarded as the ‘Spanish’ city centre during that period.⁴⁰ But in comparison to the Ramblas, it lacked any tradition of popular protest. Although the demonstrations led by Lerroix gained a lot of attention and made him the ‘Emperor of the Paral·lel’, the avenue was less significant as a stage of protest in that period.⁴¹ Consequently, in the post-war months the Catalan nationalists headed for the Ramblas to articulate their demands for more autonomy.

‘Ara o Mai’ – The Radicalization of Catalan nationalism after World War I

As expected, last night the demonstrations on the Ramblas and the Plaza de Catalunya continued. At 8 pm the Ramblas made an impressive sight. A huge crowd of people had gathered on this central avenue and made use of its absolute legitimate right to claim the independence of Catalonia. The police had already occupied the Plaza de Catalunya, the Ramblas and the streets nearby. Armed with sabres, they took action against the protesters, dissolving the demonstration. The attack of the police was as unexpected as brutal. [...] Nine persons were arrested. Numerous injured persons were brought and cared for in the pharmacies nearby.⁴²

During the First World War Catalan nationalism had considerably grown. The rivalry between the *Lliga Regionalista* and Lerroux's radical party was decided in favour of the former.⁴³ The wave of nationalism, which had affected all the countries who took part in the hostilities, had also spilled over to Catalonia. On 14 October 1918, the Catalan newspaper *La Veu de Catalonia* (The Voice of Catalonia) published an editorial headed 'Ara o Mai' (Now or Never).⁴⁴ Hopes for more autonomy were further nourished by the concept of the self-determination of small nations by American president Woodrow Wilson. In Catalonia, he became very popular, and places and streets were named after him.⁴⁵

The victory of the Entente was celebrated with great enthusiasm on 11 November 1918.⁴⁶ In the Spanish parliament, an autonomy status for Catalonia was seriously discussed for the first time. But in the end, the application for more autonomy was refused on 12 December 1918. Neither did the Allies intervene in favor for the Catalans. The euphoria of

the first days after the end of the war now turned into frustration, and most of the Catalan delegates withdrew from the parliament in Madrid.⁴⁷

After political negotiations had finally ceased, the demands for more autonomy were taken to the streets. The choreography of protests included singing *Els segadors* and waving 'La Senyera', the horizontally red and yellow-striped Catalan flag. Similar to the song *Els segadors*, 'La Senyera' had become a symbol of Catalan nationalism in the second half of the 19th century and was turned into a form of provocation in the first decades of the 20th century.⁴⁸

The first confrontation with the police had already occurred on 29 September 1918. That day was commemorated as the first anniversary of the death of Enric Prat de la Riba, one of the most influential supporters of Catalan nationalism at the beginning of the 20th century. A small group equipped with American and Catalan flags walked up the Passeig de Gracia, a boulevard in the upper-class area of Barcelona, until they were dissolved by the police.⁴⁹ In the last weeks of the war, the tension grew further. One day before the armistice, a group of Catalan nationalists walked down the Ramblas and was stopped by the police.⁵⁰ Similar incidents occurred in the following days.⁵¹

While the first protests for Catalan autonomy had ended up rather peacefully, they took a much more radical turn after political negotiations in Madrid for more autonomy had failed definitively. Violent fights in the Ramblas as the one described above became frequent in the second half of December 1918.⁵² Generally speaking, the protests tended to follow the same pattern. They usually took place on working days, starting in the evenings when the shops were about to close. A group mainly consisting of students, workers and employees used to move through the Ramblas screaming their slogans until they were confronted by the police.⁵³

At the beginning of 1919, the struggles took a different, even more violent turn. Between 11 and 14 January, forty-two Catalan nationalists were arrested.⁵⁴ Apart from the clashes with the police, a new rival had come up: *La Liga Patriótica Española* (the league of Spanish patriots), which at the beginning of 1919 claimed to count about a thousand members.⁵⁵

Between 11 January and 16 January, several shows of the comedy *Fuerzas inútiles* (Useless Forces) were violently assaulted by Catalan nationalists. The reason for their anger against those performances was that the star of the show, Mary Focela, was famous for her patriotic songs praising Spain.⁵⁶ In return, on 17 January, a group of about eighty people, most of them presumably supporters of *La Liga Patriótica Española*, tried to invade a theatre in which the traditional Catalan dance *La Sardana* was performed.⁵⁷

The clashes reached their climax the very next day when a young Catalan nationalist was murdered by a member of *La Liga Patriótica Española*. In the following days, more violent clashes took place resulting in several persons severely injured.⁵⁸ The escalation of violence caused protests all over Spain which put the government under pressure. On 28 January, Catalan symbols were forbidden.⁵⁹

‘A Battle fought in the Shadows’ – The Beginning of *Pistolerismo*

The city lay completely in the dark, the streets were almost fully deserted. From my flat, I passed Calle de Launa, Plaça d’Urquinaona and Calle de Fontanella to arrive at Plaça de Catalunya. I was absolutely surprised by the silence of the streets, with very few persons passing by. [...] I was overwhelmed from

feelings of concern and fear at every step I took, expecting any kind of detonation as a start of a battle which was fought in the shadows. I rolled over and returned home in a hurry, pushing myself against the walls to be as least visible as possible, despite that prevailing darkness. This is how that epic strike began, which was so different than the ones before, in which the tactics of the trade union seemed like a very difficult riddle, to which no one could provide an appropriate solution.⁶⁰

The seemingly apocalyptic event, to which the industrialist Pedro Gual Villalbí referred to, was a strike in the Canadiense factory, Barcelona's most important powerhouse. It brought Barcelona to a total standstill for more than 40 days. The strike spread to other factories as well and in total about hundred thousand workers participated.⁶¹ Many contemporaries felt that this event was the start of a new age, as the anarchist trade union CNT (*Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*) demonstrated its growing power for the first time.⁶² Only a few months after the strike, which ended in a success for the workers, the *Federación Patronal*, the most powerful Catalan employers' association, struck back by organizing a lock-out in order to smash the CNT. It affected about two hundred thousand workers.⁶³

After these events, a peaceful solution of the labour struggles became almost unthinkable. Therefore, the workers started to blackmail factory owners in order to improve their working conditions. Some of the victims refused and were shot. As a response, the *Federación Patronal* saw the work of the police as completely inefficient. They started to build up a group of assassins themselves in order to take revenge. Until 1923, hundreds of people died in this bloody labour war which became known as *Pistolismo*.⁶⁴

The violent battles between entrepreneurs and workers pushed the protests for more autonomy in Catalonia completely into the

background. Between the beginning of the strike in the Canadiese factory to the end of the *Pistolerismo* in 1923, there were only two minor incidents without any major consequences.⁶⁵ On 11 September 1923, Catalan, Basque and Galician nationalists gathered on the Plaza de Cataluña, demanding an autonomy status for their home region. In the fight involving the police and Spanish nationalists, about thirty persons were injured. General Primo de Rivera felt encouraged to bring his coup d'état forward to the night of 12 September.⁶⁶ He completely banned Catalan culture from public life after he had established his dictatorship.

Conclusion

The short period from November 1918 to January 1919 marked a very distinct episode both in the history of Catalan nationalism as well as in Barcelona's history of violence. The post-war years in Barcelona became known as *Pistolerismo* due to the bloody struggles between workers and entrepreneurs. The first months after the armistice in Barcelona, however, were dominated by the violent clashes in the Ramblas between Catalan nationalists and the police as well as radical proponents of the Spanish central state. This article analysed these fights from a micro-historical perspective aiming to better understand how they emerged. Furthermore, social and political conditions contributing to their escalation and their sudden ending have been investigated.

Catalanism had already undergone a transformation from a cultural to a political movement at the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. Despite Spain's neutrality, the rise of nationalisms caused by the First World War also affected Catalonia. In December 1918 it became obvious that no political solution could be found for more autonomy in Catalonia. Its supporters took their disappointment and agony to the streets.

Relating to the contemporary newspaper article quoted above, one might argue that the manifestations turned violent mainly due to the aggressive response of the police. However, focusing on the symbols used by the Catalan nationalists to support their protest visually and acoustically, it stands to reason that they were used as deliberate means of provocation. They were assured that singing *Els Segadors* as well as waving the Catalan flag “La Senyera” would challenge both their antagonists and the police.

Not only the symbols were carefully chosen by the Catalan nationalists, but also the location to stage their protests. The Ramblas, situated in the heart of Barcelona, already had a long tradition of manifestations and demonstrations back then. It was a well-known fact that any protest heading for Barcelona’s most central and most popular boulevard would receive a lot of attention and could hardly be ignored by the authorities. The manifestations for more autonomy in Catalonia, however, took the politicization of this public space to another level.

By closely focusing on single incidents, it became obvious that during this short period, the intensity of violence grew steadily. Initiating peaceful manifestations in the beginning, the protests took a violent turn when Catalan nationalists got involved in regular fights with the police in December 1918. The clashes intensified as theatres were invaded at the beginning of 1919. They reached their climax when a young Catalan was murdered by a member of *La Liga Patriótica Española* on 19 January.

It seems surprising that the struggles fought out for months on a nearly daily basis came to a sudden end in February 1919. As many contemporaries noticed, a new era was initiated by the strike in the Canadiense factory. In what became known as *Pistolismo*, assassinations of workers and entrepreneurs put Barcelona on the verge of a civil war. The quest for Catalan autonomy was completely pushed into the background, only to be taken up again more than a decade later, in the

time of the Second Spanish Republic. The violent clashes between radical supporters of Catalan separatism and the police in October 2019 illustrate that the symbolic fight for urban space and territory in Barcelona still remains an important issue in the Catalan struggle for independence more than a century later.

Endnotes

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⁵ F. Romero Salvadó, 'Between the Catalan quagmire and the red spectre, Spain, November 1918 – April 1919', in: *The Historical Journal* 60/3 (2017), 795-815.

⁶ Translation from Catalan to English by the author of this article. The quotation refers to Emili Guanyavents' version of the song's lyrics later mentioned in this paper.

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¹⁰ For a detailed examination of the development of Catalan nationalism up to the end of the 19th century, see the recent study by Angel Smith, *The Origins of Catalan Nationalism, 1770-1898* (Basingstoke, 2014).

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¹⁴ Smith, *Origins*, 222.

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¹⁹ D. Marín, *La Semana Trágica. Barcelona en llamas, la revuelta popular y la Escuela Moderna* (Madrid, 2009), 59.

²⁰ Nagel, *Multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, 26.

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²⁴ Ayats, 'Segadors', 82.

²⁵ *La Vanguardia*, 21/2/1900.

²⁶ Alier, 'La societat coral, Catalunya Nova', in: *D'art 2* (1973), 55.

²⁷ P. Anguera, *Els Segadors. Com es crea un himne* (Barcelona, 2010), 53.

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³⁰ Kaschuba, 'Von der "Rotte" zum "Block". Zur kulturellen Ikonographie der Demonstration im 19. Jahrhundert', in: B.J. Warnecken (ed.), *Massenmedium Straße. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Demonstration* (Frankfurt/M., 1991), 69-70.

³¹ Robert, 'Metamorphosen der Demonstration. Lyon 1848, 1890, 1912', in: B. J. Warnecken (ed.), *Massenmedium Straße. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Demonstration* (Frankfurt/M., 1991), 49.

³² Pigenet, 'Räume und Rituale des ländlichen Arbeiterprotestes im 19. Jahrhundert. Am Beispiel der Protestmärsche im Department Cher', in: B.J. Warnecken (ed.), *Massenmedium Straße. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Demonstration* (Frankfurt/M., 1991), 39.

³³ T. Kaplan, *Red City, blue period. Social movements in Picassos Barcelona* (Berkeley, 1992), 13-14.

³⁴ T. Kaplan, 'Civic Rituals and Patterns of Resistance in Barcelona, 1890-1930', in: P. Thane, G. Crossick & R. Floud (eds.), *The Power of the Past. Essays for Eric J. Hobsbawm* (Cambridge, 1984), 175-177.

³⁵ Kaplan, *Red City*, 202-203. One could extend Kaplan's analysis and support her conclusion by mentioning that for example, in 1922, FC Barcelona's celebration of winning both the Catalan championship as well as the *Copa del Rey* was staged

both on the Ramblas as well as on Plaça de Catalunya. T. Sala, *La vida cotidiana en la Barcelona de 1900* (Madrid, 2005), 194. At the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic, a demonstration during the rent strike of 1931 also headed for the Ramblas, F. Aisa Pàmpol, *La huelga de alquileres y el Comité de Defensa Económica* (Barcelona, 2014), 59.

³⁶ Kaplan, *Red City*, 2. An overview of the history of this boulevard is given by E. Vila, *Breu història de la Rambla* (Barcelona, 2012).

³⁷ Gabriel, 'La Barcelona obrera y proletaria', in: A. Sánchez (ed.), *Barcelona 1888-1929. Modernidad, ambición y conflictos de una ciudad soñada* (Madrid, 1994), 99.

³⁸ Kaplan, *Red City*, 3. The historical significance of this place is demonstrated by the fact that city chronicler Lluís Permanyer dedicated a whole 'biography' to it, L. Permanyer, *Biografía de la Plaça de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1995).

³⁹ D. de Bellmunt, *Les Catacumbes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1930), 20.

⁴⁰ J. Termes & T. Abelló, 'Conflictivitat social i maneres de viure', in: J. Sobrequés i Callicó (ed.), *Història de Barcelona, el segle XX, I. De les annexions a la fi de la Guerra civil* (Barcelona, 1995), 143; Gabriel, 'Barcelona obrera', 100-101.

⁴¹ J. Àlvarez Junco, *El Emperador del Paralelo. Lerroux y la demagogia populista* (Madrid 1990); J. Ballerster i Peris, *Memòries d'un noi de Gràcia* (Barcelona, 1999), 23.

⁴² *El Diluvio*, 14/12/1918.

⁴³ Àlvarez Junco, *El Emperador*, 328.

⁴⁴ *La Veu de Catalonia*, 14/10/1918.

⁴⁵ J.M. Poblet, *El moviment autonomista a Catalunya dels anys 1918-1919* (Barcelona, 1970), 7.

⁴⁶ R. Tasis i Marca, *Barcelona. Imatge i història d'una ciutat* (Barcelona, 1963), 457-458.

⁴⁷ K.J. Nagel, *Arbeiterschaft und nationale Bewegung in Katalonien zwischen 1898 und 1923* (Saarbrücken, 1991), 428.

⁴⁸ For the meaning of the Catalan senyera see: J. Alberti, *La bandera catalana. Mil anys d'història* (Barcelona, 2010), as well as: P. Anguera i Nolla, *Les quatre barres. De bandera històrica a senyera nacional* (Barcelona, 2010).

⁴⁹ A. Balcells, E. Puyol, J. Sabater, *La mancomunitat de Catalunya i l'autonomia* (Barcelona 1996), 102.

⁵⁰ E. Ucelay da Cal, Estat Català, *The Strategies of Separation and Revolution of Catalan Radical Nationalism 1919-1933* (Columbia, 1979), 92.

⁵¹ Such an event for example is documented in *El Día Gráfico*, 17/11/1918.

⁵² A similar incident was reported by *El Diluvio*, 24/12/1918.

⁵³ Ucelay da Cal, *Strategies*, 98.

⁵⁴ Molas, 'Federació Democràtica Nacionalista (1919-1923)', in: *Recerques* 4 (1974), 140.

⁵⁵ Quiroga, 'Nation and Reaction', in: F. Romero Salvadó & A. Smith (eds.), *The Agony of Spanish liberalism. From revolution to dictatorship, 1913-1923* (London, 2010), 207-208.

⁵⁶ *El Noticiero Universal*, 13/1/1919, *El Diluvio*, 13/1/1919, E. González Calleja: *El máuser y el sufragio. Orden público, subversión y violencia política en la crisis de la Restauración 1917-1931* (Madrid, 1999), 349.

⁵⁷ *El Noticiero Universal*, 18/1/1919.

⁵⁸ *El Correo Catalan*, 25/1/1919.

⁵⁹ González Calleja, *Máuser*, 351.

⁶⁰ P. Gual Villalbí, *Memorias de un industrial de nuestro tiempo* (Barcelona, 1922), 162-163. The quote was translated from Spanish to English by the author of this article.

⁶¹ A. Smith, *Anarchism, Revolution and Reaction, Catalan Labour and the Crisis of the Central State, 1898-1923* (New York, 2007), 290-297.

⁶² P. Coromines, *Cartes d'un visionari* (Barcelona, 1921), 218-219 A. Baratech, *Los sindicatos libres de España. Su origen - su actuación - su ideario* (Barcelona, 1927), 51.

⁶³ The lock-out is extensively covered in S. Bengoechea, *El locaut de Barcelona (1919-1920). Els precedents de la Dictadura de Primo de Rivera* (Barcelona 1998).

⁶⁴ Romero Salvadó, "Si vis pacem para bellum". The Catalan Employers' Dirty War 1919-23', in: F. Romero Salvadó & A. Smith (eds.), *The Agony of Spanish liberalism. From revolution to dictatorship, 1913-1923* (London, 2010), 175-201.

⁶⁵ *El Noticiero Universal*, 3/5/1920, *La Vanguardia*, 12/9/1922.

⁶⁶ Quiroga, *Nation and Reaction*, 202.